# Paradigm shift in the cost of accidents: Review of the law of negligence

This article won the Civil Justice Foundation's 2003 National Essay Competition, the topic of which was:

Referring to state and federal legislation introduced and proposed in response to the Ipp Report, Professor Alan Fels said:

'Law reform is usually thought of as a progressive process. But, as current events show, it can also be regressive. Those campaigning to change the Trade Practices Act and to wind back other consumer rights ignore the basic premise that law reform should promote public welfare. It should not promote the interests of narrowly focussed groups at the expense of ordinary people.

The reforms related to insurance that are being debated, and in some states introduced, include damages caps, easy liability waivers and a block on liability when there are obvious risks - even when those risks are the fault of a shoddy or reckless operator. These types of reforms transfer the costs of accidents and other damage from those best able to understand and cheaply control the risks to those least able to understand and control them. This is nether sensible nor fair.'

Do you agree with Professor Fels's comments? Why?



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#### INTRODUCTION

On 30 September 2002 the Panel of Eminent Persons, which was convened under the auspices of the Commonwealth Treasury, released its Final Report of the Review of the Law of Negligence (the Ipp Report). The Ipp Report contained 61 recommendations as to how civil liability for personal injury and death may be limited. A significant number of these recommendations have now been implemented, in one form or another, in most jurisdictions <sup>1</sup>

A number of factors provided the impetus for the review and the subsequent spate of legislative action. Most notably, the system of awarding damages for personal injury and death has been accused of being either wholly or partially responsible for the considerable rises in the cost of securing a contract for

certain types of third party personal injury and death insurance in recent years.2

Secondly, it has been asserted that contemporary Australian society is too litigious3 and is embroiled in an unhealthy culture of blame.4

Thirdly, there is a perception that the availability of compensation is ubiquitous and that this has obviated the need for people to take personal responsibility for their own safety.5

Finally, the belief has emerged that the system of awarding compensation is out of touch with prevailing community standards. Specifically, it has been declared that damages awards are overly generous,6 that the standard of care is unrealistically high in many contexts,7 and that tort litigation is effectively a lottery.8

While the Ipp Report has been praised by some as 'far-sighted'," a number of commentators have questioned the veracity of the abovementioned premises for initiating the Review of the Law of Negligence,10 and have trenchantly criticised both the report's recommendations and the legislative action which followed.11 Foremost among these critics is Professor Alan Fels, who has unreservedly denounced the legislative cuts. 12 Professor Fels's condemnation of these so-called 'reforms' proceeds on the assumption that the primary objective of the law is to advance public welfare.13 From this viewpoint, he asserts that the legislative erosion of plaintiffs' rights undermines this objective because, by transferring the cost of accidents onto accident victims, it advances the interests of certain groups to the detriment of the wider community. This article aims to assess the accuracy of this assertion.

# TRANSFERRING THE COST OF **ACCIDENTS ONTO ACCIDENT VICTIMS**

At the outset, it is convenient to elaborate on some of the ways in which the legislative cuts have transferred the cost of accidents that would have previously been borne by defendants onto

accident victims. There are essentially two ways in which this transfer has been brought about. First by the alteration of liability rules, so as to absolve defendants from liability which they would otherwise have incurred. Second by subverting the principle that a successful plaintiff should be awarded the compensation necessary to restore them to the position they would have been in but for the accident.14

There are numerous examples of modifications to liability rules. Consider, for instance, the changes effected on the advice of recommendation 11 of the Ipp Report.15 The substance of this recommendation is that providers of recreational services should not incur liability as a result of damage caused by the materialisation of an obvious risk involved in a recreational activity. The outcome of this change is that the cost of a recreational accident arising out of an obvious risk will now be borne by accident victims rather than negligent recreation service providers. Another example of a liability-orientated transfer is recommendation 19 which advocates for the abolition of the right to bring an action for damages for personal injury and death under Part V Division 1 of the Trade Practices Act 1974 (Cth). This recommendation, if implemented, would have the result of reassigning the injurious consequences of, say, misleading or deceptive conduct by a corporation pursuant to section 52 of the Trade Practices Act from the guilty corporation to the aggrieved consumer.16

The curtailment of the compensation principle, which has occurred primarily by capping general damages,17 damages for loss of earning capacity,18 and Griffiths v Kerkemeyer<sup>19</sup> damages,<sup>20</sup> transfers the cost of accidents in a slightly more subtle way. Unlike liability-orientated transfers, damages-orientated transfers shift only some of the cost of an accident onto plaintiffs. The amount shifted is the difference between the loss which is compensated and the loss which is not.

# **ARGUMENTS AGAINST** TRANSFERRING THE COST OF **ACCIDENTS ONTO ACCIDENT VICTIMS**

Professor Fels's argument that it is undesirable for the cost of accidents to be transferred onto plaintiffs is defensible for at least three reasons

#### Economic analysis

In the context of personal injury and death, traditional economic analysis maintains that the legal system should provide a set of rules that achieves the optimum balance between the cost of preventing accidents and the astronomical cost21 of accidents to society.22 The guiding principle that has long been used to determine this balance is that the party who has the superior ability to avoid a particular accident should bear the cost of that accident.23 In the overwhelming preponderance of cases, superior ability is consistent with both a greater capacity to control the circumstances out of which the accident arose and greater knowledge of the risks inherent in the activity in mention. For example, health care professionals invariably have a superior capacity to reduce risks inherent in the provision of health services than consumers of the service because they are more aware of the risks.24

Transferring the cost of accidents onto plaintiffs will, in theory, have at least three undesirable economic consequences.25 First, the removal of the economic incentive on defendants to take reasonable care to avoid foreseeable risks means that it is less likely that such care to avoid accidents will be taken. The inevitable result of this is that the number of accidents will increase, possibly above efficient levels.26

Second, goods and services that carry a high risk of accidents will be overproduced, as the cost of purchasing these goods and services will not reflect the cost of the accidents which they

Third, suppliers of goods and services who do not spend resources on avoiding accidents will be able to undercut suppliers who do take precautions.

#### Moral considerations

It is morally objectionable to transfer the burden of an accident from its guilty author onto its innocent victim. Indeed, general public sentiment demands that wrongdoers must pay for damage they cause.27 If the law fails to do justice between victims and wrongdoers then the rule of law, which is the linchpin of our society, will be directly threatened.28 The recent legislative cuts ignore this moral imperative. The unfairness created in this connection may be demonstrated by some examples.

Consider, for instance, the collapse of the Arthurs Seat Chairlift in Victoria on 3 January 2003, which resulted in the hospitalisation of eighteen people.<sup>29</sup> Had the Ipp Report's recommendations concerning recreational activities been implemented in Victoria at this time, it is almost certain that the operators or builders of the chairlift would be absolved of any liability.30 However, this would obviously be totally unfair. Patrons of the chairlift service no doubt expected, and were entitled to expect, that the chairlift would be safe. Accordingly, why should they bear the disastrous consequences of the failure of those responsible to take reasonable care?

The injustices created by the legislative cuts are also apparent upon the hypothetical application of the modified legal principles to the facts of decided cases. Consider, for example, the medical negligence case of Rogers v Whitaker.31 In this decision, the defendant doctor was found to be liable for failing to warn of a one in fourteen thousand risk which occurred and caused the plaintiff to become blind. It was highly significant that the plaintiff specifically asked the doctor as to the existence of risks such as that which materialised. However, had the legislative alterations to the principle of reasonable foreseeability which have been made in several jurisdictions pursuant to recommendation 28 of the Ipp Report applied in this case,32 the defendant would probably have escaped liability, as a one in fourteen thousand risk is, presumably, insignificant.33 Clearly, this situation is unfair. Why should a doctor who fails to warn of a risk that he is specifically asked to address be excused of legal liability?

#### Loss distribution

One highly desirable result of awarding compensation is that the pervasiveness of insurance ensures that accident losses are spread throughout the premium paying public.34 This diffusion, which results in a large number of people sharing small amounts of all losses, spares individuals from having to bear the full brunt of a loss in isolation. Unfortunately, the legislation based on the Ipp Report reduces this diffusion



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and imposes the burden of accident losses, which is often crushing, on individual victims. Of course, it is theoretically possible for would-be plaintiffs to secure first party insurance against accident losses. However, there are numerous practical impediments to this occurring. First, individuals are often not aware of the risks of particular activities and thus may not consider obtaining insurance. Nevertheless, even if they are alive to the relevant risks, the preponderance of individuals will decline to secure insurance because of the innate human tendency to underestimate the probability of risks materialising.35 This is particularly so where the individual in mention is only occasionally exposed to a particular risk-bearing activity.

Second, the knowledge that social security exists as a safety net militates against the likelihood of individuals purchasing first party insurance.36

Third, because individuals typically engage in a wide range of risk-bearing activities on a daily basis, it is absurd to expect people to take out insurance against every material risk to which they are exposed.37

It is noted that some commentators argue that loss distribution is an insufficient rationale for the imposition of civil liability, as tort compensation is a less efficient method of distributing losses than social security because the premium paying public is smaller than the population which contributes to social security.38 However, this argument overlooks the fact that there is an intrinsic fairness in spreading the cost of accidents among those who cause them and stand to gain from activities involving risks of injury rather than among contributors to the social security system.

# WHO DO THE RECENT LEGISLATIVE DEVELOPMENTS **FAVOUR?**

In light of the preceding discussion, it seems clear that the legislative intervention which followed the Ipp Report does not advance the interests of ordinary Australians. Rather, the changes have produced a system that is unfair,

produces market distortions, and removes incentives to avoid accidents. Indeed, the only stakeholders who stand to benefit from the changes are insurance companies, as they have been presented with a legislative windfall that ensures a decline in the number and quantum of claims, but have not been placed under any corresponding obligation to pass on these savings.39 This sad tale of crass self-interest represents a vindication of Marxist philosophy: the wealthy and politically powerful, with the assistance of the media (which has subjected the Australian public to anecdotal and incorrect information 40), have prevailed over those who are, in comparison, politically powerless.

#### CONCLUSION

The legislative action following the Ipp Report has often been described as reforming the law of torts. However, the use of the term 'reform' in this connection is a misnomer. Reform denotes some re-exposition of the law in order to advance the interests of society in some way.41 Accordingly, it is apparent that the legislative developments clearly do not warrant this epithet. Rather, terms such as 'deforms', 42 'roll-backs', 43 'cuts'44 or, as Professor Fels has put it, 'regressive', are more fitting.

Endnotes: I Civil Law Wrongs Act 2002 (ACT); Civil Liability Act 2002 (NSW); Civil Liability Act 2003 (QLD); Personal Injuries (Liabilities and Damages) Act 2003 (NT); Personal Injuries (Civil Claims) Act 2003 (NT); Recreational Services (Limitation of Liability) Act 2002 (SA) and Wrongs Act 1936 (SA), as amended by the Wrongs (Liability and Damages for Personal Injury) Amendment Act 2002 (SA); Civil Liability Act 2002 (Tas); Wrongs Act 1958 (Vic), as amended by the Wrongs and Other Acts (Public Liability Insurance Reform) Act 2002 (Vic); Civil Liability Act 2002 (WA). 2 Panel of Eminent Persons (2002) Final Report of the Review of the Law of Negligence, p ix; The Hon. Helen Coonan Insurance Premiums and Law Reform Affordable Cover and the Rule of Government' (2002) 8(2) UNSWLJ - Forum, p 7; Spigelman | 'Negligence: The Last Outpost of the Welfare State' (2002) 76 ALI, pp 434-5. **3** Lisle v Brice [2002] 2 Qd R 168 at 174. **4** The Hon. Robert Carr (2002) 'Strong Community Response to Public Liability Reforms', Media Release, 4 September 2002, p. 1. 5 The Hon. Robert Carr (2002) 'Statement by Premier Bob Carr', Media Release, 11 June 2002, pp 1-2. 6 suprá 2, p 25. 7 F Trindade, P Cane (1999) The Law of Torts in Australia, (3rd ed.), Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 502. 8 P Atiyah (1997) The Damages Lottery, Hart Publishing, Oxford, 1-2. 9 The Hon. Helen Coonan, supra 2, p 8; see also A Mason 'Reform of the Law of Negligence: Balancing Costs and Community Expectations' (2002) 8(2) UNSWLJ - Forum. 10 See for example R

Graycar 'Public Liability: A Plea for Facts', (2002) 54 Plaintiff , p 38; N Mullany 'New Tort Reform Agenda – Same Old Myths' (2002) 40(6) LSJ, pp 52-3; H Luntz, 'Reform of the Law of Negligence: Wrong Questions - Wrong Answers' (2002) 8(2) UNSWLJ - Forum, p 18; R Davis 'Tort Reform Crisis' (2002) 8(2) UNSWLJ - Forum, p 37. 11 See for example J Carter, E Peden 'A Contract Law Perspective of the Civil Liability Amendment (Personal Responsibility) Bill 2002 (NSW)' (2002) 54 Plaintiff. 12 See Australian Competition and Consumer Commission (2002) 'Negligence Review Risks Creating Significant 'Losers': ACCC', Media Release, 22 August 2002; Australian Competition and Consumer Commission (2002) 'Consumers to Lose from Negligence Review Proposals: ACCC', Media Release, 2 September 2002.13 This objective is enshrined in s 2 Trade Practices Act 1974 (Cth). 14 Livingstone v Rawyards Coal Co (1880) 5 App Cas 25 at 39. 15 ss 5J-5N Civil Liability Act 2002 (NSW); ss 17-19 Civil Liability Act 2003 (Qld); Recreational Services (Limitation of Liability) Act 2002 (SA); ss 18-20, 39 Civil Liability Act 2002 (Tas). 16 Other examples of liabilityorientated transfers are found in recommendations 3, 28 and 42. 17 See recommendation 48; ss 16-17 Civil Liability Act 2002 (NSW); ss 61-62 Civil Liability Act 2003 (Qld); ss 24-28 Personal Injuries (Liabilities and Damages) Act 2003 (NT); s 24B Wrongs Act 1936 (SA); s 27 Civil Liability Act 2002 (Tas); s 24G, pt 5BA Wrongs Act 1958 (Vic); s 9 Civil Liability Act 2002 (WA). 18 See recommendation 49; s 38 Civil Liability Act 2002 (ACT); ss 12-14, 15A Civil Liability Act 2002 (NSW); ss 54-57 Civil Liability Act 2003 (Qld); ss 20-22 Personal Injuries (Liabilities and Damages) Act 2003 (NT); s 24D-E Wrongs Act 1936 (SA); ss 25-26 Civil Liability Act (Tas); ss 28F, 28I Wrongs Act 1958 (Vic); s 11 Civil Liability Act 2002 (WA). 19 (1977) 139 CLR 161. 20 See recommendation 51; s 15 Civil Liability Act 2002 (NSW); ss 57, 59 Civil Liability Act 2003 (Qld); s 23 Personal Injuries (Liabilities and Damages) Act 2003 (NT); s 24H Wrongs Act (SA); s 28IA-28IB Wrongs Act 1958 (Vic); s 12 Civil Liability Act 2002 (WA). 21 For statistics see H Luntz, D Hambly (2002) Torts: Cases and Commentary (5th ed.), Butterworths, Sydney, I-2. 22 R Balkin, J Davis (1996) Law of Torts (2nd ed.), Butterworths, Sydney, 16; H Ergas 'An Economist's Perspective on Tort Reform' (2002) 54 Plaintiff, p 41. 23 G Calabresi, J Hirshoff Towards a Test for Strict Liability in Torts' (1972) 81(6) Yale LJ, pp 1070-74. 24 Australian Competition and Consumer Commission (2002) Submission to the Principles Based Review of the Law of Negligence, 16. 25 See P Cane (1999) Atiyah's Accidents, Compensation and the Law (6th ed.), Butterworths, London, 374-92. **26** supra 22, p 42. **27** Donoghue v Stevenson [1932] AC 562 at 580; Overseas Tankship (UK) Ltd v Mort's Dock and Engineering Co Ltd (The Wagon Mound (No 1) [1961] AC 388 at 426; Caltex Oil (Australia) Pty Ltd v The Dredge "Willemstad" (1976) 136 CLR 529 at 575. 28 D Heydon 'Judicial Activism and the Death of the Rule of Law' (2003) 47(1) Quadrant, p 10; R Keeton 'Is There A Place for Negligence in Modern Tort Law?' (1967) 53 Virginia LR, p 888. 29 See 'Chairlift Collapse: 18 Hurt' (2003) Sydney Morning Herald, 4 January 2003. 30 See especially recommendation 11. 31 (1992) 175 CLR 479. 32 See s 5B(1) Civil Liability Act 2002 (NSW); s 9 (1) Civil Liability Act 2003 (Qld); s 11(1) Civil Liability Act 2002 (Tas). 33 Consider also Chappel v Hart (1998) 156 ALR 517. 34 J Fleming The Law of Torts, (9th ed.), LBC, Sydney, 11-12. See also Bowen v Paramount Builders (Hamilton) Ltd [1977] 1 NZLR 394 at 419. Contra Davie v NewMerton Board Mills Ltd [1959] AC 604 at 626-7. 35 G Calabresi (1970) The Cost of Accidents: A Legal and Economic Analysis, Yale University Press, London, 56-7. 36 See further supra 24, pp 18-9. 37 A Ehrenzweig 'Liability Without Fault' (1966) 54 Calif LR, p 1447. 38 supra 25, p 355. 39 See supra 10, p 39. 40 supra 10, p 37; N Mullany 'Tort Reform and the Damages Dilemma' (2002) 8(2) UNSWLJ - Forum, p 44. 41 See s 21(1)(a) Australian Law Reform Commission Act 1996 (Cth). 42 P Cashman 'Tort Reform and the Medical Indemnity Crisis' (2002) 8(2) UNSWLJ - Forum, p 51. 43 B Feldthusen 'Posturing, Tinkering and Reforming the Law of Negligence - A Canadian Perspective?' (2002) 8(2) UNSWLJ - Forum, p 32. 44 supra 10, p 39.