From policy to legislation A guide to legislative drafting

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11 July 2012



Recent changes at the PCO

- Now 4 drafting teams
- Justice and Social, Resources and Treaty, Infrastructure, and Commercial
- Reflects need to have drafting team managers devote more time for contact with instructing agencies



Recent Changes at the PCO cont'd

- Usually 2 drafters will be allocated to large Bills or Bills that are of critical importance to the Government
- More cross team drafting
- More extensive peer review of Bills
- An annual seminar program for all new instructors



Background

- Role of PCO in drafting legislation
- Quality of legislation depends on appropriate collaboration between instructor and drafter
- Avoiding role confusion and role reversal



What does PCO draft?

- all Government Bills
- all Government regulations
- local Bills (if asked)
- Members' Bills (if AG directs)
- Court rules



What do we do?

General

- take instructions
- give legal effect to policy
- try to produce plain English drafts
- try to identify and solve problems
- test policy and undertake legal analysis

Who does PCO act for?

- We act for the Minister in charge of a portfolio to which a project relates
- Ministry derives its authority to instruct us from the Minister
- Independent of the department
- Privilege (like solicitor and client)



Some recent trends

- Large ongoing demand from Ministers for more legislation
- Difficulties with Parliament processing legislation does not seem to act as a brake on that demand
- Time for drafting is being compressed undesirably (this is affecting the overall "quality" of the product)

Some recent trends: cont'd

- More instructions received in tranches (this is often a problematic way of proceeding as each tranche may be inconsistent with the last)
- More legislation passed under shortened timetables
- More pressure on officials/parliamentary counsel at select committees to meet short deadlines for reports/revision tracked versions of Bills
- Somewhat greater use of regulations to amend primary legislation in a transitional setting or to deal with emergencies

The role of instructor

- Provides PCO with comprehensive instructions
- Deals with legal and legislative issues arising from a legislative proposal (usually performed by a lawyer)
- Co-ordinates comments
- Resolves, or is responsible for resolving, any differences of opinion within that organisation
- Has authority to speak on behalf of the organisation
- Manages the timetable for the project
- Manages the relationship between PCO, policy advisers, other agencies, and operational people or other experts

Initial instructions

- One way of thinking about initial instructions is to ask yourself "What information would I need in order to understand what this project is all about?"
- The answer to that question is what the instructions should contain

OR

- This is something we want to happen
- This is **why** it cannot happen without legislation or a change to existing legislation
- This is **how** we think the law needs to be changed in order for it to happen



Initial instructions: what should they contain?

- ➤ All relevant
 - policy approvals
 - Cabinet papers and papers to the Minister
 - background information
 - legal opinions and cases
 - proceedings which are in contemplation
- > An indication of
 - the anticipated time frame
 - when any further instructions are likely to come (if not all provided in the first instance)
- > Pointers to related legislation



Initial instructions: what should they contain?

> Address

- consequential and related amendments
 (explain changes needed to other legislation)
- transitional and savings provisions (explain what will need to be done to make the transition to the law as it will be eg. what happens to existing licences?)
- > Identify any
 - conflicts with Bill of Rights or Privacy Act
 - non-compliance with the LAC Guidelines



Responding to drafts

- Read for internal consistency
- Read for readability
- Identify new issues (new issues will almost certainly become apparent)
- Identify mistakes
- Run the draft through practical scenarios: does it work?
- Is there anything missing?



Responding to drafts cont'd

- Say why something is wrong (not just that it is wrong)
- Give examples of scenarios (paint us a picture)
- Main instructor should co-ordinate and filter all comments
- Main instructor should add value
- Main instructor should advise of final outcome (organisation's view) on issues (it may well be unnecessary to advise PCO of all preliminary views)
- Try not to let your response drift, strike while the iron is hot and the matter is fresh in the drafter's mind









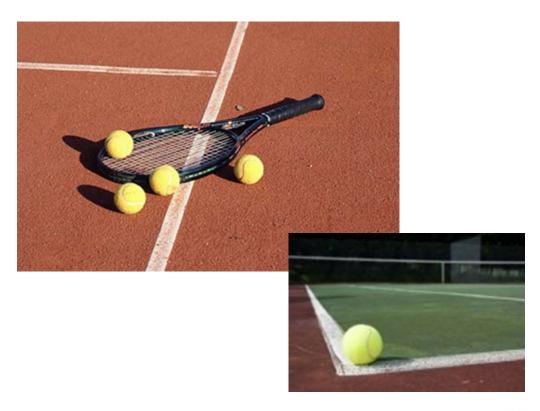
















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When does the instruction process fail?

- When expectations are not clear
- When instructions are not comprehensive enough
- When matters are left too late
- When the personnel running the project are insufficiently experienced or engaged
- When key personnel leave the project
- When not enough information is provided
- When matters are not explained clearly
- When people are not clear about their roles



Issues with undeveloped instructions or unengaged instructors

- Drafter is left to develop the policy and take responsibility for both the drafting and the policy
- "Post box" syndrome "policy vacuum" where no one will take responsibility for resolving policy or other problems
- Instructor's organisation may be formally responsible for administration of legislation but subject matter knowledge rests mainly in another organisation
- Inefficient use of drafting resources and limited refinement as policy never settles (problems of continuous redesign)

Issues with overly directive instructors

- Role of drafter can be reduced to that of editor, without sufficient understanding of what is proposed and why
- Role confusion can occur with instructor trying to do the drafter's job and drafter ending up doing instructor's job
- Commissioned drafts may result in neither the drafter nor the instructor understanding fully and clearly the policy intended to be implemented

Bill management at select committee stage

- Mutual information sharing between the instructing organisation and PCO is crucial
- The departmental report when suggesting changes should recommend concepts, not specific words
- Showing PCO the departmental report often avoids differences of opinion in front of the select committee
- Apply the same process when reading rt documents as when reading drafts of Bills

Bill management at committee of the whole House

- Last chance for change but only if it is needed
- Advise as soon as possible if an SOP is necessary
- Seek to avoid making substantial changes at this stage, because substantial amendments bring with them risks of muddling the overall scheme of the legislation and making it practically unworkable
- Special considerations apply if the opposition begins a filibuster

Avoid this

policy stages



Amendments

Mar Apr May Jun Jul Aug Sep Oct Nov Dec Jan Feb Mar Apr May Jun



Achieve this

policy stages

drafting

legislative stages a

Mar Apr May Jun Jul Aug Sep Oct Nov Dec Jan Feb Mar Apr May Jun



Central aims

- Create shared vision
- Avoid nasty surprises
- Identify what needs doing
- Convey what needs doing
- Maximise drafting time



Key results

- Smooth sailing
- Timely & tailored solutions
- Accurate & effective products
- Desired outcomes



Online resources

PCO guide online:

www.pco.parliament.govt.nz/instructing-the-pco/

LAC tips online:

www2.justice.govt.nz/lac/index.html

www.pco.parliament.govt.nz/lac-guidelines/

