

Independent Panel
Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet
PO Box 6500
Canberra ACT 2600
Australia

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**Dear Independent Panel Members** 

# **COVID-19 Response Inquiry**

Thank you for the opportunity to make a submission to this important Inquiry. Our submission will focus on one aspect from the terms of reference: *Mechanisms to better target future responses to the needs of populations (including across genders, age groups, socio-economic status, geographic location, people with disability, First Nations peoples and communities and people from culturally and linguistically diverse communities).* 

Enclosed is a submission prepared by Redfern Legal Centre. We would be happy to provide any further information or comment that might be useful to your Inquiry.

Yours faithfully,

Camilla Pandolfini Chief Executive Officer Redfern Legal Centre

#### 1. Introduction

Redfern Legal Centre (**RLC**) is a non-profit community legal centre that provides access to justice. Established in 1977, RLC was the first community legal centre in NSW and the second in Australia. We provide free legal advice, legal services and education to people experiencing disadvantage in our local area and statewide. We work to create positive change through policy and law reform work to address inequalities that cause disadvantages.

We provide effective and integrated free legal services that are client-focused, collaborative, non-discriminatory and responsive to changing community needs – to our local community as well as statewide. Our specialist legal services focus on tenancy, credit, debt and consumer law, financial abuse, employment law, international students, First Nations justice, and police accountability, and we provide outreach services including through our health justice partnership.

During the COVID-19 lockdown, RLC was inundated with people contacting our service seeking legal advice about COVID fines and the public health orders. The demand for legal advice on our small legal centre was overwhelming and we struggled to provide timely information, advice, and assistance to people trying to understand the new and changing laws.

Over the lockdown period, RLC assisted hundreds of clients submit fine reviews, seek fine write-offs and Work and Development Orders, and challenge fines in court. Our submission to the COVID-19 Response Inquiry has been informed by the significant volume of legal assistance RLC provided during the COVID-19 lockdown.

#### 2. Key areas of concern

# Rapidly changing orders

In New South Wales between 15 March 2020 and 31 January 2022, 266 principal and amending public health orders were issued, equating to a change in the law every 2.5 days on average over that period.<sup>1</sup> Each public health order contained numerous directions which affected people in NSW in a vast number of ways.

Through our casework, we found the rapid changes to the public health orders made it almost impossible for the public and police to maintain an understanding of the public health laws, resulting in many people being fined incorrectly, along with penalty notices issued that failed to meet the requirements under s.20 of the *Fines Act 1996*.<sup>2</sup>

Of significant note, for a considerable period of the lockdown, public health orders were only published in English, which left many in the community vulnerable both in terms of their health and their ability to comply with the law.

## Issuing of crippling fines

The creation and implementation of on-the-stop fines for non-compliance with the rapidly changing public health directions was largely chaotic, unfair, and discriminatory.

Historically, on-the-spot fines are for strict liability offences, where the elements of the offence are simple and unchanging, and the penalty amount is low. Yet when it came to COVID fines the reverse was true. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> NSW Ombudsman, The COVID Pandemic, Second Report, 2 September 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Beame; Els v Commissioner of Police & Ors [2023] NSWSC 347.

elements of the offence were complex, what constituted "reasonable excuse" kept changing and was not exhaustive and the fine amounts were high (\$1,000, \$3,000, and \$5,000).

From March 2020 to September 2022, financial penalties of more than \$56 million were imposed on NSW residents by NSW Police. COVID fines were notably higher than fines for existing criminal offences and people were effectively criminalised for behaviours that would never previously have brought them into contact with the police.

Small towns with high First Nations populations and Western Sydney suburbs that are home to the most socioeconomically disadvantaged residents in the city bore the brunt of COVID fines. Statistics obtained by RLC under freedom of information laws from NSW police show that Walgett, Brewarrina, and Wilcannia had the most fines issued per capita during the pandemic.<sup>3</sup>

The Guardian newspaper conducted an analysis of the statistics obtained by RLC and found:

- Areas with greater socioeconomic disadvantage had higher rates of fines per 1,000 people on average.
- Most economically advantaged suburbs had a rate three times less than the most disadvantaged suburbs.
- Only two suburbs in the state were hit with more than \$1m in fines between July and October last year: Liverpool and Mount Druitt in Sydney's west. Residents in Blacktown were hit with almost \$730,000 in fines.
- The figures are much larger compared with many wealthier eastern and inner west suburbs, such as Bondi, which was hit with \$83,900 in fines in the same period, or Rozelle, which was hit with just \$43,200.
- The suburbs are also home to a high percentage of people from low socioeconomic backgrounds, with the median weekly income in Blacktown \$633 according to the last census<sup>4</sup>.

The NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research (**BOCSAR**) published statistics showing that each of the locations outside of Sydney that experienced high rates of COVID-19 enforcement action were places with a significant proportion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander residents.<sup>5</sup>

Similar statistics exist regarding the issuing of fines in Victora. In Victoria, a parliamentary inquiry found people in lower socioeconomic areas were twice as likely to be as those in higher socioeconomic areas.<sup>6</sup>

## Children and the pandemic

Data obtained by RLC through freedom of information laws show that between 1 July 2021 and 4 June 2022, nearly 4,000 COVID-19 fines totalling just over \$2.1 million dollars were issued to children aged 13-17 years, the majority of which ranged from \$1,000 up to \$5,000 each.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> NSW Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research (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)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Guardian, 10 Feb 2022, Mostafa Rachwani and Nick Evershed, 'Incredible imbalance': NSW Covid fines during Delta higher in disadvantaged suburbs': <a href="https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/datablog/2022/feb/10/incredible-imbalance-nsw-covid-fines-during-delta-higher-in-disadvantaged-suburbs">https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/datablog/2022/feb/10/incredible-imbalance-nsw-covid-fines-during-delta-higher-in-disadvantaged-suburbs</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;a href="https://www.bocsar.nsw.gov.au/Pages/bocsar\_pages/COVID.aspx">https://www.bocsar.nsw.gov.au/Pages/bocsar\_pages/COVID.aspx</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Sentas, Vicki, Webber, Leanne, Boon-Kuo, Louise, 30 July 2021, 'Opinion: COVID has changed policing-but now policing needs to change to respond better to COVID', UNSW Newsroom:

<sup>&</sup>lt;a href="https://newsroom.unsw.edu.au/news/social-affairs/covid-has-changed-policing-%E2%80%94-now-policing-needs-change-respond-better-covid">https://newsroom.unsw.edu.au/news/social-affairs/covid-has-changed-policing-%E2%80%94-now-policing-needs-change-respond-better-covid</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Redfern Legal Centre, GIPA, NSW police, COVID fines by age and law code.

RLC is particularly concerned that the current fine system in New South Wales treats children and adults the same, an issue which the COVID fines regime brought into sharp focus. Generally speaking, children do not have the capacity to pay fines issued to them. Many children study full-time and if they are employed, their employment is usually casual, for a low number of hours and on a low wage. Children are unlikely to be aware of the fine review system or how to obtain advice about their fine.

We believe the NSW fines system should be tailored to the financial and social standing of children and young people in our society. We consider it is in the public interest to reduce the number of children having contact with the fines system.

Dr Noam Peleg, senior lecturer at the University of New South Wales's Faculty of Law & Justice, considers that the NSW government may be in breach of Australia's obligations under international law as a signatory to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of a Child by requiring children as young as 10 to work off COVID fines. Dr Peleg refers to Article 32 of the UN Convention on the Rights of a Child, which states: "governments should protect children from work that is dangerous or that might harm their health or education." Dr Peleg is also of the view that the issuing of COVID fines to children is "a violation of the Convention on the Rights of a Child" and "working orders directed at children are a second, consequential, violation."

The disproportionate distribution of fines to First Nations communities, and communities with high proportions of ethnic minorities, could be a "clear violation of the core guiding principles of the duty to take a child's best interests into account, and not to discriminate between children."

# 3. Addressing issues of concern

We recommend that in the event of another pandemic or similar crisis, taking into account the needs of children, First Nations people and those from lower socio-economic backgrounds:

- I. Fines should not be used as the primary tool of enforcement as they tend to be applied disproportionately against First Nations and socioeconomically disadvantaged people. If fine offences are created, the amounts of the fines should be limited to a reasonable amount, police should issue cautions for less serious breaches and children should not be fined.
- II. Relevant laws should balance the need to respond to changing health or other requirements with the need for simplicity and consistency over time, so that people have a reasonable opportunity to understand them.
- III. The government should provide clear and accessible information about any new laws, including in a range of community languages, and invest in community engagement with diverse groups to promote compliance.
- IV. For future pandemic planning the government should explore a cooperative, educative health approach rather than a punitive, criminalising approach to addressing a health crisis.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Zwartz, Henry,04 August 2022, 'NSW COVID fines on kids could breach international law', University of New South Wales.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ibid at 7.