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*Is the creation of more
criminal laws a solution to
'new' harms and risks?*

Professor Julia Quilter



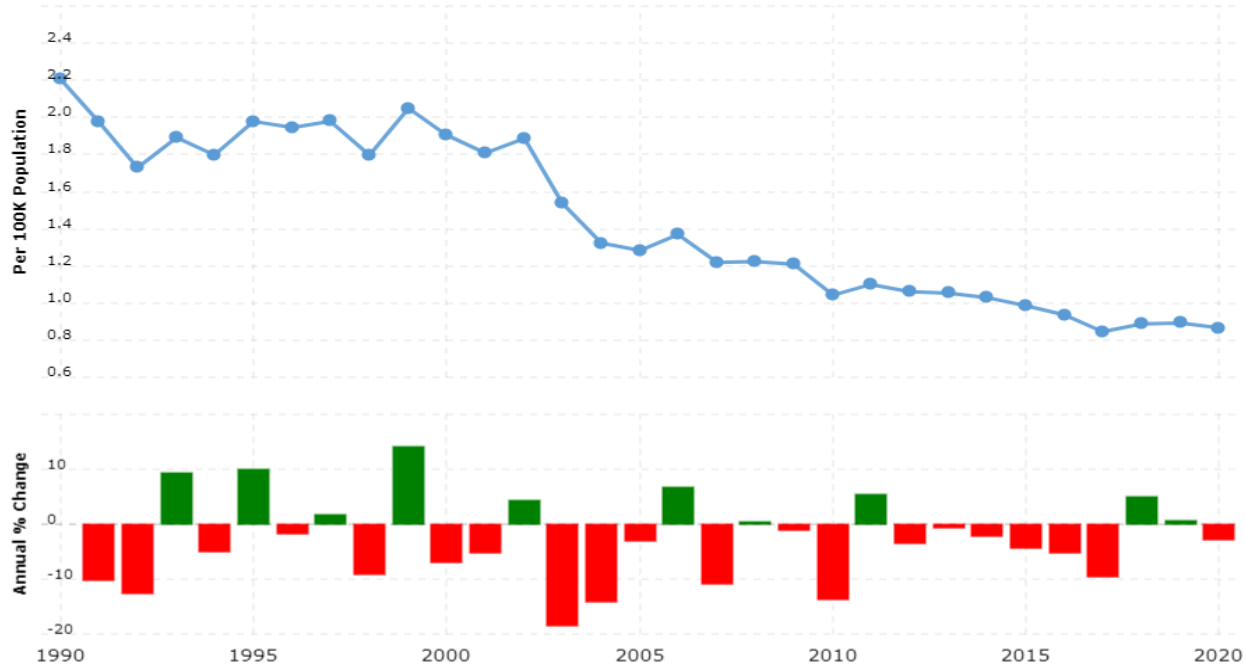
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Overview

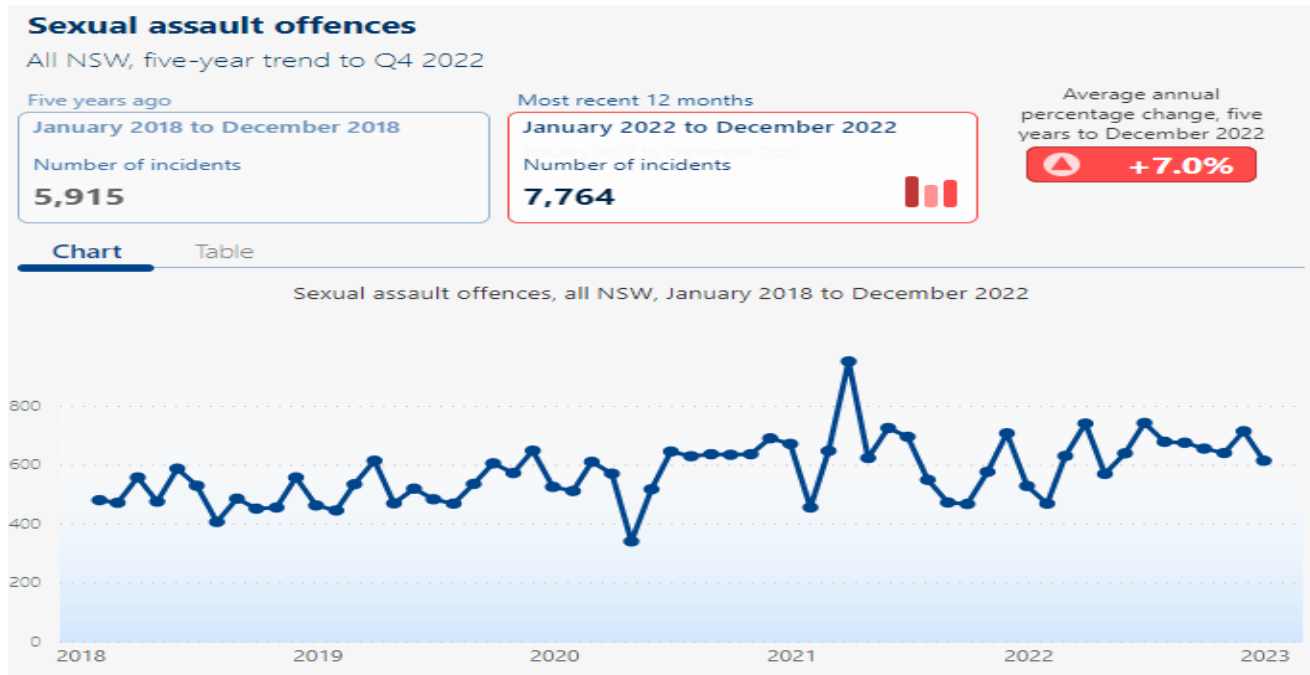
- **What is the problem?**
- **Homicide:**
 - One punch laws
 - Supply drugs causing death
- **The Pandemic: Covid Fines**
- **Domestic & Sexual Violence:**
 - Strangulation
 - Coercive Control
 - Affirmative Consent laws



Australian crime rates have been falling 20+ years



NSW 5Y Trend: Sexual Assault Offences



BOCSAR, [Latest quarterly and annual recorded crime reports \(nsw.gov.au\)](https://www.nsw.gov.au/bocsar)

Yet...

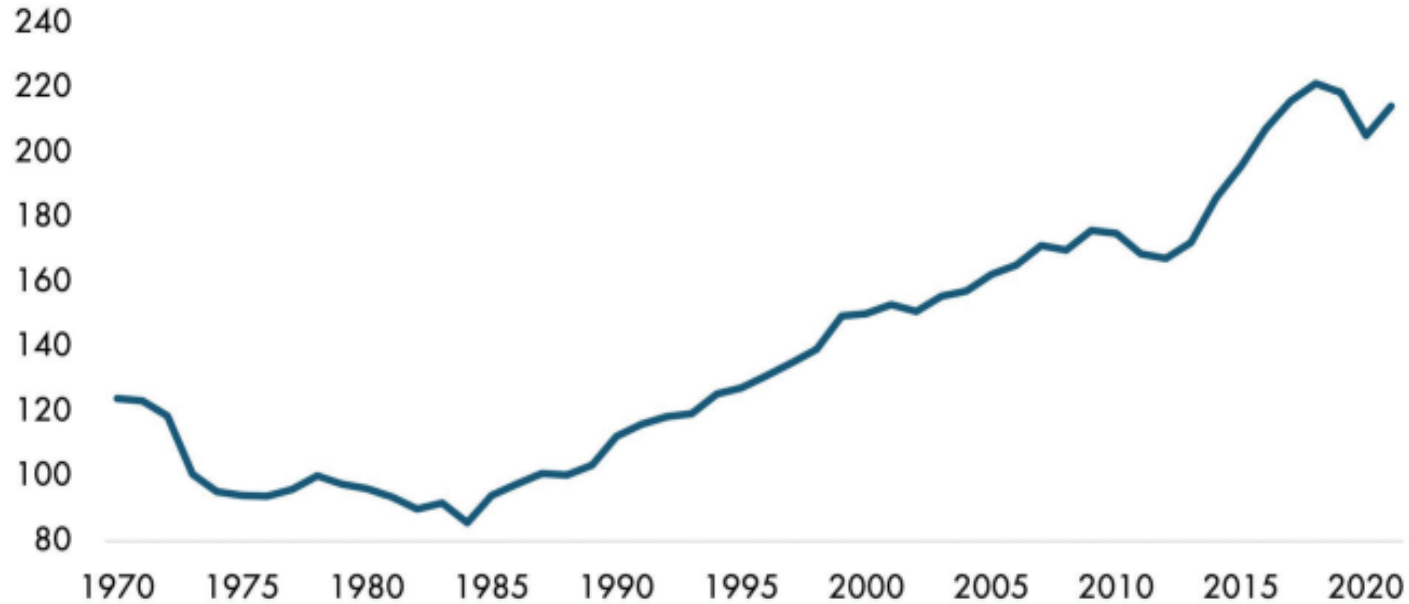
- **The criminal law continues to expand including by:**
 - creating and expanding offences (eg 302 offences created in 2008 NSW: Brown 2015)
 - penal intensification (higher maximums, mandatory sentencing)
 - expanding enforcement powers (eg police powers)
 - expanding pre/post-correctional powers (eg bail and parole)
- **Rare for criminal law to contract eg decriminalisation:**
 - Exceptions: decriminalisation of public drunkenness (1979), homosexuality (1984), abortion (2019)

See L McNamara, J Quilter, R Hogg, H Douglas, A Loughnan and D Brown, 'Theorising criminalisation: The Value of a Modalities Approach' (2018) 7(3) *Int'l J for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy* 91-121



Result? Prison population has been growing since 1984

Chart 1: Incarceration Rate Australia (Adult Population)



This is HUGELY expensive...

- Productivity Commission, 'Australia's Prison Dilemma' (2021) 2019-20:
 - **\$375 per day (\$136,875 annually)** to lock up each prisoner
 - **\$5.2 billion** (1.6% total gov't expenditure) = cost of Nation's prisons
 - **\$20 billion** when add all costs of CJS (eg police, courts, corrective services)
- AND, **42% of prisoners are in jail for non-sexual or non-violent offences** (IPA, 'Australia's Emerging Incarceration Crisis' (2022), p.5)
- Framing the problem as a 'crime' problem -> we get crime solutions and resources allocated accordingly
 - As opposed to health, educational, social and economic reforms



Problems with how criminal laws get made: too often subject to **law and order processes**

- Usually a tragic trigger
- Knee-jerk and rushed
- Plays to the (wrong) gallery (media, 'sound bites')
- Limited consultation with stakeholders, including legal profession
- Limited evidence base
- Insufficient attention to operation and impact, including unintended effects



HOMICIDE



Until 31 Jan 2014: Homicide Hierarchy

- **Murder: *Crimes Act 1900* (NSW) s 18(1)(a)**
- **Manslaughter : s 18(1)(b)**

NSW ACD laws: the Catalyst – Loveridge one-punch killing of Thomas Kelly



Subsequent events

- **8 Nov 2013: Justice Campbell sentences KL**
 - P Bibby, 'Four years for a life: Kelly family's outrage'
SMH 8 Nov 2013
- **1 Jan 2014: Daniel Christie assaulted** – dies

The government responds:

- **30 Jan 2014:** Assault causing death offence (s 25A) passed by NSW Parliament (commences 31 Jan 2014)

‘Responsive’ BUT ... Rushed Law Reform

- Major change to homicide law (& with exceptional features) made in great haste
- **10 days from policy announcement to commencement of legislation**
- One day in Parliament
- **No consultation with experts (eg NSWLRC, legal profession)**
- Audience?

See: J Quilter, ‘One Punch Laws, Mandatory Minimums and “Alcohol-Fuelled” as an Aggravated Factor: Implications for NSW criminal law’ (2014) 3(1) *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social*

No gap in NSW manslaughter laws in practice

- Study of 18 cases of ‘one punch’ manslaughter convictions in NSW = **all convictions**

J Quilter, ‘The Thomas Kelly case: Why a “one punch” law is not the answer’
(2014) 38(1) *Criminal Law Journal* 16-37



Unintended impacts

- Net widening (*T a minor*)
- Criminalising behaviour unrelated to public alcohol-related violence
- Plea negotiations
 - 25A(2) = 25 yr max + MMS 8 yrs -> s 25A(1) = 20 yr
- Reduced sentences
- Capacity for 'injustice' via MMS eg Little Brothers (Barry and Patrick)

Successful prosecutions past 9 years?

- **Garth (No.2) (21) [2017] NSWDC 471 Townsden DCJ s 25A(2)**
 - 10y NPP 8y
- *R v Strong* (NSW District Court, Ellis J, 29 Sept 2017) s 25A(1)
 - 6y NPP 2.5y
- *Mihai* [2020] NSWDC 727 Sutherland SC DCJ s 25A(1)
 - 3y 10m NPP 2y 4m 13d
- *Robinson* [2020] NSWDC 837 Bright DCJ – 25A(1)
 - 4y 10m NPP 2y 5m
- **Smith [2021] NSWSC 825 Harrison J – s 25A(2)**
 - 10y 6m NPP 8y

Note: ***R v Loveridge* [2014] NSWCCA 120**: After 25% discount for GP overall sentence (with the other assaults) increased from 7 yrs to **13 y, 8m NPP of 10y, 2m** (almost double the original total NPP of 5y, 2m)

J Quilter, 'The Operation of Australian "One Punch" Laws: 2008-2018' (2019) 43 *Crim Law Journal* 239-253

Supply Drugs Causing Death



Background: tragic trigger(s)

- **15 Sept 2018:** Around 30,000 people attend Defqon.1 festival at the Sydney International Regatta Centre, Penrith
- **2 young people die (Joseph Pham, 23 & Diana Nguyen, 21)**
- **7+ admitted to hospital drug-related illnesses**
- [Dec 2017-Jan 2019, **4 other young people died** at music festivals:
 - (Hoang) Nathan Tran, 18 (Knockout Circuz music festival, Homebush, Dec 2017)
 - Callum Brosnan 19 yrs (after Knockout Games of Destiny, Sydney Showground, Dec 2018)
 - Joshua Tam, 22 (Lost Paradise music festival, Dec 2018)
 - Alex Ross-King, 19 (FOMO Music Festival, Jan 2019)]



Government response

- **18 Sept:** Premier established an 'Expert Panel' to advise on matters including 'whether new offences or increased penalties are required to stop drug dealers endangering lives'
- **October 2018: Expert Panel Report, *Keeping People Safe at Music Festivals* -> 7 recommendations**

Keeping People Safe at Music Festivals

EXPERT PANEL REPORT

Who? NSW Police Commissioner, NSW Chief Health Officer & Chair of the Independent Liquor and Gaming Authority -> **No lawyers**

ToR:

- whether new offences or increased penalties are required to stop drug dealers endangering lives
- how music festival promoters & operators can improve safety at their festivals
- whether improved drug education is required to address the increase in illegal drug use in our community.

'In tasking the Panel, the Premier made clear that the NSW Government has no tolerance for illegal drugs and pill testing is not within the terms of reference.'

- **7 Recommendations**



Expert Panel: Recommendation 7

Investigate introducing a new offence for those who supply illegal drugs, for financial or material gain, to people who then self-administer the drugs and die as a result.

The Panel noted in so recommending: ‘The Panel wants to **reserve the harshest penalties for drug dealers, rather than drug supply between friends.** If the Government accepts this recommendation, the Panel wants to ensure this intent is met.’ (p.2)



A legal gap: why not manslaughter?

- Unlawful and dangerous act manslaughter?
 - no causation (with the unlawful act ie supply of drug)
 - supply of methadone didn't meet test of dangerousness (ie appreciable risk of serious injury)
- Manslaughter by criminal negligence? supplier of prohibited drug found not to have a DOC to recipient and HCT found it was for the legislature not the courts to criminalise:

'It is open to the legislature to criminalise the failure of the supplier of a prohibited drug to take reasonable steps to provide medical assistance to the drug user. ... The development of the law along the lines urged by the Crown is a matter for the legislature and not the courts.' (*Burns* [2012] HCA 35 at [108])



28 November: *Community Protection Legislation Amendment Act 2018 (NSW)*

- Amends the *Crimes Act 1900* (NSW) to include a new homicide offence
 - **s 25C Supply of Drugs Causing Death** -> maximum penalty 20 years
- **Speedy action:** fully operational legislation was in place just two months after deaths at Defqon.1
- Evidence? Consultation? Expert Panel?



New offence: *Crimes Act 1900* (NSW) s 25C Supply of drugs causing death

(1) A person is guilty of an offence under this section if:

- (a) the person supplies a prohibited drug to another person for financial or material gain, and
- (b) the drug is self-administered by another person (whether or not the person to whom the drug was supplied), and
- (c) the self-administration of the drug causes or substantially causes the death of that other person.

Maximum penalty: Imprisonment for 20 years.

(2) In proceedings for an offence under this section, it is necessary to prove that the **accused knew, or ought reasonably to have known, that supplying the prohibited drug would expose another person (whether or not the person to whom the drug was supplied) to a significant risk of death as a result of the self-administration of the drug.**

Inserted by: *Community Protection Legislation Amendment Act 2018* Sch 2, comm 28 Nov 2018



Prosecutions?

- **None** in 4 years of operation



Complicating Hierarchy of Fatality Crimes...

- Murder - life
- Manslaughter – 25 years (alternative to murder)
- **Aggravated assault causing death (s 25A(2))** – 25 years + MMS 8 years (s 25B) (alternative to murder & manslaughter)
- **Assault causing death (s 25A(1))** – 20 years (alternative to s 25A(2))
- **Supply Drugs Causing Death s 25C** – 20 years (Nov 2018)

Other solutions....



Coronial Inquest:

DEPUTY STATE CORONER HARRIET GRAHAME

- examining manner & cause of death for 6 deaths after consuming MDMA at music festivals b/n Dec 2017-Jan 2019
- In addition to manner/cause of death Inquest examining:
 - Medical care at music festivals -> the evidence was damning
 - **Policing -> problems re drug detection dogs & searches at music festivals**
 - Resourcing including to address extreme heat
 - **Pill testing** including visit to Splendour in the Grass demo by emergency medical officer Dr David Caldicott
 - education



Recommendations Premier & Cabinet

1. That the Department of Premier and Cabinet permits and **facilitates Pill Testing Australia**, The Loop Australia, or another similarly qualified organisation to run front of house medically supervised pill testing/drug checking at music festivals in NSW with a pilot date starting the summer of 2019–20.

2. That the Department of Premier and Cabinet, working with NSW Health and NSW Police, fund the establishment of a **permanent drug checking facility**, similar to the Dutch model known as the Drug Information Monitoring System (DIMS).

8. That the Department of Premier and Cabinet facilitate the **holding of a NSW Drug Summit**

Australia's first fixed pill testing site to launch in Canberra with hopes of sparking a national initiative

Organisers say the centre is a 'real watershed' moment and will open two nights a week from 19 July

● [Get our free news app; get our morning email briefing](#)

Tory Shepherd

Sat 25 Jun 2022 18.02 AEST



📷 Pill testing advocates are urging Australian politicians to follow the 'proven method' and normalise it into practice. Photograph: Lukas Coch/AAP

Australia's first fixed pill testing site will be up and running within weeks, and the organisers hope it could be the start of a national program.

Man dies from suspected drug overdose after attending Sydney music festival

The 26-year-old man died after attending the Transmission music festival and 12 festival goers were taken to hospital for treatment relating to drug use

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Australian Associated Press

Mon 13 Feb 2023 14:14 AEDT



Police were called to investigate the death of a 26-year-old man after he presented at hospital at 1.30am after the Transmission music festival. Photograph: Jenny Evans/Getty Images

A 26-year-old man has died from a suspected drug overdose after attending Transmission music festival in Sydney.

The large-scale indoor trance festival at Sydney's showgrounds on Saturday was attended by more than 18,000 people and 12 of them were taken to hospital for treatment relating to drug use, with seven of them requiring intubation.

Policing the Pandemic

- Standard model of law-making:
 - Parliament passes legislation (Acts) & via delegated powers, makes regulations & other sub-ordinate legislative instruments
- During the pandemic, primary tool to 'legislate' was PHOs made (usually) by the Minister for Health under the *Public Health Act 2010* breach of which was backed by criminal offences (punished usually by a fine)
- By 31 January 2022:
 - **266 principal and amending public health orders** had been issued
 - Averaging an **order every 2.5 days** between 15 Mar 2020 – 31 Jan 2022
 - **53 days on which at least 2 public health orders were either made or amended**

NSW Ombudsman, *The COVID 19 Pandemic: Second Report* (7 Sept 2022)

NSW Ombudsman

Drew attention to the serious challenges to the important rule of law principle of *knowability*:

Mere ignorance of the law is generally considered no excuse for a failure to comply. On the other hand, that laws are knowable (that is - known to exist, sufficiently clear and certain, and accessible) by those who are subject to them is a fundamental requirement of the rule of law.

When laws are introduced, it is important they are known and predictable so that people understand what they are permitted and not permitted to do and what services they are entitled to expect. It is also important there is clarity regarding the consequence of non-permissible actions, and options for redress if services are not delivered to expected standards.

However, people who contacted our office reported that the frequent changes to the rules left them feeling overwhelmed, confused and uncertain about what they could and could not do on any given day, and what services they could expect to receive. This is consistent with reports of other organisations. Community service providers and private businesses also struggled to keep abreast of the changes which meant they could not confidently and consistently provide advice and deliver services to their respective clients.

The ability of any individual or business to be able to know what was required of them under the public health orders in effect at any given time was increasingly challenged throughout the pandemic ...

Policing the pandemic: 1 March 2020 – 30 Sept 2022

- **62,938 PN** issued for breaches of rules made under the *Public Health Act 2010*
 - **Total vale of PN = \$56,578,740**
 - As at 1 October 2022, 17,964 of the PN (29%) were classified by Revenue NSW as outstanding, with a combined debt of **\$15,845,900**
- Approx. 90% of PN issued during the Delta Wave (June-Nov 2021) AND 80% issued in just 3 months **July to Sept 2021**
- **Note: Fines are not means tested → disproportionately impact those on lower incomes**



'Incredible imbalance': NSW Covid fines during Delta higher in disadvantaged suburbs

Postcodes with larger Indigenous and socioeconomically disadvantaged populations bore the brunt of public health policing last year

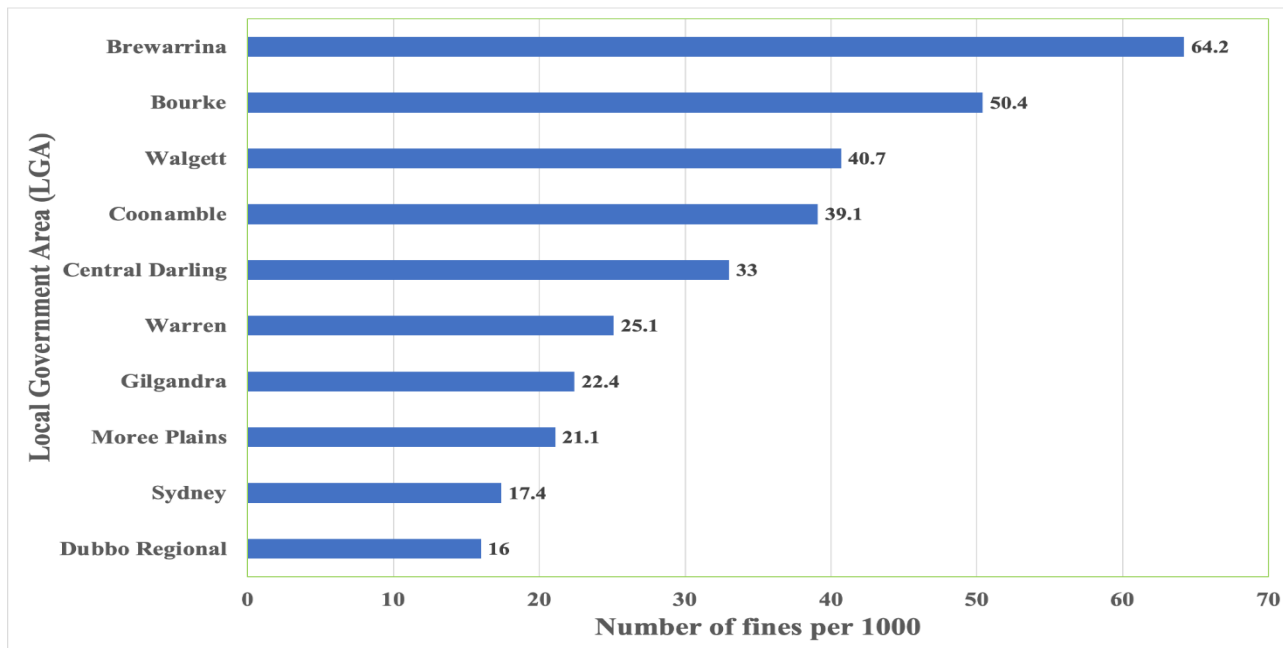
- [Follow our Covid live blog for the latest updates](#)
- [Vaccine rollout and rates tracker; Cases and data tracker](#)
- [Get our free news app; get our morning email briefing](#)

**Mostafa Rachwani and
Nick Evershed**

Thu 10 Feb 2022 03.30 AEDT



COVID-19 PHO penalty notices per 1000 population – Top 10 NSW LGAs, March 2020-December 2021



NSW BOCSAR, 'NSW Recorded Crime Statistics 17 Mar 2020 to 31 Dec 2021: Number of persons of interest (POIs) proceeded against by the NSW Police for a COVID-19 related breach of the Public Health Act 2010' (2022) https://www.bocsar.nsw.gov.au/Pages/bocsar_pages/COVID.aspx



Children and Fines

- NSW Police proceeded against 7,653 YP (10-17 years):
 - CANs: 312
 - PN: 3,628
 - Other: 3,713 (warning, Caution or referral to Youth Justice Conference under YOA)
 - NB: includes: **583 kids 10-13 yrs despite *doli incapax***
- Between the 2020-21 and 2021-22 financial years:
 - 17 children issued with a \$5,000 fine
 - 39 children issued with a \$3,000 fine
 - 1,659 children issued with a \$1,000 fine
 - Total value of fines issued to children = **\$2.1 million**
- Compare with offence of **exceed speed limit** over 45 km/h (school zone) (Road Rules 2014 Rule 20) = \$3,996
- NSW Children's Court required **to take into account a child's age, ability to pay** and potential impact of a fine on their rehabilitation before imposing any fine (*Children (Criminal Proceedings) Act 1987, s 33(1AA)*)
- AND **court fines in Children's Court are capped at \$1,100** (*Children (Criminal Proceedings) Act 1987, s 33*)

Postscript...

- **29 Nov 2022:** Revenue NSW announced that 33,121 COVID-19 PN would be withdrawn (combined value > \$30 million)
- Followed concession by Commissioner of Fines Administration, in test case led by the RLC in SCT, that PN issued for '**Fail to comply with noticed direction in relation section 7/8/9 - COVID-19**' were invalid because they contained insufficient detail about the alleged offence to meet the requirements of the *Fines Act 1996* (NSW).
- Organisations advocating for redress in relation to the adverse impacts of COVID-19 PN (incl ALS, Law Society of NSW) have called for the cancellation or review of all remaining COVID-19 PN



DOMESTIC & SEXUAL VIOLENCE



Strangulation

- ABS Personal Safety Survey (2016) found **17.4% of female** respondents had been choked by a male
- Research and DV workers indicate strangulation is a 'red flag' for future serious abuse and fatality
- *NSW Domestic Violence Death Review Team* recommended review of s 37 (choking, suffocation & strangulation offence)
- Before 2014: usually prosecuted as common assault in DV context as no intent commit of another indictable offence



Choking, Suffocation & Strangulation: *Crimes Act s 37*

37 Choking, suffocation and strangulation

[2018] (1A) A person is guilty of an offence if the person intentionally chokes, suffocates or strangles another person without the other person's consent.

Maximum penalty—imprisonment for 5 years.

[2014] (1) A person is guilty of an offence if the person—

(a) intentionally chokes, suffocates or strangles another person **so as to render the other person unconscious, insensible or incapable of resistance**, and

(b) **is reckless as to rendering the other person unconscious, insensible or incapable of resistance.**

Maximum penalty—imprisonment for 10 years.

[Original] (2) A person is guilty of an offence if the person—

(a) chokes, suffocates or strangles another person so as to render the other person unconscious, insensible or incapable of resistance, and

(b) does so with the **intention of enabling himself or herself to commit, or assisting any other person to commit, another indictable offence.**

Maximum penalty—imprisonment for 25 years.

(3) In this section—

another indictable offence means an indictable offence other than an offence against this section.

Note: 37(1)(a)-(b) amended by *Crimes Amendment (Strangulation) Act 2014*;
37(1A) amended by *Crimes Legislation Amendment Act 2018*



Success?

- 2014 amendments: of 831 finalised charges under s 37(1) **only 29.7% (247) resulted in a guilty verdict**
 - s 37(1) problems re prosecution as many DV strangulations occur without the intent to (or foresight of) rendering the victim unconscious, insensible or incapable of resistance: *NSW Domestic Violence Death Review Team Report 2015-2017* (2017)
- 2018 amendments: s 37(1A) requires proof only that the person intentionally strangled the victim without that person's consent
 - no requirement to prove a particular degree of strangulation or the correlating *mens rea* of reckless as to causing that degree of strangulation as in s 37(1)).
 - In first 12 months **operation 899 charges laid**

Coercive Control: why criminalise?

- Term is associated with the work of **Evan Stark**, who evocatively describes it as a ‘liberty crime’
 - Used to describe the context, pattern and impact of intimate partner violence
- Criminal law responds to *incidents* of largely *physical violence* devoid of the *context* in which those acts and behaviours take place
- Many forms of emotional and psychological abuse and control are not currently identified as crimes.

Overseas and interstate

- Coercive control offences have been drafted in UK, Scotland and Ireland in recent times:
 - *Serious Crime Act 2015* (UK) s 76
 - *Domestic Abuse (Scotland) Act 2018*;
 - *Domestic Abuse and Civil Proceedings Act (Northern Ireland) 2021* s 1
 - *Domestic Violence Act 2018* (Ireland) s 39.
- Tasmania one of earliest jurisdictions to enact such offences:
 - economic abuse (s 8) and emotional abuse or intimidation (s 9) of the *Family Violence Act 2004*



Background in NSW:

- NSW DV Death Review Team (DVDRT) 2017-2019 report rec examination of extent to which criminal law addressed forms of non-physical violence
- **March 2019: Sydney dentist, Preethi Reddy, was murdered by her ex-boyfriend**
- Feb 2020: Murder of Hannah Clarke and her children by Rowan Baxter in Qld
- **Sept 2020: Anna Watson's private members Bill Crimes (Domestic and Personal Violence) Amendment (Coercive Control—Preethi's Law) Bill 2020 (did not pass)**
- Oct 2020: NSW Joint Select Committee established to 'inquire into and report on coercive control in domestic relationships' having regard to the NSW Government's discussion paper: Reported in June 2021: [Report - coercive control in domestic relationships.pdf \(nsw.gov.au\)](#)
- **16 Nov 2022: Crimes Legislation Amendment (Coercive Control) Bill 2022 passes NSW Parliament**





New South Wales

Crimes Legislation Amendment (Coercive Control) Bill 2022

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Schedule 2	Amendment of Crimes (Domestic and Personal Violence) Act 2007 No 80	9
Schedule 3	Amendment of Crimes (Sentencing Procedure) Act 1999 No 92	11
Schedule 4	Amendment of Criminal Procedure Act 1986 No 209	12



54D Abusive behaviour towards current or former intimate partners

(1) An adult commits an offence if—

(a) the adult engages in a **course of conduct against another person that consists of abusive behaviour**, and

(b) the adult and other person are or were intimate partners, and

(c) the adult **intends the course of conduct to coerce or control** the other person, and

(d) **a reasonable person would consider the course of conduct would be likely**, in all the circumstances, to cause any or all of the following, whether or not the fear or impact is in fact caused—

(i) **fear that violence will be used** against the other person or another person, or

(ii) **a serious adverse impact on the capacity of the other person to engage in some or all of the person's ordinary day-to-day activities.**

Maximum penalty—Imprisonment for 7 years.

***Not yet commenced (likely 2024)**

Sexual Assault - an area of significant **good will** legislative reform 40+ years

1. **1981:** *Crimes (Sexual Assault) Amendment Act 1981* most significant:
 - graduated series of offences
 - expanded conduct
 - Gender neutrality
 - Move to consent
2. **1989:** *Crimes (Amendment) Act 1989*: moved from graduated offences to three basic offences to 3 offences sexual assault; indecent assault; and acts of indecency
3. **2007:** *Crimes Amendment (Consent – Sexual Assault Offences) Act 2007*
 - introduced an express definition of consent;
 - expanded the list of automatic negations and included may negate consent;
 - provisions re 'knowledge' including no reasonable ground
4. **2021:** *Crimes Legislation Amendment (Sexual Consent Reforms) Act 2021*



Background: *R v Lazarus* – 2013-2017

- **May 2013** – alleged sexual assault in laneway behind a nightclub in King's Cross, Sydney
- **February 2015** – L found guilty after a jury trial in the DCT – sentenced to 5 years imprisonment (3 years NPP)
- **April 2016** – NSWCCA upholds L's appeal against conviction - retrial
- **May 2017** – judge alone trial – L acquitted
- **November 2017** – NSWCCA upholds Crown's appeal against acquittal but says a third trial would '**would give rise to oppression and unfairness**'

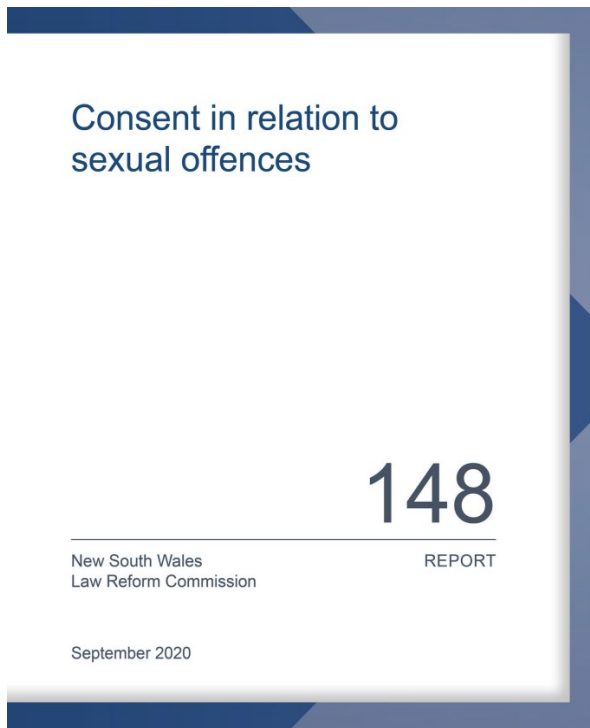
NSW Attorney-General calls for review of sexual consent laws following Four Corners program

Four Corners By Louise Milligan and Lucy Carter

Updated 8 May 2018, 5:26pm



NSWLRC Inquiry: *Consent in relation to sexual assault offences*



- Slow, considered, evidenced based...
- **3 May 2018: Broad ToR to NSWLRC**
- 29 June 2018: Preliminary Submissions
 - More than 110 submissions received
- **Oct 2018: NSWLRC, Consultation Paper 21: *Consent in relation to Sexual Offences***
- 1 Feb 2019: Submissions re Consultation Paper
 - 34 submissions
- **Oct 2019: Release of Draft Proposals**
 - Nov: 2019: submissions on draft proposals
- Final Report: [NSWLRC, Report 148: Consent in relation to sexual offences \(tabled Nov 2020\)](#)
 - Includes 44 recommendations



Gov't adopted all NSWLRC recs & went a step further: *affirmative consent*

Crimes Legislation Amendment (Sexual Consent Reforms) Act 2021 (commenced 1 June 2022):

- Multiple changes to *Crimes Act 1900* and *Criminal Procedure Act 1986*
- But two most relevant to 'new' model of consent:

Change to the *actus reus* of non-consent (to address the so-called 'freeze response')

61HJ Circumstances in which there is no consent

(1) A person does not consent to a sexual activity if—

(a) the person does not say or do anything to communicate consent



Change to the *mens rea*: ‘affirmative consent’

61HK Knowledge about consent

(1) A person (the accused person) is taken to know that another person does not consent to a sexual activity if -

... (c) **any belief that the accused person** has, or may have, that the other person consents to the sexual activity **is not reasonable in the circumstances.**


(2) Without limiting subsection (1)(c), a belief that the other person consents to sexual activity is not reasonable if the accused person did not, within a reasonable time before or at the time of the sexual activity, ***say or do anything to find out whether the other person consents to the sexual activity.***

Law on the books vs law in operation

Justice

In the courtroom, rape myths live on. Here are the top 3

We reform sexual assault laws to counteract damaging myths about rape, but it's lawyers — not perpetrators — who keep those myths alive.

JULIA QUILTER APR 09, 2021  46

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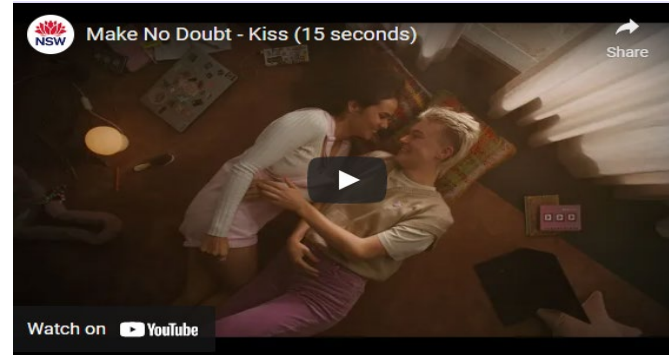
[Lawyers are keeping damaging 'rape myths' alive despite legal reform \(crikey.com.au\)](https://www.crikey.com.au)

It takes more than law reform...



CHECK
CONSENT, EVERY
TIME.

#MAKENODOUBT



[\(312\) Make No Doubt - Kiss \(15 seconds\) - YouTube](#)



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