

NATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS CONSULTATION

REPORT

September 2009

National Human Rights Consultation

© Commonwealth of Australia 2009

ISBN 978-1-921241-89-5

This work is copyright. You may reproduce, or in respect of the online version, download, display, and print, this material in unaltered form only (retaining this notice) for your personal, non-commercial use or use within your organisation. Apart from any use as permitted under the *Copyright Act 1968*, all other rights are reserved. Requests and enquiries concerning reproduction and rights should be addressed to:

Commonwealth Copyright Administration
Attorney General's Department
3–5 National Circuit
BARTON ACT 2600

or posted at <http://www.ag.gov.au/cca/>

This report is available online at <http://www.humanrightsconsultation.gov.au/> and at <http://www.ag.gov.au/>

The National Human Rights Consultation was supported by a Secretariat in the Attorney-General's Department.

The views expressed herein are those of the National Human Rights Consultation Committee and do not necessarily represent the views of the Australian Government.

WARNING: The National Human Rights Consultation seeks to treat Indigenous cultures and beliefs with respect. Indigenous readers are warned that the following document may contain images of and/or references to deceased persons.



30 September 2009

The Hon Robert McClelland MP
Attorney-General
Parliament House
CANBERRA ACT 2600

Dear Attorney-General

We are pleased to present to you the Report on the Consultation into Human Rights in Australia.

The Consultation was conducted in accordance with the Terms of Reference issued on 10 December 2008.

Yours sincerely

Father Frank Brennan AO
Chair

Mary Kostakidis
Member

Tammy Williams
Member

Mick Palmer AO APM
Member

www.humanrightsconsultation.gov.au 1800 086 134

National Human Rights Consultation Secretariat | Attorney-General's Department
Central Office, National Circuit, Barton ACT 2600

Foreword

Mary Kostakidis, Tammy Williams, Mick Palmer and I spent four months traversing this land, from Christmas Island to Palm Island, from Yirrkala to Devonport. Neither did we miss the Centre, attending community roundtables in Coober Pedy, Mintabie, Kalgoorlie, Charleville, Alice Springs and Santa Teresa. Thousands of concerned citizens came and spent time with us, sharing their views on how we might better protect human rights in Australia.

People with wildly divergent opinions about social, moral, political and legal questions came and had their say. Only once did a participant harangue the audience. The respect and tolerance we show each other in the public domain is one of the great things about Australia. I doubt there are many other countries where these community roundtables could have been conducted so peacefully.

Our three days of public hearings in the Great Hall of Parliament House in Canberra featured a diverse range of Australians agitating the big questions of this National Human Rights Consultation—including whether we need an Australian Human Rights Act. Never before has a public consultation generated so much interest: the Committee received more than 35 000 submissions.

Mary, Tammy, Mick and I had obviously been chosen because we are Australians with very different backgrounds and perspectives. We started with our differences, and we still have some. The government entrusted us to feed back what we heard from the Australian community. This we have tried to do. We came to the task confident that Australia is a nation that prides itself on ‘the fair go’ but knowing that much could be done to improve human rights—especially the human rights of people who ‘fall between the cracks’ in our egalitarian society.

We also knew our task was politically charged because many citizens wanted to focus on the question of whether we should have an Australian Human Rights Act. The Coalition parties were opposed. The Labor Party was divided. In this regard we were attentive to those who sought us out—at a community roundtable, on the online forum, on Facebook, at the public hearings or through submissions. We also commissioned detailed research with focus groups, a national telephone survey, and devolved consultations with some of Australia’s most vulnerable people.

The clearest finding from our work is that Australians know little about their human rights—what they are, where they come from and how they are protected. They need and want education. They need and want to create a better culture of human rights in those organisations that deliver public services to the community.

We hope that this detailed report, which is available at <www.ag.gov.au> and <www.humanrightsconsultation.gov.au>, the consultation website <www.humanrightsconsultation.gov.au>, the commissioned research, the thousands of submissions received and published (available on the consultation website) and the online forum will be useful educational resources for years to come.

Many Australians would like to see our national government and parliament take more notice of human rights as they draft laws and make policies. Ultimately, it is for our elected politicians to decide whether they will voluntarily restrict their powers or impose criteria for law making so as to guarantee fairness for all Australians, including those with the least power and the greatest need.

Our elected leaders could adopt many of the recommendations in this report without deciding to grant judges any additional power to scrutinise the actions of public servants or to interpret laws in a manner consistent with human rights. Alternatively, they could decide to take the extra step, engaging the courts as a guarantee that our politicians and the public service will be kept accountable in respecting, protecting and promoting the human rights of all Australians.

If they do choose to take that extra step, we have set out the way we think this can best be done—faithful to what we heard, respectful of the sovereignty of parliament, and true to the Australian ideals of dignity and a fair go for all. Our suggestions are confined to the Federal Government and the Federal Parliament. The states and territories will continue to make their own decisions about these matters. But we hope they will follow any good new leads given by the Federal Government and the Federal Parliament.

The Committee was privileged to make this journey. Along the way, we were joined by many dedicated helpers, among them Philip Flood, who assisted with community consultations, a hard-working Secretariat, and a wonderful team of writers led by Gaby Carney. The Committee, of course, accepts responsibility for any shortcomings in our procedures or findings.

Even if all our recommendations were implemented tomorrow, there would still be vulnerable Australians missing out, especially on the essential economic and social rights of greatest concern to the community—health, housing and education.

Responsibility for meeting these needs cannot rest solely with government and the vulnerable themselves. We need to take responsibility for each other.

A free and confident Australia has always been on the path to better human rights protection. At times our leaders—such as HV Evatt and Jessie Street—have taken great strides on this path, showing the world a way forward. The Australian community's fabulous response to this Consultation suggests that the time is right for our elected leaders to take new steps to protect and promote human rights. Each step for human rights can take us further on the path to dignity and fairness.

Frank Brennan

Contents

Foreword.....	v
Acknowledgments	xi
Summary	xiii
Recommendations	xxix
PART ONE Introduction.....	1
1 The Consultation: an overview	3
1.1 The Committee's brief	3
1.2 The Consultation.....	4
2 The community's views	15
2.1 Themes.....	15
2.2 Lives in the balance.....	20
2.3 Contested areas	37
2.4 'Hot button' topics	43
2.5 Conclusion	50
3 Rights and responsibilities.....	51
3.1 Rights	51
3.2 Responsibilities.....	63
PART TWO Rights and responsibilities in Australia.....	69
4 Which rights and responsibilities?	71
4.1 Rights	73
4.2 Responsibilities.....	93
4.3 The Committee's findings	95
5 Are human rights adequately protected and promoted?	97
5.1 The Australian tradition: 'a fair go' for all.....	97
5.2 International human rights law and Australia's obligations.....	100
5.3 The democratic system	104
5.4 The Australian Constitution.....	111
5.5 Legislative protections	114

5.6	Administrative law	117
5.7	The common law	120
5.8	Oversight mechanisms	123
5.9	Access to justice.....	126
5.10	The Committee's findings.....	127
PART THREE Reform options.....		129
6	Creating a human rights culture.....	131
6.1	The importance of a human rights culture	131
6.2	The need for human rights education	133
6.3	A national human rights education plan.....	140
6.4	Social inclusion	142
6.5	Creating a culture of human rights in the public sector	143
6.6	Creating a culture of human rights in other sectors	146
6.7	The Committee's findings.....	149
7	Human rights in policy and legislation	155
7.1	An audit of existing federal legislation, policies and practices	155
7.2	Human rights in the development of legislation and policy	163
8	Human rights in practice	177
8.1	A more coordinated and strategic framework.....	177
8.2	Human rights and the public sector.....	180
8.3	Improving independent oversight	188
8.4	Improved access to justice.....	198
9	Human rights and Indigenous Australians.....	205
9.1	What are 'Indigenous rights'?	205
9.2	Options for achieving social equality	210
PART FOUR A Human Rights Act?		227
10	Bill of rights debates: a historical overview.....	229
10.1	The drafting of the Australian Constitution.....	229
10.2	Constitutional attempts to protect rights.....	230
10.3	Federal legislative proposals to protect rights	231
10.4	Why did previous attempts fail?.....	236
10.5	Recent state and territory inquiries	237
11	Statutory models of human rights protection: a comparison.....	241
11.1	The dialogue model	241
11.2	New Zealand	242
11.3	The United Kingdom	247

11.4	The Australian Capital Territory.....	251
11.5	Victoria	257
12	The case for a Human Rights Act.....	263
12.1	The level of community support	263
12.2	Arguments in favour of a Human Rights Act	265
12.3	Countering the arguments	280
13	The case against a Human Rights Act	281
13.1	The level of community support	281
13.2	Arguments against a Human Rights Act.....	281
13.3	Countering the arguments	296
14	Practical considerations for a Human Rights Act	299
14.1	Potential models for a Human Rights Act	299
14.2	Jurisdictional scope of a Human Rights Act.....	303
14.3	Who should comply?	308
14.4	Who should be protected?.....	310
14.5	Which rights and responsibilities should be included?.....	312
14.6	What limitations should apply?.....	320
14.7	Human rights in legislation and policy development.....	322
14.8	Interpreting and applying the Human Rights Act.....	324
14.9	The role of public authorities	331
14.10	Causes of action	333
14.11	Remedies	335
14.12	Who can bring human rights claims?	338
14.13	The role of the Australian Human Rights Commission.....	339
14.14	A review provision.....	340
PART FIVE The way forward.....		341
15	The Committee's findings.....	343
15.1	Which rights and responsibilities should be protected and promoted?.....	343
15.2	Are our human rights currently sufficiently protected and promoted?.....	349
15.3	How could Australia better protect and promote human rights?	351
15.4	Should the Federal Parliament contemplate an Australian Human Rights Act?	361
15.5	Conclusion	377

APPENDIXES	381	
Appendix A	Terms of reference.....	383
Appendix B	Colmar Brunton community research report: summary.....	384
Appendix C	Colmar Brunton devolved consultation report: summary	394
Appendix D	The Allen Consulting Group report	397
Appendix E	The Solicitor-General's advice	423
Appendix F	The public hearings.....	455
Appendix G	Community roundtables.....	457
Appendix H	Statistics	459

Acknowledgments

The National Human Rights Consultation was made possible by the thousands of people who participated. We acknowledge the 6000 people who participated in our community roundtables and the more than 35 000 who made submissions. We thank them and the national and local media for their interest.

The Committee particularly thanks the following people for their contributions:

Alternate Committee member

Philip Flood

Attorney-General's Department Secretariat leaders

Kim Farrant

Diana Rahman

Kimberley Evans

Fiona Hamilton

Writers, researchers

Gaby Carney

Rowan Mcrae

Zelie Wood

Bridi Rice

Jessie Taylor

Editing and document preparation

Chris Pirie

Debbie Phillips

Solicitor-General of the Commonwealth

Stephen Gageler SC

Consultant Counsel, Australian Government Solicitor

Henry Burmester QC

Online forum participants

Professor Tom Campbell

Professor George Williams

Mr Philip Lynch

Mr Nicholas Barry

Consultants

Colmar Brunton Social Research

The Allen Consulting Group

Global Access Partners <openforum.com.au>

Zoo Group Pty Ltd

We are also grateful to the many officers from the Attorney-General's Department (including the 2009 graduates) who assisted throughout the course of the Consultation—especially Bernadette Mikita, who managed to get us to every destination and back again.