



## GILBERT + TOBIN CENTRE OF PUBLIC LAW NEWSLETTER DECEMBER 2025

### DIRECTOR AND DEPUTY DIRECTOR'S REPORT

Dear friends,

The second half of 2025 has been eventful, both for public law and for our Centre. In September, Professor Rosalind Dixon stepped down as the Centre's Director after seven years in the role, and Associate Professor Janina Boughey began her term as Director.

Ros's leadership of the Centre was extraordinary. Her energy and generosity are unmatched. Her list of achievements and contributions to Australian and comparative public law during her tenure as Director are too long to capture in a newsletter. But two particular themes of her leadership need to be mentioned. The first is the expansion of the Centre's reputation and impact around the world during Ros's tenure, including through building relationships with leading public law centres at universities in Canada, Hong Kong, Ireland, New Zealand, and Singapore. This has created opportunities for scholars to share knowledge and collaborate on public law projects. The Gilbert + Tobin Centre of Public Law is now a central part of a global network of public law centres.

The second theme of Ros's leadership is her generous support for colleagues, and in particular, her mentoring of junior public law scholars. She has created opportunities for talented, emerging public law academics to build their careers and contribute to public law scholarship including through her establishment of the ICON-S Winter/Summer School, and her leadership of research projects, workshops, and events which always include junior scholars from Australia and across the world. The result is a deep pool of talented public lawyers, with connections to our Centre. We, our Centre colleagues and, we are sure, the global public law community, are deeply indebted to Ros for her leadership.

Janina is honoured to have taken on the role as Director of the Centre. She is the Centre's fifth Director and is excited to lead the Centre into its 25th year in 2026. Janina is deeply committed to the Centre's goals of advancing and informing public debate and education on public law, and creating opportunities for academics, judges, lawyers, government and the broader community to engage on public law issues.

Domestic and global events in the past few months have again highlighted the importance of the Centre and these goals. For example, the Federal Government introduced a Bill to amend the *Freedom of Information Act 1982* (Cth), which would further weaken Australians' ability to access government information. Members of the Gilbert + Tobin Centre of Public Law worked with our friends at the Centre for Public Integrity to host a webinar on the proposed changes with



Janina Boughey  
Centre Director



Elisabeth Perham  
Centre Deputy Director



leading experts, Emeritus Professor John McMillan AO, Professor Gabrielle Appleby and award-winning journalist (and now barrister) Paul Farrell. Centre members also made a submission to the parliamentary inquiry on the Bill, spoke at events aimed at informing and improving government practice in administering access to information laws, and published and presented research on this topic.

In September the first formal treaty between Australia's First Peoples and an Australian government was signed between the First Peoples' Assembly of Victoria and the Victorian Government. Legislation giving effect to the Treaty passed on 31 October. The Centre's Indigenous-State Treaty-Making Project provided expert analysis on this process through a series of public-facing events and media. The Project's Director, Associate Professor Harry Hobbs has been researching the public law implications of Indigenous-State Treaty-Making in his research, and his scholarship informed public knowledge and debate on the process and the importance of this development.

As predicted in our June newsletter, the second Trump Presidency has continued to remind us of the importance, and sometimes the precariousness, of public law norms. In the United States, despite its constitutional protection of free speech, we have seen free expression by protestors, students and academics threatened in various ways. In Australia, the extent to which our Constitution protects free political communication continues to be the subject of litigation and debate. We have seen several important cases in the courts this year, as well as commentary in the media. The Centre's Freedom of Expression, Social Media and Online Speech Project, directed by Associate Professor Daniel Joyce, has continued its important work, contributing to public debate and knowledge on these topics.

The Comparative Constitutional Law Project has also hosted a range of events that help us to make sense of what is happening in the United States, and elsewhere. On 15 October, a seminar on The US Supreme Court and the 2024-25 Term was held, featuring discussion with experts on some of the consequential and controversial decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States in recent months. In July, the Project hosted Professor Eoin Carolan SC (Irish Bar/University College Dublin) and Dr Ailbhe O'Neill SC (Irish Bar/Trinity College Dublin), and they took part in a range of discussions bringing comparative insights to the topics of housing rights, the fourth branch of government and democratic backsliding. And in December, the annual Comparative Constitutional Law Roundtable, convened by Project Co-Directors Professor Rosalind Dixon and Dr Elisabeth Perham was again held at the Kensington campus, bringing together scholars from around Australia and the world to discuss work on pressing public law issues.

The Constitutional Democracy and Gender and Public Law Projects continue their work working more broadly with members of the Australian community to support democratic engagement. The cohort of the 5th annual NSW Pathways to Politics Program, which is hosted at UNSW and supported by the Centre, completed the program in September, with many of the participants now gearing up to run for elected office. And the Constitutional Democracy Project's work on civics education in schools continues.

The Australian Law Reform Commission's 2022 report on Judicial Independence, and a series of high-profile cases, including *Vasta v Stradford* [2025] HCA 3 have highlighted the continuing need for guidance, education and

For details of Centre events, publications, submissions and so on please either go to our website:

[www.gtcentre.unsw.edu.au](http://www.gtcentre.unsw.edu.au)  
or join our [mailing list here](#)

oversight of judicial conduct. Professor Gabrielle Appleby has continued her important work on judicial conduct through the Judiciary Project. She is working with the Hon Virginia Bell AC, the Hon Justice Murray Aldridge, and Professor Judith Cashmore AO on a comprehensive review of the Guide to Judicial Conduct, including to ensure the guide reflects contemporary challenges including the impact of technology.

The Centre is excited to welcome a new member, Dr Scarlet Wilcock. Dr Wilcock is an expert on social security law and much of her work focusses on the use of technology in social services law, administration and policy. Scarlet will direct the Centre's Public Law and Technology Project, which brings together public law and technology scholars to explore the opportunities and challenges of governments' use of technology. You can read more about Scarlet's work under the profile introducing her in the People section of this newsletter on page 10.

The Centre has also launched a new project on Pseudolaw, directed by Associate Professor Harry Hobbs. The Pseudolaw Project investigates how people often called 'sovereign citizens' use the law and the issues this raises for public law and our legal institutions. You can read more about the Pseudolaw Project on page 15.

The Centre continues to build its connections to the judiciary, including via the Judges and the Public Law Academy seminar series, co-organised with the University of Sydney and the NSW Supreme Court. The most recent seminar in this series featured an excellent paper by Centre member Dr Ashleigh Barnes on stare decisis in the Constitutional setting, with Centre PhD graduate, Dr Jemimah Roberts (of Macquarie Law School) providing illuminating comparative insights on the US position.

Finally, our congratulations to Dr Shakhawat Hossein (supervised by Associate Professor Mehera San Roque, and Centre members Dr Elisabeth Perham and Professor Theunis Roux) and Dr Shreeya Smith (supervised by Professor Rosalind Dixon and Associate Professor Janina Boughey) on the award of their PhDs. We wish them all the very best for the future. We also want to acknowledge that the five-year term of Professor Theunis Roux as Head of the School of Global and Public Law comes to an end at the end of 2025, and extend our gratitude to him for his service in his role.

With our thanks for your ongoing support,

Janina and Lizzy

# CENTRE ACTIVITIES

## EVENTS



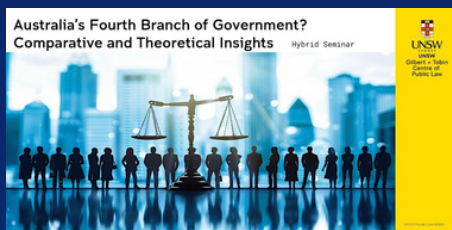
### **Anti-Constitutional Politics, Disillusionment & Democratic Backsliding** **23 July 2025**

This seminar examined the growing threats to democracy arising from public disillusionment with traditional parties and the increasing support for illiberal populist movements and would-be authoritarian leaders. Hosted by the Gilbert + Tobin Centre of Public Law, Professor Eoin Carolan (University College Dublin) drew on comparative experiences from Hungary, Poland and Argentina to explore these dynamics. The session was chaired by Professor Rosalind Dixon, with commentary provided by Professor Theunis Roux (UNSW). It was held in the Boardroom at the UNSW Faculty of Law & Justice and online via Teams.



### **Making Housing Rights Real? A Comparative Human Rights & Public Law Perspective** **23 July 2025**

Australia's ongoing housing access and affordability crisis and its implications for dignity, equality and democratic confidence were the focus of this seminar. Co-sponsored by the UNSW Housing Analytics Lab, the Australian Human Rights Institute, and the Gilbert + Tobin Centre of Public Law, the discussion centred on lessons from the Irish experience, particularly the recent Irish Housing Commission report on a constitutional right to housing, considered alongside the Australian context. Speakers included Professor Chris Pettit (UNSW Housing Analytics Lab), Dr Ailbhe O'Neill SC (Trinity College Dublin) and Dr Hilary Hogan (Maynooth University), in conversation with Professor Rosalind Dixon.



### **Australia's Fourth Branch of Government? Comparative & Theoretical Insights** **14 August 2025**

Independent institutions such as integrity bodies, electoral commissions and human rights commissions are increasingly being described as forming a "fourth branch" of government. In this seminar, hosted by the Gilbert + Tobin Centre of Public Law, Professors Eoin Carolan (University College Dublin) and Gabrielle Appleby (UNSW) discussed the role of these institutions globally, with particular attention to developments and experiences in Ireland and Australia. The event was held in the Adrian Cameron Room at the UNSW Faculty of Law & Justice and online via Teams.



### **2025 Public Law in the Classroom Online 'Brown Bag' Discussions:** **Session 3: Teaching Public Law to International Students** **11 September 2025**

The third session in the 2025 'Brown Bag' series brought together public law teachers to discuss approaches to teaching international students. Associate Professor Svetlana Tyulkina (UNSW) reflected on her use of field trips to bring public law to life, while Ms Sarah Wilkinson (UNSW) continued the conversation from the 2025 PLIC Workshop through insights from UNSW's Study Hall initiative. Facilitated by Ms Shreeya Smith (WSU), the session provided an informal and collegial forum for sharing experiences and advice.



### **FOI at a Crossroads: Progress or Attack?** **22 September 2025**

This panel considered the Federal Government's newly introduced amendments to the Freedom of Information Act, which have already generated significant controversy, particularly regarding proposed limits on access to government documents. Professor John McMillan AO, Professor Gabrielle Appleby and barrister and former journalist Paul Farrell examined existing challenges—such as rising refusal rates, declining full-release rates and increasing delays—as well as the impact of the proposed reforms. The discussion built on recent research by the Centre for Public Integrity. This online event attracted 134 attendees.

## Democratising the SRC – Briefing for Teachers

Webinar | Monday, 13 October



## The US Supreme Court and the 2024-25 Term

October 15 2025 | Hybrid Seminar



## Democratising the SRC – Briefing for Teachers 13 October 2025

This webinar introduced teachers to approaches for integrating democratic principles and civics education into the structure and operation of Students' Representative Councils. Professor Rosalind Dixon (UNSW Gilbert + Tobin Centre of Public Law), founder of the Democratising the SRC project, outlined a range of structuring options and described the educational rationale behind them. Teachers who had previously participated in the program also shared practical insights and advice.

## The US Supreme Court and the 2024-25 Term 15 October 2025

The UNSW Gilbert + Tobin Centre of Public Law, together with the United States Studies Centre, hosted this seminar on the major decisions handed down by the US Supreme Court in the 2024–25 term generated strong interest, with 172 registrations, 55 attendees online, and 18 attending in person. Professor Amanda L. Tyler (University of California, Berkeley) and Associate Professor David Smith (University of Sydney) joined Professor Rosalind Dixon in discussing a series of controversial cases, including those shaping presidential power under the Trump administration. The conversation considered both the legal significance and broader political implications of the term's decisions.

## Global Book Series

UNSW Gilbert + Tobin Centre of Public Law  
Greater Sydney Law Schools' Public Law Reading Group



A JOINT INITIATIVE OF THE GILBERT + TOBIN CENTRE OF PUBLIC LAW AND GREATER SYDNEY LAW SCHOOLS' PUBLIC LAW READING GROUP. PARTNERS: UNSW, UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY, WESTERN SYDNEY UNIVERSITY, MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY, AND UTS.



## Global Book Series - GSPL Reading Group Series - Professor Alison LaCroix 16 October 2025

This session of the GSPL Reading Group Series featured Professor Alison LaCroix discussing her book *The Interbellum Constitution*, which examines the evolution of American constitutional thought between 1815 and 1861. Hosted by the UNSW Gilbert + Tobin Centre of Public Law in collaboration with the Greater Sydney Law Schools' Public Law reading group, the event brought Professor LaCroix into conversation with Jeff Gordon and was chaired by Jemimah Roberts. It was held online via Zoom and formed part of a series convened by academics from UNSW, USyd, UTS, WSU and Macquarie.

## Public Law in the Classroom

2025 Online Brown Bag Discussion Series



Hosted by:



## Public Law in the Classroom - 2025 Online Brown Bag Discussion Series Session 4: Climate Conscious Lawyering

31 October 2025

The final session in the 2025 'Brown Bag' series focused on "Climate Conscious Lawyering" and examined themes from the open-source book *Becoming a Climate Conscious Lawyer*. Authors Professors Gabrielle Appleby (UNSW) and Joo-Cheong Tham (University of Melbourne), Associate Professor Harry Hobbs (UNSW), Professor Beth Goldblatt (UTS) and Associate Professor Julia Dehm (La Trobe University) offered brief presentations on their chapters, covering public law, constitutional law and human rights dimensions. The discussion was chaired by Associate Professor Julie Debeljak (Monash University) and followed by an open conversation among participants.

## The Paradox of Populists in Power? Consolidation and Ineffective Governance 20 November 2025

This seminar, presented by Wojciech Zomerski and hosted by the Gilbert + Tobin Centre of Public Law, explored comparative cases of populism in government across the globe. Zomerski outlined two central hypotheses: that executive-centred systems may be more vulnerable to populist capture, and that despite concentrating power, populist governments often struggle to implement complex reforms effectively. The presentation also considered examples of democratic resilience, particularly within robust parliamentary systems such as those in Scandinavia and Australia. The hybrid event was held in the Level 2 Boardroom at the UNSW Faculty of Law & Justice.

## The Paradox of Populists in Power? Consolidation and Ineffective Governance

Hybrid Seminar  
20 November  
2025 - 3PM  
UNSW Law and Justice, Level 2 Boardroom





Image credit: Hilary Johnstone  
"After the Eli Fire" (2016)

## Threatening Reconciliation

9 December 2025

This brown bag seminar featured a special presentation by Assistant Professor Scott Franks, a Visiting Scholar from the Peter A. Allard School of Law at the University of British Columbia, and Centre visitor. The event was hosted by the Gilbert + Tobin Centre of Public Law and was held in the Adrian Cameron Room at the UNSW Faculty of Law & Justice. Assistant Professor Franks is a citizen of the Manitoba Métis Federation and is from northern Saskatchewan. His primary research is in the areas of Canadian Aboriginal law and Indigenous legal theory and practice. He also writes in criminal law and procedure, and in other legal areas relevant to Indigenous-settler relations. During the seminar, Assistant Professor Franks presented on a new piece called *Threatening Reconciliation*. His talk examined the Supreme Court of Canada's foundational cases on Aboriginal rights and title under s. 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982.

## UPCOMING EVENTS

### Public Law in the Classroom Workshop 2026

5 February 2026

The twelfth annual Public Law in the Classroom Workshop will be held at UNSW Sydney and online on 5 February 2026. The workshop brings together public law teachers from across Australia and internationally and builds on the success of the past eleven events.

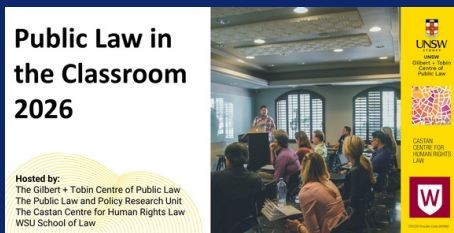
The workshop is organised by the Gilbert + Tobin Centre of Public Law at UNSW, the Public Law and Policy Research Unit at the University of Adelaide, the Castan Centre for Human Rights Law at Monash University and the School of Law at Western Sydney University. The past 11 workshops have been a great success, each attracting public law teachers from across the country and internationally.

The first panel session will focus on Teaching with Indigenous Legal Traditions, and will explore how we as public law teachers can incorporate Indigenous perspectives, knowledge and laws into our teaching of core public law units. The second panel session will focus on Assessment – and specifically the drafting of problem questions. The third panel session will focus on AI and Public Law, and will examine the opportunities and challenges in integrating AI tools into teaching, assessment, and student engagement in public law courses. The fourth panel session will focus on Public Law Practice and Teaching, and will provide the opportunity to hear from those engaged in public law practice about how their day-to-day work intersects with public law issues, and how what they learnt at law school (or wish they had learnt at law school) supports their public law practice. The workshop will be held at UNSW Sydney (exact location to be communicated to those registered) and online. Please register [here](#).

### Constitutional Law Conference 2026

6 February 2026

The 2026 Constitutional Law Conference will be held in hybrid format and feature discussions of important developments in the High Court, Federal Court and state courts and provide an overview of the key public law debates in 2025. The conference will include papers on the acquisition of property, native title, representative government, and the application of international law in domestic courts, among other topics. The conference is hosted by the Gilbert + Tobin Centre of Public Law at the Faculty of Law and Justice, UNSW, with the support of the Australian Association of Constitutional Law and Federation Press. The in-person element of the conference will be held at the offices of Gilbert + Tobin in Barangaroo, Sydney. There will be multiple opportunities for informal interaction throughout the day. There are limited places available so please register [here](#).



## SPECIAL REPORT: AUSTRALIAN LEGAL CONVENTION 2025



L-R: Gabrielle Appleby, Lyria Bennett Moses, Andrew Lynch, Sean Brennan

Three Centre members—Professor Gabrielle Appleby, Associate Professor Sean Brennan and Professor Andrew Lynch—attended the Australian Legal Convention, at the High Court of Australia on 20-22 November 2025. Gabrielle has kindly shared her reflections from the Convention.

### **Australian Legal Convention 2025: A Set of Reflections on the Australian Legal System**

As Chief Justice Stephen Gageler explained in his State of the Judicature address, this year’s Australian Legal Convention continued a long tradition. Sir John Latham chaired the first Convention in 1935, and Sir Garfield Barwick delivered the inaugural State of the Judicature in 1977. In 2025, the Convention was held under the auspices of the Council of Chief Justices. Although in-person attendance was limited, in keeping with the profession’s commitment to open access the event was livestreamed nationally and internationally.

Gageler’s address expanded on the Convention’s themes—Legitimacy, AI, Family and Sexual Violence, Institutional Wellbeing, First Nations Justice, Access to Justice, and Legal Education and Training—and emphasised the integrated nature of Australia’s legal system, which includes judges, courts, judicial commissions, the profession, academics and educators. The program’s format was notably fresh: short “TED Talk”-style provocations followed by panel discussions, encouraging engaged and wide-ranging conversations. What follows is a selection of highlights.

#### **Legitimacy and Trust**

Opening the thematic sessions, Ruth Higgins SC reflected on truth and the institutional duty of candour. Recognising the law’s failings, she argued, should not be seen as a threat to its legitimacy; rather, such honesty strengthens the human character of the law and builds public trust. Legitimacy is grounded in the human face of legal decision-making—impartial yet not impersonal—and in remembering the system’s origins, including its foundations in violence.

Rachel Doyle SC also addressed legitimacy, stressing the personal and relational dimensions of trust. Trust is never fixed, she noted, but continually earned. In court, this means advocates must ensure the accuracy of their submissions and correct errors when they arise. This humility is vital to institutional integrity. Doyle also reflected on the rise of sovereign citizens, describing their presence not as the cause of declining trust but as a manifestation of profound institutional disengagement.

She concluded by discussing the role of integrity in maintaining trust, raising concern about two examples: the attendance of judges and practitioners in full robes at the Red Mass, and the informal “sunset clause” that appeared to operate around the sexual-harassment findings against Dyson Heydon, which she argued created troubling dissonance between public condemnation and subsequent professional rehabilitation.

#### **Artificial Intelligence**

In the sessions on Artificial Intelligence, Professor Ed Santow, Director of Policy & Governance at the Human Technology Institute, acknowledged AI’s significant potential benefits but cautioned the judiciary and profession to approach its adoption with justified scepticism. In contrast, Dr Kaye Ballantyne, Chief Forensic Scientist at Victoria Police, argued that in many areas AI already enables forensic scientists to provide more accurate assistance to courts, and that failure to embrace appropriate technologies risks underserving the community.

During the panel discussion, Professor Lyria Bennett Moses drew an important distinction between the “correctness” of an AI-generated outcome and the equally important need for litigants to experience a human legal process. She also warned against allowing predictive technologies to limit the creativity essential to the development of the common law, reminding the audience that we must always “leave space for the Mabos”.

### **Family and Sexual Violence**

Justices Jacoba Brasch and Liesl Kudelka presented stark reflections on family and sexual violence. Despite decades of research and reform, and a much deeper understanding of coercive control, the incidence and severity of violence continue to increase. Brasch asked why, if we understand the dynamics of abuse better than ever, more women are being killed now than at any point in Australia’s history. Kudelka similarly noted that after 40 years of reform, meaningful progress remains elusive. Their provocations underscored that knowledge alone is not enough; structural, cultural and systemic barriers persist.

### **Access to Justice**

Chief Justice Peter Quinlan questioned when access to justice became a niche domain of legal aid, community legal centres, Aboriginal legal services and pro bono practices. He asked whether pro bono work remains *pro bono publico*—for the public good—or whether it has become *pro bono pecuniar*, folded into firms’ commercial frameworks. Quinlan argued for a broader conception of access to justice that includes not only the marginalised but also the “soon to be marginalised”: those who fall outside the eligibility criteria for legal aid and pro bono support.

He stressed that restoring access to justice as a core professional value requires more than additional funding or higher pro bono targets. Structural reform is essential—re-examining the allocation of court resources (particularly in the context of growing mega-litigation), considering the appropriate role of AI, and questioning whether an adversarial system remains best suited to contemporary needs.

Justice Anastasis Liveris of the Northern Territory offered a compelling reflection on digital inequality, arguing that access to technology is now a form of social capital. Without digital access, individuals cannot meaningfully participate in society, let alone in the justice system. He asked: if the digitally excluded cannot access society, how can they access justice?

### **First Nations Justice**

Australia’s first Indigenous superior court judges, Justice Lincoln Crowley (Queensland) and Justice Louise Taylor (ACT), delivered a profound session on First Nations justice, responding to the Chief Justice’s earlier question—drawn from the Uluru Statement from the Heart—about whether there is a contemporary legal antidote to the entrenched injustice experienced by First Nations peoples.

Justice Taylor observed that, in the wake of the “sound rejection” of constitutional reform at the 2023 Voice referendum, Australia has entered an “age of truth-telling”. But, she noted, First Nations peoples have always told their truths: “first in our languages, then in yours”, with no guarantee of being heard. She emphasised that the nation’s history is recorded in its laws, which for generations regulated and controlled First Nations communities. Some High Court cases—such as Mabo—have led to transformative change, while others have fallen short. Every gain, she said, has been the result of arduous struggle.

Reflecting on the inaugural Indigenous Judges Conference in New Zealand, Taylor described the powerful yet dispiriting realisation that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people are overwhelmingly subject to the law but rarely administering it. Drawing on Justice Sir Joe Williams' concept of "Judging Indigenously", she spoke of the responsibility of Indigenous judges to harness their lived experience: "to not just know what injustice looks like, but what it feels like". To sit as an Indigenous judge, she said, is to transform the law through presence and truth, interrogating its colonial assumptions in the pursuit of post-colonial justice. "We are here," she concluded, "not because of love for the law, but in spite of the law."

These reflections represent only one perspective on the Convention; for many others, different moments will have resonated and prompted the thoughtful engagement Chief Justice Gageler and the Council of Chief Justices hoped to inspire.

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## THE AUSPUBLAW BLOG

AUSPUBLAW has continued its strong efforts in the second half of 2026. The Blog has attracted contributions from several new authors, as well as submissions from many longtime contributors. We have seen posts on a wide range of topics intersecting with issues of public law and governance. These have included analyses of recent decisions of the Federal and High Courts, including *Pabai v Commonwealth (No 2)* [2025] FCA 796 (Liz Hicks) and *Ravbar v Commonwealth* [2025] HCA 25 (Julian R Murphy). We have also featured posts on pending cases such as *Sunshine Loans Pty Ltd v AISC* (Case No B23/2025) (Jerry Leung and Seung Chan Rhee), vacated cases such as *Plaintiff S15/2025* (Jason Donnelly and Chris Honnery), and international cases such as *For Women Scotland Ltd v The Scottish Ministers* [2025] UKSC 16 (Nina Dillon Britton). Our second book forum for 2025 will be published in December, reviewing Yee-Fui Ng's new book *Combatting the Code: Regulating Automated Government Decision-making in Comparative Context*.

Looking to the first half of 2026, we do not anticipate things slowing down. The Blog has several posts in the pipeline that we expect to see published over the next couple of months. Additionally, our first book forum for 2026 is underway, examining Nicholas Petrie and Julian R Murphy's edited collection, *Public Law and Criminal Law in Australia: Overlap, Intersection and Inconsistency*. We thank everyone for their support of the Blog during the second six months of 2025 and we are excited to continue AUSPUBLAW's work next year.

Rebecca Lucas, Sangeetha Pillai, Kelly Yoon and Ashleigh Barnes

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## PEOPLE



**Dr Scarlet Wilcock** is a Senior Lecturer at UNSW's Faculty of Law & Justice and an Associate Investigator at the ARC Centre of Excellence for Automated Decision-Making and Society. Her research examines how social welfare institutions regulate and criminalise marginalised people and communities, particularly single mothers and people experiencing gendered violence. A core focus of her work is the relationship between new technologies and social services law, policy and administration. Drawing on critical approaches and empirical research methods, Dr Wilcock studies the ways that new technologies and systems can reinforce, shape and/or transform the architecture, aims and outcomes of welfare payment delivery and how these changes affect welfare recipients and public commitments to welfare provision.

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## PROJECT REPORTS

### **The Administrative Law and Justice Project**

**Project Co-Directors: Janina Boughey and Ellen Rock**

The Administrative Law and Justice Project brings together UNSW Law scholars, and the wider government law community, concerned with ensuring those who exercise administrative powers act in accordance with public law principles and values. The Project is particularly interested in accountability implications of changes in the nature, scope and exercise of government powers since Australia's administrative law 'system' was designed; such as the use of technology in administrative decision-making; mixed public-private administrative arrangements; and the modern use and interpretation of statutes which confer powers on the executive branch.

The Federal Government introduced proposed amendments to the *Freedom of Information Act 1982* (Cth) in September, which would restrict Australians' access to information. Aspects of the proposed amendments of particular concern include the re-introduction of application fees, the expansion of the cabinet documents and deliberative process exemptions, and re-framing of the Act's objects to emphasise 'private interests and the proper and effective operation of government'. Responding to these proposed amendments has been a focus of the Project over the last six months. The Centre organised and co-hosted a public seminar on the proposed amendments with the Centre for Public Integrity, featuring Emeritus Professor John McMillan AO, Professor Gabrielle Appleby and Paul Farrell. The seminar aimed to inform public debate on the amendments and broader Commonwealth FOI context. A recording of the seminar is on the Centre's [website](#). Janina Boughey, Ellen Rock and Elisabeth Perham also made a submission on the Bill to the Senate Legal and Constitutional Affairs Committee. On the broader theme of access to government information, Janina also participated in a 'Community of Practice' webinar run by the NSW Information and Privacy Commission for Right to Know Week, on ethical behaviour in information-access decision-making.

A second focus of the project has been on how to assess whether government accountability bodies are achieving a positive impact on the quality and integrity of first-instance government decision-making. Ellen and Janina have been researching this topic with an initial focus on the newly reformed Administrative Review Tribunal. They presented their initial findings in a paper at the Australian Institute of Administrative Law national conference in Perth in July.

The Centre hosted Professor Gabriel Bocksang Hola, Dean of Law at Pontifical Catholic University, Chile, who gave a fascinating seminar on the concept of nullity in comparative perspective in September.

Janina has continued her projects on government outsourcing, the administrative law implications of automating government functions, and statutory interpretation. She published an article with Anita Mackay in the October issue of *Public Law* analysing the empirical evidence on administrative justice in disciplinary decision-making across public and private prisons in Australia, the UK and New Zealand. Janina is contributing, with Associate Professor Narelle Bedford, to a project on judicial independence in Australia on the topic of tribunal independence, and will speak at a workshop in early December. Janina has also spoken at several seminars and webinars, including on access to information, and on comparative administrative law at a webinar hosted by the Centre for Comparative and Public Law at Hong Kong University.

Ellen has continued her research into government accountability and liability. She has a forthcoming article to be published in the *Melbourne University Law Review* which outlines the circumstances in which an unlawful exercise of public power can translate into government liability in tort, and a chapter examining the underpinnings of public trust in government accountability in an edited collection published by Hart in Honour of Professor Matthew Groves. Ellen's primary focus this year has been her work with Janina exploring the potential impact of government accountability bodies on the quality and integrity of government decision-making, mentioned above. Ellen has also continued her ongoing scrutiny role as Independent Legal Adviser to the NSW Legislative Council's Delegated Legislation Committee, including outreach to NSW government with a view to enhancing the effectiveness of government engagement in this accountability process.

## **Comparative Constitutional Law Project**

**Project Co-Directors: Rosalind Dixon and Elisabeth Perham**

The CCL Project has had a particularly busy six months. In July and August, the Project hosted Professor Eoin Carolan SC (Irish Bar/University College Dublin) and Dr Ailbhe O'Neill SC (Irish Bar/Trinity College Dublin). Eoin took part in two public seminars: in the first he shared empirical research shedding light on comparative experiences from Hungary, Poland and Argentina on the topic of Anti-Constitutional Politics, Disillusionment & Democratic Backsliding. That seminar featured commentary from Professor Theunis Roux, and was preceded by a research methods workshop for the Centre's HDR candidates focussing on the focus group method that had been used for the research. In the second public seminar, Eoin and Professor Gabrielle Appleby discussed the evolution and role of 'fourth branch' institutions in providing oversight and accountability, with a particular focus on Australia and Ireland.

Ailbhe took part in a public seminar, co-hosted with the UNSW Housing Analytics Lab and the Australian Human Rights Institute, on housing rights, and the potential for a human rights or constitutional rights frame to assist in advancing housing accessibility and affordability – drawing from her experience as the Constitutional Law Expert to the Housing Commission in Ireland, and in discussion with Professor Chris Pettit (UNSW Housing Analytics Lab) and Dr Hilary Hogan (Maynooth University).

In October, the Project hosted its annual review of the decisions of the US Supreme Court on 15 October 2025, in the form of a hybrid seminar featuring Professor Amanda L Tyler (Shannon Cecil Turner Professor of Law at the University of California, Berkeley School of Law) and Associate Professor David Smith (United States Studies Centre, University of Sydney) in conversation with Professor Rosalind Dixon.

The following day, the Project joined the Greater Sydney Law Schools' Public Law Reading Group in hosting Professor Alison Lacroix in an online discussion of her prize-winning book *The Interbellum Constitution: Union, Commerce and Slavery in the Age of Federalisms*. The book offers a fascinating account of American constitutionalism in the Interbellum period, and its reflections on competing understandings of federalism and constitutional construction have found fresh resonance for Australian scholars of federalism and constitutional history. The session also benefited from insightful commentary by our colleague Dr Jeff Gordon (USyd) and expert chairing by Centre alumna Dr Jemimah Roberts (Macquarie University).

Over the past months, Project members have also progressed a series of online and in-person presentations of their work. Professor Rosalind Dixon delivered a suite of online presentations on her book *Responsive Judicial Review*, testing and refining those ideas in a Latin American context ahead of its planned translations into Spanish and Portuguese in 2026. She also presented online to colleagues in Colombia, and in person at the Melbourne Centre for Comparative Constitutional Studies, on her ongoing work on constitutional method and case-selection.

Rosalind and Elisabeth, as well as Centre colleague Dr Ashleigh Barnes, also both travelled to Wellington in July to collaborate with colleagues at the New Zealand Centre of Public Law within the Faculty of Law at Victoria University of Wellington. Rosalind was invited to give the annual Borrin Lecture at the University on 10 July, and she delivered a very well-attended lecture on Polyvocal Constitutionalism. She was also the Borrin Visiting Fellow to the Faculty, and engaged as part of that fellowship in a range of conversations with

Honours students, PhD candidates, Faculty members, and Judges in Wellington. Elisabeth was a visitor to the New Zealand Centre of Public Law, and Elisabeth and Rosalind presented co-authored work on comparative constitutional method to the Faculty (now published as an article in *World Comparative Law*). On 11 July, Rosalind, Elisabeth and Ashleigh took part in a workshop co-organised by the Project and the New Zealand Centre of Public Law on Constitutionally Informed Statutory Interpretation, and engaged in a trans-Tasman dialogue on that topic.

Elisabeth also attended the International Society of Public Law (ICON•S) annual conference, hosted by the University of Brasilia in Brazil, and while there presented research focusing on constitutional failure in Oceania, presented in a book panel discussing the newly-published book *The Politics of Constitutional Rigidity: Unveiling Pathways to Change in Mexico* (OUP, 2025) by Dr Mariana Velasco-Rivera, and co-convened a meeting of the ICON•S Constitution Making Interest Group. Elisabeth was also appointed as the new Director of Interest Groups for ICON•S, and is responsible for oversight of these important centres of gravity for research and collaboration within the Society. HDR candidates Daniel Bogea and Shanil Wijesinha also attended the ICON•S annual conference, and presented their work there.

We were also glad in this period to welcome back our colleague and leading comparative constitutional scholar, Professor Theunis Roux, to the Centre and the Project.

### **Constitutional Democracy Project** **Project Director: Rosalind Dixon**

The Constitutional Democracy Project continued its work on civics education, especially through its focus on primary and high-school students in NSW. In October, Project Director Rosalind Dixon offered a webinar to primary-school teachers across the state on adopting the democratically-informed model of student representative government piloted in four local Sydney schools in 2024; the full report is available on the Centre [website](#).

In November, Dixon and a range of Centre colleagues – including Hobbs, Barnes, Tyulkina and Bostock – attended the finals of the second iteration of the #WritingDemocracy challenge for NSW high school students. The event was hosted at NSW Parliament House and featured students across the state (including many from disadvantaged backgrounds) in collaboration with the Parliament’s Education Unit and the Story Factory. The report about the first iteration of the challenge, aimed at promoting greater student voice, engagement and democratic understanding, is available on the Centre [website](#). A short video from the 2024 final can also be found on [YouTube](#).

Finally, the Project has continued to build links with the CCL Project and the Inclusion & Public Law agenda, and it works to expand understanding and engagement with Australian democratic processes through both teaching and public scholarship.

## **Freedom of Expression, Social Media and Online Speech Project**

**Project Director: Daniel Joyce**

The Freedom of Expression, Social Media and Online Speech Project has continued to develop its network and activities in the second half of 2025. New project member, Dr Brendan Clift, recently published an article titled *Defamation Law in Greater China: Principles, Politics and Prospects* which compared the effect of reputation actions on political speech in four jurisdictions. Dr Siddharth Narrain from NLSIU (Bengaluru) had a very productive visit to the Centre in October. Associate Professor Daniel Joyce and Dr Narrain organised a workshop, 'Rights, Technology and the Regulatory Challenge' on 17 October to coincide with the visit. Daniel Joyce has contributed to the public debate on the social media ban and was quoted in an online ABC report 'Constitutional challenge to social media is on the cards, and teen activists could be the key'. Daniel Joyce and Professor Luke McNamara were recently featured in ABC Radio National's *Law Report* on the topic 'Do we have a right to free speech in Australia?'

## **Indigenous Legal Issues Project**

**Project Director: Sean Brennan**

Sean Brennan continued writing about the litigation by Yolngu people from North East Arnhem Land that is testing legal boundaries on compensation for the extinguishment of native title rights. His article on the High Court's decision in *Commonwealth v Yunupingu* was published in July in the *Public Law Review*. He will be speaking about the case at the Centre's February conference on constitutional law.

## **Indigenous-State Treaty-Making Project**

**Project Director: Harry Hobbs**

In September 2025, the First Peoples' Assembly of Victoria and the Victorian government announced they had reached agreement on the first formal treaty between First Peoples and an Australian government in Australian history. That month a bill to implement the Treaty was introduced into the Victorian Parliament (*the Statewide Treaty Bill 2025 (Vic)*). After several days of debate, the bill passed the Parliament on 31 October 2025.

The centrepiece of the Treaty and the Act implementing the agreement is the creation of Gellung Warl, a new, permanent institution which will structure a renewed relationship between First Peoples and the State. Gellung Warl, meaning 'tip of the spear' in the Gunaikurnai language, will be a self-determined representative and deliberative body empowered to play a 'central part in the democratic life' of Victoria. The new statutory authority comprises three bodies: a strengthened First Peoples' Assembly with a broader mandate, the Nginma Ngainga Wara, an independent oversight and accountability mechanism empowered to monitor the State government's performance and actions in areas related to First Peoples, and the Nyerna Toorook Telkuna an ongoing, self-determined, non-judicial mechanism for truth-telling across Victoria. The Treaty Act stretches across 299 sections and more than 200 pages. So there is quite a bit more in there.

Project Director, Harry Hobbs has been following the Victorian treaty process closely over the last few years as part of his DECRA project and was able to respond to the significant public and media interest in this event. Harry did radio and press interviews for ABC and commercial radio stations across Australia, contributed to a panel discussion run by the Castan Centre and the Australian

Association of Constitutional Law, and wrote a blog for the University of Calgary Faculty of Law blog. In the last few months, Harry also presented three papers exploring treaty, one at an ANU Conference on the Racial Discrimination Act, a second at the biennial New Zealand Political Science conference, and another as part of Sydney Law School's brown bag seminar series.

### **The Judiciary Project**

**Project Directors: Gabrielle Appleby and Andrew Lynch**

As a member of the Committee for the Review of the Guide to Judicial Conduct, Professor Gabrielle Appleby has been working alongside the Honourable Virginia Bell AC (Chair), the Honourable Justice Murray Aldridge, and Professor Judith Cashmore AO. Established by the Council of Chief Justices in October 2024, the Committee was tasked with a comprehensive review of the *Guide to Judicial Conduct*. They conducted extensive consultations with experts and stakeholders, with their work focused on ensuring the guide reflects contemporary challenges – including the impact of technology, evolving understandings of bias, and the growing importance of judicial education. The Committee has now reported to the Working Group for the Review of the Guide, which will in turn report to the Council of Chief Justices.

Gabrielle has also contributed a chapter on 'Judicial Discipline' to the newly published *Edward Elgar Research Handbook on Judges and the Judiciary*, edited by Sophie Turenne and Mohamed Moussa. The Handbook brings together leading voices from across common and civil law jurisdictions in the field and offers fresh insights into the role, accountability, and evolving expectations of the judiciary.

### **Pseudolaw Project**

**Project Director: Harry Hobbs**

The newly created Pseudolaw Project investigates how those sometimes called "sovereign citizens" or "freemen" use law and what this says about our legal system. Adherents appear in traffic stops, council chambers, the tax office, and every other public institution. They rely on stories of secret laws, hidden rights, and corrupt governments, leading them into costly legal troubles that strain courts and public agencies. Our work explores where these ideas come from, how they spread, what their appeal is (when they never succeed in court), their impact, and how the law can better communicate in response. The Project aims to rebuild trust in legal institutions and ensure that law remains accessible and fair for everyone.

Over the last six months, Harry has presented his work on pseudolaw to a variety of legal and non-legal audiences, including judges, prosecutors, and other practitioners. Harry also guest edited a special issue of the *Australian Law Journal* on this topic (with Steve Young from Otago) (details available in the publications section of this newsletter). Unfortunately, this topic has been very relevant of late. In the aftermath of the tragic police murders in the Victorian town of Porepunkah by a self-described sovereign citizen, Harry was interviewed across local and national TV, radio and print media.

### **Public Law and Technology Project**

**Project Director: Scarlet Wilcock**

The Public Law and Technology Project explores the implications, opportunities, and challenges of technology for public law. The project brings together UNSW law academics researching in technology and public law, as well as researchers, policy-makers, computer scientists and practitioners beyond UNSW Law & Justice to examine issues including:

- The implications of technology for the drafting and interpretation of legislation;
- How governments are using technology to assist them in administrative decision-making and other administrative functions;
- Best practice use of technology in court and tribunal processes; and
- The privacy implications of governments' and courts' use of technology in exercising their functions.

Dr Scarlet Wilcock joined the Centre and has taken on the role of Director of this project, as of November 2025. Scarlet is a socio-legal researcher with expertise in social security law and policy. A core focus of her work is the relationship between new technologies and social services law, policy and administration. In the last 6 months, Scarlet has been an expert advisor to Economic Justice Australia, including in their recent Remote Women's Access to Social Security Project, and has provided expert advice to the Australian Tax Office on its use of AI, and to consultants for the Department of Employment and Workplace Relations on the Targeted Compliance Framework.

Janina Boughey published an article with Professor Lisa Burton Crawford on 'Automated Information About the Law' in the July issue of *Public Law*. The article examines the public law implications of governments using automated systems to provide members of the public with information about the law, including on government websites and via chatbots.

The Public Law and Technology Project hosted a visiting doctoral candidate from Utrecht University, Ola Al Khatib, from July to September. Ola's research focusses on governments' use of technology in administrative decision-making in comparative perspective.

### **Public Law Teaching Project**

***Project Directors: Elisabeth Perham and Svetlana Tyulkina***

Registrations are now open for the twelfth annual Public Law in the Classroom Workshop – the core activity of the Project, co-convened with the Public Law and Policy Research Unit at the University of Adelaide, the Castan Centre for Human Rights Law at Monash University and the School of Law at Western Sydney University.

The event will be held at UNSW Sydney and online on 5 February 2026, featuring four panels. The first panel, Teaching with Indigenous Legal Traditions, will explore incorporating Indigenous perspectives into core public law units. The second, Assessment, will focus on drafting problem questions. The third, AI and Public Law, will examine opportunities and challenges of integrating AI into teaching, assessment, and student engagement. The fourth, Public Law Practice and Teaching, will showcase how public law practice connects with legal education and what skills are most valuable in the field.

Throughout 2025, the Project continued to host quarterly online brown bag seminars along with the other convenors of the Public Law in the Classroom Workshop. On 11 September, an online brown bag seminar on the theme of Teaching Public Law to International Students was held. Presenters Svetlana Tyulkina (UNSW) and Sarah Wilkinson (UNSW) shared insights drawn from their teaching practice and recent initiatives. Associate Professor Tyulkina discussed the use of field trips to bring public law to life for international students, demonstrating how experiential learning can enhance engagement and deepen understanding of Australian legal institutions. Sarah Wilkinson continued the conversation by reflecting on UNSW Law & Justice's Study Hall initiative,

building on discussions from the 2025 workshop and outlining how structured support spaces can foster connection, confidence, and academic success. On 31 October, an online brown bag seminar was held to celebrate and explore the public law-related chapters in the recently published open-source book: Julia Dehm, Nicole Graham, and Zoe Nay (eds) *Becoming a Climate Conscious Lawyer*. Presenters Harry Hobbs, Beth Goldblatt, Julia Dehm, Gabrielle Appleby, and Joo-Cheong Tham shared insights from their respective chapters, sparking a rich discussion on climate-conscious lawyering, teaching this important topic in various public law courses, open-access publishing and academic collaboration.

Project Directors Elisabeth Perham and Svetlana Tyulkina have continued their work on establishing a global public law teaching community through and ICON•S interest group. The group most recently convened at the ICON•S Conference in Brasilia in July 2025, bringing together members to discuss future initiatives and collaborative opportunities. During the meeting, participants explored several ideas for the group's activities, including webinars, the creation of a teaching exchange register, and organising panels at upcoming conferences to showcase public law teaching innovations and promote global engagement. The group aims to advance these initiatives over the coming year, providing a space for sharing teaching expertise, resources, and fostering a connected global public law teaching community.

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## PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

### PUBLICATIONS

#### **Gabrielle Appleby**

'Judicial Discipline', in Sophie Turenne and Mohamed Moussa (eds), *Research Handbook on Judging and the Judiciary* (Edward Elgar, 2025).

#### **Ashleigh Barnes**

'Legislative Purpose, Fact-finding and Preventative Detention Following *Lim-NZYQ*' (2025) 99 *Australian Law Journal* 1.

#### **Sean Brennan**

'The High Court consolidates the place of native title in the Australian legal system' (2025) 36 *Public Law Review* 97.

#### **Janina Boughey**

'Automated Information About the Law' (2025) (July) *Public Law* 499 (with Lisa Burton Crawford).

'Administrative Justice in Public and Private Prisons' (2025) (October) *Public Law* 738 (with Anita Mackay).

#### **Melissa Crouch**

*The Palimpsest Constitution: The Social Life of Constitutions in Myanmar* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2025).

#### **Rosalind Dixon**

'Theorising Constitutions Comparatively' (2025) 58(1) *World Comparative Law/Verfassung und Recht in Übersee* 70 (with Elisabeth Perham).

'Julie C. Suk. After Misogyny : How the Law Fails Women and What to Do about It' (2025) 23(1) *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 338.

'Comparative Representation-Reinforcement in Japan' (2025) 17 *Journal of Japanese Law* 125.

### **Harry Hobbs**

'The Profit and Performance of Pseudolaw' (2025) October *The Law Society Journal* 76-82 (with Stephen Young).

*Beyond Doctrine: Alternative and Critical Approaches to Law* (Federation Press, 2025) (with Jeremy Patrick (eds)).

'Climate Change and Constitutional Law' in Julia Dehm, Nicole Graham and Zoe Nay (eds), *Becoming a Climate Conscious Lawyer* (Law Trobe eBureau, 2025) (with Costa Avgoustinos).

'Introduction' in Harry Hobbs and Jeremy Patrick (eds), *Beyond Doctrine: Alternative and Critical Approaches to Law* (Federation Press, 2025) (with Jeremy Patrick).

'Qualitative Research Methods' in Harry Hobbs and Jeremy Patrick (eds), *Beyond Doctrine: Alternative and Critical Approaches to Law* (Federation Press, 2025) (with Terry Hutchinson)

'Conclusion: Law Beyond Doctrine' in Harry Hobbs and Jeremy Patrick (eds), *Beyond Doctrine: Alternative and Critical Approaches to Law* (Federation Press, 2025) (with Jeremy Patrick).

'Special Issue on Interrogating Sovereign Citizen Pseudolaw' (2025) 99 *Australian Law Journal* 680-783 (with Stephen Young).

'The Concerning Intersections of Sovereign Citizen and Indigenous Sovereignty Claims' (2025) 48(3) *UNSW Law Journal* 799-833 (with Stephen Young).

'Pseudolaw Beyond the Bar' (2025) 99 *Australian Law Journal* 680-684 (with Stephen Young).

'Pseudolaw and Family Law' (2025) 99 *Australian Law Journal* 713-723 (with Henry Kha).

'Pseudolaw Behind the Judgments: The Hidden Impact on the Administration of Justice' (2025) 99 *Australian Law Journal* 685-698 (with Joe McIntyre, Stephen Young, and Madeleine Perrett).

'Indigenous Treaty-Making and Legal Pluralism in Australia' (2025) 5(1) *Legalities* 29-33.

### **Andrew Lynch**

*Living Greatly in the Law – Hal Wootten's Selected Writing and Speeches* (UNSW Press, Sydney, September 2025) (with David Dixon (eds)).

### **Elisabeth Perham**

'Theorising Constitutions Comparatively' (2025) 58(1) *World Comparative Law/Verfassung und Recht in Übersee* 70 (with Rosalind Dixon).

### **Theunis Roux**

'The Role of Legal-Professional Culture in Constitutional Interpretation' in Catherine O'Regan, Sujit Choudhry and Carlos Bernal (eds), *Research Handbook on Constitutional Interpretation* (Edward Elgar, 2025)

'Comparative Law' in Harry Hobbs and Jeremy Patrick (eds), *Beyond Doctrine: Alternative and Critical Approaches to Law* (Federation Press, 2025) 45-58

'The Chief Justice Chosen by God to Save South African Democracy: Explaining Mogoeng Mogoeng's Unexpectedly Successful Tenure' (2025) 23 *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 203-223 (with Sinethemba Memela)

#### **Scarlet Wilcock**

'Are we Regulating the Right Digital Systems? Testing Emerging Artificial Intelligence Frameworks Against Real-World Public Sector Systems' (2025) 48(4) *UNSW Law Journal* (with Jose-Miguel Bello y Villarino, Kimberlee Weatherall, Terry Carney and Alexandra Sinclair)

## PRESENTATIONS

#### **Ashleigh Barnes**

'NZYQ and its sequels: Constitutional values in *YBFZ*', Centre for Comparative Constitutional Studies Conference, Melbourne, 25 July 2025.

'The View from Australia', Constitutionally Informed Statutory Interpretation Workshop, Victoria University of Wellington, 11 July 2025.

'*Stare decisis* in the Constitutional Setting: Three Dimensions', Judges & the Academy Workshop co-hosted by the UNSW G+T Centre and Sydney Law School with the Supreme Court of New South Wales, 6 November 2025.

'Constitutional Values and Dignity', Sri Lanka Constitutional Dialogues, August 2025

#### **Janina Boughey**

'Will the Administrative Review Tribunal's accountability functions improve administrative decision-making? Lessons from behavioural science', Paper presented at the AIAL National Administrative Law Conference (31 July-1 August 2025) (with Ellen Rock).

'FOI at a Crossroads: Progress or Attack?', Gilbert + Tobin Centre of Public Law (Webinar), 22 September 2025.

'Transparency and accountability: Traversing the ethical hurdles', NSW Information and Privacy Commission, 29 September 2025.

'Comparative Administrative Law: An Introduction by Giulio Napolitano and Leonardo Parona', Centre for Comparative and Public Law, Hong Kong University, 3 November 2025.

#### **Melissa Crouch**

National Roundtable on Asia Literacy, with Tim Watts MP, hosted by Asialink in Melbourne, October 2025.

#### **Rosalind Dixon**

'Democracy and Institutional Response to Pluralism', Conversation with NZ Judges, Officials and Faculty, Victoria University of Wellington, 8 July 2025.

'Shaping Legal Research Projects', Workshop with Honours Students, Victoria University of Wellington, 8 July 2025.

'Comparative Constitutional Method', Workshop with Postgraduate Students, Victoria University of Wellington, 9 July 2025.

'Theorising Constitutions Comparatively', Presentation at Faculty Research Seminar, Victoria University of Wellington, 9 July 2025 (with Elisabeth Perham).

'Polyvocal Constitutionalism', Ian Borrin Lecture, Victoria University of Wellington, 10 July 2025.

'Principle of Legality', Constitutionally Informed Statutory Interpretation Workshop, Victoria University of Wellington, 11 July 2025.

'Responsive Judicial Review in Colombia', Workshop, Javeriana University Law School, 7 October 2025.

'Responsive Judicial Review in Latin America', Workshop, Isonomia Law Journal, 16 October 2025.

'On Constitutional Comparison', Workshop, Javeriana University Law School, 7 November 2025.

'The Twelve Principles – Introduction to Failures and Roadblocks to Reform', Panellist at Making Anti-Corruption Commissions Effective and Free of Road Blocks, Deakin University, 13 November 2025.

### **Harry Hobbs**

"Pseudolaw" in the Courts: Can you pay a legal debt with an IOU?, ABC Radio National *The Law Report*, 24 June 2025.

'A Guide to Pseudolaw and Sovereign Citizens', Presentation to the Federal Circuit and Family Court of Australia Judicial Plenary, Sydney, 25 June 2025.

'Pseudolaw and Sovereign Citizens', Presentation to the Australasian Courts Administrators Group, Sydney, 8 August 2025.

'A Guide to Pseudolaw and Sovereign Citizens', Presentation to the Victorian Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions, Melbourne, 25 August 2025.

'Negotiating in the Shadow of (and beyond) the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975* (Cth)', Presentation to the 50th Anniversary of the Racial Discrimination Act Conference, Canberra, 11 September 2025.

'Treaties, Agreements and Other Constructive Arrangements', Presentation to Sydney Law School Brown Bag Seminar, Sydney, 18 September 2025.

'Pseudolaw and Sovereign Citizens', Reddit Ask Me Anything, 23 September 2025.

'Understanding Victoria's Statewide Treaty Bill', Panellist on AACL and Castan Centre Webinar, 15 October 2025.

Climate Change and Constitutional Law, Panellist on Public Law in the Classroom Webinar on Climate Conscious Lawyering, 31 October 2025.

'The Role of Parliament in Indigenous-State Agreement-Making', Presentation to the New Zealand Political Science Association Conference, Dunedin, 20 November 2025.

'A Guide to Pseudolaw and Sovereign Citizens', Presentation to the New South Wales Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions, Sydney, 16 December 2025.

#### **Mathew Idiculla**

'Infusing "Swaraj" in the Indian Constitution? The Phantom of Gandhian Constitutionalism and the Resurrection of Panchayati Raj', *Constitution-Making as Ongoing Conversation Conference - Pluralist Agreement and Constitutional Transformation (PACT)*, SOAS University of London, 6 September 2025.

"Decoding Bengaluru's Governance: The Greater Bengaluru Governance Act, 2024", Urban Design Talks Public Lecture, *RV College of Architecture*, Bangalore, 2 August 2025.

#### **Elisabeth Perham**

'Theorising Constitutions Comparatively', Presentation at Faculty Research Seminar, Victoria University of Wellington, 9 July 2025 (with Rosalind Dixon).

convened 'Constitution-Making Interest Group' meeting, ICON-S Annual Conference, University of Brasilia, Brasilia, 28 July 2025 (with Amal Sethi and Mariana Velasco-Rivera),.

convened 'Public Law Teaching Interest Group' meeting, ICON-S Annual Conference, University of Brasilia, Brasilia, 28 July 2025 (with Svetlana Tyulkina).

'The Politics of Constitutional Rigidity: Unveiling Pathways to Change in Mexico by Mariana Velasco-Rivera', Book Panel at ICON-S Annual Conference, University of Brasilia, Brasilia, 29 July 2025.

'Constitutional Failure in Oceania?', ICON-S Annual Conference, University of Brasilia, Brasilia, 29 July 2025.

#### **Ellen Rock**

'Will the Administrative Review Tribunal's accountability functions improve administrative decision-making? Lessons from behavioural science', Paper presented at the AIAL National Administrative Law Conference (31 July-1 August 2025) (with Janina Boughey).

'Accountability to the NSW Legislative Council Delegated Legislation Committee', NSW Department of Climate Change, Energy, the Environment and Water, 8 October 2025.

## **MEDIA PUBLICATIONS**

#### **Melissa Crouch**

'Intercultural Legal Dialogue: The Experiences of Academics from Asia in Australia' (26 September 2025) *Asian Currents*.

#### **Rosalind Dixon**

'Anti-Feminism versus Abusive Feminism', *Verfassungsblog: On Matters Constitutional* (8 August 2025) <<https://verfassungsblog.de/abusive-feminism/>>.

'Arguments from Failure: A New Theory of Judicial Review and Restraint, *Jotwell* (20 October 2025) <<https://intl.jotwell.com/arguments-from-failure-a-new-theory-of-judicial-review-and-restraint/>>.

'Trump Wants a Third Term. Here's How He Might Pull It Off', *Sydney Morning Herald* (31 October 2025) <https://www.smh.com.au/world/north-america/trump-wants-a-third-term-here-s-why-it-should-never-happen-20251030-p5n6f5.html>.

**Harry Hobbs**

'Treaty-Making in Australia and Considerations for Canada', *ABLawg*, 22 October 2025 <<https://ablawg.ca/2025/10/22/treaty-making-in-australia-and-considerations-for-canada/>> (with Rob Hamilton).

'Combating the Sovereign Citizen Movement – and the Industry that Fuels It', *The New Daily*, 7 September 2025 <<https://www.thenewdaily.com.au/opinion/2025/09/07/sovereign-citizens-industry>> (with Stephen Young).

'The Everyday Threat of Sovereign Citizen Pseudolaw', *Inside Story*, 29 August 2025 <<https://insidestory.org.au/the-everyday-threat-of-sovereign-citizen-pseudolaw/>> (with Stephen Young).

'Pluralism Exists; We Just Need to Accept It', *Inside Story*, 27 August 2025 <<https://insidestory.org.au/pluralism-exists-we-just-need-to-accept-it/>>.

**Mathew Idiculla**

Featured as the main guest of the podcast episode "[Does the Greater Bengaluru Authority mean a Better Bengaluru?](#)" in the Podcast - *All Things Policy* hosted by Takshashila Institution, 30 September 2025.

**SUBMISSIONS**

**Janina Boughey, Elisabeth Perham and Ellen Rock**

Submission to Senate Legal and Constitutional Affairs Committee Inquiry on Freedom of Information (Amendment) Bill 2025 (September 2025).

**Harry Hobbs**

Submission to the Federal Court of Australia, Proposed Litigants in Person Practice Note Consultation, 24 October 2025 (with Joe McIntyre and Stephen Young)

**Mathew Idiculla**

"Memorandum on Constitutional Validity: The Greater Bengaluru Governance Act, 2024", Brand Bengaluru Expert Committee, Government of Karnataka, India, 20 June 2025

## CENTRE PERSONNEL

### Director

**Janina Boughey**, *Associate Professor*, B Ec (Soc Sci)(Hons)/LLB(Hons) USyd, LLM ANU, PhD Monash

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**Tam Allenby**, MMedia-Prac USYD, BPSS USYD

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**Sean Brennan**, *Associate Professor*, BA (Hons) LLB (Hons), LLM ANU

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**Harry Hobbs**, *Associate Professor*, BA/LLB (Hons) ANA, LLM NYU, PhD UNSW

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**Paul Kildea**, *Associate Professor*, BA (Hons) LLB PhD UNSW

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**Andrew Lynch**, *Professor*, LLB (Hons) LLM QUT, PhD UNSW

**Daniel McLoughlin**, *Senior Lecturer*, BA LLB (Hons) Macq, PhD UNSW

**Jason O'Neil**, *Lecturer*, LLB BA (Hons) UNSW, Grad Cert CSU

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**Scarlet Wilcock**, *Senior Lecturer*, BA (Hons)/LLB (Hons) UNSW, GDLP, PhD UNSW

### Centre Fellows

**Belinda Baker**, *Justice of the ACT Supreme Court*, BA/LLB Macquarie, LLM Harvard

**Paolo Buchberger**, *Director*, BA LLB Syd

**Shipra Chordia**, *Barrister*, BSc (Hons) LLB (Hons) Syd, PhD UNSW

**Joanna Davidson SC**, *Barrister*, BA (Hons) LLB UNSW, LLM Harvard

**David Hume SC**, *Barrister*, BA (Hons) LLB UNSW, LLM Harvard

**Craig Lenehan SC**, *Barrister*, BSc/LLB (Hons) UNSW

**Jo Lennan**, *Solicitor*, BA LLB (Hons) UTS, BCL Oxford

**Brendan Lim SC**, *Barrister*, LLB (Hons) BMus (Hons) BMA&CompSc Adelaide, LLM JSD Yale

**Amelia Loughland**, *Associate/Solicitor*, BA/LLB (Hons) UNSW

**Daniel Reynolds**, *Barrister*, BInSt/LLB UNSW

**Amanda Sapienza**, *Barrister*, BCom/LLB (Hons) UNDA, PhD Syd

**Celia Winnett**, *Barrister*, BA/LLB (Hons) ANU, LLM Columbia

## **Postgraduate Students**

**Titis Anindyajati**

**Daniel Bogéa**

**Suhail Rashid Bhat**

**Paul Hayes**, BA Syd, MA Canberra

**Shakhawat Hossain**

**Mohammad Ibrahim**, LLM Melb

**Mathew Idiculla**, BA LLB Bangalore University

**Surbhi Karwa**, ILM National Law University (Delhi), BA LLB (Hons) National University (Lucknow), BCL Oxford

**Douglas McDonald-Norman**, BA LLB (Hons) UTS

**Sinethemba Memela**, LLB LLM University of Witwatersrand, LLM UCLA

**Shohini Sengupta**, BA Law National Law University (Bhopal), Masters Law & Finance Oxford

**Aishwarya Singh**, LLB Jindal Global Law School, BCL Oxford

**Shreeya Smith**, BCom LLB UNSW

**Shanil Wijesinha**, LLB (Hons) University of Colombo, LLM Harvard

**Yu Xiao (Mimi)**

## **Centre Advisory Committee**

**The Hon John Basten**, AO KC (Chair)

**The Hon Justice Robert Beech-Jones**, High Court of Australia

**Emeritus Professor Rosalind Croucher AM**

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**The Hon Justice Anna Katzmann**, Federal Court of Australia

**Emeritus Professor John McMillan AO**

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