CAPE YORK WELFARE REFORM

Consultation Report

Report to

The Honourable Curtis Pitt MP
Minister for Disability Services, Mental Health and
Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Partnerships

and

The Honourable Jenny Macklin MP
Minister for Families, Housing, Community Services
and Indigenous Affairs
TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS ................................................................. 2
BACKGROUND ................................................................................. 3
CONSULTATION PROCESS .......................................................... 4
KEY STAKEHOLDERS ................................................................. 4
OVERVIEW OF OUTCOMES OF CONSULTATION ......................... 5
RESPONSES BY KEY QUESTIONS .................................................. 7
  What have been the benefits of CYWR? ..................................... 7
  What else can be done? What could be improved? ...................... 8
  Do you think people know how they come to the FRC and how the FRC works? ......... 8
  What would happen to the community if CYWR stopped? ......................... 9
ONGOING POLICY AND PROGRAM CHALLENGES ..................... 10
  Communication ..................................................................... 10
  Jobs for local people ........................................................... 10
APPENDIX 1 - Consultation Questions .......................................... 11
APPENDIX 2 – ................................................................. 13
  Queensland and Australian Government Agencies Consulted .......... 18
  Community Consultation Attendees ..................................... 18
  Other Organisations Consulted ............................................ 19
BACKGROUND

The Cape York Welfare Reform (CYWR) Trial (the Trial) commenced in July 2008 under a tripartite agreement between the Australian and Queensland Governments and the Cape York Institute for Policy and Leadership (CYI). The trial aims to restore positive social norms, re-establish local Indigenous authority, enable children to achieve their full potential, support engagement in the real economy, and move individuals and families from welfare housing to home ownership. The trial operates in Aurukun, Hope Vale, Coen and Mossman Gorge with the support of local stakeholders.

Key components of the trial include:

- The Family Responsibilities Commission (FRC) is a statutory body established under the Family Responsibilities Commission Act 2008 (the Act), which will expire on 1 January 2012. The FRC operates to restore local Indigenous authority and restore positive social norms, through attaching behavioural obligations to receipt of welfare payments. The FRC Commissioner and Local Indigenous Commissioners hold conferences with local people, who are ‘notified’ to the FRC for failing to enrol and send children to school, coming to the attention of the Department of Communities for a child safety matter, being convicted of an offence in the Magistrates Court and failing to remedy a breach of a tenancy arrangement.

- The provision of a range of community services and educational, economic development, employment and housing initiatives. The operation of wellbeing centres; parenting programs; anti-violence, drug and alcohol services; and school Attendance Case Managers are particularly critical to the successful outcomes of FRC clients. Other funded activities focus on school and working age populations and social housing tenants in the four communities.

Analysis by the Trial partners’ suggested there would be benefit of extending the Trial for a year beyond its original end date of December 2012. Reasons for considering an extension include this would enable consolidation of programs that support the safety, wellbeing and welfare of the people in the Trial communities, in particular, women and children.

An extension would also provide adequate time for programs to take effect given earlier delays in planned service provision which delayed the commencement of the Trial. For example, CYWR Wellbeing Centres, which are crucial to FRC client referrals, required the construction of facilities and staff accommodation and staff recruitment before services could be delivered. These services commenced at various times in each community between October 2008 and April 2009.

An extension would also provide adequate time for the results of the independent evaluation to be considered in determining the future arrangements of the Trial.

Trial partners conducted consultation to inform partners of stakeholders views about an extension. This consultation process was led by Aboriginal and Torres Strait
Islander Services (ATSIS), Department of Communities in accordance with a consultation plan, and supported by staff from Queensland State Office of the Commonwealth Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs (FaHCSIA), CYI and the Cairns Regional Operations Centre.

**CONSULTATION PROCESS**

ATSIS, in partnership with FaHCSIA and CYI, undertook consultation between early May and late June 2011.

Questions were used to guide discussion during the consultations and generally four key questions were asked:

1. What have been the benefits of the CYWR Trial?
2. What do you think needs to be done better? What else needs to be done? What are the gaps?
3. Do you think people know how they come to the FRC and how the FRC works to help people?
4. What would happen to the community if CYWR stopped?

Consultation was undertaken with stakeholders at central and regional levels as well as in each of the four Trial communities. Written submissions were also received. Meetings were held in Brisbane, Cairns, Mossman Gorge, Mossman, Coen, Hope Vale and Aurukun.

The Government Coordination Officers in each of the Trial communities advised on the most appropriate approach to consultation in their respective communities. Generally the in-community consultation included a meeting with the Council (in Aurukun and Hope Vale), an interagency or service providers meeting and a community meeting. In Coen meetings were held with groups of stakeholders, including Cape York Partnerships staff, Police, Justice, Health and Education staff and the community justice group coordinator.

Where key stakeholders were not able to participate the Government Coordination Officers held follow-up meetings with them where possible.

**KEY STAKEHOLDERS**

Consultations were extensive and the views of the original stakeholder groups as well as additional stakeholders directly involved with the operation of the Trial and the FRC have been captured.

Consultation was undertaken with original stakeholders that were consulted during the development of the *Family Responsibilities Commission Act* in early 2008.
Additional stakeholders consulted included the service providers in the Trial communities, the FRC Commissioners, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Legal Services and staff and Cape York regional organisations.

Key stakeholders consulted include Mayors and community leaders, community justice groups, and community members, service providers, relevant Queensland and Australian Government agencies, FRC Commissioners and staff, the Commission for Children and Young People and Child Guardian and relevant unions. A list of stakeholders consulted is provided at Appendix 2.

The FRC staff, Commissioners and Local Commissioners were consulted. The Local Commissioners were consulted in separate teleconferences in their community groupings. David Glasgow, Commissioner, Rod Curtin, Deputy Commissioner, Tammy Sovenhazy, Registrar and Sharon Newcomb, Principal Case Manager and representatives from the tripartite partners also participated in the teleconferences. All the Local Commissioners currently actively sitting at conferences provided feedback.

OUTCOMES OF CONSULTATION

Key outcomes from the consultation include:

a. The Trial is seen as having a positive effect on behaviour of community members, with community members seeing more children going to school, people regularly paying rent and communities generally quieter, than before the Trial commenced.

b. The Trial has been a key driver of improved school attendance and school readiness in the communities. The focus on school attendance and valuing education needs to continue. The value of the opportunity products aimed at schooling and education, including Student Education Trusts, was widely accepted and supported.

c. While it has taken community members time to realise how the FRC worked, people now understand how the FRC can assist in addressing their problems.

d. People know now where to access help. The Trial has created new avenues including the FRC, the local program offices and the village opportunity hubs, for people to seek assistance.

The predominant themes from the community consultations are:

- “we are on the way, but we are not there yet” (Aurukun leader)
- “we are not yet at the top of the hill but we are getting there, we need some more time” (Hope Vale FRC Commissioner)
- “communities have been in the process of developing welfare reform and it has taken time to put things together” (Aurukun Councillor)
- “[if the Trial were to stop] it would be like the other government services – we just get used to them and then they are taken away” (Mossman Gorge community member).

Dissenting Views
Some community members from Hope Vale were not supportive of the Trial continuing. Approximately 60-70 people attended the community meeting held in Hope Vale and the majority had negative views about the Trial. There was a lack of knowledge of why and how Hope Vale became a Trial community. Particular comments included that the Basics Card is not working for some members and that bullying is an issue at the school. Community members questioned how the meeting was advertised and how people could provide feedback.

The Hope Vale Aboriginal Shire Council felt that the Trial had provided little funding to the Council and limited employment to local people and stated that government should be working more collaboratively with the Council and that funding made available through the Trial had to go to the community to make the community viable and sustainable.

Following the community consultation, in order to seek a broad range of views and respond to the questions raised by community members about the opportunity to provide feedback, the partners provided a simplified version of the draft questions for distribution across the community. Through this process 31 responses were received with 6 supportive and 25 not supportive.

The Government Coordination staff in the community made themselves available to take feedback from community members. Following the community consultation meeting approximately 85 community members approached the Government Coordination Office staff, with around 65 supportive of the Trial continuing. These people felt that income management was providing more food for households and were supportive of the educational measures. Of the approximately 20 people opposed to CYWR, opinions varied from total opposition to the Trial to dissatisfaction with certain aspects of the Trial, including a high level of dissatisfaction with the FRC, that funding should be managed more locally, and that jobs weren’t going to Hope Vale people.

Around 25 people in middle management positions and administrative positions in community agencies and the Council (both Indigenous local people and non-Indigenous people) were also consulted subsequent to the community meeting. They were supportive of the Trial continuing, outlining that housing and education measures implemented were effective, that supported self help measures including the wellbeing centre had been implemented effectively, that the views about the FRC were based on their own or their family’s interaction with the FRC. They felt further work is required on the economic opportunity agenda.

Other Stakeholders

The Department of Communities was formally advised that the Commission for Children and Young People and Child Guardian supports the proposed extension of the Trial and the consultation with local communities to ascertain their views and needs in relation to the extension.
Five Queensland unions were consulted and all stated their support for the Trial to continue (with the exception of one which wanted to ensure members were consulted before providing a position) based on the positive outcomes being achieved for children in the Trial communities.

Independent Schools Queensland and the Catholic Education Council were also consulted and raised no issues for their representative schools if the Trial was to be extended.

Government Champions were consulted and their support officers participated in the consultation process. The Champions were supportive of the Trial continuing noting the positive changes being made in relation to school attendance, people seeking assistance for problems through the services offered and the increased number of services in the Trial communities.

**RESPONSES BY KEY QUESTIONS**

*What have been the benefits of CYWR?*

The overwhelming majority of those consulted outlined the benefits of CYWR to be the improved situation for children of the community, the programs that are assisting people with financial and personal problems and the improvement in the general atmosphere of the communities.

All consulted agreed that school attendance had improved. In Coen where school attendance has always been high, school readiness has increased – for example, on the day that the consultation team visited Coen all children at school that day had a packed lunch. All agreed that the educational opportunities provided through the trial, including Student Education Trusts had benefited families and children. People were also supportive of the Direct Instruction method of teaching where it had been introduced through the Cape York Aboriginal Australian Academy.

Other benefits cited by those consulted in the communities included that the communities are quieter now with less partying (Mossman Gorge), more men are becoming actively involved in supporting their families and children (Mossman Gorge, Hope Vale and Coen), community members have more confidence in themselves and are making changes (Aurukun, Coen and Mossman Gorge) and the Basics Card is ensuring money is available for food for the family (Hope Vale and Mossman Gorge).

Government agencies and non-government organisations involved in service delivery in the communities reported that the services provided through the Trial have supported community members to be able to better manage finances and care for their children.

*Are social norms changing?*

Responses to this question included:
• Yes, parents are asking what they need to do to be better parents.
• The attitude and behaviours surrounding alcohol consumption have significantly changed (this comment was from a community without an alcohol management plan).

What else can be done? What could be improved?

The consultation made it clear to Trial partners that focussed effort is required to improve the rate of local employment in communities.

What else is required is ongoing work around communicating to stakeholders, including trial community members, about the Trial services and programs available through the Trial and the outcomes achieved through the work of the community, service providers and partners.

Stakeholders said there was often limited consultation with community when new programs and services were being implemented.

Other comments from the stakeholders included more work to address community safety and more support for governance and leadership.

More regular meetings between the leadership of the Trial communities were also called for.

A service gap that was mentioned in Aurukun, Hope Vale and Coen was services to address domestic and family violence. It was reported that there are high levels of domestic violence in Coen and Aurukun.

Another area that could be strengthened is the functioning of the men’s and women’s groups. In some areas the wellbeing centres have facilitated the groups, and that they often come together instinctively, but their operation is not consistent or targeted to diversionary activities.

The timely delivery of commitments, particularly public commitments, could be improved.

Do you think people know how they come to the FRC and how the FRC works?

Responses to this question varied. Generally the consensus view was that people understood more about the FRC than they did when the FRC commenced. People asked did understand that you come to the attention of the FRC through not sending children to school and for being convicted in the Magistrates Court.

People in Mossman Gorge and Aurukun felt that the FRC was seen as a good place to come to get help with problems, and felt comfortable in approaching Local Commissioners for assistance with broader issues, including asking them for support in relation to community wide issues (for example, the closure of the Aurukun Tavern and to help address bullying on the Mossman Gorge school bus).
People in Coen and Hope Vale commented that the FRC is seen as a “toothless tiger”, and should be able to intervene in a preventative way, including at courts.

There was some confusion about the length of orders made, why some people were on income management and views that the FRC is seen as ‘double punishment’. An example provided is when a person is convicted for an alcohol carriage offence and receives a penalty or a fine and they come before the FRC (as a result of their conviction in the Magistrates Court) which may then order income management (where Centrelink manages a percentage of their welfare payment on a Basics Card which can only be used to buy essentials such as food, clothing or petrol) as a result.

Community members in Coen, Aurukun and Mossman Gorge in particular, felt that income management was a positive thing and that money is always available for food and medications. Hope Vale raised criticisms of income management including that it limits money for travel and the amount of spending money available for children at boarding school. Hope Vale councillors also raised the issue that having people on income management is another form of dependence.

Mossman Gorge and Coen service providers felt that increased communication from the FRC regarding outcomes of interactions with clients would be beneficial.

Explanations offered by service providers for the negative views about the FRC included that:

- Those that have been personally affected by the FRC may have responded negatively, particularly in Hope Vale.
- If people are negative about the FRC it shows that people are being expected to make behaviour change and this is an uncomfortable process for many.

What would happen to the community if CYWR stopped?

Overwhelmingly those consulted felt that the journey of CYWR had not reached a point where the momentum created to date could sustain ongoing positive changes in the communities.

Common comments included that the communities would go backwards, that the community would revert to the “old” days where drinking and children not attending school, or falling asleep at school.

The community is in the process of developing CYWR and it has taken time to put things together.

A key theme of the discussions was that a long term view must be taken in relation to the Trial and that things won’t change overnight. It was made clear to the consultation team that communities feel that programs are regularly implemented by government and when they don’t work quickly then the programs are stopped. Stakeholders were concerned that this would decrease faith in the government and reinstate the distrust that communities have for government. A point raised in
Aurukun was that the Trial should continue until the outcomes originally conceived by partners are achieved.

The FRC Commissioners and staff from the wellbeing centres felt that people are now attending programs and are learning how to better manage their finances, their parenting and the stresses in their lives. If the Trial and the services were to stop the problems would re-emerge.

**ONGOING POLICY AND PROGRAM CHALLENGES**

The consultation provided the partners with an opportunity to hear from a broad range of individuals, service providers and community leaders about what has been effective to date and what the challenges are to successful implementation of measures to improve wellbeing of those in the Trial communities, in particular, those most vulnerable.

**Communication**

A key learning from the consultation is the need for ongoing and broad ranging communication with those involved in the Trial, in particular, the community members.

What is important is to provide community leaders and members with regular information about the programs being implemented and the successes achieved through the work of the partners in conjunction with the communities.

Statistical information for service providers and community leaders, such as that included in the Department of Communities Reports on the Key Indicators in Discrete Communities, would also be valuable to reinforce positive achievements and show trends.

Over the next four months partners will review the Trial communication strategy and identify opportunities for information dissemination in ways that are appropriate for the variety of stakeholders involved in the Trial.

**Jobs for local people**

Projects supporting economic development have been implemented, including business precincts in communities, reforms to the Community Development Employment Program, and training and small business initiatives such as the reopening of the Aurukun sewing centre and a Cape York Arts Marketing project. The training and small business initiatives only commenced late in 2010. Project design work, employment of key staff and funding approvals were occurring prior to this. Another year of the Trial will enable further long-term benefits to flow to community members in the business and employment area.

The Trial partners have identified that the priorities for the remainder of the Trial include implementation of commitments made that are yet to be delivered on (putting
in place the enablers for home ownership, and implementation of supported self help programs to address gambling, family violence and child reunification) and a focus on economic opportunity initiatives and improved employment.

This was reinforced throughout the consultation, particularly in Hope Vale and Aurukun.

The Mossman Gorge consultation showed that the Trial had increased local employment, with local people employed in a range of Trial initiatives across the community.

**OTHER SUGGESTIONS/RECOMMENDATION**

The analysis of the consultation and statistical information suggested the Trial needed to be extended. Reasons include:

- Time for consolidation of programs that support the safety, wellbeing and welfare of the people in the trial communities, in particular, women and children.
- Time for programs to take effect given earlier delays in planned service provision which delayed the commencement of the Trial.
- An extension would also provide adequate time for the results of the independent evaluation to be considered in determining the future arrangements of the Trial.

The majority view of those consulted is that the Trial is of benefit and a continuation of the Trial is necessary on the grounds of:

i. While progress is being made, changes in behaviours are yet to be internalised. A strong theme from the community consultations is that “while we are on the road, we are not there yet and we don’t want our community to go back to square one”. The FRC implementation review, undertaken by KPMG in 2010 reinforced this view - that positive changes are being made but change is fragile.

ii. Embedded changes in norms requires generational change.

The feedback demonstrated to the consultation team that the initiatives and services implemented as part of the Trial are making a positive difference to community members, particularly to the children of the community and to overall community wellbeing.

Based on the feedback from the majority of those consulted an extension to the Trial, in accordance with the decision made in early May 2011 by the Queensland Government, that is for an additional year (until the end of December 2012) in its current model, is recommended.
APPENDICES

1. Consultation Questions
2. List of Stakeholders Consulted
APPENDIX 1 – CONSULTATION QUESTIONS

CAPE YORK WELFARE REFORM TRIAL CONSULTATION

Background

The current Cape York Welfare Reform Trial (CYWR) commenced in July 2008 under a tripartite agreement between Australian and Queensland Governments and the Cape York Institute for Policy and Leadership (CYI).

The trial aims to restore positive social norms, re-establish local Indigenous authority, enable children to achieve their full potential, support engagement in the real economy, and move individuals and families from welfare housing to home ownership.

The trial operates in Aurukun, Hope Vale, Coen and Mossman Gorge with the support of local stakeholders.

Why we’re speaking to you

Your community has chosen to take part of the Cape York Welfare Reform initiative, put in place by the Cape York Institute and the Queensland and Australian Governments.

The trial partners are gathering information to inform a decision to possibly continue the trial and your views about this are important.

What we want to talk about

We want to discuss what you think are the benefits of the trial for yourself, your family and your community

We also want to discuss what you think needs to be improved.

One of the parts of the CYWR is the Family Responsibilities Commission (the FRC) and we want to talk about the role of the FRC and how it works with community members to help address issues.

We also want to seek your views about the Cape York Welfare Reform trial being extended for another year?

What the information might be used for?

The information you provide will help partners determine how the trial should move forward.

The information you provide will not be made public.
KEY QUESTIONS (community stakeholders and community justice groups):

Cape York Welfare Reform Trial

What you think are the benefits of the trial for yourself, your family, your organisation and your community? Around
- Housing;
- Education;
- Social supports; and
- Employment and Economic Development?

What positive changes have you seen in the last 3 years in your community and in your family?

What do you think needs to be improved?

Do you think social norms have changed or are changing in your community? In what way?

Do you think the quality of teaching and education has improved since the start of the trial?

Do you think attendance has improved since CYWR started?
- *Do you think children are engaged in school?*
- *What else would you like to see in the school?*

What are your views about the CYWR initiative being extended for another year? Why?

What would happen if the CYWR trial didn’t continue?

What would that mean for your family, and in particular, what would that mean for your children?

What would improve your life for you and your family?
The Family Responsibilities Commission

Family Responsibilities Commission (the FRC) has been in place now for nearly 3 years. It works with people to assist them to address behaviour that impacts negatively on themselves, their families and their communities.

What do you understand about the role of the FRC?

Do you know how FRC notifications are received? Do you know who a person comes to the attention of the FRC?

How does it work with community members and families to help address issues?

How could the FRC work better?

How have you and your family benefitted from income management support?

What would happen to the community if the FRC stopped operating?

What would that mean for your family, and in particular, what would that mean for your children?
KEY QUESTIONS (Service Providers):

Cape York Welfare Reform Trial

What you think are the benefits of the trial for your organisation?

What do you think needs to be improved about service delivery?

Do you think social norms have changed or are changing in the community? In what way?

What are your views about the CYWR initiative being extended for another year? Why?

What would happen if the CYWR trial didn’t continue?

What would that mean for your service?

As a service provider have you noticed any improvements in the social norms of the community since you have worked here?

The Family Responsibilities Commission

Family Responsibilities Commission (the FRC) has been in place now for nearly 3 years. It works with people to assist them to address behaviour that impacts negatively on themselves, their families and their communities.

What do you understand about the role of the FRC?

Do you know how FRC notifications are received? Do you know who a person comes to the attention of the FRC?

How does it work with community members to help address issues?

Does your organisation have a relationship with the FRC? If yes, what is that relationship?

How could the FRC work better?

What would happen to the community if the FRC stopped operating? In particular, what would that mean for the women and children?
What would that mean for your service?
## APPENDIX 2 –

### Queensland and Australian Government Agencies Consulted

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department of Communities</th>
<th>Queensland Police Service</th>
<th>Department of the Premier and Cabinet</th>
<th>Department of Education and Training</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Department of Community Safety</td>
<td>Department of Employment, Economic Development and Innovation</td>
<td>Treasury</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Justice and Attorney General</td>
<td>Queensland Health</td>
<td>Department of Environment and Resource Management</td>
<td>Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Community Consultation Attendees

#### MOSSMAN GORGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Attendee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deputy Principal</td>
<td>BBN Chairperson and Board members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probation and Parole</td>
<td>BBN Housing Office staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellbeing Centre Local Advisory Group</td>
<td>Community Justice Group Coordinator and member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellbeing Centre Team Leader and Staff</td>
<td>Queensland Police staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Champion Support Officer</td>
<td>Royal Flying Doctor Service</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### HOPE VALE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Attendee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous Knowledge Centre Coordinator</td>
<td>Mayor and Councillors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CYP Parenting Staff</td>
<td>Child Safety Staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Income Management Staff</td>
<td>Queensland Police staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pride of Place Staff</td>
<td>Community members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellbeing Centre Team Leader</td>
<td>CDEP staff</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### AURUKUN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Attendee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deputy Principal</td>
<td>Mayor and Councillors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCYC Staff</td>
<td>Queensland Police Service staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDEP Provider</td>
<td>Council staff</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cape York Welfare Reform Trial Extension – Consultation Report

NOT GOVERNMENT POLICY

18
### Community Justice Group Coordinator and members
- Child Safety staff
- Government Champion Support Officer
- Director of Nursing

### COEN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School Principal</td>
<td>Family Income Management Staff</td>
<td>Kindegarten staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Justice Group Coordinator</td>
<td>Queensland Police Staff</td>
<td>FRC Commissioners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellbeing centre Local Advisory Group</td>
<td>Government Champion Support Officer</td>
<td>CDEP Staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wellbeing Centre Staff</td>
<td>Health Clinic Staff and Volunteers</td>
<td>Cook Shire Council staff</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Other Organisations Consulted

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commission for Children and Young People and Child Guardian</td>
<td>Queensland Public Service Union</td>
<td>Queensland Commissioned Police Officers Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland Nurses Union</td>
<td>Queensland Teachers Union</td>
<td>Independent Schools Queensland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Education Council</td>
<td>Queensland Police Union</td>
<td>Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Legal Service</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>