# International Comparison of Legislation Banning Conversion Practices

- Victoria, New Zealand, and Germany

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## I. Introduction and Summary

Across the globe, a number of jurisdictions (both nationally and subnationally) have implemented, or are in the process of implementing, legislation banning conversion practices. This includes, for example, Germany, Brazil, Ecuador, France and Malta at the national level, and Australia, Spain, the USA, and Canada sub-nationally<sup>1</sup>. The strength, utility, and comprehensiveness of such legislation varies, with few considered to provide full and adequate protections for everyone affected by conversion practices.

Outline: The Committee have expressed an interest in an international comparison paper of current (or proposed) legislation on conversion practices in Victoria, Germany, and New Zealand. The following brief provides an assessment of these three jurisdictions:

- Victoria (sub-national legislation in Australia)
- **Germany** (national legislation)
- **New Zealand** (national legislation still proceeding through parliament)<sup>2</sup>.

Based on a comparison of key factors (detailed in Section II), which determine the efficacy of legislation banning, and other measures taken to address, conversion practices, we would suggest that **the Victorian model currently constitutes best practice** of these three jurisdictions,

<sup>1</sup> This is not an exhaustive list and there are other jurisdictions currently working on legislation

<sup>2</sup> Any information pertaining to this Bill is correct at the time of writing, but may be subject to amendments

providing the widest and most robust protections for people against conversion practices (as shown in Figure 1 below).

**QUICK VIEW:** 

Features of legislation across jurisdictions

## **New Zealand** Victoria Protects adults and minors Protects 'vulnerable adults' Protects minors (under 18s) Applies in all public and private settings Applies regardless of 'consent' 8 Applies regardless of perceived harm (threshold for offences) 8 Prohibition of advertising Removal for the purposes of undergoing conversion practices Civil provisions in legislation × Additional support measures Additional funding provided to operate the scheme Covers referrals / inducements Includes educational measures Regulatory powers to investigate perpetrators Comprehensiveness

**Figure 1** Table displaying the different features of legislation against conversion practices in Victoria, New Zealand, and Germany

Covers sexual orientation and gender identity

Symbol
Good coverage
Some/limited coverage
No coverage
Unknown

The three pieces of legislation may be found here:

Victoria	https://www.legislation.vic.gov.au/as-made/acts/change-or- suppression-conversion-practices-prohibition-act-2021
New Zealand	https://www.legislation.govt.nz/bill/government/2021/0056/latest/whole.html (bill in progress)
Germany	https://www.gesetze-im- internet.de/konvbehschg/BJNR128500020.html

## II. Key features

#### Factor 1: Protection of Adults, Children and Young People

- 1. Research by the Ozanne Foundation has found that survivors in the UK are most likely to have experienced conversion practices whilst 18 or under (50.3%)<sup>3</sup>. However, by the same token, this research also shows that any ban that applies only to minors (18 and under) would not protect almost half (49.7%) of people undergoing conversion practices, the majority of whom are likely to be young people aged 19-24.4
- 2. Adults, children and young people can all be subject to conversion practices, and these can cause serious psychological, and sometimes physical, harms regardless of age<sup>5</sup>. Legislation limited to the protection of minors misses a significant proportion of people who are currently at risk of, or have already undergone, conversion practices.

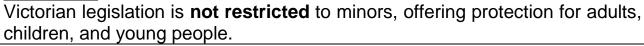
<sup>3 2018</sup> National Faith and Sexuality Survey, Ozanne Foundation (2018). Available at: https://www.ozanne.foundation/project/faith-sexualitysurvey-2018/

<sup>4</sup> Ibid

<sup>5</sup> Practices of so-called "conversion therapy", Report of the Independent Expert on protection against violence and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity, Victor Madrigal-Borloz, Human Rights Council (2020). Available at: <a href="https://undocs.org/A/HRC/44/53">https://undocs.org/A/HRC/44/53</a>

# Factor 1 across jurisdictions: Protection of Adults, Children and Young People

## VICTORIA 🔍



### **NEW ZEALAND**

Under the proposed Bill, it would be an offence in New Zealand to perform conversion practices on anyone under 18, or on someone with "impaired decision-making capacity"<sup>6</sup>. The Bill also makes it an offence to "perform conversion practices on anyone – irrespective of age – where the practices have caused **serious harm**"<sup>7</sup>. However, the lack of clarity as to what counts as 'serious harm' could lead to difficulties for some adult survivors in pursuing criminal charges<sup>8</sup>. The New Zealand Conversion Therapy Action Group have stated that the requirement to prove serious harm is "a toxic precedent to set because it forces survivors to assess whether or not their trauma is valid"<sup>9</sup>.

## GERMANY

Despite the explanatory text to the German legislation clearly stating that there is no scientifically valid proof of conversion practices working, and that such practices are actively harmful<sup>10</sup>, the ban is limited to those under 18 years of age and 'vulnerable adults'. Research by Dr Paul Behrens of the University of Edinburgh, states that the age threshold in German law has "been subject to considerable critique, with the Federal Council (the Bundesrat, Upper Chamber of the German Parliament) pointing out that

6 Conversion Practices Prohibition Legislation introduced to Parliament, Hon Kris Faafoi, New Zealand Government (2021). Available at: <a href="https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/conversion-practices-prohibition-legislation-introduced-parliament">https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/conversion-practices-prohibition-legislation-introduced-parliament</a>

7 Ibid

8 Ibid

9 Submission to the Justice Select Committee on the Conversion Practices Prohibition Legislation Bill – Conversion Therapy Action Group (CTAG), Conversion Therapy Action Group (2021). Available at:

https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-

NZ/53SCJU\_EVI\_113397\_JU16774/f46bd83f1ccef37de1826b494a5fa5 7e847b99fe

10 Gesetzentwurf Der Bundesregierung, German Federal Government (2020). Available at:

https://dserver.bundestag.de/btd/19/172/1917278.pdf (in German)

'coming out processes' take place even after the age of 18 years and that emotional and social independence was increasingly achieved only at later stages in life". <sup>11</sup> Similar criticisms have been levied by prominent German LGBT rights group LSVD, who have called for the age to be raised to 26<sup>12</sup>.

The German Act also specifies that carers and guardians are exempt from criminal proceedings unless they 'grossly violate' their duty of care<sup>13</sup>. As research shows that it is often family members who perpetrate conversion practices, this could represent a substantial gap in the legislation.

#### Factor 2: Settings

- 3. To effectively end conversion therapy, a ban must cover practices that occur across all public and private spheres, including in religious and faith-based settings, where conversion practices predominantly take place. This aligns with the recommendations of the UN Independent Expert on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity, that conversion practices should be banned from being "advertised and carried out in healthcare, religious, education, community, commercial or any other settings, public or private" 14.
- 4. The UK Government's National LGBT Survey (2018), of 108,000 LGBTQ+ people across the UK, identified the scale of the provision and promotion of conversion therapy practices in the UK<sup>15</sup>. Of those respondents to the National LGBT Survey from Scotland who had undergone conversion practices, 46% said it

https://dserver.bundestag.de/btd/19/172/1917278.pdf (in German) 14 Report on conversion therapy, Independent Expert on protection against violence and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity (2020). Available at: <a href="https://undocs.org/A/HRC/44/53">https://undocs.org/A/HRC/44/53</a> 15 National LGBT Survey: Research report, Government Equalities Office (2018). Available at:

https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/national-lgbt-survey-summary-report

<sup>11</sup> See submission to the EHRCJ Committee from Dr Paul Behrens
12 UNGENÜGENDES GESETZ ZUM VERBOT VON
KONVERSIONSMASSNAHMEN, LSVD (2020). Available at: Insufficient
law banning conversion measures (Isvd.de) (in German with translation available)

<sup>13</sup> Gesetzentwurf Der Bundesregierung, German Federal Government (2020). Available at:

had been conducted by a faith organisation or group, 22% said it had either been conducted by a parent or a person from their community, and 16% said it had been conducted by healthcare providers or medical professionals.

## Factor 2 across jurisdictions: Settings

#### VICTORIA



Through engagement with stakeholders who worked on developing the Victorian legislation, it is clear that the development included consideration of unpaid informal and religious conversion practices, recognising that these are the settings in which such practices are most likely to occur, but the legislation covers **all** settings, including paid formal or regulated practices.

#### **NEW ZEALAND**



The proposed Bill does not specify the settings to which it applies, however, it defines conversion practices as those "directed towards a person because of their sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression; and performed with the intention of changing or suppressing their sexual orientation, gender identity, or gender expression". This may suggest that the ban is applicable in all settings, however, the Bill's "narrow" wording and lack of clarity has been criticised by the NZ Conversion Therapy Action Group (CTAG). CTAG have warned that the legislation could create loopholes for those using more "covert" and "subtle" forms of conversion practices (such as talking conversion practices)<sup>17</sup>.

## **GERMANY**



The German Act recognises that conversion practices occur in a variety of settings, and that these practices are not always carried out by health

<sup>16</sup> Conversion Practices Prohibition Legislation Bill Explanatory Note, Hon Kris Faafoi (2021). Available at: <u>Conversion Practices Prohibition</u> <u>Legislation Bill 56-1 (2021), Government Bill Explanatory note – New</u> <u>Zealand Legislation</u>

<sup>17</sup> Submission to the Justice Select Committee on the Conversion Practices Prohibition Legislation Bill – Conversion Therapy Action Group (CTAG), Conversion Therapy Action Group (2021). Available at: <a href="https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-">https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-</a>

NZ/53SCJU EVI 113397 JU16774/f46bd83f1ccef37de1826b494a5fa5 7e847b99fe

professionals<sup>18</sup>, however, the Act's narrow scope means that adults who 'consent' are not protected in any setting, and minors are unlikely to be protected in the setting of the family home due to the exclusion of parents from criminal regulation unless there have been gross violations of duty of care.

#### **Factor 3: Consent**

5. Any exemption for those who 'consented' to conversion practices would leave many at risk of serious physical and psychological harm from these inhumane and degrading practices. The Independent Forensic Expert Group notes that, for an individual to give 'informed consent' to conversion therapy, it "would require that an individual is informed about the practices that will be applied, as well as their ineffectiveness, the likely physical and psychological harm that will result, and the inability to achieve the desired result." <sup>19</sup>

## Factor 3 across jurisdictions: Consent

## **VICTORIA**



The Victorian legislation bans "change or suppression practices" carried out "whether with or without the person's consent".

## **NEW ZEALAND**



The proposed Bill bans conversion practices for minors outright, and states that consent cannot be used as a defence where serious harm has occurred in adults. However, this relies on 'proving' that the harm caused meets an undisclosed threshold of severity.

<sup>18</sup> Gesetzentwurf Der Bundesregierung, German Federal Government (2020). Available at:

https://dserver.bundestag.de/btd/19/172/1917278.pdf (in German)

<sup>19</sup> Statement on Conversion Therapy, Independent Forensic Expert Group. Available at:

https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/SexualOrientation/IESOGI/CS OsAJ/IFEG Statement on C.T. for publication.pdf

#### **GERMANY**



German legislation bans conversion practices for minors outright, but only bans such practices in adults where they undergo these "by force, fraud or pressure"<sup>20</sup>.

#### **Factor 4: Threshold for offences**

- 6. As the Committee has heard from witnesses, it is vital that the threshold of any offence is clearly defined, to catch all potentially harmful conversion practices, without infringing other rights, and without inadvertently catching non-directive therapy and gender identity health services.
- 7. All practices that seek to change or suppress, and therefore have the potential to do harm, should pass the threshold for the criminal offence.

## Factor 4 across jurisdictions: Threshold for offences

#### **VICTORIA**



The Victorian legislation states that an 'offence' occurs only in the instance of 'injury', where this refers to both physical and mental injury. This offence carries a weighty maximum sentence of up to "level 5 imprisonment (10 years maximum) or a level 5 fine (1200 penalty units maximum) or both"<sup>21</sup>. In the case of a corporate body, this can carry a fine of up to "6000 penalty units" <sup>22</sup>.

There are clear exceptions in the offence, for genuine non-directive support and healthcare.

<sup>20</sup> Appendix 3: Measures taken by country, UK Government Equalities Office (2021). Available at:

https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/conversion-therapy-anevidence-assessment-and-qualitative-study/appendix-3-measurestaken-by-country

<sup>21</sup> Change or Suppression (Conversion) Practices Prohibition Act 2021, The Parliament of Victoria (2021). Available at: Change or Suppression (Conversion) Practices Prohibition Act 2021 (legislation.vic.gov.au)
22 Ibid

While the need to prove 'injury' has the potential to create a high threshold for offences and a burden on survivors, the Victorian legislation also includes a strong civil scheme – see sections below.

## NEW ZEALAND

As previously detailed, the proposed Bill in New Zealand would require adults to prove that 'serious harm' has occurred, and that the perpetrator intended that, or was reckless as to the harms caused. The threshold for prosecution is set higher in terms of the severity required for offence than in Victoria.<sup>23</sup>

The New Zealand Bill also requires the consent of the Attorney-General in order to prosecute perpetrators of conversion practices<sup>24</sup>. CTAG have described this requirement as "highly unusual", as this is more commonly found in legislation dealing with "high crimes, national security, war crimes, and terrorism"<sup>25</sup>. It is likely that this would act as a disincentive to prosecution.

## **GERMANY**

The explanatory notes to the German Act specify that whether a practice crosses the threshold required to be an offence depends on the overall context, and on each individual circumstance<sup>26</sup>. Any physical harm constitutes an offence, however, there is ambiguity when it comes to psychological harms. The notes state that pastoral or psychotherapeutic discussions do not constitute conversion treatments<sup>27</sup>. This risks many harmful practices failing to reach the threshold for the offence.

<sup>23</sup> Submission to the Justice Select Committee on the Conversion Practices Prohibition Legislation Bill – Conversion Therapy Action Group (CTAG), Conversion Therapy Action Group (2021). Available at:

https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-

NZ/53SCJU\_EVI\_113397\_JU16774/f46bd83f1ccef37de1826b494a5fa5 7e847b99fe

<sup>24</sup> Ibid

<sup>25</sup> Ibid

<sup>26</sup> Gesetzentwurf Der Bundesregierung, German Federal Government (2020). Available at:

https://dserver.bundestag.de/btd/19/172/1917278.pdf (In German) 27 lbid

#### Factor 5: Prohibition of advertising

8. The advertising and promotion of conversion practices needs to be addressed by the legislation, to proactively deal with the problem, and in recognition of the harmful and fraudulent nature of the practices.

## Factor 5 across jurisdictions: Prohibition of advertising

#### <u>VICTORIA</u>



The Act creates a new specific offence of "advertising a change or suppression practice".

#### **NEW ZEALAND**



The proposed Bill does not address the advertising of conversion practices. This is inconsistent with the purposes and rationale for the legislation, which acknowledge that conversion practices are both fraudulent and harmful.

#### **GERMANY**



The German Act prohibits advertising of conversion practices.

# <u>Factor 6: Removal from jurisdiction for the purposes of conversion</u> practices

9. Any ban on conversion practices should ensure that it is an offence to remove someone from the jurisdiction it covers, for the purpose of them undergoing conversion practices elsewhere. Without this, the legislation will fall short of protecting people, serving in some cases only to change the location of the abuse, and in other cases creating loopholes, for example, where conversion practices are carried out online, remotely.

# Factor 6 across jurisdictions: Removal for the purposes of undergoing conversion practices

## **VICTORIA**



Victorian legislation creates a specific offence of taking a person from Victoria for the purposes of that person being subject to a change or suppression practice (where that practice causes injury).

#### **NEW ZEALAND**



The proposed Bill does not include a specific offence for taking a person abroad for the purposes of undergoing conversion practices, however, the civil scheme in the Bill explicitly covers arranging for a conversion practice to be performed on any other person<sup>28</sup>.

### **GERMANY**



The German legislation does not include a specific offence of taking a person to another jurisdiction for the purposes of conversion practices.

#### Factor 7: Civil provisions in legislation

10. While criminal offences are important for providing justice, and as a deterrent, criminal prosecution is a "last resort", and proactive civil law measures to address conversion practices are equally important.

## Factor 7 across jurisdictions: Civil provisions in legislation

## **VICTORIA**



The Victorian legislation includes a civil scheme operated by the Victorian Equal Opportunity and Human Rights Commission (VEOHRC), which has been given additional funding for that purpose. Under the scheme, the Commission has responsibility for public education around conversion practices, and has full investigative powers, with the ability to take reports from community members, create a ledger of reports with threshold triggers, facilitate outcomes, and implement enforceable undertakings. Failure to comply with undertakings can lead to criminal penalties.

## **NEW ZEALAND**



Under the proposed Bill in New Zealand, "civil redress" would be available for adults who were not 'seriously harmed' or chose to make a complaint under

<sup>28</sup> Conversion Practices Prohibition Legislation Bill Explanatory Note, Hon Kris Faafoi (2021). Available at: Conversion Practices Prohibition Legislation Bill 56-1 (2021), Government Bill Explanatory note — New Zealand Legislation

the civil scheme. The Ministry of Justice's impact assessment<sup>29</sup> states that funding should be provided to the Human Rights Commission (responsible for the civil scheme) in order for it to "respond to complaints under the civil provision".<sup>30</sup> The NZ Conversion Therapy Action Group have expressed concerns that the legislation will mean that "most, if not all, instances of conversion therapy to be dealt with through a civil mechanism", meaning that conversion practices would tend to be treated as a "civil infraction". This was felt by CTAG to be an inadequate provision, which did not reflect the severity and harms of such practices.

### **GERMANY**



The German legislation provides for the establishment of a counselling service (see below) but does not include other forms of civil redress.

# <u>Factor 8: Features of legislation and other measures taken to address conversion practices</u>

11. Any legislation banning conversion practices should be survivor-led and trauma-informed. As the main purpose of such legislation is to protect those affected by such practices, other measures are crucial, including adequate and specialist support and services for survivors, particularly as they navigate the pathway to prosecution, and educative elements which make conversion practices less likely to occur in communities in the future.

# Factor 8 across jurisdictions: Features of legislation and other measures taken to address conversion practices

#### **VICTORIA**



As part of the civil scheme in Victoria, the VEOHRC will be given non-legislative functions and powers, such as conducting research and education. However, there is a lack of funding dedicated to psychological support for survivors. This a point of weakness of the current model. It has been suggested that this form of support could be achieved through a policy solution in the future<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> Regulatory Impact Assessment - Prohibition of Conversion Practices, Ministry of Justice. Available at: Regulatory Impact Assessment - Full Impact Statement Template (justice.govt.nz)

<sup>30</sup> Ibid

<sup>31</sup> Information provided by current legislators/researchers in Australia

## **NEW ZEALAND**



It is unclear whether any support will be provided to survivors of conversion practices, or whether steps will be taken to educate and inform communities about the harms of conversion practices to prevent this from happening in the first place<sup>32</sup>.

#### **GERMANY**



The German Act establishes a telephone and online advice service "for the benefit of a wide range of persons, including persons who for 'professional or private reasons' deal with questions of sexual orientation and gender identity"<sup>33</sup>. This is offered in several languages, and on an anonymous basis<sup>34</sup>, with funding of €969,000 euros per year<sup>35</sup>. However, this does not support the "self-esteem of affected persons" or "inform about the damaging effects of conversion treatments"<sup>36</sup>. The German Federal Council have suggested an amendment be made to ensure that these elements are included<sup>37</sup>. The German Act also provides funding for a peer-to-peer service, training young people to speak to other young people<sup>38</sup>.

### **Factor 9: Comprehensiveness**

12. While a criminal offence of conversion practices is important, to provide justice, to recognise the harm caused, and to provide a deterrent, civil and other measures are just as important to

32 Submission to the Justice Select Committee on the Conversion Practices Prohibition Legislation Bill – Conversion Therapy Action Group (CTAG), Conversion Therapy Action Group (2021). Available at: <a href="https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-">https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-</a>

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33 Submission to the Committee from Dr Paul Behrens

34 Ibid

35 Gesetzentwurf Der Bundesregierung, German Federal Government (2020). Available at:

https://dserver.bundestag.de/btd/19/172/1917278.pdf (In German)

36 Submission to the Committee from Dr Paul Behrens

37 Ibid

38 Gesetzentwurf Der Bundesregierung, German Federal Government (2020). Available at:

https://dserver.bundestag.de/btd/19/172/1917278.pdf (In German)

proactively address the problem. Legislation needs to consider all of these, and to be comprehensive.

The UK Government's National LGBT Survey (2018) 13. identified the scale of the provision and promotion of conversion therapy practices in the UK. It found that 7% of LGBTQ+ people in Scotland had either undergone or been offered conversion therapy, including 10% of trans people in Scotland. A ban must therefore cover conversion practices for both sexual orientation and gender identity, thereby providing equal protection to all LGBTQ+ people.

### **Factor 9: Comprehensiveness**

## **VICTORIA**



The Victorian legislation, its accompanying definitions, and non-legislative components, are the most comprehensive of the three jurisdictions, seeking to cover all people in all settings. The Act includes an 'avoidance of doubt clause' too, making clear that neutral, non-directive, or affirmative support is not considered a conversion practice. This provides clarity that psychological support and pastoral support exploring a person's sexual orientation or gender identity, and gender affirming medical treatments, are not covered by the legislation.

Victorian legislation moves away from using the language of conversion 'therapy', acknowledging that such practices should not be considered therapeutic.

The definition of conversion practices in the Victorian legislation is inclusive of practices that seek to change or suppress both gender identity or sexual orientation.

## NEW ZEALAND



Overall, New Zealand's proposed Bill is narrow in scope and lacking in detail. The NZ Conversion Therapy Action Group's analysis of the Victorian Act and the proposed Bill in New Zealand found that the Victorian Act was five times longer<sup>39</sup>, and far more comprehensive in scope. As previously described, the

<sup>39</sup> Submission to the Justice Select Committee on the Conversion Practices Prohibition Legislation Bill - Conversion Therapy Action Group

proposed Bill in New Zealand fails to protect all people in all settings, and its lack of additional support measures, in combination with the need to prove 'serious harm', has been described as "putting the ambulance at the bottom of the cliff."<sup>40</sup>

Where New Zealand's legislation does do well is in its definition of conversion practices. This definition is similar to that contained within the Victorian Act, and also includes an avoidance of doubt clause. The proposed Bill also moves away from using the term 'therapy' and instead uses 'conversion practices'.

The definition of conversion practices in the proposed Bill in New Zealand is inclusive of practices that seek to change or suppress both gender identity or sexual orientation.

#### **GERMANY**



German legislation on conversion practices shares similarities with that of New Zealand, protecting only some people under certain conditions. The definition of conversion practices includes an avoidance of doubt provision to ensure that gender reassignment surgery and hormone treatment are not caught by the legislation.<sup>41</sup> As is the case in the legislation of Victoria and New Zealand, the German legislation moves away from using the language of conversion 'therapy' to distinguish conversion practices from supportive and affirmative psychological support.

The definition of conversion practices in the German legislation is inclusive of practices that seek to change or suppress both gender identity or sexual orientation.

<sup>(</sup>CTAG), Conversion Therapy Action Group (2021). Available at: <a href="https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-">https://www.parliament.nz/resource/en-</a>

NZ/53SCJU\_EVI\_113397\_JU16774/f46bd83f1ccef37de1826b494a5fa5 7e847b99fe

<sup>40</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Gesetzentwurf Der Bundesregierung, German Federal Government (2020). Available at:

https://dserver.bundestag.de/btd/19/172/1917278.pdf (In German)