

Queensland Parliamentary Service

Does legislative scrutiny by parliamentary committees improve human rights compatibility of legislation?

PRESENTEN RY LYNNA PRETTY

Human rights and parliamentary scrutiny

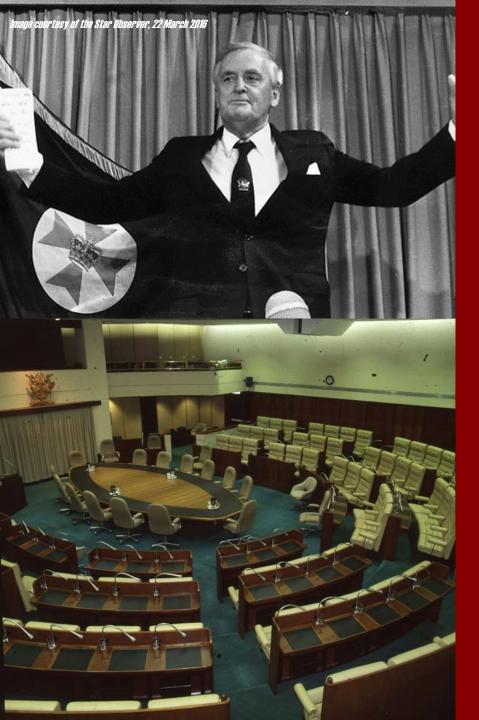
Human rights legislation sets out a process of parliamentary scrutiny, for compatibility with rights prescribed in international treaties.

Australasian jurisdictions with human rights legislation:

- New Zealand
- Australian Capital Territory
- Victoria and
- Queensland (from 2019)

Other parliamentary models of rights protection:

- Australian Parliament
- New South Wales
- Queensland



Legislative scrutiny for rights in Queensland

Prior to the mid-1980s

- executive government made the laws
- passage through parliament was considered a formality



Fitzgerald Report on committees:

This would increase the chance that misconduct, incompetence or inefficiency will be exposed."

1990s Post-Fitzgerald reforms

Two reviews by the Queensland Electoral and Administrative Review Commission

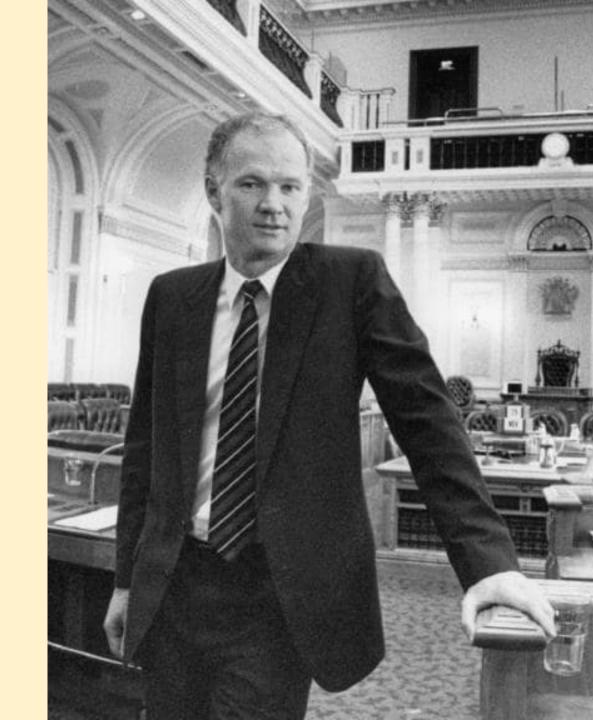
1991

Scrutiny of Legislation Committee replaced the Committee of Subordinate Legislation

 expanded remit to review primary legislation (bills) and subordinate legislation

1992 *Legislative Standards Act 1992* (Qld)

• Fundamental Legislative Principles (or FLPs) enshrined into law





Reforms continued in the 1990s

1995

The *Parliamentary Committees Act 1995* (Qld) established a new Scrutiny of Legislation Committee to examine 'all bills and all items of subordinate legislation in accordance with fundamental legislative principles' (\$ 22)

 the parliament determines whether legislation has 'sufficient regard' to FLPs, and sufficient justification is provided for any departure.

1998

Legal, Constitutional and Administrative Review Committee held an inquiry on whether to introduce a bill of rights in Queensland and concluded the FLP process of pre-legislative scrutiny successfully ensured new legislation had sufficient regard to individuals' rights and liberties.

2011 reforms to committees

2010

Parliamentary Committee System Review Committee recommends a new committee system for Queensland

2011

- seven portfolio-based committees
- each committee responsible for examining bills and subordinate legislation within its portfolio area
- Scrutiny of Legislation Committee abolished



LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF QUEENSLAND

COMMITTEE SYSTEM REVIEW COMMITTEE

Review of the Queensland Parliamentary Committee System

December 2010

Activity since 2011 reforms

Number of public briefings, public hearings and private hearings of all parliamentary committees:

2009-10 2010-11	2011-12*	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19
42 44	121	19	5 2	212 183	307	282	165	490

^{*} New committee system commenced in August 2011

Timeframes for examination of Bills

Constitution of Queensland and Other Legislation Amendment Act 2016 amended the Constitution to provide that:

- every bill introduced into the parliament must be referred to a committee for a minimum review period of six weeks
- the parliament can declare a Bill urgent by ordinary majority

Average duration of committee inquiries on government bills:

54th Parliament: 8.5 weeks

55th Parliament: **9.2 weeks**

56th Parliament (to June 2019): 6.3 weeks



54th Parliament

May 2012 to February 2015

Newman LNP Government 78 LNP, 7 ALP, 2 Katter Party, 2 Independents

Portfolio committees made up of:

- 7 members, including at least 1 non-government member
- Chair had casting vote

Two different parliaments

55th Parliament

February 2015 to October 2017

Palaszczuk ALP Government 44 ALP, 42 LNP, 2 Katter Party, 1 Independent

Portfolio committees made up of:

- 6 members, including 3 government and 3 non-government members
- Chair did not have casting vote

An analysis of committee effectiveness

A comparison of the 54th and 55th Parliaments:

- qualitative survey of committee recommendations for legislative amendment on matters of FLP, and
- whether those recommendations were supported by the government

To adduce:

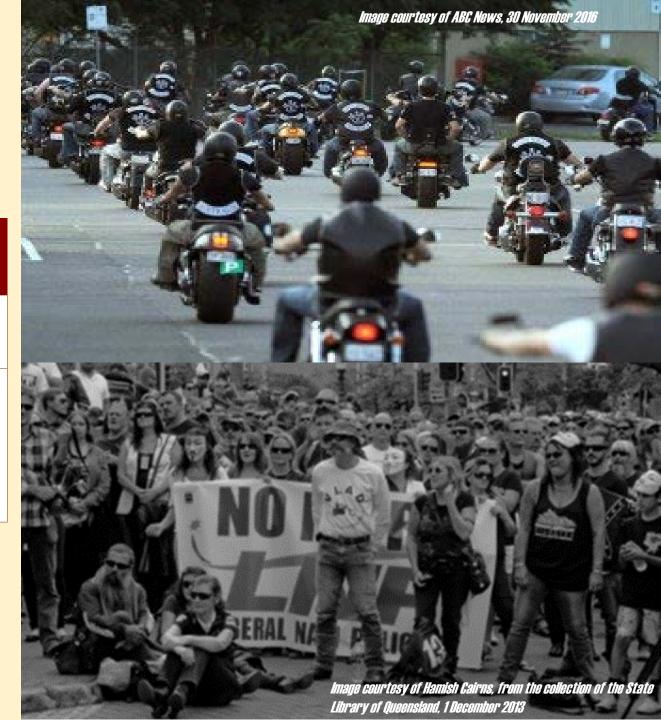
political influences on, within and by committees

Parliament	54th Parliament	55th Parliament
Bills introduced	203	192
Bills referred to committees	185	183
Bills examined by committees	161	143
Legislative amendments recommended	308	139
Legislative amendments accepted	162	118
Percentage accepted	52 %	85 %
Bills with recommendations or comments on matters of FLP supported/partially supported by government	27	22
Proportion of recommendations or comments on matters of FLP supported/partially supported by government of total legislative amendments accepted	16%	18%

Legislative impact 2012 - 2017

Urgent bills

Parliament	54th Parliament	55th Parliament
Bills introduced	203	192
Bills declared urgent under SO 137 and passed by the House in the same week introduced	15	2



A Human Rights Act for Queensland

2016

Legal Affairs and Community Safety
Committee inquiry into whether to introduce
human rights legislation
to Queensland.

2018

Introduction of Human Rights Bill 2018 (Qld)

2019

Human Rights Act 2019 (Qld) passed on 27 February 2019



Human Rights Act 2019

Key features of the Act:

- protects 23 fundamental human rights and freedoms
- establishes Queensland Human Rights Commission for human rights complaints processes
- all bills introduced to parliament to be accompanied by a statement of compatibility
- all subordinate legislation to be accompanied by a human rights certificate when tabled
- human rights limited only to the extent that is reasonable and demonstrably justifiable.

Human Rights Act 2019

Key features of the Act relating to the scrutiny of legislation:

- scrutiny of legislation aspects expected to commence from 1 January 2020
- the parliament can make an override declaration under the Act, with time limits to the overriding legislation
- a bill containing an override declaration must, at the time of introduction, be accompanied by a statement explaining the exceptional circumstances.

The relevant portfolio committee *must*

- consider a bil and report to the Legislative Assembly about whether the bil is not compatible with human rights
- consider the statement of compatibility tabled for the bill and report to the Assembly about the statement
- the intention of the Act is that the portfolio committee will consider any limits on human rights have been sufficiently justified.

The relevant portfolio committee *may*.

• when considering subordinate legislation, also consider the relevant human rights certificate.



Portfolio committees currently consider:

- the policy outcomes to be achieved by a bill
- the application of FLPs as defined in the Legislative Standards Act
- the lawfulness of subordinate legislation

The *Human Rights Act 2019* provides portfolio committees with additional functions:

- scrutinising bills for compatibility with human rights, and scrutinising statements of compatibility tabled with bills
- scrutinising non-Queensland laws for compatibility with human rights
- considering statements of incompatibility issued by a court

Scrutiny of legislation from 2020

Relevant to legislative scrutiny in the Queensland Parliament, the Act:

- does not amend the Legislative Standards Act and has no impact on the functions of portfolio committees under the *Parliament of Queensland Act 2001*
- therefore the Act's requirements will be in addition to current functions regarding technical scrutiny of bills and subordinate legislation
- the FLPs and the newly prescribed human rights are not mutually exclusive, there are many instances of overlap
- Queensland does not have a dedicated scrutiny committee (unlike the ACT and Victoria)
- additional resourcing will be required to adequately support scrutiny on both FLPs and human rights.

Potential disruptions

- rights may be limited due to public interest considerations, for example, for the purposes of community safety
- in exceptional circumstances, the parliament can make an override declaration, which has the effect of overriding human rights
- committee membership reflects political composition of the House and the majority held by the government of the day
- the parliament can declare a bill urgent under SO 137 and direct that the bill not stand referred to a portfolio committee or refer the bill for a short period of time.

Limitations, override declarations and urgent Bills

Some limitations to rights protection

There is nothing in the Human Rights Act to stop a parliament from:

- introducing a bill containing provisions incompatible with human rights, the committee examining the bill and the statement of compatibility, and the bill being subsequently passed without amendment
- introducing a bill containing an override declaration explaining the potential violation of human rights, and the bill being subsequently passed without amendment
- declaring a bill to be urgent under SO 137, and referring the urgent bill to a committee for a period shorter than the minimum six weeks, or directing that the bill not stand referred to a committee at all.

Thus rendering the Human Rights Act ineffective?

A step forward in rights recognition

The Human Rights Act is expected draw attention to the human rights compatibility of proposed legislation by:

the provision of the statement of compatibility with the bill

In addition, the Act requires public entities to act and make decisions in a way compatible with human rights:

• fostering a human rights culture in public entities, that may in turn influence the actions of the elected government and its political platforms.

Thus ensuring more rights-compatible law?



Taking a wider perspective...