

**Further submission by
YOUTH ADVOCACY CENTRE INC
to the
YOUTH JUSTICE REFORM SELECT COMMITTEE**

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On behalf of the Youth Advocacy Centre Inc, I thank the Youth Justice Reform Select Committee (the **Committee**) for the opportunity to make a further submission on this important topic.

In our earlier submission to the Committee,¹ we set out the reasons why early intervention and intensive and consistent rehabilitation are the most effective strategies to reduce offending in young people and how funding must be more effectively spent.²

We also submitted that there is **no** evidence that shows that detention reduces offending (and there is a large body of evidence to the contrary). We also highlighted the significant deficiencies at youth detention centres and how they must be improved.

In the context of detention of young people being a focus of Queensland's response to youth crime, we understand the Committee will be considering the efficacy of detention as a last resort and mandatory minimum sentencing as strategies to reduce offending.

From reviewing the submissions and related publications that are currently before the Committee, it is clear that the majority of submissions and related publications support the following:

1. detention should be used only as a last resort and for the shortest appropriate period;
2. mandatory minimum sentencing is not effective at deterring or reducing offending; and
3. alternative strategies to detention must be adopted to reduce youth crime and reoffending.

If the Committee were to make recommendations inconsistent with the above three points then it would be doing so contrary to almost all evidence it has received in submissions and in hearings.

We have summarised the key evidence before the Committee in support of those positions below.

1. Detention as a last resort

Committee members have repeatedly raised questions during the public hearings about the current sentencing principle in the Youth Justice Act (**YJA**) that detention be used only as a last resort (and for the shortest appropriate period).³

There is serious community concern that surrounds the issue of youth crime. However, all evidence shows that the 'tough on crime' approach does not reduce the occurrence of reoffending in young people.⁴ An increased use of detention of young people will actually compromise community safety in the medium to long-term⁵ and will contribute to serious psychological and other harms to young people.⁶ 'Evidence from multiple, meta-analytical studies show that interventions grounded in a therapeutic approach are most successful, as opposed to solely punitive or deterrent techniques (eg sanction and supervision) which are ineffective at reducing recidivism, with some of these approaches potentially increasing the risk of future reoffending (eg boot camps)...'(emphasis added)⁷

¹ [Youth Advocacy Centre submission](#) to the Youth Justice Reform Select Committee (**Committee**) (20 November 2023).

² Ibid.

³ [Youth Justice Act 1992 \(Qld\)](#), s150(2)(e).

⁴ [Queensland Human Rights Commission submission](#) to the Committee (15 November 2023), see page 2.

⁵ [Professor Tamara Walsh submission](#) to the Committee (13 November 2023), see page 68.

⁶ [Queensland Human Rights Commission submission](#) to the Committee (15 November 2023), see page 3.

⁷ M Dwyer and S Oostermeijer "A Model for the Design of Youth Custodial Facilities", chapter 13 at page 341.

Diversion from the justice system

The removal of '*detention as a last resort*' will result in more children being placed in detention, despite the very strong body of evidence which demonstrates that:

- a. detention does not significantly reduce recidivism;⁸
- b. diverting children away from the criminal justice system through restorative justice and police cautioning is very effective in reducing reoffending;⁹ and
- c. the majority of children who are diverted do not reoffend.¹⁰

The number of young people being diverted by police within their first few offences has recently significantly decreased in Queensland. This decrease in diversion is associated with a significantly higher volume of offending in the current cohort of serious repeat offenders.¹¹

The Committee also heard that there has been an overall decline in the number of child offenders.¹² As the Committee is aware, while the Queensland Youth Justice system has been effective at reducing the total number of young people in the criminal justice system, there now exists a relatively small cohort of frequent reoffenders.¹³

This cohort demonstrates multiple chronic risks (which are often intergenerational) which contribute to their reoffending and which require more targeted and specialised diversionary programs – these factors include poor parenting or lack of parental support (including where one or both parents have been or are currently in custody), substance misuse, significant domestic or family violence and/or disadvantage in the home, unstable and/or unsuitable accommodation, disengagement from education, employment and training, disability and other health issues.¹⁴

To address these risks, and reduce reoffending, diversion should be the centrepiece of police responses for youth crime, particularly within the first few offences and for non-violent or non-serious offending.¹⁵ Detention should therefore remain a last resort, otherwise community safety will remain compromised.

Psychosocial effects of detention

Placing a child in detention increases the likelihood of reoffending by exposing them to negative influences, continuing disengagement with education and employment, and preventing positive engagement with family and community.¹⁶ For most young people, a period in detention results in deterioration of their circumstances – many will experience mental health decline, will lose their accommodation and employment, remain disconnected from family and community. All of these factors increase the likelihood of reoffending once released.¹⁷

⁸ [Queensland Police Service Briefing Paper](#) to the Committee (12 November 2023, see page 9) and oral evidence of Bob Atkinson AO APM on 23 November 2023 at page 32 of the transcript.

⁹ [Legal Aid Queensland submission](#) to the Committee (15 November 2023), see page 2.

¹⁰ Ibid, and oral evidence of Bob Atkinson AO APM on 23 November 2023 at page 36 of the transcript.

¹¹ [Dr Troy Allard and Dr Molly McCarthy](#) submission to the Committee (16 November 2023), see page 3-4.

¹² [Correspondence - From Dr Molly McCarthy and Dr Troy Allard, 30 November 2023](#) to the Committee, see pages 1 – 4.

¹³ [Briefing Paper - Department of Youth Justice, Employment, Small Business and Training, 8 November 2023](#), see page 4.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ [Professor Tamara Walsh submission](#) to the Committee (13 November 2023), see page 61 and 65.

¹⁷ [Professor Tamara Walsh submission](#) to the Committee (13 November 2023), see page 68.

Detention increases the risk of young people experiencing lifelong periods of incarceration. In contrast, early intervention, increased support services and restorative justice all reduce youth offending.¹⁸ The Committee also heard repeatedly at the hearings that:

- a. almost all children imprisoned in Queensland reoffend within 12 months of their release;¹⁹
- b. more children are detained each day in Queensland than any other state or territory and Queensland has the worst recidivist rate in Australia;²⁰
- c. a young person is more likely to return and be placed in the adult prison system the longer they spend in youth detention;²¹ and
- d. Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children and young people continue to be disproportionately impacted.²²

By placing children in detention without appropriate support to address the underlying factors of offending, the socio-economic drivers of crime remain unaddressed and the behaviours are highly likely to continue.²³

The Queensland Government's focus needs to be directed towards addressing the underlying socio-economic drivers which cause offending, and implementing those strategies which are proven to be effective at redirecting and/or reducing offending.

The Committee also heard how staffing issues, discussed further below, have led to frequent lockdowns in detention centres ('nightmode') in which children spend extended periods locked in their cell. For children who should be exercising and socialising outside, this containment in a small room only compounds their existing trauma and limits rehabilitation.

Notably, in its evidence to the Committee, the Queensland Police Service (**QPS**) recognised that detention is often detrimental and has little benefit in reducing recidivism.²⁴ This is particularly the case for children and young people who have experienced maltreatment or who have mental illness or disability.²⁵ Like YAC, QPS also supports the principles of the YJA, that a child should be detained only as a last resort and for the least time that is justified in the circumstances.²⁶ YAC also notes that the Queensland Law Society,²⁷ the Queensland Human Rights Commission²⁸ and Legal Aid Queensland,²⁹ among others, are also in support of this principle being maintained.

Issues at detention centres

As noted in our initial submission, detention can only assist in reducing reoffending if it has a strong rehabilitative and therapeutic focus.³⁰ The evidence before the Committee demonstrates that children and young people do not have sufficient access to suitable health, rehabilitation and

¹⁸ [Queensland Law Society](#) submission to the Committee (20 November 2023), see page 7 and oral evidence of Bob Atkinson AO APM on 23 November 2023 in several sections of the transcript.

¹⁹ [PeakCare Queensland Inc submission](#) to the Committee (20 November 2023), see page 4.

²⁰ [Whispering Youth Program submission](#) to the Committee (29 November 2023), see page 1.

²¹ [Queensland Law Society](#) submission to the Committee (20 November 2023), see page 9.

²² [Correspondence - Queensland Family and Child Commission](#) to the Committee, see page 21 and 60.

²³ [Queensland Law Society](#) submission to the Committee (20 November 2023), see page 9 and oral evidence of Bob Atkinson AO APM on 23 November 2023 in several sections of the transcript.

²⁴ [Briefing Paper - Queensland Police Service, 13 November 2023](#) to the Committee, see page 9.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ [Queensland Law Society](#) submission to the Committee (20 November 2023), see page 9.

²⁸ [Queensland Human Rights Commission submission](#) to the Committee (15 November 2023), see page 3.

²⁹ [Legal Aid Queensland submission](#) to the Committee (15 November 2023), see page 3.

³⁰ [Youth Advocacy Centre submission](#) to the Committee (20 November 2023), see page 6.

educational services once they are placed in youth detention.³¹ The main factor contributing to this is the significant staff shortages being experienced across the youth detention centres in Queensland. There is also evidence to suggest that these staff shortages contribute to the incidence of youth crime and the recidivism rates in Queensland.³² It is widely acknowledged that **the most important aspect of a successful facility is its staff**, with adequate training, resources and support proving essential.³³

There is also concern that capacity and workforce challenges within detention centres have the unintended consequence of over-reliance on watchhouses.³⁴ A watchhouse is not an appropriate place to house a child, and they should not continue to be used as an accommodation placement option.

Even non-supporters of the principle of '*detention as a last resort*' concede that there is currently an overreliance on ineffective youth detention centres which is counter-productive to child rehabilitation and public safety.³⁵ It is accordingly clearly premature to even consider the removal of the '*detention as a last resort*' principle before the current deficiencies at detention centres have been properly addressed.

Improvement of detention centres

Where detention is imposed (as a last resort) it is imperative that the adverse impacts of such detention are minimised.³⁶ To achieve this, the Committee should focus on those improvements to youth detention to ensure:

- a. existing youth detention facilities are adequately staffed with skilled staff members to enable children to receive necessary individualised therapeutic and educational services, and to eliminate the use of separation;³⁷
- b. children in detention have appropriate access to family and friends (and other external support networks) during their time in detention, are provided with constructive skill-building activities and are regularly informed about the progress of their legal case (if on remand);³⁸
- c. each child in detention is thoroughly assessed for physical, cognitive, psychological and neurodivergent issues to ensure they receive proper treatment, an appropriate level of education and relationship building with family to develop a sense of connection to the community.³⁹ This would be aided by an increased screening and assessment for disability in youth detention and increased disability training for staff in youth detention;⁴⁰ and
- d. infrastructure is built to maintain young people in their own communities.⁴¹ The best practice infrastructure design for youth detention relates to size (smaller is better) and location

³¹ [Queensland Law Society](#) submission to the Committee (20 November 2023), see page 10.

³² [Australian Workers' Union submission](#) to the Committee (22 November 2023), see page 2 – 3 (Queensland's youth detention staffing shortage).

³³ M Dwyer, Churchill Fellow, 2020 Churchill Fellow, report dated 31 January 2023 at page 76, which includes an analysis of a skilled staff and good employment conditions in youth justice facilities. See also Oostermeijer Dr S, Tongun P, Johns Dr D, "Relational security within Victoria's Youth Custodial System", 12 December 2021, University of Melbourne for an analysis of the factors which facilitate relational security.

³⁴ [Correspondence - Queensland Family and Child Commission](#), see page 42.

³⁵ [Correspondence - From Keith Hamburger AM - Detention as an Option of Last Resort, 24 November 2023](#), see page 1.

³⁶ [Queensland Law Society](#) submission to the Committee (20 November 2023), see page 7.

³⁷ [Queensland Human Rights Commission submission](#) to the Committee (15 November 2023), see page 7.

³⁸ [Professor Tamara Walsh submission](#) to the Committee (13 November 2023), see page 68.

³⁹ [Queensland Law Society](#) submission to the Committee (20 November 2023), see page 2.

⁴⁰ [Queensland Law Society](#) submission to the Committee (20 November 2023), see page 5.

⁴¹ [Queensland Law Society](#) submission to the Committee (20 November 2023), see page 10.

(closer to home is better).⁴² In smaller facilities, staff can provide more attention and support to individual young people, addressing their unique needs and challenges. Therapeutic design principles have proven effective in improving outcomes and reducing recidivism.⁴³

We **recommend** that the Committee review the research paper appended to these submissions, “‘What changes people is relationships’: Designing youth justice facilities that work”,⁴⁴ which very helpfully reviews a number of youth detention facilities in various jurisdictions which have successfully reduced recidivism rates. The common characteristics of successful facilities were found to include the following⁴⁵:

1. **Small**, so that meaningful pro-social relationships could be established between staff and young people;
2. **Locally sited and community-integrated**, so that productive connections with family and community (including with schools and employers) can be maintained/established, to maximise successful reintegration post-detention;
3. **Relational security** which encourages a productive influential relationship between staff and the young people, maximising engagement in rehabilitation strategies;
4. **Therapeutic**, with a home-like environment to help address wellbeing and mental health issues.

Significantly, these small scale facilities are cheaper and more effective than large scale detention centres. **It defies logic to continue with an expensive and ineffective strategy.**

Human rights obligations

Detention as a last resort is consistent with human rights obligations that children should only ever be arrested, detained, or imprisoned as a measure of last resort, for the shortest appropriate period of time and all efforts should be made to apply alternative measures.⁴⁶ Removal of the '*detention as a last resort*' principle is incompatible with human rights and the specific rights afforded to children under the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (among other international human rights laws).⁴⁷ This compromises not only the rights of these children but the confidence in the protections afforded to all Queenslanders under the *Human Rights Act 2019* (Qld). If there is to be a genuine impact on youth crime, children and young people must be treated consistently with a child rights approach. This approach places an emphasis on the rehabilitation and social reintegration of children who engage in criminal behaviour, rather than a law and order approach which places an emphasis on punishment.⁴⁸

Some have argued that detention as a last resort would be redundant if we had a reformed system with therapeutic assessment centres instead of detention centres. That not being the case, it is currently not relevant to consider abolishing detention as a last resort for this reason.

⁴² [Briefing Paper - Department of Youth Justice, Employment, Small Business and Training, 8 November 2023](#), see page 30 - 31.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ M Dwyer, Churchill Fellow, 2020 Churchill Fellow, report dated 31 January 2023.

⁴⁵ Ibid at page 16

⁴⁶ [Queensland Human Rights Commission submission](#) to the Committee (15 November 2023), see page 2; [Professor Tamara Walsh submission](#) to the Committee (13 November 2023), see pages 30, 33, 36.

⁴⁷ [Correspondence - Queensland Family and Child Commission](#) to the Committee, see page 38.

⁴⁸ [Correspondence - Queensland Family and Child Commission](#) to the Committee, see page 74.

2. Mandatory minimum sentencing

Mandatory minimum sentencing is a politically expedient measure which ignores the overwhelming evidence that detention does not reduce youth crime. Greater focus is instead required on long-term preventative measures. No compelling evidence whatsoever was put before the Committee to support mandatory minimum sentencing. Instead, almost all evidence demonstrates that community-based services are significantly more effective and less costly than detention-based services.⁴⁹

In 2018 the Australian Law Reform Commission reported in *Pathways to Justice—Inquiry into the Incarceration Rate of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples* that:

...there is no evidence that mandatory sentencing acts as a deterrent and reduces crime... As opposed to providing a deterrent, the impact of mandatory minimum sentences and terms of incarceration for youth means a rise criminogenic behaviour learned within the prison system.⁵⁰

Consequently, if the Queensland Government were to introduce mandatory minimum sentencing it would do so despite the lack of supporting evidence, and with a likelihood of increasing youth crime.

Human rights obligations

Mandatory minimum sentencing would also have the effect of making detention the **sole penalty** for offences that fall within their provisions – removing the discretion to consider other alternatives to detention. It is also in contravention of the sentencing principle that detention should be a last resort and for the shortest appropriate period of time,⁵¹ noting that what is appropriate can only be determined by reference to the individual case rather than a blanket statutory rule of the type that applies in mandatory sentencing laws. Mandatory minimum sentencing arguably involves imposing a penalty that judges otherwise would have considered inappropriate based on the circumstances of the individual case before them.

It was also clear during the Committee hearings that there was a lack of comprehensive evidence before the Committee regarding the sentences that are being imposed on the cohort of serious repeat offenders. To make any findings without a full study of the sentencing practices would be negligent.

Finally, the introduction of mandatory minimum sentencing is also clearly compatible with the rights afforded to children under the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (among other international human rights laws)⁵² and the *Human Rights Act 2019* (Qld).

Punitive approaches are ineffective

Threats of harsher punishments do not deter children from reoffending; rather the incarceration of children is the single biggest predictor of children entering into a lifetime of crime.⁵³ There is also vast international evidence that increasing the severity of punishment is ineffective in reducing

⁴⁹ [Correspondence - Queensland Family and Child Commission](#) to the Committee, see page 78.

⁵⁰ <https://www.alrc.gov.au/publication/pathways-to-justice-inquiry-into-the-incarceration-rate-of-aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-peoples-alrc-report-133/8-mandatory-sentencing/impact-of-mandatory-sentencing/>

⁵¹ *Youth Justice Act 1992* (Qld), s150(2)(e).

⁵² [Correspondence - Queensland Family and Child Commission](#) to the Committee, see page 38.

⁵³ [PeakCare Queensland Inc submission](#) to the Committee (20 November 2023), see page 5.

recidivism.⁵⁴ Cognitive and behavioural programs for young offenders are much more effective than programs based on punishment and deterrence, as punitive approaches may contribute to reoffending rather than reduce it.⁵⁵

3. Strategies to reduce youth crime and reoffending

Numerous evidence-backed recommendations have been put before the Committee to help reduce youth crime and reoffending. A **summary of the key recommendations** put forward to the committee are summarised in Attachment A to this submission. The most effective strategies involve initiatives such as rehabilitation programs, diversion and early intervention that reduce reoffending and incarceration and enhance community safety⁵⁶ – while upholding the sentencing principle that detention be used only as a last resort (and for the shortest appropriate period).⁵⁷

Final Remarks

The Committee has been tasked with assessing ongoing reforms to the youth justice system and support for victims of crime. In making this assessment it is fundamental to identify and address the underlying causes of criminal behaviour and the most effective responses to this behaviour.

Children who offend are often experiencing poverty, neglect, trauma, unstable or unsuitable accommodation, family violence, substance misuse, and disengagement from education and employment. Furthermore, many children in the justice system of have a disability or a health condition, often undiagnosed. It is these factors which need increased attention and investment, not reactive punitive actions that are not effective at reducing crime or recidivism and, therefore, community safety.

Please let us know if you have any questions regarding the above.



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⁵⁴ [Queensland Human Rights Commission submission](#) to the Committee (15 November 2023), see page 9.

⁵⁵ [Correspondence - Queensland Family and Child Commission](#)

⁵⁶ [Queensland Human Rights Commission submission](#) to the Committee (15 November 2023), see page 3; [Queensland Law Society](#) submission to Youth Justice Reform Select Committee (20 November 2023), see page 2.

⁵⁷ [Youth Justice Act 1992 \(Qld\)](#), s150(2)(e).

Attachment A

Summary of key recommendations put forward to the Committee to reduce youth crime and reoffending (which YAC supports)

<p>1. Early Intervention</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Implement community-based welfare approaches in conjunction with early intervention programs.⁵⁸ b. Focus on keeping children engaged in school, including reducing the use of suspensions and exclusions as disciplinary measures.⁵⁹ Education is a key tool to prevent entry into the youth justice system. c. Ensure there are recognised programs for children to attend whilst they are suspended from their regular school.⁶⁰ d. Increase funding to establish school-based preventative programs which aim to assess obstacles to engagement in kindergarten and early primary school.⁶¹ e. Perform cognitive assessments at the child's first involvement in the youth justice system. It is important that the vulnerabilities identified by the schooling system are also applied in the youth justice system particularly when a child's suitability for diversionary programs is being determined.⁶² f. Provide stable and long-term accommodation with a home-like environment with access to adequate supervision for children and young people in Child Safety's care or who are experiencing homelessness.⁶³
<p>2. Diversion</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Promote police-led diversion as a priority.⁶⁴ A majority of children who are diverted do not reoffend after the diversion takes place.⁶⁵ b. Increase funding for community led programs focused on prevention and diversion, including services for family therapy and educational engagement.⁶⁶ c. Increase the minimum age of criminal responsibility from 10 to 14 years.⁶⁷ The younger a child is when they first have contact with the justice system, the more likely they are to re-offend.⁶⁸ d. Focus on expanding the availability and range of evidence-based diversionary and reduction of reoffending programs and support for children, including culturally safe programs.⁶⁹ e. Introduce place-based prevention initiatives and the development of a new model for community-based desistance interventions.⁷⁰

⁵⁸ [National Children's Commissioner, Anne Hollonds submission](#) to the Committee (15 November 2023), see page 6.

⁵⁹ [Queensland Human Rights Commission submission](#) to the Committee (15 November 2023), see page 6.

⁶⁰ [Queensland Law Society](#) submission to the Committee (20 November 2023), see page 5.

⁶¹ [Queensland Law Society](#) submission to the Committee (20 November 2023), see page 4.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Professor Tamara Walsh submission to the Committee dated 13 November 2023 at pages 5 and 41.

⁶⁴ [Dr Troy Allard and Dr Molly McCarthy](#) submission to the Committee (16 November 2023), see page 3.

⁶⁵ [Legal Aid Queensland submission](#) to the Committee (15 November 2023), see page 2.

⁶⁶ [Whispering Youth Program submission](#) to the Committee (29 November 2023), see page 1.

⁶⁷ [Queensland Human Rights Commission submission](#) to the Committee (15 November 2023), see page 7.

⁶⁸ [PeakCare Queensland Inc submission](#) to the Committee (20 November 2023), see page 5.

⁶⁹ [Queensland Human Rights Commission submission](#) to the Committee (15 November 2023), see page 6; [National Children's Commissioner, Anne Hollonds submission](#) to the Committee (15 November 2023), see page 6.

⁷⁰ [Dr Troy Allard and Dr Molly McCarthy](#) submission to the Committee (16 November 2023), see page 3.

	f. Ensure that as few children as possible end up appearing before the courts as possible, as police charges and court processing are associated with children’s ongoing contact with the criminal law system. ⁷¹
3. Rehabilitation	<p>a. Align reoffending prevention programs with behavioural and criminogenic risk factors that address the core areas aligned to proven predictors of reoffending.⁷²</p> <p>b. Introduce intensive and consistent rehabilitation measures.⁷³</p> <p>c. Extend the support provided in the transition of young people from detention that provides support for months (currently only 72 hours), to ensure that young people exit into a well-supported environment and stable housing.⁷⁴</p>
4. Policy changes	<p>a. The Queensland Government should maintain the 'four pillars'⁷⁵ in its policy position – which includes the objectives of (1) intervening early, (2) keeping children out of court, (3) keeping children out of custody and (4) reducing reoffending.⁷⁶</p> <p>b. Amend prisoner admission processes to better identify children with incarcerated parents and ensure that appropriate supports are available to them to ensure they do not engage with the criminal justice system themselves.⁷⁷</p> <p>c. The appointment of a dedicated Minister of Children with a stand-alone department that has sufficient authority to co-ordinate strategies across multiple portfolios.⁷⁸</p> <p>d. Repeal amendments to the <i>Bail Act 1980</i>, <i>Police Powers and Responsibilities Act 2000</i> and <i>Youth Justice Act 1992</i>, including the offence of breach of bail applicable to children, to reduce the number of children and young people detained on remand.⁷⁹</p> <p>e. Repeal amendments overriding the Human Rights Act to authorise prolonged detention of children in watch houses in the <i>Youth Justice Act 1992</i> and <i>Police Powers and Responsibilities Act 2000</i>.⁸⁰</p>

⁷¹ [Professor Tamara Walsh submission](#) to the Committee (13 November 2023), see page 54.

⁷² [Briefing Paper - Department of Youth Justice, Employment, Small Business and Training, 30 November 2023](#)

⁷³ [Queensland Law Society](#) submission to the Committee (20 November 2023), see page 2.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Bob Atkinson, Report on Youth Justice (Version 2, 8 June 2018).

⁷⁶ [Queensland Human Rights Commission submission](#) to the Committee (15 November 2023), see page 3.

⁷⁷ [Queensland Law Society](#) submission to the Committee (20 November 2023), see page 6.

⁷⁸ [Queensland Human Rights Commission submission](#) to the Committee (15 November 2023), see page 6.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.