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# RECORD OF PROCEEDINGS (PROOF)

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## FIRST SESSION OF THE FIFTY-EIGHTH PARLIAMENT

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## TUESDAY, 20 MAY 2025

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The Legislative Assembly met at 9.30 am.

Mr Speaker (Hon. Pat Weir, Condamine) read prayers and took the chair.



**Mr SPEAKER:** Honourable members, I acknowledge the Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islander people of this state and their elders past, present and emerging. I also acknowledge the former members of this parliament who have participated in and nourished the democratic institutions of this state. Finally, I acknowledge the people of this state, whether they have been born here or have chosen to make this state their home and whom we represent to make laws and conduct other business for the peace, welfare and good government of this state.

### ASSENT TO BILLS



**Mr SPEAKER:** Honourable members, I have to report that I have received from Her Excellency the Governor a letter in respect of assent to certain bills. The contents of the letter will be incorporated in the *Record of Proceedings*. I table the letter for the information of members.

The Honourable P. Weir MP

Speaker of the Legislative Assembly

Parliament House

George Street

BRISBANE QLD 4000

I hereby acquaint the Legislative Assembly that the following Bills, having been passed by the Legislative Assembly and having been presented for the Royal Assent, were assented to in the name of His Majesty The King on the date shown:

Date of assent: 19 May 2025

A bill for an Act to amend the Anti-Discrimination Act 1991, the Crime and Corruption Act 2001, the Crime and Corruption and Other Legislation Amendment Act 2024, the Evidence Act 1977, the Forensic Science Queensland Act 2024, the Police Powers and Responsibilities Act 2000, the Respect at Work and Other Matters Amendment Act 2024 and the Youth Justice Act 1992 for particular purposes

A bill for an Act to provide for the law relating to trusts, to repeal the Trusts Act 1973, and to amend this Act, the Aboriginal Land Act 1991, the Corrective Services Act 2006, the District Court of Queensland Act 1967, the Funeral Benefit Business Act 1982, the Public Trustee Act 1978, the River Improvement Trust Act 1940, the Succession Act 1981, the Torres Strait Islander Land Act 1991 and the legislation mentioned in schedule 2 for particular purposes

A bill for an Act to establish the Queensland Academy of Sport, and to amend this Act and the Public Sector Act 2022 for particular purposes

These Bills are hereby transmitted to the Legislative Assembly, to be numbered and forwarded to the proper Officer for enrolment, in the manner required by law.

Yours sincerely

Governor

19 May 2025

*Tabled paper:* Letter, dated 19 May 2025 from Her Excellency the Governor to the Speaker advising of assent to certain bills on 19 May 2025.

### SPEAKER'S RULING

#### Error in Division



**Mr SPEAKER:** Honourable members, I have been advised by the Clerk that there was an error in counting and recording the votes in division No. 6 on Wednesday, 30 April 2025. The division was on the question that the member for Gaven be heard during the consideration in detail stage of the Crime and Corruption (Restoring Reporting Powers) Amendment Bill 2025. It was during debate of this question in which I called for a one-minute division when it should have been four minutes and for which I apologise to the House. It was my error. The Minister for Health and Ambulance Services and the

member for Scenic Rim were both counted and recorded as voting 'no' in the division. However, these two members were not in their respective seats for the division and should not have been counted in the vote. This has been verified through a review of the broadcast footage. The error does not affect the outcome of the vote. However, the record needs to be corrected. The result of the division was in fact ayes 32 and noes 48. In accordance with standing order 106(11), I have instructed the Clerk to amend the *Record of Proceedings*.

## PRIVILEGE

### Speaker's Ruling, Referral to Ethics Committee



**Mr SPEAKER:** Honourable members, on 19 March 2025 the member for Toowoomba North wrote to me alleging that the member for Bundaberg published a false or misleading account of proceedings of the House on his Facebook page on 19 March 2025. The matter relates to comments made by the member for Toowoomba North during debate of the Appropriation (Parliament) (Supplementary 2023-2024) Bill 2024 on 14 March 2025 where the member stated—

I hear the member for Bundaberg squawking. He might want a six-level hospital to be built, but if we had the \$9 billion we might be able to build him a six-storey hospital.

...

Unfortunately, that \$9 billion is not available because it has already been squandered.

The member for Bundaberg then posted on his Facebook page the following text with footage of the member for Toowoomba North's speech—

A senior LNP Assistant Minister has declared that the LNP can 'unfortunately' not deliver the new Bundaberg Hospital as promised by Labor.

The member for Toowoomba North argued that this was misleading because he did not state that 'unfortunately' the LNP would not deliver the new Bundaberg Hospital but that 'unfortunately' \$9 billion had been squandered. He went on to say during the speech that it was his belief that it was squandered by the former government.

I sought further information from the member for Bundaberg about the allegation made against him in accordance with standing order 269(5). The member for Bundaberg submitted that the post was highlighting exactly what the member for Toowoomba North had said in the House. Standing order 269(4) requires that, in considering whether such a matter should be referred to the Ethics Committee, the Speaker 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 wrote to the member for Bundaberg on 29 April 2025 advising that I was unconvinced of the reasoning and the material that he provided and was of the belief that the video should be removed and an apology proffered to the House by 1 May 2025. I note that no such apology was proffered and that the video remains on his Facebook page. In fact, rather than apologise, the member for Bundaberg made further comments on the same topic during Matters of Public Interest on 1 May 2025 which could be considered 'doubling down'.

The member for Toowoomba North subsequently wrote to me about those additional comments. Therefore, I will be referring the matter and the additional correspondence from the member for Toowoomba North for the further consideration of the House via the Ethics Committee. I would like to state that while I was not convinced in relation to the submissions made by the member for Bundaberg that does not mean that I have made a conclusion on whether a contempt has been committed. It is for the Ethics Committee, and the Ethics Committee alone, to make such a determination. As the matter is now before the Ethics Committee, standing order 271 applies and the matter should not be referred to in the proceedings of the House.

## PRIVILEGE

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



**Mr SPEAKER:** Honourable members, on 2 April 2025 the Minister for Health and Ambulance Services wrote to me alleging that the member for Miller deliberately misled the House on 1 April 2025. The matter relates to a statement made by the member during Matters of Public Interest. I consider the member for Miller 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. I have circulated a ruling on this matter. I seek leave to incorporate the ruling.

*Tabled paper:* Correspondence relating to the alleged contempt and misleading of the House by the member for Miller.

Leave granted.

#### SPEAKER'S RULING—ALLEGED DELIBERATELY MISLEADING THE HOUSE

On 2 April 2025, the Minister for Health and Ambulance Services (Minister) wrote to me alleging that the member for Miller deliberately misled the House on 1 April 2025.

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

Specifically, the member stated:

'...funding for the perinatal unit in Townsville, cut.'

The Minister argued that this statement was deliberately misleading because the LNP plans to deliver 30 perinatal beds, including 8 in Townsville, and this is not a reduction from what the Opposition had pledged when they were in Government. This information was contained in a government media statement on 14 February 2025.

I sought further information from the member for Miller about the allegation made against him, in accordance with Standing Order 269(5).

The member responded, noting that his language could have been clearer and that he intended to correct and update the record.

Standing Order 269(4) requires that, in considering whether such a matter should be referred to the Ethics Committee, 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 30 April 2025, the member for Miller made an apology in the House, and this is recorded at page 993 of the *Record of Proceedings*.

Accordingly, I consider the member for Miller 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.

## PRIVILEGE

### Speaker's Ruling, Same Question Rule



**Mr SPEAKER:** Honourable members, I have considered the application of the same question rule to the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025. In summary, the same question rule is enlivened by clauses 5 and 7 of the bill contrary to standing order 87. A motion to suspend standing order 87 would be required for these clauses to be considered. I seek leave to incorporate my full ruling circulated in my name.

Leave granted.

#### SPEAKER'S RULING—APPLICATION OF SAME QUESTION RULE—MAKING QUEENSLAND SAFER (ADULT CRIME, ADULT TIME) AMENDMENT BILL

I have considered the application of the same question rule to the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025.

The Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025 was introduced on 1 April 2024. It seeks to amend provisions of the Youth Justice Act 1992 that have already been considered by the House in this session of Parliament in the context of amendments contained in the Making Queensland Safer Bill 2024, which was passed by the House on 12 December 2024 and received assent on 13 December 2024.

Standing Order 87 provides the general rule of Westminster parliamentary practice that, once the House has resolved a matter in the affirmative or negative, the same question shall not again be proposed in the same session. Similarly, Standing Order 150 provides for the application of the same question rule in relation to amendments, new clauses or schedules of a Bill. As previous Speakers have noted, the matters do not have to be identical but merely the same in substance as the previous matter. In other words, it is a question of substance, not form (Speaker Reynolds, *Record of Proceedings*, 9 September 2008, p. 2559).

Clauses 5 and 7 of the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025 propose amendments to provisions of the Youth Justice Act 1992 that are substantially the same as amendments previously considered and agreed to by the House in the same session of parliament. This is contrary to Standing Order 87.

Accordingly, I rule that the same question rule is enlivened by clauses 5 and 7 of the Bill contrary to Standing Order 87. A motion to suspend Standing Order 87 would be required for these clauses to be considered.

## SPEAKER'S STATEMENT

## Visitors to Public Gallery



**Mr SPEAKER:** Honourable members, I wish to advise that we will be visited in the gallery this morning by students and teachers from Iona College in the electorate of Lytton; St Joseph's College, Gregory Terrace, in the electorate of McConnel; and St Stephen's Catholic Primary School in the electorate of Algester.

## PETITIONS

The Clerk presented the following paper and e-petition, sponsored and lodged by the Clerk—

### Western Downs, Wind Farms

765 petitioners, requesting the House to not proceed with the Marmadua Energy Park and the Tara Wind Farm development due to the region's bushfire history.

The Clerk presented the following e-petition, sponsored by the honourable member indicated—

### Burpengary East, Bus Services

**Mr Whiting**, from 294 petitioners, requesting the House to introduce new and improved bus routes to better serve the communities of Burpengary East and North Harbour.

The Clerk presented the following e-petitions, sponsored by the Clerk—

### Path to Treaty

1,670 petitioners, requesting the House to reestablish the Path to Treaty Act 2023 and the Truth-Telling and Healing Inquiry.

### Liquor Licensing Regulations

3,155 petitioners, requesting the House to update liquor licensing regulations to improve competition and end the era of protecting major retailers.

### Townsville, Road Upgrades

2,643 petitioners, requesting the House to prioritise critical upgrades along the Bruce Highway and Woolcock Street corridor for Townsville's northern suburbs.

Petitions received.

## TABLED PAPERS

### PAPERS TABLED DURING THE RECESS (SO 31)

The Clerk informed the House that the following papers, received during the recess, were tabled on the dates indicated—

2 May 2025—

- [440](#) Response from the Minister for Families, Seniors and Disability Services and Minister for Child Safety and the Prevention of Domestic and Family Violence (Hon. Camm), to an ePetition (4205-25) sponsored by the Clerk under the provisions of Standing Order 119(4), from 48,269 petitioners, requesting the House to immediately legislate a standalone offence of 'commit domestic and family violence' to make domestic family violence a crime every time
- [441](#) Response from the Minister for Health and Ambulance Services (Hon. Nicholls), to an ePetition (4209-25) sponsored by the Clerk under the provisions of Standing Order 119(4), from 650 petitioners, requesting the House to ensure a full and independent investigation is undertaken to address the operation of the Wide Bay Hospital and Health Service
- [442](#) Response from the Minister for Health and Ambulance Services (Hon. Nicholls), to an ePetition (4218-25) sponsored by the member for Mansfield, Ms McMillan, from 1,568 petitioners, requesting the House to reject any reduction in operating hours at the Mt Gravatt nurse-led clinic
- [443](#) Letter, dated 29 April 2025, from the Premier and Minister for Veterans, Hon. David Crisafulli, to the Speaker, Hon. Pat Weir, regarding approval for the Speaker's overseas travel
- [444](#) Governance, Energy and Finance Committee: Report No. 7, 58th Parliament—Subordinate legislation tabled between 29 November 2024 and 1 April 2025
- [445](#) Education, Arts and Communities Committee: Report No. 2, 58th Parliament—Education (General Provisions) Amendment Bill 2025
- [446](#) Child Death Review Board—Annual Report 2023-24, government response
- [447](#) Health, Environment and Innovation Committee: Report No. 4, 58th Parliament—Health Legislation Amendment Bill 2025
- [448](#) Health, Environment and Innovation Committee: Report No. 5, 58th Parliament—Nature Conservation and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2025

6 May 2025—



[449](#) Queensland Government: Fifth Progress Report titled 'Delivery of Recommendations: Commission of Inquiry into Forensic DNA Testing in Queensland', September 2024

7 May 2025—

[450](#) State Development, Infrastructure and Works Committee: Report No. 7, 58th Parliament—Subordinate legislation tabled between 19 February 2025 and 12 March 2025

[451](#) Ethics Committee: Report No. 234, 58th Parliament—Report on a Right of Reply No. 47

[452](#) Queensland Independent Remuneration Tribunal—Remuneration Determination: 2023-24 Review of Allowances—Determination 35/2025, 7 May 2025

8 May 2025—

[453](#) Auditor-General Report 14: 2024-25—Managing Minjerribah Futures funding

[454](#) Primary Industries and Resources Committee: Report No. 4, 58th Parliament—Subordinate legislation tabled on 12 March 2025

9 May 2025—

[455](#) University of Queensland—Annual Report 2024: Erratum

13 May 2025—

[456](#) Letter, dated 12 May 2025, from the member for Murrumbidgee and Leader of the Opposition, Hon. Steven Miles, to the Speaker, Hon. Patrick Weir, regarding the resolution to disendorse the member for Stafford, Mr James Sullivan, from the Australian Labor Party (Queensland)

16 May 2025—

[457](#) Justice, Integrity and Community Safety Committee: Report No. 8, 58th Parliament—Subordinate legislation tabled between 21 December 2024 and 12 March 2025

[458](#) Justice, Integrity and Community Safety Committee: Report No. 9, 58th Parliament—Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025

[459](#) Statutes Amendment (National Energy Laws) (Data Access) Act 2025 which received Royal Assent on 27 February 2025

[460](#) National Electricity (South Australia) Act 1996: National Electricity (South Australia) (Data Access) Amendment Regulations 2025, No. 11

19 May 2025—

[461](#) Survey and Mapping Infrastructure Act 2003: Cadastral Survey Requirements (Version 8.02)

#### TABLING OF DOCUMENTS (SO 32)

#### STATUTORY INSTRUMENTS

The following statutory instruments were tabled by the Clerk—

##### Acts Interpretation Act 1954:

Acts Interpretation (Fee Unit) Amendment Regulation 2025, No. 27

Acts Interpretation (Fee Unit) Amendment Regulation 2025, No. 27, explanatory notes

Acts Interpretation (Fee Unit) Amendment Regulation 2025, No. 27, human rights certificate

##### Superannuation (State Public Sector) Act 1990:

Superannuation (State Public Sector) (Parental Leave) and Other Legislation Amendment Regulation 2025, No. 28

Superannuation (State Public Sector) (Parental Leave) and Other Legislation Amendment Regulation 2025, No. 28, explanatory notes

Superannuation (State Public Sector) (Parental Leave) and Other Legislation Amendment Regulation 2025, No. 28, human rights certificate

##### Pharmacy Business Ownership Act 2024:

Proclamation commencing certain provisions, No. 29

Proclamation commencing certain provisions, No. 29, explanatory notes

Proclamation commencing certain provisions, No. 29, human rights certificate

##### Penalties and Sentences Act 1992:

Penalties and Sentences (Penalty Unit Value) Amendment Regulation 2025, No. 30

Penalties and Sentences (Penalty Unit Value) Amendment Regulation 2025, No. 30, explanatory notes

Penalties and Sentences (Penalty Unit Value) Amendment Regulation 2025, No. 30, human rights certificate

##### Manufactured Homes (Residential Parks) Amendment Act 2024:

Manufactured Homes (Residential Parks) Amendment (Postponement) Regulation 2025, No. 31

Manufactured Homes (Residential Parks) Amendment (Postponement) Regulation 2025, No. 31, explanatory notes

Manufactured Homes (Residential Parks) Amendment (Postponement) Regulation 2025, No. 31, human rights certificate

Legal Profession Act 2007:

Legal Profession (Barristers Rules) Notice 2025, No. 32

Legal Profession (Barristers Rules) Notice 2025, No. 32, explanatory notes

Legal Profession (Barristers Rules) Notice 2025, No. 32, human rights certificate

#### MINISTERIAL PAPERS

The following ministerial papers were tabled by the Clerk—

Deputy Premier, Minister for State Development, Infrastructure and Planning and Minister for Industrial Relations (Hon. Bleijie)—

Department of State Development, Infrastructure and Planning: Report to the Legislative Assembly: Directions under section 95 of the Planning Act 2016—Three undecided wind farm applications

Department of State Development, Infrastructure and Planning: Report to the Legislative Assembly: Directions under section 95 of the Planning Act 2016—Two undecided wind farm applications

## MOTION

### Citizen's Right of Reply



**Dr ROWAN** (Moggill—LNP) (Leader of the House) (9.40 am): I move—

1. That the House notes report No. 234 of the Ethics Committee tabled on 7 May 2025 and the recommendation of the committee that a right of reply be incorporated into the *Record of Proceedings* and published by the Legislative Assembly as an attachment to the former Community Support and Services Committee's public hearing transcript dated 31 July 2024, and
2. That the House adopt the committee's recommendation and incorporate the right of reply into the *Record of Proceedings* and publish the reply to the former Community Support and Services Committee's public hearing transcript of 31 July 2024.

Question put—That the motion be agreed to.

Motion agreed to.

#### RESPONSE BY MS RENITA GARARD TO STATEMENTS MADE BY MR ANDREW HOPPER ON 31 JULY 2024

On 31 July 2024, during the Community Support and Services Committee's Estimates Hearing, the then Director-General of the Department of Tourism and Sport and now Director-General of the Department of Sport, Racing and Olympic and Paralympic Games, Mr Andrew Hopper, referred to me in a way that I was readily identifiable as the "... then chair of the advisory board".

Mr Hopper was being questioned during the hearing by Hon Tim Mander MP about the changes to both the governance structure of the Queensland Academy of Sport (QAS) and the employment status of the then QAS CEO. Mr Hopper was asked by Mr Mander ... "Director-General, what consultation occurred with the advisory board about those changes?". Mr Hopper replied ... "I had a conversation with the then chair of the advisory board."

I was not consulted at all prior to the decision being made by Mr Hopper on the changes to the governance structure of the QAS, nor was I consulted on the decision made by Mr Hopper relevant to the employment status of the then QAS CEO. Mr Hopper informed me of the changes following his decisions having already been made and after the decisions had been actioned by him.

## MINISTERIAL STATEMENTS

### Commission of Inquiry into the Child Safety System



**Hon. DF CRISAFULLI** (Broadwater—LNP) (Premier and Minister for Veterans) (9.40 am): Our government is committed to restoring safety in our communities. Queenslanders should feel safe in their homes; they should be safe in their communities. That responsibility extends to our most vulnerable Queenslanders, our children. Our child safety system is meant to protect kids. Under Labor our child safety system was neglected. The needs of young people with traumatic and complex backgrounds were not met. Frontline staff were not properly supported and resourced. Some for-profit organisation have been allowed to wield all the power in a billion-dollar industry. Kids have been let down. Hardworking, caring people who work in this industry have been let down.


Across the last six months we have uncovered long-term, systemic failures in child safety. As part of our 100-day plan we have already opened an inquiry into Labor's failures of the blue card child protection system, but we have only scratched the surface. That is why our government is announcing a commission of inquiry into the child safety system. It is an historic step, but one that we owe to these

vulnerable children. We must have this commission of inquiry if we are serious about the safety of Queensland children and our communities. Paul Anastassiou KC, a former Federal Court judge, will lead the inquiry and make recommendations to reshape and repair our state's child safety system. It will also examine the foster and kinship carer system, as well as adoption practices in Queensland.

The *Children in Care Census 2024* shows the depths of this devastation. There were 650 children living in residential care in December 2015. By December 2024 that number had grown to 2,212, including 116 children aged five and under living in these homes. The census found that children who were entering the out-of-home care system had suffered significant trauma. Our government is determined to create generational change and reform the broken system.

This inquiry is as much about keeping the community safe as it is about giving kids hope. There is no coincidence that we have a youth crime crisis at the same time we have a broken child safety system. We are determined to take action on both. One third of the state's most serious young criminals are living in Queensland's out-of-home care system. Too many kids are falling into a life of crime while they are in out-of-home care. We need to break that cycle, stop kids turning to crime and get them on the right track. To do that it is critical we reform the state's broken child safety system. Our child safety system will never be perfect, but it can be so much better than what it is today. We will take the steps others have been afraid to take because it is the right thing to do.


### Commission of Inquiry into the Child Safety System

 **Hon. AJ CAMM** (Whitsunday—LNP) (Minister for Families, Seniors and Disability Services and Minister for Child Safety and the Prevention of Domestic and Family Violence) (9.44 am): On Sunday the Crisafulli government announced a commission of inquiry into the child safety system. In the six months since being appointed the minister I have uncovered critical systemic failures in the system. That is why we must take this extraordinary step. As the Premier outlined, anyone who reads the 2024 census survey of over 3,000 children in the out-of-home care system cannot in good conscience sit idly by and do nothing. That is why we have chosen to act. A more than billion dollar industry has been created where for-profit organisations are profiting on the back of vulnerable children.

We know that children who live in residential care have significantly higher needs. The reliance on individual placement support, which was intended as short-term bridging accommodation in response to growing demand, became more of a choice than the stable outsourced service delivery or, most importantly, foster care, kinship care and foster-based care. We have seen an increase in individual placement support from a 2014-15 budget where the spend was \$82 million to this year where it is a cost of \$766 million. That is an average of \$300,000 per child. What we have heard from those children is self-harming, attempts on life, sexual assault, exploitation and neglect. The trauma created by the former government and multiple ministers who were negligent in their responsibilities and their accountability to oversee the system is why we must, for the sake of these children and a future generation of children entering the care system, uncover the systemic failings.

The commission of inquiry will focus on key elements, including reforming the residential care system—not a road map to nowhere; repairing the broken system, including the effectiveness of my department, the resourcing allocation to child safety officers and the frontline service; safer children, both those with dual-care orders and the correlation between the residential care system, the child safety system and the youth justice system; safer communities by evaluating the effectiveness of the department as the corporate parent in line with community expectations—and I look forward to any recommendations the commission has in legislative reform of both the Adoption Act and the Child Safety Act; and delivery failures, around policy as well as ministerial accountability, of the past decade. The stark findings of the census have highlighted that we need to do this because it is our most vulnerable children who are at the heart of this inquiry. They deserve better and a Crisafulli government will ensure that reform is carried out as the commission recommends as part of its interim report and findings.

### Commission of Inquiry into the Child Safety System

 **Hon. LJ GERBER** (Currumbin—LNP) (Minister for Youth Justice and Victim Support and Minister for Corrective Services) (9.48 am): This week the Crisafulli government announced an historic commission of inquiry into Queensland's child safety system. The public deserves to know how previous governments failed the most vulnerable children in our state so catastrophically and fostered a generation of young criminals. Let me be clear: Labor's decade of neglect created a broken system that did not just fail children, it fed a cycle of crime, of despair and of trauma. They turned the child protection system into a pipeline into the youth justice system. This is Labor's legacy: as at September 2024 nearly

one-third of Queensland's most serious repeat young offenders were in the care of the state. That is a damning indictment: 222 youth offenders on supervised orders were wards of the state—kids who should have been protected not abandoned. Labor presided over this shameful system for a decade.

It gets worse: the *Children in Care Census 2024* reveals a generation of deeply harmed children caught in the revolving door between Child Safety and youth justice. Of children in care who were under youth justice orders, 40 per cent have attempted suicide, 56 per cent have self-harmed, 72 per cent have been excluded or suspended from school, 70 per cent have a diagnosed or suspected disability and nearly 70 per cent have been in care for more than five years.

These are not just statistics. They are flashing red warning signs of a system in collapse, ignored by those opposite for a decade. Labor built a system that warehoused traumatised kids, failed to support them and then watched when they spiralled into crime. They did nothing while vulnerable children bounced between residential care, police cells and courtrooms. Their so-called road map for residential care was a dead end—a conveyor belt producing the next generation of repeat young offenders. Labor refused to act. They refused to investigate. They refused to be accountable.

The Crisafulli government will not stand by while this continues. That is why we have established a commission of inquiry to expose the rot left behind and finally hold this system to account. The commission of inquiry will examine how children subject to both child protection and youth justice orders were failed by the very government meant to protect them. It will scrutinise policies, practices and decisions that allowed this cycle of crime to take hold. The Crisafulli government is committed to breaking this cycle. We are investing in early intervention and proper support so that kids can have a chance at a better future, not a criminal record. We are cleaning up Labor's mess. We have a plan to fix the child safety system. We have a plan to end Labor's youth crime crisis. Through this inquiry, we will shine a light on the failures of the past and chart a better path forward for Queensland's most vulnerable children.

### Sentencing Practices, Legislation



**Hon. DK FRECKLINGTON** (Nanango—LNP) (Attorney-General and Minister for Justice and Minister for Integrity) (9.51 am): This week's announcement of a commission of inquiry is a significant step in fixing our broken child safety system. Commissions of inquiry rightfully have exceptional powers to compel information from witnesses. It is time these issues were elevated and a serious approach taken to fixing them. As we have heard from the Minister for Youth Justice, the inquiry will look at how Labor's broken child safety system fuelled the youth crime crisis. Unlike those opposite, we are taking decisive action to ensure we protect our children and not neglect them.

Talking of victims, today I am pleased to announce the Crisafulli government will be introducing a bill aimed at strengthening sentencing outcomes for sexual offences and better reflect serious harm caused to victims. It responds to key recommendations from a recent Queensland Sentencing Advisory Council review of sentencing practices for rape and sexual assault. The council finalised their report at the end of last year and it was published in February. Earlier this year, I met with the QSAC chair, the Hon. Ann Lyons AM, to discuss the report and its recommendations. Members should make no mistake: these are substantial reforms.

The proposed bill and amendments to the Penalties and Sentences Act 1992 will require the court to treat the fact that an offence of rape or sexual assault was committed in relation to a child as an aggravating factor in sentencing. The bill will also amend the act to include the recognition of harm done to victims for sentencing purposes and we will get it right. More will be said on that afterwards. Further, the bill will implement recommendations relating to the need to qualify the treatment of good character evidence in sentencing offenders convicted of sexual offences. We will also have more to say about that and how those opposite got that wrong.

**An opposition member:** Always rushing.

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** We will talk about rushing.

**Honourable members** interjected.


**Mr SPEAKER:** I am sorry, Attorney-General. I will have no cross-chamber quarrelling during ministerial statements.

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** Thank you for your protection, Mr Speaker. The bill will enact a recommendation to ensure the court does not draw any inference about whether the offending caused little or no harm to a victim from the fact that a victim impact statement was not provided or given to the court. The bill that I will introduce later this morning also includes important amendments to ensure the

blue card system reforms that will commence later this year operate as intended as well as some other minor amendments—for example, to offences relating to crime at sea and impersonating a government official.

This is a landmark piece of legislation that will have a significant impact on the way courts sentence sexual offenders. It is important we get it right. That is why the bill will undergo the appropriate level of scrutiny it deserves through the committee process. Yet again, the Crisafulli government is getting on with its commitment to delivering a justice system that is efficient, that is fair, that prioritises the rights of victims and that makes our communities safer.

### Child Protection

 **Hon. DG PURDIE** (Ninderry—LNP) (Minister for Police and Emergency Services) (9.56 am): Labor has failed our most vulnerable—our children—and in doing that they have failed all Queenslanders. Those opposite created the youth crime crisis and then denied it existed. They oversaw the declining child safety system and did nothing to fix it. As the Premier articulated earlier, in December 2015 there were 650 children living in residential care and almost a decade later that number has exploded to more than 2,200, including 116 children aged five and under. They are young Queenslanders who do not have a parent or guardian willing or able to care for them. Labor has failed them.

Overwhelmingly, we see children in care end up in the youth justice system. The latest data shows that in Queensland there are 388 serious repeat offenders aged between 10 and 17 years, with 111 of those subjected to a child protection order and living in out-of-home care. The statistics show serious repeat offenders are responsible for the majority of youth crime. Those serious repeat offenders are the product of Labor's weak laws and a crumbling child safety system. This has not happened overnight. The child safety system in Queensland is in crisis.


In my maiden speech I said—

We all think that victims should be our priority over criminals. We all think that where children are not being afforded love and protection from their own families they should be protected by the state, but we need to think harder, do better at developing and implementing policies that achieve those undisputed ideals.

The Crisafulli government is committed to doing better, protecting our children and breaking the cycle of crime. I thank the minister for her tireless work uncovering critical system failures leading to the commission of inquiry into the child safety system.

The front page of this morning's paper reveals the depth of the problem that the state now faces. While Labor devoted its energies to repealing our breach of bail provisions and rejecting our attempts to reintroduce them, it was helping create a generation of untouchables—repeat offenders for whom there were no consequences for actions. We are committed to breaking the cycle of crime that Labor fostered. I am amazed that ministers of the former government who remain in this House and who had responsibility for the welfare of children such as member for Waterford and the member for Bulimba sat idly by while our children and Queenslanders suffered. That approach is completely contrary to what this government believes. Reform is vital and we have demonstrated that we are prepared to change laws and processes to ensure community safety and the protection of our most vulnerable Queenslanders remain our top priorities.

### Olympic and Paralympic Games, Delivery

 **Hon. JP BLEIJIE** (Kawana—LNP) (Deputy Premier, Minister for State Development, Infrastructure and Planning and Minister for Industrial Relations) (9.58 am): I begin by acknowledging Owen Callinan, the youth member for Kawana, who is joining us today. He is doing a week of work experience in my office. He is going to learn a lot from me this week.

**Honourable members** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Order! We will have some order!

**Mr BLEIJIE:** He does not know what he has got himself into. The Crisafulli LNP government is delivering a fresh start for Queensland, including the 2032 games. Our government's 2032 Delivery Plan outlines a clear vision for all of Queensland, including regional, rural and remote Queensland, with legacy venues and benefits across every corner of this great state. The Premier, the Minister for Sport and I are delighted to be hosting the International Olympic Committee this week in the state's capital, and we commenced with a welcome reception last night at Government House.

After more than 1,200 days of Labor chaos and crisis, Queenslanders finally have a plan that they can be proud of. This delivery plan has been strongly backed not only by all Queenslanders but also by the IOC, with the IOC President stating this week that they are—

... impressed with the speed and the commitment the newly elected government ... undertook for this effort, and has presented such a well thought out master plan.

The Crisafulli government's 2032 Delivery Plan means that all regions of Queensland will be delivered generational infrastructure, a feature which will be unique to our great state. This will truly be a Queensland games.

As the House would be aware, Labor squandered 1,200 days when they were in government, failing to turn a sod or offer a concrete plan or vision for what our state would deliver in 2032 and beyond. Given the time constraints on the Olympic and Paralympic infrastructure, our LNP government have had to make some tough decisions so we can not only deliver the games on time but also put on a world-class embarrassment that Queenslanders can be proud of—

**Opposition members** interjected.

**Mr BLEIJIE:** We will not be the embarrassment we would have been with Labor's failed plans. Queenslanders will be proud of the games that will be delivered in 2032, and they will be travelling on the new roads and catching the new rail built by the LNP government, not the former Labor government. One cannot get from city to city on a glossy brochure. Under their plan, it was just a magic carpet. That is all they had—a magic carpet and a glossy brochure. Real roads, real rail and the real Wave will be delivered by this LNP government.

Labor's failed former proposal for a Roma Street arena saw the project blow out by \$500 million and was one further example of former minister Grace riding roughshod over her local community. Who could forget the first announcement—

**Ms GRACE:** Mr Speaker, I rise to a point of order. That is incorrect. I take offence, and I ask that it be withdrawn. Roughshodding!

**Mr SPEAKER:** The member has taken offence. I ask you to withdraw, Deputy Premier.

**Mr BLEIJIE:** I withdraw. One of the decisions we made was not to proceed with the \$2.5 billion Roma Street arena. Even with the cost blowouts and the location changing, the former Labor government kept backing their bad plan. Instead, our government intends to repurpose the old Goprint site at Woolloongabba and collaborate with the private sector to deliver a world-class arena by 2032.


Today, I am pleased to announce we are moving forward with the formal market engagement for the new Gabba entertainment and housing precinct. Today it starts. We have paved the way for a permanent legacy post the games. This precinct is a significant opportunity for our state. The combined Goprint and Gabba stadium sites are greater than nine hectares and located within two kilometres of the CBD. It is the LNP government who have saved East Brisbane State School. Aligned with the Queensland government's commitment to delivering lasting infrastructure and strengthening communities, the precinct will unlock: tourism opportunities through major events, sports and experiences; new investment in hospitality, retail and residential development; increased housing and urban activation in one of Australia's fastest growing cities; and access and connectivity to the Cross River Rail line and South East Busway.

Our government strongly believe in partnering with the private sector to find the housing and community solutions our state needs. Since the 2032 Delivery Plan was handed down, the interest from the private sector in building the arena in Brisbane has been exciting. That is why we are hitting the ground running, opening the process today to hear from the private sector about their vision and what they can do in that area. We are inviting industry to lead the reimagining of Woolloongabba, with the precinct having the potential to be a great place for people to live, to have a great night out with friends or family or to see a show in a new arena.

Industry are able to register their interest today at [www.statedevelopment.qld.gov.au/gabba-entertainment-precinct](http://www.statedevelopment.qld.gov.au/gabba-entertainment-precinct) and receive updates about the market engagement process. This is their opportunity to help deliver a lasting legacy project that will help shape our state's future for decades to come. As the IOC president has stated about the Crisafulli government's delivery plan—

We have something concrete now at the right time—seven years before—so now full speed ahead.

### **Train Manufacturing Program**

 **Hon. DR LAST** (Burdekin—LNP) (Minister for Natural Resources and Mines, Minister for Manufacturing and Minister for Regional and Rural Development) (10.05 am): We put Queenslanders and Queensland jobs first. Let me make this crystal clear: the Crisafulli government is committed to the Queensland Train Manufacturing Program. Those opposite have ducked and dived and knitted together a string of outright lies to mislead the good people of Maryborough, and Queenslanders more broadly, and I am here to set the record straight. Along with the member for Maryborough, who we can all agree is a fierce advocate for the Maryborough region—

**Mr SPEAKER:** Member, did you use unparliamentary language?

**Mr LAST:** No.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Continue. We will check later on.

**Honourable members** interjected.

**Mr LAST:** I withdraw. I visited the purpose-built Queensland train manufacturing facility at Torbanlea last week—for the second time, I might add—and saw for myself the ambition of this project and the work underway. Let me give you some numbers that the Crisafulli government, and especially our local member for Maryborough, can be proud of. Currently, there are 330 construction workers on site, of which 140 are local. Earthworks are continuing. The building's steel frame and roof installation are now complete and wall cladding is underway.

We are getting on with the job. These numbers are only going in one direction, and that is up: 1,300, the total number of construction jobs that will be created to get the Queensland Train Manufacturing Program up and running; 200, the number of blue-collar jobs that will ramp up over a 44-week period to support the manufacture of our new 65 trains—this includes 82 mechanical tradies, 58 fabrication workers, 31 sparkies as well as painters, trade assistants and test technicians; 100, the number of white-collar jobs required to deliver this project—engineers, designers, project managers and admin staff; and 148, the number of local contractors and businesses that will be providing goods and services to keep this project on track. These are jobs and opportunities for local people: jobs for apprentices, jobs for trainees, jobs for women and jobs for First Nations people. The current workforce also includes 34 apprentices and four trainees.

These trains are being built in Queensland, and Queenslanders have been central to their design. The QTMP accessibility project working group, which includes representatives of Queensland's disability sector, has played a key role in ensuring these trains will be compliant, functional and accessible for all passengers. Indeed, all 65 six-car QTMP trains will exceed the disability standards for accessible public transport, making them the most accessible trains in Queensland when they come into service.


Last week, members of the QTMP accessibility project working group visited the life-size, high-fidelity mock-up of the train in Geebung, a mock-up that was built by Maryborough based Indigenous owned business Allweld. They saw for themselves the benefit these trains will have for all passengers, including parents with prams, people travelling with bikes and e-scooters and people with luggage.

Local jobs and accessible trains: that is the commitment of this government. Unlike those opposite who ran this project off the rails, QTMP is back on track, and we are proud of the jobs we are delivering to the Maryborough community.

**Opposition members** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Order! We will have order before I call the next speaker.

### Energy Roadmap

 **Hon. DC JANETZKI** (Toowoomba South—LNP) (Treasurer, Minister for Energy and Minister for Home Ownership) (10.09 am): Consultation is integral to the way the Crisafulli government operates. I am pleased to inform the House that the second energy round table was recently held, bringing together key stakeholders to help inform our five-year Energy Roadmap. The variety of attendees speaks volumes about the Crisafulli government's approach to Queensland's energy mix. From renewables to gas to coal generation—sector leaders, investors, consumer groups and peak bodies—the representatives at the energy round table covered a broad spectrum of energy generation. They complement the array of attendees from across the sector at our first energy round table and will be built upon with future round tables to help frame our five-year Energy Roadmap. It will deliver affordable, reliable and sustainable power for Queenslanders. It will be pragmatic, achievable and realistic, grounded in economics and engineering, not ideology.

I can also inform the House that yesterday I received an update from CS Energy advising that the ongoing works on the Callide C3 unit are now forecast to be completed by Monday, 2 June—three days after initially forecast. CS Energy identified further work was necessary on the C3 unit due to pre-existing cracking and deterioration. Callide B2 is also offline for planned maintenance and is due to return to service on 14 June. Unlike Labor, who used government owned corporations as a piggy bank, we are properly funding maintenance of our government owned power generators through our Electricity Maintenance Guarantee.

It is crucial that our energy mix aligns with the priorities of Queensland families and businesses. It must encourage investment from the private sector to support the energy shift that is underway and focus on what the state government can practically and plausibly deliver. I also note that private operator Origin Energy has launched its own retail electricity offer in parts of regional Queensland, bringing competition to areas like Mackay, Rockhampton, Townsville, Cairns and Toowoomba. It will give households outside the south-east corner genuine choice in electricity providers. We welcome competition that puts downward pressure on power bills for Queensland families and businesses. Origin's entry into the regional market is a genuine private sector-led initiative that demonstrates that under our government Queensland is open for business and investment. That is at the heart of our Energy Roadmap.

### Emergency Management Levy



**Hon. A LEAHY** (Warrego—LNP) (Minister for Local Government and Water and Minister for Fire, Disaster Recovery and Volunteers) (10.12 am): We all know the ALP is a party of higher taxes. Whether it is slugging families with new tax hikes or targeting small businesses with new levies—

**Mr Power** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Member for Logan.

**Opposition members** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Order! We will have order before we go any further. Member for Logan, you are sailing very close to the wind with that interjection.

**Ms LEAHY:** Whether it is slugging families with new tax hikes or targeting small businesses with new levies, the ALP's answer to every problem is to reach deeper into Queenslanders' pockets. Under Labor, Queenslanders do not get rewarded for their hard work; they get taxed for it. Those opposite were addicted to spending and are blind to the damage it did to Queensland's future.

In stark contrast, the Crisafulli government has implemented real measures to tackle Labor's cost-of-living crisis. We have actually axed two taxes in this parliament. Recently, the Queensland Fire Department provided more than 30,000 Queensland households with advice about changes to the emergency management levy. These were changes issued in direct response to Labor's actions while in government. Labor's cash grab was to jack up the emergency management levy, hitting Queenslanders with yet another hidden tax hike after the election—a hidden tax to fund new fire stations that they could not afford because they could not manage the budget.

They will dress it up as funding for services, but let's be clear: Labor was prepared to burn through the pockets of hardworking Queenslanders for services they could not deliver. The Crisafulli LNP government will not stand for it. This week the Crisafulli LNP government has put a stop to another Labor tax increase. Letters will be in the mailboxes of those more than 30,000 households this week, advising them that the Crisafulli LNP government does not and will not support Labor's hidden tax.

To be clear, the increases proposed under Labor will not occur. There will be no changes to those Queenslanders' emergency management levy increases beyond government indexation. The Crisafulli government is here to respect your money, not waste it.

**Opposition members** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Order!

**Opposition members** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** I have just called for order.


**Ms LEAHY:** While Labor punishes Queensland families with backdoor tax hikes, the LNP stands for respect, responsibility and real relief for Queenslanders. Under the Crisafulli LNP government, every dollar will be respected and every decision will be made for the benefit of Queenslanders.

**Opposition members** interjected.



**Mr SPEAKER:** I will have silence before we go to the next speaker.

### **Warrego Highway, Road Infrastructure; Road Safety**

 **Hon. BA MICKELBERG** (Buderim—LNP) (Minister for Transport and Main Roads) (10.14 am): Early Friday morning the residents of North Tivoli and Chuwar were awoken to an almighty bang as an oversized load hit the Mount Crosby Road bridge over the Warrego Highway. While it is fortunate that we did not have any injuries or fatalities, the incident did cause significant damage both to the bridge and to the pavement of the Warrego Highway. This required the full closure of the Warrego Highway westbound, as well as the Mount Crosby Road at the site of the incident.

I want to take this moment to acknowledge the efforts of all involved in the work done to date to reopen roads. The response required the coordination and cooperation of many agencies including the Queensland police, RoadTek, TMR contractors and our team of Transport and Main Roads engineers. Due to the hard work of all involved, the Warrego Highway westbound reopened at 6.15 pm on Sunday—ready for the Monday morning peak hour.

I am pleased to advise that one of the northbound lanes of the bridge was also reopened this morning at around 4.30 am. It was initially anticipated that this milestone would not be reached until the end of the week, so I thank all involved in the early delivery. The damage, however, is extensive, and careful consideration of repair options will need to be completed. I want to reassure local residents and other road users that we are working as quickly as possible, but I do ask for their patience as that work is completed.

I would also like to take this opportunity to acknowledge that last week was National Road Safety Week. Tragically, as of Sunday, 100 lives have been lost on Queensland roads this year. That is a statistic that we most certainly do not want to have here in Queensland. Every single life lost on our roads tears apart a family and a community. Each road fatality has an impact across Queensland and leaves lifelong devastation. It is something we must stop.


The Crisafulli government is getting on with the job of making our roads safer. Every Queenslanders must reflect on our driving habits and the importance of driving safely on the road. It is a chance for us all to ensure that each journey is a safe one and that we make it home. We need all drivers to take accountability and to make safe decisions on our roads. Let's work together to make our roads a safer place for everyone. The Crisafulli government's focus remains on ending Labor's decade of inaction and on ensuring the safety of all road users, maintaining vital freight movements and ensuring our local commuters can get to their destinations at the end of a long work day.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Before we start question time, it has come to my attention that we have students from Somerville House in the electorate of South Brisbane in the gallery.

### **QUESTIONS WITHOUT NOTICE**

**Mr SPEAKER:** Question time will conclude at 11.17 am.

### **Crisafulli LNP Government, Respect at Work Laws**

 **Mr MILES** (10.17 am): My question is to the Premier. Brittany Higgins has told the *Courier-Mail* that the Crisafulli government is even worse than the Morrison government at keeping women safe from sexual harassment. Will the Premier now reverse his decision to indefinitely delay respect at work laws?

**Mr CRISAFULLI:** I thank the honourable Leader of the Opposition for his question. I also thank Ms Higgins for speaking out on an issue that is important to all of us in this House, and that is that sexual harassment has no place in workplaces anywhere at any time. It must always be called out. It is important for us to do that on behalf of everyone who has suffered in that regard.

I want to discuss the legislation the Leader of the Opposition speaks about and refer to the way the honourable Attorney has conducted herself. We are talking about legislation that was rushed. We are talking about legislation that was condemned by a multitude of sources.

**Opposition members** interjected.

**Mr CRISAFULLI:** In a calm and methodical way—whilst those opposite are yelling—I want to list some of those who have spoken out about the legislation: the union movement has spoken out about the legislation; the Public Service has spoken out about the legislation; the education sector has spoken out about the legislation; and I reflect on the fact that those in the Islamic faith as well as the Christian education system have both come to the same conclusion about the legislation. There are unintended

consequences with rushed legislation, including people having access to weapons who should not have access to weapons. There are unintended consequences when you rush things looking for a political outcome rather than an outcome for people. I do want to thank the Attorney for the way she has conducted herself in this regard.

I also want to talk about the responsibility we in this place have to protect the people who come to work in this place. In recent weeks we have heard comments from some people which I do not think reflect that. We have seen some people refuse to listen to colleagues who have spoken about the way they feel in the workplace. There has been a lack of leadership from people in that regard. There was a motion moved in this place reflecting on that, and we had a conga line of those lining up to defend somebody despite the fact that those in the caucus had spoken out about the way they were feeling. It has to be about respect across all workplaces.

If you are asking whether or not Ms Higgins should speak about those things, of course she should. We should listen to it, but we all have a responsibility to make sure that every workplace is safe. Those who stonewall under the guise of someone being a good bloke is not quite the way they should conduct themselves.

*(Time expired)*

### **Women and Girls, Workplace Safety**

**Ms FENTIMAN:** My question is to the Minister for Youth. Forty-seven per cent of people aged 15 to 17 have experienced workplace sexual harassment. Like Brittany Higgins, is the minister advocating on behalf of young Queensland women and girls for better sexual harassment protections to be implemented this year as was planned?

**Mr O'CONNOR:** I echo the Premier's acknowledgment of Brittany's commentary. We absolutely do welcome that. It is right that she should be raising that after what she experienced. I also echo the Premier's comments on sexual harassment in the workplace or in any place in our state. It absolutely has no place.

Further to the Premier's points around the former government's legislation, this pause will not remove protections for Queensland women currently in the workplace. The respect at work act the former government rushed through in their dying days introduced two new prohibitions which mirrored similar prohibitions in Commonwealth legislation in the Sex Discrimination Act. These relate to harassment on the basis of sex and subjecting a person to a hostile work environment on the basis of sex. The Commonwealth Sex Discrimination Act also includes a positive duty on employers to take reasonable and proportionate measures in the area of work to eliminate, as far as possible, discrimination on the ground of sex, sexual harassment, harassment on the ground of sex, subjecting a person to a hostile work environment on the ground of sex, and victimisation. Those Commonwealth prohibitions and the positive duty continue to apply to duty holders across the nation, which includes employers in Queensland.

The Attorney has previously run through the concerns raised with her by the Department of Justice in relation to provisions which would thereby make irrelevant criminal records not able to be considered by decision-makers. The Attorney is right to consider further consultation on that, so those protections remain.

One protection the government would never provide is the protection racket we have seen for the member for Stafford. We would never treat the women in our party room the way those opposite have treated women in their caucus, the workplace. We absolutely would not do that. We have been right to call that out repeatedly over—

**Mr SULLIVAN:** Mr Speaker, I rise to a point of order. That is absolutely disgraceful and inaccurate. I take personal offence and I ask that it be withdrawn. That is totally inaccurate—

**Mr SPEAKER:** That is enough; you have made your point of order. Minister, the member has taken personal offence and asks that you withdraw.

**Mr O'CONNOR:** I withdraw. That was based on commentary provided to the media by members opposite; that is, members of the Labor Party provided commentary about their former colleague, the member for Stafford, to the media.

**Mr SULLIVAN:** Mr Speaker, I rise to a point of order. That is not a withdrawal. Repeating himself is not a withdrawal. I ask that he withdraw.

**Mr SPEAKER:** The member has taken personal offence, Minister, so I ask you to withdraw and move on.

**Mr O'CONNOR:** I withdraw. The member asked about young Queenslanders. We know that young women in particular are disproportionately victims of sexual assault. We have seen how the Attorney is making great progress with the DNA debacle, which was one of the most disgraceful episodes in the history of the justice system in this state. The Attorney is progressing with changes in that system to help more young women who are, or who will be, victims of sexual assault.

### Government Accountability

**Mrs STOKER:** My question is to the Premier and Minister for Veterans. Can the Premier outline the importance of leading with accountability in government and is he aware of any alternative approaches?

**Mr CRISAFULLI:** I thank the honourable member for the question. I want to touch on the issue of accountability particularly, but because the question has been asked by the honourable member I want to reflect on what it means to the child safety system. The honourable member has a really keen interest in that, and I thank her for the way we have been engaging. I met with the honourable member about that just last week. It is clear to me that, as a state, we owe it to the most vulnerable to do so much better than what we have to date. That goes right across the child safety system. It is about accountability: making sure that the kids who go into the care of the state are given an opportunity and that foster carers are supported and given an opportunity. The adoption process in this state seems to have ground to a halt. The member has a keen interest in all of those things and I am genuinely thankful for that.

The question also asked about leadership. I am going to point to the leadership of the minister in this regard and the way she has conducted herself in the short period of time she has been Minister for Child Safety. I will compare and contrast that with a vast array of others I have seen over a long, long period of time. When you look at the child safety census, the Minister for Victim Support outlined some of those percentages. I will run through a few of them: 11 per cent of those kids had been sexually abused; 46 per cent had been physically abused; 83 per cent had suffered emotional abuse; 88 per cent had been neglected; and 68 per cent had been exposed to domestic violence. I will provide another figure that shows just how dire those numbers are. In the last decade there has been a nearly 400 increase in the number of kids in that system—400 per cent! How on earth did it get here? How did it take a new minister to finally put the spotlight on a system that has been crying out for help and no-one listened? No-one listened! The minister has taken action.

**Mr Dick** interjected.

**Mr CRISAFULLI:** The Deputy Leader of the Opposition can raise his voice all he likes, but he knows it is a broken system. He is prepared to run a protection racket while kids suffer harm. That must end.

**Mr DICK:** Mr Speaker, I rise to a point of order. Those words used by the Premier are grossly offensive to me and I ask him to withdraw.

**Mr CRISAFULLI:** I withdraw. Leadership is about taking action. When we see an issue we take action: child safety, we have taken action; forensics, we have taken action; the health crisis, we have taken action; the youth crime crisis, we have taken action; the Olympic and Paralympic mess left by those opposite, we have taken action. We will continue to take action for the most vulnerable in our community.

### Member for Cook

**Mr BUTCHER:** My question is of the Premier. Last night it was revealed that the member for Cook believes that attempted murder is a 'non-event'. I table the text message in question.

*Tabled paper:* Extract of text messages, dated 16 January, from the member for Cook, Mr David Kempton MP, relating to children convicted of attempted murder.

What does the Premier have to say to the victim of an alleged attempted murder in Yamanto earlier this year, allegedly at the hands of a youth on bail?

### Speaker's Ruling, Question Out of Order

**Mr SPEAKER:** Member for Gladstone, are these matters before the court?

**Mr BUTCHER:** I can reword it, if you like, Mr Speaker.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Is this matter before the court?

**Mr BUTCHER:** It is. I will reword the question, if that is all right.

**Mr SPEAKER:** The question is out of order. I go to the next question.

### **Workplace Safety**

**Mrs POOLE:** My question is to the Deputy Premier, Minister for State Development, Infrastructure and Planning and Minister for Industrial Relations. Can the Deputy Premier inform the House about the obligation that employers have to provide a safe workplace and return-to-work policies, and is the Deputy Premier aware of any instances where these obligations may not have been met?

**Mr BLEIJIE:** I thank the honourable member for the question. It is an important question because she is right: employers do have positive obligations to provide safe workplaces for everybody and we have seen some incidents which we will talk about. The Crisafulli government believes strongly that every worker, no matter their workplace across Queensland, has the right to go to work, be well paid, feel safe and go home to their family. We have a zero tolerance approach to workplace sexual harassment and violence and aggression across workplaces in Queensland, and we do this by addressing the gap around work related violence and aggression by ensuring employers notify the regulator of incidents of work related violence and aggression and more serious events are being triaged for appropriate responses.

The member asks about return to work. It is a big part of the industrial relations system. I have heard a lot about return-to-work policies and procedures in the last few weeks because the member for Stafford, as I understand, had been put on a return-to-work order by the honourable opposition leader—a return-to-work policy that no-one has seen, no-one has had explained to them and no-one knows what is in it. It is all secret, yet they used the return-to-work policy to sack the member for Stafford from the Labor Party—a policy that no-one has seen and no-one knows what obligations were on the member for Stafford. We see an absolute protection racket that has been delivered by the opposition leader, the deputy opposition leader and the senior members of the Labor caucus around the member for Stafford.

We saw the member for Stafford elevated to assistant minister for justice and veterans by the Leader of the Opposition. He was the only sitting member before the last election to have his preselection challenged. The member for Murrumba, as we understand from the media, backed him strongly on his vote. When the LNP first raised these issues in February, the deputy leader of the Labor Party and the member for Greenslopes backed the member for Stafford. The question remains: what changed between February and now? The Leader of the Opposition did not see fit to remove the member for Stafford then, but now all of a sudden we have a return-to-work policy that has been breached.

The only thing I saw breached was the member for Stafford had a beer on Labour Day. There are all these allegations against the member for Stafford: the alleged domestic incident at his house, the police going to his house and the member for Stafford going to court. We saw visual of him going to court, with no explanation by the Labor Party or the member for Stafford for what he was doing in court and no explanation to his community about what the alleged domestic incident was involving the member for Stafford. All of a sudden he does not get the sack from the Labor Party because of all that has happened in the last few months; he gets the sack because he breached a return-to-work policy because he had a beer on Labour Day. Come on! Cut us a break! The Labor Party are hiding something about the member for Stafford. Who knew what in the Labor Party, what did they know and when, and why did they not act sooner?

*(Time expired)*

### **Member for Cook**

**Ms SCANLON:** My question is to the Premier. Last night it was revealed the member for Cook in January believed that attempted murder was a 'non-event'. Has the Premier held the member for Cook accountable for his comments?

**Mr SPEAKER:** Member for Gaven, I have a query about questions relating to portfolio responsibilities. How does this question relate to the Premier's portfolio area, being veterans? I would ask you to explain.

**Ms SCANLON:** Speaker, the Premier is the party leader. In fact I understand he made a ministerial statement about accountability this morning, so I think it is directly relevant to his responsibility and mandate.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Premier, are you happy with that?

**Mr CRISAFULLI:** I would very much like to answer the question and I want to thank the member for asking it. The answer to the honourable member is that I disagree with the assessment. If I agreed with the assessment, we would not be introducing legislation to deal with it. I hope that gives the member a fulsome answer.

I am mindful, and I do not wish to stray towards something where there is a bill before the House or where there might be something before the courts, but I do want to make this comment. In all of this, it has to be about victims. We have to focus on victims. Everything we do must be driven by that. Everything we do has to be about making life better for people. The member has asked me whether or not I agree with that assessment, and I have said to the member I do not because I want to see change in this area. The reason I want to see change in this area—

**Mr Dick** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Order! The Premier is being relevant to the question.

**Mr CRISAFULLI:** I will not take the interjection from the deputy leader because it would demean the point of how important this answer is because it was an important question and I am giving it a fulsome answer. Therefore, I am asking the deputy leader for one moment just to absorb and listen to it, please.

**Mr Smith** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Member for Bundaberg, you are warned.

**Ms Grace** interjected.

**Mr CRISAFULLI:** The member for McConnel is overreaching, as often happens. I am just seeking to give a fulsome answer, and it has to be about victims. The reason it has to be about victims is I have seen in recent years what happens when a government does not focus on victims. I have seen how that can make one's compass become awry and people say things like it is a media beat-up and others say that it is making up stories and others talk about the media having a fixation with CCTV, and they are all still there. In their heart, they do not believe that their change to the law created a generation of victims. Well, I do and there are a lot of people on this side of the House who do—and one in particular who does. I want those opposite to know that we will drive the change that is needed. It will not happen with one change to the legislation, or indeed it will not happen with two; it will continue to change.

**Mr Dick** interjected.

**Mr CRISAFULLI:** This is an interjection I will take from the deputy leader. We have followed exactly the timeline we outlined to the people of Queensland. We said that the first wave of changes would be done before Christmas, and we said that there would be an expert committee set up and then the second wave of changes would come into effect. We are determined to end a youth crime crisis a decade in the making.

### Workplace Safety

**Mrs YOUNG:** My question is to the Deputy Premier, Minister for State Development, Infrastructure and Planning and Minister for Industrial Relations. Can the Deputy Premier outline to the House the impact of character reference checks in the workplace, and is the Deputy Premier aware of any instances that failed the character test?

**Mr BLEIJIE:** I want to thank the member for Redlands for the question because it gives me a chance to further explore the issues I was talking about earlier about return-to-work plans, processes or policies, whatever it was that they had the member for Stafford do—no-one knows, it is so secret. The member is right; we have to look at character tests. I would say this: I have heard the Labor Party talk in the last 48 hours about character testing they want us to pursue in the government, and character test obligations and those people of good character ought not to be able to you use that good character test—

**An opposition member** interjected.

**Mr BLEIJIE:** I would not be one to be interjecting if I was you. CCC! The Labor Party hypocrisy on calling for reforms for a good character test when only a couple of months ago, they stood in this

place and defended the member for Stafford of being such a good character. What hypocrisy! This is what the member for Greenslopes said about the member for Stafford when he stated—

I have known the member, I would say, for 25-plus years. He worked with me at the Queensland Public Sector Union. He was an excellent and committed trade unionist who stood up for the rights of workers.

That was in the motion. We were condemning the member for Stafford. This was their defence. The member for Woodridge, the Deputy Leader of the Opposition, said—

Let me say this: it is not unlawful, it is not improper, it is not wrong, for people to drink in licensed premises in Queensland, but of course the LNP sought to make an issue of that this morning. There are many members in this House who struggle with the personal challenge, the pressure, of being a member of parliament.

Apparently he got sacked because he breached his return-to-work plan because he was having a drink in a public place on a Labour Day march. What is it? Why all of a sudden the character test the Deputy Leader of the Opposition applied a couple of months ago now does not apply? Produce it. Show us the return-to-work plan that you had implemented for the member for Stafford. Where is the return-to-work policy? Where is it? Who could forget the *Australian* article which stated—

Queensland Labor MP Jimmy Sullivan back in fold after domestic case resolved.

Queensland Opposition leader Steven Miles has 'welcomed' embattled MP Jimmy Sullivan back to Parliament and the Labor fold.

This is after all the allegations of the domestic incident we raised, and the only justification at the time was, 'He is a good bloke. He had a good character.' What has changed? I tell you what changed. The pressure was getting too much and they thought they would relieve the pressure valve and put him up in the back corner on the crossbench. We are not going to forget the incident of the member for Stafford as a member of the Labor Party.

Who could forget, when the Labor Party lecture people on issues of workplace bullying and harassment of women what the member for Ferny Grove said about the member for Mudgeeraba? He called her 'a stupid, dopey woman'. He was forced to come in to the House and apologise. The Labor Party ought to tell us who knew what, when they knew it and the one who is about to jump should explain himself.

*(Time expired)*

## Public Service

**Mr MILES:** My question is to the Premier. On Friday, the Premier said on the *Today Show* that he campaigned for Peter Dutton because he 'believed in the things he was putting forward'. Did the Premier support Peter Dutton's plan to sack Queensland public servants and his botched repeal of work-from-home arrangements?

**Mr CRISAFULLI:** The honourable leader knows the answer to the question. He knows it is no because he asked me in this place before and I said so, and I said so before the election. It was interesting, I was asked the question before the election and was prepared to say it and of course I will say it after. The reason is I can see the change in the Public Service when they feel what it is like to be valued. We can see it. Just the other day, only a couple of weeks ago, I went and visited another department which gave me the feedback about the minister—in fact, the health minister—and I am receiving good feedback about the ministers.

I want the Queensland Public Service to note the following: I want them to know they will be respected, they will be valued, they will be empowered, and we want them to be part of the change. We want them to be part of the change in service delivery in this state. We do have a youth crime crisis, a health crisis, a housing crisis and a cost-of-living crisis, and they are going to be part of the solution as this government empowers them to drive that change.

The Leader of the Opposition can wave himself goodbye all he likes. We know the Leader of the Opposition is living on borrowed time, we know that, but I want the public—

**Honourable members** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Members, the gallery is full of children who have come to watch how democracy works. Let's do better. One person has the call.

**Ms Boyd** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Member for Pine Rivers, you are warned.

**Mr CRISAFULLI:** I want the Public Service to know part of that involves flexibility at work; that is a really important part of it. The other part is being treated with respect and decency. I want them to know that. I hear stories about some of the behaviour that has gone on from years gone by, and I need them to know they will not be treated like that, that there will not be staplers being thrown, that there will not be that kind of behaviour. It is very important that people know that. The Public Service deserves to know that they should be treated with respect and decency, not yelled at. Good, solid vision and treated with respect. That is important. Part of that is flexibility, part of that is certainty of employment, and part of that is making sure there is a vision set by the cabinet and the minister to make sure that that occurs. Those public servants can be proud of the job they do, and they can be proud of the fact that they turn up to work and are playing their role in ending the four big crises we inherited from those opposite.

*(Time expired)*

### **Domestic and Family Violence**

**Ms JAMES:** My question is to the Minister for Families, Seniors and Disability Services and the Minister for Child Safety and the Prevention of Domestic and Family Violence. Will the minister inform the House how seriously the LNP Crisafulli government is taking the scourge of domestic and family violence, and is the minister aware of any examples where alleged incidents have been excused?

**Ms CAMM:** I thank the member for the question. In Domestic Violence Prevention Month, we have seen sadly some significant tragedies and there are still some playing out in the media with some alleged tragedies that are impacting women and children significantly across our state. It is why the Crisafulli government has introduced legislation into this House. It is why we are having a focus on perpetrator accountability. It is why we took to the election the important policy around GPS monitoring. That is to place the onus on perpetrators, to hold them to account, and it is to ensure that victims feel safe as well. It is why the Crisafulli government has also supported coercive control legislation that will become law later this month.

We thank all sides of the House because we are united, and we should be united when it comes to responding to domestic and family violence, and we should be united when it comes to responding to perpetrators and holding them to account. That starts at the level where we should be encouraging respect: respect at the workplace, respect for our colleagues, respect for our partners, respect for our friends and for our family—at the grassroots. It will take a whole-of-community effort.

I reference the Deputy Premier's reminder to this House of a motion that was put forward—a motion that was put forward because on this side of the House we expect a standard of our members of parliament. We expect that when the police are called to a house for an alleged domestic violence incident that there should be accountability.

What we also expect is that when questions are asked about character, questions are asked by those opposite about safety at work, what I expect as a woman and a female minister on this side of the House is that if there is nothing to see, I expect that it is not just men who jump on that side of the House to support character references. In all of the motions and all of the discussion, all we have seen who has come forward in fact is a former electorate officer, as reported in the *Australian* today, a female former Labor staffer, Susan Lynch, who has spoken out about her concerns around the conduct and the character of the member for Stafford.

Of the former female ministers and assistant ministers over there, no-one stood up to support his character; nobody stood up and defended him. Heads were bowed in silence, then all we have heard about is a failure of return to work—not a failure in the conduct of the member for Stafford.

*(Time expired)*

### **Train Manufacturing Program, Jobs**

**Mr DICK:** My question is to the Treasurer. The member for Maryborough posted on Facebook last week that Queensland Rail has 'nothing to do with the Crisafulli government'. Can the Treasurer advise the House if he has the power to direct Queensland Rail to save 120 train manufacturing and maintenance jobs in Maryborough?

**Mr JANETZKI:** I thank the honourable member for the question. I assume that the honourable member would understand that, under the administrative arrangements, it would be appropriate to, in fact, ask this question of the Minister for Transport and Main Roads. I would expect that a former

treasurer would understand the shareholding arrangements and administrative arrangements in government.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Treasurer, address your comments through the chair please.

**Mr JANETZKI:** I would expect that the former treasurer would understand that but the former treasurer has proven time and again that he is incapable of asking a question in this House that adheres to the standing orders. The former treasurer should understand this. I will turn directly to the question asked by the member for Woodridge—even though it was directed to the wrong shareholding minister. I want to clarify a few things for the former treasurer. This is a letter from the Downer Group to the Leader of the Opposition. You would have thought that the former treasurer, the member for Woodridge, would have checked. The COO for the Downer Group said—

I wish to clarify Downer's position in response to your social media post ...

—that being the Leader of the Opposition's post, dated 15 May—

in which you stated over 120 train manufacturing workers will lose their jobs at our Maryborough service delivery centre.

He goes on to say—

Downer wishes to assure you that the consultation process we have commenced with the workforce and union specifically relates to the completion of a contract with a private freight operator and that we are actively working with the Queensland government to explore all available options to retain all workers at the site. Our priority remains the wellbeing and jobs of our workforce—

**Mr de BRENNI:** Mr Speaker, I rise to a point of order on relevance under standing order 118(b). The question was specifically to the Treasurer about his understanding of his power to direct Queensland Rail to save the 120 train manufacturing jobs—his power.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Treasurer, if you could come back to the question.

**Mr JANETZKI:** I am going to continue on with the letter.

**Mr SPEAKER:** And address the question.

**Mr de BRENNI:** Mr Speaker, I rise to a point of order. Only a moment ago I rose on a point of order on relevance. The Treasurer indicated to you and the House that he has no intention to be relevant. I ask you to draw him back to a relevant answer to the question.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Thank you for your point of order; the point is relevant. If you would round out your response, addressing the question, Treasurer.

**Mr JANETZKI:** The letter states further—

To limit unnecessary stress and anxiety among our workers and within the broader Maryborough community we believe clear and accurate communication in our consultation process is essential in maintaining trust and stability, particularly in regional areas where employment is closely tied to community wellbeing.

It is a fake scare campaign.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Order! Pause the clock!

**Mr de BRENNI:** Mr Speaker, I rise to a point of order in relation to relevance. The Treasurer has only a matter of seconds left. I have risen on this point of order twice now and you have instructed him to be relevant. He has failed to answer the question as asked. I would ask you to instruct him to be relevant.

**Mr SPEAKER:** You have five seconds.

**Mr JANETZKI:** We will continue to back manufacturing in Maryborough all the way!

### Victims of Crime

**Ms MORTON:** My question is of the Minister for Youth Justice and Victim Support and Minister for Corrective Services. Can the minister update the House on how the Crisafulli LNP government is putting victims first, and is the minister aware of any examples where victims have not been taken seriously?

**Mrs GERBER:** I thank the member for Caloundra for her question. I thank the member for Caloundra for the work she is doing in her community to support victims of crime and to put victims first. The member for Caloundra is a fierce advocate for her community and stands up for the rights of victims in her community. The Crisafulli government is committed to putting victims first. It is at the heart of everything we do. It is the reason we introduce new laws. It is the reason we put the rights of victims first. Why? Because we know that those opposite spent 10 years weakening our laws. They spent 10



years not listening to victims. They spent years denying the experience of victims. They closed the Childrens Court to victims and their family.

The Crisafulli government has already changed the law to put the rights of victims before the rights of offenders, and we will continue to strengthen those laws. It is shameful that those opposite are still busy playing politics while Queenslanders are left to deal with the heartbreak of rising victim numbers. It is time they care more about people than headlines. They care so much about the politics and the headlines, but the opposition leader has shown that he does not care about people. He does not care about the women who did not feel comfortable sitting next to a member of their own party. The Labor Party leadership spent six months pedalling a cover-up for a member of their own party, and it needs to be called out—who knew what, and when? What did they know after the state election when media reports confirmed that police were called to an alleged domestic violence incident at the member for Stafford's house? Why didn't they call it out then? Instead, they backed him in.

The member for Waterford even supported him being on a committee. When we moved a motion, the member for Waterford called to divide and supported him being on a committee. They supported him, then lo and behold we hear that they have kicked him out of the party. They kicked him out of the party because of an alleged workforce policy, which has remained secret. The only secret here is the cover-up in relation to what they knew—when, where and what—in relation to the member for Stafford? Let this sink in for a minute: the member for Ferny Grove said, 'The conduct you walk past is the conduct you condone.' The Leader of the Opposition walked past the conduct of the member for Stafford. He walked past it. He even backed him in. Now he has expelled him from the party and is refusing to tell Queenslanders why. There is a secret protection racket being run for the member for Stafford, and those opposite should be held accountable.

*(Time expired)*

### **North Queensland, Bruce Highway**

**Mr KNUTH:** My question without notice is to the Minister for Transport and Main Roads. After decades of neglect in North Queensland we saw another terrible fatality this week blocking the Bruce Highway for more than eight hours. This is coupled with weeks of closures each year that cut vital supply. Will the government commit to fix and flood-proof the northern section of the Bruce Highway?

**Mr MICKELBERG:** I thank the member for Hill for his question and for his advocacy for better roads in the North and the Far North. At the outset, I put on the record my condolences and thoughts to the family and the community of the gentleman who lost his life in this particular incident on the weekend. Any life lost on Queensland roads, as I said in my ministerial statement, is one too many. Tragically, we have already seen 100 lives lost on Queensland roads this year.

The member knows better than anyone that the state of the Bruce Highway is one of the reasons we continue to lose lives on the Bruce Highway. Last year 43 people lost their life on the Bruce Highway and that is simply unacceptable. The Crisafulli government have made it very clear that we will not continue to allow that to happen. It is why we campaigned so strongly for an 80-20 funding split on the Bruce Highway. It is why we were able to deliver in our first three months of government a \$9 billion package to upgrade the Bruce Highway, something that those opposite chose to walk away from when the federal government said they would only fund a fifty-fifty package; they said it was not possible. They abrogated their responsibility and they walked off the field and it is Queenslanders who pay the price.

I want to make it very clear, both for the House and for the community, that every single dollar of that \$9 billion package will be spent north of Gympie and a considerable amount of that work will be in the north and the far north. In the member for Hill's electorate we already have two projects that have started. I want to make it very clear that these are early works. We were keen to get works started as soon as possible. We have \$28 million of wide centreline treatment going in between Aldridge Road and Poppi Road in the member for Hill's electorate. We also have other pavement strengthening works, in both the member for Hill's electorate and the member for Hinchinbrook's electorate, which will be starting this year, but they are only the start of the work.

I want to make it clear that the Bruce Highway \$9 billion package is all about addressing safety on the Bruce. Another key question that those opposite chose to ignore is capacity and resilience on the Bruce Highway, which goes to the core of the member for Hill's question. Not only are we going to deliver a \$9 billion package to fix the Bruce Highway; we will continue to deliver the much needed investment to upgrade capacity and resilience on the Bruce Highway, whether that is betterment at

Ollera Creek or critical projects like at Goorganga Plains which have been ignored by those opposite for far too long.

The people of regional Queensland have missed out under a decade of Labor failure and we are focused on delivering for all Queenslanders, not just those here in the south-east. The Premier has been very clear—it is written large in my charter letter—I am to deliver a better Bruce Highway. I look forward to working with the crossbench and the Katter party members to deliver a better Bruce Highway for all Queenslanders.

### **Judicial System, Character References**

**Miss DOOLAN:** My question is to the Attorney-General and Minister for Justice and Minister for Integrity. Will the Attorney outline to the House how the LNP Crisafulli government is reforming the role of character references in the legal justice system, and is the Attorney aware of any examples that demonstrate why the system needs reform?

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** I very much would like to thank the honourable member for Pumicestone, and what a refreshing change it is to have someone so positive and energetic in the House representing the good people of Pumicestone. When we talk about good character let's reflect on what actually happened and the horrific campaign that the member for Pumicestone and her family were subjected to by those opposite in the past election campaign.

**Mr Crisafulli:** What a disgrace.

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** I will take the honourable Premier's interjection; it was an absolute disgrace and it should come back on them.

**Honourable members** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Order! The cross-chamber quarrelling will cease.

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** Of course, I left out someone else who vilified and was terrible to the member for Pumicestone—and that was, of course, supported by the Labor Party—and that was the unions. All those opposite came out and tried to criticise and attack the good character of the person who is now the youngest member of the Queensland parliament.

I have announced today in my ministerial statement—and just you wait until after question time; I am so excited to be introducing another bill in this House—substantial reforms to act on those recommendations including changing the way courts treat good character evidence. I can say to those opposite we are actually going to get it right, unlike them, and I will have more to say about that.

What do those opposite do when it comes to at work and good character? We have heard through the media what those opposite think—and I feel sorry for those women in the Labor Party because we know that it is obvious that those opposite hate to see women in power; they hate to respect women in power. They have constantly done that and I will not even talk about the former premier let alone talk about the way those opposite treated the former member for Inala, the Hon. Annastacia Palaszczuk. I can say her name. I have not heard those opposite say her name. Annastacia Palaszczuk, the former member for Inala—have not heard that. Where was the respect at work for that woman, a woman in power?

**Honourable members** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** We have 20 seconds to go. Let's have order.

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** I have so much more to say. Where was the Leader of the Opposition when he should have been listening to the women of the backbench of the Labor Party when they were calling out the behaviour and the lack of good character of the member for Stafford? Where was he? For six months the Leader of the Opposition sat silent.

**Mr SULLIVAN:** Mr Speaker, I rise to a point of order. The reference to good character in the context of the reforms regarding rapists is absolutely irrelevant and offensive and I ask that it be withdrawn.

**Mr SPEAKER:** The member has taken offence.

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** Mr Speaker, I withdraw.

### **Minister for Youth Justice**

**Ms GRACE:** My question is to the Minister for Youth Justice. On 9News last night the minister referred to stakeholders and journalists calling for the public release of the Expert Legal Panel advice

as a 'Labor stitch-up'. Does the minister treat workers the same way she treated journalists in her bizarre press conference yesterday?

**Mrs GERBER:** Mr Speaker, there are clear imputations in that question, but I am happy to answer it.

**Mr SPEAKER:** I will ask the member to ask the question without the imputations, please.

**Ms GRACE:** I repeat: my question is to the Minister for Youth Justice. On 9News last night the minister referred to stakeholders and journalists calling for the public release of Expert Legal Panel advice as a 'Labor stitch-up'. Does the minister treat workers the same way she treated journalists in her press conference yesterday?

**Dr ROWAN:** Mr Speaker, I rise to a point of order. I know that you have given direction to the member for McConnel to rephrase the question, but the question still contains imputations and I ask that you rule the question out of order.

**Honourable members** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** I will have silence while I take some advice on this point of order. I will allow the question.

**Mrs GERBER:** I completely reject the premise of the member for McConnel's question. I would also note that in my response I do need to be careful because there is a bill before the House that does talk about the Expert Legal Panel's advice in relation to informing that bill and that the Labor Party has run a scare campaign in relation to that Expert Legal Panel advice. I am happy to talk this House through the processes that the Expert Legal Panel went through.

**Mr Mellish** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Member for Aspley.

**Mrs GERBER:** I am happy to talk this House through that but there is a bill before the House.

**Mr Power** interjected.

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

**Mrs GERBER:** I am happy to talk those opposite through the processes that the Expert Legal Panel went through. I am happy to talk those opposite through, as I did in the press conference with journalists, the advice that the Expert Legal Panel has provided to me.

**Mr Mellish** interjected.

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

**Mrs GERBER:** I am happy to talk those opposite through in relation to the consultation that the Expert Legal Panel conducted across this state.

**Ms Pease** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Member for Lytton, you are now joining the list. You are warned under the standing orders. Minister, you have the call. Nobody else has the call.

**Mrs GERBER:** There were 10 consultation sessions right across this state with stakeholders, with victims and with interested parties. The Expert Legal Panel then provided me and the Crisafulli government with advice, just as we established them to do.

We promised Queenslanders that five key offences would be subject to Adult Crime, Adult Time before Christmas. We delivered on that promise. We also promised Queenslanders that we would establish an expert legal panel to provide expert advice to the government on what further offences should be subject to Adult Crime, Adult Time.

**Ms McMillan** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Member for Mansfield.

**Mrs GERBER:** We delivered on that promise and established the Expert Legal Panel. The Expert Legal Panel has been referred many offences. I have referred to the Expert Legal Panel all of the offences—

**Ms McMillan** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Member for Mansfield, you are now warned.

**Mrs GERBER:**—in schedule 1 of the Penalties and Sentences Act. They have every attempted offence. They have been referred all offences that carry a term of imprisonment of more than 14 years.

Their advice is ongoing in that regard. They are continuing to provide the Crisafulli government with advice.


The reason the Labor Party are pushing this is that they know that deep in their hearts they never supported Adult Crime, Adult Time. Deep down, they do not want to see it in law. They are wholly conflicted. We see more of the chaos and crisis from those opposite that saw them booted out of government in the first place.

*(Time expired)*

Interruption.

## PRIVILEGE

### Alleged Deliberate Misleading of the House


 **Dr ROWAN** (Moggill—LNP) (11.10 am): Mr Speaker, I rise on a matter of privilege. It has been brought to my attention, in relation to the question as asked by the member for McConnel, that the words 'a stitch-up' were used, with reference to the minister. Those words, as I understand it, were not used and I will be writing to you that that was a deliberately misleading of the House.

**Mr SPEAKER:** You can write to me.

## QUESTIONS WITHOUT NOTICE

Resumed.

### Domestic and Family Violence

 **Ms DOOLEY:** My question is to the Minister for Child Safety and the Prevention of Domestic and Family Violence. Can the minister explain to the House how the LNP Crisafulli government is standing up for victims of domestic and family violence, and is the minister aware of any differing approaches?

**Ms CAMM:** I thank the member for the question. I look forward to joining her in her electorate as part of the incredible work she is doing in standing up for victims of domestic violence with an organisation that I know we will be supporting with funding in the upcoming budget—an organisation doing incredible things for victim-survivors of domestic and family violence. We will invest in continuously supporting those victims.

The honourable member asked me about alternatives in terms of how women are standing up for women. I refer to the female members opposite, in particular the shadow attorney, the shadow minister for women and the shadow minister for the prevention of domestic and family violence. They say that they believe deeply in respect at work—they have asked questions about sexual harassment and safety at work—in responding to domestic and family violence and in standing up for victims' rights. For the last 4½ years I have sat in this House and been lectured to by those opposite and seen men on this side of the House lectured to by female members of the opposition.

The member for Stafford was expelled from the Labor Party and now sits on the crossbench, in the privileged position as a member of this House. From those opposite we have only heard from the males. We only heard from the Leader of the Opposition, the Deputy Leader of the Opposition and the member for Greenslopes and from other males on that side. They sang the praises of the member for Stafford. We have not heard from one female member of the opposition with regard to the circumstances surrounding the expulsion of the member for Stafford. They have not stood up for victims—

**Ms Enoch** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Member for Algeester, you are now warned.

**Ms CAMM:** They will come into this House and ask questions about legislation and respect at work but will not offer the same respect for female members of the Labor Party.

**Mr Bleijie** interjected.

**Ms CAMM:** I take that interjection from the honourable Deputy Premier. Maybe it is only the Leader of the Opposition and the Deputy Leader of the Opposition who run a protection racket. Maybe it is the men on that side of the House who have silenced the women—those strong women I have

observed for 4½ years who are not afraid to speak out and challenge the conduct of men, except when it is those on their own side. It is disgraceful. At any time they can stand up and set the record straight.

*(Time expired)*

### Premier and Minister for Veterans

**Ms MULLEN:** My question is of the Premier. On 21 June last year the Premier said—

I'm always available for questions. That's important.

Will the Premier face the blowtorch today and answer questions from the press gallery?

**Mr CRISAFULLI:** I thank the honourable member from 'Jordan News' for the question. I always prepare fulsomely. I take every appearance in front of the media seriously.

**Mr de BRENNI:** Mr Speaker, I rise to a point of order. The Premier is well aware of the rules around using correct titles. I would ask you to ask him to withdraw the way in which he has described the member and answer the question.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Premier, correct titles will be used in this House, please.

**Mr CRISAFULLI:** I withdraw and I thank the honourable member for the question. I always take every appearance as something that you should prepare for. It is something that is important. You should always treat it seriously. In fact, I prepare a lot more for an appearance before the media than I do for answering questions from this lot. The reason is that you can see what happens when there is no strategy. I have some advice for the Leader of the Opposition: he should inject himself a little more into the strategy sessions for those opposite. What we have seen today is a very dishevelled performance—a dishevelled performance from an opposition that just does not know a policy agenda to go after. They have been the opposition now for six months. They still do not know what it is they are trying to prosecute. I do not think I have seen a worse start to a leader of the opposition in my time in politics. This is a leader of the opposition hanging by a piece of dental floss. He is holding on for dear life.

I want to make an observation. In the same way that I prepare fulsomely for all interviews, including with the media, I also prepare when I go and talk to people, to make sure that I can give them complete answers. I was delighted to be at the Ipswich Show the other day. A member of the public came up to me and said, 'I think you guys are doing a pretty good job.' I said, 'Thank you very much.' She said, 'I didn't vote for you.' I said, 'That means a great deal to me.' She said, 'It may be difficult for me to vote for you in the future. I'm a member of the Labor Party, but I don't like him.'

**Mr de BRENNI:** Mr Speaker, I rise to a point of order under standing order 118(b) in relation to relevance. The question is: will the Premier face the press gallery today? He has not answered that.

**Mr SPEAKER:** I think the Premier spoke on that.

**Mr CRISAFULLI:** In answer to the opposition question, I always prepare fulsomely. When this Ipswich resident said to me, 'I don't like him,' I do not think she was talking about Mr Albanese. The reason I know that she was not speaking about Mr Albanese is that she then said, 'But he won't be there much longer.'

**Mr de BRENNI:** Mr Speaker, I rise to a point of order in relation to relevance. The Premier has not indicated, in any of that response, whether he will face the press gallery today. We would simply like him to indicate whether he will do that today or not.

**Dr ROWAN:** Mr Speaker, in addressing standing order 118(b) and the point of order by the Manager of Opposition Business, the Premier is being responsive to the question as asked. It was a broad-ranging question. He has been responsive. Latitude has been granted. I would submit to you that he be permitted to finish his question, given the broad nature of the question as asked.

**Mr SPEAKER:** It was a broad question. I am going to rule that the Premier is being relevant. He has 12 seconds remaining.

**Mr CRISAFULLI:** Finally, I say to those opposite: either do more research and prepare better or take the advice from the Labor Party member in Ipswich and get rid of him.

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

### PRIVILEGE

**Alleged Deliberate Misleading of the House by the Treasurer**

**Hon. CR DICK** (Woodridge—ALP) (Deputy Leader of the Opposition) (11.19 am): Mr Speaker, I rise on a matter of privilege suddenly arising. Earlier today in question time the Treasurer deliberately misled the House by denying his express legal power to direct Queensland Rail as one of Queensland Rail's two responsible and accountable ministers. I refer you to section 12 of the Queensland Rail Transit Authority Act 2013. I also table a copy of an extract from the Queensland Rail website titled 'Corporate governance' that names the Treasurer as one of the shareholding and accountable ministers for Queensland Rail. I will write to you further about this.

*Tabled paper:* Extract, undated, from Queensland Rail webpage titled 'Corporate governance'.

**PENALTIES AND SENTENCES (SEXUAL OFFENCES) AND OTHER  
LEGISLATION AMENDMENT BILL****Introduction**

**Hon. DK FRECKLINGTON** (Nanango—LNP) (Attorney-General and Minister for Justice and Minister for Integrity) (11.20 am): I present a bill for an act to amend the Crimes at Sea Act 2001, the Criminal Code, the Penalties and Sentences Act 1992, the Working with Children (Risk Management and Screening) Act 2000 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 Justice, Integrity and Community Safety Committee to consider the bill.

*Tabled paper:* Penalties and Sentences (Sexual Offences) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2025.

*Tabled paper:* Penalties and Sentences (Sexual Offences) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2025, explanatory notes.

*Tabled paper:* Penalties and Sentences (Sexual Offences) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2025, statement of compatibility with human rights.

It is with great pleasure that I rise today to introduce the Penalties and Sentences (Sexual Offences) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2025. The bill continues to deliver on the Crisafulli government's commitment for a fair and efficient justice system that prioritises the rights of victims and makes our communities safer. A key focus of the bill is on reforms to the Penalties and Sentences Act 1992 to ensure criminal sentencing processes prioritise victims and meet community expectations. This bill implements several recommendations made by the Queensland Sentencing Advisory Council in its report *Sentencing of sexual assault and rape: the ripple effect* released in February of this year. It also introduces a new false representation offence to protect Queenslanders from government impersonation scams and other deceptive behaviours relating to government agencies. The legislation makes further unrelated amendments to ensure a contemporary and effective justice system.

As I will outline, this bill is the result of a considered approach by the Crisafulli government to the QSAC review. It further demonstrates our commitment to victims of crime in this state who for so long were ignored and minimised by the former Miles government. The council's review involved extensive research and consultation over a 19-month period with legal and non-legal stakeholders, including victims, support organisations and advocacy groups. I want to thank all stakeholders who contributed to the review through the council's consultation events and interviews or through written submissions. During this review, the council heard repeatedly that these offences can have a profound and long-lasting impact on victims, their families and communities. Ultimately, the council found issues with sentencing outcomes for sexual assault and rape offences but particularly for offences of rape committed against children. The council made 28 wideranging recommendations which consider legal principles, as well as the physical, emotional and psychological impacts sexual offences can have.

I want to take the opportunity to thank the council and the members of the secretariat for their thorough and considered report. In early February I met with the Chair, the Hon. Ann Lyons AM, to discuss the report's key findings and recommendations prior to the public release of the report. This bill is a result of these discussions and work I subsequently asked my department to undertake.

Four of the council's recommendations related to specific, immediate amendments to the Penalties and Sentences Act which have been implemented in this bill, including: recommendation 1, to require the court to treat the fact an offence of rape or sexual assault was committed against a child as aggravating; recommendation 2, to include recognition of victim harm as an express purpose of sentencing; recommendation 5, to restrict the use of certain types of character evidence in sentencing offenders convicted of sexual offences; and recommendation 23, to ensure that a court does not draw

any inference about whether the offending caused harm to a victim from the fact that no victim impact statement was given. I will now outline each of these recommendations in detail.

In relation to the statutory aggravating factor, the council concluded in its report that sentences imposed for rape and sexual assault are not adequate and recommended the introduction of a statutory aggravating factor to increase sentences where these offences are committed against a child. Under the sentencing principles set out in section 9 of the Penalties and Sentences Act, the court is required to consider the individual circumstances of each case, including any aggravating factors. Special considerations are currently already prescribed for sentencing offences of a sexual nature committed against children under 16, including that the court must have primary regard to the age of the victim. This essentially operates as an aggravating factor for child sex offences, directing the court to consider the child's age. However, there is no specific requirement for the court to consider child victims who are aged 16 and 17.

The bill implements the intent of recommendation 1 by amending section 9 of the Penalties and Sentences Act. It introduces a new statutory aggravating factor which requires a court to treat the age of the victim of rape or sexual assault who is a child of 16 or 17 years as an aggravating factor, unless the court considers it is not reasonable due to exceptional circumstances. In deciding whether there are exceptional circumstances, the court may have regard to the closeness of age between the offender and the victim. While the court may already consider the age of a child victim as an aggravating factor under the common law, the amendments in the bill increase the consistency and the transparency of this consideration for offences of rape and sexual assault committed in relation to children who are 16 or 17 years old. The new statutory aggravating factor reinforces that the offences are more serious due to the higher level of harm experienced by child victims and greater culpability of perpetrators targeting these vulnerable victims. It provides a statutory basis for courts to increase sentences for rape and sexual assault offences against children aged 16 or 17, recognising the council's findings that sentences being imposed for these offences are not adequate and do not reflect the vulnerability of children and the seriousness of this offending.

I turn now to sentencing purposes. The bill will also enhance the importance of recognising the harm caused to a victim through amendments to the sentencing purpose. The Penalties and Sentences Act currently identifies five purposes for which the court may impose a sentence, including punishment, rehabilitation, deterrence, denunciation and protection. Each sentence imposed by the court must meet one or more of these purposes. However, the council was repeatedly told by victims and those who support them that victims are not being sufficiently recognised at sentence. The council found the current sentencing purposes do not adequately recognise the need to hold offenders accountable for the harm done to victims or sufficiently promote an acknowledgement of the harm as an important aspect of sentencing. The council recommended the sentencing purposes be amended to include recognition of the harm done to victims. This bill implements this recommendation.

In relation to good character evidence, the bill also gives effect to recommendation 5 of the council's report to restrict the court's treatment of certain types of 'good character' evidence when sentencing offenders convicted of offences of a sexual nature. Under the sentencing principles, the court is required to have regard to an offender's character when determining an appropriate sentence. Despite receiving multiple submissions which sought to abolish the use of good character evidence during the sentencing process, the council found that evidence of an offender's good character has a legitimate role in sentencing. However, the council identified there is a problem with three types of character evidence and that victims find the use of good character evidence distressing and retraumatising. Three problematic types of good character evidence include character references, evidence of the offender's standing in the community and contributions by the offender to the community. The bill restricts the use of these three types of good character evidence when sentencing offenders convicted of sexual offences.

This is something that is very close to my heart. One of the last criminal matters that I was ever involved in went exactly to this point. It involved a former school principal—a man who was a citizen of the year of the community of which I now represent. That was taken into consideration. It is extremely distressing still for many of the victims.

Specifically, the bill provides that a court may treat the offender's good character, to the extent it is established by these forms of evidence, as a mitigating factor only if it is relevant to the offender's prospects of rehabilitation or risk of reoffending. The bill also provides that the court may, despite this restricted character being relevant to an offender's prospects of rehabilitation or risk of re-offending, decide not to treat it as a mitigating factor having regard to the nature and seriousness of the offence. This will limit the use of problematic good character evidence. By implementing this recommendation

through amendments to section 9 the court will be able to rely upon this evidence as an aggravating factor, meaning the court will have discretion to increase a sentence where it is considered appropriate to do so. The amendments in the bill are considered and give direct effect to the council's recommendation to restrict the use of problematic types of good character evidence while retaining the sentencing court's discretion to consider this evidence in appropriate cases.

Turning to the absence of a victim impact statement, this is something that many clients find too distressing to give in the courts and again is something that is very close to my heart. The bill will ensure victims do not feel pressured to make a victim impact statement in fear of the court assuming that they have not suffered harm and potentially imposing a less significant penalty at sentence. Harm done to a victim is an important consideration in sentencing an offender and information about the impact of an offence on a victim can be provided to the court in different ways, including through a victim impact statement or other information such as medical reports. Victim impact statements have an important role in sentencing, giving victims the opportunity to tell their story and offering a personal perspective for the sentencing judge's consideration. However, victim impact statements are not mandatory and victims have the right to choose not to provide one for a range of reasons, including as a self-protective measure to avoid further distress.

The council raised a concern that the current wording of the Penalties and Sentences Act may place pressure on a victim to provide a victim impact statement. It recommended that section 179K(5) be amended to clarify a court cannot draw any inference from the fact a victim impact statement or evidence of harm was not provided to the court. The bill that the Crisafulli government is introducing today implements this very important recommendation: supporting the right of victims to choose whether or not to provide a victim impact statement.

The amendments to the Penalties and Sentences Act represent the Crisafulli government's initial and immediate response to the council's recommendations, but there is always more to be done. The council's recommendations are being addressed in a staged manner that allows changes to be progressed without unnecessary delays. The next stage of addressing the council's recommendations will include holistic reviews of section 9 of the Penalties and Sentences Act and the victim impact statements regime. The council found that section 9 of the Penalties and Sentences Act, which sets out sentencing guidelines, has become increasingly complex and difficult to interpret, particularly for legal stakeholders, and I concur. That is why I will address the council's recommendation to include a holistic review of section 9 of the Penalties and Sentences Act.

In the past 32 years, this section of the Penalties and Sentences Act has been amended on 29 separate occasions—30 times including the bill that I am introducing today. As the key legislation guiding sentencing decisions, the government acknowledges this is undesirable and supports a comprehensive review of the provisions, as recommended by the council, to ensure a clear and coherent sentencing framework. However, on the recommendation of the council, the Crisafulli government agrees we should not wait to progress the immediate reforms that I have outlined here today. The government also recognises the challenges identified by the council in relation to victim impact statements and supports a review of the legislative regime and clarifying of the roles and responsibilities of agencies involved in the preparation of these statements. The review aligns with the Crisafulli government's promise to deliver better information and support victims as they navigate the criminal justice system.

I would like to thank those opposite who have recently publicly expressed their bipartisan support for some of these reforms. These reforms are important. I thank in particular those on this side of the chamber who have been working with me to ensure that we are consistently putting victims first. I will touch on the amendments flagged by the shadow attorney-general and the shadow minister for women. Whilst the role of opposition is important, and I thank them for their work, we need to get it right. I am in a very privileged role. I sympathise with the opposition when they rush amendments through—to my mind to get a grab in the media—but they have to get them right. That is exactly what we are doing. We are making the amendments to section 9—not putting it in section 11 like those opposite are attempting with their amendments. Whilst I appreciate they try hard, in government they had a record of being rushed, panicked and political, and usually the amendments that they rushed into this House were ineffective—and that is what we see here today.

I will go through the amendments as proposed. Those opposite failed to see, through their rushed amendments, that in putting it in section 11 rather than section 9 the courts will be prevented from increasing a sentence because of this good character evidence. Under the opposition's suggested amendments, it means an offender who would otherwise have been determined to be of bad character may be determined to be of good character because the court is prohibited from considering all of the



evidence in determining their character. The opposition's proposed amendments to section 9 to recognise the harm caused to any surviving victim of the offence will also not require or enable a court to impose a sentence which expressly recognises the harm caused to a victim of unlawful killing by an offender, including harm caused to them immediately before their death. We have to get this right. For example, where a victim was raped or sexually assaulted—

**Opposition members** interjected.

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** I will not listen to laughter about someone who has been killed in a domestic violence situation. Their failed amendment, which they want rushed through this week, would fail people killed in a domestic violence situation. They can rabbit on all they like about good character but they have to get it right. For example, under those opposite, if a victim was raped or sexually assaulted prior to their death, when sentencing the offender the court would not be required to state that they recognised that harm. Seriously, they cannot think that they got that right.

It beggars belief that those opposite think that they can get on their high horse and say that they want to rush through these amendments when we are listening to QSAC, we are clear and we are considered and we have consulted with the other government departments, which is something that those opposite know they never did adequately. My department are telling me that they never did that adequately. They are saying that those opposite got so many of the laws wrong when it comes to the justice system because they failed to listen to victim-survivors.

**Ms Grace:** Where do you get that?

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** Where do I get it? I get it from when I practiced in a court of law and I represented someone who had to listen to good character evidence being presented. I get it from when we had to listen to people who did not want to present a victim impact statement. I worked as a pro bono lawyer, representing women and children who were subjected to domestic violence. That is where I get it from. It would do those opposite good to get into the real world before they come in here and lecture me about representing people who had been subjected to domestic and family violence, whose children had to be hidden on weekends to avoid perpetrators and who had to sit in a court and listen to the supposed good character of a former deputy school principal despite what he did to children. Come on! You can lecture me all you like but I am not going to take it. Seriously! The member for McConnell does not like that I actually have real-world experience when it comes—

**Ms Grace** interjected.

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** I take personal offence on behalf of the people I have represented and I ask the member to withdraw.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Krause): Member for Nanango, I heard your point of order. I will take some advice. There is no point of order.

**Ms GRACE:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order. I take offence at what the Attorney-General said previously. I was named and I ask her to withdraw.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** I will seek some advice. Attorney-General, you did refer to the member for McConnell personally. I ask you to withdraw.

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** I withdraw. Mr Deputy Speaker, I take personal offence at the interjection of the member for McConnell and I ask her to withdraw.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Member for McConnell, the Attorney-General has taken personal offence to one of your interjections. I ask you to withdraw.

**Ms GRACE:** I withdraw.

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** There is always a time in this House when you get an opportunity to do good on behalf of your community and that is what the Crisafulli government has done clearly and consistently. We are doing what we said we were going to do. We have reviewed QSAC's recommendations in a clear and considered way. We have drafted the amendments to section 9—not section 11—of the Penalties and Sentences Act in a clear and considered way. We have gone to other government departments and taken their considerations in a clear and considered way. I know it shocks those opposite but that is what good government does. We are putting the rights of victims first. We are listening to survivors of domestic violence, such as the member for Mudgeeraba. For the first time ever, we have a victims minister. That is exactly what we are doing. We know that this bill reflects significant changes to the sentencing framework in Queensland and it is necessary that proper consideration is given.

I turn to the other elements of this bill. The bill amends the Criminal Code to introduce a new offence for falsely representing a government agency. The new offence seeks to address a possible gap in the law that may leave Queenslanders vulnerable to government impersonation scams and risks associated with the deliberate dissemination of false information. Government impersonation scams are becoming increasingly common in Australia. Government agencies have a level of trust and authority within the community, which makes people more vulnerable to scams involving the impersonation of a government agency. People may be more likely to disclose personal or sensitive information if they believe the request is from a government agency.

Additionally, information from someone impersonating a government agency or falsely claiming to act on behalf of a government agency has the potential to confuse the public and undermine legitimate government communications. False information may cause significant problems, including endangering people if misinformation is spread. In a democratic society, it is essential that the public be able to trust the legitimacy of communication from government agencies and the actions of persons acting on behalf of government agencies.

Accordingly, the new offence introduced by the bill will criminalise conduct where a person falsely represents that they are a government agency or that they are acting on behalf of or with the authority of a government agency. For the purposes of the new offence, a government agency is a public sector entity within the meaning of section 8 of the Public Sector Act 2022 or another entity prescribed by regulation. The offence will capture false representations in relation to a broad range of government agencies, including Queensland Health, court registries and the Public Trustee. This new offence continues to deliver on the Crisafulli government's commitment to make our community safer. We are taking action to safeguard the legitimacy of government communications and ensure those who deceive the Queensland public can be held accountable.

The bill also amends the Crimes at Sea Act 2001. The exercise of the Australian criminal jurisdiction for crimes at sea is dealt with under a national cooperative scheme. This scheme is given effect by the Commonwealth Crimes at Sea Act 2000 and uniform crimes at sea legislation enacted in all states and the Northern Territory. A series of amendments have been made to the Commonwealth Crimes at Sea Act that have not been reflected in the Queensland Crimes at Sea Act. This has resulted in the Queensland legislation being out of step with the national scheme legislation. The amendments to the Queensland Crimes at Sea Act realign the Queensland legislation with the relevant provisions of the Commonwealth legislation. The amendments, whilst exciting, are largely technical in nature.

I turn to the blue card system. Most provisions of the Working with Children (Risk Management and Screening) and Other Legislation Amendment Act 2024 will commence automatically on 20 September 2025. On commencement, multiple recommendations made in the Queensland Family and Child Commission report into the blue card system will be implemented. To ensure the incoming reforms to the blue card system made by the WWC amendment act operate as intended, particularly with respect to the power of the chief executive to suspend a person's working with children authority or blue card, further legislative amendments are required. The bill amends section 295 of the WWC amendment act to retain the current list of offences for which the chief executive must suspend a person's working with children authority where a person is charged. The WWC act unintentionally removed some offences for which a suspension must be issued and the bill rectifies this error by restoring these. The bill also makes other minor and technical amendments to the WWC act.

In summary, the bill I am introducing today continues the Crisafulli government's commitment to restoring community confidence, delivering justice with compassion and ensuring that victims are heard, respected and supported at every stage of the justice system. I commend the bill to the House.

### First Reading

**Hon. DK FRECKLINGTON** (Nanango—LNP) (Attorney-General and Minister for Justice and Minister for Integrity) (11.49 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 Justice, Integrity and Community Safety Committee

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Krause): Order! In accordance with standing order 131, the bill is now referred to the Justice, Integrity and Community Safety Committee.


Before I call the Leader of the House, I remind the following members that they are on warnings: Bundaberg, Pine Rivers, Logan, Aspley, Lytton, Mansfield and Algeester.

## MOTION

### Suspension of Standing Orders

 **Dr ROWAN** (Moggill—LNP) (Leader of the House) (11.50 am), by leave, without notice: In referring to Mr Speaker's earlier ruling today, I move—

That standing orders 87 and 150 be suspended to allow the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill and any amendments circulated by the minister to be moved and considered.

 **Hon. MC de BRENNI** (Springwood—ALP) (11.50 am): I rise to address the motion moved by the Leader of the House. Motions to suspend standing orders should be taken incredibly seriously by members of this House. Of course, motions of this nature are debatable. The standing orders clearly outline that some motions can be put without debate. This is not one of those and that is because, I submit, motions of this nature should be debated to allow the House to consider the context of the question and to discuss the merits of setting aside the standing orders, as the Leader of the House proposes, as well as the history and implications. I understand there are a number of other members who have different perspectives from mine—and I will happily furnish you, Deputy Speaker, with an appropriate speaking list—but in the time available to me I want to put on the record the merits and implications of what is proposed.

Earlier today, the Deputy Premier talked about what he described as world-class embarrassments. I think he was talking about his handling of the Brisbane Olympics but one could be forgiven for thinking that, when it comes to discussing world-class embarrassments, he was referring to the way the Attorney has needed to come—

**Dr ROWAN:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order on relevance. I submit that the Manager of Opposition Business is straying from the substantive elements of the motion, as put.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Krause): Manager of Opposition Business, the point of order does have some salience. I note that you have made some comments that were not relevant to the motion. I would ask you to please come back to the substance of the motion.

**Mr de BRENNI:** Before I continue to discuss the substance, the merits and the implications of the motion, I do want to correct my previous remarks. I referred to the handling of this matter by the Attorney when I should have said the youth justice minister. For the benefit of the House, I correct my statements in relation to that.

I note the Speaker's ruling earlier today in relation to standing order 87. Standing order 87 states that the same question cannot be again proposed. One could contemplate that the reason standing order 87 exists and forms part of the standing orders is to ensure that ministers, when conducting business in this House, are dedicated to applying due care to the bills they are introducing. I submit that standing order 87 exists so that ministers apply adequate attention to what they are bringing to this House. I submit that standing order 87 exists so that ministers and governments, perhaps for political purposes, can rush legislation into this House without proper scrutiny of committees or without proper contribution by relevant stakeholders or members of the public. I submit to the House that standing order 87 exists to ensure that ministers do not continue to fail to listen to stakeholders when they have important contributions to make. I submit that standing order 87, which pertains specifically to this motion, exists to discourage governments from failing to allow appropriate time for consideration in detail.

When ministers fail to apply due care, when they fail to apply attention to their duties and their obligations, when they decide to rush legislation into this House, when they fail to listen to stakeholders and when they fail to submit themselves to appropriate levels of consideration in detail, we find ourselves in this position where the House is being asked to consider the same question rule again. That is what the Leader of the House has proposed—that we set aside standing orders to allow the youth justice minister to recover her positions in relation to that.


The opposition has said it. Stakeholders have said it in relation to what we are required to consider in the Leader of the House's motion. The *Courier-Mail* said it. In its editorial, the *Courier-Mail*

referred to the first major fail under the LNP's youth crime crackdown. I say this: when the editorial indicates that the government has lost some of its crime-fighting credibility and takes the sting out of the government's reputation, it is one thing—

**Dr ROWAN:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order. Again, the member should come back to the motion, as put, and remain relevant to the motion as opposed to speaking on more substantive issues. I draw your attention to the contribution of the Manager of Opposition Business and ask you to draw him back to the substantive motion, as put, as opposed to making a broader contribution relating to other matters.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** I will seek some advice. Manager of Opposition Business, I have been listening very carefully to your contribution and I find that you have been square on the motion up to this point. I would ask you to continue to address the motion before us and not stray into other areas, including debate on the bills to which this motion relates.

**Mr de BRENNI:** Thank you, Mr Deputy Speaker, for your guidance. I accept that guidance. In attempting to make sure that my contribution is strictly limited to the motion that the Leader of the House has moved, I am placing on the record that the setting aside of the standing orders to allow for the same question to be put is for the precise purpose of allowing the government to clean up its mess. Mr Deputy Speaker, in just a moment I will furnish you with a speaking list in relation to other members who may have additional perspectives who may wish to speak to the motion moved by the Leader of the House.

 **Hon. DE FARMER** (Bulimba—ALP) (11.59 am): I also rise to address the motion moved by the Leader of the House and in support of the matters that the Manager of Opposition Business has raised. The suspension of standing orders should be a very serious consideration of this parliament. It should not be something that we should make a habit of doing. It is for the order of this parliament that the standing orders are in place. We should not just use them to suit our purposes on every occasion.

Mr Deputy Speaker, I will be blunt. This is now the fourth or fifth time we have been asked to fix up the mess that the LNP government has made over various Youth Justice Act amendments.

**Government members** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Krause): Order, members on my right! I cannot hear the member for Bulimba.

**Ms FARMER:** We were asked to do so before Christmas when the government rushed through the Making Queensland Safer Laws. Despite all the expert advice, despite stakeholders absolutely begging them to give more consideration to avoid unintended consequences and loopholes, and to make sure that it was properly considered, the government rushed it through because they said they had to get rid of youth crime by Christmas. That was the reason for rushing it through. We also begged the government—in fact, we moved motions to make sure that it had been done properly. We supported the government's bill but warned very clearly that there could be unintended consequences. We then came back to parliament. In fact, we have debated a youth justice amendment every sitting week other than in March.

**Dr ROWAN:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order. In relation to the contribution by the member for Bulimba, again, she is straying outside of the motion as put. There is a significant contribution of content which does not relate specifically to the motion. There is also a bill before the House.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Member for Bulimba, you have had the opportunity to provide some context about the comments you are making on the motion. I ask you to please be relevant to the procedural motion before the House and not to comment on the substantive bills to which they relate.


**Ms FARMER:** Thank you very much, Mr Deputy Speaker. I appreciate your guidance. The point I am making is that we must really respect the standing orders of this House. We simply cannot make a habit of using them for our own purposes, adhering to them when it suits us and not adhering to them when we have forgotten to do something or when we have overlooked something and when we have not taken advice. We simply cannot be continuing to fix things up, to suspend standing orders or to return to address technicalities just because the government has not taken the care it needed to. I hope that we can maintain some standards in this House from this time.

**Ms Grace** interjected.

**Ms Bates** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Member for McConnel and member for Mudgeeraba, please stop your quarrelling.

**Ms FARMER:** I hope that we can maintain some standards in this House. It would be excellent to have a commitment from the Leader of the House that from this time they will ensure that they have addressed all possible loopholes, that they have addressed all unintended consequences, that they have thought through what procedural acts they need to undertake in order for our legislation to be sound. I urge the government to take care to attend in detail to what they are doing, to take advice, so that we are not continuing to disrespect our standing orders so that we can maintain standards in this House. That is what Queenslanders expect of us.

 **Hon. LJ GERBER** (Currumbin—LNP) (Minister for Youth Justice and Victim Support and Minister for Corrective Services) (12.04 pm): I rise to talk to this procedural motion because that is what it is: it is a procedural motion. It is a procedural motion to suspend standing orders that we have a mandate from Queenslanders to do. Essentially we took to the election a promise that we would continue to strengthen and add further offending that warrants adult time for adult crime. We took that to the election and said we would continue to make changes. That is what this procedural motion is about.

Last year we promised Queenslanders that we would introduce the first tranche of Making Queensland Safer Laws—and we did that. We also promised Queenslanders that there would be further amendments to that act. That is what we are doing here. That is the reason these standing orders are being suspended. We have a mandate from Queenslanders to do it. We are doing what we promised we would do all along. We promised we would continue to strengthen our laws and we are delivering on that promise.

**Opposition members** interjected.

**Mrs GERBER:** Those opposite do not like it because they do not support it. Those opposite would rather this work not be done. Like the member for Bulimba just said, they would rather the system not be fixed.

Let's pick up on some of the comments that the member for Bulimba just made in relation to the importance of procedure in this House. Let's look at how many times those opposite suspended standing orders in order to achieve what they needed to achieve. Let's look at how many times they suspended standing orders. In fact, they suspended standing orders over 50 times. They did not do that with a mandate from Queenslanders. We are doing this with a mandate from Queenslanders because we are doing what we promised. We promised that there would continue to be further changes to our Adult Crime, Adult Time laws. We promised that five key offence areas would be law before Christmas and that we would establish an expert legal panel and that panel would provide the government advice on further offending to be included in the next tranche of Adult Crime, Adult Time—that is right: the next tranche—and we are delivering on that promise. I have news for those opposite. This will not be the last time that we do this.

**Opposition members** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Krause): Order, members on my left!

**Mrs GERBER:** I have news for those opposite. We will continue to strengthen our youth justice laws. We will continue to try to wind back the changes that those opposite made that weakened our Youth Justice Act. The bill that is before the House that this procedural motion relates to is delivering on a mandate that we got from Queenslanders.

**Opposition members** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Members on my left, your interjections are not being taken. They are disorderly. Please cease.

**Mr de BRENNI:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order in relation to relevance to the procedural motion moved by the Leader of the House. You addressed that matter with me. It has been taken on notice. The minister is straying far from the procedural motion and I ask that you bring it back to that.


**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Minister, you have had the opportunity to provide some context around your reasons for supporting the motion. I ask you to please confine your comments to the procedural motion before us.

**Mrs GERBER:** Yes. Thank you, Mr Deputy Speaker. The standing orders in question apply to bills being introduced to amend the same laws and acts. We promised Queenslanders that we would do that. We took to the election a promise that we would continue to make changes to Adult Crime, Adult Time laws in order to undo the harm that those opposite did when they weakened our Youth

Justice Act. I want to read into the record what the Premier said when he introduced the Making Queensland Safer Bill last year in the 58th Parliament. The Premier said—

The Making Queensland Safer Laws are the first strike back against a youth crime crisis but they will not be the last.

Those opposite would like us to stop what we are doing. They would like us not to continue to improve our Youth Justice Act and strengthen our laws, but we will not stop. We will not stop improving our Youth Justice Act. We will not stop unwinding the harm those opposite did.

 **Hon. MAJ SCANLON** (Gaven—ALP) (12.09 pm): I rise to speak to the procedural motion before the House. It has been a very interesting rewriting of history by the youth justice minister, who talks about the mandate. I do not think the mandate was coming in here and having to fix botched laws when those opposite told everyone they were going to fix crime by Christmas. That is what they all said to everyone. They were going to fix crime by Christmas, yet time and again we have had procedural motions and last-minute changes to make amendments to bills because they stuffed it up the first time. We had amendments to the CCC bill rushed through because they stuffed up the first tranche of laws and now we are having to suspend—

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order on parliamentary language.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Krause): I have taken advice about that. There is no point of order.

**Ms SCANLON:** We saw last-minute amendments to the CCC bill and now we are here debating a motion so the LNP can try and fix the last tranche of laws they stuffed up. I will be very interested to see how the member for Cook votes, because we know how he probably feels about these—

**Dr ROWAN:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order. The member for Gaven's contribution is not confined to the substantive aspects of the motion as put. I would ask you to draw the member for Gaven back to that.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Member for Gaven, you have had one minute and nine seconds to speak. I note you are providing some context around your contribution. I would ask you to please speak to the procedural motion only, not the substantive bills to which they relate.


In relation to the previous point of order about unparliamentary language, I would also add that the terms you have used have not been deemed unparliamentary in the past; however, I would ask you to please exercise caution around their usage.

**Ms SCANLON:** Thank you, Mr Deputy Speaker; of course. We are here debating this procedural motion to determine whether the next tranche of laws should be debated in this parliament. I will be very interested to see how the member for Cook votes on the procedural motion given his previous comments in relation to attempted murder being a non-event. Time and again we have seen the LNP come into this House and trash the process, trying to ram through laws despite the fact that legal experts have raised significant concerns around the laws the LNP continues to put through.

**Ms Grace** interjected.


**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Member for McConnel, you have had a pretty good go this morning. You have been interjecting consistently. You are warned under the standing orders.

**Ms SCANLON:** We just heard from the Attorney-General about the consequences of rushing through laws. If she took her own advice when she introduced the first tranche of laws perhaps we would not be debating this procedural motion here today. This motion is an admission that the LNP stuffed up the first tranche of laws. I look forward to contributing more throughout the debate.

 **Hon. DK FRECKLINGTON** (Nanango—LNP) (Attorney-General and Minister for Justice and Minister for Integrity) (12.13 pm): As always, it gives me great pleasure to speak on a motion that the Leader of the House and member for Moggill has so eloquently put before the House. When the Manager of Opposition Business was leader of the House—I do not think he was in that position for a huge amount of time so I will give him a little bit of leeway—he suspended standing orders on at least four occasions: 13 February 2024, 5 March 2024 and 6 March 2024. On the fourth occasion, 7 March, he either got a bit sick of it or he was a bit lazy. Tired of dragging himself into the chamber once again to suspend standing orders when they were in government, Mr Deputy Speaker, do you know what he did? He suspended them for the whole session, but only for government bills, government amendments to bills and any motions moved by the minister. The last time a motion to suspend standing orders for the remainder of a session was passed was nearly 120 years ago on 11 December 1906, so here we are. Talk about respect for the process! He tried to do something that no-one else in this House has done for 120 years. I take it that the then leader of the House was trying to do exactly what the now Manager of Government Business is doing, which is to—

**Mr Ryan:** Leader of the House.

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** Leader of the House. I am not taking that interjection, but I will get there. Thank you, member for Morayfield. It is important to note that what we are doing on this side of the House with this motion is simply setting about to do exactly what we said we were always going to do. Those opposition members know because we have talked about it time and again outside of the House and inside of the House. In actual fact, I think we talked about it when we debated the first Making Queensland Safer Bill. The Crisafulli government is not going to back away from our commitment to keep Queenslanders safe and making sure that we give everyone in this House an opportunity to debate the second tranche of Making Queensland Safer Laws. I know that we on this side of the House want to keep Queenslanders safer. Those opposite may want to delay or they may not want to, but I eagerly await what those opposite are going to do when it comes to the vote. We know what happened last time. We do not know what is happening this time. I very much support the government's motion before the House.

 **Hon. GJ BUTCHER** (Gladstone—ALP) (12.17 pm): I rise this afternoon to speak on the procedural motion before us. I have heard it all now. The member for Currumbin said that Queenslanders told the LNP to make sure they move these motions in the Queensland parliament. I cannot remember standing outside a polling booth and hearing people ask, 'Is this the blue one that I take for the motion to suspend standing orders? Because that is who I am voting for. That is what I want to do.'

The LNP government is once again dragging this House into absolute chaos, forcing us to suspend standing orders and override the same question rule. The question has to be asked: why? It is very simple: because they botched it once again. I am a tradesman and I believe in the saying that you do it once and do it properly. The LNP certainly does not follow that rule. This is the third time—I will say it again; the third time—they have had to come crawling back in to fix a mess they created. They rushed through the laws, they ignored stakeholders and they cut corners, and now they are asking this parliament to pretend that it did not happen. On this side of the House we will not pretend.


This motion today proves that the Premier and his cabinet cannot legislate their way out of a wet paper bag. Let's be honest: overriding the same question rule is not business as usual in the Queensland parliament. It is not some routine procedure; it is a desperate admission that they got it wrong once again and they do not want to deal with the consequences that come on the back of that. If these laws were so well crafted in the first place—and let's remember who crafted them in the first place; it was the Premier who said before the election, 'I've crafted the bill. I want to get it done before Christmas,' and he did it by himself—why are we back here just weeks later rewriting them?

The LNP governs by headline, not by the substance of the matter, and now Queenslanders are paying the price for its incompetence. This motion is not about safety; it is about saving face in front of Queenslanders. The legal integrity of this process in this House has been absolutely trashed once again by the LNP. This government has no idea how to manage the youth justice system in Queensland. The LNP is making law enforcement harder, not easier. This ruling is not a victory; it is an indictment on the LNP. Queenslanders deserve laws that work the first time—not a government that fumbles its way through its own agenda and rewrites history just to survive another day in Queensland.

**Dr ROWAN:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order in relation to the contribution from the member for Gladstone and remaining relevant to the substantive motion as put.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Krause): Member for Gladstone, the point of order is somewhat valid. I would ask you to speak to the procedural motion and confine your comments to that, not the substance of the bills to which they relate.

**Mr BUTCHER:** Thank you. This motion today is what botched legislation looks like, and we will call it for exactly what it is.

 **Dr ROWAN** (Moggill—LNP) (Leader of the House) (12.21 pm): In briefly addressing this procedural motion—and, again, it is a procedural motion to suspend standing orders 87 and 150—the government gave a clear commitment that there would be not only those initial reforms that went through but also a second tranche of reforms, and that is what we are doing with respect to this. The former government had to do this on many occasions in relation to their own legislative agenda. I would submit to you also, Mr Deputy Speaker, that in relation to standing order 236 there is now some tedious repetition in the contributions that are being provided. This is important legislation. As such, I move—

That the question be now put.

**Mr RYAN:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Krause): Member for Morayfield, could you pause for a moment. Members, I have sought advice. The Leader of the House, in rising to speak and being given the call, has closed the debate, so the question is that the Leader of the House's motion be agreed to. Those of that opinion say 'aye'—

**Mr de BRENNI:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Manager of Opposition Business, I am in the middle of putting a question. Those against say 'no'.

**Mr de BRENNI:** Sorry, Mr Deputy Speaker, I just ask for clarity. I was not quite clear on how you described what happened with the Leader of the House. In accordance with standing order 84, would you mind stating the question again for the benefit of the House?

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Manager of Opposition Business, I have explained where I came to with this advice. The Leader of the House closed the debate. I sought advice in relation to this matter. The question is being put. All those of that opinion say aye. Those against say no. I think the ayes have it.

Question put—That the motion be agreed to.

Motion agreed to.


**Mr RYAN:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order. I want to seek clarity about the Speaker's ruling around having a speaking list for motions and questions because, as you know, you have a speaking list and I was on it.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** There is no point of order on that matter. The Speaker might wish to make further comments around that. I have sought advice from the Clerk, I have made my ruling clear about the closure of the debate and the question has been put. I call the Clerk to read the next order of the day.

## MAKING QUEENSLAND SAFER (ADULT CRIME, ADULT TIME) AMENDMENT BILL

Resumed from 1 April (see p. 650).

### Second Reading

 **Hon. LJ GERBER** (Currumbin—LNP) (Minister for Youth Justice and Victim Support and Minister for Corrective Services) (12.24 pm): I move—

That the bill be now read a second time.

The Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill is about restoring safety where Queenslanders live, work and raise their families. It is about consequences for serious crimes, consequences that reflect community expectations and put victims first. It continues on our plan to deliver a fresh start for Queensland and our promise to fix Labor's weak laws that created a generation of repeat youth offenders that left too many victims in their wake. This bill delivers on the Crisafulli government's promise to fix the broken youth justice system left behind by Labor, to hold serious youth offenders to account and to break the cycle of crime. This bill and these additional Adult Crime, Adult Time offences ensure that youth offenders who commit serious crimes face serious consequences for their actions.

The Adult Crime, Adult Time amendment bill was introduced on 1 April 2025 and it was referred to the Justice, Integrity and Community Safety Committee. The committee examined the bill and tabled its report on 16 May 2025. The committee made only one recommendation—that the bill be passed. I thank the chair, the member for Nicklin, and members of the Justice, Integrity, and Community Safety Committee for their hard work throughout the committee process, and I express my appreciation to all submitters to the committee, particularly the brave victims who shared their stories. I want to acknowledge my colleague the member for Capalaba who spoke during the committee hearing with powerful honesty. He said—

Today is all about the victims—nobody else. I, like many—and some are in this room—have been a victim. We should be No. 1—the first priority. Every victim needs assistance from day one. We, like many others under the previous government, were left behind. We did not get one ounce of support—not one little bit. After all of the debris was taken from the crash scene, we felt like we were left lying in the gutter waiting for the first responders to turn up. That has to stop.



To every Queenslanders who has had their home invaded, has had their car stolen, has been assaulted or has had their body violated: we hear you, we see you and we are acting to make your communities safer. This bill is a part of a broader plan to fix the youth justice system and gives effect to the Crisafulli government's commitment to continue to strengthen the Making Queensland Safer Laws. Queenslanders deserve to feel safe in their homes, at their workplaces and in their communities. This government is delivering on its promise to make Queensland safer.

In December last year, the Crisafulli government introduced the first tranche of Adult Crime, Adult Time laws, making youth offenders liable to the same maximum, minimum and mandatory penalties as adults for 13 offences prescribed in section 175A of the Youth Justice Act 1992. This was the first step towards fixing the mess Labor created when they weakened our youth crime laws, made detention a last resort, removed breach of bail as an offence, made child criminal histories inadmissible in adult court, closed the Childrens Court to victims and their families, and put 17-year-olds in the children's system without building the infrastructure needed to manage the numbers or stem the skyrocketing number of youth offenders. With this bill we are taking steps to undo that damage.

As promised, we established the Expert Legal Panel to advise on further offences to be included under Adult Crime, Adult Time. The panel's advice is ongoing and their work continues. The panel recommended the Crisafulli government consider the 20 serious offences contained in this bill for inclusion in section 175A of the Youth Justice Act. In providing their advice, the panel considered harm indexes, the seriousness of the offence, whether the offence involved the use of violence or was likely to create conditions in which serious harm may be caused, and whether the offence involved a risk of serious consequences to victims or the community. The Expert Legal Panel undertook 10 consultation sessions with stakeholders and sector service providers, including workers in youth detention centres, legal professionals and victim support groups, while also reviewing and analysing youth crime data, case law and legislation, and undertook a review and analysis of sentencing in other states and territories. Their work is ongoing, with further offences still under consideration by the panel because we will not stop strengthening our laws until there are fewer victims of crime in this state.

I would like to thank the members of the Expert Legal Panel for the work they have done to date and the time they have dedicated so far to providing me with advice, both oral and written, to assist in strengthening our laws and making Queensland safer. Our government has a clear goal: to restore safety in our communities and ensure that there are fewer victims of crime in Queensland. If passed, this bill will add 20 new, complex and serious offences to the Adult Crime, Adult Time scheme, including three where only certain aggravated forms of the offences are prescribed. Clause 5 details the 20 serious offences to be included in section 175A of the Youth Justice Act. I will go through them now.

From the Criminal Code: going armed so as to cause fear; threatening violence; attempt to murder; accessory after the fact to murder; assaulting a pregnant person and killing, or doing grievous bodily harm to, or transmitting a serious disease to the unborn child; torture; damaging an emergency vehicle when operating a motor vehicle; endangering a police officer when driving a motor vehicle; rape; attempt to commit rape; assault with intent to commit rape; sexual assault involving any part of the mouth; sexual assault while armed, in company, or involving penetration; kidnapping; kidnapping for ransom; deprivation of liberty; stealing of a vehicle; stealing firearm for use in another indictable offence; attempted robbery, armed or in company; attempted robbery, armed and with violence; arson; and endangering particular property by fire. From the Drugs Misuse Act 1986: trafficking in dangerous drugs. These are serious offences, and youth who commit them must face serious consequences.

The bill also includes clarifying and technical amendments to ensure the intent of the Making Queensland Safer reforms is delivered. Section 54 of the Making Queensland Safer Act introduces an opt-out registration for victims of youth crime in the eligible persons register under the Youth Justice Act. The bill makes clarifying amendments to ensure that victims who are automatically registered will continue to have the option to nominate someone else to receive information on their behalf so that those victims can have control over the way they receive potentially triggering information.

The bill also removes reference to a provision of the Police Powers and Responsibilities Act which has been repealed and not replaced.

The committee received 62 submissions and heard from more than 60 people at sessions held across Brisbane, and in the crime hotspots of Cairns, Townsville and Redlands. A number of stakeholders spoke about the importance of early intervention and rehabilitation for youth offenders, and I want to assure them that this bill is supported by our strong plan to intervene and rehabilitate youth offenders.

I want to acknowledge a statement by Trudy Reading from Voice for Victims. She said—

Too often we hear of crimes committed by a young person known to police, while out on bail for multiple and increasingly serious offences. This cycle must be broken. We must stop excusing repeat offenders and start ensuring young offenders are held accountable whilst also offering them structured, meaningful pathways away from a life of crime. Accountability and rehabilitation must go hand in hand.

I could not agree more. This government is delivering both consequences and support. We are investing \$485 million in early intervention, crime prevention and rehabilitation programs to ensure the underlying causes of offending are treated and reoffending is reduced because we are committed to getting these young people's lives back on track. This includes funding for community-led Gold Standard Early Intervention initiatives with a focus on reducing crime, boosting education, training or employment, and I note that this was a point of contention for those opposite, one they came back to time and time again during the public briefing and a number of times across the public hearings.

So, for those opposite, allow me to repeat what has already been addressed in this chamber, and what my department clarified during the public hearing. We have taken action and we have invested in early intervention. In just the first few months of being in government, we gave funding to early intervention programs in Rockhampton and Townsville, programs that were at risk of closing their doors and having to stop providing a service that keeps their community safe because those opposite failed to fund them.

Through our Making Queensland Safer Plan, we are strengthening our laws and intervening when it matters, including: \$50 million for Gold Standard Early Intervention kick-starter grants to fund programs that reduce crime and increase education and employment; \$50 million for nine new, one-to-three-week Regional Reset residential programs, offering 24/7 intensive care for high-risk youth; \$40 million for two Youth Justice schools and another \$40 million for four crime prevention schools, to keep kids in education and out of trouble; \$175 million for the Staying on Track program, providing 12 months of support for youth transitioning out of detention; and \$80 million for Circuit Breaker Sentencing, a sentencing alternative to detention, designed to rehabilitate and interrupt the cycle of crime.

We are also delivering our Detention with Purpose reforms, restoring discipline and mandating education in youth detention centres. All of these programs and investments—our Making Queensland Safer Plan—work in lockstep with this bill. The Crisafulli government knows that we need to attack the youth crime crisis on all fronts so Queenslanders can feel safe in their own homes, in their workplaces and in their communities.

I will now turn to some of the stakeholder comments throughout the committee process. Some stakeholders also suggested that Adult Crime, Adult Time sentencing means children are no longer treated as children. That is not the case at all. This bill increases the available penalties, in accordance with community expectations. Youth offenders remain subject to the sentencing principles in the Youth Justice Act, and courts will still consider factors like age, criminal history and proportionality. This bill ensures the courts have the powers they need to impose penalties that reflect the seriousness of the crime.

Why do we need these laws? To protect victims, to protect people like Julie who stated during the committee hearing—

I am sharing my story because I want you to understand what is at stake. These crimes do not just take our possessions ... but also our peace of mind, our sense of security and our trust in our own neighbourhoods ... We need laws to protect us, deter crime and send the clear message that our community will not tolerate this.

That is why we need this bill. It allows the courts to impose sentences that reflect community expectations. It means youth are liable to the same maximum and mandatory non-parole periods as adults when they commit these serious crimes. These maximum penalties are important because they inform the sentencing process by conveying the parliament's view and, in turn, the community's view, of the seriousness of the offence. They also invite comparison between the worst possible case and the case before the court being considered at that time.

These penalties are not the only factor courts consider; they are to be taken and balanced with all of the other relevant factors. This bill gives the courts the ability to impose increased sentences because that is what the community has asked for, and that is what the community expects.

After a decade of Labor weakening our youth crime laws, Queenslanders voted for change. They backed this government to deliver that change, and they voted for our plan to implement tougher laws, consequences for actions and serious consequences for youth offenders who commit serious crimes. Behind every one of these crimes, there is a victim, a Queenslanders who has had their lives ripped

apart by crime, and these victims matter. This bill puts victims front and centre by ensuring there are consequences for actions.

Submitters also raised the role of restorative justice in youth justice reforms. When restorative justice is done well, it can help victims of crime and change youth offenders' behaviour. There are five pathways to restorative justice under the Youth Justice Act: police diversion, two types of court diversion, a pre-sentence court referral, where the conference outcome assists the court to decide on the appropriate final sentence, and as a final sentence order.

The bill only removes the last of these as an option for an Adult Crime Adult Time offence. It does that because it mirrors the position for adults. This means that the equivalent of the first four pathways are still available in the appropriate circumstances. What this legislation proposes is to ensure that youth who are repeat offenders, who commit serious and violent offences, the sort of offences that cause untold harm and devastation to victims, face serious consequences for their actions.

The inclusion of sexual offences has drawn some commentary from submitters, including the Queensland Law Society who stated that they 'are aware of the context in which juvenile sex offending can occur' and that 'it can often involve same age offences'. However, we cannot forget that rape and sexual assault are among the most traumatising of crimes for victims. This bill does not change how prosecutorial discretion is applied or how courts consider context. It ensures that, in serious cases, like home invasions involving rape, the law reflects the gravity of the crime. Offences like these are on the more serious end of the criminal spectrum and warrant inclusion in this bill, and is exactly why the Expert Legal Panel was established, to provide the government with advice on further offending to be included as Adult Crime, Adult Time.

The opposition's 20-page statement of reservation completely missed the point and delivered many reservations that were outside the scope of the bill. This bill is about increasing maximum penalties and ensuring the courts have the ability to hand down sentences that deliver consequences for actions and put the rights of victims front and centre. Labor spent seven pages of their statement of reservation commenting on the Expert Legal Panel.

As we have said from the beginning, the Expert Legal Panel's job is to provide advice on offences that should be included in Adult Crime, Adult Time laws. We always said there would be more changes. We will not stop strengthening our youth crime laws until Queenslanders feel safe in their homes, in their businesses and in their communities. We are not putting the Expert Legal Panel out to pasture because their job is not done; it is ongoing.


The panel have worked methodically to deliver recommendations to this government about serious and harmful offences to be included in the next wave of Adult Crime, Adult Time. One victim of crime is one too many. We will not wait until a pregnant woman is assaulted and a baby is killed by youth crime. We will not wait until a police officer is killed by a youth in a stolen car. We are taking action now because we stand on the side of victims. Labor failed for 10 years, and it has been left to the Crisafulli government to restore safety in our communities and reduce the numbers of victims of crime.

Further, those opposite failed to meaningfully invest in the infrastructure needed to keep Queenslanders safe. Seventeen-year-olds were moved into the youth justice system without enough infrastructure; there were record numbers in watch houses for extended periods of time; and there was no extra infrastructure until it was too late. In the 2022 and 2023 Christmas and New Year periods, there were over 100 youth offenders languishing in adult watch houses and they failed to meaningfully invest in rehabilitation services. This is disgraceful and we are working to fix it.

Those opposite claimed in their statement of reservation that the early intervention programs the Crisafulli government is relying on are the programs procured and funded by the former Labor government. That is fundamentally inaccurate and incorrect, and those opposite know it. They are pedalling absolute mistruths. We have funded organisations and gone to market for our programs. We will deliver effective early intervention, crime prevention and rehabilitation programs that will help turn young Queenslanders away from a life of crime. If those opposite want to talk about their programs, let's talk about what the 2024 Queensland Audit Office had to say in their *Reducing serious youth crime* report. Under the former government, the Department of Youth Justice did not undertake 'system-wide investment analysis to inform investment decisions' so it was not clear what was being spent across the board on youth crime or if it was being invested in proper areas.

The Crisafulli government is doing things properly. We are respecting taxpayers' money and we are delivering programs and infrastructure that will restore safety to local communities. Our programs will make a difference and we will not take the piecemeal announcement-driven approach that Labor did. The Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill is the next step in

restoring consequences for actions and making our state safer. This is something Queenslanders asked for and the Crisafulli government is delivering the change required to restore safety to our communities. We will not stop until there are fewer victims of crime. I commend the bill to the House.

 **Hon. DE FARMER** (Bulimba—ALP) (12.42 pm): I rise to address the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025. My goodness, hasn't a lot happened in the last 24 hours. In fact, I was going through my speeches last night making some last-minute tweaks—what will I include and not include—and it was Tim Arvier's report on Channel Nine that helped me decide. There were some amazing insights into the way this government thinks about youth crime. The Premier must have been really happy with some of his ministers and staff afterwards! A little bit on that later but thank you, Tim.

Every Queenslanders wants to feel safe. They deserve to feel safe in their home, at their work and in their community, and all sides of politics have that goal. We recognise that many Queenslanders have not felt safe and victims, in particular, have not felt safe. When the LNP government went to the last election and promised Queenslanders that they would not only reduce youth crime but it would go down to zero, Queenslanders felt that the LNP had the answers. Many victims, in particular, felt that the LNP had the answers. They wanted it to be true, and the LNP is now in government to deliver on that promise. However the problem for Queenslanders—and for victims—is this week is now the seventh sitting week since the election and the Youth Justice Bill and/or amendments have been debated every week, except for the sitting week in March. This is the LNP's attempt to introduce effective youth crime laws, but despite those many botched attempts to produce laws that are sound and can withstand scrutiny—we see from this morning's procedural motion that they still do not have that sorted—the critical evidence about whether these laws and amendments have worked is the youth crime data and whether that data shows youth crime going down. It actually has not gone down as they promised. Despite their cherry-picking of data, youth crime has gone up against a number of offences and certainly across every region.

The first attempt at legislating against youth crime was, of course, in December last year when the government rushed through the first tranche of the Making Queensland Safer Laws. The experts begged them to take a bit more time to avoid unintended consequences. We moved for a review but they were not having it—it had to be done before Christmas because youth crime had to go down by Christmas. Of course, youth crime did not go down by Christmas—it was never going to in the first place. As it turns out, they did forget to include some offences in that bill, they did create unintended consequences and there were some technical slip-ups.

We saw the Youth Justice (Monitoring Devices) Amendment Bill go through earlier this year—a six-page bill, counting the blank pages at the beginning and the end, that literally changed one number and we spent days on that one.

**Mrs GERBER:** Madam Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order on relevance. We are talking about the Adult Crime, Adult Time Amendment Bill—not a previous bill that has passed through this House.

**Madam DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Ms Marr): Member for Bulimba, I will ask you to come back to the bill at hand.

**Ms FARMER:** Thank you for your guidance. I am repeating some of the questions that were asked in the committee hearing. This bill was introduced to parliament. It listed an additional 20 offences that the government had not had the chance to include in the first bill because they had rushed it through so quickly—the serious offence of attempted murder, for instance—but more on that later, as well. It also contains some technical amendments that they had not taken care of in the first bill because they were so rushed. Then, while this bill was going through committee, we found some sneaky amendments to the Youth Justice Act in the CCC Bill that I am sure they hoped we would not notice because it was so embarrassing but which they could have included in this bill.

It is all a bit of a shambles, but the worst part is what it means for Queenslanders and for victims is the problem with the crime statistics. Not only are they not at net zero, as they promised, but they have not gone down—they have actually gone up across most offences and in most regions. Since January, the unlawful use of motor vehicles is up 8.6 per cent in the Far North; in Logan, grievous bodily harm is up 27 per cent; on the Sunshine Coast, serious assaults are up 17 per cent; robbery is up 48 per cent; and rape and attempted rape—those offences they forgot about in the first bill—are up almost 10 per cent across the state. This is one of the main reasons we, and most stakeholders, want to see the Expert Legal Panel advice because if we must debate yet another bill that amends the Youth

Justice Act, then we need to be able to assure Queenslanders, and victims, in particular, that this time the LNP is a bit sorted about their youth crime legislation.

We know that the Expert Legal Panel, hand-picked by the Minister for Youth Justice, provided key advice that formed the backbone of this bill. We know they were relied upon to determine which offences would see children locked up like adults and we know that 20 new offences were added based on their advice. Clearly, the Expert Legal Panel did not take advice from the member for Cook because we know what he thinks about whether it is worthwhile including attempted murder—there is a bit of a fuss about including that in any new laws.

What we do not know and what Queenslanders still do not know is what the advice from the panel actually was. The government has not released one piece of evidence relied upon by the expert panel or supplied by the panel to the government that apparently underpins some of the biggest changes to youth justice legislation in a generation. If this government had confidence in that advice, if they had trust in their panel, if they genuinely wanted Queenslanders to feel confident in their new laws after the circus they have been running up until now, they would not be hiding that advice.

What do we know? The director-general of the Department of Youth Justice and Victim Support made it clear during public hearings that the advice from the panel went directly to the minister; it was considered by cabinet. It formed the basis for law and yet it remains locked away. Not even the stakeholders consulted—if they were consulted—have seen it. Let's not kid ourselves. We are not talking about some obscure technical paper; this is the advice that the LNP is using to justify locking up more young people for longer because they say it will reduce crime. So Queenslanders deserve to see that evidence, and stakeholder after stakeholder has said the same thing.

The Queensland Council of Social Service made it crystal clear when they said—

We are asking the government to release the advice provided by the Expert Legal Panel.

...

All of us have not had the opportunity to look at the evidence the government is relying on to argue for this policy and, on the face of it, all evidence points to this not improving community safety.

The Queensland Law Society agrees—

Yes, the society would support the disclosure of that report so that we can ensure that legislative change is evidence based and the basis for which these amendments are made is disclosed so that we can appropriately consider whether or not they are justified.

The Queensland Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Child Protection Peak was explicit—

We made it clear in our submission as one of our recommendations because we believe that it—

the advice of the expert panel—

is needed to be made public to ensure stakeholders and the Queensland community understand that decisions which will have significant impacts on the lives of children, young people and families across the state are made transparently, and that the decisions that the parliament makes are made on the best available evidence.

Katherine Hayes from the Youth Advocacy Centre said—

It is really unclear to us why these offences were included, particularly the five or six that already have life imprisonment as an available option for sentencing. For us, and I think the sector and probably the public generally, it would be great to understand why those 20 offences have been included.

Yet what we have seen from the Crisafulli LNP government is stonewalling and, to be frank, dishonesty. Let's not forget when the minister was asked whether any panel members had LNP connections she responded, 'Not that I'm aware of,' despite reporting in the *Courier-Mail* that the chair is married to an LNP staffer, the chief of staff to the Treasurer.

The Queensland opposition has no issue with experts being appointed to panels—governments rely on expert advice—but we do have a problem with secrecy. We do have a problem with a government that says 'trust us' while actively hiding the very advice they are using to justify new laws. If honourable members did not think something was fishy about this failure to disclose before the *9News* last night, which was a complete train wreck for the Minister for Youth Justice, then they definitely did afterwards. In that news report she accused Tim Arvier and I think all journalists in general—sorry to everyone in the press gallery—of pretty much being 'Labor Party stooges' because Tim had the audacity to ask about releasing the advice of the Expert Legal Panel. It was quite weird to watch, and I bet the Premier thought so as well. If the advice is sound, release it. If the panel did its job, prove it.

This would not be so galling if it were not for the hypocrisy. If the government really wanted legal advice on sentencing and serious crime, why not go to the Queensland Sentencing Advisory Council? It has a strong reputation, it is independent and it publishes its work. Ironically, one of the Expert Legal Panel members was later appointed to the council by the very same LNP Attorney-General, so let's not pretend this is not political. Here is the kicker: we know from the explanatory notes that these 20 offences were chosen based on 'consultation' by the panel, yet not a single organisation that appeared before the committee had seen the advice. Most were not even consulted—not Voice for Victims, not QCROSS, not PeakCare, not the Youth Advocacy Centre, not the Human Rights Commission—so who was consulted? That question remains unanswered. If the government wants to bring Queenslanders on this legislative journey, do not shut the door and draw the blinds. It is time to stop governing in secret and let the sun shine in on the LNP's hand-picked Expert Legal Panel's advice for all to see.

We hear a lot from the LNP government about early intervention, about their so-called rolled gold programs and about breaking the cycle of crime. During his introductory speech, the Premier stood in this House and said—

The laws are bolstered by investment in early intervention and rehabilitation—

but when we actually look at what has been delivered so far—not promised, not tendered, not announced, but actually delivered—we find there is almost nothing there. There is not one new program up and running, not one real investment flowing, just more spin and slogans and more stalling.

During the public briefing to the committee, the department's director-general could identify that only two organisations in Rockhampton and Townsville had received any new funding at all. He thought there might be a couple of hundred thousand dollars between them, and the LNP have been in government for seven months. The rest of the money is tied up in forward estimates, locked in a tender process. Half a billion dollars has been promised but barely a cent of it is delivering early intervention programs today.

I will tell honourable members what is delivering right now, although the LNP are trying to take credit for them. It is the programs Labor funded and procured—a number of them with strong evaluations showing significant reductions in offending. I ask: where are the LNP's rolled gold early intervention programs? According to the Justice Reform Initiative, those so-called programs are not even off the ground, and they are right to say this risks undermining the government's entire approach to community safety. The other stakeholders could not be clearer. PeakCare said that without proper investment in early intervention we are going to keep seeing more kids locked in watch houses for longer. They reminded the government that every dollar spent on early intervention saves \$13 across health, education, justice and welfare. Voice for Victims, advocates for those who suffer most, say that penalties alone will not fix the problem. They are calling for education, rehabilitation, skills training and family intervention.

The Victims' Commissioner made it plain: victims want real prevention. They want the pipeline of young people entering the system shut off before it starts. But what do we get from this government? We get lip-service, PR lines, a few tender documents and some vague promises buried in the forwards. From what we hear, they realised quite early on that achieving against the slogans they had gone to the election with was a lot more simplistic than reality. The truth is that you break the cycle with evidence-based investment, with early intervention and prevention, and it is time the government started to deliver.

We all agree that police watch houses are not the place for children—they are not designed for it, they are not resourced for it and they are not fit for purpose, and every stakeholder says the same thing. Every expert says it, including the Queensland Police Union during the committee process, which is why it is so important that proper modelling is done around the impacts of these laws on infrastructure and human resourcing. The Wacol Youth Remand Centre was Labor's project commissioned under our government, although this government is claiming it. Yes, while it will provide some relief, by itself it is not enough. That is because the Wacol, Woodford and Cairns facilities were planned by Labor prior to the Adult Crime, Adult Time laws and they did not factor in the increased numbers of young people who would be locked up as a result of these new laws nor that they would stay in detention longer.

The explanatory notes acknowledged that there could be capacity challenges but says the department will just monitor those rather than do any modelling. I can tell honourable members that the Labor government modelled meticulously in order to commit to Wacol, Woodford and Cairns. It was confirmed by the DG's admission in the hearings that it can take up to 3½ years to plan and build a detention centre, so monitoring is not enough. This is not demand that can be responded to quickly. They need to be modelling right now or they just will not be able to get new facilities built in time. That

means the real concerns of organisations like the Australian Workers' Union, which represents youth detention centre workers, will become reality. I have to say it is a bit confusing about whether the modelling is happening because the minister's department was not clear on that. On the one hand they told the committee they are not doing it, but on the other they also said they do it every day. If they are actually modelling, when can we see that and what is actually being put in place to cater for future youth detention centre populations unless that has something to do with the meetings the private contractor Serco had with a couple of ministerial chiefs of staff earlier this year. Good luck with that when we look at the experiences in other jurisdictions with private providers!

Debate, on motion of Ms Farmer, adjourned.

Sitting suspended from 1.00 pm to 2.00 pm.

## MATTERS OF PUBLIC INTEREST

### Workplace Safety; Federal Election; Budget



**Hon. SJ MILES** (Murrumba—ALP) (Leader of the Opposition) (2.00 pm): Today, victim-survivor and advocate Brittany Higgins spoke out. She spoke out against the Crisafulli LNP government's decision to indefinitely delay the respect at work protections which were due to commence on 1 July this year. That is an indefinite delay on important laws that would protect women from sexual harassment and assault in the workplace. These laws were the direct result of the Jenkins review. Even Scott Morrison and his federal LNP government knew that these protections were important. Then prime minister Scott Morrison said that we all have a role to play in stopping sexual harassment and creating safe workplaces. It is a shame the Premier and his government do not feel the same. They would rather push the protection of women and girls off into the never-never. I do not think it is good enough, and we will not stop fighting for the protection of women and the protection of workers each and every day.

Australians have had their say. Queenslanders have had their say. They voted for a re-elected Labor government led by Prime Minister Anthony Albanese—a Labor government that is delivering for everyone, so that no-one is held back and no-one is left behind. Queenslanders voted for a stronger Medicare system, for cheaper medicines, for free TAFE and for the right to work from home and to disconnect at the end of the day. They want their government to build for them, not pump the brakes. I know that Anthony Albanese will lead a strong team that will do what matters for Queensland. That team is stronger because of the incredible women who have been elected: senator-elect Corinne Mulholland; the member for Petrie, Emma Comer; the member for Griffith, Renee Coffey; the member for Bonner, Kara Cook; the member for Moreton, Julie-Ann Campbell; and, of course, our giant-killer, the member for Dickson, Ali France. This strong team of women will put Queenslanders first, put women first and make our federal parliament work harder to deliver on what is important. I want to also acknowledge the member for Leichhardt, Matt Smith—he is our tallest MP—and the new member for Forde, Rowan Holzberger. It is a massive achievement, and I could not have been more proud to support each of them.

Overwhelmingly, though, Queenslanders have voted against the archaic views of the Liberal National Party, against far-right Trumpian politics. They voted against nuclear power, they voted against massive cuts to the Public Service and they voted against a party that quite obviously had a problem with women and young people. If you are under 40 or a woman, the federal coalition had nothing to offer you—no bold vision for the future, no strong economic plan, no action on climate change or the environment and no direct cost-of-living relief.

Can you imagine how it would have panned out if that coalition had won government? We really do not need to imagine it, because it is on full display here in Queensland. It is Queenslanders who will pay the price. Last Friday, in an interview with the *Today* show, the Queensland Premier said that he campaigned for Peter Dutton because he 'believed in the things he was putting forward'. Now, the Premier did not elaborate on what things they were. He said today that it was not the plan to sack public servants and it was not the plan to repeal work-from-home arrangements, so maybe it was the plan to build two nuclear reactors here in Queensland. Anyway, the Premier should come clean about what it was he believed Peter Dutton was offering for Queensland. I think the people of Queensland, who overwhelmingly voted for strong Labor values, would be keen to understand what their Premier meant. A belief is fundamental to who you are and what you will deliver, so if this Premier believes in cuts, backflips and nuclear power, that is a pretty big deal. It is why we asked him about it today, and it is disappointing that he would not answer.

I have been saying it for a while now, but what this federal election confirmed is that, for the LNP, cuts run to their core. It is what we have seen consistently: from Campbell Newman, with his then treasurer the member for Clayfield, to its now Treasurer, David Janetzki, tasked with manning the guillotine to enact their slash-and-burn agenda. The *Australian* revealed this month that the Under Treasurer had put hard words to directors-general to find cuts. He said—

... there is limited scope for new funding in the 2025-26 budget.

The letter suggested that the CBRC would consider opportunities for expenditure to be moderated, reprioritised or cut. The Premier and the LNP made over \$18 billion in unfunded promises. At the time they said that they would deliver these and a balanced budget, yet the costings they released had very little detail. They said they would be funded through savings, which we know is code for cuts. That is because the LNP committed to rule out any new revenue measures or further borrowings. The math does not work; you can only cut. Now that they are in government, we see that those cuts are on the horizon. They are marching towards Queenslanders each and every day.

There are 35 days until this government's first budget—35 days until we see the truth in black and white, down to the bottom line. In 35 days we will see which vital services that Queenslanders rely on will get the chop. We will see how many programs and projects are delayed, deferred or rescoped. Let's not mince words here: a deferral, a delay or a change in scope is as clear as day a broken promise—a departure from what was promised. Take for example the 2,200 hospital beds that were promised by 2028. Now we know that they will not be delivered at all. Despite claims from those opposite that it is a scare tactic, construction at many hospitals is now at a standstill. I know that nothing gets cheaper the longer you take to build it, and this is just one example. This budget will be full of examples.

Most importantly, this budget should deliver the cost-of-living relief Queenslanders expect. When asked what the Premier would do on cost-of-living relief, he said—

We believe there needs to be those interim measures, and that looks like rebates and making sure that fares are affordable.

Since then the LNP has hiked rego by 24 per cent. For the average household, that could be almost \$160 extra. I recently spoke with some young Queenslanders about the impact this would have on them. Many did not even know it was happening, because there had been no media release, no press conference—nothing at all, just a Premier making decisions in darkness, without any accountability. There are more measures like that which could be next: \$200 FairPlay vouchers, for example, or—the big one—\$1,000 energy rebates. March CPI data showed a dramatic increase in electricity costs for Brisbane households. In fact, electricity more than doubled. When families are already doing it tough, will the LNP step in to make sure electricity is affordable? It is what families and households around the state need. It is what they are telling us they need.

In the few months that the Crisafulli LNP government has been in power, Queenslanders have realised they have been sold a pup. They were promised the world but all they have is lip-service. The upcoming budget will be a turning point—a line in the sand on the whingeing and whining and blame games—because the reality is that being in government can be hard. You do have to make tough decisions, but your goal should be to make Queensland a better place. This budget will be a true test of what the LNP chooses to prioritise. More clearly, it will be our first taste of what it does not. It will be Treasurer David Janetzki's job to sell that budget—to justify the cuts and the delays, to explain to families why they will pay more for rego and electricity. In 35 days we will see the true colours of this LNP government. The clock is ticking.

### Arts Sector, Multiculturalism and Anti-Discrimination Laws



**Hon. JH LANGBROEK** (Surfers Paradise—LNP) (Minister for Education and the Arts) (2.10 pm): We on this side have already discussed that the clock may be ticking, but not necessarily for what the Leader of the Opposition thinks it is ticking for. I say that as a former leader of the opposition who was criticised at times about the question time strategy, while the omnishambles that we saw this morning and that we have seen every sitting day really do not augur well for the prospects, especially when it comes to issues such as anti-discrimination laws. For example, I know that the laws that Labor brought in could grant a gun licence to someone charged but not yet convicted of a serious offence such as domestic violence—‘Oh, don't worry about that’—or prevent authorities from suspending the licence of a security provider who has been charged but not yet convicted of a serious offence. Those opposite are just making it up as they go along and trying to grab someone who will go along with their agenda.



Importantly, as Minister for the Arts I am privileged to see how creativity brings people together. Whether through writing and story, song, theatre or film, the arts are not merely a mirror of our society; they are a bridge between communities, generations and perspectives. The government supports the arts as a platform for creativity, expression and cultural engagement. In our multicultural state of Queensland, our communities are built on the strength of diverse cultures, languages, traditions and beliefs and the values that bind us together—respect, inclusion and shared opportunity—and we saw this over the weekend when the Premier attended Australia's longest running Greek festival, Paniyiri.

However, today I rise to express serious concern over the recent decision by the Library Board of Queensland to award a black&write! Writing Fellowship to an author who has publicly expressed sympathy for Hamas—a group listed as a terrorist organisation under Australian law. The author, via comments on social media, has praised the mastermind of the 7 October Hamas-led terror attacks as a 'martyr' and a 'hero'. These comments are not only deeply offensive but also risk dividing our multicultural community at a time when unity and respect are more important than ever. Let me be clear: the black&write! Writing Fellowship is an important program that uplifts Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander writers, champions new voices and contributes to Australia's literary landscape and must be protected, strengthened and never undermined or used as a platform for views that are fundamentally at odds with Australian values.


There is no place in our libraries, at music awards or in any publicly funded venue for the glorification of terrorism, and that is why the Premier and I have been unequivocal in stating that there is no place for hate, discrimination or racism, including anti-Semitism, in Queensland. As a former shadow minister for multiculturalism and in my capacity as member for Surfers Paradise, I have had the honour of attending many citizenship ceremonies and have seen firsthand the pride of new Australians as they commit to our shared values of democracy, freedom, equality and the rule of law. This government will always defend freedom of speech, including the arts, but that freedom does not extend to celebrating murder and violence, nor does it absolve individuals from the consequences of eroding public confidence or support. Queensland's multicultural society is one of our greatest strengths and it must be defended, not just through words but through meaningful action, and it is incumbent on the board to ensure that the activities and associations of the State Library reflect community standards and uphold the integrity of the institution. Whilst I support the principles of free expression and creative diversity, any perception that taxpayer funded awards being granted to individuals who justify terrorism undermines public trust both in our institutions and in the cultural sector more broadly.

Whilst individuals are free to hold and express their views, we must ensure that publicly funded arts programs and venues are held to the highest standards, promoting artistic excellence and fostering social cohesion. This is a standard we expect. It is the standard the people of Queensland deserve. Words matter, and that is why we have taken the decision that this award should not be presented at the State Library. I want to hold those opposite as partially culpable for what we have seen throughout Australian society. Throughout the term of the last government—and I said this in my address-in-reply—after the incidents in October 2023, whenever there was anything at the Holocaust Museum, whenever there was anything like Never Again is Now, the only members who I saw at any of those rallies or at any of those programs were from this side of the House, with one exception. There was the member for Clayfield, the now member for Burleigh, the member for Kawana and the member for Maroochydore. I was there.

**Opposition members** interjected.

**Mr LANGBROEK:** It is not offensive because those opposite refused to take a stand. They refused to take a stand.

### Train Manufacturing Program, Jobs

 **Mr MELLISH** (Aspley—ALP) (2.15 pm): In the 2½ weeks since the last sitting we have heard about four different stories spun by this government and its lack of action to protect train manufacturing jobs in Maryborough. It was only a leaked letter to the workforce that alerted the public to the pending loss of 120 workers from the Maryborough Walker Street facility—not a government announcement; no press release in sight. This government tried to keep secret the rejection of the diesel tilt train refurbishment contract which would have kept over 100 locals in jobs. First we heard in this House that everything was fine—this was the first story—when ministers Last and Mickelberg frantically tried to only talk about the Torbanlea facility and the QTMP being constructed there. Secondly, we saw an emergency dash to Torbanlea from this transport minister trying to save the skin of the member for Maryborough where we heard the claim that it is because of a private freight operator that the workers would lose their jobs. Thirdly, maybe the transport minister had a quick google and realised Queensland

Rail is actually government owned, so they stopped claiming that it is a private freight operator but—wait for it—the minister was now claiming he had no control over Queensland Rail. Last Tuesday the minister said—

I've had no role in this decision ... operational decisions for Queensland Rail are a matter for the board ...

The member for Maryborough has said on his Facebook page—

Downer's contract is with Queensland Rail—it has nothing to do with the Crisafulli Government.

This is obviously misleading. We can even compare it to a media release this month titled 'Crisafulli government delivers more train services'. In that release the minister goes to great lengths to claim that a few extra train services on the weekend were largely because of the sheer brilliance and hard work of the Crisafulli government. Mr Deputy Speaker Lister, if I can be so bold, I recall even getting a question from you last year about wine served on Queensland Rail trains and where they came from, which was a great question. As to the refurbishment of Queensland Rail trains—well, no, the government has nothing to do with that whatsoever, according to the current ministers. So when things are going well they run the trains; when jobs are being cut they have never met Queensland Rail in their life.

Maybe the minister needs to have 'transport' taken out of his title as he has obviously only had a negative impact on the portfolio during a short spell in the job. We have seen him fail on his pre-election promise to get rail to Maroochydore—a broken promise; we have seen Gold Coast Light Rail taken off him by the Deputy Premier; we have seen him refuse to rule out a toll on the Coomera Connector; we have seen him mislead on Cross River Rail delays; and now we have seen the claim that he is not even the minister for Queensland Rail. Remarkable! I will not be holding my breath for the other shareholding minister, the Treasurer, to swoop in and fix this as he is too focused on covering up explosions at Callide and juicing up the numbers in his budget at the moment. We heard him make some bizarre rambling filibuster today when he was asked a very direct question about his ministerial responsibilities and read from a letter from Downer which does not put this matter to bed.

Let me point out that this is not about Downer; this is about the government not giving it work which would keep Maryborough locals in jobs and then trying to wash its hands of that decision. I hear from locals that the member for Maryborough is now abusing opposition members in public cafes. That is not great behaviour from the local member of parliament. Right now more than 100 workers are facing the sack before Christmas. We are going to continue to fight with them and hold this government to account because the people of Maryborough matter. Labor's Queensland Train Manufacturing Program secured jobs for generations in Torbanlea. Those working in Maryborough itself deserve certainty too. I had the dubious honour last year while minister of welcoming back into service the last of the foreign-built trains purchased by the former LNP government that had to be sent for repairs to be disability compliant.

If you get train manufacturing wrong it takes decades to fix—if it can be fixed at all. We saw what the LNP did to Maryborough the last time they were in government and now they are trying for a sequel. I have met with workers from Downer who are rightly upset and want answers and I will meet with them again. The Crisafulli government cannot seem to get its story straight on this. Their version of events is as clear as mud. It is time for the Premier and his ministers to own up to this disastrous decision and tell the people of Maryborough whether they will protect these much-needed jobs.

This Premier does not back his regional members. I congratulate the Nationals in Canberra who have had the courage of their convictions to announce this morning that they will not be entering into a coalition with the Liberal Party. I congratulate them for standing up for their regional members. This is in contrast to the Queensland LNP who take their votes for granted. The Premier, who fled Townsville and who has now fled the Gold Coast for Brisbane, and the Deputy Premier are not looking after the regional members. The Treasurer is too busy to look after them. The last time they had a regional member as their leader they were celebrating her loss on election night on Clive Palmer's boat. While I was at the Bald Hills booth with the member for Nanango trying to chase votes, her own party was undermining her. They do not back their regional members. We will back the regions. We will back Maryborough jobs. We will back train manufacturing. This government needs to wake up and come to the party.

## Trade



**Hon. RM BATES** (Mudgeeraba—LNP) (Minister for Finance, Trade, Employment and Training) (2.20 pm): It was almost laughable to read over the last couple of weeks the member for McConnel's

attempts to criticise this government's trade agenda—this from a senior member of the former Labor government who presided over one of the most directionless and disengaged trade portfolios Queensland has ever seen. Let us be clear, under Labor trade was an afterthought.

**Opposition members** interjected.

**Ms BATES:** You do not like it, do you? The former trade minister, the member for Woodridge, was missing in action. There was no strategy, no leadership and no outcomes. While the world was opening and opportunities were emerging, Labor sat idle. They did not grow trade; they watched it drift. The member for McConnel now has a lot to say from opposition, but where was this so-called passion for exports when she sat around the cabinet table—nowhere to be found. The member for McConnel sat in the wilderness and twiddled her thumbs.

**Opposition members** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Lister): Members to my left! I am looking at you, member for Cairns.

**Mr Nicholls:** She went to Harvard.

**Ms BATES:** She did go to Harvard. I take that interjection. Frankly, Queensland's exporters deserve better than a government whose idea of trade promotion was a press release, a pat on the back and subsidising investments with Queensland taxpayers' dollars without their knowledge. The Crisafulli LNP government is taking trade seriously and we are getting the job done. We are driving investment into our regions and standing shoulder to shoulder with Queensland businesses to help them break into markets.

**Mr Dick** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Member for Woodridge, that will be your last interjection. The next time will be a warning.

**Ms BATES:** That is what we did in Japan and South Korea, it is what we did in India and Singapore and it is what we have done most recently in China and Hong Kong with our food and beverage sectors. That is what we are doing every single week: it is about results not rhetoric. Unlike Labor, we do not wait for opportunity to knock, we go out and find it.

The member for McConnel may not like that because it shows up her own record and the record of a tired former government that talked a lot but delivered next to nothing. Now in opposition she is following the same playbook. The shadow trade minister is keen to point out the number of press conferences that I have held. It is not about getting your ugly mug on TV, member for McConnel. That is not a measure of success. This is typical of the former failed Miles government. They love talking about press conferences and announcements but they failed again and again to actually deliver for Queenslanders. How many meetings or engagements has the shadow trade minister had with Queensland exporters or with our valued trade partners? The member for McConnel's diary disclosures show that in the last six months she has held two meetings relating to the trade portfolio—not 200, not 20: two. How slack. She has spent lots of time though at the tennis, the cricket and the races, and lots of time with her union mates. In six months there has not been one question without notice and only one question on notice. As always those opposite are all talk, no action.


In October Queenslanders saw right through them and have backed the right team with the right plan—

**Opposition members** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Calm it down, members to my left.

**Ms BATES:** In October Queenslanders saw right through them and have backed the right team with the right plan to support our exporters and businesses navigate the current erratic trade environment. With the support of Trade and Investment Queensland and their presence in 18 markets, including a new office in Shenzhen which I opened last week, we are on the ground listening to and supporting Queensland exporters. TIQ have also kicked off a series of round tables. The first one was in Toowoomba with affected stakeholders in our region, with more to come over the coming weeks. Over the past months they have been providing Queensland exporters with guidance on trade to the US and mitigating risk with diversification. Queensland cannot afford to go backwards. Queenslanders will not accept more lectures from a party that had a decade to get it right and failed. The Crisafulli LNP government is getting on with the job. Trade is back on the agenda and Queensland is open for business. Only the Crisafulli LNP government can deliver for Queensland.

**Trade; Train Manufacturing Program, Jobs**

 **Hon. G GRACE** (McConnel—ALP) (2.25 pm): In five minutes I did not hear one new trade agreement established by the member. I heard a lot of 'ifs', 'maybes', 'we will do this', 'the Crisafulli government will deliver', but no substance whatsoever. I say to the minister, 'Welcome to the cesspit of nasty character assassinations and the blame game.' That is all every minister over there is doing because they have nothing in relation to policy—it is a policy vacuum. I was not trade minister in my last portfolio, but when I did do the occasional trip I did not take cooking lessons and look at lovely flower arrangements. I did a little bit more than that.

**Mr Miles** interjected.

**Ms GRACE:** I will take that interjection from the Leader of the Opposition. I do know how to cook. I could even teach the member for Mudgeeraba. She does not have to go overseas. I will do it free of charge. Her meatballs will be wonderful after I teach her how to do them.

Let us get serious. My constituents are getting sick of the blame game that those opposite are playing. I know that the constituents in Maryborough are too. It was wonderful to visit Maryborough and Hervey Bay last week where we heard firsthand from those workers concerned about their jobs. This is not a talkfest. We know what the LNP when they were last in government did to those workers. If those opposite want to talk about trade, let us talk about their great record. Their record in trade is to make trains overseas. This side of the House has them made in Maryborough. We know what the LNP did to Maryborough last time. We followed a course to make sure that we had one of the best train manufacturing and service centres in the country. It would be leading Australia but for the LNP.

We went up there and heard it was a scare campaign. The member for Maryborough was missing in action. I know that we will get evidence that he was not quite missing in action, but I will let the member for Bundaberg deal with that. What the LNP did to Maryborough last time was an absolute disgrace. We spent time building that fabulous manufacturing base. We know that the only threat to that is the LNP. The Leader of the Opposition, the shadow minister for transport, the deputy opposition leader and I went to Maryborough to make sure that those workers knew that Labor backed them, their families and their skill set every step of the way. We back jobs in the regions. Those opposite walk away. This morning we saw a shocking example of ministerial incompetence. They say, 'No, they are okay.' We are not talking about Torbanlea, we are actually talking about Maryborough and Downer. The transport minister says, 'No, I cannot direct QR.' Guess what, Minister, it is a GOC so yes, you can.


They walked away and left the member for Maryborough hanging out to dry. They know he has no chance of being re-elected. They know he is a oncer. The people of Maryborough will have their say. Given the way that this particular issue has been handled, when Labor say that we back them every step of the way those words will resonate. That is what they have been telling us.

According to the LNP, zero jobs will be lost. According to Downer, in the information that they have sent to their workers, well over 100 jobs will be lost by the end of the year. One hundred and twenty mums, dads, apprentices and trainees will be left with nothing while the cost of living bears down on them. We will save the jobs in Maryborough. We will keep holding this government to account because they said that they would maintain those jobs. We will even make the member for Maryborough stand up and fight for those jobs in the regions. Fancy a local member not saying a word other than to call it a scare campaign. It is not a scare campaign; it is reality. Do your job and save those jobs in the regions because we know one thing: Labor will.

**Mrs Gerber** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Lister): Member for Currumbin, you are warned under the standing orders for those interjections.

### **Domestic and Family Violence, Candlelight Vigils**

 **Hon. AJ CAMM** (Whitsunday—LNP) (Minister for Families, Seniors and Disability Services and Minister for Child Safety and the Prevention of Domestic and Family Violence) (2.30 pm): Didn't we just hear history being rewritten! That was incredible. I remind the opposition that, during the election campaign, as our incredible candidate for Maryborough was working hard, the former member for Maryborough was in my electorate, drinking cups of coffee and touring North Queensland. That is what the former member for Maryborough was doing and those opposite wonder why the former member for Maryborough was not re-elected. He took regional Queensland for granted unlike our local member who works hard and tirelessly to represent his community. We look forward to supporting him in all his endeavours in representing the people of Maryborough.

Last week I had the incredible and humbling privilege of standing alongside frontline workers of the Queensland Police Service and CEO Amanda and her management committee from Protea Place for one of the most emotional domestic violence candlelight vigils I have ever attended. We remembered and honoured the lives of Louise Hunt and Frances Crawford. We talk about lives being lost to domestic and family violence. I shared that lives are not lost; lives are taken. What is lost is a woman's right to be able to raise her children. What is lost is her right to be able to see them grow up. What is lost is her right to be safe. As those alleged incidents play out, what is left is a community in mourning. I want to acknowledge the leadership of Mayor Geoff McDonald and his council, the Toowoomba community and other representatives with whom I got to spend time as part of that candlelight vigil. We will stand with them. I look forward to meeting with the mayor later this week to see how we can better support his community through the recovery period.


I also thank and pay respects to the organising committee of the Brisbane candlelight vigil. Members from both sides of the House attended. I thank Micah Projects, Challenge DV, Red Rose Foundation, DVConnect, UnitingCare and Immigrant Women's Support Services for what they do not just once a year but each and every day to support victim-survivors of domestic and family violence.

This month, with Beyond DV, I also had the privilege of launching the Ask a Mate app. I encourage all members of this House to promote the app across their communities. We heard from Jeff Horn, Mason Black and Harris Andrews of the Brisbane Lions. They are young men leading the way. We are a government that wants to invest in and support prevention. Those young men are demonstrating the leadership that we need to turn the tide in the next generation when it comes to domestic and family violence.

I thank the Brisbane Lions and the Brisbane Broncos that, for the first time, brought together 1,000 attendees at a lunch held next door at The Star to recognise Domestic Violence Prevention Month. It was incredible to see Sue and Lloyd Clarke once again standing up and advocating on behalf of Queenslanders and engaging in the broader conversation that it takes the whole community to combat domestic and family violence. They will receive their Order of Australia this year. It is important to note that from 26 May coercive control will become a criminal offence in Queensland and it will carry a maximum penalty of 14 years imprisonment due to the serious nature of the offence, the harm that coercive control can cause victim-survivors and, sadly, the fact that it can take a victim's life.

I thank the Queensland Police Service for undertaking significant training and more training will be ongoing. In my own community, I have spoken with the local Whitsunday Counselling and Support service and we now have embedded workers in police stations in the Whitsundays and Bowen. The rollout of the vulnerable person's unit, aligned with embedded workers, is making a difference across our state for victim-survivors and their experiences. This month, let us all take time to pause and remember the lives lost.

### Train Manufacturing Program

 **Mr SMITH** (Bundaberg—ALP) (2.35 pm): On Thursday of the last sitting week, the opposition asked the LNP Minister for Manufacturing a question without notice based on information provided by a whistleblower. The question related to proposed job cuts at the Downer Maryborough facility. In his response, Minister Last said—

The manufacturing of the 65 trains at the Torbanlea facility is on track.

He later said—

... that the creation of jobs at that facility is going to generate significant employment opportunities. I want to note the advocacy of the member for Maryborough in his support for that particular facility.

He went on to say—

We have said right from day 1 that those jobs that are attached to this new train manufacturing facility are secure.

In answer to a follow-up question about the Queensland Train Manufacturing Program, the minister said—

It is the same question.

The only problem is: it was not. There are two different facilities. There are two different Downer facilities in Maryborough. In fact, they are so different that they are even at different locations. One is in Maryborough and the other is in Torbanlea. One is in one postcode and the other is in another postcode. One is at one exit into Maryborough and the other one is 20 minutes further up the highway. This minister has no idea.

We now know that the opposition were first to know about these job cuts while Minister Last was second, which proves the adage that if you ain't first then you're last. We know that, on that very same day, Downer sent a memo to the hardworking men and women at the Downer Maryborough facility and said that jobs would be concluding as per the natural schedule and also that the overhaul of the diesel tilt trains would be scrapped because of the LNP as a \$160 million contract had been scrapped in March of this year. That \$160 million overhaul would have meant that 122 hardworking men and women would be able to stay at the Maryborough facility—not Torbanlea, but Maryborough—and stay in their community, but now they face being marched out of the gates of the Maryborough facility by Christmas.

On Thursday afternoon of the last sitting, because the minister had made such a bad error, the Minister for Transport and Main Roads had to come into the House and correct the record. He came in and corrected it by getting it wrong again. He spoke about the Queensland Train Manufacturing Program. Member for Maryborough, where is it? He does not know! It is in Torbanlea. It is not at the Maryborough facility. It is in Torbanlea. Again, a different postcode means a different place.

We know that the next day the LNP Minister for Transport and Main Roads went to Maryborough. He actually got the right location. Maybe he went all the way up the highway and chucked a U-ey but we cannot prove that. With 122 jobs on the line, the minister responsible for overseeing Queensland Rail said that Queensland Rail had nothing to do with him; that the decision of Queensland Rail to cancel a contract meaning 122 hardworking mums and dads would be locked out of the gates by Christmastime had nothing to do with him. We know that, in March, Queensland Rail made its decision and we know that the shareholding minister has the power under the act to direct Queensland Rail to overturn that decision.

The minister says he did not know. He had no idea. Did the Treasurer have any idea? We know the member for Maryborough has no idea. He has no idea at all. He does not even know what we are talking about. He will not even go out and talk to the hardworking members of the Australian Manufacturing Workers' Union who are now facing losing their jobs.

I have spoken to workers at Downer on numerous occasions. They were born and bred in Maryborough. They do not want to leave their community. They want to be able to coach their local footy team. They want to be able to volunteer at their local P&C. They do not want to be marched out the door because the member for Maryborough is not strong enough to stand up and fight for his community. He is happy to yell at people in cafes but he is not happy to stand up and fight for his community. Where is the member for Maryborough? He has gone missing, and 122 of his constituents are wondering why he will not fight for them. Why will he not stand up? He does not have the intestinal fortitude—that is why.

### **Burleigh Electorate, e-Mobility Safety**



**Mr VORSTER** (Burleigh—LNP) (2.40 pm): On the southern Gold Coast, locals have had enough. Every day, people are dodging high-speed, throttle powered e-bikes on our footpaths, in our parks and along our beachfront. These machines are often illegally modified and ridden in ways that are flat out dangerous, especially for children, families and older pedestrians. What started as a trend has now become a serious safety problem.

We saw that recently at Currumbin Beach, where a three-year-old girl from the Burleigh electorate was hit by an e-bike. The community response was overwhelming. Hundreds took to social media and 80 per cent of them called for change. That is not just noise; that is a community crying out to be heard. Sadly, this is not an isolated case. Injuries linked to e-mobility devices have jumped by 112 per cent since 2021 and eight Queenslanders lost their lives in the last year. These are not just statistics; they represent lives changed and, unfortunately, lives lost.

Just last week, I met with six-year-old River and her mum, Sophia. River was hit by an e-bike while on her way to school. She is a tough little girl but no child should go through what she has gone through, and no parent should have to fear for their child's safety just getting to school. Even her brother—a witness to the event—lives with trauma. That is why the Crisafulli LNP government has taken real action, launching a statewide parliamentary inquiry into e-mobility safety. While this issue affects all of Queensland, I make no apology for saying the southern Gold Coast is at its epicentre. In suburbs like Burleigh Heads, Burleigh Waters, Palm Beach and Varsity Lakes, this is a daily concern and locals want their voices heard.

Our inquiry will look at: the safety risks associated with these devices; how our laws stack up against other jurisdictions; what we can do about illegal imports; and, most importantly, how we can shift behaviour through education. My message to the community is that this process is open for

submissions. Whether you are a parent, a pedestrian, a trauma nurse, a disability advocate or a school principal, this is your chance to help shape the future. Let's be honest: many of these so-called e-bikes are essentially electric motorbikes—high powered, throttle controlled and completely unsuited to shared paths. It is not just about the machines; it is about the culture that has grown up around them. We have all seen it: riders flying down narrow streets with no helmets on, popping wheelies and weaving through families. It is reckless. It is illegal. It is putting lives at risk.

The previous Labor government ignored this issue and let it get out of control. I want my community to know that we are not doing that. We have backed Operation Elektra, we have written to the Commonwealth calling for tougher controls on illegal imports and we have stepped up compliance and education efforts, targeting both riders and retailers. Enforcement alone will not fix this. We need a cultural shift, and that starts early. I want to acknowledge Palm Beach Currumbin State High School principal, Chris Capra, their P&C and Senior Constable Kurt Foessel. They are helping students understand the risks, the rules and the real-world consequences of unsafe riding. That is leadership, and that is precisely what we need more of.

This is not just about keeping paths safe today; it is about shaping responsible behaviour for the future. Every shortcut taken and every rule ignored sets a precedent, and if we do not act now we will keep seeing more injuries and more trauma. The message from the southern Gold Coast could not be clearer: we want safe footpaths, we want shared spaces respected, we want rules enforced, we want education where it is needed and we want action. The Crisafulli government is listening. This inquiry is a chance to reset expectations, restore public safety and take back our shared spaces for everyone. After years of Labor doing absolutely nothing, we will not waste this moment. We will fix this problem because we listen.

### **Crisafulli LNP Government, Performance**



**Hon. CR DICK** (Woodridge—ALP) (Deputy Leader of the Opposition) (2.45 pm): It is time for this lame L-plate LNP government and its slippery Premier to do what they were elected to do—govern, govern for Queensland and govern for all Queenslanders. Breaking promises to the people who elected you is not governing. Bumbling attempts to cover up things like a power station explosion is not governing. Attacking the pillars of our democracy by appointing politically compromised individuals to the electoral Redistribution Commission is not governing. Appointing LNP mates to bodies like Economic Development Queensland is not governing.

Axing around 1,000 new affordable homes is not governing. Cutting funding to alternative voices that you do not like, like the Environmental Defenders Office, is not governing. Requiring all departments to report every single media inquiry to the Premier is not governing. Spending tens of thousands of dollars on yourself for refurbished ministerial offices, cutlery, doors, bar stools and the rest is not governing. Securing a new black Lexus for yourself the moment you take your hand off the Bible after being sworn in as Deputy Premier, as the member for Kawana did, is not governing. When you do nothing to alleviate the cost of living—when hardworking Queenslanders are doing it tough and you are doing all of this instead—that is not governing; it is just selfish and self-indulgent. The defining characteristic of this LNP government is that it does not govern. Instead, it spins. It spins a web of false promises, a fantasy world that bumps uncomfortably up against the lame L-plate LNP government's real world of cuts, cover-ups and integrity failures.

For the benefit of those opposite, here is the real world under this lame L-plate LNP government. This state needs more hospital beds, but the LNP has delayed and downgraded the big build of much needed new hospital infrastructure. This state needs more tradies and skilled workers, but we have an LNP training minister—the member for Mudgeeraba—who is totally asleep at the wheel. While kids are bullied at school, Queenslanders have an LNP education minister who says, 'Don't look at me, mate. I don't hold the chalk, a laptop, a textbook, a pen, a pencil or anything to do with education at all.'


This government has axed around 1,000 new affordable homes. This government bumbled its way through the Callide Power Station explosion, denying responsibility and dissembling every step of the way. Speaking of power, Queenslanders have a Treasurer and an energy minister who is out of his depth and is quickly running out of time. By the way, where are those multiple smaller pumped hydro facilities going to be built?

This government appointed an LNP mate to Economic Development Queensland. This government appointed a person nominated by Queensland's supreme corruption fighter, Tony Fitzgerald, as a compromised individual—named and nominated by him as a compromised individual—to the Redistribution Commission. This government's broken crime laws—'Crime to be fixed by

Christmas,' the Premier said—mean that in places like Cairns, Townsville, Mackay and Rockhampton home invasions continue to occur at will, while crims who have stolen cars continue to speed by those very homes, thumbing their noses at the police.

Talk about an adult crime perpetrated by this government on Queenslanders! It is about time we had adult time by an adult Queensland government, a government with less spin and more substance. This government was elected on the basis of a single slogan and they have been struggling for substance ever since. Who could believe the Deputy Premier in this House spinning his wheels, as he tried to do a few years ago, portraying himself as a working-class hero? He is more like a working-class net zero. Fair dinkum! This bloke drives around in a Lexus. That is how this government operates—spin, spin and more spin. It is like going to a bad play and watching second-rate actors trying to remember the lines that came out of a sugary breakfast cereal box—empty calories, zero substance. I fear this government is stuck in the spin cycle—a done nothing, do nothing, inward looking mob who put themselves above every single Queenslanders.

### Train Manufacturing Program

 **Mr BAROUNIS** (Maryborough—LNP) (2.50 pm): Last week I had the great privilege of welcoming the Hon. Dale Last, Minister for Natural Resources and Mines, Minister for Manufacturing and Minister for Regional and Rural Development, to our region. Together we visited the Queensland Train Manufacturing Program site at Torbanlea. At a time when there have been rumours circulating about job losses at Downer, I want to make this perfectly clear—

**Honourable members** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Lister): Order, members!

**Mr Miles** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Leader of the Opposition, I warn you under the standing orders. If that continues, you will not be the last one.

**Mr BAROUNIS:** I want to make this perfectly clear: Labor's allegations of job cuts at QTMP are a complete fabrication. The reality is the complete opposite: our actions are creating more jobs.

**Opposition members** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** I find it difficult to hear members in the back row. The interjections are too loud. Keep them down please.

**Mr BAROUNIS:** Our actions are creating more jobs: 1,300 is the number of construction jobs; 200 is the number of blue-collar jobs; and 100 is the number of behind the scenes jobs. Minister Last, along with Minister Mickelberg, has been very clear: the LNP Crisafulli government supports the Queensland Train Manufacturing Program and jobs here in Maryborough are secure. They are secure.

**Opposition members** interjected.

**Mr BAROUNIS:** They do not know. To date, 148 local suppliers have been engaged—and that number is only going to grow. This is a monumental boost to our local economy.

**Mr Nicholls** interjected.

**Mr Lee** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** I warn the member for Clayfield and the member for Hervey Bay. I cannot hear the member at the back of the chamber. If there are any further interjections, I will start warning people en masse. I hope that this is the last time I have to interrupt the member for Maryborough on his feet. I will be very disappointed if I have to.

**Mr BAROUNIS:** This project is about so much more than trains. It is about jobs, growth and putting Maryborough on the map as a hub for advanced manufacturing. Labor ran QTMP off the rails with blowouts, delays and cover-ups. The Crisafulli government is getting it back on track. As our region grows, I fully support the development of new housing to accommodate workers and families moving into the area.

**Mr Smith** interjected.

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

**Mr BAROUNIS:** Maryborough is a welcoming, family focused community, and we are ready to open our arms to those who want to be part of this exciting future. Already, businesses across the



region—from welding shops to hair salons—are feeling the flow-on benefits of this project. One standout is Allweld Manufacturing, led by Josh Linwood, which played—

**Ms Enoch** interjected.

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

**Mr BAROUNIS:**—a crucial role in building the high-fidelity mock-up train. That mock-up train is now on display in Brisbane for stakeholders and the response has been overwhelmingly positive.


I am excited. My community is excited. I want to thank Minister Dale Last, the Crisafulli LNP government and all of those behind the QTMP for their unwavering commitment, not just to me but to the people of this electorate. When we see those Olympic and Paralympic trains roll out in 2032, we will be able to proudly say, 'They were made in Maryborough—

**Mr Ryan** interjected.

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

**Mr BAROUNIS:**—during the term of the Crisafulli LNP government and John Barounis as the state member.'

### Traeger Electorate, Stock Route Expansion

 **Mr KATTER** (Traeger—KAP) (2.55 pm): I wish to bring to the attention of the House what has become apparent to me as an insidious land grab that is occurring out in the western areas of Queensland, certainly in the electorate of Traeger. I have had several station holders come to my office in recent times complaining—outraged—over a proposed stock route expansion. They tell me that the lands department has said, 'We need to expand the stock route in your area,' about which they were bemused. Anyone who has been out there for a long time knows that for 30 to 50 years no-one has walked cattle along those stock routes or used them. Why all of a sudden are we talking about expanding the stock routes? This is a problem that has vexed me for probably 12 months now. Then on 22 March I heard Tanya Plibersek saying, 'Labor's landmark Saving Australia's Bushland Program will bring 30 per cent of Australian land under protection.' I will come back to that, but protection from what?

We are currently at 22 per cent. Somehow they are going to go from 22 per cent of land under protection to 30 per cent. What a magnificent way to achieve that. They do not have to pay any compensation. I am going to take a case in point here. One of the several people who have come to me is Betty Witherspoon, a battler who has been out on Maroola Station for 37 years. They have come to her and said, 'No. That little strip of stock route that has never been used in the 37 years you have been there—we need to expand it to 800 metres.' Then she gets a letter from her bank saying, 'We might have a problem here because, if they are going to take that much land off you and you are only running a thousand head here, we might have to reassess your loans.' She is not entitled to compensation. What she has to do is fence off that land and put grids in according to the specifications they have given her. She is also going to have to put in watering points there because there is no existing watering point on that section of her station.

They are saying, 'We will make it harder for you. We will take some land off you and we won't compensate you for that.' For what? Is there suddenly a big influx of cattle workers willing to go out on horseback and put cattle back on stock routes? That dried up about 50 years ago. Maybe there is going to be an influx of labourers into this state who will participate in this. I do not think so. Then you have to ask: why are they expanding stock routes all over the Traeger electorate? The stock routes are not being used more. There must be a reason someone has been given a direction in the department—this has been going on for years now—that we have to expand the stock routes. It is interesting, isn't it, that at the same time Plibersek is saying, 'We need to get 30 per cent of this land under protection.'

Back on Betty Witherspoon's place, she is the only person who has been spending money out in that district on prickly acacia treatment. She has a beautiful clear block because she spent the money there. She put the bore down back in the nineties at the expense of her entire station to improve the place. She has been toiling out there, maintaining that place. Once the land goes under 'protection', you can guarantee there will be no prickly acacia treatment and there will be no shooting of feral cats and pigs out there because it will not be her problem anymore; it will be the state's problem or it might be lumped on to the council that does not want it.

This is just an insidious land grab. It makes no sense. There will be a greater burden on the taxpayer to look after more land. We are already not looking after national parks and all of these reserves adequately. You are going to lump them with more land because the likes of Tanya Plibersek

want to wave this stuff around UNESCO and say, 'Look at what a good job we're doing.' Who wins out of this so-called protection where you are grabbing this land? Land husbandry is currently being done for free. There are people looking after it for you who are containing pests and doing prickly acacia treatment. You want to take it back off them so they can make taxpayers do it, presumably for a political deal. It is not right!


In my remaining time I would also like to talk about the Eventide Home in Charters Towers. There are some 48 units sitting there at the moment that are under-utilised. They have been sitting there for years. People in Charters Towers drive past and say, 'What the hell are you doing with these units?' We have an accommodation shortage in Charters Towers, especially for the elderly and aged, and we are looking at these empty units. I was not consulted on where the new hospital will be. They are going to bulldoze all of those units to jam the proposed new hospital onto that site when there is a perfectly good site on the other end that is cleared, levelled and connected to services. It is ready to go. It does not make any sense. It will be an absolute tragedy. We have a private investor who has come onboard and said, 'I'll develop that and at cost we'll let that back out to residents in Charters Towers.' That is a beautiful, cost-saving solution for housing, for the government and Charters Towers. All we need is a design change in the way that the Charters Towers Hospital would be built on the other side of the Eventide site. We could all have a win out of that. It would be a good use of government resources, a big saving to taxpayers and a great project to deliver back to the people of Charters Towers.

## MAKING QUEENSLAND SAFER (ADULT CRIME, ADULT TIME) AMENDMENT BILL

### Second Reading

Resumed from p. 1223, on motion of Mrs Gerber—

That the bill be now read a second time.

 **Hon. DE FARMER** (Bulimba—ALP) (3.00 pm), continuing: Let's also not forget the watch house review, a critical piece of work by the Queensland Police Service. Are Queenslanders going to see that, or is it going to be buried and locked away like the advice from the Expert Legal Panel? If the LNP government is genuinely committed to youth justice reform, to reducing pressure on police and to protecting the safety of both young people and the community, then they would be up-front with Queenslanders. They would release the review, they would release the modelling and they would start building. It is clear they have no plan to cater for future demand in either infrastructure or human resources. You cannot legislate your way out of a capacity crisis, you cannot announce your way out of a bed shortage, and you certainly cannot detain your way to community safety without the infrastructure to back it up.

If there is one thing Queenslanders and victims deserve from this parliament it is certainty—certainty that when laws are passed they are working, they are effective and they are making our communities safer. The LNP cannot reassure Queenslanders before they pass these laws that they are based on evidence and that they will work. We cannot be sure that they are sound because the Minister for Youth Justice will not let us see the advice from the Expert Legal Panel, which is why a statutory review process for these new laws after they have been in place is critical so Queenslanders and victims can be sure that the laws are achieving the objectives for which the Minister for Youth justice says they are apparently being introduced.

These laws are not minor tweaks; these laws are reshaping the justice system in Queensland. They are changing how we deal with children in conflict with the law. They are changing sentencing. Why does the minister not support a statutory review? What is she afraid of? Is she afraid the evidence will not match the rhetoric? Stakeholders were really concerned about this. The Youth Advocacy Centre said—

... YAC advocates for an independent review of the effectiveness and consequences of the amendments within 12 to 18 months  
...

QATSICPP said—

We also call for an independent review of the racial, developmental, and systemic impacts of all amendments introduced under section 175A and whether the legislative changes are meeting the intended outcomes of the amendments.

The Human Rights Law Centre and Change the Record said—

Interestingly, the Government refused calls for an independent review of the Making Queensland Safer Act. During the Committee's inquiry into the Making Queensland Safer Bill, numerous stakeholders, given the Government's intent to pass the legislation, requested commitment to an independent review of the Act. These calls were rejected and, when the Opposition moved amendments during the debate of the Bill to insert an independent review clause, the government voted against those amendments.

The Queensland Victims' Commissioner called for a statutory review of both the 2024 and 2025 amendments because, as she rightly points out, we need to know whether these laws are achieving what the minister says they will. Are they keeping Queenslanders safe? Do they address the issues for victims? Are they reducing crime? We will never know without a mandated review, and that review should not be buried in a minister's desk drawer like the Expert Legal Panel review is in the drawer of the Minister for Youth Justice. This is the question Queenslanders and victims are asking. Are these laws actually making me and my family safer? If the government cannot or will not answer that, then there is all the more reason why a full legislative review must be embedded in this bill. It should be independent, statutory, public and timely—no more spin, no more secrecy. Let the sun shine in and let Queenslanders see for themselves whether these laws are delivering on their promise.

I will talk a bit more about data when I speak to the amendments the opposition proposes to move; however, at this point while we are talking about accountability and transparency I do want to talk about data. We discussed this during the committee hearings. In the charter letter the Premier wrote to the Minister for Youth Justice, he outlined one of her KPIs as increased transparency of reporting on youth justice data. That is pretty serious stuff. There have already been a few ministers who have not heeded their KPIs, and I imagine that is quite a career-limiting thing to do. Given the import of this minister's KPIs imagine our surprise when we learned that, not only had the last youth justice data been published last September; it was, according to the director-general, unlikely to be published for at least another six months, which would take it to just about one year since anyone has seen youth justice data.

When was the Minister for Youth Justice advised of this, and at what point did she inform the Premier she would not be able to meet her KPIs? Or did she instruct the department not to release the data? When was she going to inform Queenslanders that she could not keep track of whether anything was working? This is another issue about transparency and accountability. If you are confident in what you are doing then you should feel confident in being absolutely up-front about it regardless. You are obliged to be up-front about it, particularly with the people of Queensland and particularly with victims.

I spoke earlier of the government needing to come back to this bill for a second time to include some new offences they forgot to include in the first tranche of the Making Queensland Safer Laws. At that time we flagged the incredulity experienced by many that, in the list of serious offences to be dealt with in that bill, rape, sexual assault and attempted murder were not considered serious offences. These have now been included in the second tranche, but why were they initially excluded? At the time we were told it was deliberate, though we heard from multiple whistleblowers at the time that the LNP was scrambling internally, pointing fingers and blaming each other for the oversight—all of them over there.

Now, after the 9News report last night based on leaked texts, we know that it was actually a stuff-up. The Premier, according to one of his staff, covered it up brilliantly so no-one would know—especially those dumb media people who did not ask him any hard questions. We saw texts from the RTI request about local MPs scrambling to get something to explain why they missed out on putting attempted murder in that first tranche. They were panicking because they were being attacked and the Premier's office was scrambling. The Premier covered it up, and they were thinking he was a great guy because he covered it up so well. How disgraceful is that! How arrogant is that! How disrespectful to victims and how shambolic is this government that they just cannot get anything right. We have all been correct: they are completely disorganised, completely dysfunctional and completely shambolic about the way they are approaching these laws. They are not acting in good faith with Queenslanders and victims. They are a circus.

We have circulated amendments but the shadow attorney-general and I know that we will probably get guillotined, so I will outline for the benefit of the House what those amendments are. I table the explanatory notes, amendments and statement of compatibility for the benefit of the House.

*Tabled paper:* Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025, amendments to be moved by Hon. Di Farmer MP.

*Tabled paper:* Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025, explanatory notes to Hon. Di Farmer's amendments.

*Tabled paper:* Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025, statement of compatibility with human rights contained in Hon. Di Farmer's amendments.

These amendments are about openness and transparency, not just in the justice system but in the way government operates in Queensland because Queenslanders have a right to know how their laws are made, what evidence they are based on and whether they are actually making our communities safer.

On the victim numbers amendment, let's start with the Premier's own words. During the 2024 election campaign, then opposition leader David Crisafulli promised fewer victims year on year. When asked by a journalist whether he would resign if victim numbers did not fall, he said, 'You bet.' The Premier has staked his job on it. He referenced ABS data to justify his claims. That same data sourced from the Queensland Police Service and released annually was held up as the measure of success. If that is the standard the Premier set for himself, then our amendment is simply holding him to it.

The opposition proposes that victim data, in the same format provided to the ABS, be delivered to the Speaker of the Queensland parliament each and every month to be tabled in this House. Queenslanders should not have to wait 12 months to find out whether the Premier is keeping his promise. They should not rely on media summaries or political spin. The numbers should be in the public domain regularly, clearly and officially.

On an independent review amendment, we also propose an amendment to ensure that both the Making Queensland Safer Act 2024 and the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025 are subject to an independent review. This is not a radical idea; it is responsible governance. These laws are significant; they shift the justice landscape. They are changing how we treat young people in conflict with the law, and that demands scrutiny. Our amendment will enshrine this requirement in law—that a qualified and independent reviewer must assess the laws within 18 months of commencement and, importantly, the results of that review must be made public. The Speaker of the parliament must receive the report within one month of its finalisation and table it within three sitting days because that is what transparency looks like.

On the Expert Legal Panel amendments, Queenslanders have had enough of secrecy. The Crisafulli government continues to hide the advice from its hand-picked Expert Legal Panel. Our amendment will require that any advice, existing or future, from the Expert Legal Panel be tabled in this House. The Speaker must receive it, and the people of Queensland must be allowed to see what advice this government is relying on. No more hiding behind cabinet. No more empty slogans. Let the sunshine in. My colleague the shadow attorney-general will speak to the QSAC recommendations and those amendments, and these have already been flagged.

None of these amendments are controversial proposals. They are sensible, they are backed by evidence and they are directly drawn from the evidence and advice of so many experts and stakeholders. Each of these amendments—whether on victim data, legislative review, secret advice or sentencing reforms—has one thing in common. They are about restoring faith in the law-making process. In the spirit of transparency, accountability and evidence, I move—

That the words 'now read a second time' be deleted and the following words inserted:

'considered once the LNP government tables the Expert Legal Panel's advice and any submissions the Expert Legal Panel received that the LNP government relied upon for this bill'.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Lister): I will just take some advice. Honourable members, an amendment has been moved. Anyone who rises to speak now will be speaking to that amendment.

**Mr Nicholls** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Acting Leader of the House, we are waiting for the amendment to come back. It is being processed as we speak.

**Mr NICHOLLS:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order. Before we can debate the amendment, we have to be able to see the amendment so we can speak to it. It was mentioned but it has not been circulated. We would like to see a copy of it before we can debate it, surely.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** I will take some advice. We are waiting for the circulation of the amendment. We will continue with the second reading at that time. Shadow attorney-general, are you wishing to debate the amendment that has just been moved?

**Ms SCANLON:** I want to speak to the amendment.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** You have the call.



**Hon. MAJ SCANLON** (Gaven—ALP) (3.16 pm): I rise to support the motion moved by the shadow minister for youth justice. The motion moved by the Labor opposition is about transparency—

transparency in government, in justice systems and in our parliamentary system. Premier Crisafulli said before the election that when he says something he means it. He said—

Good governments value transparency. Queenslanders deserve nothing less.

Except now, where Premier Crisafulli has the chance, his ministers are covering up critical information. He said a lot about the Coaldrake review when they were in opposition but he is not so keen on letting the sunshine in now that they are in power. This is a concerning culture appearing in the early days of the Crisafulli reign. This motion is about ensuring that the Expert Legal Panel advice is tabled for all Queenslanders to see before we proceed with the debate on this legislation.

The government have come into this chamber and have introduced legislation, apparently relying on the advice of an expert legal panel they set up. They dismantled IMAC, established by the former Labor government, and established the so-called independent LNP Expert Legal Panel consisting of only five individuals. They then took this advice, drafted laws allegedly based on this advice, took it to cabinet then introduced the legislation into this chamber, and they expect us all as representatives of our communities to just agree blindly to it.

During the committee hearing, the Director-General Bob Gee stated in respect of the LNP's Expert Legal Panel—

They reported expressly to the minister. The minister made decisions. Of course, the department then would have been involved in providing support to the minister around the cabinet submissions and the whole drafting process. Clearly, it is a matter for the minister and it is a policy issue for government.

All roads lead back to the LNP government, in particular Minister Gerber. Why anyone would put Minister Gerber in charge after that train wreck of an interview on Channel 9 last night is beyond me. Why is the Minister for Youth Justice and Premier Crisafulli hiding this report?

I refer to the ministerial statement made by the Minister for Youth Justice and Victim Support on the day the Premier introduced these laws, where she stated—

I want to thank members of the Expert Legal Panel for their expertise and their hard work. They have engaged in consultations across Queensland with stakeholders and sector service providers, including workers in our youth detention centres, legal professionals and victim support groups. They have reviewed and analysed crime data, case law, harm indexes and the impact of these offences on victims and the broader community. They have done the work to provide us with sound and considered advice.

If the advice was so detailed, as the minister alluded to, and it was apparently relied on to create these laws, then it should be released, in full—both the report and all of the documents they apparently relied on. If it was so good, why is the Crisafulli LNP government deliberately trying to hide it? Does the advice even exist? Nobody has seen it. None of the key stakeholders have seen this advice. Or are there other offences that were recommended that perhaps the LNP have decided to trickle through this parliament? We have seen certainly the Minister for Youth Justice allude to the fact that there will apparently be more stages. I would certainly hope they are not playing politics with such an important issue, but it is not out of the question given their police minister said they were hoping to pick up a number of seats off the back of crime. So, I think it is a pretty legitimate question we should be asking of this government.

It is not just us calling for this advice, like the youth justice minister tries to infer in interviews where she does not want to answer the questions; it is a range of stakeholders—the Justice Reform Initiative, PeakCare, the Queensland Council of Social Services, the Victims' Commissioner, the Queensland Human Rights Commission, Queensland Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Child Protection Peak, the Youth Advocacy Centre, the Uniting Church in Australia Queensland Synod, and the Queensland Law Society, just to name a few. I even tried to call and compel this report during the committee process, but unfortunately—

**Mr Hunt:** Media stunt.

**Ms SCANLON:** I take the interjection from the chair of that committee who is trying to say that getting expert advice is a stunt. I encourage him to go and tell that to all of those stakeholders that appeared before the committee and said that they should seek advice. Two words: protection racket. How is relying upon advice, but then not releasing it, acting with honesty and integrity in government? They clearly left their so-called integrity in the box on George Street when they packed up and headed over to 1 William Street. Those opposite are more interested in upgrades to their offices which have cost taxpayers thousands of dollars than being open and transparent to Queenslanders. Queenslanders have a right to know how these laws were derived at, not just the expert report that they are keeping secret, though, as the shadow youth justice minister said. We discovered during the committee hearing that youth justice data that is overdue still has not been released and will not be released for at least another six months. No-one was told about it. The LNP kept that secret, too, and

it is only because the Labor opposition asked questions of the director-general that we found out about it. I, too, call on the youth justice minister to articulate why did she not tell Queenslanders that this data was not going to be released? Did she tell the Premier at all in—

**Mrs GERBER:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order on relevance. The motion that the opposition has moved has nothing to do with what the member is talking about right now.


**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Lister): I will take some advice. Member for Gaven, you are straying somewhat from the substance of the amendment. I invite you to return to the amendment you have moved.

**Ms SCANLON:** Certainly, Mr Deputy Speaker. Of course, we think it is reasonable that Queenslanders should be able to see this expert advice if we are asked to vote on these laws. We also think it is important that we see the data that no doubt this expert advice would have considered. In fact, I quote Premier Crisafulli when he was in opposition when he said, 'When there is a culture to not release numbers of law and order, the prospect of someone breaking into your home as a repeat offender increases.' That is the test he said, yet, unfortunately, now that they are in government, it does not seem to matter as much anymore.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Member for Gaven, I have given you guidance on relevance. You are still wide of the mark. I ask you, please, to return to the substance of the amendment that you are speaking to.

**Ms SCANLON:** Certainly, Mr Deputy Speaker. It is time the Crisafulli LNP government opened the blinds of their 1 William Street offices and let the sun shine in on this expert legal report. It is time the former crusader of integrity, the member for Maroochydore, says what her position is on this bill. Of course, I do not expect much from the now minister for integrity, the Attorney-General who, of course, is the reason we are actually here debating these laws because she stuffed up the first round of them. If the LNP's Expert Legal Panel advice was so good—was so good—then why not release it?

I support the motion moved by the shadow minister for youth justice. Queenslanders have a right to know, and those opposite should stop hiding the facts.

 **Mrs GERBER** (Currumbin—LNP) (Minister for Youth Justice and Victim Support and Minister for Corrective Services) (3.26 pm): The work of the Expert Legal Panel is not done. I know that those opposite would like it to be finalised and done and dusted, but the work of the Expert Legal Panel is ongoing.

**Opposition members** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Lister): The member for Logan is warned under the standing orders.

**Mrs GERBER:** They are continuing to provide me with advice in relation to offences that should be included in Adult Crime, Adult Time. We promised Queenslanders at the last election that five key offences would be made Adult Crime, Adult Time before Christmas. We delivered on that promise. We also promised Queenslanders that an expert legal panel would be set up to provide advice to the Crisafulli government in relation to what further offending needs to be included in Adult Crime, Adult Time. We delivered on that promise. The expert panel was set up and they are providing us with the advice. Their advice is written. It is oral. It is ongoing and it is not complete. Those opposite would like their work to be complete. Those opposite would like the work of the Expert Legal Panel wound up right now, but I will tell you what—the Crisafulli government will not stop until we can unwind the harm that those opposite caused by weakening our Youth Justice Act.

We are not asking the Expert Legal Panel to be done. They are trying to conflate advice with a report as well. Their advice is ongoing. It is continuing to happen. As I said, I referred to the Expert Legal Panel all of the offences in schedule 1 of the Penalties and Sentences Act. I referred to the Expert Legal Panel every offence that carries a maximum term of imprisonment of over 14 years. I referred to the Expert Legal Panel all the attempted offences, as well as sexual violence and other sexual related offending, and the Expert Legal Panel was continuing to assess that and is continuing to provide me advice in relation to all those offences.

What the expert panel has done is they have come back to me and recommended that 20 offences be considered for a further tranche of Adult Crime, Adult Time. They have recommended that, we have taken that advice on board and we are acting on it. Like I said, in every other press conference that I have done, I am really happy to talk this chamber through the process. I am really happy to talk this chamber through the process of the Expert Legal Panel, what they considered to form their advice and how they came to their decision.

The Expert Legal Panel conducted 10 stakeholder sessions right across the country. They engaged with legal experts, they engaged with professionals and they engaged with victims. They have then come back and they have used harm indexes, and they have also assessed the serious nature of the offending. They have looked at the harm that it causes—both physical and psychological—and then they have provided me with some advice. That advice is ongoing. That advice continues to be provided to me because their work is not done. The Expert Legal Panel have been hard at work. They have engaged in stakeholder consultations right across Queensland. They have conducted consultation sessions with sector service providers, court liaison legal professionals, youth detention managers, youth support service providers and victim support groups. They have also reviewed existing youth crime data and statistics. They have analysed legislation—

**Ms Farmer** interjected.

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

**Mrs GERBER:**—case law and policy right across Queensland. As I said, they have referenced harm indexes such as the Australian Bureau of Statistics and the National Offence Index. They were guided by the concept of physical, emotional and psychological harm and the impacts of that harm on victims and the broader community. The panel's analysis included the core principles of keeping the community safe and building community confidence in the justice system.

Let us look at why this issue is being raised by those opposite. Those opposite would like the expert panel's work to be done. Why? Because fundamentally they do not agree with Adult Crime, Adult Time. They are looking for every excuse in the book to not support these tough new laws. Why? Because they weakened the laws in the first place. Those opposite made detention a last resort. They removed breach of bail as an offence. They closed the Childrens Court to victims and their families.

**Ms SCANLON:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order on relevance in relation to the expert panel report.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Whiting): There will be points of order throughout this debate. At the moment the member is being relevant but, bear in mind, that everyone will be treated in the same way.

**Mrs GERBER:** Those opposite are trying to distract from their own record with this motion. Those opposite are trying to wind up the work of the Expert Legal Panel by saying it is 'done and dusted'—but it is not. Their work is ongoing because we promised Queenslanders that we would strengthen our youth justice laws, we promised them we would restore safety where they live and we promised them that we would not stop strengthening our laws until Queenslanders felt safe in their homes, in their businesses and in their communities again.

The Expert Legal Panel has much more work to do. They are still looking at all of the offences we referred to them, but those opposite would like it wound up. They would like it to be done and dusted. They would like the expert panel to be wound up. Why? Because they are hiding from their own record. In the 10 years those opposite were in government we saw the youth crime crisis spiral out of control—that is the real reason. The real reason is that they do not support Adult Crime, Adult Time. They are looking for any excuse in the book to not support Adult Crime, Adult Time. They are clinging to this because they do not want to support it. At the caucus meeting in relation to the first tranche of Adult Crime, Adult Time legislation they tore themselves apart and almost had a leadership spill. The member for Bulimba did not support the first round of Adult Crime, Adult Time in the caucus room. The member for Cooper walked out on the caucus. The member for Cooper threatened to leave the party over Adult Crime, Adult Time and go to the backbench. The member for Murrumba was also threatened with a leadership challenge over the first round of Adult Crime, Adult Time. Of course, the member for Woodridge was another one who did not support the first tranche of Adult Crime, Adult Time.


We know the chaos that is unfolding right now in the Labor Party when it comes to the second tranche of Adult Crime, Adult Time. That is the real reason this motion has been moved. That is the real reason they are trying to stop the work of the Expert Legal Panel. They are trying to wind them up but their work is not done. They have so much more work to do, because we have had 10 years of those opposite weakening our youth justice laws—10 years of those opposite creating a generation of repeat young offenders who knew their rights trumped the rights of victims.

The Crisafulli government will not stop until we get the laws that our communities demand. Adult Crime, Adult Time is part of it and the work that the Expert Legal Panel is doing is critical to that. The work that the Expert Legal Panel is doing in relation to providing advice on the further offending that needs to form part of Adult Crime, Adult Time is ongoing. It is still happening. Those opposite do not like it. Those opposite would like it to stop; they would like it to be wound up. We know that in their

hearts they do not support Adult Crime, Adult Time. They are looking for any excuse to try to wind this up because they do not support it.

We saw what happened with our first round of Making Queensland Safer Laws—they tore themselves apart. Almost eight members of their caucus voted against Adult Crime, Adult Time. They had members threatening to leave the party. This work is critical and the work of the Expert Legal Panel is ongoing. Those opposite are pulling stunts to try to stop the passage of this Adult Crime, Adult Time legislation. They are trying to stop it from becoming law this week. They are trying to stop the second tranche of Adult Crime, Adult Time coming into effect this week.

This motion is about delaying this Adult Crime, Adult Time legislation coming into effect. That is what this motion is about. It would stop attempted rape from being part of Adult Crime, Adult Time. It would delay it coming into effect. It would delay attempted murder from coming into effect. It would mean that a pregnant person whose unborn child is killed by a youth criminal does not have Adult Crime, Adult Time laws to protect them. That is what this motion moved by those opposite would mean. It is absolutely disgraceful and it shows exactly what they really think of Adult Crime, Adult Time. It tells you everything you need to know about what is happening in their caucus right now when it comes to their support of Adult Crime, Adult Time. Why? Because they have a guilty conscience. They know they created this youth crime crisis and they know that these laws are what Queenslanders voted for. We are delivering on a promise that they want to see fail. Adult Crime, Adult Time will be law by the end of this week.

 **Hon. SJ MILES** (Murrumba—ALP) (Leader of the Opposition) (3.36 pm): I rise to speak to and support the motion moved by the shadow minister for youth justice, the member for Bulimba, because this government is operating in the shadows. Their hand-picked expert panel has made recommendations on what crimes are considered serious enough to warrant increased penalties. It seems they recommended attempted murder, rape, kidnap, arson and more. On 30 March, the Premier and his ministers claimed five offences would be added to their signature Adult Crime, Adult Time laws; part of a total of 20 that would ultimately be added. The *Courier-Mail* reported that that was just one month after the government's Expert Legal Panel was established. When pressed on what the remaining seven offences would be, the government said the remaining offences would be decided at cabinet, the youth justice minister even said, 'Wait and see'. Minister, we have waited and we have seen what has been introduced, but what we are yet to see is what advice was provided to the government. What other offences were considered but ultimately shot down by the minister or cabinet? What offences included in this bill were not recommended by the expert panel?

As reported in the *Courier-Mail*, the youth justice minister said this was 'absolutely not' about playing politics, but I cannot see why expert legal advice that is alleged to be independent of this government should be shrouded in secrecy, unless this is about playing politics. What can there possibly be to hide? We have already seen the Attorney-General cave into pressure and get on board with our amendments to implement the Queensland's Sentencing Advisory Council's recommendations. They are based on an expert report that is public, so why not make the Expert Legal Panel's advice public?

In the weeks that have gone by the Premier and the youth justice minister have refused to release that advice and they have said, bizarrely, that that is because the panel's work is ongoing, that there were more crimes to be added down the track. Then sensationally there was a backflip just yesterday in the youth justice minister's press conference—I guess you would call it that—and she said that Labor just wanted to make you think the advice had not been released. I have asked around and no-one has seen this advice. So minister, where is it?

The minister said in her contribution earlier that the reason they did not want to release the advice was that the expert panel was ongoing. It is not the case that when a body releases a report they cease to exist. I know of no government body where, when they release a report they cannot continue to operate. This bizarre assertion from the youth justice minister that the reason she cannot release their advice is that they vanish, they disappear, it would make them invisible somehow is just a bizarre furphy, a nonsense. There are so many bodies. The Queensland Sentencing Advisory Council released a report and continued to exist. Our parliamentary committees keep releasing reports and somehow manage to keep doing their work. The government recently amended the law to allow the CCC to release reports. I hope it is not the youth justice minister's contention that if they release a report they disappear; there is no more CCC just because once they have released a report that is it and they cannot keep going. It is fair enough for Queenslanders to see the information that this government has used to make their decision, especially when they were promised honesty, openness and transparency by the LNP.



The youth justice minister might be intent on claiming that it is just Labor that wants this advice released. For the benefit of the minister, who obviously did not follow the committee hearings or read the report, I would like to read into *Hansard* what the stakeholders had to say. These are people other than Labor. Aimee McVeigh from the Queensland Council of Social Service said—

What is the evidence the government is relying on to say that it will improve community safety? They are referring to advice provided by the Expert Legal Panel and yet none of us have had access to that advice. In order for us to properly understand and provide feedback on this bill, we should have access to that advice.

Kristy Bell from the Queensland Law Society said that—

... the society would support the disclosure of that—

advice to ensure that—

legislative change is evidence based and the basis for which these amendments are made is disclosed so that we can appropriately consider whether or not they are justified.

Katherine Hayes from the Youth Advocacy Centre called for information about why these particular 20 offences had been included, as did PeakCare, the Justice Reform Initiative, the Human Rights Commission, the Human Rights Law Centre, Change the Record, the Queensland Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Child Protection Peak and UnitingCare, just to name a few. The Victims' Commissioner called for the advice to be released and stated—

If the Panel has consulted with victim organisations and service providers in developing this legislation, then victim-survivors are entitled to know whose voices have been heard, and whose have not.

This is the Victims' Commissioner, the commissioner who speaks for victims of crime in this state, and on behalf of victims she called for the expert panel report to be released.

When I say to the Crisafulli LNP government that Queenslanders deserve better, I mean it. Queenslanders were promised an open and transparent government. They were promised to be taken on a journey but, instead, they have been left at the station by a Premier who thinks he knows better. The fact is Queenslanders deserve better. They deserve to see the expert legal advice that the government relied on.



**Hon. TJ NICHOLLS** (Clayfield—LNP) (Minister for Health and Ambulance Services) (3.44 pm): Queenslanders and Queensland victims deserve to be protected from young criminals. Queenslanders and Queensland victims deserve to have laws that are in place that are appropriate to the circumstances. What Queenslanders do not deserve is a Labor opposition standing in the way of the Making Queensland Safer Laws that will mean our community is safe, our police have the laws they need and our courts can enforce those laws knowing they have the confidence of the government and the government supports them in doing so. What Queenslanders do not deserve is a shaky opposition leader hanging on by the skin of his teeth to his leadership who cannot and refuses to make a decision in relation to—

**Mr DICK:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order under the standing orders on relevance. The leadership of the state parliamentary Labor Party is not part of the motion.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Krause): Thank you, member for Woodridge.

**Honourable members** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Order, members on both sides. Minister for Health, confine your comments to the procedural motion at hand, please.

**Mr NICHOLLS:** I was referring to what Queenslanders deserve because those are the words that the current Leader of the Opposition is talking about. What we know about the opposition when it comes to this debate is this is a debate they do not want to have. This is a debate that the Labor Party have not wanted to have—and they did not want to have it last December—because we know what happens when we have this debate. We know they have about three or four different caucus meetings and the member for Cooper goes off in a huff and says, 'I don't want to be part of it.' We know—

**Mr DICK:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order. The motion, of course, seeks to amend the second reading motion. This contribution has nothing to do with that. The point of order is on relevance.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** I will seek some advice.

**Honourable members** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Order, members. I am seeking advice from the Clerk. It is not an invitation to quarrel across the chamber. Minister for Health, you are being relevant in terms of your contribution, but I advise you again to continue being relevant.

**Mr NICHOLLS:** Mr Deputy Speaker, can I say that is both a very wise judgement and very wise advice and I will continue to be relevant to the amendment bearing in mind what I have listened to for the past 30 minutes. The amendment goes to the second reading speech and the only purpose of the amendment is to delay the second reading. That is the only thing it can do because the mover says the words 'now read a second time' be deleted, so it is absolutely relevant to ask why they want to delay the second reading speech. It is absolutely relevant to debate the terms of the reason they want to do this. They do not want to have a vote on this despite the fact that the Leader of the Opposition said, as I recall from reports in the media, 'We won't stand in the way.' What are they doing right now? They are, like the bridge over the Bremer River, a roadblock on the advancing of Queensland's interests and the advancing of the safety and the protection of victims in Queensland.

What they do not want to do is have another internal fight that they can barely manage in relation to what should constitute the Making Queensland Safer Laws and the Adult Crime, Adult Time laws. They do not want to have this debate. I heard them; they have quoted everyone else who presented to the committee—and that is fair enough; that is what the committees are for. We respect the committee process; we allow it to occur, which is much more, I might say, than the opposition leader did when they brought in amendments in 2023 and overrode the Human Rights Act. They moved all those amendments en bloc. We are doing much more than they ever did in respect to it.

What they are not doing is making their own argument here. What they are failing to do is making their own argument as to why these laws should not pass this week. They are not making a cogent case as to where they think they will fail. Which law do they think should not be passed? Which one do they quibble with? Which one do they not support? These are all the questions that the Labor Party do not want to answer and have been unable to answer for over a decade.

These are the questions that the member for Murrumba cannot answer because his heart is not in it. We know that his heart is not in it. These are the questions that the member for Gaven does not want to answer because we know that she does not believe in it. Deep down, she does not really believe in these laws. Those opposite have been dragged kicking and screaming, so the motion to defer the second reading debate has been moved so they can sleep easily at night. It is not so they can protect Queenslanders—people like Vyleen White and all those others who paid a heavy price after the years of neglect by the Labor Party.

This motion is about deferring, delaying and failing to take action. Queenslanders spoke in October last year about that sort of government. They said, 'We've had enough of a government that is not going to take action. We've had enough of a government that is not going to protect victims' rights. We've had enough of a government that has presided over a decade of lawlessness and increasing crime in our suburbs.' They said, 'Delay is not what we want anymore. What we want is action—considered, reasonable action.' That is what this bill is all about.

Pausing the debate on this bill, as this motion seeks to do, simply compounds the Labor errors of the last 10 years. It means the same thing. It means another week without a law that will protect someone from the list of offences that were recommended by the panel. It means another week when young offenders are not held accountable for their actions. It means another week when another family goes through the pain and the agony of being a victim of an offence like those that are covered by this law. That is what Labor stand for. Labor do not stand for standing up for victims. They do not stand for the rule of law. They do not stand for the determination the people of Queensland made on 26 October. They are still fighting the old battle. They have not come to grips with the fact that their policy position was rejected by the people of Queensland in a fair, proper and democratic election. That decision has been vindicated in this place. We are seeing it in terms of the numbers that are coming through. The Attorney-General and the minister have reported on the impact and the effect it is having, together with the police minister's work.

We are delivering on our commitment to the people of Queensland. We are doing it in the way we said we would. We passed the first tranche of these laws in December, despite those opposite moving a very similar motion then. I remember the motion they moved in relation to the provision of tables of advice. They have rewritten it and moved it again this time around. It is the same work. They have not even come up with a new idea. All they have is the same: delay and obfuscation.

**Mr DICK:** I rise to a point of order, Mr Deputy Speaker: relevance again. The honourable member—

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Krause): I have not given you the call yet, member for Woodridge. Do you have a point of order?

**Mr DICK:** My apologies, Deputy Speaker; I thought you were looking at me. On relevance, the honourable member has not mentioned the Expert Legal Panel once.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Member for Woodridge, I have been listening carefully to the member for Clayfield's contribution and his views on the impact of the motion that has been moved, and I find that he has been relevant to that motion.

**Mr NICHOLLS:** I did actually say that these were the recommendations of the expert panel. I think I said it on a number of occasions, in relation to offences that had been recommended by the expert panel that would not otherwise be in place if this bill was not passed this week. That is the simple fact of the matter. Those offences would not be in place if the Labor Party's motion to delay passage of the bill was passed.

Other spurious arguments have been made, without them putting any of their own arguments in this place. They should come in and make the argument in this place. They should tell the people of Queensland why they do not support these laws. They should not rely on someone else to do their homework for them. They should walk in here and make the argument. This is where people have the debate, the parliament of Queensland—not out there in the newspapers and not out there on TV. This is the place where you stand up, be counted and make the case as to why something should work, and nothing I have heard so far in the debate has made that case. They hide behind others and they hide behind process, but they fail to make the case to the people of Queensland as to why this legislation should not be passed this week. This is just another attempt to do so.

They have made other attempts, like talking about other reports and other bodies making their reports. I heard the CCC mentioned by the Leader of the Opposition. When it comes to reports from the CCC, the Leader of the Opposition has form. I mention the former member for South Brisbane and the former public trustee and the reports they did not want published. They failed to publish them. They spent taxpayers' dollars on it, refused to answer questions at estimates and more. When it comes to providing information in terms of responses to reports, I will back this side of the House over that side of the House every day of the week. Here is the ultimate question: are they going to vote in support of the legislation or not? Are they going to stand on principle and protect Queenslanders or are they going to play politics? I move—

That the question be now put.

**Mr DICK:** Mr Deputy Speaker—

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Member for Woodridge, do you have a point of order?

**Mr DICK:** I am seeking the call.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** There is a motion before the House that the question be now put. That is a closure motion, in relation to standing order 88, which is to be put without amendment or debate. In accordance with standing order 88, that motion has been moved and I put that motion—

**Mr RYAN:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order. I refer to Speaker Weir's statement relating to the rights of members in this House to raise important matters. Speaker Weir referred to a speaking list where members have indicated their interest. I understand that you are in receipt of that speaking list. You will see that there are numerous members who wish to contribute to this debate. In accordance with Speaker Weir's statement, I submit that the criteria to put a closure motion under the standing orders have not been met.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** In accordance with standing order 88, the closure motion has been moved. Member for Morayfield, I came to the chair just after this debate began. I am of the view that there has been sufficient debate. Also, I have not seen that speaking list that you refer to, if there was one. The question is: 'That the question be now put.'

Division: Question put—That the question be now put.

**AYES, 54:**

**LNP, 51—**Baillie, Barounis, Bates, Bennett, Bleijie, Boothman, Camm, Crandon, Crisafulli, Dalton, Dillon, Doolan, Dooley, Field, Frecklington, Gerber, Head, Hutton, Hunt, B. James, T. James, Janetzki, G. Kelly, Kempton, Kirkland, Krause, Langbroek, Last, Leahy, Lee, Lister, Mander, Marr, McDonald, Mickelberg, Minnikin, Molhoek, Morton, Nicholls, O'Connor, Perrett, Poole, Powell, Purdie, Rowan, Simpson, Stevens, Stoker, Watts, Vorster, Young.

**KAP, 2—**Dametto, Katter.

**Ind, 1**—Bolton.

**NOES, 35:**

**ALP, 34**—Asif, Bailey, Bourne, Boyd, Bush, Butcher, de Brenni, Dick, Enoch, Farmer, Fentiman, Furner, Grace, Healy, Howard, J. Kelly, King, Linard, Martin, McCallum, McMillan, Mellish, Miles, Mullen, Nightingale, O'Shea, Pease, Power, Pugh, Russo, Ryan, Scanlon, Smith, Whiting.

**Grn, 1**—Berkman.

Resolved in the affirmative.

Division: Question put—That the amendment be agreed to.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Ring the bells for one minute.

**AYES, 36:**

**ALP, 34**—Asif, Bailey, Bourne, Boyd, Bush, Butcher, de Brenni, Dick, Enoch, Farmer, Fentiman, Furner, Grace, Healy, Howard, J. Kelly, King, Linard, Martin, McCallum, McMillan, Mellish, Miles, Mullen, Nightingale, O'Shea, Pease, Power, Pugh, Russo, Ryan, Scanlon, Smith, Whiting.

**Grn, 1**—Berkman.

**Ind, 1**—Bolton.

**NOES, 53:**

**LNP, 51**—Baillie, Barounis, Bates, Bennett, Bleijie, Boothman, Camm, Crandon, Crisafulli, Dalton, Dillon, Doolan, Dooley, Field, Frecklington, Gerber, Head, Hutton, Hunt, B. James, T. James, Janetzki, G. Kelly, Kempton, Kirkland, Krause, Langbroek, Last, Leahy, Lee, Lister, Mander, Marr, McDonald, Mickelberg, Minnikin, Molhoek, Morton, Nicholls, O'Connor, Perrett, Poole, Powell, Purdie, Rowan, Simpson, Stevens, Stoker, Watts, Vorster, Young.

**KAP, 2**—Dametto, Katter.

Resolved in the negative.

Non-government amendment (Ms Farmer) negatived.

Interruption.

## PRIVILEGE

### Closure Motion



**Hon. MC de BRENNI** (Springwood—ALP) (4.04 pm): I rise on a matter of privilege suddenly arising in relation to the rights and privileges of members of this House that you have previously ruled on. Just moments ago the Deputy Speaker made a ruling in relation to a closure motion which—

**Dr ROWAN:** Mr Speaker, I rise to a point of order.

**Mr de BRENNI:** Mr Speaker—

**Honourable members** interjected.

**Dr ROWAN:** Mr Speaker, point of order.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Just hold on for a minute; I am just taking a little bit of advice. Just give me a second. I would ask you to raise your matter of privilege and then, as with matters of privilege, you can write to the Speaker.

**Mr de BRENNI:** Mr Speaker, I would like to table the speaking list that was provided to the chair and, in reference to your ruling of 14 March—

*Tabled paper:* Document, undated, titled 'Speaking list: Amendment to second reading of Making Queensland Safer (II) Bill'.

**Mr SPEAKER:** You are going to write to me on this issue.

**Mr de BRENNI:**—I will write—

**Dr ROWAN:** Mr Speaker, I rise to a point of order.

**Mr de BRENNI:** Mr Speaker, I will write to you in relation to the limitation on the rights of members to be heard in relation to this matter.

**Dr ROWAN:** Mr Speaker, I rise to a point of order. I would submit to you the fact that the Manager of Opposition Business understands the process that needs to be undertaken in writing to you on a matter of privilege and I would say that he has disregarded the normal etiquette and processes around that.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Of which I have just informed the member.

## **MAKING QUEENSLAND SAFER (ADULT CRIME, ADULT TIME) AMENDMENT BILL**

### **Second Reading**

Resumed from p. 1244.



**Mr HUNT** (Nicklin—LNP) (4.06 pm): I want to start my contribution to the bill by reflecting on the time when I was a detective in the Juvenile Aid Bureau. In the late 90s I was attending the JAB course at the academy and I recall a senior detective addressing us. He said, 'If some in this room got caught for everything they ever did as a teenager, there may be a few less people in this room.' That stuck with me throughout my career—the acknowledgement that young people are prone at times to make bad decisions, that they deserve second chances. I want to make the observation that, after 33 years in the Queensland Police Service in various roles, mainly to do with young people, most of our young Queenslanders are fantastic, motivated, engaged and productive members of our community, and our youth justice system reflects that. The police do a great job with cautioning and restorative processes under the Youth Justice Act and sometimes take no official action but perhaps a stern talking to or a short redirection of behaviour. This system works incredibly well.

The Acting Commissioner of Police observed in his evidence to the committee that nothing in this bill changes the way police will deal with young offenders as they continue the great work that they do—and, yes, young people deserve second chances. However, when you continue to offend after cautions, convictions, probations, chance after chance, there comes a time when there must be consequences. These new laws further address the youth crime crisis of the former Labor government that created a generation of untouchables—that cohort of serious repeat youth offenders whose offending was increasing in number and levels of violence, the young people who thumb their nose at the law and put our community in incredible danger. The people of Queensland and the victims of crime across our state have rightly demanded action and voted in an LNP Crisafulli government to take that action. I am proud to be part of that government that does exactly what we promised the people of Queensland that we would do, and that is take action against this generation of hard-nosed repeat offenders born out of the enthusiastic weakening of our youth laws by the former Labor government..

As chair of the Justice, Integrity and Community Safety Committee, I was pleased to get out of the inner city and into regional Queensland, visiting Cairns and Townsville, which are at the coalface of Labor's youth crime crisis. We also heard from many victims of crime from across the Redlands area when we visited there during the committee's inquiry. The message was clear: there is strong support for strong action to turn around this youth crime crisis and introduce these laws to hold young people to account for their actions.

The Labor members of the committee were focused—and they still are—on hearing about the Expert Legal Panel, and you could see them desperately trying to find reasons not to back our strong laws. All of their questioning and, indeed, their 20-page statement of reservation in the report, shows their hearts are just not in it. They have reservations. They have been dragged kicking and screaming by the people of Queensland to finally admit that they completely failed in their tenure and that strong action is needed. It will be interesting to see how the final vote goes for these laws; whether the party room battles will continue and whether Labor will refuse to stand with us and victims of crime to pass these laws. They will all get up and make their speeches about the Expert Legal Panel, carry on about early interventions as if we are not doing them and looking for excuses not to back these laws, but in the end it will be interesting to see how they vote because they know the people of Queensland want these strong laws and they want us to take action.

These laws will give our judges and courts the power to provide consequences for actions for a range of new offences that cause the most harm selected on advice from our Expert Legal Panel. Courts are currently utilising these new laws to hold young offenders to account. In our Townsville hearings an experienced Townsville defence lawyer, Phil Rennick, gave evidence on what was actually happening on the ground in that city at the centre of Labor's youth crime crisis. He said—

I want to relate a couple of examples from recent times to try to let victims of crime and the people sitting behind me know that times are changing.

The two examples happened only a couple of weeks ago, on 23 and 24 April of this year, in the Childrens Court here in Townsville. A young person aged 15, who would normally have received something in the range of three to six months, received a nine-month sentence for the unlawful use of a motor vehicle...The following day, when a young person had 48 offences—24 before 13

December and 24 after 13 December; he had a bit of history—he was sentenced under the old regime for the first 24 and received six months detention, and for the other 24 offences, after 13 December, he received 18 months imprisonment, or detention as we call it in that jurisdiction.

The laws are being operated on. Mr Rennick went on to explain—

The thing that encouraged me to come along today was to say to the people sitting behind me, the victims of crime, that times are going to change. As long as the courts continue to give increased penalties, it will do one of two things: drive down the crime rate or take the main offenders out of the action for a while. The result will be a decrease in crime.

The problem with those opposite is they have been listening to the advice of the wrong people for too long. There are plenty of people who are against our approach and who made submissions to our inquiry. These are the people that Labor concentrated their policies on when in government. They should have been listening to ordinary Queenslanders and victims of crime. In the last few years when things were going bad for them they continued to take the flawed advice from those who agreed with them and ignored victims. I want to thank all those brave victims of crime who have come forward to the committee to tell their stories. They have driven this change and we have listened to them. I thank Julie Fox who said at our Redlands hearing—

I am sharing my story because I want you to understand what is at stake. These crimes do not just take our possessions ... but also our peace of mind, our sense of security and our trust in our own neighbourhoods.

She went on to say—

We need laws to protect us, deter crime and send the clear message that our community will not tolerate this.

We should be listening to victims of crime. There are six ex-police officers in the LNP Crisafulli government with a combined 168 years of service. The police minister was a detective. That is 168 years of dealing with victims and offenders at the coalface; 168 years of experience brought into this parliament to right the wrongs of injustice, to stick up for victims of crime and to drive the change that we need to see in Queensland. I am proud to be one of them. I am proud to be here in this parliament standing up for victims of crime and providing the courts with the tools they need to ensure that justice is done. The Crisafulli LNP government will continue to ensure repeat serious violent offenders are held accountable, that the community is protected from them and that there are fewer victims of crime. I commend the bill to the House.



**Hon. MAJ SCANLON** (Gaven—ALP) (4.15 pm): Queenslanders deserve to feel safe and be safe. We as legislators have a responsibility to ensure appropriate, evidence-based, strong laws are considered properly by our committees and this parliament, but, ultimately, it is up to the elected government of the day to ensure that all resources, funding, wraparound services and programs are available to ensure that Queenslanders are kept safe.

I echo the contribution by the shadow minister for youth justice and thank her and the members for Toohey, Gladstone and Springwood for their work and assistance during the committee process. The Queensland opposition provided a 20-page statement of reservation to these laws which incorporates the views and feedback of many legal experts, stakeholders, frontline workers and organisations. It all comes back to the fact that the Crisafulli LNP government is relying on advice which no-one has seen from an expert legal panel which they hand-picked to justify these new laws. Those opposite continue to deny Queenslanders and members on this side of the House the opportunity of seeing the advice. It is important to know the advice provided because the majority of offences which are subject to these laws have either recorded none or an extremely low proportion of proven offences over the past five years.

To be clear: I, and the Queensland opposition, believe that none of these offences should be committed by children or adults and Queenslanders deserve to be protected. However, if new offences are being added to the LNP government's Adult Crime, Adult Time policy then there needs to be an explanation as to how they have derived and chosen these particular offences. As outlined by the shadow minister for youth justice, laws themselves will not solve the situation. We need to tackle the causes of crime—

**Mr Lister:** Yeah, we did—we got rid of you!

**Ms SCANLON:** We need strong investment in early intervention that will do the bulk of the heavy lifting.

**Mr Stevens:** Your laws created the problem!

**Ms SCANLON:** I take the interjections. To date we have seen very little progress by the LNP government in this space. I suspect we have seen more money spent on political advertising, or government advertising of the LNP's slogan, than new money from this government actually hitting the

ground to deliver early intervention and prevention programs. That was effectively admitted by the Public Service during the committee process. Let us be clear: the programs that are running right now and supporting young Queenslanders in the criminal justice system are ones established by the former Labor government.

The new offences relate to sexual violence offences, including rape, attempt to commit rape, assault with intent to commit rape and sexual assault. These are serious offences and should not be committed. However, while the law we are dealing with today deals with children committing these offences, the Crisafulli LNP government had not acted on the Queensland Sentencing Advisory Council report into sexual offences which called for changes to occur on how adults who commit sexual violence offences are dealt with. I am advised that in the 2023-24 year, the total offenders for rape and attempted rape over the age of 18 were 873, as opposed to 109 who were aged 10 to 17. In respect of other sexual offences, I am advised that for the same period, 1,950 offenders were over 18, as opposed to 416 who were aged 10 to 17. Again, let me be clear: no offence should be occurring. However, there is clear evidence that shows that these offences are predominantly committed by adults and yet the Crisafulli LNP government was not acting on the QSAC report until Labor announced our amendments. The question is: why? The Victims' Commissioner stated—

I say this in light of the findings of QSAC report which found that penalties currently imposed on adults for rape 'do not adequately reflect the seriousness of this form of offending and the purposes of sentencing, including punishment, denunciation and community protection—particularly as these relate to offences against children'.

It is important that if one lever is pulled in the justice system, such as dealing with offences committed by children, that the other lever regarding offences committed by adults is looked at and pulled if required.

That is why the Queensland Labor opposition is acting. We are proposing amendments, which I have circulated and I table for the purpose of the House, to implement certain recommendations from the Queensland Sentencing Advisory Council report entitled *Sentencing of sexual assault and rape: the ripple effect*.

*Tabled paper:* Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025, amendments to be moved by Hon. Meaghan Scanlon MP

This report has been collecting dust on the Attorney-General's desk since December of last year. I note the government has been pushed to introduce their own laws following our announcement. My message to those opposite is this: they could make these changes law this week if they supported Labor's amendments. Yesterday, the member for Waterford and I wrote to the Attorney-General in good faith and provided her with a copy of our proposed reforms. Today, we wrote again outlining that we would be ready to offer bipartisan support to declare an urgent bill to enact these changes. I table a copy of that letter.

*Tabled paper:* Letter, dated 20 May 2025, from the Leader of the Opposition, Hon. Steven Miles MP, the Deputy Leader of the Opposition, Hon. Cameron Dick MP, the shadow treasurer and shadow minister for women, Hon. Shannon Fentiman MP, and the shadow attorney-general and shadow minister for justice, Hon. Meaghan Scanlon MP to the Attorney-General and Minister for Justice and Minister for Integrity, Hon. Deb Frecklington, requesting that the Penalties and Sentences (Sexual Offences) and Other Legislation Amendment Bill 2025 be declared an urgent bill.

Let us get this done. Let us not make victims of rape and sexual assault wait. There have been 18 months of consultation, a rigorous process and a report by legal experts that is public, unlike the report that those opposite are relying on for the laws that they have introduced here. In his introductory speech the Premier said—

... the commitment of this government to victims and the safety of our community is paramount.

He went on to say—

Our government is putting victims at the heart of our plans for a safer Queensland.

That begs the question: why did the Crisafulli LNP government not take action to implement all if not some of the QSAC recommendations, including recommendation 2 to change the Penalties and Sentences Act to include recognition of harm done to victim-survivors during sentencing, until we announced these amendments? This applies to all offences. The Labor opposition is acting this week to ensure that this recommendation is implemented and that victim-survivors are better protected in Queensland.

The opposition is moving amendments to limit the use of good character references because, frankly, someone who commits rape is not a good bloke; far from it. Someone who perpetrates rape or sexual violence should not be able to reduce their sentence because they have managed to get some reference from a family member or friend or are able to somehow demonstrate that they are allegedly

some sort of good upstanding member of the community. We are also proposing changes to ensure there are tough penalties for perpetrators who rape or sexually assault children because making it an aggravating factor reinforces the seriousness of that offending. That is incredibly important when you think about the vulnerability of children and the type of person who commits an act as an adult against a child. This is a simple but important change to continue to protect vulnerable children in our state. If the Crisafulli government was actually genuinely wanting to do that then they would have acted by now.

The Premier said they were putting victims at the heart of their plan. Another amendment that the Labor opposition is seeking to pass will ensure that if a victim of crime does not give a victim impact statement then the court must not infer that the offences caused little to no harm to the victim.

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order. I seek your clarification in relation to a bill before the House that is subject to the matters that the shadow attorney is talking about.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Krause): Attorney-General, thank you for your point of order. I have sought some advice and there is no point of order on that point.

**Mrs Frecklington** interjected.


**Ms SCANLON:** I take the interjection from the Attorney-General. This is an important piece of reform that we do think—

**Mrs Frecklington:** Hence there is a bill.

**Ms SCANLON:** I take the interjection from the Attorney-General. There is a bill because the Labor opposition had to drag the government, kicking and screaming, to introduce that bill. It has not taken the Labor opposition long to get these laws drafted and reviewed. That is something that the Crisafulli LNP government, with all the resources of government, could have done if it was a priority but they chose not to. They waited until they were dragged, kicking and screaming, because we decided to introduce amendments.

I call on those opposite, if they are genuine, to allow these laws to be considered in consideration in detail and to support them. It is disappointing but not surprising that the Crisafulli LNP government have not released the advice from their handpicked LNP Expert Legal Panel. They would rather keep their advice, if it exists at all, under lock and key and not be open and transparent as they said they were going to be when they were in opposition.

A range of other concerns were made during the committee hearing around detention facility capacity. I note that the government is happy to open the Wacol Youth Remand Centre, which the former government commissioned, but again will not demonstrate to Queenslanders whether they have undertaken modelling to determine the impact of these laws. Those are very genuine questions that should be answered to ensure not only that young people who commit offences are not released to commit further crimes but also that our frontline workers are supported. I call on those opposite to support the amendments circulated by myself and the member for Bulimba, when the time comes.

 **Mr FIELD** (Capalaba—LNP) (4.25 pm): On 26 October last year, the people of Queensland spoke loudly and clearly, as Queenslanders often do at elections. They had had enough. They had had a gutful of the youth crime crisis that was exploding across the state. The Crisafulli government was elected on the platform of Adult Crime, Adult Time. This government stayed true to that platform and passed the Making Queensland Safer Laws before Christmas, just as we promised. The opposition had 10 years to do this but did nothing.

We have been clear that these laws will only be strengthened, never weakened. These amendments add a further 20 offences to expand Adult Crime, Adult Time. They include, to name some, going armed so as to cause fear, threatening violence, attempt to murder, rape, attempt to commit rape and assault with intent to commit rape as well as many others. These amendments, which were recommended by the Expert Legal Panel, will make Queenslanders safer. I will always be proud to put my support behind stronger youth justice laws and I thank the panel for recommending these amendments.

While examining the bill, the Justice, Integrity and Community Safety Committee not only held hearings here in Brisbane but also in Cairns, Townsville and the Redlands. The committee heard from victims and other stakeholders regarding these tough new amendments. There were over 50 written and oral submissions from individual groups, many in support of the amendments and some opposed to them. We heard strong words of support from stakeholders such as the Queensland Police Union, the Queensland Police Commissioner, the Victims' Commissioner and many others including, most importantly, victims of crime. The theme was clear and consistent: there have to be consequences for



actions. This government absolutely agrees and will always fight for the rights of victims over the rights of offenders.

I was quite surprised by the submission made by the Queensland Law Society which said, among other things—

It is also the Society's strong view the offence of rape and sexual assault offences should be removed ...

I table the submission.

*Tabled paper:* Justice, Integrity and Community Safety Committee: Report No. 9, 58th Parliament—Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025, submission No. 48.

**Mr Stevens:** They like defending their clients.

**Mr FIELD:** Probably. No amount of legal jargon can convince me or, I imagine, the vast majority of Queenslanders that rape is not a serious enough offence. It is an adult crime and it deserves to be met with adult time.

The bill also amends the processes for victims who are on the eligible persons register. It gives them an option to nominate someone else to receive on their behalf information about custody movements of young offenders. This is an important change that gives greater agency to victims so that they can be in control of the way that they receive potentially emotionally triggering information. It is imperative that we ensure victims in this state genuinely receive justice from our system. It is about time that the victims came first. All too often, they are left alone to pick up the pieces and fixing that is a task I will never shy away from.


We, the victims, have been left behind and let down for far too long. In my view, this has to stop. This is what drives me every day to make a difference for my community—bringing down victim numbers and standing by victims to ensure they receive the justice they deserve. Over the past 10 years, we have had to endure the revolving door of youth offending—of their being let out time and again only to reoffend. This has to stop. The first bill was passed in December last year and the latest police data is showing early signs of decrease across some of the most frequently occurring offences such as car thefts and unlawful entry.

It appears that some of the youth offenders are taking notice of these strong measures. They know this government will always back law-abiding Queenslanders and will not allow them to run wild with zero consequences. Judges have also reflected on the requirement for tougher penalties because of Adult Crime, Adult Time in some of their sentencing remarks. These are the early signs of the tide being turned on Labor's youth crime crisis. It does not mean we are slowing down; it is motivation to go further and make sure that fewer Queenslanders become victims of crime.

Local residents whom I listen to in Capalaba tell me constantly that they support, and rightfully demand, tougher laws to deal with repeat uncontrollable, unstoppable and untouchable youth offenders. It was obvious the soft-touch approach those opposite took to youth crime was not working. Juvenile crime rates continued to rise. Our communities are sick and tired of waking up to their cars gone or their homes damaged and of feeling unsafe in their own home. They have simply had enough. It is the role of every government, no matter which side of the political divide it sits, to provide a safe environment for Queenslanders to live.

We already know the Leader of the Opposition had to drag his caucus kicking and screaming to support the Making Queensland Safer Laws last December. In the week before the debate, it was reported that a majority of the Queensland Labor caucus was opposed to Adult Crime, Adult Time. The opposition members whinged and complained about it, and we all remember the member for Cooper saying she was reconsidering her future within the Labor Party and then she sat in the chamber and sulked with her earplugs in for the rest of the debate.

The members opposite still cannot decide if there is a youth crime crisis or if youth crime is a media beat-up, which is what the former member for Capalaba thought. This government knows there is a crisis and Queenslanders know there is a crisis, yet those opposite still have their heads in the sand. They may think it is a game. I know it is not. If this bill stops one person from stealing a car and killing somebody, it has done its job. In closing, I wish to ask each and every member of the opposition: if you do not support the bill, why not? I urge every member of this House to support this bill.

 **Hon. GJ BUTCHER** (Gladstone—ALP) (4.32 pm): Queenslanders deserve to feel safe and be safe. We will not stand in the way. The Labor caucus has taken a position—one grounded in responsibility and accountability. We will not block the Premier's laws because Queenslanders deserve laws that work. Let us be crystal clear: we are not here to pat the Premier on the back for doing the

bare minimum. We are here to clean up the mess that he made in the first place by not including these new offences before Christmas.

This legislation—the so-called second wave of the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025—is not a masterstroke of policy; it is an admission of failure, a public confession that the first wave of laws was botched, rushed and also incomplete. Let's be honest: the LNP government is back in this House, with its tail between its legs, fixing its own mistakes. The first time, they fast-tracked the process, they steamrolled the committee and they ignored the stakeholders and here we are, once again, cleaning up a legislative shambles of the LNP.

Why are we debating a six-page bill to fix a single number that could have been addressed months ago? Why do they sneak amendments into an entirely unrelated corruption bill? Why is this the fourth time since December that we are changing the Youth Justice Act? This is not strategic reform; it is chaos, it is government by patchwork and it is policy via press release. This piecemeal approach is not governance in Queensland; it is crisis management and it is costing Queenslanders.

They promised to fix crime by Christmas. Remember that? They used big slogans and bold words, but when we asked them to explain how and why the first list of offences was selected they went silent. The word on the street—and from our whistleblowers—is that the LNP were blaming each other behind closed doors for leaving out critical violent crimes like attempted murder and rape. Let me be clear: the Labor opposition supports strong laws, but strong laws must be smart laws. They must be evidence based. They must be strategic. The LNP's approach is none of these things.

When we get to early intervention—the real work of crime prevention—the LNP talks a big game but, when it is stripped back, what is there? Nothing. At committee, the director-general could only name two tiny programs—one in Rockhampton and one in Townsville—a couple of hundred thousand dollars in a system that is crying out for serious investment. The rest? It is still in the future, still in tenders and still in the too-hard basket for this government.

Meanwhile, what is keeping this broken system afloat? The answer is Labor's programs—Labor's Youth Co-Responder Teams, Labor's intensive bail initiatives and Labor's Transition to Success. That is the truth. The LNP are riding on Labor's coat-tails while claiming credit for the work that they have not even done.

Let's talk about detention—both the infrastructure of and the capacity in our jails and our watch houses. The LNP passed laws they were not prepared to enforce. They have no plan to handle the influx of youth into detention—no modelling, no clarity and, once again, no strategy. The Wacol Youth Remand Centre—a Labor project—will help but it will not solve this crisis. Where is the Cairns facility? Where is Woodford? What does the pipeline look like? They do not know because they have not planned for any of it.

The director-general flip-flopped in the committee hearing, saying that it is too early to model the impacts but then admitted that they are modelling every single day. I was confused and so was the committee. The Queensland Police Service said they have considered watch house impacts but also that it is too early to tell. This is not preparation; this is absolute confusion. We cannot legislate our way out of a capacity crisis in our jails and in our watch houses. We need the infrastructure. We need planning. We need coordination. This government has done none of that.

This is what Labor demands. Firstly, we demand monthly victim and offence data. The Premier promised, as we have heard many times, that he would resign if victim numbers did not drop, and then he buried the data. Queenslanders deserve that transparency. Our amendment would make monthly data tabling mandatory.

Secondly, we demand an independent statutory review of the 2024-25 laws. It should be after 18 months, be publicly released and be oversighted independently—no more marking your own homework.


Thirdly, we demand the release of the Expert Legal Panel advice—all of it, not just some of it—the past, the present and the future of where they are going. If this advice is so compelling, why the secrecy? If it supports the LNP laws, table the documents. Queenslanders are not buying this cloak and dagger nonsense anymore.

Fourthly, we demand real reform for victims. The LNP keeps saying that they put victims first, yet they have been sitting on critical sentencing recommendations since December. The Queensland Sentencing Advisory Council gave them a roadmap—and they have done nothing with it, so Labor will act. We moved amendments to the Penalties and Sentences Act 1992 to ensure the justice system reflects community standards and supports victim-survivors. Our amendments recognised the harm to

victim-survivors in sentencing; treated rape against children as an aggravating factor; restricted the use of 'good character' evidence to shield perpetrators; and prevented courts from drawing negative inferences when victims do not provide an impact statement.

These reforms are about integrity. They are about justice and they are about standing with those who have suffered. This is not just about the law; this is about leadership. Right now, the LNP government is showing none of that. They are governing by headline, not by evidence. They are reacting, not planning, and they are hiding the truth instead of trusting the public. We will not stand in the way of laws that aim to make Queensland safer, but we will expose the hypocrisy, the chaos and the cowardice of those opposite. This second wave of legislation is not a triumph; it is a retreat, a correction, a clean-up job that never should have been necessary if they had got it right in the first place.

Yes, we support fixing the mess, but don't you dare pretend that this is strengthening government. It is a scramble. It is a shambles from a government that is out of depth and out of ideas, and in the future they will be out of time. I commend our amendments to the House.

 **Ms MARR** (Thuringowa—LNP) (4.40 pm): I rise today representing victims of crime and the people of Thuringowa with the commitment to advocate for the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025, a transformative piece of legislation that delivers justice for victims, restores safety for our communities and holds serious offenders accountable. This bill is for every Queenslanders who has been scared, every family broken by violence and every person wanting a justice system that is on their side. We are at the edge of real change, and I am proud to support it.

This bill will ensure youth offenders who commit serious crimes, including sexual offences, violent offences and offences that cause fear in our community, can face serious consequences for their actions. The Adult Crime, Adult Time amendment bill is a direct response to a decade of failure under the former Labor government—a period marked by spiralling crime rates and a justice system that was embarrassingly soft on offenders. Under Labor, there were 46,130 finalised proven offences by young people—a 98 per cent increase over the last 10 years. This was a decade of Labor weakening our youth crime laws, creating a generation of hardcore repeat offenders who were left to terrorise communities across the state with absolutely no consequences. Our communities were also being told by Labor that we did not have a crime issue.

During the public hearing the member for Bulimba, the former minister for youth justice, was desperate to silence any discussion of her government's legacy—and what a legacy it was: youth crime surged by 35 per cent in some regions, carjackings doubled, home invasions skyrocketed and reoffending rates hit a staggering 70 per cent. These are not just numbers; they are lives destroyed, families broken and communities terrorised. Labor may wish to bury the truth but Queenslanders have not forgotten. This bill is important to them because now they have a government that has been listening to them—an LNP Crisafulli government delivering on its promise of putting victims first.

The opposition's response to this bill is nothing short of disgraceful. They have chosen to attack the Expert Legal Panel, respected professionals who consulted widely and listened to victims, rather than engage with the crisis at hand. The panel has done the work and we are now acting on their advice, as we promised. In formulating their advice, the Expert Legal Panel considered the seriousness of the offence, whether the use of violence associated with offending behaviour was likely to cause serious harm and the risk of serious consequences to the victims and to the community.

The panel has recommended the inclusion of 20 serious offences include arson, torture, kidnapping, trafficking in dangerous drugs, rape, attempted rape, sexual assault, ramming a police vehicle while driving, and attempted murder. The impacts of these offences are deep, long-lasting and often have serious consequences for victims. The inclusion of these new offences into Adult Crime, Adult Time shows a priority by this government for community safety and ensures community expectations are being met, to strengthen laws rather than weaken them and to put the rights of victims before the rights of offenders. This is just the beginning. We have a lot of work to do. The panel will continue their review of other offences. This ongoing work will ensure our laws remain robust and responsive to community needs and community expectations.

The victims who spoke at these hearings, who relived their trauma to beg for change, do not care about the opposition's political posturing. They want the stabbings to stop. They want the robberies to end. They want to feel safe again. Yet the member for Bulimba and her colleagues barely mustered a single question for these victims. Why? Are they ashamed of their decade-long failure or do they simply not care? Our communities have had enough. They are demanding tougher penalties, and this bill answers their call.

Let's talk about what the Adult Crime, Adult Time amendment bill actually does. This legislation introduces a fundamental principle: if you commit an adult crime, you face adult consequences. It targets the worst of the worst of youth offenders who commit serious indictable offences—crimes like armed robbery, threatening violence, sexual violence or manslaughter. Under this bill, these offenders can be tried and sentenced as adults, ensuring penalties reflect the gravity of their actions. Courts will have the power to impose sentences, with no more hiding behind juvenile leniency. This bill also mandates that judges consider an offender's full criminal history so serial offenders cannot exploit the system any longer.

For the worst offenders, it introduces presumptive sentencing, meaning they must prove why they should not face adult penalties. This is justice that bites, and it is what Queenslanders deserve. This side of the House is fiercely unapologetically tough on crime and we make no apologies for putting victims first. We know that no matter how much safer our streets become—and they will become safer under this government—for some it is already too late.

The pain of losing a loved one to a violent crime is a wound that never heals. I will never forget the Redlands hearing where I met a man who survived a brutal stabbing. His voice trembled as he described the agony of his injuries, the slap on the wrist approach that was the norm for the Labor government, and the hollowed-out existence he now endures. Beside him sat his partner, her face a mask of helplessness, knowing she could do nothing to ease his torment. These are the people we fight for—the victims, the forgotten, the broken. Their stories must drive us, not the excuses of those opposite.


Yes, this bill is tough on youth offenders and it has to be. For 10 years, Labor's leniency—handing out warnings for stabbings and community service for carjackings—created a generation of repeat offenders who laughed at the law. Don't tell me I am wrong for supporting this bill. I want to stop these kids from thinking it is okay to pick up a knife, to steal a car at gun point, to terrorise a neighbourhood, all because they believe they will face no real consequences. This bill shatters that illusion. It tells every would-be offender, 'If you commit a serious crime, you will pay a price. If you don't want to do the time, don't do the crime.' It is a simple message and it is sinking in.

The opposition has to hide behind the Human Rights Commission submission, but their arguments fall apart under scrutiny. They claimed that tougher penalties might infringe on youth rights. Yet, in the same breath, they conceded that community safety is a fundamental human right. These contradictions only strengthen our case. The right of a Queenslanders to live without fear outweighs the excuses of those who choose to break the law. The commission's concerns are noted, but they cannot override the urgent need to protect our communities. The people of Thuringowa have carried the burden of the soft law approach for far too long. They expect me to fight for their rights, and I will not let them down. Tough decisions have to be made. Tough laws have to be introduced. I am here today to tell the residents of Thuringowa: I hear you and I stand with you.

Let's talk about results because this bill is already making waves. We heard from a Townsville defence lawyer that he has seen it firsthand. Courts are starting to reflect the principles of this legislation, with judges handing down sentences that are starting to align with community expectations. We also heard from one submitter that young offenders are talking about this bill. They have heard about Adult Crime, Adult Time and they are rattled. We were told that historically these kids have not been going out knowing what laws they are breaking. When asked the question at the hearings, 'Do these kids know what the consequences of their actions are now?' the answer was unequivocal: 'They do now.'

Youth workers report that kids are hesitating before picking up a weapon because they know the consequences are real. This bill is not only about consequences for actions, being tough on crime and putting victims first; it will eventually act as a deterrent and it will assist in making our streets safer. This legislation is not about punishment; it is about prevention, protection and restoring faith in justice. It is about telling victims they are seen, heard and valued. It is about stopping the next assault, the next robbery, the next senseless tragedy. The Adult Crime, Adult Time amendment bill is our commitment to Queenslanders. We will fight for your safety, we will honour your pain and we will build a future where justice prevails.

I call on every member of this House to stand with the victims, to stand with our communities and to stand for what is right. Pass the bill; make it law. Let's reclaim our streets and give Queenslanders the justice they demand. I support the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill.

 **Hon. SM FENTIMAN** (Waterford—ALP) (4.50 pm): I rise to speak to the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill. I must say, I was surprised to see the LNP government spruiking their new Adult Crime, Adult Time laws as a great success when we are back here to fix them up. When a law has to be patched with amendments just months following their implementation that is not progress. I would say that is poor planning. Just like the last time, we are here debating a critically important bill formulated without the clear and transparent advice of experts. An overwhelming majority of stakeholders have not been properly consulted.

The LNP hand-picked an expert legal panel because David Crisafulli, the Premier, wants to be a Premier who looks like he takes advice and listens to the experts, but it is unclear with whom this expert panel actually consulted. It certainly was not key stakeholders—the Queensland Council of Social Services, for example—and it certainly was not key advocacy groups like Voice for Victims. We are considering these laws without seeing the expert legal advice they are apparently based on, despite multiple calls by stakeholders and the opposition for this advice to be released.

The Minister for Youth Justice and Victim Support was outside the chamber here yesterday waving around committee papers and claiming that the opposition wants to be open and transparent about the expert panel's advice. I would say to the minister that we are peddling transparency—something those opposite promised they would bring if they were elected. If the laws are so good then it is time to let the sunshine in and show the advice and the submissions to Queenslanders. I note the contribution from the Minister for Youth Justice, who talked about the advice. In her words, it was written advice, it was oral advice, the advice was ongoing and it was in stages. I say to the minister that she can release this advice to this parliament and to communities so people can understand the legal advice these laws were based upon. Maybe the advice is that these laws are not going to work and that is why they do not want to share it. The member for Cook seems to imply that these laws are not even needed. Revealed text messages show he thinks that attempted murder is a non-issue for youth offenders.

I am now going to address the opposition's proposed amendments to the bill that support the recommendations from the Queensland Sentencing Advisory Council to limit the use of good character references in cases of sexual assault. Our very own Queensland Victims' Commissioner referred to the QSAC report *Sentencing of sexual assault and rape: the ripple effect*—which I commissioned as attorney-general—and recommended that various elements be implemented. I am so pleased and proud that Labor has been able to set the agenda and deliver reforms for victim-survivors from opposition, with the Attorney-General introducing a bill today acting on Labor's calls. Limiting good character references is an important step forward, building on the work of the Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce and the voices of victim-survivors. I also thank the shadow attorney-general for her work on this matter. Labor will always work to ensure our justice system reflects modern values and the lived experience of victim-survivors, whether we are in government or not.

While I welcome this bill, I would like to remind the House that the QSAC recommendations landed on the Attorney-General's desk back in December. For six months they were sitting on the Attorney-General's desk and we heard nothing from her about these important amendments. While it is good news that the LNP has used Labor's homework to introduce these changes—

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order on relevance to the bill before the House.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Whiting): As I said before when I was sitting in this chair, there has been fairly wideranging debate. I have been listening to the member and I find it relevant at the moment.

**Ms FENTIMAN:** Whilst it is disappointing that the LNP used Labor's homework to introduce changes, it is also disappointing that the LNP could not bring themselves to support Labor's proposed amendments to limit good character references and get it done this week. The shadow attorney-general has written to the Attorney-General, saying that we would support the Attorney-General's bill being declared urgent and getting it done this week.

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order. The member on her feet is clearly referencing the bill that is before the House and she is anticipating debate. The amendments that the former attorney-general has circulated are outside the long title of the bill to start with.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Thank you, member for Nanango; please take your seat. I am getting some advice.

**Ms FENTIMAN:** Mr Deputy Speaker, on that point of order, I am directly referring to amendments that were referenced by the Victims' Commissioner in her submission to this bill. Pages 9 and 10 of the statement of reservation talk about implementing these sentencing reforms from the QSAC report.

**Government members** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Members, I am taking a point of order. Now I have to get the member to explain that again because I could not hear her over the talking I was hearing on my right.

**Ms FENTIMAN:** With pleasure, Mr Deputy Speaker. I am talking to important sentencing reforms that the Queensland Victims' Commissioner called for in her submission to this bill. Further, it is mentioned in the statement of reservation at pages 9 and 10 about how implementing these sentencing reforms would be very important to give victims a voice. Thirdly, Deputy Speaker Krause has already ruled this was relevant when the shadow attorney-general was on her feet.

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order. In relation to the last point that the former attorney-general made, she knows full well that what she was talking about is completely different to the matter that Deputy Speaker Krause just ruled on.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Thank you very much. Now everyone be quiet while I take some advice. In accordance with those previous rulings, because these are included in that statement of reservation we are still talking about those.

**Ms FENTIMAN:** As I was saying, it would be really wonderful if we could deliver these reforms for victim-survivors this week. I say to those opposite: let's get it done.

**Mr Mickelberg:** Created by Labor.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Order, member for Buderim!

**Mr Mickelberg:** The youth crime crisis created by Labor.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Order, member for Buderim!

**Ms FENTIMAN:** I take the interjection.


**Mr Mickelberg:** Created by Labor.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Member for Buderim, you are warned. I called you to order twice.

**Ms FENTIMAN:** I take the interjection from the member for Buderim, although it is always very hard to be heard over him. I would say to him that when Labor was in government of course we convened the Women's Safety and Justice Taskforce. That taskforce heard from hundreds and hundreds of victim-survivors. They came forward with courage and had their say. That taskforce made a recommendation for the Sentencing Advisory Council to review cases of rape and sexual assault. They reviewed 131 cases in the last 12 months, and do you know what they found? They found that, when it came to rape, sentencing in this state was not meeting community expectations. They made a range of recommendations which have been sitting on the Attorney-General's desk. That is what we are talking about. That is what Labor wants to get done this week. What we are talking about here is harsher penalties for those perpetrators who commit rape or sexual assault against children. What we are talking about is limiting the use of good character references for those same perpetrators convicted of rape and sexual assault.

We are talking about adding to the purposes of sentencing in section 9 of the Penalties and Sentences Act that harm done to victims should be considered. Why don't we get this done this week? This has been subject to an 18-month review of QSAC. They have spoken to so many victim-survivors, organisations that represent those victim-survivors and the legal community, and they have made these recommendations. Labor gave our amendments to the Attorney-General on Monday. She has turned around today and introduced a bill, and we say, 'Great. Thank you. Let's get it done.' We would support this being made urgent to deliver for victim-survivors who have come forward with courage and shared their story.

Why are we delaying these important reforms? It is simply so that those opposite can somehow claim political points? I am sorry, but this is beyond politics. Let's get this done this week. As the Leader of the Opposition has said, protecting victims should not be partisan. Safety, justice and dignity are not partisan issues. This is about values, not about party lines. I want to thank all of the victim-survivors who have come forward and advocated for change. Of course there is more work to do, but let's actually declare the Attorney-General's bills urgent this week and deliver for those victim-survivors without delay.

 **Hon. DK FRECKLINGTON** (Nanango—LNP) (Attorney-General and Minister for Justice and Minister for Integrity) (5.00 pm): I will get to the important point of the bill, but it is interesting to note that we are talking about amendments that are actually wrong. If the shadow Attorney-General did her homework, she would know that they are wrong. When moving an amendment, it has to be right. You

have to do your homework and get it absolutely right. If I have enough time, I will get back to that, but I rise today in strong support of the youth justice minister and the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill—a bill that reflects the mandate to restore law and order in this state.

This is the second phase of our Making Queensland Safer reforms, the first of which we passed, as promised, before Christmas. Those 13 offences included in the first bill were based on the policy we took to the election. We said there would be more to come, and we established an expert legal panel to advise us on future reforms—just as we promised. Most importantly, we have listened to victims. Victims of crime in this state were ignored by those opposite for the better part of a decade—in fact, I would say a decade—but they are being heard now.

This bill expands section 175A of the Youth Justice Act to include 20 additional serious offences—offences that, until now, have been committed far too often by youth offenders with little consequence—and those opposite cannot even decide whether to support it. Crimes such as rape, attempted murder, kidnapping for ransom, arson and endangering police officers while driving are not the harmless mistakes of wayward teenagers that those opposite think. These are serious crimes—they are adult crimes—and they should carry adult consequences.

The people of Queensland have watched as their homes have been broken into, their cars stolen, their streets turned into speedways and their loved ones hurt or even worse—all while repeat youth offenders walk free, emboldened by weak laws and a justice system that put their rights ahead of victims. Labor gutted the Youth Justice Act and made detention a last resort. They abolished breach of bail as an offence. In doing so, they created a generation of emboldened, hardcore, repeat youth offenders. What was the result? A youth crime crisis that spiralled out of control. Last financial year alone, there were 289,000 victims of crime in Queensland. That is nearly 300,000 Queenslanders whose lives have been upended—assaulted, robbed, violated—under Labor's watch.

When the Crisafulli government came to office, we promised to fix the mess Labor left behind, and we are delivering on that promise. From December, when the Making Queensland Safer laws came into effect, until 25 April, there was a 32 per cent reduction in MQS cases before the courts compared to the same period last year. The data also shows defendants charged with MQS offences are committing more offences on average than defendants who are charged for other offences. That means Queenslanders got it right when they told us which offences were a priority. The laws are targeting Labor's generation of dangerous, repeat offenders.

We are starting to see a change—only very small green shoots—in how young offenders are sentenced, because of the changes we have made to hold offenders responsible for their actions after years of getting away with no consequences. An example of this is the magistrate quoted in the *Cairns Post*, who told a teenage car thief being sentenced that he was 'in a different world now'. The magistrate said—

You are the first person I have sentenced under the new regime which means that I do now look at your criminal history ... you have an appalling criminal history.

There is ... a level of immaturity in your offending because you think you can just do what you please, because you have not been subject to the adult sentencing world—

We have brought back consequences for action and, today, we continue delivering on those. I thank the youth justice minister for her hard work on the second tranche of these important reforms. These reforms were backed by considered expert advice, additional public consultation and, above all, the voices of Queenslanders, of victims, who have been crying out for action for years.

The bill adds additional serious offences such as rape, torture, arson and kidnapping to the list of these adult time offences. These changes are not made lightly. They are based on the thorough and considered advice of a panel comprised of legal professionals, law enforcement and victim advocates. The panel assessed each offence against clear criteria: the seriousness of harm, the risk to community safety and the need to prioritise victims—something that those opposite never did once in 10 years, and that is why we are here today. It is simple: if a young person commits an adult crime, particularly one involving violence or serious community harm, they should face the same consequences as an adult, because accountability matters.

The Queensland Police Union of Employees said it best: 'There has to be a consequence for action.' They have welcomed this bill, especially the inclusion of offences that directly protect our emergency service workers. Right now, 12 police officers on the front line are assaulted every week in Queensland. That is what those opposite want, not us. That is why we say it is unacceptable. Our frontline workers deserve the full protection of the law.

**Opposition members** interjected.

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** If those interjecting actually think that, then why didn't they jump up and change the laws when they had an opportunity for a decade?

**A government member** interjected.

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** I take that interjection. They weakened our laws.

**A government member** interjected.

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** I take that interjection. They are in denial. It is not just the police calling for action. Victims have told us they want justice. They want their pain to be recognised. They want to feel safe in their homes again after nearly a decade of living in fear: people like Christine Ford, a 75-year-old woman from Redlands who now sleeps behind six-foot fences and has alarm systems because she no longer feels safe in her own neighbourhood; and people like Julie Fox, who said—

These crimes do not just take our possessions ... but also our peace of mind, our sense of security and our trust in our own neighbourhoods.

These are real stories from Queenslanders, and they are not alone. Across Cairns, Townsville, Goondiwindi, the South Burnett, Redlands and beyond, communities are crying out for change. We have seen youth crime escalate from opportunistic mischief to calculated violence. This bill ensures the most serious offences are treated with the gravity they deserve. It sends a clear message: Queensland will not be safe—

**Mrs Gerber** interjected.

**Mrs FRECKLINGTON:** I do. It is just so frustrating that those opposite do not want to keep Queensland safe. It sends a clear message to those serious repeat juvenile offenders: we will keep Queenslanders safe, whether it is in their homes or on their way to work. We also recognise that accountability and rehabilitation must go hand in hand. That is why our reforms do not just punish; they aim to prevent. Early intervention, meaningful rehabilitation and structured support for those who can change remain essential pillars of our broader Making Queensland Safer plan.

This bill also includes practical improvements for victims. It gives them more control over how they receive sensitive information, a small but important step in recognising their trauma and agency. It also removes redundant legal references to keep our statutes clear and up to date.

The parliamentary committee has recommended the bill be passed. The police support it, victim advocates support it and, most importantly, the people of Queensland support it. The only question is: why will those opposite not support it in full? Last time they tore themselves up over whether to back the tough laws, and there was nearly a coup. The shadow attorney-general wanted Labor to vote against it, and now they have tabled 20 pages of excuses in their statement of reservation, laying the groundwork for going out and voting against the mandate that Queenslanders gave us at the election. We have heard today that they do not even want the bill to come into the chamber today. Will they back victims and stronger action on crime or will they back down?

This bill delivers justice, it delivers safety, and it delivers on our promise to the people of Queensland.



**Mr RUSSO** (Toohey—ALP) (5.10 pm): I rise today to address the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025. Whilst the opposition do not oppose the bill, I have strong reservations personally about this legislation. These legislative changes have sparked significant concern among legal experts, human rights advocates and First Nations communities.

The slogan 'Adult Crime, Adult Time' oversimplifies a complex issue by framing it as a binary choice between victims and child offenders, implying that punitive measures alone will resolve the problem. This false narrative neglects the complicated nature of youth crime, which often stems from underlying factors such as abuse, neglect and trauma. Instead of addressing these root causes, the government has adopted this slogan as a convenient story, promoting the idea that incarcerating children is a straightforward solution. However, this approach fails to consider the long-term consequences for the children involved and overlooks more effective, rehabilitative alternatives.

Until the underlying causes are addressed, especially domestic and family violence, then I believe nothing will change. I believe the best way to reduce youth crime is not by prison, but by early intervention. In my opinion, punitive measures that lack rehabilitative value fail to support vulnerable children, ultimately harming both the victims and the broader community. I want to be very clear: everyone has the right to feel safe in their own home, their place of work and in their community.



However, locking up children for long periods of time is not the way to achieve that. In fact, it is most certainly the way to ensure that these children know no other life than crime.

The Premier has on many occasions stated 'our government is putting victims at the heart of our plans for a safer Queensland'. If this is the case, why is there little being said about the support for the victims?

At the public hearing, the Victims' Commissioner stated—

An alleged offender has a defence attorney and the state has a Crown prosecutor, but a victim of crime needs to navigate all of this as a witness or a complainant on their own. I think there is a lot to do in terms of getting the balance right.

The government needs to be focusing not just on the alleged youth criminals but in supporting the victims during the process as well.

During the hearing in Townsville, Ms Surha, who is the chair of the Townsville First Nations Community Council said—

How is Adult Crime, Adult Time to be imposed on our young people going to make Queensland safer? In Townsville, First Nations and Torres Strait Islander children are the highest offenders and in Cleveland Youth Detention Centre we know that around 90 per cent of those incarcerated are our young people.

The Sisters Inside's submission stated—

We have been consistent in our vocal opposition to the Adult Crime, Adult Time legislation, and we assert that these amendments, as well as the original Bill, are not about safety. They are about punishment, political expediency, and abandoning our children—especially Aboriginal children and Torres Strait Islander children—at the altar of so-called community outrage. Let us be clear: this Bill will not make Queensland safer. It will deepen the cycles of violence, trauma, and incarceration that the so called 'youth justice system' purports to interrupt.

At the Brisbane hearing on 8 May, Ms Hayes from the Youth Advocacy Centre was presenting evidence to the committee highlighting concerns raised by two youth workers who recently visited the Cleveland Youth Detention Centre. Both reported that the facility was in lockdown, referred to as 'separation', for extended periods. During her testimony, the committee chair suggested she review Mr Rennick's comments from the hearing on 7 May about a visit to Townsville where he described conditions at Cleveland as—

For the children in detention, on day one at Cleveland they are doing educational courses, sport, getting back into a more positive lifestyle while they are in detention.

After reviewing these comments, Ms Hayes, in correspondence to the committee, advised that—

The experiences of clients the Youth Advocacy Centre has assisted at Cleveland do not align with this portrayal.

She supplied a separation report, commonly obtained by lawyers prior to sentencing, which details the duration a young person was confined to their cell beyond the usual time for sleeping, showering and resting. The report indicated that during a 54-day period in custody at Cleveland—

**Mr HUNT:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order. That report is committee-in-confidence correspondence which was not authorised for publication, and the member is referring to it.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Kempton): Member, if that report is not in the public arena, then you should not make reference to it.

**Mr RUSSO:** The report was—

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Member, I do not want to argue about it. The report is not in the public arena and you should not refer to it.

**Mr RUSSO:** Well, that is—

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** If you have a complaint, put it in writing.

**Mr Hunt:** It was not published.

**Mr RUSSO:** That is not exactly right.

**Mr Hunt:** That is exactly right.

**Mr RUSSO:** Moving on, most of these lockdowns were attributed to staff shortages and include multiple incidences—

**Mr HUNT:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order. He is still referring to that same report. That report was not published. I am not sure what I can tell the parliament about the committee proceedings, but that report was not published.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** I take your point of order. Member, I will give you an opportunity to explain how that report comes to be in the public arena.

**Mr RUSSO:** The report is not in the public arena, but the email is. The email that was supplied to—

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Sorry, take your seat. I would just like to take advice on this, please.

**Mr RUSSO:** Maybe I should explain a little bit more.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Take a seat, please. Thank you, member. Keep in mind, please, that you are not entitled to refer to matters that are not on the public record. You can proceed, but be careful.

**Mr RUSSO:** It is unsurprising that behavioural issues arise when an individual is confined to a cell for 23 hours and allowed only 35 minutes outside. Most people would struggle under such—


**Mr HUNT:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order. The member is referring specifically to statistics that were not to be published. He is quoting statistics from a report that—it was made clear to the committee—was not to be published. I accept that there is an email which makes general comments about the custody arrangements but he is referring to specific statistics in a statistical report that was not made public.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER (Mr Kempton):** Member for Toohey, I cannot make a determination in relation to whether the matters you raise are on the public record or not but bear in mind that the chair of the committee will come back to the parliament with the appropriate action in the event the matters you raise are, in fact, not in the public arena. Please bear that in mind.

**Mr RUSSO:** Thank you, Deputy Speaker. After reviewing the comments made by Mr Rennick, Ms Hayes, in her correspondence to the committee, advised that the experiences of clients the Youth Advocacy Centre has assisted at Cleveland did not align with this portrayal. She supplied a separate report commonly obtained by lawyers. Critics argue the reforms, which would introduce harsher penalties for children as young as 10, contradict evidence-based approaches to youth justice and disproportionately impact vulnerable groups. Advocates argue that the legislation exacerbates the system's disadvantages and cultural disconnection, undermining efforts to address intergenerational trauma. Research indicates that punitive measures often lead to increased reoffending. Advocacy groups emphasised the need for community-led, culturally-appropriate interventions. The Justice Reform Initiative and the Human Rights Law Centre urged the government to invest in evidence-based diversion programs and support First Nations-led initiatives to address the root causes of youth crime.

Mr Allsop, the CEO of PeakCare, was asked at the public hearing if he believed the reforms were necessary upon reviewing the changes that pertain to the most serious offences committed by repeat offenders and noting that not all children involved in the justice system fall into this category? Given this context, should there be consequences for actions and could improving your approach ensure the majority of these young individuals do not face prolonged detention—provided we implement effective rehabilitation and early intervention strategies? Mr Allsop responded that the evidence strongly supports the existence of more effective detention alternatives that have been successfully implemented elsewhere and should be considered here. He said that the current system's 94 per cent failure rate was unacceptable and that, in contrast, international models that engage with young people and their families have achieved a 14 per cent recidivism rate.

Victims constantly express a preference not to be harmed in the first place, highlighting the importance of prevention over reaction. Rather than extending detention periods in a system that fails most of the time, we should focus on preventive measures that stop young people from entering the system altogether. Implementing such reforms of rehabilitation and prevention strategies could not only reduce the likelihood of reoffending but also provide a more just and effective approach to youth justice. In closing, I also support the amendments that the opposition shadow is moving in relation to sentencing amendments in accordance with the QSAC report in relation to the victims of sexual violence.

 **Mr LEE (Hervey Bay—LNP) (5.23 pm):** I rise to speak to the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025. This is the second tranche of our Making Queensland Safer Laws, and it comes after a decade of Labor's crime crisis and chaos. The youth crime epidemic started when Labor systematically weakened the youth justice laws in 2015 by removing detention as a last resort and by abolishing breach of bail as an offence. Labor's youth crime recalcitrance has given rise to a generation of serious repeat offenders. A 2023 Queensland Audit Office report *Reducing serious youth crime* highlights a 64 per cent increase in the average daily number of repeat offenders from 2019 to 2023. In 2023, 55 per cent of all youth crime in Queensland was committed by serious repeat offenders.

In 2023, under Labor, there were nearly 300,000 victims of crime in Queensland. These are Queenslanders who have been victims of assault or had their homes broken into or their cars stolen—yet some former Queensland Labor members arrogantly mischaracterised the youth crime crisis as a ‘media beat-up’. The *Crime report, Queensland, 2023-24* stated—

... the most prevalent age of offenders (not individuals) was 15 years, comprising 12,268 offenders proceeded against by police in 2023-24.

...

One in two offenders proceeded against for unlawful entry or unlawful use of motor vehicle offences in 2023-2024 was aged 10-17 years.

It should come as no surprise that Labor hastily retreated from their five-word slogan ‘keeping us safe and strong’ when my Hervey Bay community and Queenslanders no longer felt safe in their homes and businesses, yet Labor’s far left-leaning defiant and obstinate refusal to prioritise the rights of victims over the rights of offenders remains entrenched. We are not afraid, on this side of the House, to stand up for the victims before the rights of offenders. This next stage of the Making Queensland Safer Laws continues to deliver on our election commitment to stem Labor’s youth crime crisis and to restore community safety. This is just the beginning. It takes time to reverse Labor’s youth crime crisis but we remain resolutely committed to restoring safety where my Hervey Bay community and Queenslanders live and work.

On 13 December 2024, the Legislative Assembly passed the Making Queensland Safer Act 2024 and introduced the Adult Crime, Adult Time sentencing scheme into the Youth Justice Act. This is for 13 specified offences and the Making Queensland Safer Act changed the status of the eligible person’s register to be an opt-out scheme for eligible victims to receive updates regarding a youth offender’s custody movements. The Adult Crime, Adult Time sentencing scheme introduced by the Making Queensland Safer Act provides that young offenders convicted of prescribed offences are liable to be sentenced to the maximum, minimum and mandatory non-parole periods as adults for the same offence. This second tranche bill proposes to amend the Youth Justice Act 1992 to firstly include an additional 20 offences to the Adult Crime, Adult Time sentencing scheme, as recommended by the Expert Legal Panel. This includes offences like stealing of a vehicle, arson, torture, deprivation of liberty, kidnapping rape and attempted murder. An expert legal panel recommended these offences for consideration by the government be included in the Adult Crime, Adult Time laws. In assessing offences, the main aspects considered by the panel included: the seriousness of the offence; whether the offence involved the use of violence or was likely to create conditions in which serious harm was caused; and offences which might involve a risk of serious consequences to the victim or the community.

This important work is ongoing. This bill furthermore provides an option for victims on the eligible persons register to request that another person receive information on their behalf about the custody movements of a young offender and, finally, removes a reference to a repealed section of the Police Powers and Responsibilities Act 2000.

This bill inserts the proposed 20 offences into section 175A of the Youth Justice Act. Section 175A of the Youth Justice Act sets out the sentencing orders applicable to young offenders in relation to the prescribed significant offences to which adult penalties apply. This bill, as I said, provides an additional 20 new serious offences that will be added to the 13 existing serious offences set out in section 175A(1) which were originally introduced into the Making Queensland Safer Act.

Queensland Labor pontificates about the importance of evidence-based policy when there is overwhelming evidence that its weak youth justice laws were an abysmal failure. Just ask the victims of crime who have lost their loved ones. Queenslanders backed the Making Queensland Safer Laws after a decade of an inept Palaszczuk-Miles government that was more concerned about the rights of youth justice perpetrators than the victims of heinous crimes. The LNP is standing up for the rights of victims and is committed to making my Hervey Bay and Queensland communities safer.


The Queensland Victims’ Commissioner has said—

Victims have told us clearly that they want accountability. They want the harm they have experienced to be recognised and prioritised in sentencing and they want assurances that their voices will be heard in courtrooms. This is their right.

On this side of the House we make no apology for standing up for the families of victims in my Fraser Coast community such as Michale Chandler, Kelsie Davies, Sheree Robertson, Scott Cabrie and the many other Queensland victims of Labor’s weak youth justice laws.

The Crisafulli government is also committed to backing in our hardworking Queensland Police Service with the resources to enforce our Making Queensland Safer Laws. In just 200 days the Crisafulli government has increased our QPS front line by 240 personnel. Our QPS are under incredible pressure after Labor's incompetence saw the QPS front line disgracefully increased by only 175 officers over four years.

We are resolutely committed to breaking the cycle of youth crime through substantial investment in early intervention and rehabilitation programs. It beggars belief that the shadow attorney-general just this evening would naively suggest that more money has gone into Adult Crime, Adult Time advertising than into youth crime prevention. Tenders have now closed for our \$175 million Staying on Track program, \$50 million for Regional Reset and round 1 of the Kickstarter program, which is part of our \$100 million commitment. We are also committed to giving our children the best chance in life by restoring Labor's broken residential child safety system. That is why we announced a commission of inquiry into Queensland's broken child safety system. I commend the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill to the House.

 **Ms BOYD** (Pine Rivers—ALP) (5.32 pm): The LNP have demonstrated that they are not fit to govern. This is the fourth time since the election we have been debating changes to the Youth Justice Act. The secrecy and the gagging from the government through this legislative process guarantees one thing for me: we will be back here for the fifth and the sixth times, and even more. Adult Crime, Adult Time—

**Mr Head:** We've already said we would be. It's called a process. It is fixing the mess that you made.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Kempton): Members on my right, interjections are not being taken.

**Ms BOYD:** Adult Crime, Adult Time was the LNP's signature election policy. Time has demonstrated that this was never, in fact, a policy but just a slogan that misled Queenslanders, a slogan that is not based in solid foundations of legislation. This amendment tranche we are debating today further demonstrates clearly just how the LNP have failed to live up to the hype and promises they made to win favour with Queenslanders. The original iteration of the laws were promised by Premier Crisafulli and his police minister as the thing that would solve youth crime and solve it by Christmas last year—146 days ago.

**Mr Lister:** When did he say that? He never said that.

**Ms BOYD:** It is a matter of public record. Check it out. They were laws the Premier had drafted and never consulted stakeholders about and never shared the details with the community. They were laws that after their creation were kept secret in a dark desk drawer and then were rushed through this place to their detriment. It was at that time—

**Mr Mander:** A dark desk drawer?

**Ms BOYD:** There is no illumination in a desk drawer, Minister for Sport. It was at that time that stakeholders expressed unreserved concerns—concerns because they were not consulted about the creation of that legislation—and here we are back here again fixing this botched job within a few short months. It is the same sad, sorry story with stakeholders again expressing unreserved concerns around a lack of consultation and the government's steamrolling ahead, steadfastly ignoring and disregarding that legitimate worry.

Everyone wants legislative settings in this House that make our community safer, but on this side of the House we know that legislation alone will not solve the problem. What Queensland is experiencing is not unique to our state; it is seen across the nation despite many different political parties leading states. Indeed, it is a problem seen around the world. However, this LNP government has never sought a solution with a bipartisan approach. That respect is sorely lacking in this government. It is a shame that the LNP sought to politicise the issue. The LNP weaponised these matters and in doing so retraumatised victims—an even bigger shame. But perhaps the biggest shame—

**Mr Lister:** What about the abortion stuff that you went on with? It saved your seat. Shame on you!

**Ms BOYD:** I thought you were gagged on that, member for Southern Downs.

**Mr Lister:** That's why you're here.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Member for Southern Downs.

**Ms BOYD:** Thank you for your protection, Mr Deputy Speaker. What an outburst! It is a shame that the LNP sought to politicise it. The LNP politicise these matters and, in doing so, retraumatise victims—an even bigger shame. Perhaps the biggest shame of all is when it is blatantly clear to all that they have failed comprehensively in this policy reform. They still will not be up-front with stakeholders and peak organisations.

**Honourable members** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** There will be no squabbling across the House, please.

**Ms BOYD:** They still will not be up-front with stakeholders and peak organisations. They are refusing transparency and, ultimately, this will be to the detriment of Queenslanders.

There have been calls from stakeholders across the board for the minister to release the Expert Legal Panel's advice that has been the subject of this latest wave of legislation. After being promised transparency and openness from the Premier, we have seen his own committee chair gag non-government members and the committee process and, ultimately, continue in the cover-up of the Expert Legal Panel's advice. Stakeholder after stakeholder called for the release of that advice to better inform them, to allow them to better provide their expertise in these matters. They have all been rejected and they have all been silenced by this government.

The Premier promised us openness and transparency, but all we see from his actions is gagging. He gags debate in this House, in the committees, throughout the community and stakeholders. Why can't he come good on his promises? This government deserves to have the blowtorch applied because they are failing themselves, this institution and every Queensland community. All they contribute is hollow promises, platitudes and weasel words.

What do the stakeholders say in relation to the LNP's hand-picked five-person Expert Legal Panel's advice being kept secret? Voice for Victims stated—

Voice for Victims did not make any submission to the Expert Legal Panel. We are not aware of any information and we certainly have not seen anything at all.

QCROSS said—

We are asking the government to release the advice provided by the Expert Legal Panel.

...

What is the evidence the government is relying on to say that it will improve community safety? They are referring to advice provided by the Expert Legal Panel and yet none of us have had access to that advice. In order for us to properly understand and provide feedback on this bill, we should have access to that advice.

The Youth Advocacy Centre told the community—

It is really unclear to us why these offences were included, particularly the five or six that already have life imprisonment as an available option for sentencing. For us, and I think the sector and probably the public generally, it would be great to understand why those 20 offences have been included.

In one of the most damning submissions of all, the Victims' Commissioner stated—

The explanatory notes accompanying this Bill do not provide an overarching rationale for the approach adopted by the Government, nor detail the factors considered by the Expert Legal Panel in making their recommendation around the addition of the 20 serious offences. This approach does not appear to me to meet the intention of section 23(1)(c) of the Legislative Standards Act 1992.

She goes on—


The explanatory notes state 'The Expert Legal Panel conducted consultation with stakeholders' without elaboration.

...

... no detail about these consultations has been included in the explanatory notes. I can think of no reason why this information could not be shared with the public and, in particular, victims of crime who wish to understand the process. I think disclosure of this information would assist with ensuring that victims of crimes not included in this Bill have greater understanding of the process so that they will not feel the same anxiety experienced by victims of sexual violence after the first tranche of reforms.

After receiving all of this feedback and more, we have a victims minister who attacks journalists when they ask for the expert advice to be released and then comes into this place today and says that she is only able to talk us through a process. I say this to the minister: save yourself the meltdown and just table the advice. We will not stand in the way of the Premier fixing these laws that he botched. It was clear through the committee process that they have significant adverse impacts on victims of crime. We will absolutely shine a light on the secretive and subpar way that the Crisafulli government has botched this and, along with the community and sector, judge the government on the effectiveness of

these laws. Our community deserves so much better than this rabble who is bereft of vision, ideas and substance. Come good on your slogan of gold standard early intervention and have the courage to stand by its outcomes, be honest enough with Queenslanders to front up with the monthly victim data reporting, provide an independent review of these legislative reforms that are publicly released and back in victim-survivors by removing good character references during sentencing of rape and sexual offences. It is time for this government to lift the bar.

 **Mr HUTTON** (Keppel—LNP) (5.41 pm): This evening I rise to speak on the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025. This bill is important to Central Queenslanders as it is the next tranche of legislation designed to help make my communities in Keppel safer. After a decade of crime, of fear and of costs, all of which have been borne by my community yet caused by the former government's failed policies, it is time for it to end. This bill furthers our government's commitment to all Queenslanders to ensure youth offenders who commit serious crimes, including sexual offences, violent offences and offences that cause fear in our community, will now face consequences for their actions.


It is Small Business Month and I know the businesses of Keppel, both small and large, are keen to see this next tranche of Adult Crime, Adult Time pass because they are sick of paying the price for the chaos and crisis of crime in our community. In the words of one businessperson—

Young offenders under the former government had free rein to take whatever they wanted from my shop, threatened my staff with violence and caused significant damage and then my business was slammed with the triple whammy—cost prohibitive insurance claims, increased insurance premiums along with the consequences for my devastated staff.

Every month I hear from residents in Keppel who want our help to restore safety where they live and are willing the Crisafulli government to succeed as we work every day to reduce the number of victims of crime in our communities and across our great state. The families of Keppel are sick of being victims of crime. I know firsthand from witnessing the impacts on my neighbours, along with the impact on many others across my electorate—the families who have had their homes invaded, the families who have had their children's innocence stolen and those who have had the theft of their right to feel safe in their home. It is just not good enough.

I refer to residents like Chantelle. Chantelle lives in Yeppoon and a month ago was asleep with her partner in their home when young offenders broke into their home and those of their neighbours and stole two cars. Those two cars were not only stolen but taken to Rockhampton and recklessly driven around, ramming into roadworks, creating unsafe streets. It is just not good enough. Then there is Brad—Brad who has recounted how he experienced youth crime not only in his home but also at his business. Brad, like many other business owners in the same street, is livid that they are being targeted by youth offenders again and again and again. Local businesswoman Karla had a break-in with two sets of car keys taken from inside the house at 3.30 in the morning and two cars stolen. Fortunately, because of the hard work of the local police, both cars were recovered, but both cars were damaged and it will take months for the insurance to come through.

My constituents deserve to feel safe in their homes, to have confidence that their family is protected and to know that the hardworking Queensland police have the resources they need to deal promptly and effectively with offenders. They also want to know that there are laws in place that provide consequences for actions. Last October the communities of Queensland voted for a fresh start and made it abundantly clear that they wanted the voices of victims to be heard. When I spoke on the Making Queensland Safer Bill I shared the experiences of just a few victims in my community and today, unfortunately, have shared the stories of a few more. The government foreshadowed in that original bill that this government would take advice of an expert panel to guide further reform, and that is exactly what we have done. This is but another step forward, but we have so much work still to do. It took a decade of weakened youth crime laws to create a generation of hardcore repeat offenders who have been perpetuating crime and terrorising communities across the state with no consequences until now. While there is early evidence of some change, we must keep working at it. Queenslanders deserve more. Our hardworking police in Central Queensland are working day and night to address this scourge in our communities and are to be commended for their efforts in apprehending offenders and assisting innocent victims. I thank the minister and the parliamentary committee for their efforts and, on behalf of the people of Keppel, I offer my support for the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025.

 **Mr J KELLY** (Greenslopes—ALP) (5.47 pm): I want to thank the previous speaker for outlining the situation for Chantelle that happened just a month ago. Any victim of crime is a tragedy, but I am sure that Chantelle is even more disappointed because she was led to believe by the Premier of this state that these problems would be finished by Christmas and that these laws would be in place.

**Government members** interjected.

**Mr J KELLY:** I am not taking any interjections.

Interruption.

## PRIVILEGE

### Alleged Deliberate Misleading of the House



**Mr HEAD** (Callide—LNP) (5.48 pm): Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise on a matter of privilege. I note that there have been statements made and I will be writing to the Speaker in relation to those.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Kempton): That is your option. Thank you.

## MAKING QUEENSLAND SAFER (ADULT CRIME, ADULT TIME) AMENDMENT BILL

### Second Reading

Resumed.

**Mr J KELLY:** I am sure he is looking forward to that letter.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Kempton): Member.

**Mr J KELLY:** These laws were supposed to be in place by November last year, but here we are again fixing up botched LNP laws.

I want to make a few general remarks. All members of this parliament want Queenslanders to be safe, all members of this parliament want victims to be properly supported, all members of this parliament want offenders to be held accountable and all members support early intervention because we want to prevent people becoming victims of crime. Any suggestion that one member or one party has a monopoly on these priorities is complete nonsense. Perhaps I should write to the Speaker about that because that has been suggested many times. I seem to recall that during last year's election, and many times in this parliament, the Premier used the words 'accountability and transparency'—on at least more than one occasion. Apparently he does what he says, he means what he says, he walks the walk, he practices what he preaches, he puts his money where his mouth is—and the list could go on—except he does not. Whether it is working with his team to hide problems at the Callide Power Station or getting his AG to—

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Member, could you explain how this is relevant to the debate before the House?

**Mr J KELLY:** I would take great pleasure in explaining how this is relevant to the bill. I am looking at the words 'accountability and transparency' and I am providing some instances—that I will further elicit if I am allowed to continue—where the Premier is not living up to the standards of accountability and transparency that he has sought to communicate on numerous occasions to this chamber and the people of Queensland. May I continue, Deputy Speaker?

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** You may continue.

**Mr J KELLY:** Whether it is working with his team to hide problems at the Callide Power Station or getting his AG to make dodgy appointments to the Electoral Redistribution Commission or back flipping on his vote in this sacred chamber and shutting down the Path to Treaty process—

**Mr HEAD:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order. I understand there have been a number of rulings with regard to relevance. The Speaker, as I understand it, has ruled on the fact that you cannot pick individual words out of the report.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Member for Greenslopes, could you explain how this is relevant to the bill before the House? I will give you that opportunity.

**Mr J KELLY:** I am attempting to show a pattern of behaviour that demonstrates there is not much accountability or transparency. When one of the core tenets of this bill, and the amendments of the opposition, is around the expert advice and if the Premier of this state is going to hang his hat on accountability and transparency, to then walk in here and put laws up—

**Ms SIMPSON:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order.

**Mr J KELLY:** I am trying to answer the question that you put to me.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Member, take your seat. What is your point of order?

**Ms SIMPSON:** My point of order relates to relevance. The member is doing a lot of tap dancing but he is not addressing the bill.

**Mr J KELLY:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I rise to a point of order.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Take your seat, please, Minister. Member, I will allow you to proceed, but I will ask you again to address the matters before the House.

**Mr J KELLY:** I have a point of order. Members are taking repeated—

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Member, allow me to take the point. You do not just get up and start talking. What is your point of order?

**Mr J KELLY:** Members are taking repeated points of order in an attempt to disrupt and they are obstructing my capacity to operate as a member of this chamber.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** I do not accept that as a point of order. Proceed with your address.

**Mr J KELLY:** I do not see from the Premier much accountability or transparency so it comes as no surprise that a key piece of information is being held back, hidden, obscured from anyone who has to vote on this legislation. We all just have to wonder: what is the expert advice being relied on to back this legislation? I for one enjoy the theatrical work in this chamber of the member for Currumbin. She is one of the proudest graduates of the Currumbin Academy of Performing Arts, but sadly it does not translate from this chamber to the big screen. I think perhaps the member will have to go back for more lessons. Imagine suggesting that journalists who are asking insightful questions are political stooges. I think the minister should spare us the theatrics and give us the expert advice so that we have a chance to understand this legislation.

In the contribution of the minister she said one of the reasons she was not releasing this advice was because it was partial advice. How partial is it? Is it a little bit, is it a lot, is it not much at all, is it half advice? In any case, surely what advice has been relied on is there and they are relying on that for this legislation so no matter how partial it is that expert advice should be released. I am on a number of management committees and if a CEO asked me to rely on advice without letting me see that advice I would be very suspicious. This is a lot worse than that.

Back in November the experts who we were allowed to hear from warned of unintended consequences. Labor listened to them and tried to amend the original legislation. Clearly the LNP took this issue to the electorate as their key policy agenda and they received the endorsement of the Queensland people. Labor will respect and support the people of Queensland. One would think that if this is your key policy area that you won an election on, that you talk about to the exclusion of everything else, that you would probably want to get these laws right. Instead, we are here, for the fourth time since November, fixing these laws up.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Member, make your comments through the chair, please.

**Mr J KELLY:** Some political analysts might consider it to be a brilliant strategy on the part of the government to keep pursuing this issue, but they would be terribly wrong. This is not a brilliant strategy. It is chaos, it is piecemeal and it is amateur hour. Being a good healthcare professional, I always prefer prevention ahead of cure so I have been a strong advocate of early intervention: Free Kindy, more teacher aides in state schools, expanding the Pathways colleges, free TAFE, Skilling Queenslanders for Work, getting unemployment down to four per cent, tripling the number of maternal mental health beds, universal FairPlay vouchers, as well as initiatives in youth justice, family resilience and mental health investments that we were making. That is what early intervention looks like.

What are we getting for all this talk of gold standards? Let us look at what the DG had to say during the committee inquiry—

Funding has been provided to at least two organisations, but the vast bulk of that \$485 million or half a billion to come is across the forwards—I think it is more than that in the forwards. Over half a billion, of course, is in a tender process

Two organisations in the whole state! I have more happening in my electorate. I think we will see more gold from the 2032 Olympics before we see any Gold Standard Early Intervention—


**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Member, I am very broad-minded. I struggle to see the relevance between this address and the bill before the House. Could you please contain your address to the matters before the House.



**Mr J KELLY:** Finally, I want to support Labor's sensible amendments. Congratulations to the shadow minister and the Labor committee members for the most thorough statement of reservation in the history of the Queensland parliament. These amendments show what real accountability and transparency looks like. It is imperative that we have monthly victim data. The Premier promised to resign if victim numbers do not fall so he should be very comfortable, particularly given his stance on accountability and transparency, to release this data. These laws are new, they are wide-ranging and it is imperative that we have an independent review within 18 months and any review outcomes, in a spirit of transparency and accountability, should be publicly released. Releasing the expert panel advice should not be an issue for a government so committed to transparency and accountability.

Finally, we wanted QSAC's sentencing of sexual assault and rape recommendations implemented. These laws truly reflect expert consensus, community expectations and our commitment to meaningful victim-focused reform. I have cared for many women who have been sexually assaulted. It is a terrible crime and it has intergenerational impacts. Allowing people to avoid taking responsibility for their actions because they are of good character is completely out of step with community expectation. I am pleased we have been able to drag the LNP in that direction.

I genuinely hope that this bill will make Queenslanders safer. I genuinely hope we do a better job of supporting victims and offenders are held accountable. I hope we continue to pursue early intervention programs to prevent future victims, but I fear once again we will find ourselves back here due to the chaotic, piecemeal approach of the LNP on these very important issues.

 **Ms JAMES** (Barron River—LNP) (5.58 pm): Today I want to speak about the crime crisis that is plaguing Cairns. I want to share why Far North Queenslanders want tougher laws and why the second tranche of the Making Queensland Safer Laws is critical to reducing the revolving door of activity in our region. Crime impacts the Far North Queensland community daily. My community is hurting, my community loudly shares this pain and my community has been begging for things to change. These pleas fell on deaf ears with the previous Labor government and, unlike those opposite, our government is listening and acting and delivering for Queensland.

In the short six months I have spent in this chamber, I have spoken many times about crime impacting Cairns as it is the biggest issue hurting our region. During the election, we said we would put the first tranche through before Christmas and we did exactly that. Our next step was to seek advice from an expert legal panel and I strongly support the inclusion of the additional 20 offences as recommended.

In September last year, the member for Cairns said that crime was down 11½ per cent under his government and that, unlike the LNP, he did not think we should be locking up kids. A decade ago the member for Cairns voted for detention to be a last resort and that is why Cairns has a crime epidemic. The four Labor members ignored the youth crime crisis. They did not believe that youth who commit crimes should be punished or locked up. They believed that detention should be a last resort, that youth criminals are the victims and that the residents of Cairns who are impacted by youth criminals do not matter. Thankfully, our region now has three new members of parliament to represent them. The member for Cook, the member for Mulgrave and I will work hard every day to put the rights of victims ahead of the rights of criminals.

I support this second tranche of the Making Queensland Safer Laws not only as the member for Barron River but also on behalf of the small business community, which is suffering. Many have experienced theft, vandalism and safety concerns for their staff and patrons. To those businesses that have closed down due to the continuing window repair bills that exceeded their monthly rent bills, these new legislative changes, including vandalism, are for you. I support these additions on behalf of the countless victims of crime, many of whom are still suffering emotionally, financially and mentally from what happened to them. Many of them are now without a car to get to work. Many of them have lost family heirlooms. Many of them have lost loved ones. Many hearts are broken because justice was not served.

Under these laws, youth who commit adult crime offences will face the same consequences as adults. We still have a long way to go, but rest assured that this side of the parliament will continue to take steps to make laws tougher until we see victim numbers decreasing. For 10 years, detention was a last resort, breach of bail was decriminalised and the rights of offenders were elevated above the rights of victims. The result? A decade of chaos and a youth crime crisis.

I want to thank the Justice, Integrity and Community Safety Committee for their hard work and for holding a hearing in Cairns. I would like to share some of the heartbreaking stories that the committee heard. In 2023, a 48-year-old Cairns father was chased and pushed into the path of an

oncoming car, causing his death. The 16-year-old responsible was sentenced to four years jail with parole after serving only 28 months. Had our Making Queensland Safer Laws been in place, that person would have faced much harsher penalties. Another local, 72-year-old Marie Violo, was punched with knuckledusters by a youth offender who was leaving her shop. Marie suffered bruising, a seven-millimetre hematoma and ongoing emotional trauma. What was the punishment received under the former government? Forty hours of community service with no conviction recorded! Under Adult Crime, Adult Time those youth would be facing much harsher penalties. By further strengthening our laws we can move forward, restoring safety to our great state.


However, the elephant in the room needs to be addressed. How have those youth been allowed to do this for so long? How have our most vulnerable children been led down this path of crime? How has the residential care system failed, being little more than crime-creating homes? Under the failed former government sitting opposite, thousands of vulnerable children have been left to languish in a system that has failed them and, in turn, caused insurmountable pain for many Far North Queenslanders. Right now in Queensland, more than 100 of the state's most serious young offenders are living in out-of-home care. They are not just kids who have made a mistake; they are repeat offenders who are responsible for 55 per cent of all youth crime in our state. In far too many cases, we are seeing kids raised by the state in an environment that produces criminals.

It hurts me to share these statistics today and to know that many of those children are living in residential care in Cairns as I speak: 72 per cent of young offenders in out-of-home-care have been suspended or excluded from school, 56 per cent have self-harmed, 40 per cent have attempted suicide and 70 per cent live with a diagnosed or suspected disability. That is why adult crime must come with adult consequences but never without adult responsibility and our collective responsibility. These children have been let down by the system, by the state and by the organisations that were supposed to care for them. They have ended up off the rails, turning to a life of crime.

That is why we are investing in the Regional Reset and Staying on Track programs, which are key pillars of the Crisafulli government's plan to make our communities safer. We are investing \$175 million in the Staying on Track program that will deliver 12-month post detention rehabilitation, including at least six months intensive support to reintegrate them into the community and prevent them from falling into the cycle of repeat youth crime. Those opposite had a window of only 72 hours of care once the youth left detention with many reoffending, hence the cycle continued. The \$50 million Regional Reset program will deliver nine early intervention residential programs and a youth justice school will be located in Far North Queensland to help those youth get the education that they need.

I stand here today not only to support Adult Crime, Adult Time but also to thank our government for introducing the commission of inquiry into child safety in Queensland. We know that locking up a 14-year-old without looking at how they got there and what happens next is just setting them up to fail again. The inquiry will shine a light on the failures that have allowed young people to be passed between care homes and courtrooms like forgotten statistics. The inquiry will trial a secure care facility for the most at-risk children. It will be a therapeutic facility with structure, support, supervision and lots more. If we do not change the system, we will lose another generation to crime, chaos and despair. The Crisafulli government is determined that that will not happen. We will start with the second tranche and continue with the inquiry. We will continue to support early intervention, rehabilitation and diversion programs, but not at the cost of community safety and not at the cost of justice for victims.

Before I close, I want to acknowledge a very special person in Far North Queensland, radio announcer Mr John MacKenzie from 4CA FM. John has been on the airways for over 52 years, but he is hanging up his headphones next week. John, thank you for diving deep into the crime issues in our region and for having so many experts on your show. Our city will miss you in our ears and for challenging our thinking. To the victims and communities that have suffered in silence for too long, I say: we hear you, we see you and today we act for you. I give my full support to this bill.

 **Ms BOLTON** (Noosa—Ind) (6.07 pm): As we have heard, this bill increases from 13 to 33 the range of offences for which the Adult Crime, Adult Time laws apply. The extra offences include, for example, torture, rape, attempted rape, arson and trafficking in drugs. The contentious issue here, as with the first iteration of the laws, is that there is no evidence or publicly released expert advice that the laws will have any impact on the prevention of these horrendous crimes. Indeed, evidence provided in multiple reports or during inquiries over the years shows that they will make matters worse.

The rights of victims must be paramount and that includes the potential victims of the decisions we make right here, right now in this chamber. The No. 1 task before us is to keep our communities safe. The second is taking broken children, many of whom are victims themselves, and transition them

into adults who do not have a reason to commit crimes. This requires long-term rehabilitation in a secure setting as well as the rehabilitation of the environment that created their criminality in the first place. Evidence has been presented that incarceration in a youth detention centre and then an adult prison, as is certain under this law, will not achieve that. The gold standard early intervention spoken about or a couple of weeks or months of reset will not do it either as we are talking about some 400 serious repeat offenders who commit the majority of the crimes across Queensland and intervention, gold or otherwise, has not succeeded and neither has detention. In all of this, the biggest failing is that these legislative amendments rely on waiting for a higher offence to occur and not on prevention.

According to the Australian Productivity Commission, youth detention costs on average \$2,162 per day—per day. As we have seen and heard in evidence, the specific cohort that commit these types of offences are not fearful of detention or the length of it, with over 90 per cent reoffending on release. That is why those already identified must have mandatory residential rehabilitation interventions prior to committing such crimes.

Recommendation 53 of the youth justice inquiry was to lower the threshold for those on the serious repeat offender index so that they and their environment can be targeted for long-term rehabilitation such as relocation sentencing, as put forward by the Katter party, regardless of the offence. We need to break out of this cycle and belief that longer and longer sentences work, which data from other jurisdictions and countries, including where the death penalty applies, demonstrates do not work. The bill may lower crime statistics in the short term. The Acting Police Commissioner at the public hearing in Brisbane noted that, in his personal experience, when recidivist offenders are not in community there are fewer offences committed in community, which is obvious and a given. However, as Queensland Family and Child Commissioner Natalie Lewis said—

The escalation of punitive responses to address community safety is not in the interests of victims—  
or of future victims for that matter—

—or of justice ... because the incarceration of children is ineffective as a deterrent ...

These laws will give us a couple of extra years free from another offence by that individual. However, as evidenced, the longer they are inside the more criminalised they become and the more dangerous. Ultimately, we will have a further increase in recidivist offenders—both youth and adult—cycling through the system. As the CEO of PeakCare said in relation to pressure being placed on reducing rates of crime—

... what we will see in the years to come, in the generations that are yet to be before us, is a tidal wave of consequence for the inaction of today.

A tidal wave. Amongst the 60 submissions, support for the bill came understandably from areas that have been traumatised by repeat offenders, including Townsville, Goondiwindi and Cairns, and from Voices for Victims. As well, the Victims' Commissioner made many recommendations to improve youth justice and support for victims. Multiple frontline organisations were not supportive—and we have heard about many of them—including PeakCare, the Salvation Army, the Queensland Council of Social Services, the Australian Lawyers Alliance, the Human Rights Commission, the Queensland Family and Child Commission, and the list goes on. Three-quarters of the submissions opposed the bill.

The committee found that the bill is not compatible with human rights, as defined in the Human Rights Act; however, to counter this the government relied on the original Adult Crime, Adult Time bill's override declaration. Two committee members wrote a 20-page statement of reservation, and the legislation alone will not solve the problem, which everyone knows. A third member made a dissenting report stating that the committee report laid bare how completely partisan the committee system can be, highlighting what I have been raising and why it needs to be reviewed urgently. He opposed the bill, describing it as baseless, counterproductive legislation.

Many issues were raised by submitters, including that there has been no justification for the crimes selected, that it will not deter and that it will impact the positive effects of restorative justice. In amongst all of this, we have had no reports produced on the performance of the government's new laws or interventions so far. We do have cherry-picking of data, though. The government put out a media release in April that, over the last nine years, recorded offences increased 18 per cent and break-ins increased 28 per cent, yet over that period the Queensland population grew by 16 per cent so recorded offences essentially stayed steady. If you look at the report the data comes from, robbery rose one per cent and assault rose seven per cent, which with population growth of 16 per cent means they effectively fell. Both sides of the chamber do this and that is why we need easily comparable, up-to-date and accessible crime statistics to ensure evidence-based decisions and to end the confusion.

The Queensland Treasury released a crime report in April this year on crime up to June 2024—so it is 10 months out of date—predating the new laws, even the new government, by months. We do have raw data on arrests released by the QPS on a regular basis, which only tells part of the story. One needs to be a statistician to analyse these, especially the short-lived fluctuations up and down monthly that in and of themselves do not indicate what the trend is.

As for youth justice, there have been no updates to statistics on their website since September last year. Nothing. There have been no statistics on children and youth in detention and in watch houses or on those declared serious repeat offenders. We are actually all running blind. The New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research has statistics on offences, court proceedings and young people held in custody all reported to December 2024. We urgently need our own Queensland crime statistics agency to provide some transparency and deliver, as the New South Wales bureau says—


Accurate, objective, and accessible evidence and information to inform public and government decision-making about crime and justice.

Adding to the lack of information or evidence, we do not have access to the advice the government is acting on, provided by the youth justice Expert Legal Panel, nor the questions put forward to them. This should immediately be made public and I cannot see any reason for it not to be. Further, we need an update on the progress of the youth justice inquiry's 60 recommendations, which we have not been able to obtain so far, including through a question on notice.

Finally, I want to thank the committee for its work and particularly for the continued participation of stakeholders across Queensland, both those in support and those against, as understandably all are extremely frustrated. We must have safer communities now and into the future. However, supporting legislation that public evidence says will make communities ultimately less safe, and that is using expert advice that is not being made public, is something no MP should be doing. The CEO of PeakCare said—

Every time we put forward bills that do not address the causal factors of crime we do not reduce victim numbers; we make every person in Queensland a victim.

I know every single MP in this House wants an end to all crime, and I ask all to think seriously about what he said.

 **Miss DOOLAN** (Pumicestone—LNP) (6.16 pm): I rise to speak in strong support of the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025. This legislation is a direct response to what Queenslanders have been calling for. It will ensure that serious crimes committed by youth offenders are treated with the seriousness they deserve and that the rights of victims and the safety of the community are placed first.

During the 2024 state election, I listened carefully to residents across the Pumicestone electorate, from Bribie Island to Ningi, from Beachmere to Caboolture, and one message echoed time and again: people no longer felt safe in their homes. They were locking their doors in broad daylight, installing security systems and keeping protective sprays beside their beds. Some told me they no longer go out at night. Others had been victims themselves. This is not how Queenslanders should have to live. This is not how residents of Pumicestone should have to live.

The truth is the crisis we face today did not happen overnight. It is the result of nearly a decade of weakened laws under the former Labor government. The decision to remove breach of bail as an offence, to make detention as a last resort even for violent youth offenders and to prioritise the rights of offenders over those victims has left communities across the state vulnerable. Under Labor, more than 46,000 proven offences were committed by young people last year alone. That represents a 12 per cent increase in just 12 months and is nearly double what it was a decade ago.

People in Pumicestone and across Queensland have had enough. That is why the Crisafulli government was elected with a clear mandate to act, and that is exactly what we are doing. This bill expands on the first tranche of reforms we introduced in December 2024. It adds 20 new serious offences to the list that attract adult penalties. These include offences such as rape, attempted murder, kidnapping, sexual assault, arson, torture, trafficking in dangerous drugs and deliberately endangering police or damaging emergency vehicles while driving. The inclusion of these offences has not been made lightly. An independent expert legal panel, made up of experienced professionals, law enforcement and victim advocacy representatives, has carefully considered each offence based on the harm it causes, the risks to the community and the seriousness of the behaviour involved.

These amendments are not about punishing children indiscriminately. They are about restoring balance. They ensure that where a young person commits a crime that has devastating consequences

the court has the authority to impose a sentence that reflects the gravity of the offence. The aim is accountability, not vengeance. The aim is community safety.

The bill also introduces a small but important change to the Youth Justice Act, allowing registered victims to nominate someone else to receive sensitive information on their behalf. This respects the needs of victims who may find it difficult to receive triggering updates but who still want to be informed through a trusted support person. A technical amendment is also included to ensure the act is consistent following the repeal of section 378 of the Police Powers and Responsibilities Act.

This government understands that prevention is just as important as enforcement. Alongside these tougher laws, we have begun rolling out early intervention initiatives to help young people find a better path. The first round of Kickstarter grants has closed, and programs like Staying on Track and Regional Reset are progressing. These efforts aim to address the root causes of youth offending and reduce the number of future victims. Make no mistake: for those who commit serious and violent crimes, there must be consequences. This bill ensures that courts are no longer constrained, that the community's expectations are met and that young people who commit adult crimes can face adult penalties.

In Pumicestone, I have heard stories from locals whose lives have been turned upside down—people who have had their homes broken into while they were sleeping, young families whose cars have been stolen from their driveways, and local businesses who feel they have become targets. It is a sad reality that too many in our community know this experience firsthand. While we are beginning to see encouraging signs across the state, with robbery down more than 15 per cent, unlawful entry down 11 per cent and stolen vehicles down over eight per cent compared to this time last year, we know there is more work to do. This change will not happen overnight, but this bill is another step towards making Queensland safer.

Victims deserve to be heard. They deserve justice. They deserve a system that puts their rights and safety at the forefront. With this bill, we take another important step in repairing the damage caused by a decade of neglect and in restoring confidence in our justice system. I commend the bill to the House.

Debate, on motion of Miss Doolan, adjourned.

## MOTION

### Order of Business



**Dr ROWAN** (Moggill—LNP) (Leader of the House) (6.21 pm), by leave, without notice: I move—

That, for today's sitting, notwithstanding anything contained in standing and sessional orders, the House will continue to sit past 9.30 pm to consider government business until the adjournment is moved by the Leader of the House, to be followed by a 30-minute adjournment debate.

In briefly addressing this motion, there are many members on both sides of the House who are wanting to contribute to the debate in relation to the current legislation before the House. That is an important debate. It is certainly of paramount public interest.

We have seen a deliberate strategy today by the opposition to be obstructive in relation to the mandate that has been given to the government here in Queensland to implement its legislative agenda. It is very important that we fix community safety and Labor's youth crime crisis. As such, the government intends to allow members to speak on this because we know that there are important contributions to be made. There are also other matters that need to be addressed by the government later in the week. As such, I am moving this motion.



**Hon. MC de BRENNI** (Springwood—ALP) (6.23 pm): I rise to speak to the motion as moved by the Leader of the House. The opposition has come to this place today in good faith to debate the merits of this particular bill and a number of amendments that we have foreshadowed. It is clear that, when it comes to the stated expectations by the Leader of the House that members should have an opportunity for fulsome debate of bills like this, one rule applies to the government and another rule applies to everybody else in this House. That is what the Leader of the House is asking this House to reinforce.

Earlier today, the opposition sought amendments to this bill to ensure important elements around transparency were considered. Members on this side of the House looked for and took all reasonable steps to seek to exercise their right to speak on those amendments. The hypocrisy I want to point out, in speaking to the Leader of the House's motion to sit beyond the time scheduled for debate in the sessional orders, is that, when it comes to the desire of the government for its members to be able to

speak, the way in which it consistently seeks the approval of this House and uses its majority every time is starkly different to—

**Government members** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr Kempton): Members!

**Mr Lister:** Mick, you said you were happy to be here all night.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Member for Southern Downs.

**Mr de BRENNI:** I take the interjection, Mr Deputy Speaker. We are happy to dedicate ourselves to thorough debate of these bills to ensure that all of the voices in these debates are heard—all of the voices in these debates are heard. My point is that, whether the government is considering the application of the sessional orders or whether it is considering the debate on motions—and it is clear to Queenslanders—this government believes that the only view that matters is that of those who sit opposite. We have seen in the way they have treated bills in this House that not only do they have had scant regard for the views of members of the opposition and the crossbench but they have incredibly scant regard for the views of Queenslanders.

The shadow ministers who are sitting in the chamber tonight made it very clear that there are a number of matters pertaining to this bill that stakeholders have raised—important matters including the release of the Expert Legal Panel advice that ought to have been contemplated by this House for as long as it took. As the member for Southern Downs said, we would be happy to sit here all night. We would have been happy to thoroughly debate those matters on behalf of those stakeholders.

In responding to the motion put by the Leader of the House, it is important for us to put on record that it appears—and Queenslanders see this—that, when it comes to debate of matters that the opposition brings here that are of importance to Queenslanders, the government consistently shuts down debate. When it comes to their opinion on matters and they want to allow for any time that they see fit—

**Government members** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER:** Members, please.

**Mr de BRENNI:** Queenslanders have a long memory. They saw members opposite, when on this side of the chamber, complain consistently about not having the opportunity to speak on these bills. The minute they are on that side of the House they completely change their view.

**Ms Simpson:** Hypocrisy!

**Mr de BRENNI:** I take the interjection: it is hypocrisy, member for Maroochydhore.

**Ms Simpson:** Of Labor.

**Mr de BRENNI:** It is hypocrisy of those opposite, because what it proves to Queenslanders and what it reinforces is that the things they said before the election no longer matter. They no longer stand for those things they said before the election. They went out and made a whole range of promises to Queenslanders about how they would treat the institutions of democracy in this House. The minute they assumed a majority they walked away from those commitments. They walked away from those promises. They walked away from those principles. Let it be on the record and let all Queenslanders see exactly what sort of government this is.



**Dr ROWAN** (Moggill—LNP) (6.28 pm), in reply: In conclusion, I would simply make the point that the Labor opposition today has undertaken a strategy to be obstructive in relation to the government's legislative agenda with respect to a very strong mandate that was clearly given to the government at the last election to restore community safety here in Queensland and to deal with Labor's youth crime crisis. It is very important that members are able to make a contribution to that. That is why this motion allows for additional time for those members to make a contribution to matters which are of significant public importance.

We have seen what has transpired in Queensland over the last decade with respect to declining community safety. The matters which are being considered are very important. They are very important to Queenslanders and they are very important to communities right across Queensland. It is important that we continue the debate and that we extend the hours here tonight to allow further contributions to be made, while also ensuring that later this week we progress other matters which are important to the government and to Queenslanders. It is a very important motion. I would encourage all members of the House to support it.


Question put—That the motion be agreed to.

Motion agreed to.

Sitting suspended from 6.30 pm to 7.30 pm.

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

### Comments by Member for Nicklin, Apology

 **Mr HUNT** (Nicklin—LNP) (7.30 pm): Earlier in the second reading debate for the bill before the House I rose on a point of order during the contribution of the member for Toohey relating to some statistics he was providing to the House. I was under the impression he was providing statistics from a confidential report that had not been published. There was, however, an email covering that report that was published publicly. After further inquiry, it appears that the member's comments were confined to that published email and what it referred to. I provide that for the assistance of the House. I apologise to the House and to the member concerned.


**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr McDonald): Thank you, member.

## MAKING QUEENSLAND SAFER (ADULT CRIME, ADULT TIME) AMENDMENT BILL

### Second Reading

Resumed from p. 1269, on motion of Mrs Gerber—

That the bill be now read a second time.

 **Ms BUSH** (Cooper—ALP) (7.31 pm): Every Queenslanders has the right to feel safe, and both sides of this House recognise that. At the last election Queenslanders made it clear that community safety was a top priority, and it is now the responsibility of this government to translate that mandate into evidence-based, effective lawmaking. I am growing increasingly concerned that, instead of delivering on that responsibility with care and transparency, the LNP government offers us this bill—an overreactive and opaque piece of legislation that fails to meet the standard Queenslanders deserve. This bill is not a proactive plan to make our communities safer; it is a corrective attempt to fix the mistakes of the government's previous bill. That bill was also rushed through parliament late last year with limited consultation and clear and documented flaws. Today we find ourselves back in this place—not because the issue has been resolved but because the government botched the job the first time.

Sitting here, a couple of proverbs come to mind: measure twice, cut once, which is often used around our homes; and if at first you don't succeed, try and try again. Perhaps the quote that best sums up the LNP this week comes from Winston Churchill who said that success is stumbling from failure to failure with no loss of enthusiasm. I will give the Premier and Minister for Youth Justice that. They are somehow maintaining enthusiasm for this bill even when no submitters showed universal support for it, even when the Expert Legal Panel—which is supposed to be the champion of this bill—has gone into hiding, even when their own members make comments like referring to an attempted murder as a 'non-event', and even when all of the data is telling the story that this bill will not make Queenslanders safer.

If it were not so serious we would be laughing, but it is serious. This legislation will have a very real effect on victims and communities. Queenslanders deserve to know they are going to work. The Premier promised Queenslanders that their laws would solve youth crime by Christmas last year. That promise has not been delivered. The Premier promised that victim numbers would go down year on year. We are pretty sure that is not happening, but we do not really know because they are not releasing their data. The Premier promised transparency and accountability. We have seen that this government is now secreting away the advice of a hand-picked expert legal panel. This bill relies entirely on the recommendations of that panel, but Queenslanders are still in the dark about how the panel was constituted, how the panel selected the offences in this bill or what evidence it relied on.

In this House the youth justice minister said the panel has undertaken statewide consultation. My questions to the minister are: with whom have they met? What data did they assess? Which experts and victims have they spoken to? No stakeholder the committee spoke to has had any input into their report and recommendations—not the Youth Advocacy Centre, not QCOSS or QATSI CPP, and not the QHRC, the Victims' Commissioner, the QLS or PeakCare. None of these stakeholders have met with or provided input to the Expert Legal Panel. The minister has to come clean with Queenslanders. Where

did the recommendations come from? The member for Thuringowa stated in her contribution that the expert panel considered the harm to victims and the seriousness of the crime. That is not a comprehensive review, as the minister has alleged. That is not statewide consultation; that is simply a desktop review. The minister must come clean with Queenslanders.

This bill also suffers from a total lack of clarity on infrastructure and capacity. The director-general of the Department of Youth Justice and Victim Support admitted that no accurate modelling of the impact of these laws will be available for at least 12 months to two years, yet we know that the youth detention centres are already at capacity and watch houses are being used. Staff in detention centres have raised concerns that these reforms will place additional pressures on a system already stretched thin. The Queensland Police Union has warned of the increased use of police watch houses as holding facilities, yet there is no time line for new infrastructure, no clarity on new resourcing, and no transparency about how this government is going to cope with increased demand.

If these laws are about safety, where is the safety for frontline staff? Where is the safety for victims if reoffending rates rise? Where is the safety in creating a bottlenecked, overcrowded system that leaves children locked in inappropriate facilities and under-resourced environments? To be clear, I support accountability—we all do. I support consequences for those who harm others. I know what it feels like to be unsafe and to want justice. Victims do not have a single universal definition of justice. Victims are not all the same. To suggest otherwise or to build legislation that assumes that we do does not strengthen our system; it reduces it.

I heard the member for Capalaba's comments about me earlier. They were not very complimentary, but that is okay because I am comfortable with who I am. I would say to the member for Capalaba that it would be useful if we could respect one another and work together to advance victims' rights. There are few of us in this room who have experienced the murder of a loved one.

**A government member** interjected.

**Ms BUSH:** Mr Deputy Speaker, I am not taking the interjections. There are few of us in this room who have experienced the murder of a loved one. While I am not at the same place as the member for Capalaba, I absolutely respect his views and understand the place that he is at in his grief. In order for us to really serve victims, we need to have a healthy respect for each other's respective experiences and where we are at on our journeys. That is my concern with this bill and the direction that Queensland is heading right now. This legislation implies there is only one path to justice, and it is a punitive one. For many of us justice looks like prevention, dignity, healing and change.

Victims also share a universal need for systems that are transparent and legislation that has a clear evidence base. There is no evidence that this bill is going to drive down offending. In fact, the evidence we do have tells us that prisons are criminogenic. Incarcerating young people without supports leads to increased offending and increased victimisation. If this government is serious about reducing crime it must stop relying on slogans and start investing in what works. That includes early intervention programs that are funded and functioning, not promised. It means support for families, investment in diversion and rehabilitation that begins the day a young person enters the system. The LNP government claims this bill is bolstered by investments in early intervention and rehabilitation, but under questioning the Department of Youth Justice and Victim Support admitted that most of the funding remains unspent.

The opposition is moving amendments to mandate an independent legislative review within 12 to 18 months. That review will allow us to see whether the bill is actually working to reduce offending, protect victims and make communities safer. Without a review, we risk legislating blindly and hoping for results with no mechanism to verify it is working.


We are also moving amendments which will have the effect of releasing victims data—the same data that we released when we were in government. The LNP campaigned on transparency, they campaigned on real-time data, but what we have seen are organisations that are being censored from releasing their data. It is important that we, as parliamentarians, can keep across the demand pressures in agencies like QPS and youth justice. It is important that Queenslanders can see progress against the Premier's promise that victim numbers will go down year on year and that they can hold him accountable. The Premier has said that he will resign if victim numbers do not fall. That is a bold promise but the public cannot hold the government to account if the government refuses to release the data that would measure their success or failure.

Right now, Queenslanders are in the dark. There is no clear public data on youth justice outcomes since September last year. They are not our words; they are the words of the director-general. I appreciate the government had few election commitments, but they did promise to release real-time



data and they did promise to drive down victim numbers. How are we going to hold the government to account if we have not released data for eight months?

The opposition believes in strong laws but we also believe in smart laws. We believe in supporting victims and we believe in preventing future harm. We believe that the people of Queensland deserve to see the advice that the government relies on, to review the impact of laws that are passed in their name and to trust that we are acting in their best interests. This bill fails those tests. I urge all members of this House to reflect on what Queenslanders have asked of all of us—not just to promise safety but to deliver it.

 **Mr KRAUSE** (Scenic Rim—LNP) (7.40 pm): The member for Cooper talks about justice and what it means, but when it comes to youth crime in Queensland the people of Queensland have spoken about how they see justice being perceived and how it should be implemented. That justice involves putting community safety first, putting victims first and reversing the decade of failure that was implemented by the former Labor government which saw victim numbers soar and people too afraid to go out in their community in some parts of Queensland. That is what justice is about. It is about restoring safety in people's communities, and that is what this bill is continuing to implement in Queensland. We are continuing to implement the election commitment the LNP made when it comes to Adult Crime, Adult Time. This bill is a continuation of the Crisafulli government doing what we said we would do and not doing what we said we would not do.

The offences being included are going armed so as to cause fear, threatening violence, attempt to murder, accessory after the fact to murder, assaulting a pregnant person, torture, damaging emergency vehicle, endangering a police officer, rape, attempt to commit rape, assault with intent to commit rape, sexual assault, kidnapping, kidnapping for ransom, deprivation of liberty, stealing, attempted robbery, arson, endangering particular property by fire and trafficking in dangerous drugs. This is Adult Crime, Adult Time. The question in this debate is: what will the Labor Party do? Are they going to turn themselves inside out again, like they did in December last year? Are we going to have people running out of the parliament or hiding over on the backbench too afraid to look up during the division?


**An honourable member** interjected.

**Mr KRAUSE:** I will take that interjection from whoever it was.

**An honourable member** interjected.

**Mr KRAUSE:** I think it was the member for Logan who said 'probably'. We can see what the opposition is going to be doing. Thank you for your interjection, member for Logan. They still have not got the message from the people of Queensland about how there needs to be a recalibration of the scales of justice and what justice means in this state when it comes to the scourge of youth crime. It has had a devastating impact on so many communities from 2015 through to 2024 because of the actions of the ALP in Queensland in watering down those laws.

Adult Crime, Adult Time is a reaction to the scourge of youth crime that has enveloped our state over the years. It is our job as a government to address that, and that is what we committed to do. This is the process we committed to in doing that. I support this bill 100 per cent, as do people in my communities that I represent. From Tamborine Mountain, Beechmont and Binna Burra in the east to Grandchester in the west, people want to see justice recalibrated in Queensland on this issue, and this bill is a part of that. Members opposite need to get the message from the people of Queensland that there can be no more prevarication, no more dillydallying and no more wavering in their resolve to put the community first and to put victims first. They should be supporting this bill 100 per cent.

 **Hon. CR DICK** (Woodridge—ALP) (Deputy Leader of the Opposition) (7.44 pm): It seems to me that the bill we are debating tonight has been misnamed. It is called the Making Queensland Safer amendment bill, but it would seem far more appropriate to call it the 'Repair Bill', because yet again we are being asked to repair the Premier's broken laws. Let's not forget that prior to the election the member for Broadwater said he had already drafted the Making Queensland Safer legislation. Either his crayon broke or he ran out of drawing paper because the document he brought to this House has been proven to be manifestly inadequate.

As those opposite seem perpetually confused about their role and they continually seem to think they are in opposition, maybe we should give them some help with drafting this legislation. We will see what we can do. The trouble is though that we still have not seen the report of the Expert Legal Panel. We have not seen its recommendations and we have not seen its implementation strategy—so much for the Premier's much vaunted openness, transparency and accountability. We are all flying blind

here—and by ‘we’, I mean Queenslanders, as well as those opposite. I wonder whether this is the last time the parliament will be required to fix these broken laws. I wonder how many more holes will have to be hastily plugged with another ‘Repair Bill’.

When the original legislation was rushed through last year, we warned that there would be unintended consequences, and that is exactly what has happened. That is why we are debating the ‘Repair Bill’ today. That is why we are fixing unintended consequences with, for example, the addition of attempted murder to the list of offences. Without the full evidence from the Expert Legal Panel and the ability for stakeholders and Queenslanders to analyse it, there could very well be other unintended consequences moving forward. So, as well as incompetent, the government is being secretive.

**Mr DICK:** As well as incompetent, the government is being secretive. It is a transparency problem. The Premier has staked his reputation on the decline of victim numbers. The Crisafulli LNP government is deliberately and blatantly cherrypicking different data, as well as court data which is not regularly reported, to suit the government’s narrative. Apart from that, it also became apparent during the committee process that the Department of Youth Justice and Victim Support has not published the quarterly data for some time, as agreed to and occurred under the former Labor government.

**Mr Power:** Shameful.

**Mr DICK:** I take the interjection from the acting manager of opposition business; it is shameful. The Premier likes to talk a big game when it comes to these matters. Remember gold standard intervention? Right now, the Premier’s gold standard thought bubble seems more like a rusty pipedream. The Crisafulli LNP government has still not implemented any new early intervention programs. The Crisafulli LNP government continues to use the former Labor government’s early intervention programs.

**Mr DICK:** I will say this again for the benefit of all members of the House. The Crisafulli LNP government continues to use the former Labor government’s early intervention programs, including the co-responder model. Why? Because those programs worked. The Premier is not in the running for gold either when it comes to detention capacity. It is clear from the evidence—again, of the Department of Youth Justice and Victim Support—that accurate modelling might not be available to be undertaken for some time.

**Mr Crandon:** You ignored it for decades

**Mr DICK:** It is all they have—people like the member for Coomera—

**Mr Crandon:** Yeah, that’s it, take the interjection. You ignored it for a decade and people died because you wound back the legislation.

**Mr DICK:** Never promoted, never advanced because all he has is invective and abuse.

**Mr Crandon:** You wound it back.

**Mr DICK:** Our government was tough on crime and tough on the causes of crime, and we make no apologies for it.

**Mr Crandon** interjected.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr McDonald): Member for Coomera, you are warned.

**Mr DICK:** It is clear from the evidence of the Department of Youth Justice and Victim Support, if I can say it again, that accurate modelling might not be able to be undertaken for some time. This means that it is unclear how the Crisafulli LNP government is planning and responding to capacity issues in youth detention centres as a result of their new laws. What is crystal clear is that it takes up to four years to build a new facility. This uncertainty regarding modelling of the impacts of the new laws and the capacity issues not only has an impact on the ability to detain any new offender, but also impacts staff safety in youth detention centres and also police watch houses.

The government clearly needs help with its broken repair bill. Here are some suggestions. Victim data: tabling monthly adult and children data regarding offences and victim numbers—

**Mrs Gerber** interjected.


**Mr DICK:** You would have thought after that car wreck, that train wreck of an interview yesterday the Minister for Youth Justice might have kept her own counsel, at least for five minutes, but the minister is incapable of doing that.

Review function: a review of the laws passed in 2024 and the new proposed laws need to be independently reviewed and tabled in the parliament; requiring the Expert Legal Panel advice, or a summary of it, to be tabled in the parliament; amend section 9 of the Penalties and Sentences Act 1992

to require a court to treat the fact an offence of rape or sexual assault was committed in relation to a child as aggravating; amend section 9(1) of the Penalties and Sentences Act 1992 to include recognition of the harm done to victim-survivors. So it goes, on and on.

We have seen this before from this government. We have seen this movie before and it did not end well for Queenslanders. Take advice, listen to experts. Take advice from what people said in the committee hearings. Take advice from the Expert Legal Panel whose report has been hidden from this House and from Queenslanders.

After that intervention by the Minister for Youth Justice this afternoon, which created more doubt and more concern, I say this: we should have more transparency in this space because transparency is the path to better justice outcomes for Queenslanders. For as long as we have the opportunity, until we return to the government benches, we will hold those members accountable for their actions and what they are doing to this state.

 **Mr BAILLIE** (Townsville—LNP) (7.52 pm): I rise to make but a modest contribution and speak in support of the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025. I represent the proud electorate of Townsville, an electorate that has been plagued by the youth crime crisis for years. Under Labor, youth crime became worse and worse. Youth crime continued to escalate. What started as petty crime became opportunistic crime, to break and enters, to break and enters with assaults, to break and enters with assaults with weapons. The youth committing these crimes stopped running from police and instead now run at them. This is what has occurred under Labor's watch. Under Labor, their soft-on-crime approach resulted in severely inadequate consequences. Our brave and dedicated Police Service would often relay their frustrations to me after they put all their effort into identifying and apprehending young offenders, only to see the same offenders out on the streets again before they had finished doing the paperwork.

The young offenders continue to commit more serious crimes in search for boundaries, in search for someone to say, 'Enough. That behaviour is not tolerated.' Under Labor, those boundaries were exceedingly hard to find and, as a result, we have a generation of hardcore repeat offenders.

Thankfully, in October last year, the majority of the Queensland public, including the good people of Townsville, saw fit to entrust the LNP with the responsibility to govern, and put their trust in us to do something about youth crime—to make their community safer.

Once elected, the Crisafulli government has acted swiftly. The Making Queensland Safer Laws were passed before Christmas, as we committed. These laws removed detention as a last resort, put the rights of the victims before those of the offenders, and opened up the courts to media to allow reporting on cases. In addition, critically, we began the journey of returning consequences for actions into the youth justice system—introducing and passing the first tranche of 13 offences to have increased sentencing options for the courts to allow the same maximum, minimum and mandatory penalties as an adult. This is what we call Adult Crime, Adult Time.

Adult Crime, Adult Time has been introduced to protect the community. It is intended to separate the community from those that would do us harm and provide these young offenders with an even greater opportunity for intervention and rehabilitation. It is clear from the high offending and reoffending rates that the previous approach by Labor was not working. When you have reoffending rates north of 90 per cent, penalties and rehabilitation efforts are not working.

Those opposite, when they were in government, used to say that Queensland had the toughest laws in Australia. Did that stop the offending? No. Did that stop our community from suffering? No. Since we have been in government, we have made Labor's laws, the ones they called the toughest laws in the country, a whole lot tougher.

Despite everything we have done so far, we remain a long way from where we need to be when it comes to youth crime. The offending rates and number of victims is still too high. We will not stop until we see the number of victims decrease. Adding another 20 offences to Adult Crime, Adult Time is the next step we are taking to combat the youth crime crisis we inherited from Labor. The member for Woodridge can rest assured the only broken laws we are fixing are theirs.

This bill expands the Youth Justice Act to include an additional 20 serious offences that can attract adult penalties, and we will continue to do so until we see sentences handed down by the courts that are in line with community expectations. This bill will ensure youth offenders who commit serious crimes, including sexual offences, violent offences and offences that cause fear in the community can face serious consequences for their actions.

Some of the new offences include: going armed so as to cause fear and threatening violence, arson, torture, kidnapping, trafficking in dangerous drugs, rape and attempted rape, sexual assault, ramming a police vehicle while driving, and attempted murder. These additions to Adult Crime, Adult Time are welcomed by the Townsville community because, like the Crisafulli government, like all the residents of my wonderful electorate, we want to see fewer victims of crime.

I would like to thank the Justice, Integrity and Community Safety Committee for visiting Townsville and, of course, our community for attending and providing feedback to the committee and making the most of the opportunity to have their voices heard directly. I will reference some of those submissions to the committee as I do have a little bit of time up my sleeve. In Townsville, we heard from the brave and dedicated Queensland Police Union who said—

When speaking to members in Townsville and Cairns, I am routinely spoken to about how cars are stolen from either location and raced between Townsville and Cairns or Cairns and Townsville, thereby putting our members at significant risk.

We heard from David Forbes, referencing a recent event—


On Sunday night, my 88-year-old widowed neighbour, who lives alone, had two teenagers break into her house and take money from her.

We heard from Alana Hall, who said—

It has become quite terrifying to me and my husband. We do not sleep very well. We listen for noises every night. We have had to spend a lot of money—thousands of dollars—to put in security screens and security lighting. Other people in our complex have had the same thing happen to them. ... It has just been quite terrifying.

That was following a break-in they experienced. They had their car keys stolen. The car did not go but in order to protect their car from being stolen, as the assailant had the keys, Greg—Alana's husband—took the wheels off the car. They are the measures people in Townsville are taking to protect their goods and property. We heard from Phil Rennick, a defence lawyer who when asked in his experience if young people were talking about the new laws said, 'Definitely, yes'. Phil also recounted several cases that indicated Adult Crime, Adult Time is on the way as new cases are heard for offences that were committed after the laws were in place. In the remaining time, I would like to also reference Kristy who on Mother's Day woke up—rather than to chocolates and breakfast in bed—to three youths in her house holding a knife to her throat. They took her car keys, they took her car and they drove all around Townsville. The offenders are still at large.

I would like to thank the Minister for Youth Justice and Victim Support and Minister for Corrective Services for her advocacy for victims and for ensuring we keep taking positive steps to ensure we continue to see offending rates reduced and the number of victims decrease. I am proud to support this amendment because the people of Townsville, like all Queenslanders, have the right to feel safe in their homes, at their work and in their communities. I commend this bill to the House.

 **Mr WHITING** (Bancroft—ALP) (8.01 pm): I rise to comment on this bill. There are three basic things I would like to say. One, it is very clear listening and looking at what we have here that the LNP do not want expert advice—only advice that reflects what they want. Remember the select committee of this parliament in the last term? The LNP did not want to hear anything from it. The select committee had 40 pertinent and well-thought-out recommendations but there was virtually nothing that the LNP wanted to hear. It did not fit their slogan, so they ignored it. I also point to the independent ministerial advisory committee. Once again, it did great work in looking at how to meet the needs of victims. Their fatal mistake was showing some independence of thought, so they were disposed of as well. Now we come to their own Expert Legal Panel. As we have heard, that expert panel gave both written and oral advice that the LNP government relied on to add these 20 new offences to this bill. The *Courier-Mail* reported that the government failed to find experts to help them fix the Premier's botched laws. The question is: what advice did they give the government to fix their own botched laws? What advice did the Youth Justice Minister and the Premier get from this panel? The point is: nobody knows because the government is keeping it a secret. Their own panel, with LNP connections, and just about every stakeholder and inquiry witness called for this advice to be made public.

Secondly, I want to point out that it is very clear that the number of victims is not going down in Queensland. In fact, crime is getting worse under the LNP. Remember they said that crime would be fixed by Christmas when they brought in these laws. It has not happened. I have thought this evening about the behaviour we see in this House after dinner. The LNP think that people cannot see how they carry on here at night-time but word is getting out about the childishness, the boorishness, the arrogance and the vindictiveness that we see on display tonight. Queenslanders are starting to see through it. Word is getting out.

I point out the QPS crime data for the Far North from January to April 2024 compared to January to April 2015: unlawful use or possession of motor vehicles, up 8.6 per cent; robbery, up 34.5 per cent. The QPS crime data for Townsville, from 20 April 2024 compared to January to April 2025: dangerous operation of a motor vehicle, up 4.5 per cent; serious assault, up 7 per cent; unlawful use or possession of a motor vehicle, up 10.4 per cent; burglary, up 11.8 per cent. These statistics show crime under the LNP is getting worse.

What do the statistics say about the offences in this bill? It is well worth having a look at these statistics. As the department said after questioning in the hearings, when looking at proven finalisations per year for youth offenders over the past five years, many of the proposed offences within the bill have either not been used to charge youth offenders at all in the last five years, or have single digit figures of proven offences—one or two people, or none, charged in five years. As Katherine Hayes from the Youth Advocacy Centre said—

It is really unclear to us why these offences were included, particularly the five or six that already have life imprisonment as an available option for sentencing.

If the LNP hope these new offences will reduce youth crime, the figures show that this is another example of their bungled and botched lawmaking.

That leads me to the third point. It is clear that the LNP have bungled and botched their signature crime policy. The LNP is returning to this parliament to amend laws because they bungled it the first time. The first tranche of legislation was rushed. It fast-tracked the committee process and it gave stakeholders little time to assess the ramifications these laws could have. This second round of Adult Crime, Adult Time legislation is an admission that these laws have failed. Why else would the Crisafulli LNP government need to introduce a six-page bill—the Youth Justice Amendment Bill—to fix a single number that could have been included in the 2024 bill? That includes amendments to an unrelated crime and corruption bill to fix mistakes from their first bill. The bill we are talking about tonight represents the second major change to youth justice bills within months.

This is the fourth time since December that we are debating changes to the Youth Justice Act. If we are talking about bungling and botching laws, let's look at the LNP failure to build in an independent legislative review for these laws. The 2024 and 2025 laws reshaped youth justice in Queensland, yet no review mechanism is built into them. These laws are too significant to be passed without this oversight. We have seen many stakeholders call for a review, including the Youth Advocacy Centre, the Justice Reform Initiative, the Human Rights Law Centre, Change the Record and the Queensland Victims' Commissioner. The opposition's amendment would mandate an independent review within 18 months of its commencement, with a public tabling of the report.

Let me also remind everyone: if we are talking about bungling and botching these laws, the LNP talks about early intervention but delivers nothing. At the committee, the Director-General could only name two small programs—one in Rocky and one in Townsville—where he recalled that only a few hundred thousand dollars was invested. Remember, the early intervention programs which the Crisafulli LNP government are currently relying upon, are programs from the former Labor government.

In conclusion, I want to say these things. The LNP do not want expert advice. They only want advice that suits them. The number of victims is not going down in Queensland. In fact, the crime rate is going up under the LNP and it is clear that the LNP has bungled and botched their signature crime policy. In the few minutes remaining I want to talk about one thing. I recently got a copy of the Australian Child Maltreatment Study, which was a study of 3,500 young people from the ages of 16 to 24 across Australia. If we are talking about fixing youth crime let me remind honourable members of these statistics. This peer reviewed study across the population found there was a high prevalence of physical abuse, 32 per cent; sexual abuse, 28.5 per cent; emotional abuse, 30.9 per cent; exposure to domestic violence, 39.6 per cent; and neglect, 8.9 per cent. That is a study across 3,500 young people in Australia aged from 16 to 24.

If we are talking about youth crime, let us never forget that the neglect and the abuse we see in the victims and also the perpetrators are things that are seen across our society. I think everyone in this House should welcome all efforts whether bipartisan or not—everything that is done—to make sure that our children do have a better future. That is not just problem children—there are a lot of complex cases out there—children in all kinds of neighbourhoods and all kinds of families face these issues. We as a society need to do everything we can to redirect our efforts to try to fix this scourge that our children face.



**Mr DALTON** (Mackay—LNP) (8.11 pm): I rise today to speak in strong support of the Making Queensland Safer Adult Crime, Adult Time Amendment Bill 2025 that represents not just legal reform

but a turning point in the justice system of Queensland. This legislation expands section 175A of the Youth Justice Act 1992 to include 20 additional serious offences that will now attract adult penalties when committed by young offenders. These include crimes like attempted murder, rape, kidnapping, arson, torture and trafficking in dangerous drugs—offences that are devastating and have consequences for victims, families and entire communities.

I speak to this bill not only as a member of parliament but also as someone who served for many years in the Queensland Police Service.

**Mr Stevens:** Hear, hear! Front line.

**Mr DALTON:** I worked as a frontline officer—yes, thank you—and served as a crime prevention officer where my role included engaging with young people at risk and keeping them from falling into a life of crime in the first place. I have seen both sides of this issue. I have seen the promise in young people who were given the right support at the right time and I have seen the harm that repeat youth offenders can inflict on families, victims and even themselves when the justice system fails to intervene early and decisively. I can tell honourable members with confidence that the balance in our system has been lost. For far too long we have lived with the consequences of a youth justice system that placed the rights of offenders over the rights of victims. From 2015 onwards the former Labor government made repeated changes that weakened our youth justice laws: abolishing breach of bail as an offence, making detention a last resort and introducing policies that eroded consequences and undermined deterrence. That soft-on-crime approach created a generation of repeat offenders hardened by the knowledge that their action would have little to no consequences, and Queenslanders have paid the price.

In Mackay I have heard from locals and from the Neighbourhood Watch members who have stopped going out after dark. I have spoken to small businesses that have been hit again and again by break-ins and vandalism. I have listened to families, parents and grandparents who now sleep with their keys beside their bed or hidden in their homes, their doors bolted and their homes under constant watch with electronic CCTV systems. In Mackay one weekend a few years ago, in 2016, a few young offenders went on the rampage stealing multiple cars from homes. It was reported—

We haven't seen a weekend quite like this one before.

Of the 12 incidents of burglary reported to us so far from this last weekend, 1 out of every 2 involved a car being unlawfully entered or stolen from the same location. The crooks are not hiding the fact that they are actively searching for our keys ... when they break into any location.

After that weekend I was aware of the fear that these young offenders had caused in the community by talking to a DIY retailer who had nearly sold out of home security items, safes, external lighting and CCTV systems. One Mackay couple told me later that they no longer felt safe walking the dog in the evening after youths attempted to steal their vehicle while they were out on their walk. Another young mum shared her story about being alone in a house with her toddler when a group of youths attempted to force entry into the house. These are not isolated stories; they reflect a growing sense of fear and frustration across Queensland.

Statewide, the numbers are staggering. In the 2023-24 financial year there were 46,130 finalised proven offences committed by young people. That represents a 12 per cent increase on the previous year, a 51 per cent increase on five years and a 98 per cent increase over the last decade. Under the former government we saw 289,657 Queenslanders become victims of crime in one year. That is nearly 3,000 people whose lives were disrupted, some permanently, by violent, unlawful acts. Let's be clear, this is not just about statistics; it is about people, victims who feel invisible, people who feel unsupported and communities that have had enough. The Adult Crime, Adult Time reforms we are debating today are a necessary and principled response to this crisis.


Now for some expert advice. I think there are five other members in this House who have served as police officers. A police officer when searching for a stolen vehicle is always aware that the stolen vehicle could be used as a weapon against the police vehicle they are in. It is a truly frightening set of circumstances. The consequences can be devastating for the officers and the worry to our families is unimaginable. This bill ensures that when a young person commits a truly serious offence—when they steal a car and use it to ram or attempt to ram a police vehicle, when they commit a sexual assault, when they endanger life—the courts can treat that crime with the full seriousness it deserves. This is not about locking up every teenager who makes a poor choice. This is about ensuring that, for the most serious, violent and high-harm offences, the sentencing framework reflects the gravity of the crime and the rights of the victims are maintained.

As a former police officer, I know firsthand the dangers that our frontline officers face. Every week 12 police officers are assaulted in the line of duty. I was assaulted a number of times. Police put themselves on the line to protect us and we must protect them in return. I am proud to stand with the Police Union and emergency service workers, who have welcomed the inclusion of the new offences such as damaging emergency vehicles while operating a motor vehicle and endangering a police officer while driving. These offences are not hypothetical; they are the kinds of crimes our officers are facing on the streets right now. This bill gives the courts the tools they need to deliver real deterrence.

This bill is backed by the Expert Legal Panel who brought together legal professionals, police, victim advocates and youth justice specialists to determine which additional offences should be included. Their analysis was thorough, evidence-based and community focused. They looked at harm indices and sentencing patterns and conducted 10 in-person consultations across Queensland, and they came back with a clear message: our laws must do more to prioritise the safety in our communities, support victims of crime and restore public confidence in our justice system. Importantly, the bill also introduces minor but significant amendments like allowing victims to nominate a support person to receive information about an offender's status on their behalf.

I am proud to be part of a government that is putting victims first finally. We are changing the culture, we are restoring balance and we are delivering on our promise to make Queensland safer. This is not just about punishment. Our government is also investing in early intervention, mentoring and youth rehabilitation through initiatives like Staying on Track, Regional Reset and Kickstarter grants. We are supporting the community and organisations that are doing the hard work of turning lives around.

We are already seeing promising signs—robberies down by 15.5 per cent, unlawful entry down by 11.5 per cent and car theft down by 8.4 per cent—and across the state total offences are down almost three per cent compared to this time last year. According to QPS data, Mackay and Mackay Northern Beaches divisions have seen some very promising reductions in crime. It is far from perfect, but it is definitely much better under the Crisafulli government. This is just the beginning. After a decade of Labor's failures, we have a long road ahead. We are moving in the right direction because we are listening to the victims, backing our police and restoring accountability in our youth justice system. To the people of Mackay and the communities across this state, this bill is for you. It is for the victims who have gone unheard, it is for the police who have been stretched thin and it is for every Queenslander who wants to feel safe in their home again. I commend this bill to the House.

 **Mr POWER** (Logan—ALP) (8.20 pm): Last week I was on Greenbank Road on the south side of Everleigh Estate and came across a scene of such violence that unfortunately our police see all too often—that is, a car that had in all probability been stolen and taken at such force through the intersection of Teviot Road and Greenbank Road that it had rolled multiple times, scattering pieces. We know that this continues to happen under the LNP, even though—

**Mr Stevens** interjected.

**Honourable members** interjected.

**Mr POWER:** I want to take this seriously, member for Mermaid Beach. It was an act of such extreme violence and then the car itself had been burnt out.

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr McDonald): Through the chair, member for Logan.

**Mr POWER:** My apologies, Mr Deputy Speaker. That was a reminder that this is what we are fighting against. That car was probably someone's pride and joy but now was a twisted wreck of metal burnt beyond recognition. This is serious. The consequences of what we do here are serious.

The people of Logan are very genuine about this. They know that crime happens. They know that there is a danger that their families will be exposed to crime and violence. They want people to be genuine about this and to talk to them about the real concerns that they have. They recognise the situation mentioned by the member for Nicklin when he spoke about his training officer suggesting that many young people engage in things where, if they were caught, they could not proceed to be a police officer or take some other responsible role in the community. We know that we must steer young people away from those things. That is what Logan people want. They want people to have a fair go, but they also want there to be consequences.

I recognise that at the last election this was something that was presented to the people of Queensland, and especially in Logan, and that they wanted those consequences to be more real. That is why we want to give it a fair go too, but we will not be uncritical and will carefully examine both the way it was approached and the consequences of it. I urge those who take this issue seriously to seriously consider our amendments. I also want to recognise the Logan police, whether that is the

Crestmead station, which the member for Woodridge and I share; the Logan Village station, which the member for Jordan and I share; or the Browns Plains station and the fantastic new station at Logan Village, the Yarrabilba station, which I want to see expanded into a full station. They are hardworking people. They know that some of the people that they deal with have been damaged by others—in some cases beyond repair—and they struggle to be both fair to the people whom they meet and to ensure that the law is upheld. I want to recognise them because so often we forget that they are at the sharp point as the agents who enforce the laws that we put in place.

Let us speak to those laws. On 7 July 2024 the LNP put forward in a press conference Adult Crime, Adult Time. We were told at that point that the law was already developed—that is, that the crimes had been identified and that the legislation had already been drawn up. This was further confirmed by the Premier at a debate. He claimed that he had in his hand the fully drafted legislation which should have meant that there was an ability for community groups, victims groups and the public to say, ‘Show us that legislation before we vote.’ We know that, cynically, that did not happen. This might be critical, but I have doubts that that document actually existed at that time. I think that that was a dishonest thing said to the people of Queensland in that it did not exist before the election. Why do I say that? I want to go through the evidence.

In the first week of parliament we called for it to be tabled in this parliament because we knew that those opposite had made an obligation. Indeed, they changed the sitting of the parliament in order to pass this legislation. We said, ‘Bring it forward and put it on the table early so we don’t have to engage immediately in the committee process. We can have it on the table so that everyone can see it,’ just as many draft pieces of legislation are put forward. But, no, mysteriously it could not be presented. It could not be put forward for examination. Finally when it was put forward there was a truncated process with very little examination. Within about five minutes the hardworking people on our team as well as many victims groups identified that things such as rape and attempted murder were not part of the original legislation, but by this point an arrogant and out-of-control LNP could not admit its mistake and could not say, ‘Well, we’ll delay it for a few months to get it right.’ It did not include these offences in the legislation and instead had to pretend that missing all of these different criminal acts was part of its plan. No-one in this House believes that. No-one believes that it had the legislation prepared and ready. No-one believes that the ink on the bill was dry as it was presented to this House for its first reading. We all know that, so we know that this was presented by a dishonesty right from the beginning. That is not what Logan people want. They wanted those opposite to give it a fair go, they wanted them to be open about it and they wanted them to talk about the difficulties and some of the messiness of it. They did not want those opposite to do it the way that they did it, so that was disappointing.

I especially want to emphasise the fact that those other offences were not in that bill and so those opposite have to come back here before us today to include them. The member for Woodridge called it the repair bill, but really it was more like a botched job in that something that was incomplete had to be papered over. Those opposite then had to make up a process and put in place what they called the legal expert committee. With great fanfare that committee produced a report and the youth justice minister touted that report as having very strong information that was going to inform the new bill. This was all built up. We are very passionate about reports examining youth justice and looking for solutions, so we said, ‘Okay, great. Give us the report,’ but of course it was not given and then we learnt that it could not be given. We have now learnt that, even though this legislation was drawn up, the Minister for Youth Justice has revealed that it is all incomplete and that is the reason why the government cannot release the report that apparently informed cabinet that drew up the very legislation that we are debating tonight. It was incomplete. Again, call me cynical, but I doubt this too, and that is why we have our amendments.


The first one is to ensure that the Expert Legal Panel’s report is tabled in this place. We want to see it put forward warts and all. We know it is going to be imperfect. We now know it is incomplete. We know it might have some recommendations those opposite did not want or recommendations that it did want but does not want now, but be transparent with the people of Logan because that is what they expect.

We also want data. If those opposite are to be held to account, publish the data as it should be according to the amendments because that actually gives us a baseline. The only reason they do not want to do that is they are hiding something. The people of Logan think that is not on. The other thing I found disappointing is how political people on the other side were about this. We saw the member for Ninderry say that he wanted to jag a few seats—he wanted to win seats on this. That was his priority when it came to youth justice. Serious crimes that hurt people were described as a non-event. We on this side take it seriously—



*(Time expired)*

**Mr DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Mr McDonald): The time has expired, member for Logan. You should resume your seat when it does.

 **Hon. AC POWELL** (Glass House—LNP) (Minister for the Environment and Tourism and Minister for Science and Innovation) (8.30 pm): I rise to make a contribution to the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025. My contribution will be very direct and to the point, because this is about the Crisafulli government doing exactly what it said it would do before the election. We were elected, as the member for Logan identified, on a mandate to turn around Labor's youth crime crisis—a crisis that was a decade in the making. Part of our commitment in that space was our Adult Crime, Adult Time legislative changes. We gave a commitment that we would pass our first tranche of legislative amendments before Christmas. We did that by passing laws in relation to an initial 13 serious offences in the Making Queensland Safer Laws before parliament rose at the end of 2024.

We also said that we would establish an expert legal panel to provide the government with advice on any additional offences that should be considered to be included in the Making Queensland Safer Laws. We are tonight debating that second tranche of legislative amendments. For the people of Queensland, those amendments include 20 additional offences. Let me mention a couple of those offences: going armed so as to cause fear; threatening violence; attempt to murder; accessory after the fact to murder; torture; damaging emergency vehicle when operating motor vehicle; endangering police officer when driving motor vehicle; rape; attempt to commit rape; kidnapping; kidnapping for ransom; stealing of a vehicle or a firearm for use in another indictable offence; attempted robbery, if armed or in company or armed and with violence; and arson. We are doing what we said we would do. We said there would be more changes to this legislation to ensure that Queenslanders are kept safe, as per our election commitment. Let me tell those opposite that there will be further legislative amendments.


**Mrs Gerber** interjected.

**Mr POWELL:** I take that interjection from the minister. It took 10 years to create the crisis that we are dealing with. We have been in government for seven months. We are doing what we said we would do and we will continue to do that. The good thing is that we are starting to see some green shoots. We have a long way to go. No-one is suggesting we have resolved the youth crime crisis set by those opposite, but we are seeing progress in the right direction. We will not be able to turn this around overnight. It will take time. It will take further legislative amendments. I do not resile from that fact. I do not apologise for that fact. We will continue to come into this House and debate changes, whether to this legislation or other pieces of legislation, to turn around the decade of a youth crime crisis created by those opposite.

I want to finish on this note: this is not about the Crisafulli government, it is not about those opposite; this is about everyday Queenslanders, it is about the Queenslanders who have become victims of this decade of a Labor government that has overseen this youth crime crisis. I refer to the member for Logan. He mentioned a vehicle that was potentially stolen and used in a crime. Someone owned that vehicle. It may have been a tradie who needed it as their means of employment. Behind each and every one of those stories is a Queensland family that is hurting; a Queensland family that is a victim of those crimes.

**Mrs Gerber:** Without our laws they would not face adult time.

**Mr POWELL:** I take that interjection from the minister. Without these laws they would not face adult time. I stand by the legislative changes that are being made this week in parliament. I support them and I will continue to support them because this is the Crisafulli government doing what it said it would do.

 **Ms MULLEN** (Jordan—ALP) (8.36 pm): I rise to make a contribution to the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025. In December 2024 the Homicide Victims' Support Group, in its submission to the first Making Queensland Safer Bill, wrote—

... we urge the Government not to rush through key pieces of legislation. We recognise that the Government did state it would be a priority, but victims of crime have had a lifetime of Governments doing things to them and when legislation like this is rushed it can have unintended consequences and it can also trigger victims who already distrust Government.

There are no truer words, because here we are dealing with the unintended consequences of the LNP government's rushed laws in December. Here we are dealing with the consequences of a government who went to an election with a slogan about community safety, a government who seriously believed that their first tranche of laws would solve the complex issues of community safety and youth crime and would wrap it up with a big bow by Christmas. In seven months what we have seen is nothing

but a piecemeal approach to crime laws: the first tranche of their the Adult Crime, Adult Time legislation, last minute amendments to the Youth Justice Act in unrelated CCC legislation, the Youth Justice (Monitoring Devices) Amendment Bill, making Jack's Law permanent laws and now a second tranche of Adult Crime, Adult Time legislation. It is absolutely shambolic and shows this government has absolutely no detailed plan and is now scrambling and using distraction because it is clear that they are failing at the one thing they promised the people of Queensland: that crime would come down.

Whilst the government is choosing to cherry-pick the data that helps them, the QPS crime data is painting the true picture. In Far North Queensland, from January to April 2025, compared to the same period last year, unlawful use or possession of a motor vehicle was up 8.6 per cent and robbery was up 34.5 per cent. In Townsville for the same comparative period, burglary was up 11.8 per cent; serious assault was up 7.3 per cent; and unlawful use or possession of a motor vehicle was up 10.4 per cent. As the Premier himself said in a ministerial statement on 14 March, 'there is no overnight fix', and 'It will take time to break the cycle of crime.' Does that sound familiar? This certainly was not their language or tone when they were in opposition. They said if elected they would have crime down by Christmas. My favourite comment, which was clearly in the government's speaking points to all its members and was just said by the member opposite, is that they are seeing green shoots—green shoots everywhere. By the time the 14th member on that side has said it they will almost start to believe it.

The bill proposes to insert an additional 20 new offences into section 175A of the Youth Justice Act as part of the second tranche of offences to which the Adult Crime, Adult time sentencing regime applies. This includes attempt to murder, torture, rape and kidnapping. As the explanatory notes make clear, these offences are being included following advice from the Expert Legal Panel about offences that cause most harm to individuals and to the community more broadly. The appointment of the Expert Legal Panel has not been without controversy: there was no clarity on how the individuals of the panel were chosen, who else applied and why they were not considered for the panel. We have since discovered that an individual with political links to the LNP was chosen, something the LNP Minister for Youth Justice and Victim Support seemed oblivious to, which seems a little unbelievable.

The opposition's statement of reservation also questioned why the Queensland Sentencing Advisory Council, an existing body that can be commissioned to undertake this work, was not utilised to provide advice to the government. We cannot turn to the advice that the LNP Crisafulli government has relied upon to add these 20 new offences in the legislation because it has been kept secret. Again, that is unbelievable. From the evidence provided to the committee, we know that the Expert Legal Panel did provide advice to the LNP Minister for Youth Justice and Victim Support. From this we can deduce that the advice was then relied upon and considered by the Queensland cabinet in respect of the bill.

Clearly the minister can make that advice public but, when questioned as to why she will not make the advice public, the minister prefers to engage in histrionics and make false accusations about the opposition, as evidenced by her appearance on channel 9 last night. I think I watched that about five times. It was a really impressive display of delusion.

If the minister had actually paid any attention to the public hearings on the bill, she would have heard from actual key and valued stakeholders who asked exactly the same question we asked: show us the evidence. Trudy Reading from Voice for Victims said—

We are not aware of any information and we certainly have not seen anything at all.

Aimee McVeigh from the Queensland Council of Social Service said—

... we have not had the benefit of reviewing or considering that advice in order to then provide feedback in relation to the bill. We are asking the government to release the advice provided by the Expert Legal Panel.

QATSICPP said—

We have asked that ... the advice of the expert legal panel be publicly released to guide any future amendments.

The Queensland Law Society said—

Yes, the society would support the disclosure of that report so that we can ensure that legislative change is evidence based and the basis for which these amendments are made is disclosed so that we can appropriately consider whether or not they are justified.

Many more stakeholders have raised concerns including PeakCare, the Victims' Commissioner, the Queensland Human Rights Commission and the Uniting Church in Australia. It is very clear that the stakeholders who engaged with the committee process and who are intimately involved with youth justice issues have called for the Expert Legal Panel advice to be released.

It is extremely disingenuous of the LNP government to say that this is just Labor being oppositional about the laws when it is simply the Labor opposition giving voice to and sharing the views of the many stakeholders who believe that the Expert Legal Panel advice should have been released at the beginning of the process. This would have allowed all stakeholders and, indeed, all Queenslanders to understand the evidence the Crisafulli LNP government relied upon for this legislation. We also do not know who the Expert Legal Panel consulted with because the majority of the key stakeholders were not spoken with, did not make a submission to the panel and, of course, as we know, did not see the final advice. The secrecy is very strange. It really speaks to a lack of transparency, governance and integrity.

What is also clear is that without a proper plan seven months in we are yet to see the government's rolled-gold intervention programs. Do members remember those? The Premier kept talking about them and the Minister for Youth Justice kept talking about them but where are they? It is difficult to find any stakeholders and, indeed, any reasonable person in our state who does not believe that early intervention programs and proper investment in those programs is key to breaking the cycle of crime. Stakeholders are rightly concerned about the lack of clarity regarding the promised programs, including the Justice Reform Initiative which stated—

... these programs are yet to be implemented and it is unclear whether they will have the desired therapeutic components and outcomes.

PeakCare said—


Expanding the use of detention without corresponding investment in early intervention, prevention and the supporting infrastructure of the legal and court systems will continue to result in more children being held in adult watchhouses for extended periods.

Clearly, the most instructive revelation through the committee hearings and through questioning of the department is that limited new funding has been allocated and the Crisafulli LNP government is currently relying on the programs procured and funded by the former Labor government. Given that the government is quick to say that their laws are being bolstered by investment in early intervention and rehabilitation, it appears that it is Labor's rolled-gold initiatives that are getting the government through.

Of course, one of the unintended consequences has been the capacity tsunami that the minister is struggling to understand. The department charged with the responsibility of providing youth detention centres appears not able to undertake any accurate modelling regarding capacity issues as a result of the first tranche and now the second tranche of laws. The Wacol Youth Remand Centre, commissioned by the former Labor government, has only just come online. According to the department, a new remand centre would take approximately 16 months to deliver. A full-blown facility like the one being delivered at Woodford would take 3½ years.

In their testimony, the Australian Workers Union made it abundantly clear that the youth detention centres are running at constant capacity. It does not take a genius to see that, with this bill set to increase the number of young people in the system, there is likely to be a surge in detainees entering a system that is already stretched. The AWU, which represents the workers in those centres, has rightly asked how the government plans to accommodate that influx.

As parliamentarians, we do not have the Expert Legal Panel advice on how these laws were determined. We do not have modelling on what the laws will mean for existing and future remand and detention facilities. We do not have early intervention programs being rolled out as promised by the LNP government. We do not have a cohesive approach to the legislation with bills and amendments being introduced almost every second week. What we have effectively is a vibe and a youth justice minister who is more interested in screeching at everyone, including journalists, than actually doing her job. The people of Queensland had high expectations and trust when they voted for the Crisafulli LNP government on the singular issue of crime and already we are seeing those expectations and trust eroding with the actions of this inept LNP government.

 **Mrs YOUNG** (Redlands—LNP) (8.45 pm): On 26 October last year, the people of Redlands entrusted me with the responsibility of being their voice in this parliament. With that comes a clear and unwavering duty to restore safety where they live. Today, by rising to speak in support of the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025, I am doing exactly what I said I would do. This bill delivers on the mandate I was given to put community first, to hold serious offenders to account, to put the rights of victims ahead of perpetrators and to rebuild confidence in our justice system.

In Redlands, I hear the same message from parents and carers at the school gates, small business owners in our shopping centres and older residents in our retirement communities. People

are sick of living in fear. They are tired of locking their doors in broad daylight, listening for noises at night and bracing for yet another break-in or stolen car. This bill is not just policy on paper; it is a direct response to what Queenslanders are actually living through every day. It is about life disrupted, safety taken and trauma that lingers long after the headlines fade.

It is about people such as Beth Musgrave, a Redlands local whose home, once her family's safe space, became the scene of a terrifying break-in by a group of youths, which happened while they were sleeping. Since that night, her family has never felt the same. The doors are locked tighter, they sleep a little lighter and their sense of safety is gone. It is about Chris Sanders who was stabbed outside a local shopping centre in broad daylight. The scars are more than physical. They have shaken his entire family and reshaped how they live, where they go and what they feel. It is about Julie Fox, who spoke of the fear that creeps in long after the crime—a fear that does not just come from losing possessions but also from losing trust in your own neighbourhood. When you can no longer walk out your front door without looking over your shoulder, that is not just a crime; it is a way of life being taken away from you.

These stories were shared bravely at the public hearing held in the Redlands. I thank the parliamentary committee for being there and for giving victims the chance to speak up, to be heard and to know that their voices have helped shape this bill. This legislation is their contribution too. It is their strength, their honesty and their pain that has driven this change and that must never be forgotten.

These are not isolated incidents. They reflect a broader crisis, a youth crime crisis, that spiralled under a decade of the former government's soft-on-crime approach. Since 2015, Labor watered down the Youth Justice Act, abolished breach of bail as an offence and made detention a last resort. What was the result? In 2023 and 2024, there were 46,130 proven offences committed by young people across Queensland, up 12 per cent from the year before and a staggering 98 per cent increase over the past decade. That is not a trend; that is a crisis.

This government was elected to fix it, and fix it we will. The first tranche of Adult Crime, Adult Time laws were passed before Christmas, making good on our commitment to treat serious offences with the seriousness they deserve. Today, we go further. This bill will expand section 175A of the Youth Justice Act to include 20 additional offences. We are talking rape, attempted murder, kidnapping, arson, torture, stealing a vehicle, trafficking in dangerous drugs and endangering police officers or damaging emergency service vehicles while driving. These are not petty offences; these are acts that devastate lives, traumatise victims and tear at the fabric of our communities.

Let me be clear: we are not giving up on young people, nor are we giving up on the safety and rights of victims. What this bill will do is simple: if a young offender commits a serious adult crime, they will face serious adult consequences. That is what Redlanders have asked me to fight for. That is what we are delivering. Importantly, the bill does not strip courts of discretion; it simply removes the artificial barriers that have allowed young people to walk free, despite committing serious harm. It allows courts to apply the same sentences available for adults.


The inclusion of offences like ramming police cars or driving directly at officers acknowledges what we have heard from our front line—that this type of behaviour is escalating across Queensland and is putting our officers in real danger. As the member for Redlands, I never want to see that kind of violence reach our own streets, not in Victoria Point, not in Redland Bay, not anywhere in our community. Our local police do an extraordinary job and it is my job to ensure they are protected by strong laws before tragedy strikes. This bill is about giving them the legal backing they need to stay safe while keeping the rest of us safe too. This bill responds directly to that reality. It also ensures that victims, too often treated as afterthoughts, are finally put at the centre of our justice system. One of the minor amendments in this bill will also allow registered victims to nominate someone to receive updates on their behalf, recognising the trauma involved in revisiting these crimes.

Beyond policy, this is about restoring confidence. It is about sending a message to communities, like Redlands, that we will no longer allow repeat offenders to terrorise our suburbs unchecked. This bill was informed by the recommendations of an expert legal panel. They examined harm indexes and consulted legal experts, police, youth justice workers and, critically, victims' groups. They applied a consistent, harm based framework to determine which offences warranted inclusion. Their advice is sound. Their criteria—severity, violence and community risk—are clear. This government have acted on that advice, just as we said we would.

We have already seen early signs that these laws are starting to make a difference. Across Queensland, reported offences have dropped nearly three per cent in the first four months of this year. Robbery is down 15 per cent, unlawful entry is down over 11 per cent and car theft is down over

eight per cent. That is not by accident. It is because the message is finally being heard that there will be consequences. The revolving door is starting to slow.

We know this is not the end of the road. This is just the next step. The expert panel will continue its work and more changes will come because this government will not stop until Queenslanders feel safe again, whether they live in Cairns, in Townsville, in Goondiwindi or in Redlands. Safety is not a privilege; it is right. Every Queenslander deserves to walk their streets without fear, to sleep without a baseball bat beside their bed—something we also heard at our public hearing in Redlands—and to raise their children in communities that are safe and secure. I finish by reaffirming my support for this bill not just as a member of parliament but also as a mother, a neighbour and a Redlander who is deeply committed to turning this crisis around.

 **Ms McMILLAN** (Mansfield—ALP) (8.53 pm): I rise tonight on behalf of the opposition to contribute to the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill. Everyone in this chamber wants Queenslanders to be safe. Every Queenslander, whether they live in the cities, the suburbs or the regions, has a right to feel safe in their homes, in their communities and in their daily lives. For the laws we make in this place to truly make our communities safer, they must be built on evidence, on consultation and on transparency. This bill fails on all three counts.

From what we have seen throughout the committee's consideration of this bill, and this government's response to calls to release the expert advice, it is clear this is policy based on popular slogans and ideology, not on evidence. This legislation is being pushed through the parliament without the public release of the Expert Legal Panel's advice, without research evidence and without meaningful public consultation. The government have the power to release that advice tonight, yet they choose not to. I wonder why. If the advice is so robust, if the evidence supports these changes, why not release it and allow the public to see it tonight?

Throughout the committee's consideration of this bill, victims, legal experts, advocates and community organisations have all called for this advice to be made public, and the government continues to govern in secret. We want to see the advice because these changes are in direct contrast to global research around how to keep communities safe. This bill has been developed behind closed doors. In committee hearings, none of the stakeholders asked had received information from the expert panel. Throughout the consideration, the only witnesses to have received information from the LNP's Expert Legal Panel were the minister's Department of Youth Justice and Victim Support and the Queensland Police Service, who both reflected on this advice as cabinet-in-confidence.

This is the list of stakeholders which have not received that advice: the Queensland Law Society, the Queensland Human Rights Commission, the Youth Advocacy Centre, the Queensland Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Child Protection Peak, the Victims' Commissioner, QCOSS, the Community Justice Action Group and the Queensland Police Union. When these organisations appeared before the committee, they said the same thing, 'We haven't seen the evidence. We don't know why these 20 offences were selected.' That is not how you make good law. That is not how you make Queensland safe. As Aimee McVeigh from QCOSS put it during committee hearings—

All of us have not had the opportunity to look at the evidence the government is relying on to argue for this policy and, on the face of it, all evidence points to this not improving community safety.

Katherine Hayes from the Youth Advocacy Centre asked the question—

Why were these 20 offences chosen, especially when some already carry life imprisonment? The public deserves an answer.

The Victims' Commissioner also expressed concern over the lack of transparency and its impact on victims of crime. Early intervention programs and proper investment in those programs are the key to breaking the cycle of crime, and many stakeholders used their submissions to remind the LNP government of this.

Despite the Premier claiming these laws are bolstered by early intervention, there is no evidence that any new programs are up and running. Tenders have been released, but nothing has been delivered. There are no new services for the young people who most need support and clinical intervention to prevent offending or for the victims who need care and healing. There is almost no new funding of substance. The minister's director-general confirmed during the hearing that funding provided represents less than half of one per cent of the funding pool.

The early intervention programs, which the Crisafulli LNP government is currently relying on, are the programs of the former Labor government—Labor's Youth Co-Responder Teams, Labor's intensive bail initiatives and Labor's Transition to Success. All of these were started and funded by Labor. This bill will be extraordinarily expensive to implement. Instead of investing in wraparound services, family

case management, early intervention and victim support, the LNP is doubling down on these punitive measures. The Justice Reform Initiative made it clear in its submission that expanding punitive responses without investing in what works is a poor return on investment and will not reduce crime or victimisation. My community knows it and Queenslanders know it.

There are also several infrastructure capacity issues that were raised by multiple stakeholders that need to be addressed which will ultimately be supported by proper modelling. However, there is no clear modelling to explain how the government plans to manage the increased detention that will result from this bill. We already have overcrowded facilities. Where is the plan for expansion? Where is the money? Where are the resources for the frontline staff who will bear the burden? The LNP has passed laws without planning for the consequences.

Without an independent legislative review, as called for by the stakeholders, this is nothing more than a social experiment—nothing more than a social experiment. Stakeholders like QATSICPP sounded the alarm on who is most likely to be at the core of this social experiment. It is young First Nations children, young people living with a disability, young people who have experienced trauma, and victims who have been sold hollow promises. There is another contribution from the Victims' Commissioner that speaks to why it is so important to recognise these young people. I quote—

Victims rightfully expect genuine, meaningful effort to be made to increase protections and reduce the risk of harm to others. This includes identifying and managing the factors which contribute to the 'pipeline' of young people who commit offences, and requires a focus on primary prevention and early intervention towards those factors which increase child's risk of engaging in offending behaviour.

It is a statement that, although simple, is considered and measured. The lesson for the government is that they need to deliver on these primary prevention and intervention programs to support those young people most at risk of becoming involved in the youth justice system instead of just making hollow promises—hollow promises to victims, hollow promises to Queenslanders.

The first tranche of these laws were rushed through parliament last year. We are now seeing the government returning to fix the unintended consequences from their own legislation—consequences that could have been avoided if they had consulted thoroughly the first time. Here we are again—another bill, no transparency, a lack of community engagement, same mistakes, same secrecy, same concerns from stakeholders and legal experts.

Premier David Crisafulli promised Queenslanders integrity and transparency, so where is it? Why is this advice still cabinet-in-confidence? Why were these offences chosen? What do victims actually want? What are the community expectations? Where is the evidence to show that these laws meet them? I can tell members that, in my electorate of Mansfield, the community expects more than headlines and slogans, and victims expect more than headlines and slogans. They expect transparency, they expect the government to consult experts and they expect laws that actually make us safer—not just sound tougher, not just rhetoric, not just slogans.

The opposition supports laws that are evidence based, transparent and properly resourced. We support strong early intervention programs, support for victims, accountability and rehabilitation, and laws that are made with the community. That is why Labor has introduced amendments that are about transparency, accountability and putting victims and victim-survivors first. That is why we are advocating for monthly victim data reporting, an independent review of the laws, the release of the Expert Legal Panel advice, and implementing *The ripple effect* recommendations.

The Labor opposition will be moving amendments to the Penalties and Sentences Act 1992 to recognise harm to victim-survivors in sentencing; treat rape against children as an aggravating factor; restrict use of 'good character' evidence in sentencing; and prevent courts drawing inference from lack of a victim impact statement. These amendments reflect expert consensus, community expectations and our commitment to meaningful victim-focused reform.

In closing, the Labor caucus will not stand in the way of the Premier fixing the laws that he has botched, but we will judge the government for its secrecy and we will judge them on the effectiveness of these laws. My electorate of Mansfield are watching. My electorate of Mansfield are ready to see that your laws are going to fail.



**Mr MOLHOEK** (Southport—LNP) (9.03 pm): It has been an interesting day listening to many of the speakers from the opposition side of the House. We have heard probably more slogans from them than they have accused us of. Earlier we heard the member for Cooper roll out some quotes that she suggested we needed to take seriously. I would like to remind members of the opposition that laws are not static. They are living instruments. You are never going to get every single piece of legislation perfect at the start. What we did before Christmas is we rolled out some essential changes that we

promised the electorate of Queensland we would undertake. Then we realised that there was more to do. I want to congratulate the Minister for Youth Justice and the Minister for Child Safety.

**Mr Power** interjected.

**Mr MOLHOEK:** I am not taking that interjection.

**Mr Power** interjected.

**Mr MOLHOEK:** You have had your say. Another quote that I would like to put on the record is: 'Reform is not a one-time event, but a continuous process.'

**Mr Power** interjected.

**Madam DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Dr O'Shea): Member for Logan, I would ask you to address your comments through the chair.

**Mr MOLHOEK:** We also heard the member for Cooper suggest that she was going to share some proverbs with us, but there was not a single one. I would like to share Proverbs 21:15, which states, 'When justice is done, it brings joy to the righteous but terror to evildoers.' That is what these laws are designed to do: to remind young offenders in Queensland that, if they get caught in the process of serious crime, there are consequences. It should bring fear into their heart. It should serve as a reminder that there are consequences for doing the wrong thing.

For too long people across our state and Southport have felt unsafe in our homes and communities. We have heard the stories from all across Queensland—stories of lives turned upside down by youth crime. In some towns people have started sleeping with crowbars and baseball bats beside their bed. In others, families are spending thousands just to install security doors, lights and cameras. In fact, I have installed cameras for no other reason than I was told that it was a wise thing to do. I am not quite sure how they are going to protect me from youth offenders.

I have been a victim of crime. About two years ago six young people from Logan travelled down on the train and then on the light rail. They then wandered through Southport and burgled my house. They entered my house. They rummaged through my car. They stole my wallet and a whole lot of other things out of the car. They then wandered down the road to McDonald's and purchased some Macca's at about 11 o'clock with my credit card. That tipped the police off as to who they were because they had footage. They caught them the next day, but there were no consequences. I was never reimbursed for the out-of-pocket expenses and the replacement of things that I lost.

It was suggested to me that perhaps I would like to engage in Labor's—I think I heard the member for Mansfield talk about the redemptive processes and programs that Labor ran so successfully—the juvenile justice system where I got to meet one of the offenders, a 16-year-old girl they caught. It took three months of rescheduled meetings to get to that point. When I finally met with the young girl—she came with her mother—it broke my heart. The person I met was a young girl who had been in and out of foster care. Her mother had had multiple partners. There was domestic violence involved. She and her sister were back in another foster care home. They had been uprooted from all that they loved and all they had become familiar with into another environment. So what did she do? She made friends with the only people who would take her in, and they happened to be a group of people who were actively engaged in youth crime.

I am really pleased that this week we have announced an inquiry into the child safety system and youth justice practices because there are far too many young offenders in that system. They are not getting the support, as much as the member for Mansfield wants to wax lyrical about the great programs that Labor introduced. This will be the fourth inquiry. I have read all three reports: the Forde inquiry, the Beattie government's CMC inquiry into child safety practices, and then the Carmody report. What have we seen? We have seen a system that has continued, heartbreakingly so and sadly so, to deteriorate and let down our young people and families in Queensland and victims of crime because we have not been able to address those many complex issues that need to be looked at and dug into quite seriously.

It has been somewhat galling today to hear Labor member after Labor member talk about slogans, but I think their slogan today uses the word 'botched' as many times as it can. They have had the best part of 30 years of successive Labor governments to fix this system. There have been a few times when we have been in government and we had a fair go at trying to make changes, we did the Carmody inquiry, but they have had 30 years. I would ask the member for Mansfield what they were doing over the last 10 years. Where was their advocacy when the young people of Queensland needed tougher laws and a better system and victims needed better support and greater certainty that they would be safe in their own homes.

Then we heard from the member for Murrumba, who talked about the three problems he has with this legislation. He did not talk about the three solutions he has or three ideas on how to improve it. His whole speech was, 'I want to talk about the three problems I have with this legislation.' I think it would be fair to ask whether he is going to support this bill. Is that a reasonable question to ask? I did not hear great support for the bill; I heard criticism of these changes.

We may have to come back at some stage in the future and bring in other reforms. Legislation and laws are a living process, and we have seen that in so many areas of society. We never anticipated computers, technology and the impact of social media. We have had to change legislation in the past few years with regard to police powers over electronic devices, which were never foreshadowed in the past. We have had to make amendments to health legislation around vaping and tobacco related products because we never envisaged they would change either. Does that mean it was botched? No, it just means we are all involved in a process of evolution and change. We need a government that will change and adapt, be honest about what is going on, stand in front of the people of Queensland and make a commitment to make improvements to the laws to protect Queenslanders, particularly in their own homes.

This is important legislation. I was going to go through all of the extra offences and the other issues this bill addresses, but we have heard from many members in the House today at length about what those reforms mean and what some of those laws cover. It is also important to realise that we have built in important safeguards. This is not just a one-size-fits-all approach. The courts will still be able to consider each case individually. We have built into the legislation respect for the human rights of victims. I believe that is important. I commend the ministers, because I know it has really been a team effort. I commend our team for the incredibly hard work they have done in just a very short time in government. We have been here six months. Labor has been here for the best part of 30 years. After six months look at the reforms we have brought in. Queenslanders today feel much safer in their homes because the LNP government that was elected last November has followed through on its commitment and continues to keep its promises. We will continue to work harder for Queenslanders and ensure people are safe in their own homes.



**Mr McCALLUM** (Bundamba—ALP) (9.12 pm): The honourable member for Southport finished his speech by talking about the election and the commitment the LNP government gave to the Queensland people during the election to fix youth crime by Christmas. That was the commitment that was given to the people of Queensland by this government last year during the election. That was the commitment from the now Premier. It was a commitment that is now a broken promise. During the election they promised the people they would fix youth crime by Christmas. The Premier said he had the laws in his drawer ready to go, and that is why he gave a commitment to the people of Queensland that they would be passed by Christmas.

The record will show that there were some laws passed by Christmas, but, unfortunately, those laws were flawed. They were so flawed that you could drive a stolen car through the gaps in them. That is why we are back here a matter of months later with a government that is scrambling and trying to patch up the holes that exist in their signature laws which they brought into this parliament before Christmas.

**Government members** interjected.

**Madam DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Dr O'Shea): One moment, member for Bundamba. I will remind the chamber to address comments through the chair so we can hear everybody speak.

**Mr McCALLUM:** Thank you very much, Madam Deputy Speaker. It is worth remembering that when the first tranche of Adult Crime, Adult Time—

**Mr Molhoek** interjected.

**Madam DEPUTY SPEAKER:** One moment, member for Bundamba. Member for Southport, I have just asked everybody to address the chair if they have any comments.

**Mr McCALLUM:** I recall that in the member for Southport's contribution he waxed lyrical—to use his term—about how laws are an evolving and fluid situation. There are unforeseen circumstances that might pop up and governments need to amend laws and respond. He gave an example of vapes. Nobody knew that vapes were coming along when it comes to health care. What about attempted murder? That was one of the offences that was not in the first tranche of Adult Crime, Adult Time. Did the government know about that? Did the honourable member for Southport know about attempted murder as an offence in Queensland? Of course they did, but it was not included in the first tranche of laws. What an absolute nonsense to have a member of the government stand up and put forward a



weak argument that bears no relation to what is happening out in our communities. It does not bear any relation to the reality of the flawed laws that were brought forward by this government, which is now trying to scramble and fix their own mess. They did not listen to advice from so many stakeholders with the first tranche. They rushed it through. They did not want to listen because they knew better. Now it turns out that there are enormous problems with their signature laws. It turns out they broke their promise to Queenslanders that they would fix the youth crime—in their words—crisis before Christmas. So here we are, only a matter of months later.

The first tranche of this legislation was fast-tracked through the committee process. They gave stakeholders no time whatsoever to give calm, methodical and considered advice. They did not want to hear it; they knew better. Now here we are. The Crisafulli government has rushed to introduce a six-page bill to fix a single number that could have been introduced in the 2024 bill on youth justice. They have no legislative agenda, so they need to keep bringing through bills that really lack substance. They have introduced amendments in unrelated bills around fixing up mistakes in the first bill. This bill represents a second major change to their signature laws which they said they had drafted, ready to go, that were going to be effective. That has turned out to not be the case. This is the fourth time since December 2024 we are debating changes to the Youth Justice Act.

Stakeholders and the opposition told them at the time to stop, slow down, listen and take some feedback, but they did not want to do that. They refused; they were wilfully ignorant, wilfully denying, ignoring engagement and not listening to people. This is not a government that listens; this is a government that is taking autocratic action because it is a government that thinks it knows better than the Queensland community.

I implore the government to be collaborative. If they cannot get over being partisan in this House when it comes to legislation, if they cannot get over being partisan when it comes to an issue like youth justice, then at least listen to stakeholders and experts. Do not shout down voices that you do not agree with. Do not listen to your own echo chamber. Please, try and legislate in a manner that takes in genuine feedback from people who are very passionate about making sure that Queensland has fit-for-purpose laws that will actually deliver improved outcomes in the communities of the 93 electorates that we represent in this House. I know that my Bundamba community would certainly appreciate that. I am here as their voice to ask on their behalf for this government to listen to feedback and not rush important laws and to keep the government to account.

We have heard a lot of previous speakers talk about the government's refusal to release the advice from the expert panel that has informed the 20 offences that are in this bill. That is, again, an egregious broken promise from the government, which promised Queenslanders they would govern with integrity, with transparency—

**Mr Hunt:** Tick. Tick.

**Mr McCALLUM:**—and with accountability.


**Mr Hunt:** Tick.

**Mr McCALLUM:** No, I take the interjection from the member for whoever that is. It is not a tick; it is a cross. It is an absolute failure that the Crisafulli LNP government will be relying on advice from an expert panel—panel beaters—to fix up the hole, to bodgie up the hole that is in this legislation. They promised people that they would govern with openness and integrity, yet they will not release the advice they are relying on for the 20 offences that are included in this bill. We have already heard speakers from the government talking about the next tranche. How many times can they get it wrong? Government speakers have confirmed that they did not get it right the first time. They know they have not got it right this time so, hold their beer, they are going to have at least a third go. Honestly, it is very troubling that what we have here is a government—

**Mrs Frecklington** interjected.

**Madam DEPUTY SPEAKER:** I would ask the Attorney-General to not shout across the chamber.

**Mr McCALLUM:** I will finish my contribution by saying that the government have lost their mandate when it comes to Adult Crime, Adult Time laws. Their mandate ended with the first tranche of laws that they botched. They said they had it sorted. They brought forward laws and they promised Queenslanders that they would fix youth crime. They have failed. They do not have a mandate and they stand condemned for their failure.

 **Ms DOOLEY** (Redcliffe—LNP) (9.23 pm): I rise tonight with a deep sense of duty to speak on behalf of my community of Redcliffe in support of the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025. Redcliffe is a proud, tight-knit peninsula community that, like so many

others across Queensland, has had its sense of safety and security shaken. As a born and bred Redcliffe local girl, I will fight for safety where we live. As chair of Redcliffe Crime Stoppers for nearly a decade, I saw the data and statistics escalate over the past decade under the former Labor government.

When I listen to residents at shopping centres, at community events, at mobile offices or on their doorsteps, I hear a common theme—that people say they do not feel safe in their own homes or in our community. Parents are anxious about their teenagers walking to the bus, elderly residents double lock their doors early in the evening and small business owners tell me their shops have been broken into multiple times in the past year—this is not the Redcliffe or Queensland we know and love. Over the past decade under the previous Labor government, crime was allowed to spiral out of control. In fact, it was not just allowed; it was enabled by weak youth justice laws and a Labor government too out of touch to act.

Let's chat about the facts. Under the former Labor government in the last financial year, there were 46,130 finalised offences by young people. That was a 12 per cent increase in the last year, a 51 per cent increase in the last five years and a 98 per cent increase over the last decade. There were 289,657 victims of crime in Queensland under Labor in 2022-23. The data also reveals that youth offenders were also offending in an even more violent way. Since 2019 there has been an 8.3 per cent increase in the violence of youth offenders, and the number of serious repeat offenders on an average day has grown by 58 per cent from 2019 to 2024. Under Labor, youth offenders were also offending at higher rates. The average number of proven offences per young person was 14.1 compared with 7.8 in 2019. Illegal use of a motor vehicle also skyrocketed every year, increasing by 3,500 offences over five years. In Redcliffe the effects of this were felt deeply. Redcliffe ranks amongst the most crime affected suburbs in the entire city of Moreton Bay. Our local police do incredible work, but they have been left hamstrung by laws that put the rights of offenders ahead of the rights of victims.

One of the darkest days in Redcliffe's recent history came in 2020 when 15-year-old Angus Beaumont was senselessly stabbed and killed by another teenager out on bail with repeat offences. Angus was simply walking home with a mate—a young life full of promise taken far too soon. His murder sent shock waves through our community and Queensland. It left a family devastated, friends traumatised and a community demanding answers. It also laid bare the failures of a justice system that allowed violent young offenders to roam free, emboldened by the knowledge that consequences were minimal. We owe it to Angus and to every victim of youth crime to strengthen these laws with this second tranche to ensure that perpetrators of crime are brought to justice.

The former Labor government weakened the youth justice laws in 2016, and they then flip-flopped from one plan to another. We had a five-point plan in 2016, a four-point plan in 2019, another five-point plan in 2020 and a 10-point plan in 2022. That was 24 points in seven years but not a single one made our streets safer. In fact, it took the election last year for Labor to finally admit that crime was, in their words, unacceptably high. The people of Queensland spoke loud and clear and voted for our mandate of Adult Crime, Adult Time.

That is why the Crisafulli government introduced the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill. We are delivering. We are prioritising victims' rights. We are making transparent justice. We are delivering stronger sentencing. We are delivering youth justice reforms and early intervention programs—the Staying on Track program, Regional Reset programs, Circuit Breaker Sentencing and Gold Standard Early Intervention.

This bill delivers on our promise and our commitment that we took to Queenslanders to restore law and order and to stop youth crime gripping our state. This also supports our police to say, 'We have your back.' The Queensland Police Union supports this bill and its amendments.

In closing, these are protections for grandparents afraid to walk at the shops, they are justice for young families like Angus whose home has been broken into, and they are a message to every young offender that there are consequences.

To the people of Redcliffe I say this: I hear you, I stand with you and I will fight with you every day to make our community safer. The Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill is not just a promise kept, it is a turning point. Let's restore safety. Let's restore justice. Let's restore Queensland. I commend the bill to the House.



**Mr BERKMAN** (Maiwar—Grn) (9.30 pm): Here we go again. Madam Deputy Speaker, I suspect you and other members know what I am going to say, just like I know that this bill will pass, despite the myriad experts warning of the serious long-term consequences and despite the criticism just this morning from two UN bodies, the Special Rapporteur on Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment and the Special Rapporteur on the rights of Indigenous Peoples.

We do not need UN bodies to tell us that this bill is incompatible with basic child rights. The government seems to have no compunction whatsoever in telling us that itself. In fact, our Premier wants to refer to the UN as a 'bunch of boffins', I think was his term and, moreover, he seems to want to rewrite the very concept of human rights to suit his own political purposes.

When these laws fail to prevent the next devastating crime, the LNP will, without a doubt, just introduce more offences, tougher penalties, longer sentences and wider nets that will equally do nothing, except provide cover for the complete systemic failures of consecutive Queensland governments to ensure that everyone has access to the things they need to live well.

This bill adds 20 new offences to the LNP's discriminatory sentencing regime, the so-called Adult Crime, Adult Time laws. I say 'discriminatory' because, as a society, we understand that treating everyone the same can result in unequal outcomes, and here we are talking about kids whose brains are not fully developed, who are more impulsive than adults, who are more susceptible to peer pressure, and who tend to engage in riskier behaviours than adults.

On top of that, the cohort of kids we are talking about are often suffering the impacts of intergenerational trauma and disadvantage. They are likely to have cognitive or developmental disabilities. They are likely to be the victims of crime themselves.

I am baffled by the LNP's mental gymnastics today that they can spend almost the entirety of the ministerial statements this morning talking about how the state has utterly failed kids in out-of-home care and still turn around in the same day and say these same kids should be treated as adults and locked up as adults. The whole point of a two-tiered criminal system is to account for the specific needs of children and the ways they differ from adults. That is the bare minimum.

By now, armed with all of the evidence, we should have moved away from an adult system adapted for children. We should have moved to a system that provides the supports needed to prevent offending behaviour in the first place—connection to culture and kin, access to safe, secure housing, family supports, a fully funded education system with adequate disability screening and supports, access to pro-social activities and resources, and an end to child removals.

It feels in some respects like climate change all over again. We cannot even begin to talk about legitimate solutions because we are still fighting about the basic science, about the fundamental evidentiary basis to make policy and law on these issues.

It is a smokescreen. The major parties know what works because every time a new youth justice bill has come before parliament these last few years, experts have fronted up to the committee and they have shared detailed submissions explaining the causes of offending, debunking the media-led youth crime crisis and proposing solutions affording care and nuance to everyone involved.

The major parties are not interested in what works to prevent crime. They are only interested in maintaining a narrative of fear and division to sell their tough-on-crime policies. It was Labor who toughened bail laws and first overrode the Human Rights Act to lock up kids in watch houses and now they apparently refuse to oppose these changes, too. The LNP says it is acting on the advice of its Expert Legal Panel, so release the advice. Let us see it. If there is any justification for this bill that is not fear-driven retribution, we want to see it. All the experts want to see it.

As it stands, we have at least 23 different organisations all with specific expertise in this area who oppose the bill and raise serious concerns. Those concerns span the ineffectiveness of the bill in deterring or preventing offending, the impacts on staff and kids in detention centres and watch houses that are already stretched to the brink, the limitations on human rights, the impacts on First Nations communities, the flow-on effects on the courts, the exorbitant costs associated with detention and, thanks to Tom Allsop, the CEO at PeakCare, for this metaphor, the tidal wave of long-term consequences heading our way.

I express my thanks to each and every submitter who again did their best to push back on bad law. Unlike the LNP, I am not going to ignore the expertise of submitters to this bill. I will turn first of all to consider the specific offences set to be included which ATSILS explained that these new offences will amplify the problems associated with the first tranche, with many of the charges capable of being satisfied by a wide range of factual circumstances. Examples include: going armed as to cause fear, threatening violence and drug trafficking. ATSILS pointed out some real-world examples where, for example, a wine bottle, an immigration peg and even a Zimmer frame were the items the accused was alleged to be armed with.

During committee hearings, I pressed the Department of Youth Justice and Victim Support for the past decade of data in relation to their 20 chosen offences. Although they only provided data for the

last five years, that is enough to raise serious questions about why many of the offences were included. Instances of proven arson have fallen, drug trafficking has fallen, kidnapping for ransom has not been proven once in the last five years. Moreover, as Katherine Hayes from the Youth Advocacy Centre noted, a number of the offences included in this bill already have life imprisonment as an available option for sentencing.

Turning to the impacts on the system, it is no secret that the entire purpose of this legislation is to ensure that more kids are locked up for longer. The consequence of that will be an overwhelmed youth detention system that will be entirely incapable of providing humane detention rehabilitation for these children.


The LNP thinks the child safety system is no place for kids to grow up. I ask any one of them to spend a day in the Cleveland Youth Detention Centre, in the Brisbane or West Moreton youth detention centres while they are on lockdown because of staff shortages. When the detention centres are full, we know this government takes no issue whatsoever with holding kids in police watch houses, whether it is the new Wacol remand centre, which is just a glorified watch house, or the tiny regional watch houses where kids may have no access to sunlight or fresh air or anything to do except stare at the walls for days and weeks at a time. The Australian Workers Union shared the perspective of its members in these facilities when they told us, 'There is no way you can safely accommodate these young people in the current infrastructure without compromising either the young people's safety or staff safety.'

So I say again, when we talk about community safety, you need to ask who is their community? It certainly is not disadvantaged children. It certainly is not First Nations people, and nor is it workers.

Experts are clear that this legislation will not prevent crime. While the government claims the overarching purpose is to enhance community safety, the evidence is clear that this bill will not deter offending. That evidence is not affected by the committee's attempts to draw false equivalence with the evidence of a select few individuals offering their personal anecdotes or wishful thinking to the committee. Retribution will not make our community safer. Ultimately, subjecting kids to long stints in custody will only lead to further offending and more antisocial behaviour, and when that happens the LNP will have no answer but to keep locking up survivors of the youth justice system in the adult prison system. A huge proportion of those kids are First Nations. Some 70 per cent of Queensland's detention centre population are Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander children.

Finally, I want to draw attention to the submission of Commissioner Natalie Lewis which reflects on the exorbitant costs associated with holding kids in detention, costs that could be diverted to critical early intervention programs, education and disability support, as well as community-controlled justice groups. Holding a child in detention for the equivalent of 12 months costs Queensland \$800,000—for one child. The new detention centre in Woodford is expected to cost \$630 million and the new remand centre—a giant watch house—cost \$250 million. It is an absurd amount of money to sink into a failed youth justice system.

I have to again thank stakeholders for their tireless efforts, all the submitters to the bill and the witnesses at the hearing who work and live closely alongside these children and who are fighting for the collective rights of young people and their families to end those cycles of disadvantage and trauma and who work to create the conditions that will stop offending. They have fronted up committee hearing after committee hearing for successive governments and meticulously and steadily explained the serious consequences of these regressive policies. Although we never see it reflected in the votes, I think it is making some difference. They are now attempting to walk back. Despite the name of the bill—Adult Crime, Adult Time—they want to comfort us with the idea that kids will still be sentenced differently. The pressure is working to some extent and the community will not accept ever-increasing numbers of children being locked up.

 **Mr BAROUNIS** (Maryborough—LNP) (9.40 pm): I rise today to speak in strong support of the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025. I can confidently say, this legislation could not be happening at a better time than right here, right now. Queenslanders have had enough. For too long they have lived under the shadow of weak, misguided laws that failed to hold youth offenders to account. Under the previous Labor government, we witnessed a systemic dismantling of the Youth Justice Act—amendments that prioritised the rights of offenders over the rights of victims. These changes included: making detention a last resort in sentencing; abolishing breach of bail as an offence; and placing the wellbeing of offenders ahead of the safety of everyday Queenslanders. In my electorate, residents did not feel like offenders were the ones detained—instead, they felt like they were. Forced to lock themselves in their homes and in their businesses, scared of being broken into. That is not justice; that is fear, and that is not fair at all. The result of Labor's

soft-on-crime approach was a youth crime crisis of epic proportions—a generation of repeat hardcore offenders who openly declared, ‘I know my rights’—but what rights did victims have? Where was their protection? Where was their peace of mind?

It was not until 26 October 2024 that this began to change. That was the day the new LNP Crisafulli government got to work, immediately shifting the focus from protecting offenders to protecting victims. The first phase of Adult Crime, Adult Time laws were introduced swiftly and now, only months later, we are delivering the second phase of this vital reform. This government is serious about protecting Queenslanders. We are focused, we are committed and we are restoring justice. Under Labor, the statistics were shocking. In the 2023-24 financial year there were 289,657 victims of youth crime in Queensland. That is 289,657 Queenslanders whose lives were disrupted, who were assaulted, whose homes were broken into and whose cars were stolen. While Labor stood in this place and told Queenslanders that youth crime was decreasing, the truth was the opposite. They knew it, and Queenslanders felt it.

Let me tell you about Sydney and his family, proud residents of Maryborough. Sydney is a car enthusiast, a generous community-minded man who opened his home to local youths with an interest in mechanics. He showed them how to restore old vehicles, even took them for rides in one of his cars. But these young people were not there to learn; they were scouting, taking advantage of a good man’s generosity. In January 2024, under the cover of night, they stole one of Sydney’s cherished vehicles. The car was recovered but no serious consequences followed. Just nine months later, they came back, broke into his home in the middle of the night, stole the same vehicle again, smashed through the gate and destroyed it. The car was written off and to this day, Sydney cannot get it insured again. This is what victims were facing under the previous Labor government—no real consequences for repeat offenders, no peace of mind and no justice. But now, thanks to the Adult Crime, Adult Time reforms, there are consequences. Sydney, and families like his, can begin to have confidence again that the law is on their side. In the lead-up to the election Premier David Crisafulli visited Sydney and promised that should the LNP form government this will change, and he delivered. Today Sydney knows that if these young criminals try it again they will not get a slap on the wrist, there will be a real punishment.

The impact of these reforms is already being felt. Under Labor, youth crime skyrocketed. In the 2023-24 financial year, the ABS reported: 46,100 finalised proven offences by young people—a 12 per cent increase on the previous year; a 51 per cent increase over five years; and a 98 per cent increase over the last decade. All of this happened under Labor but now, under this new government, we are seeing early signs of real change. Across Queensland from January to April 2025, compared to the same time the previous year, we have seen: an 8.45 per cent reduction in stolen cars; an 11.52 per cent reduction in unlawful entry; and a 15.47 per cent reduction in robberies. I am proud to report that in my own electorate of Maryborough we are seeing even stronger results: a 16.3 per cent reduction in stolen cars; and a 13.3 per cent reduction in unlawful entry. These are not just numbers—they are lives impacted, families feeling safer and communities regaining hope.

This bill, the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025, is already working. It is working not just in theory, not just on paper, but on the ground in towns like Maryborough and in communities right across Queensland. Yes, Adult Crime, Adult Time is working but we have more work to do. It will take a long time to fix Labor’s 10 years of inaction. With continued legislative reform and community support, I believe Queensland can once again become a place where people feel safe in their homes, on their streets and in their lives. That is what the people of Queensland have asked for. This is what we promised and this is what we are delivering. I strongly commend the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025 to the House. Thank you.



**Hon. G GRACE** (McConnel—ALP) (9.48 pm): In listening to that speech, you would think there had been no crime in Queensland at all since Christmas because of these so-called strong laws, and nothing could be further from the truth. There is an article in the *Courier-Mail* today in relation to an incident that occurred and it talks about some teenagers who were through—

**Mr Purdie:** A generation of untouchables.

**Ms GRACE:** I take that interjection from the minister who suggests they are a generation of untouchables. I will tell honourable members why. Under these laws those teenagers—

**Mr Purdie:** Through the chair. You can tell us, but through the chair.

**Ms GRACE:** I will tell the minister, through the chair if he wants to get a little bit cute, that on the weekend—and it is in the first paragraph of the *Courier-Mail* article today—a 13-year-old was charged and he had racked up 40 breaches of bail this year alone.

**Mr Purdie** interjected.

**Mr Stevens:** Under your laws.

**Government members** interjected.

**Ms GRACE:** So members opposite should not come into this House and tell us that these stronger laws are working. They should read the *Courier-Mail* article—40 breaches of bail this year alone. All of those who are coming into this House suggesting that these laws—

**Mr Crandon:** Created by Labor.

**Mr Stevens:** Your magistrates.

**Ms GRACE:** No, they are not our laws anymore; they are the LNP's laws. The LNP rushed them through late last year. This blame game that is going on by those opposite is getting ridiculous. This year the 40 breaches occurred after the government introduced their Making Queensland Safer Laws—Adult Crime, Adult Time—and yet they still come into this House saying that that is the answer to all the crime. I only wish and pray that it was that simple.

We are here again after only a few months—I think it is about the fourth time since December—debating these laws because they have been botched by those opposite. That is the only reason we are here again. How many times are they going to come into this House with a slogan that they went to the election campaign with—just a slogan—with no details, with no information, with no strategy, with nothing? How many times do they think they are going to come into this House to amend laws that they are going to then botch?

**Mr Crandon:** Six more times!

**Ms GRACE:** They may think it is funny and say, 'We're going to come in here as many times as we have to,' and they can talk big and they can talk tough, but the stats speak for themselves. On the subject of stats, I notice how little transparency is coming from the government of the day. Of course, the fact that we are not getting stats is apparently Labor's fault; there would be no doubt about it. It would have nothing to do with the government of the day not providing the quarterly stats as they should, but no, of course, they would get up and say that would be Labor's fault.

I also say in relation to those teens with the 40 breaches of bail that happened under the LNP's laws this year alone that they were also involved in an accident. Who knows what could have happened? It is only there but for the grace of God go we that those kinds of things do not happen. So members opposite should not come in here with botched laws making out as if this is the panacea to all crime not only in Queensland but also everywhere else in the world that is experiencing exactly the same issue. It is ridiculous to suggest that; it is puerile.

**Mr Lister:** We never have. You point to where we have.

**Madam DEPUTY SPEAKER** (Dr O'Shea): Member for Southern Downs, I know you are fully aware that you should not be yelling out in the chamber and that you should address your comments through the chair.

**Ms GRACE:** The only reason they are yelling is they do not like to hear this. They want to talk tough. They talk down their electorates. They come in here saying, 'People are all fearful and they don't want to go out.' They talk about crime. Crime is shocking. It is disgusting. Nobody in this House likes it. However, to talk about it like we are somehow to blame because of everything that is happening is puerile—

**A government member:** Yes, yes you are. Now you're getting the memo. Yes.

**Ms GRACE:** I take that interjection. There he is over there saying yes. Therefore, they are to blame for what happened on the weekend that was reported in the *Courier-Mail* this week. If that is the way they think I will blame the current government for those teens and the actions they took on the weekend.

**Mr Purdie:** We've been warning about a generation of untouchables.

**Ms GRACE:** That is the police minister saying yes. Therefore, he is to blame for what happened on the weekend involving the teen with the 40 breaches of bail this year alone. He should listen to the stats and read what is in the *Courier-Mail*.

**Government members** interjected.

**Ms GRACE:** Here is another one who is saying, 'Don't worry about it.' I hear the echoes of Joh Bjelke-Petersen coming through those opposite once again, 'Don't worry about it. She'll be right. Everything will be okay.'


They promised that everything would be fixed by Christmas and I hear the tone changing over there. It is now, 'We're seeing green shoots,' and they are strategically picking out little bits of data. Now they are saying, 'It's going to take a lot longer than we thought. We thought it was going to happen in December,' but now they are all getting up and saying, 'Guess what? It is going to take a lot longer than we thought it was going to take.' The truth of the matter is they have no idea. They have no strategy. They went to the people with a slogan. They did not explain it to the people in my electorate, who are pretty savvy about things like this. Let me tell them the blame game is very thin on the ground in my electorate.

**Mr Stevens:** That's why you're on that side of the House.

**Ms GRACE:** Members opposite can yell all they want because the hubris and arrogance is being seen by the constituents out there; there is no doubt about it. We warned them about the laws that they rushed through. We said they were going to be botched. We said there were going to be unintended consequences and that is exactly what happened. What did they do? They appointed an expert panel. The *Courier-Mail* reported they were having great difficulty getting people to even sit on it. Eventually they did put it together, but guess what? The report that now structures the second tranche—and we do not know how many tranches are coming. There was none of this discussion during the campaign—no first, second or third tranche. It was only, 'We're going to fix it by Christmas.' Now we are going to have these bits and pieces being introduced in a Machiavellian way and they will keep adding to this. They are going to solve it all by botching it all.

Guess what? They got advice from an expert panel and for the life of me I and my constituents do not understand why that cannot be made public. Would someone opposite please, when it is their turn to speak, explain why, when the Premier promised transparency and integrity, the advice of an expert panel that has structured these laws that affect young criminal offenders in this state cannot be made public? I am absolutely miffed about why that cannot be made public. Those opposite are digging in their heels and they will not do it and I will tell honourable members why. It is because this is not the advice of the expert panel. This is the Premier, the Deputy Premier and the ministers opposite dictating exactly what goes into these laws. If they had the evidence that it was the expert panel's advice, if it met their requirements, there would be absolutely no reason—none whatsoever—not to make that public. They say, 'It's not a big deal. I'm getting advice. They have not finished their work. I am going to get a little bit more.' Table the document and let's have a look at it.

We will not stand in the way of these laws, but we do want reviews and we do want to see the stats. We will be moving amendments to ensure we hold those opposite accountable. Yes, regarding the weekend effort, I blame the Minister for Police.

 **Hon. AJ PERRETT** (Gympie—LNP) (Minister for Primary Industries) (9.58 pm): I rise to speak on the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025. This bill is the second tranche of the Adult Crime, Adult Time laws which the Crisafulli government introduced last year. Among the changes it includes an additional 20 offences of the Adult Crime, Adult Time sentencing scheme and an option for victims on the eligible persons register to request that another person receive information on their behalf about custody movements of a young offender. This bill is once again about restoring community safety. As the Premier said—

The amendments send a strong message to the community that youth offending will be treated seriously and ensure that courts can impose appropriate penalties that meet community expectations.

I am not surprised that opposition members are criticising the fact that we are debating this bill. This is the party which spent 10 years in government watering down crime bills and left a legacy of crime across the state. They are clearly out of step with everyday Queenslanders. There can be no misapprehension: Queenslanders voted to address the youth crime crisis that has gripped the state. The government took this to the election as one of our highest priorities. We are delivering that promise. There can be no greater transparency and public consultation about what we are delivering. For four years the Premier consulted Queenslanders across the length and breadth of this state. There is no greater feedback from the consultation than the ballot box. We committed to delivering on our promise within the first 100 days. That is what we did.

The first tranche of the bill included 13 serious offences which we took to the election. We did what we promised. This tranche adds an additional 20 offences which were recommended by the Expert Legal Panel. We have always said that there would be more changes and more offences added

because we will not stop strengthening our youth justice laws. Some of these additional offences include arson, trafficking in dangerous drugs, ramming a police vehicle, going armed as to cause fear, threatening violence, attempt to murder, torture, rape, sexual assault, kidnapping, deprivation of liberty, stealing a vehicle, stealing a firearm for use in another indictable offence, attempted robbery and endangering a police officer.

To have issue with or oppose the inclusion of these offences defies logic. It is inexplicable. This bill is about consequences for actions. As the Queensland Police Union told the committee—

We have offenders engaging in some abhorrent behaviour ...

...

If these kinds of scenarios would act as deterrents or this bill would act as a deterrent to stop a youth offender from engaging in behaviour, then it is a good day.

These amendments work in the same way as those we passed in the parliament last December. Every month for the last 10 years local media across the state highlighted stories of the impact of the crime crisis, in particular the youth crime crisis. It was a regular feature of local media. The experience in my electorate of Gympie is no different. Two years ago police charged four teenagers after a series of break-ins across the region. The ABC reported that two 16-year-old boys, a 13-year-old girl and an 18-year-old man were charged with a total of 74 offences, including stealing cars and evading and obstructing police. It was a crime spree targeting businesses in the CBD on and near Mary Street and the surrounding area. In March this year the business and general community of the CBD held a public meeting about the crime and vagrancy which are overtaking the centre of Gympie. The *Gympie Times* reported the frustration of the former chamber of commerce president Tony Goodman, who said—

... the emotion and frustration of business owners was overwhelming.

He went on to say—

When I went door-to-door for three days before organising this meeting ... every trader I spoke with had a shocking story to share.

Tony has run a business in Mary Street for 11 years and he said—

Business owners are struggling to keep their doors open as aggressive behaviours drive away customers.

For 10 years the Labor government was warned about the impact of its approach to crime. Lives were lost. People were injured. Home owners, businesses and communities paid the price to repair or re-establish damaged property with increased insurance costs. They paid the price of the emotional scar it has left. They are the victims. Labor repeatedly said that youth crime was decreasing when it was actually rising. You cannot fix a problem if you refuse to admit the problem exists. Unfortunately, the Labor Party treated crime and the youth crime crisis as a political problem. Crime is not a problem which can be fixed with spin or manufactured media events. You cannot help victims if you fail to admit an offence has occurred.

Since the introduction of Adult Crime, Adult Time last December, there have been small decreases in key offending across the state. Between January and April this year offences by young people across the state are down 2.98 per cent when compared to the same period last year. Offences have decreased from 207,000 to 201,000. Robbery is down 15.4 per cent, stolen car offences are down 8.45 per cent and unlawful entry is down 11.52 per cent. Two weeks ago *Gympie Today* reported that new police data showed police made more than 4,200 youth arrests in Queensland and laid more than 18,000 charges on youth offenders during the first quarter of this year. If there was no youth crime crisis, it would not have been deploying the new State Flying Squad to youth crime hot spots 20 times in the first three months of this year. If there was no youth crime crisis, police would not have seized more than 100 deadly weapons as part of Jack's Law, with more than 12,000 wandings from January through to the end of March. *Gympie Today* reported that in the Sunshine Coast police district 173 arrests led to 111 charges and in the Wide Bay region 113 arrests yielded 653 charges. This is just the beginning. We know we have a lot to do.

The Crisafulli government must turn around 10 years—a lost decade of Labor weakening our youth crime laws. For a decade the Labor government created a generation of hardcore repeat offenders who were left to terrorise communities across the state with no consequences. At last year's election Queenslanders overwhelmingly supported the Crisafulli government's commitment to restore safety where you live. We are doing just that. We are delivering on our commitment. I support the bill.



**Hon. ML FURNER** (Ferry Grove—ALP) (10.06 pm): I believe that we can agree on one matter, and that is that over the past several years victims of crime and crime in general have been the concentration of all persuasions of government, state and federal. Over that time no doubt society has



changed as well in terms of how we deal with those changes in society and how we deal with changes in technology that has improved and the impact that that has had in terms of how we address crime. There are complexities in how we deal with crime. In my opinion social media is an inherent risk to not only crime but the way that people react to it and general mental health and those sorts of other complications, as well as the challenges where youths are competing with one another as to who can steal the most expensive car and so on. Governments need to address those complexities and understand the unintended consequences when we introduce laws. We have seen this in the states, federally and around the world. In fact, several years ago when I was in Bowen—and I was just having a conversation with my mate across the chamber here the member for Lockyer about crime numbers around the world—I remember that the senior sergeant had come back from an overseas trip when I was the acting police minister and he mentioned that the crime that was happening in Queensland was consistent with what was happening around the world and the places in Europe that he had been to. If people were genuine and researched, they would find that that is the case universally across the world in terms of not only the state of Queensland but other states throughout our nation.

Labor in government amended legislation and brought in measures to address many of the challenges we face when it comes to crime. One of those was Jack's Law. The other was vehicle immobilisers. They are just some examples where we saw reductions in crime. Other states have now adopted Labor's Jack's Law policy. I was in Melbourne late last year and saw police wanding people as they came off the trains. What a great thing to see other states adopt Labor's laws from Queensland. I am really proud that a Labor government brought in those laws and we are seeing other states pick them up. Furthermore, submission 54 to the committee by LC Distributors states—

Prior to the Queensland election, on 27 September 2024, the then Government's announcement included advice from the Queensland Police Service that:

'Police advise that early evidence from the Vehicle Immobiliser Trial indicates the trial has been very successful. The Queensland Police Service advises that there have been no reports of a vehicle fitted with an immobiliser being stolen. In fact, police advise there have been several instances where an immobiliser has prevented vehicle theft.

Therefore, one has to wonder why the LNP government has not considered continuing this Labor initiative preventing car theft. It brings into consideration whether they are serious in addressing crime in this particular area of stolen vehicles.

Let us be clear about what this bill does. This bill puts more youths into detention without the infrastructure to support them or the programs to turn youth crime around. It adds 20 new offences to the Adult Crime, Adult Time regime, dragging more young people into adult penalties without considering whether that will reduce reoffending or make Queensland safer.

I acknowledge the work the committee did on its inquiry into this bill and commend the Labor members for their detailed summary as provided in the statement of reservation—one of the most detailed reservations I have ever seen. As Acting Commissioner Shane Chelepy told the committee at the public hearing in Brisbane on 8 May 2025—

Under the expanded Making Queensland Safer laws, young offenders are liable to the same penalties for serious offences as adult offenders.

This is a one-size-fits-all approach and it is being rammed through without the systems in place to support it. The Director-General of Youth Justice, Robert Gee, confirmed during the committee briefing in Brisbane on 28 April 2025—

The intent of this legislation is to make sentences longer. That will have a compounding effect ... keep a very close and careful eye on that so that young people are not in watch houses.

We currently have 382 youth detention beds. Around 900 young people move through detention in a year. It takes up to four years to build a new facility. That was also referenced in the 28 April committee briefing by DG Robert Gee. Where are these kids supposed to go? We have seen this before. In 2013 and 2014, under the former Newman LNP government, overcrowding in youth detention centres became so severe that children were held in police watch houses for extended periods, sometimes for weeks. The frontline knows it. From Cairns to Townsville to Redlands we heard directly from community leaders and frontline workers. On 7 May in Townsville at the public hearing, Enid Surha, chair of the Townsville First Nations Community Council, told the committee—

Taking a young person out of community for three weeks is not going to fix a lifetime of trauma for these children.

In Cairns, Aaron McLeod of the Community Justice Action Group said that locking young people up for longer will not work unless we address the causes of their behaviour. McLeod then went on to

urge the committee to consider *Little Scandinavia* and the Scandinavian Prison Program as a model for transforming youth detention facilities. He said—

... this program emphasises rehabilitation over punishment, creating environments that foster personal responsibility and growth, learning, education and skill building.

Which demonstrates that without structured support and rehabilitation we run the risk of creating repeat offenders. Even the Queensland Police Union, which supports aspects of the bill, warned during a public hearing in Brisbane earlier this year—

Youth detention centres are routinely over capacity ... police watch houses are not suitable for the extended detention of youths.

Detention can play a role—it can be a circuit breaker—but only when supported by structure, programs and proper resourcing. That is why we backed Detention with Purpose, a policy grounded in accountability, structure and rehabilitation—not just locking kids up, but using that time to change behaviour. As Deputy Director-General Michael Drane told the committee on 28 April, every young person in custody is assessed for health, education and cognitive issues so their plan targets the causes of offending. The need for that kind of targeted support is real. As Enid Surha, explained at the Townsville hearing—

Some of our children who are in situations are suffering from trauma...children have had health issues that are not diagnosed, such as fetal alcohol syndrome or some other cognitive disabilities.

We still do not understand the effects of fetal alcohol syndrome. It was around at the time I was in the senate addressing many of those issues throughout Australia. It still exists. We need to make sure we understand the effects of that so we can address the problems of these kids. It is through no fault of their own; it is as a result of what they experienced as they were growing up. That is why a system focused on assessment and intervention matters and that is what a functioning system should look like. We know from the evidence that incarceration without intervention increases the risk of reoffending. This bill does nothing to change that. This bill adds pressure without adding capacity. It builds expectations without creating meaningful solutions, no extra beds, no extra programs and no extra staff.

We now know that after the Premier's laws were obviously botched the government scrambled to assemble an expert panel to help justify his fix up. The government struggled to find experts willing to help them fix the Premier's botched laws. The government was calling experts asking them to sit on the fix-up panel. In the end they found a relation of a ministerial staffer to head the fix-up panel—the panel beaters. What advice did they give the government to fix their botched laws? What advice did the youth justice minister and Premier get from the fix-up panel? Nobody knows because the government is keeping it secret. The Labor caucus will not stand in the way of these laws, albeit botched laws. Now we are in the House fixing these botched laws again. We will not stand in the way of the Premier fixing the laws he botched, but we will judge the government on the effectiveness of them.

Perception is important. It does not matter what laws we introduce, the government is on the record now in relation to those changes and the Premier must stick to his commitment of resignation based on the figures these changes will deliver. We will keep an eye on the effectiveness of these laws. I support Labor's amendments which are about transparency, accountability and putting victims and victim-survivors first.



**Hon. DG PURDIE** (Ninderry—LNP) (Minister for Police and Emergency Services) (10.16 pm): There are a couple things that have been raised by the previous two speakers on that side that I want to address and correct the record in relation to—mindful that at the conclusion of her contribution the member for McConnel pointed at me and claimed that I was responsible for the youth crime crisis in Queensland.

**A government member:** That's not what she said.

**Mr PURDIE:** If that is what she said. I am happy to look at that. I am not taking offence to it. I was not going to let those opposite absolve themselves of any blame. I want to correct the record because those opposite are talking about our second tranche of the Making Queensland Safer Laws.

Before the election we committed to the people of Queensland that we would introduce our first wave before Christmas and we would continue to give our police tougher laws to drive down crime in Queensland. That is in stark contrast to those opposite when they won government in 2016. Anyone can look at the stats on their phone. The QPS data shows that crime across Queensland in 2012, 2013 and 2014 was trending down. At a time when crime was trending down, the previous government, on winning office, proudly watered down the laws. They did so in 2015, they did so again in 2016, actually voting on both bills that they had tabled in June 2016. They watered down the laws again in 2017. The

member who just spoke talked about children in watch houses. Those on this side know what created the children in watch houses crisis. There was an expose on *Four Corners*. Who could forget that?

**Mr Minnikin:** It was a train wreck for the member for Bulimba.

**Mr PURDIE:** It was a train wreck for the former minister for youth justice.

**Mr McDonald:** It was disappointing.

**Mr PURDIE:** Exactly. There were 90 young people being held in the Brisbane City Watch-house and that was as a result of their dire amendments in 2017 that raised the age of a juvenile in Queensland, meaning all 17-year-olds in prisons at that time needed to be transferred into already full youth detention facilities. They watered down the law to get as many young people out of detention facilities and it resulted in 90 children being held in the Brisbane City watch house. What they then did in 2019 was table further amendments to make it harder for police to oppose bail for young offenders. The title of the bill was to remove barriers for young people to get bail. Let us not forget it was those opposite in their first bill who removed the breach of bail offence. They closed the Childrens Court and they reinstated detention as a last resort. What we have seen from the statistics, which anyone can look at, is that from 2015 to 2024 crime has skyrocketed across Queensland, particularly in regional communities like Townsville and Cairns. I acknowledge the member for Cairns who is about to make his contribution. Hopefully he will address the doubling of unlawful use of a motor vehicle and break and enters in Cairns since he has been the member there.

**Mr McDonald:** Shame! Because of the laws.

**Mr PURDIE:** That is exactly right. We are proud to give our police the tougher laws we committed to delivering.

I heard those opposite talk about the experts. I want to hear about the experts they relied on in 2015, 2016, 2017 and 2019 who apparently all said that tough on crime does not work and we need to water down the laws. I do not have the *Hansard* in front of me because I only just decided to make this contribution, but those opposite, including the ministers, said that all the experts agreed that offenders need to be rehabilitated in community. That is in stark contrast to what the Acting Police Commissioner said in the committee hearing the other week. What experts were they listening to when they proudly watered down the laws?

Every step of the way, every time they tabled amendments to water down the laws and remove the powers that the police had to keep communities safe, crime went up and up. The member opposite who just spoke talked about the perception of crime. That is all they were concerned about. How many times did we see senior members from the other side try to attribute the crime crisis in Queensland to a media beat-up? After the tragedy at Alex Hills, which we have spoken about in this parliament and I will not mention again, the member opposite who held my position at the time likened the youth crime crisis in Queensland to kids stealing KitKats. That is what the community and the family got from the person who sat in this seat at that time.

In stark contrast, we listen to Queenslanders and we listen to the police. As we said we would do, we tabled tough laws before Christmas. This is the second tranche. I welcome the second tranche because one of the things that we are including in the Making Queensland Safer Laws is a new class of crime for young offenders who chase, ram and try to injure police. I welcome the inclusion of that crime in the second tranche of the Making Queensland Safer Laws. In Townsville, in particular, but we have also seen it in Cairns, on the Gold Coast and elsewhere, for fun or notoriety on social media—who knows—youth offenders have been stealing cars and then hunting and ramming police and that needs to end. We are determined to do that, whether through the Making Queensland Safer Laws or our Making Queensland Safer plan, with more boots on the ground and tougher laws. If we need to, we will continue to toughen the laws and hold those young offenders to account.

I have spoken about 2015-2024 when crime reached all-time highs in terms of not only the statistics but also the level of violence, as I just outlined. We have seen a small step in the right direction, but it is not mission accomplished. There is still a lot more work to be done, particularly in regional communities and other communities across Queensland that are still in the grip of Labor's youth crime crisis. After a decade of crime statistics across the board going up, we are seeing some small steps in the right direction. As has been articulated earlier tonight, across the state we have seen a small decline in the number of robbery offences, which are down by 15 per cent or 155 fewer robberies. The number of stolen cars and unlawful use of a motor vehicle offences are down by 8.4 per cent, which is almost 600 fewer stolen cars. Members on this side who have spoken to victims at crime forums know of the financial and emotional impact felt by the owners of stolen cars. In a relatively small amount of time,


the number of cars stolen has been reduced by 593 and that is a step in the right direction. We are not popping the champagne. This is not mission accomplished. Crime is still too high and we will continue to do the work. For unlawful entry offences, which essentially mean a break and enter into a home or premises, we have also seen a slight decline across the state.

There will always be spates of crime, which is why we have bolstered the State Flying Squad, the largest rapid response action group of detectives, and made it permanent. We have tripled the size to 58 officers. I was on the radio in Cairns this morning with Macca, and I acknowledge he was mentioned in parliament today. We talked about the State Flying Squad, which has just had another deployment in Cairns, and the work that they have done. I understand they have been in Townsville and we will make more announcements about where they are. We do not like to telegraph where they are going or where they are, but we will certainly share with Queenslanders the results that they are getting. They are bolstering our frontline police.

It was great to be in Townsville not that long ago when we swore in 55 new recruits at one of the biggest swearing-in ceremonies in North Queensland for a long time. Talking about boots on the ground, at the last election those opposite promised 415 extra police across Queensland, but we know that in four years they increased police numbers by 174. In stark contrast, in the 200 days we have been in government, we have increased the number of police on the ground by 240.

We are starting to see another small step in the right direction when it comes to police leaving in droves because we called it out. Through our former colleagues, the ex-police who are in the chamber and all our members, we know that police were leaving in droves because they had had a gutful of fighting a youth crime crisis with both hands tied behind their back. We are giving them back tougher laws and, as with crime statistics, we are seeing a step in the right direction with a reduction in the number of people leaving the Police Service.

Madam Deputy Speaker, thank you for letting me jump the order. While there are other things that I would like to address, in conclusion I call on all members of the House to support the legislation. It has been advised by all of the work we have done across the community, listening to victims and talking to police and to the experts. We need to ensure that our police have all the resources and the tough laws they need to do their job and keep people safe across Queensland.

 **Mr HEALY** (Cairns—ALP) (10.24 pm): That was a lovely address and a bit of security for somebody who is feeling a bit insecure at the moment. I rise to address the LNP's latest bill, which from the sounds of things is not going to be their last one, the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025. Despite its title, this bill will not make Queensland safer because we know that legislation alone does not make us safe. Since the first tranche of legislation, we have seen an eight per cent increase in car theft in Cairns and a 10 per cent increase in Townsville. As my learned colleague the member for McConnell highlighted earlier, recently we heard of the case of a 13-year-old who has 40 breaches of bail this year alone so I suspect that the government's legislation is not working. Instead, it doubles down on a punitive and discredited approach to youth justice—an approach that has already failed our children and our communities.

This legislation exposes extending adult penalties to a broader range of offences committed by children. Let me be very clear: there is no credible evidence whatsoever that treating children as adults in the criminal justice system improves community safety. In fact, the evidence shows the opposite. Queensland already imprisons more children than any other state or territory. Many of those children are as young as 10 years of age. The vast majority are Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander and many live with disabilities, mental illness or trauma related behaviours. This is not justice; it is institutional harm.

The government claims this bill is based on the advice of an expert legal panel yet the advice has not been made public. The panel's terms of reference remain undisclosed. The Justice Reform Initiative, PeakCare, the Queensland Council of Social Service, the Queensland Human Rights Commissioner, the Queensland Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Child Protection Peak, the Youth Advocacy Centre, Uniting Church in Australia and the Human Rights Law Centre are just some of the organisations that have asked for that group's advice to be released along with its terms of reference. It is disgraceful that that has not been complied with. The Premier of this state talks about transparency. He talks about honesty with the people of Queensland. It is an absolute joke. The LNP Premier's weasel words do not match his actions. If those opposite were truly genuine, they would have released the Expert Legal Panel's advice by now. If they had released it at the start of the process so that people could see it then we would not be having the issues that we are. However, they have not so the question is: what are they hiding?

This bill will deepen cycles of incarceration, disadvantage and trauma. Imprisonment compounds the very issues these children are already facing: poverty, family violence, homelessness, disabilities and mental health challenges along with problem gambling. I note that the government has just passed legislation that will allow more gambling machines into our communities. It is simply unbelievable. Instead of support, those kids are locked in watch houses or overcrowded detention centres, often alongside adult offenders, exposing them to further harm, isolation and systematic neglect. At no stage have we heard any strategy from those opposite in relation to increasing detention facilities. I talk to the police in Cairns all too frequently. Our watch house is one of the largest outside of Brisbane and it is absolutely full. The magistrates know it and the judges know it. These laws will mean that the government will be incarcerating more juveniles but they are doing nothing to ensure that there is a safe place for them to be held.

Children are not just smaller adults. Their brains are still developing. They have less impulse control, a higher capacity for rehabilitation and a lesser degree of culpability. That is why youth sentencing principles exist—to guide their development away from harmful behaviours and towards constructive futures. Adult penalties abandon those principles.

This approach disproportionately impacts First Nations children, who are already vastly over-represented in the criminal legal system. A complaint has been lodged with the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, specifically naming Queensland's youth policies. That should give every member of this House cause for reflection. Are we truly committed to justice or simply fuelling systemic discrimination? This bill is not only ethically flawed; it is also economically reckless. It costs far more to incarcerate a child than it does to support them in the community. Diversionary programs, therapeutic responses and culturally appropriate services, especially those led by Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community controlled organisations, deliver far better outcomes at a fraction of the cost.

Let's not forget the LNP's much hyped Gold Standard Early Intervention, rolled out at the last election. This policy is steeped in hypocrisy. The government claims to support evidence-based, community-led programs to steer young people from crime, but where are these programs? What have we heard? There is one operating in Townsville and I think the other one was in Rockhampton. That is it. That is the extent of the programs. This is a key piece. Absolutely everybody recognises these are the most important parts but that is it; that is the extent of them. I have been approached by a number of organisations in and around Cairns, on the cape and across into the gulf country asking for details. Where is the implementation taking place? Where is the regional delivery? When will we hear anything of substance about this vitally important space? If the LNP were serious about prevention, programs would already be operating in communities. Instead, they have prioritised punishment over progress. Until they reconcile their rhetoric with real investment and intervention, their so-called early intervention strategy is little more than political theatre. Queensland deserves better and our children deserve better.

We all know it is not an easy topic. It is extremely difficult and every member in this chamber—regardless of the dispersions cast by those on the other side on people on this side of the House—will do everything in their power to ensure we see a reduction in this, but the punitive way those opposite are going about it beggars belief. We condemn the LNP government for the secret way they are conducting themselves in this space. We have heard absolutely nothing in relation to programs. We have heard nothing in Cairns, absolutely nothing at all. These are essential to ensuring we put downward pressure on crime. We know it, everybody knows it, but we are not hearing anything. Queensland deserves better. Our children deserve better. If this House truly believes in justice, in rehabilitation and in community safety, this is not the solution.

**A government member** interjected.

**Mr Healy** interjected.

**Mr SPEAKER:** Member for Cairns, I will not have squabbling across the House. You have just had 10 minutes.



**Hon. AJ STOKER** (Oodgeroo—LNP) (10.33 pm): The first duty of government is to keep their citizens safe, to create an environment of safety in which they can pursue their goals, whatever they may be, with complete confidence. This is the second tranche of legislation that the Crisafulli LNP government have put forward to deliver on our commitment to make our community safer. In the first tranche, 13 serious offences were included in this framework. We delivered it, as we promised we would, before Christmas.

Based on the recommendations of the Expert Legal Panel, comprising people with a deep understanding from the legal fraternity, from victim support groups and from law enforcement, this bill

will expand section 175A of the Youth Justice Act to include an additional 20 serious offences which will attract adult penalties. Make no mistake, the offences within the remit of this bill are serious. The offences include conduct such as attempted murder, rape, attempted rape, arson, kidnapping and trafficking in dangerous drugs. They also include the serious offences that are all too common and are deeply undermining the ability of Queenslanders to go about their day with confidence, offences like going armed so as to cause fear, stealing a vehicle or attempted robbery armed and in company or armed and with violence. It covers threatening violence.

These are the offences that, under Labor, happened with appalling frequency, keeping families awake at night, stopping people from being able to get to work and making simple tasks like going to the shops or exercising in public places feel dangerous when they used to be care free. There are stories like those of Julie Fox from Raby Bay whose travel in the early morning to exercise was interrupted by a carjacking. She went through this after having her home broken into four times and her car stolen at least another two times. They did not just steal her car or her belongings; they stole Mrs Fox's wonder and joy at being up and about in the early mornings doing the exercise she loves so much.

There are stories like those of Mr Chris Sanders, a veteran of this nation, a big, strong guy who, after being stabbed whilst going about the simple task of buying a barbecued chook, had his confidence stolen. As Mr Sanders put it—

At the end of the day, I am the one who is suffering—day in, day out; night in, night out—and so is my wife.

Mrs Mahony-Hodges recalled that in her quiet little cul-de-sac in Raby Bay there were 10 incidences at six of her neighbours' properties in her street in a short period of time. It changed the culture of the neighbourhood and shaped their daily habits to be closed and anxious. Ms Christine Ford said—

I am a single woman in my mid-seventies and I have never ever felt so unsafe. I have travelled around most of Australia by myself. I saw no crimes whatsoever in my younger days, even up to, say, 10 years ago ... now I do not travel and I do not go out at night, which means I do not socialise.

Labor's crime crisis has fundamentally changed the way Queenslanders live. She mentioned a number there—10 years. The youth crime crisis has been 10 years in the making. When Labor removed consequences for actions with much fanfare so early in their term, they created a monster, and that monster is a generation of young criminals who see themselves as untouchable. They do not fear the law because they know there are no consequences for breaking it.

Labor routinely put the rights of offenders before the rights of victims, allowing youth offenders to avoid getting a fair punishment and allowing them to continue to terrorise our communities. It shows in the data. By 2023-24, we had a 12 per cent increase in the number of offences that were being perpetrated by young people on the previous year. It represented a 51 per cent increase over five years and a 98 per cent increase over 10 years.


Labor's policy failed Queenslanders, who were left living in fear. The failure to take rising crime seriously cost households too in the middle of a cost-of-living crisis. It manifested in households paying for security systems, facing higher insurance premiums and victims losing time in which they would ordinarily be earning an income because when they went out to their ute of a morning expecting to go to work to earn a living they found that it was gone.

Even when no lives are lost, the human cost of this crime is real. One distressed mother who asked that I do not name her had her home robbed on Christmas Eve. She said the wellbeing of her children had plummeted, eroded by persistent nightmares. Their home security system captured the incident but getting video of the knives carried by the group of teenagers as they entered the rooms of the parents and children as they slept gave them no reassurance.

After the family were rocked by a second invasion in January, her teenage children now want to sleep with the parents. Those parents toss and turn, sleeping light, wondering whether even benign sounds are in fact another sign of machete-carrying untouchables returning to their place for more. Nothing will return that family's stolen peace. I wish I could say that their story was an isolated incident, but this mother reports that almost everyone in her street has been hit.

It took 10 years to create the youth crime crisis. It will not be fixed overnight, but I am encouraged. The first tranche of Adult Crime, Adult Time has led to changes in the attitude that magistrates and judges are bringing to sentencing. It is showing in the penalties that are being levied against these repeat youth offenders. It is already showing early improvements in the crime statistics that emerge from this state.

Is the job done? No—far from it, but we are prepared to do what it takes to tackle this problem, with consequences for those who do the wrong thing, with diversion to help people make better choices, with rehab programs for people who need it, by tackling the child safety system and by giving police the resources and powers they need to do their difficult work. We will as a government restore safety where you live right around this state and in the Redlands.

 **Mr MARTIN** (Stretton—ALP) (10.40 pm): I would like to start by responding to comments made before by the Minister for Police, who rose in this place to respond to the opposition and, in particular, the member for McConnel, who raised media reports of a young offender breaching bail 40 times this year—that is, this year under this government, under this police minister, under this Premier. The minister certainly seemed a little bit triggered and a little bit nervous maybe. He certainly raised a few issues but he did not respond to what had happened this year under his watch. He did not answer any of the questions. He certainly did not take any responsibility. Queenslanders remember clearly that the LNP promised to have this fixed by Christmas. Instead all we get from the Minister for Police is more excuses. Victims deserve better. This bill is a third attempt to clean up the legislative mess that this government has created.

Let me begin with what unites us all: every Queenslander deserves to feel safe in their home, in their workplace, on their streets and in their communities. This is not in dispute, but how we achieve that safely—how we enact laws that are just, effective and enduring—is where this government continues to fail. This bill is not a proactive solution; it is a political repair job. It is an admission by the Premier that the laws rushed through late last year—laws he sold as the cornerstone of his government—were botched. Queenslanders were promised solutions by Christmas. Instead we have had to return to this House again and again to fix sloppy, ill-considered legislation.

A number of submissions and witnesses acknowledged that they had already submitted to this same committee on this topic on multiple occasions in the last few months because this is now the fourth time since December we are debating changes to the act. This is not good governance; it is just reactive politics. The opposition does not oppose strong laws. We support strong laws, evidence-based, community-informed laws that genuinely improve safety outcomes. What we have seen from this government is a piecemeal, headline driven approach—one that has ignored experts, misled the public and kept Queenslanders in the dark.

During committee consideration, many stakeholders raised their concerns with the legislative history that brings us to where we are today. Before the election, the Premier claimed the laws were already written. We asked for those laws to be released early so that stakeholders and parliamentarians could examine them. We offered to work through to Christmas Eve if necessary. Instead of embracing transparency, this government cloaked itself in arrogance and secrecy. It rushed the original laws through parliament in a single week, cutting short community consultation and expert review.

What was the result? Glaring omissions. Attempting murder—one of the most serious offences imaginable—was not included in the original list. Neither was rape nor attempted rape. These are not minor oversights. They are fundamental failures that show this government was more interested in slogans than substance—a point that several submissions made.

In the aftermath of that failure, the government hastily convened what it called an 'expert legal panel' to justify its extensive legislative backflip, but this was no ordinary panel. As reported by the *Courier-Mail*, the government struggled to find credible experts willing to endorse their botched laws. They ended up appointing an individual with personal links to a ministerial staffer to chair the panel. To this day, not a single page of the panel's advice has been made public.

This is not how you build community trust. It is not how you govern with integrity. If this panel's advice is truly the cornerstone of these new laws—if it is the evidence that this government claims to be acting on—then why are they hiding it? Why not table the report? Why not show Queenslanders the evidence?

The opposition is not alone in demanding transparency. Numerous stakeholders, including the Queensland Law Society, the Youth Advocacy Centre, QCOSS, the Queensland Human Rights Commission and even the Victims' Commissioner, have all called for the release of the panel's advice. None of them were consulted. None of them saw the advice. Yet the government continues to rely on that very advice to justify sweeping changes to the act.

We also note the ongoing failure to plan for the real-world impact of these laws. The government is quick to talk about increased detention, but where is the capacity to support it? We are not the only ones to have raised these concerns. The Police Union, PeakCare, Anglicare and the Aboriginal and

Torres Strait Islander Legal Service are just some of the groups that shared their concerns about this with the committee.

We know that the Wacol Youth Remand Centre, which is now online, was commissioned by the former Labor government. It is not a new initiative of this government. Beyond Wacol, what is the plan? Where are the new facilities? What is the timeline for expansion in places like Cairns or Woodford? The director-general of the Department of Youth Justice and Victim Support could offer no consistent answer. In one breath he claimed it was 'too early' to model the law's impact. In the next breath he said the department 'models every day'. This kind of contradiction erodes public confidence and leaves our youth justice infrastructure exposed.

The same lack of planning extends to early intervention. The government touts a \$485 million investment in 'gold standard' intervention programs but, when pressed at the committee, the director-general could name just two modest programs—one in Rockhampton and one in Townsville. These programs received a few hundred thousand dollars each, not \$485 million, with the bulk of the funding still locked in the tender process. In other words, there is no delivery; there is only delay. What is worse is that the early intervention programs currently operating—the youth co-responder teams, the Intensive Bail Initiative and Transition 2 Success—are all Labor initiatives. This government has inherited programs that work and added nothing meaningful to them.

Stronger laws must be accompanied by stronger support systems for both offenders and victims. Here again the government is failing. The Premier promised that victims would be placed at the heart of this government's approach. When the Queensland Sentencing Advisory Council released a report titled *The ripple effect*, which offered detailed recommendations for sentencing of rape and sexual assault, the government did nothing until the opposition wrote to the government sharing our plans to action the recommendations.

The submission to the committee from the Queensland Victims' Commissioner herself stated that the inclusion of rape and sexual assault in the Adult Crime, Adult Time framework is unlikely to meet community expectations unless these QSAC recommendations are also implemented. Why has it taken the government so long to act? Why are they so quick to implement secret advice from a handpicked panel but slow to enact reforms from an independent expert body?

To address these failures, the opposition will be moving several amendments that align with recommendations made by many submissions and witnesses appearing before the committee. We will move to require the release of the Expert Legal Panel's advice. We will mandate an independent statutory review. We will move to implement the QSAC recommendations. We will introduce a requirement for monthly tabling of victim data and offence statistics.

Laws alone do not make our community safer. What matters is how those laws are developed, implemented and reviewed. That process must be evidence based, transparent and inclusive of the very people who will be most affected—victims, families and frontline workers. This government has shown time and time again that it prefers announcements to action and that it values optics over outcomes, but Queenslanders deserve better. They deserve laws that are properly consulted on, thoroughly debated and carefully implemented.

We on this side of the House will not obstruct the passage of these laws. We will not play politics with public safety, but we will hold this government accountable for every promise made, every promise broken and every victim it fails to protect.



**Hon. SJ MINNIKIN** (Chatsworth—LNP) (Minister for Customer Services and Open Data and Minister for Small and Family Business) (10.49 pm): I rise as well to make a contribution to the Making Queensland Safer (Adult Crime, Adult Time) Amendment Bill 2025. In doing so, I will make my contribution in two parts (1) as the local member for Chatsworth; and (2) in relation to my role as the Minister for Small and Family Business. I have listened to many of the contributions. Only about two sittings ago I said that I have a great deal of respect for many of the members on that side of the chamber. If you have a listen to their contributions on this particular bill you have to ask yourself whether they have learned anything since 26 October last year. I stand to be corrected, but I wrote a little note down. I think the member for McConnel finally admitted, with 18 seconds to go out of her 10-minute contribution, that she will support the legislation in the end.

**Ms Grace:** Reluctantly.

**Mr MINNIKIN:** Reluctantly; I take the interjection. Similarly, the member for Ferny Grove had one minute and three seconds on the clock before he, too, after his diatribe, finally admitted that he will support the bill. There was one member on that side of the chamber who was defiant to the very end:



the member for Cairns. When it comes time to voting on this particular bill, I will be very much looking forward to seeing which way the member for Cairns votes. Time and again we hear that he speaks a very big game in one area but not the other, so I will be very interested in particular to see the way the member for Cairns votes on this particular bill.

I will come back to the sections that are going to be amended in relation to the Criminal Code 1899 because there are a couple that are very pertinent to small and family businesses. I quote section 412(2) and section 412(3)—that is, ‘attempted robbery (armed or in company)’ and ‘attempted robbery (armed and with violence)’. This month, May, is Small Business Month. I have made it my business to travel across many parts of the state. I will be going to Caboolture to a chamber of commerce early in the morning. No matter where I go, there has been a recurring theme brought to my attention. In terms of the impost on small and family business, it has been, understandably for many years, the cost of energy. In the last few years in particular it has now become apparent that it is the cost of insurance, and much of that relates to armed robbery and plate glass insurance. It is absolutely getting beyond a joke. There is no doubt that we need to look at extending the second tranche of reforms, and I congratulate the minister on doing that.

I am incredulous because it is almost as though the opposition has the same cheat sheet or speaking points. They are not trying to vary their contributions to their own particular circumstances because they come back and say—

**A government member interjected.**

**Mr MINNIKIN:** I will take the interjection; there were lazy contributions from members of the ALP. It is completely different now that they are in opposition and they have to start doing the work themselves. Here is the reason why. Time and again they have said, ‘Here we go. We are here to debate changes that are basically fixing up the legislation.’ We made it patently clear last year before Christmas that we would introduce the first tranche of reforms. It was stated emphatically by pretty much every speaker on this side of the chamber that it was the first tranche. More tranches would be looked at.

That brings me back to this bill from the member for Chatsworth’s perspective. I absolutely support this bill amending the following offences in the Adult Crime, Adult Time bill which are included in the Criminal Code. I have mentioned two of the sections already. They also include bringing in sections 69, 75, 306, 307 et cetera. There are about 22 or 23 amendments that will now be brought in. They need to be brought in. f

I go back to probably the best thing you can do as a local member. It is called field evidence. Like many members on this side of the chamber, I regularly have meetings with constituents whether it be a mobile office or going to retirement villages and meeting people. I particularly love social media and communicating that way, but the best thing of all is when you can look constituents in the eye and get their feedback firsthand. I can tell members firsthand that, no matter where I go, the one thing that comes through time and again is, ‘Thank you for what you are doing with this important piece of public policy.’ I hear it time and again. I would hasten to suggest that members on this side of the chamber are hearing the same thing.

Like many members on this side, a couple of Saturdays ago it was a tough day in the office federally for many of our members. I acknowledge many of the federal members on our side of the fence who did not make it. Whilst handing out, whether it be at the pre-poll on the Friday afternoon or on the Saturday for half a day—in my case, at Belmont Primary School—time and again people said to me, ‘Thank you for what it is that you guys and girls are doing at the state level in relation to this area of public policy.’

The bottom line is that you cannot have a bob each way and in a 10-minute contribution use nine minutes and 50 seconds to carp and whinge and whine and then literally before you hit the red button and turn it off, slink back in your seat and go, ‘Oh, by the way, we will support it’. It does not work that way. The reality is that it is on the sticky paper. We do not need to get them to repeat things; it is in *Hansard* forever. I certainly will be going through *Hansard*. I have already made notes of the timestamps. I will go back and pull to pieces the contributions from many members on that side.

The reality is that we are only seven months into a four-year term. There is much to be done. It has been mentioned already, but I want to put on the record the fact that the police minister said the words ‘green shoots’. He also said that the job is not done. No-one on this side of the chamber is popping champagne corks. We all know that youth crime is still out there, but one thing is for sure: there were two choices for Queenslanders. When they got their 2B lead pencils on 26 October last year many of them thought ‘this is the moment of truth’. I know one thing—and I said this in my contribution

pre-Christmas when the first bill was brought before the House—during October you only had to say a couple of words, ‘youth crime’, and they would stop. Those undecided voters would stop in their tracks. How do I know this is so? Because I am speaking on this side of the chamber, not that side of the chamber.

The fact of the matter is they have squibbed it. They have blown this. People will look back in years to come and say that those opposite blew it because of the fact that in 2015-16 and 2017 they talked about arrogance and hubris. I remember sitting right there and seeing the glee and joy on their faces. Some 9½ years ago we said there would be unintended consequences. Surely, they should have taken stock. They doubled down and now we have the situation that Queensland finds itself in.

Let me just go to a couple of the green shoots because I want to get these on the record. Let me repeat what I just said. No-one on this side of the chamber is going ballistic and popping champagne corks. There is so much more work to be done. This is in fact very much part and parcel of what needs to be done. Who knows; there may be more. I do not know. The fact of the matter is that we will keep on doing what we need to do. I am going to take the scenario that the member for Oodgeroo pointed out before. There are people in every electorate who, when they go to bed at night now, after a decade of what has happened with this maladministration of public policy, at the first bump, the first sign, there is a night of unrest. They do not sleep. They are absolutely panic stricken. They do not know how to cope. It is not an exaggeration because we see it in our electorate offices.

The green shoots go something like this. Across Queensland offences are down 2.98 per cent—three per cent roughly—between January this year and April when compared to the same period the year prior. You might think 2.98 per cent, three per cent—but it is starting. There are very early green shoots. It is going the way it needs to but there is more work to be done. I very much look forward to seeing how members opposite vote in the coming hours.

Debate, on motion of Mr Minnikin, adjourned.

Due to the late sitting, the Adjournment debate will not appear in the *Record of Proceedings*. The complete *Record of Proceedings* will be available by 5.00 pm on Friday, 23 May 2025.

**<https://www.parliament.qld.gov.au/Work-of-the-Assembly/Sitting-Dates/Latest-Sitting-Week>**