



**Queensland Public Interest Law Clearing House
Incorporated**

**HOMELESS PERSONS'
LEGAL CLINIC**

SUBMISSION

**Brisbane City Council
Move-On Power Applications**

Community Development Services

OCTOBER 2005

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1. OUR POSITION

The Homeless Persons' Legal Clinic (HPLC) supports Brisbane City Council's (Council) objective to ensure public spaces are safe and to encourage wider public use of the Areas. Our concern lies with Council's method in achieving its objective.

By using move-on powers to respond to the behaviour or presence of homeless people, young people, Indigenous people and the mentally ill, the structural reasons that underlie why these people are such heavy users of public space are ignored and consequently compounded. At best, move-on powers will merely shift the problem of homelessness from one geographical location to another.

Unemployment, family violence, broken communities, addiction and social isolation all play a part in the growing reality of homelessness in Brisbane. Holistic responses that involve inter-agency cooperation and coordination by all levels of government and community services are pivotal to tackling the structural causes of homelessness in Brisbane.

The HPLC strongly urges Council to pursue the objectives of its Homelessness Strategy¹ rather than adopting an approach which further victimises the homeless, increases the opportunity for them to enter the criminal justice system and further deepens the vicious cycle of homelessness.

2. THE HOMELESS PERSONS' LEGAL CLINIC

The HPLC is a Brisbane-based legal service that provides legal advice, representation and referrals for homeless people, or people at risk of becoming homeless. The Clinic was established in December 2002 and has provided legal advice and assistance to over 700 clients since its inception.

The HPLC service delivery model is different to that of conventional community legal service models. The HPLC does not provide legal services at one, central location where clients are expected to attend to receive legal assistance. Rather, the HPLC operates seven decentralised legal clinics located at community welfare agencies and emergency accommodation hostels – places where homeless people already frequent. The Clinics are staffed by lawyers from private law firms on a rostered basis and are overseen by an HPLC coordinator. Locating our services in areas where homeless people already frequent removes a structural barrier to access to justice.

The HPLC Clinics currently operate in the following inner-city locations in Brisbane:

Clinic	Operating time
Ozcare St Vincent's Homeless Persons Centre	Tuesday 8.30am to 10.30am
Anglican Women's Hostel New Farm	Tuesday 10am to 11am
Red Cross Youth Night Café City Hall, Adelaide Street	Tuesday 7pm to 9pm
Salvation Army Pindari Men's Hostel Spring Hill	Fortnightly Tuesday 9.30am to 11.30am
Salvation Army Pindari Women's Hostel Spring Hill	Fortnightly Wednesday 12noon to 2pm
Mission Australia Café One	Thursday

¹ Refer to section 3.

Fortitude Valley	9am to 11am
4AAA Kiosk Boundary Street, West End	Friday 12.30 to 1.30pm

2.1 The HPLC's interaction with Brisbane's homeless population

The HPLC is well placed to comment on Council's proposal to introduce police move-on powers in various inner-city areas (the Proposal), including King George Square, the Queen Street Mall, Kurilpa Point, New Farm Park, Powerhouse Park and nearby surrounding areas (herein collectively know as 'the Areas').

The HPLC:

- is the only legal service dedicated to addressing the legal needs of homeless people in Brisbane;
- works in close partnership with various community welfare and emergency housing service providers and can offer insights into what constitutes best practice service delivery for homeless people;
- has direct experience in advising clients who have been charged with public order offences and who have been subject to police harassment in public spaces; and
- has collected anecdotal evidence of homeless peoples' experience of using and living in public spaces.

2.2 The HPLC's concern with the effect of move-on powers

The HPLC is concerned that the introduction of move-on powers in the Areas will have a disproportionate and detrimental effect on homeless people in Brisbane.

Social exclusion theory is becoming more prevalent as an analytical tool for examining homelessness. The United Kingdom's Social Exclusion Unit believes that:

Social exclusion happens when people or places suffer from a series of problems such as unemployment, discrimination, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime, ill health and family breakdown. When such problems combine they can create a vicious cycle.²

Many different levels of society cause the exclusion of homeless people. For instance, many laws criminalise basic acts of the homeless which are conducted in public space, such as sleeping, storing goods, begging, swearing, consuming alcohol, and going to the toilet.³ Consequently, homeless people are often discriminated against in their ability to use, occupy and enjoy public space. This is plainly evident when compared to the rest of the community who enjoy and use public space relatively free from harassment and criminal sanction.

Homeless people are already social excluded from society and the HPLC considers that move-on powers will further exacerbate their exclusion.

3. COUNCIL'S OFFICIAL POSITION ON HOMELESSNESS

² Social Exclusion Unit Undated *What is Social Exclusion?* Office of the Deputy Prim Minister; Online at <http://www.socialexclusionunit.gov.uk/page.asp?id=213> Accessed 28 October 2005.

³ Bradfield, M, 2004 'Nowhere to Hide: When the Home is not a Haven' in *Parity*, 'Homelessness, Human Rights and the Law'. Vol 17, Issue 1. Walsh T, 'From Park Bench to Court Bench', 27

*“Homeless people are members of our community and have the same rights and responsibilities as others citizens to public spaces. **Council does not believe that a law enforcement approach is an appropriate response to homelessness and that move on powers often result in the same issue surfacing in a different place.** Council supports a range of approaches to address conflicts over public spaces.”⁴*

The Brisbane City Council Response to Homelessness Strategy 2002 – 2006 (“Homelessness Strategy”) is recognised as a leading strategy for responding to homelessness. The Homelessness Strategy has been applauded by researchers and community workers as best practice, in particular its focus on diversionary schemes with respect to young homeless people.⁵

Council’s intention to introduce move-on powers into three major inner-city public spaces is unexpected, given its apparent commitment to the development of an inclusive city via the prioritisation and implementation of innovative, coordinated responses to homelessness.

Council is seemingly stepping away from its commitment to programs and services as a way of dealing with reducing violence and substance abuse in public spaces (and which Council reports as having achieved success in improving safety and reducing substance abuse in public spaces). For Council to de-prioritise such innovative, coordinated approaches in exchange for a law enforcement approach will, in our view, hinder much of the progress that has previously been made by Council.

4. THE HPLC’S OBJECTIONS TO THE PROPOSAL

4.1 Unlawful application of move-on powers

HPLC saw a client at the Red Cross Youth Night Café who complained that a policeman had approached him in King George Square when he was sitting on the grass with his friends near the fountain. The police officer told him that he was a “public nuisance” and had to move-on “out of the state” and that if he didn’t, he would be arrested. The police officer also made racist remarks about the client’s appearance that humiliated him in front of his friends.

The *Police Powers and Responsibility Act 2000 (Qld) (PPRA)* in summary provides that a police officer, to lawfully exercise a move-on direction, must:

Reasonably suspect a person’s **behaviour** is or has been:-

- causing anxiety to a person entering or leaving a place;
- interfering with trade or business by unnecessarily obstructing, hindering or impeding someone entering or leaving the place;
- disorderly, indecent, offensive, or threatening to someone entering or leaving the place;
- disrupting the peaceable and orderly conduct of any event, entertainment or gathering at the place; or
- suggestive of the person soliciting for prostitution.⁶

OR

⁴ Brisbane City Council Response to Homelessness Strategy 2002 – 2006. Emphasis added.

⁵ See Walsh, T, ‘From Park Bench to Court Bench – developing a response to breaches of public space law by marginalised people’, Sept 2004, 47.

⁶ Section 37 PPRA.

Reasonably suspect a person's **presence** is or has been:

- causing anxiety to a person entering or leaving a place;
- interfering with trade or business at the place by unreasonably obstructing, hindering or impeding someone entering or leaving the place; or
- disrupting the peaceable and orderly conduct of any event, entertainment of gathering at the place.⁷

Once the police officer has formed the "reasonable suspicion" necessary to activate a lawful move-on direction, the police officer may then give a direction requiring a person to:

- leave the place and not return for up to 24 hours;
- move from the location for a stated distance in a stated location and not return, for up to 24 hours.⁸

There are limitations on the exercise of a move-on direction. The police officer/s:

- must give reasons to the person/s to whom the direction is given;⁹
- must not give a direction that interferes with a person's right of peaceful assembly unless it is reasonably necessary in the interests of public safety, public order or the protection of the rights and freedoms of other persons.¹⁰

The HPLC is genuinely concerned about the potential for police to unlawfully exercise move-on powers. Whilst we recognise that the majority of police officers action their powers lawfully, in our experience, this is not always the case. We are aware of instances where police officers have unlawfully directed a person to move-on:

- for more than 24 hours;
- outside a prescribed place;
- for behaviour that could not reasonably have enabled the police officer to form the necessary "reasonable suspicion"; and
- without providing any reasons.

In our view, people who will most likely be subject to move-on directions (the homeless, young people and Indigenous people) will arguably have little or no understanding about what constitutes a lawful or unlawful move-on direction, thus making it easy for potential misuse of that police power. Further, if the person refuses to move-on in accordance with the unlawful direction, this could result in an unlawful arrest for contravening the move-on direction.

4.2 Council's official justification for introducing move-on powers

Council officially justifies the introduction of move-on powers into the Areas for the following reasons:

4.2.1 Increased public concern about crime levels and disorderly conduct in the Areas

The HPLC requested evidence from Council to support its claim that the number of public complaints to Council about each Area had increased. The statistics provided to the HPLC

⁷ Section 38 *PPRA*.

⁸ Section 39 (3) *PPRA*.

⁹ Section 39 (4) *PPRA*.

¹⁰ Section 39 (2) *PPRA*.

recorded the number of Public Space Liaison Officer (“PSLO”) responses to public complaints, liaison incidents and maintenance incidents in each Area, over a 9 month period from September 2004 to May 2005 (“Time Period”).

Kurilpa Point recorded the largest number of responses to public complaints (64), liaison (48) and maintenance (45) during the Time Period. New Farm Park was second with 32 public complaints, 34 liaison and 3 maintenance incidents. King George Square had a significantly smaller number of incidents, recording only 20 complaints, 3 liaison and 12 maintenance incidents, as shown in the below table:

Area	Issue	Liaison	Maintenance
Kurilpa Point	64	48	45
New Farm Park	32	34	3
King George Square	20	3	12

The statistics do not show an escalation of public complaints, liaison or maintenance incidents over the Time Period. In all Areas there were busy months and quiet months. January 2005 was a particularly busy month for Kurilpa Point with 10 complaints, 10 liaisons and 6 maintenance issues, but these figures dropped in April and in May 2005, Kurilpa only recorded 2 responses to complaints, 3 liaisons and 1 maintenance incident.

In fact, the statistics actually demonstrate an overall **decrease** in public complaints, liaison and maintenance incidents over the Time Period. The table below compares the total number of complaints in all Areas in the first 4 months (September 2004 to December 2004) with the total number of complaints in all Areas in the last 4 months (February 2005 to May 2005):

Area	Time Period	Issue	Liaison	Maintenance
Kurilpa Point	Sept 04 to Dec 04	28	10	35
	Feb 05 to May 05	26	28	14
New Farm Park	Sep 04 to Dec 04	19	18	3
	Feb 05 to May 05	13	13	0
King George Square	Sept 04 to Dec 04	9	1	7
	Feb 05 to May 05	6	0	4

The role of the PSLO is recognised by the HPLC and community service providers, including our host agencies, as a positive component of Council’s Homelessness Strategy. In our view, the statistics validate the incredibly successful role of the PSLO. Rather than justifying move-on powers, the statistics highlight the success of Council’s existing strategy to resolve issues that arise from time to time in public spaces in an informal, participatory manner. It makes little sense for Council to introduce a law enforcement approach which will arguably undermine the achievements of this vital position to date.

4.2.2 Significant incidents of graffiti - New Farm Park and Kurilpa Point

Council’s statistics do reveal an increase in incidents of graffiti and graffiti removal costs during the Time Period in New Farm Park and Kurilpa Point.

There are existing laws designed to address this type of conduct.¹¹ The HPLC does not consider an increase in the incidents of graffiti to be a relevant reason for introducing move-on powers into the Areas.

¹¹ s 469(9)(1) *Criminal Code Act 1899*.

4.2.3 Increase in substance & alcohol abuse, public order offences and police requests

Council has refused to provide the HPLC with statistical evidence of increased substance abuse, public order offences and police requests in the Areas. Council says this information is subject to a confidentiality agreement with the Queensland Police Service (“QPS”) and Council is not permitted, on the direction of QPS, to make that information available to the public. The HPLC has subsequently requested copies of the statistics from the QPS but QPS has failed to disclose those statistics.

The HPLC considers these statistics to be in the public interest. Access to the statistics is necessary for all stakeholders to have an open and accurate public debate about the need to introduce move-on powers in the Areas. In our view, the public interest clearly outweighs any claim to confidentiality which is being used to deny HPLC (and the general public) access to those statistics.

Council is under a statutory obligation to undertake public consultation regarding the merits of its application to introduce move-on powers into the Areas.¹² The merits of Council’s application can only be fully assessed by providing the public with empirical evidence that it relies on to support its application. In these sorts of issues, it is imperative that public consultation be informed by empirical evidence, and not on mere allegation and community perception. We can only draw the conclusion that the refusal by the QPS to release the statistics (which do not breach privacy legislation or identify individuals) suggests that the statistics do not support Council’s application.

In any event, whether or not Council can prove an increase in substance and alcohol abuse in the Areas, move-on powers will not, in our view, stop people from engaging in such conduct. Substance and alcohol abuse is a complex problem that requires a compassionate and sophisticated government response. The HPLC strongly suggests that cross-sectoral, community-based responses are a far more appropriate and effective way to deal with substance abuse rather than a simplistic law enforcement approach.

5. OTHER MOTIVATIONS FOR MOVE-ON POWERS

The HPLC considers that there may be other reasons from those specified in Council’s public notice which may be influencing Council to introduce move-on powers into the Areas.

5.1 Extreme violence

There has been a number of violent incidences in the city and Kurilpa Point in the last year. When reporting on Council’s application for move-on powers, The Courier Mail reported,

“Cr Newman said he was acting after a long string of violent events in the city...”¹³

Additionally, a Council staff member recently informed the HPLC that the impetus for the application of move-on powers was two murders, one outside the Embassy and the other at Kurilpa Point.

The above statements suggest that Council’s motivation for introducing move-on powers is to curb violent crimes in Brisbane. The HPLC considers move-on powers to be an insufficient tool for responding to violent crime. In such situations Queensland Police would obviously use existing laws designed to respond to serious crimes such as murder.

¹² s 8 *Police Powers and Responsibilities Regulation 2000*.

¹³ Wenham, M, ‘Major seeks police move-on action’, *Courier Mail*, 6 May 2005.

5.2 Camping

The Courier Mail recently quoted Lord Mayor Campbell Newman in relation to introducing move-on powers saying,

*“We also shouldn’t have people camping in parks. I’m not going to tolerate tent cities in the city parks”.*¹⁴

Camping does not meet the threshold conduct required for a lawful move-on direction. Move-on powers could only lawfully be exercised if, while camping, a person’s presence or behaviour “causes anxiety to a person entering, at or leaving the place, reasonably arising in all the circumstances”. In our view, Lord Mayor Campbell Newman’s comments reflect a fundamental misunderstanding of the legislation and further highlights the possible misuse of the move-on powers by the police.

6. DETRIMENTAL IMPACT ON HOMELESS PEOPLE

In 2003, a census by the Brisbane Homelessness Taskforce estimated that Brisbane had 336 homeless people who were ‘sleeping rough’ or in crisis accommodation within 3 kilometres from City Hall.¹⁵ Clearly, the Areas are utilised by large numbers of Brisbane’s homeless population.

6.1 Access to services

As a result of the Areas having a large homeless population, many service providers regularly attend or are located nearby the Areas. If a homeless person is moved-on for a period of 24 hours this will diminish their ability to access to vital basic services.

6.2 Jeopardising the safety of the homeless

*“Council is committed to preserving the right of **all users** to a sense of safety and security in public spaces”*¹⁶

Being homeless means being vulnerable. Homeless people are overwhelmingly victims, not perpetrators, of violence in public space.¹⁷ Ensuring the homeless have a sense of safety and security in public space means, at the very least, minimising the risk of their exposure to violent situations. The HPLC considers that move-on powers will do the opposite.

“The lock down of pubs and clubs is bad for us. What you get is loads of boozed up guys roaming the streets after 2am with nowhere to go... they can’t afford to catch a cab and there’s no public transport to get them home. So they wander around looking for entertainment and hey, what better fun than to bash some poor homeless bloke.”

Former HPLC client Henry (not his real name)

¹⁴ Wenham, M, ‘Major seeks police move-on action’, *Courier Mail*, 6 May 2005.

¹⁵ Brisbane Homelessness Taskforce, 2003, ‘Where did you sleep last night?’ <http://cwpp.slq.qld.gov.au/homeless/executivesummary.htm>, Accessed 28 October 2005.

¹⁶ Brisbane City Council Public Notice, *The Courier Mail* 24-25 September 2005 (Emphasis added)

¹⁷ *Courier Mail* ‘No rest for those who sleep rough’ 13, 26 February 2005; *Courier Mail* ‘Violence after dark creating city of fear for homeless’ 3, 8 April 2004; Mouzos, J., ‘Homicidal Encounters: A Study of Homicide in Australia 1989-1999’ (Research and Public Policy Series Paper No 28, Australian Institute of Criminology, 2000) 39.

Studies have shown very high rates of mental illness among people who are homeless.¹⁸ Legal Aid Queensland's *Homelessness and Street Offences Project* recently found over 50% of clients had mental health issues.¹⁹ HPLC's experience reflects those statistics.

The HPLC considers that moving-on homeless people, particularly those with a mental illness, will jeopardise their sense of safety and security in a public space. If a mentally ill homeless person is moved-on to an unfamiliar location it will likely cause them considerable distress and disorientation.

6.3 Criminalisation of the homeless: the cycle of injustice

Jeff is 24 years of age and has been living on the streets for the last 6 weeks. He is on a disability support pension and supplements his social security payment by selling The Big Issue magazine. Jeff says that the last 6 weeks have been the hardest of his life.

Jeff often spends time in King George Square, particularly in the evenings when he is waiting for a free meal from the Street Van.

"What will happen to the Street Van when the new powers are introduced? It's right in the area. It's there is for safety reasons, because of the security cameras and police just across the road."

Jeff says he gets hassled by police in King George Square and the Queen Street Mall all the time.

"I don't use drugs and I hardly ever drink. I don't use substances like some of my mates do... to forget the bad stuff that has happened to me."

"Last week I was drinking a soft drink and smoking a cigarette in the Mall when two cops came up to me and asked what I was doing. I said I was just sitting here like I am entitled to do. They asked me where I got my drink from. I said I bought it in a supermarket in Buranda, which I did. One of the police officers then took my drink off me and smelled it for alcohol. Just because I look different they have stereotyped me and painted me with the same brush as everyone else."

It is the experience of the HPLC that homeless people feel continually targeted and subjected to police harassment. This commonly leads to homeless people being charged with an offence simply as a result of their interaction with police.

The Legal Aid Queensland *Homelessness and Street Offences Project* illustrates the point:

Chris was walking down the footpath behind a group of people, one of whom spat on a police car. A nearby police officer called on him to stop but took no action against the group. Chris responded by denying any wrongdoing and swore loudly at the officer. He was then arrested on a "public nuisance" charge for swearing. He protested and struggled with the police officer. He was forced to the ground and

¹⁸ Hodder T, Teesson M and Buhrich N., 1998, 'Down and Out in Sydney'. Sydney City Mission.

¹⁹ Legal Aid Queensland, *Homelessness and Street Offences Project* August 2005.

suffered cuts to his face. He was also charged with obstructing police. He was not charged at all for the spitting incident.²⁰

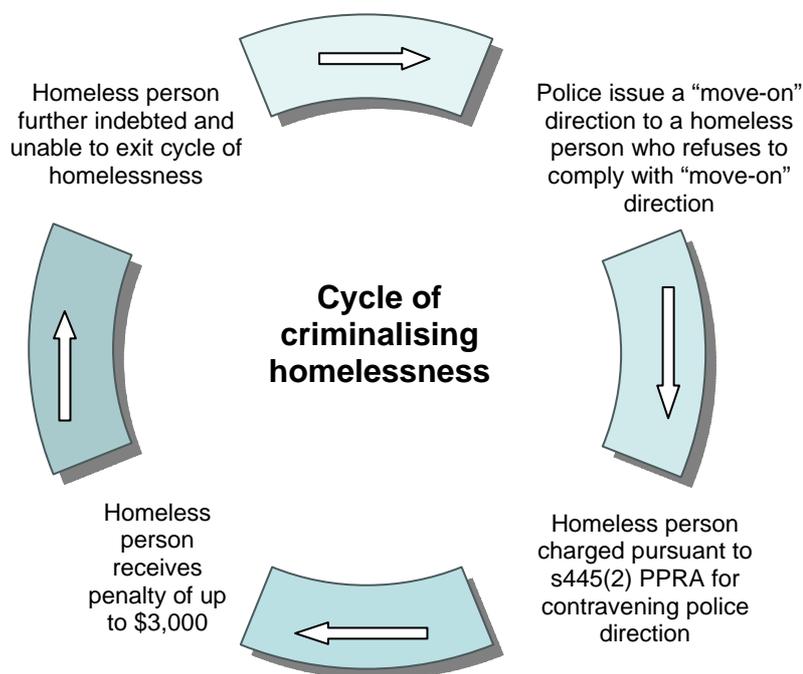
Ron lived on the streets. He suffered a head injury when he was eight years old and received a disability benefit. While walking in the Queen Street Mall he was approached by two police officers who in their court statement described him as “behaving aggressively”. They asked for his name. He swore at the police and told them to leave him alone. They persisted and he reacted more angrily. He was eventually charged with assaulting and obstructing police. He was arrested and taken to the watchhouse. There were no charges about his initial “aggressive” behaviour.²¹

The HPLC anticipates that many homeless people will contravene a move-on direction when asked to move-on in the Areas, for numerous reasons including:

- homeless people regard the Areas as their home and have nowhere to move-on to;
- significant safety concerns associated with moving-on to an unfamiliar location;
- the inability to access service providers located in the Areas.

The effect of disobeying a move-on direction is the commission of a summary criminal offence.²² The maximum statutory penalty for contravening a move-on direction is a monetary fine of \$3000, a ridiculous penalty for a homeless person.²³

The foreseeable outcome of increased move-on powers in the Areas is the criminalisation of homeless people because of their homelessness. Creating a regime whereby a persons' homelessness can be entrenched and their interaction with the criminal justice system perpetuated, is far from best practice.



²⁰ Legal Aid Queensland, *Homelessness and Street Offences Project*, August 2005, 28.

²¹ Legal Aid Queensland, *Homelessness and Street Offences Project*, August 2005, 2.

²² Section 445(2) PPRA, failure to comply with a lawful police direction.

²³ Approximately 90% of homeless peoples' sole source of income is social security benefits which are well below the poverty line. Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2005, 'Homeless People in SAAP: National Data Collection 2003-04', Canberra; Walsh T, 2005, 'Social security or social exclusion?' 18(1) *Parity* 79.

7. HUMAN RIGHTS

Australia regularly denies basic human rights to the homeless.²⁴ The HPLC fears that extending the move-on powers to areas regularly frequented by the homeless will further deny their human rights.

Australia is a party to a number of international treaties focusing on human rights. When Australia ratified these treaties it agreed to the full implementation of the rights specified. This obligation extends beyond the Federal government to the State governments and local Councils.

The HPLC is concerned that a number of Articles in these human rights treaties will be infringed by move-on powers. The below table outlines the Articles at risk of being breached:

Article	Right	Infringement by move-on powers
Art 7 <i>International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)</i> ; Art 5 <i>Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)</i>	The Right to Freedom from Torture and Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment	Removing people from their 'homes' may be classified as cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment. This is especially so considering the high percentage of the homeless who suffer from a mental illness.
Art 6 and 9 <i>ICCPR</i> ; Art 3 <i>UDHR</i>	The Right to Liberty and Security of Person	The removal of individuals from the Areas may be an infringement of their basic right to liberty. Their security, both physical and mental, may also be jeopardised if they are removed.
Art 27 <i>ICCPR</i>	The Right to Enjoy One's Culture	Removing Indigenous people from Kurilpa Point may infringe this right because of their strong cultural connection with this area.
Art 2(1) and 26 <i>ICCPR</i> Art 1 and 7 <i>UDHR</i> Art 2(2) <i>International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)</i>	The Right to Freedom from Discrimination	The location of the Areas is targeted at areas where the homeless congregate. It is also likely that the policing of the move-on powers will discriminate against the homeless, either directly or indirectly.
Art 12 <i>ICCPR</i>	The Right to Liberty of Movement and Freedom to Choose Residence	This right to liberty of movement is infringed by the police removing an individual from an area without them committing an offence. Additionally, the right to freedom of residence is contravened by removing an individual from the space they deem to be their home.
Art 1 <i>UDHR</i> ; Preamble <i>ICCPR</i> ; Preamble <i>ICESCR</i>	The Right to be Treated with Dignity and Respect	This right requires homeless people to be treated with dignity and respect and places an obligation on Australia to ensure that homeless people can live with dignity. This

²⁴ Sackville R., 2005 'Homelessness, human rights and the law' 10(2) *Australian Journal of Human Rights*, 11-26. Lynch, P., 2005, 'Homelessness and Human Rights in Victoria: Submission to the Human Rights Consultation Committee'.

		requires access to basic necessities of life, including food. ²⁵ Moving people on from areas where such services are provided jeopardies compliance with this fundamental right.
Art 6-11; Art 14 <i>ICCPR</i>	The Right to a Fair Hearing and the Administration of Justice.	Due to the nature of homelessness people charged with a failure to move-on or another criminal charge will not attend court or if they do will not received adequate legal representation and thus this right will regularly be infringed.
Art 19 <i>UDHR</i> ; Art 19(2) <i>ICCPR</i>	Freedom of Expression	If a person is expressing themselves in a manner that they feel comfortable it often runs the risk of infringing other people's style of communication. Consequently under section 37(1) (a) or 38(1) (a) the police may take action if it is 'causing anxiety to a person'. This may curtail the right of freedom of expression.

The move-on powers are likely to infringe the Council's obligations of implementing the above obligations to the protection of human rights.

It is my firm belief that the ultimate test of our worth as a democratic nation is how we treat our most disadvantaged and vulnerable.

Sir William Deane.

²⁵ Human Rights Committee, General Comment 6: Article 6, UN Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.5 (2001) 114.