

## RESEARCH REPORT No 23

### THE FIRST PALASZCZUK GOVERNMENT: MINISTERS, PORTFOLIOS AND THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT

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#### INTRODUCTION

Like all incoming Premiers after a change of government, Anastacia Palaszczuk has built the machine of government to suit her political and administrative ends.

Machinery of government (MoG) refers to the overall organisation of government and the allocation functions among Ministers. MoG decisions after a change of government make important statements about how the government will function.

One bold change dominates MoG in 2015 following the election of the Palaszczuk Government: the election commitment to reduce the size of Cabinet.

Departments and other public service arrangements have changed little, consistent with the Premier's discourse of a stable, inclusive, respectful government that aims to win and keep the confidence of the community and the public service.

The promise of a smaller Cabinet is a first in Queensland political history and runs contrary to the received political wisdom of the democratic world: to the victors, the spoils, and plenty of them.<sup>2</sup>

The reduction in numbers also has important implications for the entire machinery of government in Queensland.

This brief essay, a companion to another piece looking at the nature, purpose and means of MoG change, specifically looks to MoG in Queensland after the 2015 election.

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<sup>2</sup> it may be that the tiny caucus allowed Palaszczuk to re-craft political expectations in a way never thought possible before. For some interesting affirmations see: Anon. (2012). "Land of the unexpected: To the victor go the spoils", *The Economist*, 4 August 2012 (re Papua New Guinea); Garner, R. et al (2012), *Introduction to Politics* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed). Oxford: OUP, p.10 comparing Britain, France, the USA and Italian spoils systems; it is an age-old feature: Anon. (1911) "Spoils to the victors" *The Spectator*, 6 May 1911, p.6 critiquing (predictably) the Asquith Liberal Government;

## THE CABINET

The ministry with full names and formal titles, listed in seniority order, is set out in Table 1.<sup>3</sup> The title ‘The Honourable’ is afforded to any serving member of the Executive Council.<sup>4</sup>

**Table 1: The First Palaszczuk Ministry**

The Honourable Anastacia Palaszczuk	Premier and Minister for the Arts
The Honourable Jacklyn Anne Trad	Deputy Premier, Minister for Transport, Minister for Infrastructure, Local Government and Planning and Minister for Trade
The Honourable Curtis Warren Pitt	Treasurer, Minister for Employment and Industrial Relations and Minister for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Partnerships
The Honourable Cameron Robert Dick	Minister for Health and Minister for Ambulance Services
The Honourable Kate Jennifer Jones	Minister for Education and Minister for Tourism, Major Events, Small Business and the Commonwealth Games
The Honourable Anthony Joseph Lynham	Minister for State Development and Minister for Natural Resources and Mines
The Honourable Yvette Maree D'Ath	Attorney-General and Minister for Justice and Minister for Training and Skills
The Honourable Jo-Ann Roslyn Miller	Minister for Police, Fire and Emergency Services and Minister for Corrective Services
The Honourable William Stephen Byrne	Minister for Agriculture and Fisheries and Minister for Sport and Racing
The Honourable Mark Craig Bailey	Minister for Main Roads, Road Safety and Ports and Minister for Energy and Water Supply
The Honourable Steven John Miles	Minister for Environment and Heritage Protection and Minister for National Parks and the Great Barrier Reef
The Honourable Leeanne Margaret Enoch	Minister for Housing and Public Works and Minister for Science and Innovation
The Honourable Shannon Maree Fentiman	Minister for Communities, Women and Youth, Minister for Child Safety and Minister for Multicultural Affairs
The Honourable Coralee Jane O'Rourke	Minister for Disability Services, Minister for Seniors and Minister Assisting the Premier on North Queensland.

<sup>3</sup> See formal notices of appointment *Gazette*, Vol.368, No.34, 16 February 2015, p.370.

<sup>4</sup> For general advice on the use of honorifics see “A protocol guide to Forms of Address”: <http://www.premiers.qld.gov.au/publications/categories/policies-and-codes/assets/att1-forms-of-address.pdf>

## AN EXPERIENCED MINISTRY?

Having been reduced to miniscule numbers at the 2012 election, it might be thought an incoming Palaszczuk Government lacked executive government experience. A comparison with other recent changes of government in Queensland shows otherwise.

Current Ministers with previous executive experience are:

- **Annastacia Palaszczuk**, previously Minister for Transport and Minister for Multicultural Affairs; Minister for Disability Services;
- **Curtis Pitt**, previously Minister for Disability Services, Mental Health and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Partnerships (and therefore having some portfolio continuity from the Bligh Government);
- **Cameron Dick**, previously Minister for Education, and before that Minister for Industrial Relations and Attorney-General and Minister for Justice;
- **Kate Jones**, previously Minister for Environment and Resource Management and Minister for Climate Change and Sustainability.
- **Yvette D'Ath** was federal Parliamentary Secretary for climate change, industry and related matters in the Gillard and Rudd Governments.<sup>5</sup>

**Jo-Anne Miller** has the longest parliamentary service of all the Ministers (first elected in a by-election in 2000) and brings extensive parliamentary committee experience.

Cameron Dick and Kate Jones were re-elected in 2015 having lost their seats in the 2012 election. Both were Ministers under Bligh. Anthony Lynham and Yvette D'Ath each won by-elections in 2014.

The five most junior Ministers were first elected to Parliament in the 2015 election, including Mark Bailey who had had some executive experience in the Brisbane City Council.

The Newman Cabinet, sworn in 2012, had only one member with previous Cabinet experience, Lawrence Springborg with four months and ten days in the Borbidge Ministry.<sup>6</sup> Campbell Newman had been Mayor of Brisbane.

The Borbidge Ministry, sworn 26 February 1996, included only two members with any significant ministerial experience. Russell Cooper was a Minister for two years,<sup>7</sup> including a brief stint as Premier after toppling Mike Ahern and leading the Nationals to defeat in the

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<sup>5</sup> she was Member for Petrie from 2007 to 2013

<sup>6</sup> Minister for Natural Resources, 16 February to 26 June 1998, appointed in a reshuffle following the resignation of two Ministers (allegations about personal behaviour) and dismissal of a third (expense account issues) on 13 February 1998. See Hughes, C.A. (2002) *A Handbook of Australian Government and Politics 1985-1999*. Sydney: Federation Press, p.119. Springborg is now Opposition Leader and the "father of the house", the longest serving member of the Legislative Assembly, first elected 2 December 1989

<sup>7</sup> including ministries of Police, Corrective Services, Racing, Emergency Services and Administration

1989 election.<sup>8</sup> Rob Borbidge had served in various portfolios for two years until the fall of the Cooper Government.<sup>9</sup> Kevin Lingard had been a Minister for just one week during the rapid implosion of the Bjelke-Petersen administration.<sup>10</sup> Denver Beanland had been Deputy Major of Brisbane.

## THE IMPORTANCE OF 14

In recent history the Queensland cabinet consisted of 18 or 19 Ministers, the maximum set under the Constitution. The maximum number of ministers steadily grew, as shown in Table 2.

**Table 2: Maximum number of Ministers**

Year	Max Ministers (a)	Premier, Party	Size of Legislative Assembly
1896	8	Nelson, Ministerialist	32 members in 22 electorates (b)
1920	9	Theodore, ALP	72
1926	10	McCormack, ALP	72
1949	11	Hanlon, ALP	62 (c)
1963	13	Nicklin, Country	78
1969	14	Bjelke-Petersen, Country	78
1975	18	Bjelke-Petersen, National Country	82
2001	19	Beattie, ALP	89

### Notes to Table 2

(a) Changes effected by amendment to the *Officials in Parliament Act 1896* (now repealed)

(b) all electorates in Queensland became single member electorates in 1912

(c) number of seats reduced from 72 to 62 by the *Electoral Districts Act 1931* during the great depression, mainly by abolition of seats held by the ruling ALP which none-the-less comfortably won the next election

The Cabinet limit is now found in s.43(4) of the *Constitution of Queensland 2001*, a section that can be amended by ordinary Act of Parliament. It provides:

The maximum number of Ministers at any time is 19.<sup>11</sup>

A major turning point for the size of the executive government was the 1995 election won by Labor under Wayne Goss. His majority shrank from 19 seats<sup>12</sup> to just one, losing nine seats including the Labor-stronghold of Gladstone to Liz Cunningham, an independent, though clearly conservative.

<sup>8</sup> Premier and Treasurer and Minister for State Development from 25 September to 7 Dec 1989 (73 days).

<sup>9</sup> Including industry, tourism, small business, environment, and briefly police under Cooper.

<sup>10</sup> Minister for Health and Environment (itself a notable combination of portfolios) from 25 November to 1 December 1987. He was not appointed to the Ahern or Cooper Cabinets, but did serve as Speaker. He was dismissed from the Borbidge Cabinet for expense irregularities in February 1998.

<sup>11</sup> ie no referendum or special majority is needed.

<sup>12</sup> ALP 54 seats; National 26; Liberal 9 in the election held on 19 September 1992.

The outcome in the seat of Mundingburra was challenged and the Court of Disputed Returns ordered a new election.<sup>13</sup> Labor dumped its previous, successful candidate, by then a Minister, opting for the Mayor of nearby Townsville but to no avail: 203 days into the third Goss Government, the Liberal candidate won the seat and Queensland had a hung parliament. The configuration is familiar: 44 ALP, 44 Coalition, 1 independent.<sup>14</sup> Cunningham sided with the Coalition on questions of votes of confidence and supply (the matters that make and break government). The Goss Government fell.

The resulting Borbidge government, formed on 19 February 1996, was shaky. The Nationals and Liberals sat uneasily together. Ministers made poor use of the public service.<sup>15</sup> The Government generally was gaffe prone and in continual controversy.<sup>16</sup>

Borbidge used the machinery of government as one way to manage the volatility of his government. Largesse was spread more widely by adding new roles of Parliamentary Secretary to complement the ministry.<sup>17</sup> As a result, 21 of 44 Coalition members held executive office. The parliamentary officers also were entitled to handsome allowances – the speaker, whips and committee chairs – leaving few members without the spoils of office. Borbidge lost government in the 1998 election.

Two elections later, Peter Beattie, having led yet another minority government for a term, won a massive majority.<sup>18</sup> The number of ministers was raised to 19 by amending the Constitution<sup>19</sup> and the number of Parliamentary Secretaries increased to six. The spoils of office were spread wider to accommodate the huge Labor caucus.

From 2012, Campbell Newman who had won office with an even more overwhelming majority,<sup>20</sup> appointed 19 Ministers and initially 11 and then 12 Assistant Ministers.<sup>21</sup> The spoils were spread wider still:

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<sup>13</sup> *Tanti v Davies* (No 3) [1995] QSC 298.

<sup>14</sup> Compare the result of the 1998 election (government formed by the ALP 44 with support on confidence and supply of 1 Independent; National 23, One Nation 11, Liberal 9, other Independent 1) and the 2015 election (government formed by ALP 44 with support on confidence and supply of 1 Independent; LNP 44).

<sup>15</sup> Scott, R. & Scott, A. (2001) *The Search for Virtue and the Role of Anti-corruption Agencies : A Queensland Case Study* 2001 Annual Conference of the Public Administration Committee of the British Inter-Universities Council, Sunningdale: [http://espace.library.uq.edu.au/view/UQ:10128/Sunningdale\\_17\\_0.pdf](http://espace.library.uq.edu.au/view/UQ:10128/Sunningdale_17_0.pdf).

<sup>16</sup> Browne, P. (2010) The fabulous fiftieth NSW parliament, and other minority governments. *Inside Story* 10 September 2010 <http://insidestory.org.au/the-fabulous-fiftieth-nsw-parliament-and-other-minority-government>; Costar, B. & Curtin, J. (2004) *Rebels with a Cause: Independents in Australian Politics*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press: See also <http://insidestory.org.au/re-entering-chartered-waters>: 'The Borbidge government proved controversial and cavalier in its notions of accountability. When the parliament passed a no-confidence vote in the attorney-general in August 1997, for example, the premier backed his colleague's refusal to resign.'

<sup>17</sup> See *Constitution (Parliamentary Secretaries) Amendment Act 1996*. Four parliamentary Secretaries were appointed.

<sup>18</sup> ALP 66, National 12, Independent 5, Liberal 3.

<sup>19</sup> *Officials in Parliament Amendment Act 2001* (Qld).

<sup>20</sup> LNP 78, ALP 7, Katter's Australian Party 2, Independent 2.

<sup>21</sup> 'Re-badged' from parliamentary secretaries.

Every MP in the 89-seat Queensland Parliament will earn more than the basic backbencher wage, following changes that have allowed each member to occupy an official position of some form. All 78 members of the new Liberal National Party government have now received a position, with a list of committee appointees unveiled overnight adding to the already announced roles such as the elevation of Fiona Simpson to the Speakership. Ruling party members who have not been lucky enough to serve as one of the 19 cabinet ministers or 11 assistant ministers have been allocated a range of parliamentary and committee roles, allowing each to receive a single top-up to the \$137,000 standard backbencher salary.

The seven members of the Labor opposition, two Katter's Australian Party MPs and two independents will also juggle a range of committee roles.<sup>22</sup>

The size of the executive government has grown, not just because the demands of governance increased in size and complexity, but because politics had changed too.

Annastacia Palaszczuk's decision to reduce the size of the ministry was made in Opposition with apparently only a small chance of victory. Clearly, fewer Ministers and Assistant Ministers would save money,<sup>23</sup> but now in Government, it has the potential to bring major change to the way the executive operates, and to the future ambitions of the backbench. Only time will tell if the smaller cabinet is more effective and efficient and able to govern more cohesively. And it will be interesting to see whether the parsimony continues should the Palaszczuk government be returned with a majority in its own right at the next election.

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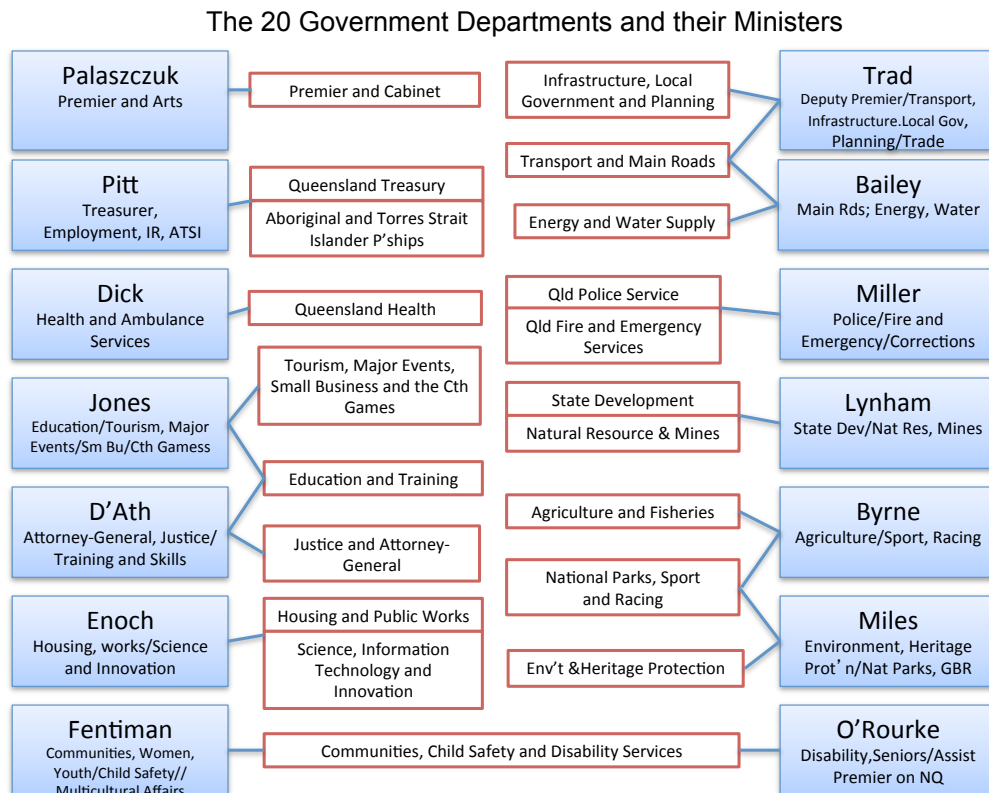
<sup>22</sup> Hurst, D. (2012) "In the new Parliament, everybody gets a prize". *Brisbane Times* 19 May 2012, <http://www.brisbanetimes.com.au/queensland/in-the-new-parliament-everybody-gets-a-prize-20120519-1yv73.html>

<sup>23</sup> Mellor, L. (2015) "Queensland election 2015: ALP promises to cut five Cabinet posts if elected", *ABC News Online*, 11 January 2015, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-01-11/alp-promises-to-cut-five-cabinet-posts-if-elected/6011024>

## MAP OF GOVERNMENT

The Palaszczuk model of 14+1 is a radical departure from recent political practice, a major change for the distribution of responsibilities in government. There remain 20 Departments as under Newman, necessitating some doubling up. Six Ministers are responsible for more than one department and because of the portfolio structures, four departments serve two Ministers.

Figure 1 is a map of the Ministers against the 20 Departments.



Two important things emerge from this depiction. First, it is clear there has been very little change from the departmental structures under the Newman Government. This seems to be a conscious decision to minimise the change in already-alarmed public service ranks after the tumult and poorly-managed cuts of the Newman years.

Second, the figure shows that the structure of government itself is rather clean.<sup>24</sup>

Some quirks of the MoG makeup, include:

- separating training from education at the Ministerial level;
- Minister Miles being responsible for environment and national parks but across two departments;

<sup>24</sup> especially compared to the Bligh arrangements with "13 new departments lead by the government's 18 Ministers grouped under six clusters": Bligh, A, (2009) "Bligh reforms continue with public service restructure". Media release, 26 March 2009

- the awkward split of road safety from other transport issues;
- fracturing of infrastructure across five major ministries (Trad with infrastructure, Pitt with infrastructure monitoring, Bailey with main roads, Lynham with State Development and Enoch with public works);
- retention of the mechanics of industrial relations in the Department of Justice and Attorney-General while Minister Pitt has the responsibility and the Act.<sup>25</sup>

### Departments supporting more than one Minister

- Department of **Transport and Main Roads** (Jackie Trad and Mark Bailey)
  - Transport has been teamed and un-teamed with Main Roads both departmentally and ministerially over recent years. Servicing two Ministers should be relatively easy for this sophisticated department.
  - However the carve-up of road safety and ports (both traditionally aligned with Transport rather than Main Roads) may cause some co-ordination issues.
- Department of **Employment and Training** (Kate Jones and Yvette D'Ath)
  - there is a long history of trying to bring education and training together. They remain in the one department, but split across two ministers.
  - Internally there is little integration between the major limbs. State Schooling is the bulk of the department. the Training and Skills entity functions semi-independently.<sup>26</sup>
- Department of **National Parks, Sport and Racing** (Bill Byrne and Steven Miles)
  - Recreation Services and the Office of Racing and Sport are relatively self-contained.
- Department of **Communities, Child Safety and Disability Services** (Shannon Fentiman and Coralee O'Rourke)
  - the two major policy areas within the department cover (a) Child, Family and Community Services and (b) Disability Services and Seniors. Each oversees the other's services on a North-South service region basis. The matrix structure is amenable to serving the two Ministers.<sup>27</sup>
  - Multicultural Affairs is a relatively discrete entity.

### Ministers responsible for more than one Department

- Curtis Pitt
  - Queensland Treasury<sup>28</sup>
  - Department of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Partnerships

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<sup>25</sup> The Public Service Commission published a summary of departmental changes noting no changes in Justice and Attorney-General "at this stage", perhaps portending a move for industrial relations policy and regulatory public servants, but not the Industrial Court, Commission, and registry: [http://www.psc.qld.gov.au/assets/Summary\\_of\\_MOG\\_Changes\\_16-Feb-2015.pdf](http://www.psc.qld.gov.au/assets/Summary_of_MOG_Changes_16-Feb-2015.pdf)

<sup>26</sup> see organisation chart at <http://www.deta.qld.gov.au/corporate/pdf/det-organisational-structure.pdf>. The author is a former Deputy-Director-General of the department in much less complicated days

<sup>27</sup> see organisational chart at <http://www.communities.qld.gov.au/resources/corporate/organisational-structure.pdf>

<sup>28</sup> see footnote 25 as to support to Minister Pitt on industrial relations matters



- Jo-Ann Miller
  - Queensland Police Service
  - Queensland Fire and Emergency Services;
  
- Anthony Lynham
  - Department of State Development
  - Department of Natural Resources and Mines;
  
- Leanne Enoch
  - Department of Housing and Public Works
  - Department of Science, Information Technology and Innovation

## Ministers with one department and a shared department

<b>Jackie Trad</b>	Department of Infrastructure, Local Government and Planning
	share Department of <b>Transport and Main Roads</b>
<b>Mark Bailey</b>	Department of Energy and Water Supply)

<b>Bill Byrne</b>	Department of Agriculture and Fisheries
	share Department of <b>Natural Resources, Sport and Racing</b>
<b>Steven Miles</b>	Department of Environment and Heritage Protection

<b>Kate Jones</b>	Department of Tourism, Major Events, Small Business and the Commonwealth Games
	share Department of <b>Education and Training</b>
<b>Yvette D'Ath</b>	Department of Justice and Attorney-General

While the above information might seem complicated, to experienced public administrators it is relatively straight-forward. Public servants, especially those charged with coordination across government<sup>29</sup> and within departments<sup>30</sup> have become used to working with more than one Minister and across departmental boundaries. It is not novel, and in some areas of government has long been an operational requirement.<sup>31</sup> Directors-General have recently chosen to co-operate across departmental boundaries to share coordination and 'back office' resources, especially where their agencies have shared substantive interests.

<sup>29</sup> Especially the Department of the Premier and Cabinet and Queensland Treasury and perhaps the Public Service Commission.

<sup>30</sup> Notably the network of Cabinet and Legislation Officers (CLLOs) established early under Goss and that persists to this day.

<sup>31</sup> In my experience, by way of example, the Minister responsible for fisheries will have several Cabinet colleagues with a keen eye to important constituencies involved in fishing.

## SUPER PORTFOLIOS?

The Leader of the Opposition has been very critical of the reduction of the Cabinet to 14 ministers. He predicted the new ministry would be overwhelmed by the workload and the unfamiliarity of government, saying:

Running government is running a \$50 billion public business and I think this government will regret the reduction in portfolios. You have to be able to manage your portfolios and the bigger and more unwieldy it gets – and the more unfamiliar you are – the more it consumes you.<sup>32</sup>

The reduction from an executive of 31 under Newman to 15 under Palaszczuk is certainly significant, but in my view has not resulted in inherently unworkable structures.

Table 3 shows the number of Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries<sup>33</sup> and Departments in each Australian jurisdiction.

**Table 3: Ministers, parliamentary secretaries and departments by Jurisdiction**

State	Ministers	Parl Secs	Departments
Qld	14	1 (a)	20
Cth	30 (b)	12	18
NSW	22	13	9
Vic	22	12	8
SA	14	1	14 (c)
WA	17	8	30 (d)
Tas	9	2	8
ACT	6	none	7 (e)
NT	8	3 (f)	21

Notes to Table 3

(a) Qld: Assistant Minister (was Parliamentary Secretary until 2012)

(b) Cth: there are 19 Cabinet Ministers and 11 'outer' or junior ministers (not in Cabinet)<sup>34</sup>

(c) SA lists 20 agencies as departments. 14 is chosen as a comparable number by excluding entities that would likely be "public service offices" in Queensland, eg Defence SA that employs only 19 individuals

(d) WA structures surmised from a much longer list at <http://www.wa.gov.au/departments-agencies>

(e) ACT government is unified in 1 'department' with 7 'directorates'

(f) NT parliamentary secretaries receive no extra remuneration

Some Ministers' workloads will inevitably be heavier than others. Health and Education will bring greater demands than smaller portfolios, with fewer staff and smaller budgets.

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<sup>32</sup> Reported at <http://www.brisbanetimes.com.au/queensland/twelve-months-before-labor-ministry-can-operate-lawrence-springborg-20150216-13fyc5.html>.

<sup>33</sup> Unlike in Queensland (where the office is now called Assistant Minister), Commonwealth parliamentary secretaries are similar to ministers, as explained by Bartlett, A. (2006) 'What the hell does a Parliamentary Secretary do, anyway?' *Bartlett's Blog*, <http://andrewbartlett.com/?p=117>

<sup>34</sup> See explanation at [http://www.aph.gov.au/About\\_Parliament/House\\_of\\_Representatives/Powers\\_practice\\_and\\_procedure/00\\_-\\_Infosheets/Infosheet\\_20\\_-\\_The\\_Australian\\_system\\_of\\_government](http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/House_of_Representatives/Powers_practice_and_procedure/00_-_Infosheets/Infosheet_20_-_The_Australian_system_of_government).

Dr David Hamill<sup>35</sup> noted at the 2015 annual general meeting of the TJ Ryan Foundation it was painfully obvious that workload was not fairly shared when sitting in a Cabinet of 18 or 19. My experience in advising on MoG issues is that constructing 18 or 19 meaningful portfolios in the Queensland context is difficult to the point of artificiality for at least two or three portfolios.

Further, even among an elite such as elected members of parliament, it is optimistic to assume that up to half have the exceptional political, leadership, managerial and administrative qualities needed to make a good Minister.

The overall makeup of the Palaszczuk Cabinet seems to present a reasonable balance of workload among Ministers, without apparent concoction.

Politicians often have huge capacity for work: the demands of winning elected office and commanding sufficient attention to warrant appointment demand such. Without reflecting on the calibre or capacity of the individual Ministers, some of the MoG arrangements stand out as especially demanding.

- Jackie Trad has a huge workload, complicated cross-portfolio interests and important political obligations as the Deputy Premier.
- Curtis Pitt's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander responsibilities may call him away from Brisbane and the significant demands of Treasury. Further his other portfolio responsibilities, industrial relations and public service employment conditions are areas for large, complex and urgent reform. The unsettled departmental arrangements will not assist in the short-term (see footnote 25).
- Kate Jones' responsibilities for the huge education portfolio could easily crowd out her responsibilities for tourism, major events, small business and the 2018 Commonwealth Games.

It is interesting to note that Anastacia Palaszczuk has chosen to include the Arts in her portfolio.<sup>36</sup> No doubt she will lean on others to assist with the inevitably heavy arts-related diary commitments.

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<sup>35</sup> Minister for both Education and Transport in the Goss Government, and Treasurer in the Beattie Government - all portfolios of considerable complexity and weight.

<sup>36</sup> as did Premiers Wayne Goss and Mike Ahern (who was also Treasurer). Premier Anna Bligh resumed the Arts portfolio after the 2009 election, relinquishing it in 2011 to make way for the post-flood Reconstruction portfolio

## INTO THE SHADOWS

The shadowing arrangements are complicated by two factors. First, there are 18 Shadow Ministers<sup>37</sup> but only 14 Cabinet Ministers. Second, Lawrence Springborg has structured the shadow cabinet differently from the Cabinet, meaning that many opposition spokespersons are shadowing more than one Minister. Kate Jones and Curtis Pitt each have four shadows, while Fiona Simpson is entrusted with shadowing three Ministers.

Table 4 shows the shadow arrangements from the Government perspective; Table 5 from the Opposition one.

**Table 4: The Ministers and their Shadows**

Minister	Portfolio	Shadow
Annastacia Palaszczuk	Premier Arts	Springborg Walker
Jackie Trad	Transport Infrastructure; Planning and Trade Local Government	Emerson (a) Nichols Simpson
Curtis Pitt	Treasurer Employment Industrial Relations Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Partnerships	Langbroek Nichols Walker Smith
Cameron Dick	Health and Ambulance Services	McArdle (b)
Kate Jones	Education Tourism, Major Events Small Business Commonwealth Games	Mander Stuckey Nichols Langbroek
Anthony Lynham	State Development; Natural Resources and Mines	Cripps
Yvette D'Ath	Attorney-General and Justice Training and Skills	Walker Mander
Jo-Ann Miller	Police, Fire and Emergency Services; Corrective Services	Bleijie
Bill Byrne	Agriculture and Fisheries Sport and Racing	Frecklington Stuckey
Mark Bailey	Main Roads, Road Safety and Ports Energy and Water Supply	Simpson (a) Powell
Steven Miles	Environment and Heritage Protection National Parks and the Great Barrier Reef	Bennett
Leeanne Enoch	Housing and Public Works Science and Innovation	Molhoek McVeigh
Shannon Fentiman	Communities, Women and Youth, Child Safety Multicultural Affairs	Davis
Coralee O'Rourke	Disability Services, Seniors Minister Assisting the Premier on North Queensland (c)	Davis Cripps

Notes and caveats to Table 4

Ministers are listed in seniority order

- (a) It is unclear whether Fiona Simpson is covering just main roads or the entirety of Mark Bailey's relevant portfolio. If not, road safety and ports are likely to be shadowed by Craig Emerson (who had carriage of those matters in the Newman Government).

<sup>37</sup> There was wide speculation there would be 19 shadow ministers, reflecting the Newman Cabinet. In the end there are 18 plus one 'shadow assistant minister', an informal office. See eg, Atfield, C. (2015) 'LNP return to business as Queensland Opposition' *Brisbane Times* 17 February 2015: <http://www.brisbanetimes.com.au/queensland/lnp-return-to-business-as-queensland-opposition-20150217-13h4vs.html>. ; Silk, M. (2015) 'Strong LNP support for 19 shadow ministers' 17 February 2015: <https://au.news.yahoo.com/qld/a/26309929/lnp-likely-to-have-19-shadow-ministers/>.

- (b) It is assumed that Mark McArdle is also covering ambulance services under Health (as was the case in the Newman Cabinet).
- (c) On North Queensland see note (a) to Table 5.

**Table 5: The Springborg Shadow Cabinet**

Bolding shows same portfolio when in Newman Ministry

Shadow Minister (a)	Shadow Portfolio	Minister shadowed
Lawrence Springborg	Leader of the Opposition	Palaszcuk
John-Paul Langbroek	Treasurer Commonwealth Games	Pitt Jones
Tim Nicholls	Infrastructure, Planning, Small Business, Employment and <b>Trade</b>	Trad
Mark McArdle	Health	Dick
Tim Mander	Education and Training	Jones
Andrew Cripps	<b>Natural Resources and Mines</b> , State Development Northern Development *	Lynham O'Rourke
Ian Walker	Attorney-General; Justice Industrial Relations <b>The Arts</b>	D'Ath Pitt Palaszcuk
Jarrold Bleijie	Police, Fire, Emergency Services and <b>Corrective Services</b>	Miller
Fiona Simpson (c)	Local Government Main Roads Community Recovery and Resilience	Trad Bailey Fentiman
Scott Emerson	<b>Transport</b>	Trad
Deb Frecklington (c)	Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry	Byrne
Rob Molhoek (c)	Housing and Public Works	Enoch
Stephen Bennett (c)	Environment, Heritage Protection and National Parks	Miles
Andrew Powell	Energy and Water Supply	Bailey
Tracy Davis	<b>Communities, Child Safety Disability Services</b>	Fentiman O'Rourke
John McVeigh	Science, Information Technology and Innovation	Enoch
Jan Stuckey	<b>Tourism, Major Events Sport and Racing</b> (b)	Jones Byrne
Tarnya Smith (c)	Aboriginal, Torres Strait Islander and Multicultural Affairs	Pitt Fentiman

Note to Table 5.

- (a) As best as discernible this list is in seniority order. There is just one shadow Assistant Minister compared to 12 Assistant Ministers in the Newman Government: Jason Costigan assists the Leader of the Opposition for North Queensland matters
- (b) Stuckey loses small business from her former ministry
- (c) The following were not Ministers in the Newman Government: Simpson (Speaker); Frecklington, Molhoek and Smith (Assistant Ministers); Bennett was a backbencher

It is notable that many shadow ministers who were in the Newman Cabinet are not carrying forward their previous responsibilities into opposition. Also notable is the allocation of agriculture, fisheries and forestry to a woman, possibly a first in Queensland.

These arrangements might just work well for the Opposition. But the inter-weaving shadowing arrangements may make life very complicated for Shadow Ministers. Co-ordination issues could place extra demand on the Leader of the Opposition, his staff and

other Opposition officers, including the whips and Jeff Seeney whose role is described as 'Chairman of Parliamentary Policy Committees, Strategy and Coordination'.<sup>38</sup>

## Directors-General

It is premature to include observations on Director-Generals despite the importance of those positions. At the time of writing, a process of merit selection of all the chief executives, led by the acting Director-General of the Premier's Department<sup>39</sup> and the Public Service Commission had barely begun. Roger Scott separately comments on chief executive selection in some depth.<sup>40</sup>

## Conclusion

The First Palaszczuk ministry and MoG arrangements speak of a prudent, even cautious approach to government. No funny titles, no dramatic or radical changes, no changes to departments that do not make sense, and minimal structural change.

The minimal change and commitment to 'return to Westminster'<sup>41</sup> suggest a leitmotif for MoG in 2015: stable government in safe hands.

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<sup>38</sup> see <https://www.parliament.qld.gov.au/members/current/list/MemberDetails?ID=997604321>.

<sup>39</sup> Dave Stewart, former Director-General of Transport when Palaszczuk was the Minister. See profile at <http://www.premiers.qld.gov.au/about-us/our-key-people/dg.aspx>.

<sup>40</sup> Scott, R. (2015) *Appointing CEOs: Looking Backwards and Sideways*. TJRyan Foundation.

<sup>41</sup> Whittaker, J. (2015) "Qld Premier vows minimal change, return to Westminster", *The Mandarin* 20 February 2015: <http://www.themandarin.com.au/22871-qld-premier-vows-minimal-change-return-westminster-gov/>