

ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAW : DISCRIMINATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS

by Moira Rayner

Millions of people died and whole countries were devastated in the 20th century's two world wars. The unavoidable effects on ordinary people, not just soldiers of modern warfare, and the genocidal policies of some governments during the 1920's and 1930's, particularly, forced world governments to see there was an urgent need to recognise and protect fundamental human rights.

The United Nations (UN) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) developed the first international human rights documents. The first was the 1948 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, adopted by the UN General Assembly. Later, more detailed Conventions (on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women, and on racial discrimination), or Covenants (such as the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*) and ILO Conventions on discrimination in employment and occupation (ILO 111) and on workers with family responsibilities (ILO 156) have followed.

These documents created the concept of laws, not just moral rights, to protect and promote human rights. They have no effect inside a country until each national government ratifies them and sets in place its own laws and structures to implement them. Human rights agreements set ethical standards. They are promises between governments of countries that they will adopt certain minimum human rights standards in their behaviour towards their own residents and to those of other countries.

One of those fundamental human rights is the right of every person - adult or child, male or female - to be treated with the same respect for their human dignity. It includes the right not to be subjected to discrimination.

What is discrimination?

"Discrimination" means being excluded, treated less favourably than someone else, or assumed to be less capable, less intelligent or less deserving than others, because of assumptions or stereotypes, or because something quite irrelevant - something about your body, or what you believe in, or who your ancestors were - has been taken into account.

Example 1 - Sex Discrimination

Andrew, aged 19, had been out of work for 18 months before he applied for a job as a secretary with a legal firm. He had good passes in year 12, had completed a secretarial course, and could type 95 words a minute accurately. The legal firm refused to give him an interview because, the Office Manager told him, "Men aren't secretaries!"

Opinions about who or what you are, or what you can or should do, arise from community values or practices. We are all responsible for these.

Example 2 - Racial Discrimination

Darren, a singer, arranged a job in a nightclub by telephone. The manager failed to meet him, and after waiting half an hour Darren ordered a drink, but the bar attendant said he couldn't serve him. Darren was extremely embarrassed, left at once but came back later to ask for an explanation. The manager said, "I could see you weren't the right type for my clientele," and later said he would attract undesirable customers, who have always been kept out of the club because of their rowdy behaviour. Darren is Aboriginal.

But values and beliefs change, as does society. It is never enough to rely on "custom" to decide what people can or should do. At various times and places it has been "customary" for important new buildings to be begun by walling up a cat in the corner-stone, or for girls to get married at the age of 12. We have changed our attitudes and our values.

It can be difficult to accept change and to appreciate that "different" can also mean "good". Sometimes it takes time. People from newly arrived migrant groups often find it hard to be accepted "on their merits" in employment, for example, because their qualifications or

experience is not "Australian", or because they look different. It is hard for them to be accepted if they do not mix with others in the same way or at the same social venues or informally exchange social and professional gossip. These are the ways in which we form opinions about whether or not other people are sufficiently "like us" to be accepted by us and to form human relationships with us.

Example 3 - Racial Discrimination

Rose was a successful business-woman in Hong Kong, but found it hard to find customers in the small Victorian country town she had moved to. She thought she would be better accepted if she joined the local service club but was upset when her application was rejected, and extremely unhappy when she heard that the President had laughed about "mixing with chinks". She moved to another town, and set up a very successful business there.

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That sort of discrimination is why anti-discrimination law prohibits some practices, such as racial segregation in clubs or pubs or public transport, or sex segregation in employment.

But not all discrimination is illegal, even if Australia has signed international agreements not to allow it. These agreements have no effect until the Commonwealth has enacted domestic legislation to put them into effect. It has done this with the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984* and the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975*. In 1991 discrimination on the ground of disability was outlawed. It has also established a Federal body, the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC) to act as a human rights watch dog.

Most of the states have set up their own anti-discrimination laws, such as the *Victorian Equal Opportunity Act 1984*, and their own bodies - in Victoria, the Commissioner for Equal Opportunity - to enforce these human rights agreements.

The Commissioner for Equal Opportunity not only administers the Victorian *Equal Opportunity Act 1984* but is also the HREOC's agent in Victoria to administer the Commonwealth *Sex Discrimination Act 1984* and the Commonwealth *Racial Discrimination Act 1975*. HREOC has a number of its own Commissioners with special duties - there are Commissioners for Race

O'Connor), Disability (Elizabeth Hastings), Aboriginal Social Justice (Michael Dodson), as well as the Human Rights Commissioner, Brian Burdekin, and a President, Sir Ronald Wilson, who is a retired High Court judge.

In Victoria, Western Australia and South Australia the Commissioners for Equal Opportunity share the responsibility for administering both State and Federal anti-discrimination law. In New South Wales the President of the Anti-Discrimination Board administers State laws only (HREOC is based in Sydney). Queensland and the Australian Capital Territory set up their own anti-discrimination laws in 1991/92 which are administered by HREOC on their behalf. Tasmania and the Northern Territory are expected to have their own anti-discrimination laws some time in the near future.

Sometimes "discriminatory" acts can be very unfair, but not actually unlawful. In Victoria, for example, it might very well be unfair to discriminate on the grounds of age, irrelevant criminal conviction or sexual preference, but it isn't illegal under the *Equal Opportunity Act*. The Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission can investigate complaints that someone has been discriminated against on one of these grounds in employment, but there is no penalty against the discriminator, in Victoria.

Discrimination is quite often unintentional - most people consider themselves to be "fair" - because most people have not thought very hard about their personal beliefs and value systems.

Unlawful Discrimination

Equal opportunity is about being treated fairly, no matter who or what you are. Equal opportunity means the absence of discrimination.

While all forms of discrimination are **unfair** only certain grounds for discrimination are **unlawful** in Victoria.

It is a common misapprehension that equal opportunity is concerned with equal rights for women, in part because the first Victorian Commissioner for Equal Opportunity did administer legislation, from 1977 to 1982, which prohibited only sex discrimination. The new grounds were added in 1984.

The grounds of unlawful discrimination in Victoria now include being treated less favourably because of your :

- religious beliefs or practices;
- political beliefs or practices;
- race - which includes colour, nationality, ethnic or national origin;
- impairment - which includes all or part of the body, the presence in the body of organisms causing disease (including being HIV positive or having AIDS, or the assumption that this is true when it is not), a malfunction of a part of the body including mental or psychological illness, malformation or disfigurement, and intellectual or learning disabilities;
- parental status - having or not having children, whether they are natural, adopted or step-children;
- marital status - being married, divorced, widowed, separated or single;
- *de facto* marital status - living with someone as if you were married but not having gone through a legal marriage ceremony; and
- sex (either male or female), which includes (if the person is a woman) pregnancy;

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or because of characteristics of one of these grounds which are attributed to you.

It is also unlawful to sexually harass somebody, or to victimise someone because a discrimination complaint has been made.

Example 4 - Sexual Harrassment

Moira was a year 12 student at a State school. She was best at the science subjects and maths, but whenever she made a mistake at school, two or three of the boys in her class called her a "silly moll". One used to "ping" her bra strap whenever he walked past her desk. She complained to the teacher who said she was being over-sensitive. Her mother then complained to the school that Moira's marks were falling, and that Moira wanted to change her course to non-science subjects. This would affect her future career.

It is unlawful to treat someone differently because of any of the aforementioned grounds or because you assume (rightly or wrongly) that, because of any of them, a person has a particular characteristic. Some people assume that tenants with children will damage rented property, or that

The Equal Opportunity Commission

Until 1994 the Victorian Equal Opportunity Act was administered by an independent statutory officer called the Commissioner for Equal Opportunity who also handled complaints of sex and race discrimination under the Commonwealth Sex and Race Discrimination Acts.

In late 1993 this position was abolished by amendments to the Victorian Act. These set up a five-person Equal Opportunity Commission in its place. It is not clear whether the new Commission, or perhaps one of its members, will continue to handle Federal discrimination complaints.

The Commission will come into existence some time during 1994. It will be a statutory agency within another government department, the Department of Justice. There will be four part-time members, one of whom will be its Chairperson, and one full-time member called the "Chief Conciliator" whose job will be to administer the affairs of the Commission and run the office, (and who can be directed on how to do so, by the Commission). The Chief Conciliator will be subject to the Public Sector Management Act 1992.

The Commission's functions are to be :

- a. to establish policies and issue guidelines and directions on the way in which conciliation procedures under the Act should be conducted;
- b. to receive and investigate complaints on the way in which conciliation procedures under the Act should be conducted;
- c. to establish and undertake information and education programmes; and
- d. "any other functions conferred on it by or under this Act or any other enactment".

These other functions include :

- i. conducting inquiries into serious discrimination against a class of people if required to do so by the Equal Opportunity Board;
- ii. notifying the Attorney General if the Commission becomes aware of any provisions of an Act which are discriminatory (under the Act before it

- legislation and make recommendations for its repeal or amendment in her annual report to Parliament);
- iii. carrying out research into discrimination; and
- iv. prosecuting unlawful (discriminatory) advertisers.

All complaints are to be made to the Commission, not to the Equal Opportunity Board, with which the Commissioner has often been confused. The Equal Opportunity Board is a special, statutory, quasi-judicial tribunal with its own President and, since 1993, Deputy Presidents. 4

Before the 1993 amendments the Board only held public hearings of complaints which had failed to resolve during conciliation and were referred for a hearing only if the complainant wanted to proceed further. As well, the Board grants temporary exemptions from the Act, and sometimes made interim orders, or injunctions, to facilitate the Commissioner's investigation and conciliation of complaints.

Since the 1993 amendments, however, the Board has a much greater range of functions.

Firstly, it is important to state that now the Board has the power to award costs - not just the legal costs, but the whole of the costs of bringing or defending a complaint of discrimination - against someone who fails to substantiate their complaint (the complainant) or against someone who has been complained about and who the Board is satisfied has actually discriminated. This risk of legal costs is aggravated by the likelihood that respondents will threaten or create many opportunities for legal proceedings before the Board. This will discourage many people from making complaints at all, because they will fear having costs awarded against them, or going to court.

Secondly, a complaint can be referred to the Board without going through the Commission's conciliation process at all. There are three ways this could happen :

- i. A respondent (the person, or company, or institution, or even Government agency against whom a complaint is made) will have the power to ask the Board to dismiss a complaint at any time because they think it is "frivolous, vexatious, misconceived or lacking in

- ii. A respondent (or a complainant) could ask the Attorney General to direct the Commission not to try to conciliate a complaint at all but to refer it to the Board for a public hearing at once because it is a matter of public importance.
- iii. A respondent (not a complainant) can require the Commission to expedite the conciliation of a complaint because it involves the implementation of a policy, then as soon as they get a notice of the conciliation conference date can insist that the complaint is referred to the Board for a public hearing without conciliation at all.

Thirdly, the usual way in which a complaint reaches a public hearing is when conciliation has been tried, but has failed and the complainant has decided that he or she wants to prove their case in a public hearing before the Board. This is still open to a complainant, but many will be afraid to risk the legal costs of such a hearing. However, unless the complainant does so, they will not be able to ask the Board to impose a solution if it is satisfied discrimination has occurred.

Indirect Discrimination

Discrimination can arise from entrenched beliefs and attitudes. A belief that young women should marry as soon as possible and do not need an education, for example, may arise from the cultural beliefs of some ethnic or religious groups. Discrimination is unlawful if the real reason a person was treated in a less favourable way was because of one of the prohibited grounds. Sometimes the real reasons is a prejudice or a belief which is not expressed, or not recognised. Sometimes the discrimination arises in practice, not because there is a rule which is meant to apply to a particular person or group.

There are some practices which "apply to everyone" but really affect a particular group or a person much more.

Example 5 - Indirect Racial Discrimination

An example would be a rule that no one could enter the Public Service, for any job, unless they had passed their VCE. That rule would exclude many recent migrants with overseas qualifications and members of some ethnic or cultural groups which have

disadvantaged in their educational opportunities, such as Aboriginal people.

If there is a "neutral" rule that affects some people more than others on one side of the prohibited grounds, and if it is an unreasonable rule, it is unlawful discrimination to have or use it.

Indirect discrimination may be caused by beliefs or practices which have never been written down and which can only be recognised by analysing their effects. That is why it is useful to see whether members of disadvantaged groups - people with disabilities, people from different cultures, or women - have achieved their potential in an organisation or an industry and, if not, to look at the employment patterns or practices which might have frustrated them, and change them.

Discrimination in employment is very significant in Australian society. It means exclusion from the means of moving freely within the community. Unemployment usually means poverty, but it is also stupidly wasteful of human talent to fail, through prejudice or ignorance, to recognise and to use the skills of every Australian.

But because most discrimination is not deliberate it is impossible to condemn people who do discriminate, and anti-discrimination law does not make it a criminal offence to do so. Instead it puts the responsibility on the parties to talk through their differences and come to a resolution that satisfies them all. The role of the Victorian Commissioner for Equal Opportunity is to help them reach that solution.

What is conciliation?

Conciliation is a form of alternative dispute resolution - finding a way for people to listen to each other and work out a solution that will resolve their differences. The Commissioner must try to resolve all complaints this way. The conciliation carried out by the Commissioner for Equal Opportunity is free, confidential, does not require anyone to obtain a lawyer, and is sometimes the only opportunity that people have to hear what the other person is saying : most people are too angry and upset to listen, until the Commissioner makes them sit down with each other. When it is done well, conciliation can empower people who feel they have been bullied or overlooked.

Commissioner must be impartial in helping the parties who complained (the complainants) and those complained against (the respondents), to meet and talk about the problem and to try to resolve the issues privately between them.

However, there are likely to be significant differences in the style of conciliation used for complaints made under the Victorian Equal Opportunity Act. Since the 1993 amendments to that Act any person who is a party to a complaint made under the Victorian Act - not the Federal Sex or Race or Disability Discrimination Acts, because different rules apply to them - can complain about the conciliator to the Commission. The Commission can direct the Chief Conciliator how to carry out the conciliation.

Knowing that conciliators are likely to be complained about and directed on what to do will affect the way they work. The amendment is meant to make the conciliators accountable for the way they use their professional skills to help people to resolve their own problems. Naturally, a party to a complaint who does not wish to hear what the other person is saying to them might resent a professional's suggestion that they should. A party to a complaint who has ready access to legal advice and representation and who feels comfortable with the thought of referring or defending a complaint in a public hearing before the Equal Opportunity Board will use this as a bargaining point during conciliation, or as a reason for avoiding conciliation.

The conciliation process is a confidential one, and things said or done during conciliation cannot be used in court against a party. The Commissioner cannot tell anyone any information about a person's private affairs which has been gained as a result of her statutory functions.

The Commissioner has the powers which are necessary to help parties to resolve their problems by conciliation. The parties can be required to attend meetings and produce documents which might be relevant.

Sometimes the Commissioner decides not to take any further steps because she is satisfied, after investigation, that the complaint is frivolous - not made or taken seriously - or lacking in substance, misconceived, or vexatious (that is, that someone is trying to go over the same facts time and time again, to no good purpose). Sometimes the complaints are withdrawn, but more often than not they are resolved by apologies, job offers

and sometimes by the payment of compensation. The object is to help the parties themselves resolve the problem and, if possible, change behaviour or attitudes so that the problems do not surface again.

The Equal Opportunity Board can make an interim order to restrain someone from acting in a way which would make the Commissioner's attempts to resolve the matter by conciliation difficult or impossible, or pre-empt any order the Board might make.

The Equal Opportunity Board

The Equal Opportunity Board is a special 6 statutory tribunal which hears complaints of discrimination which the Commissioner for Equal Opportunity has not settled by conciliation. Between 40 and 50 complaints are referred to the Board by the Commissioner each year. Only about 10 - 25 are referred to the HREOC annually for a hearing.

The Board is not bound by the rules of evidence; it has to give permission if someone wants to be represented by a lawyer. Board cases are usually heard by the President and two other members, who decide whether or not unlawful discrimination has occurred, and if so, how the wrong should be made right. There are no restrictions on what the Board can order to do this.

Investigating Systematic Discrimination

The Commissioner can also investigate claims of serious, systemic discrimination against a class or group of people even if no one has complained, if it would be inappropriate for such people to complain themselves.

This could include claims that some prisoners, who are unlikely to complain themselves while they are in prison, are being subjected to racial discrimination by prison administrators, for example, or that people who have tried to keep their HIV positive status a secret were being blackmailed into letting themselves be treated unfairly at a particular workplace.

Areas of Life Covered by Law

The areas of life that are covered by anti-discrimination laws are those where people are most likely to be badly affected by discrimination : at work, in schools or colleges or other education, in their access to goods and services (such as Council rubbish collection service in

For the same reason it is an offence to publish an advertisement which shows that you intend to discriminate, and the Commissioner can prosecute people who do so.

Other "Equal Employment Opportunity" (EEO) Programs

The Commissioner for Equal Opportunity does not handle every kind of equal opportunity law or policy. Over the last two decades State and Commonwealth governments have developed their own policies and practices to ensure that the ill effects of past discrimination are rectified, and that their own programs and employment practices do not discriminate against people. Industry, commerce and the union movement have also taken steps to ensure that discrimination in employment is wiped out so that there is no need to complain to the Commissioner.

Sometimes government agencies are required to establish either equal opportunity or affirmative action programs. In the Commonwealth or State public service, for example, women, people of non-English-speaking backgrounds, people with impairments and Aboriginal people are considered to be people from disadvantaged groups and are covered by EEO programs. To help them implement their statutory obligations and sometimes wider government policies, most government agencies have also developed internal policies, such as access and equity programs in the Commonwealth and social justice programs in the State public services. In Victoria the public service, local government and, more recently, statutory authorities, are under an obligation to establish equal opportunity programs or "action plans" for the employment of people from disadvantaged groups. Though the Commissioner for Equal Opportunity does not enforce these obligations, she is, of course, interested in them because they prevent complaints being made by minimising and eradicating unlawful discrimination.

The effects of past discrimination are corrected by something slightly different - **affirmative action** programs. These are system programs to identify and eliminate the barriers suffered by members of disadvantaged groups (again, not just women) in employment.

However, the Federal *Affirmative Action Act 1986* requires companies with more than 100 employees to establish affirmative action programs for ~~women~~ in their employ and to

by the Affirmative Action Agency in Sydney, not by the Commissioner for Equal Opportunity.

What happens when people complain?

Only about 5% of the thousands of enquiries about discrimination made to the Commissioner turn into formal "complaints" which go through the conciliation process.

In 1992/93 the Equal Opportunity Commissioner received 1,128 formal written complaints, an increase of 64% over the previous financial year. Table 1 sets out the growth in complaints of discrimination under State and Federal anti-discrimination law made to the Victorian Commissioner for Equal Opportunity since the Act came into operation.

There were particularly great increases in some unexpected grounds for complaint. Complaints of victimisation - treating someone less favourably because a complaint of discrimination was made at all - during 1992/93, from 19 (1991/92) to 57 in one year. 91% of those complaints were made by women, almost entirely claiming they had been victimised at work because they made or supported someone else's complaint. The next greatest increase was in complaints of disability discrimination, up from 120 to 232 in 1992/93.

Some areas of discrimination have also grown considerably. Most people complain of employment discrimination - nearly 75% of all complaints last year - but problems in other areas of public activity have soared recently. Complaints of discrimination in education jumped from 9 to 61 in a year, and complaints about discrimination by traders, retailers and service-providers have become the second greatest area of complaint, going from 75 to 184 to 30th June 1993.

Many people believe that only women complain of discrimination. This is not right. 75% of all sex discrimination complaints made during 1992/93 were made by women, and 91% of sexual harassment and parenthood discrimination complaints were made by women, but men make the most complaints about discrimination because of their religion (75%), because they have an impairment or disability (57%), because of their politics (80%) and because of their race (54%).

The rate of formal complaints to the Commissioner for Equal Opportunity has continued to rise every year. Most complaints of

conference being held at all. Last year 17.5% resolved or were dropped during the investigation process. 34.3% of the complaints left were resolved in a conciliation conference, and 34.7% did not resolve. However, complainants also withdrew 3.5% of their complaints, the Commissioner declined 10% of them.

In the future there is likely to be a significant change in complaints patterns, once the impact of the changes to the Victorian Equal Opportunity Act are felt. A respondent's new power to force a complainant into a public hearing before the Equal Opportunity Board, mentioned earlier, and the reasonable fear of huge costs orders, will deter many complainants from making written complaints at all, or from trying to resolve them through the Commissioner. Many complainants will use Federal anti-discrimination laws - sex, race and disability discrimination - instead of the Victorian Act.

In any event, many victims of discrimination do not complain even when they can expect a confidential investigation and conciliation of their complaint. There is no doubt that those who suffer the most virulent and widespread discrimination are Aboriginal people. They still do not make formal complaints. One of the most successful programmes in the Commissioner's Office during 1992/93 and 1994 was the Koorie outreach programme. We found the most effective way of informing Koorie communities about their rights and responsibilities was to go out to them regularly, not only to educate and inform but also to investigate complaints and try to resolve some of them on the spot, and bring back regular reports on current issues in the communities. They made 47 visits during the year 1992/93.

Since discrimination is not a crime, the Commissioner relies on someone who believes they have been treated badly making a complaint of discrimination. The most vulnerable people are those least likely to complain, because it is a legal process which is alien to them. It is hard for anyone to make a complaint. Most people are not familiar with the complaints process and are unsure about what will happen to them. They already feel, justifiably or not, that they have been the victims of power abuse by other people. It is harder for those who are the worst treated to trust the "system".

Conciliation is not nearly as intimidating as taking legal proceedings in a court. Though both the person who complains and the person who is the subject of complaints of discrimination are

taking control of the situation personally, with expert help from a conciliator who is familiar with the law and the procedure. Even going to the Equal Opportunity Board is not as terrifying as going to a traditional court : it is relatively informal and "user-friendly".

The major reasons for Aboriginal people not making complaints, according to the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody, and perhaps for other groups who tend not to use the office, such as people from non-English-speaking backgrounds, is that they do not know what their rights are.

The most important part of the 8 Commissioner's work therefore is not handling complaints, but speaking out about human rights abuses and educating the public about their rights and responsibilities to treat and be treated by each other with respect.

The future of equal opportunity in Victoria is somewhat clouded. There is widespread concern

about the effect of the changes to the Victorian Act on disadvantaged community members; uncertainty about the continuing role of the new Commission in administering Federal anti-discrimination law, as the Commissioner for Equal Opportunity did, and worry about the deterrent effect on complainants of giving respondents the power for force complainants into public hearings, and risk huge cost orders. However, it is important that the office remain, and that the community see the Government's commitment to the fundamental principle, that every woman, man and child is treated on their merits, without discrimination. Even if the Victorian legislation, and the new Commission, proves to be weaker or more difficult to have access to, there will be, in the foreseeable future, conciliation and advice available to both potential discriminators and potential complainants of discrimination, under Federal as well as State laws. Equal opportunity is still alive and well in Victoria, and Victorians are as committed to its underlying principle of respect for other human beings, as they have always been.

Questions for classroom discussion

1. Will anti-discrimination legislation help Australia to become a more fair and reasonable community and a more cohesive society? Justify your answer.
2. Does anti-discrimination legislation contribute to Australia being a more productive society? If so, how? If not, why not?
3. What are some of the costs and benefits of equal opportunity policies in the work place?
4. Does the Equal Opportunity Commissioner's dispute resolution procedure contribute to just outcomes? Why or why not?
5. Consider the differences between conciliation and formal court proceedings? Why might conciliation be a more appropriate mechanism to deal with complaints of discrimination? Does it have any disadvantages?
6. Why do you think most complaints concerning racial and impairment discrimination are made by men? Why do you think women make most of the complaints about sex discrimination?
7. What impact do you think the amendments to the *Victorian Equal Opportunity Act 1984* will have on the ability of people with complaints of discrimination to seek resolution to their complaints?

Suggestions for further reading:

Available from your school library, or Information Victoria (03 : 651 4100 or 008 : 136 762) from country areas :

Annual Report of the Commissioner for Equal Opportunity

Annual Report of the Equal Opportunity Board

Equal Opportunity Bulletin, a quarterly newsletter published by the Commissioner for Equal Opportunity

Women Count, a statistical bulletin on women's employment in Victoria, published quarterly by the Office of Employment, Ministry of Employment, Post-Secondary Education and Training

Tel : 03 : 628 2030

Report of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody

Speeches and papers on specific aspects of anti-discrimination law are cited in the *Annual Report of the Commissioner for Equal Opportunity* and may be ordered (by title) from the Office (03 : 628 2030 or 008 : 134 142 from country areas). All other publications of the Commissioner for Equal Opportunity are available free of charge from Information Victoria.

Annual Report of the Affirmative Action Agency, Available from the State Library