



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

### DIRECTOR AND DEPUTY DIRECTOR'S REPORT

Dear friends,

A lot has happened in the world of public law since our last newsletter. The return of President Trump to the White House has reminded us of the importance of public law norms and institutions to the preservation of fundamental commitments to democracy and the rule of law. And we are likely to see that play out even more starkly in the months to come.

Like many Australian institutions, the Centre remains committed actively to defending democracy and the rule of law – through our scholarship, teaching and public engagement.

To that end, since December 2024 the Comparative Constitutional Law Project has hosted a range of events focused on protecting and promoting democracy around the world, including a joint workshop with Hong Kong University in April, and workshops at UNSW in May on democratic resilience in Brazil, democratic restoration in Brazil and Poland, and the third iteration of the ICON•S Global Winter/Summer School for Junior Scholars. The Winter/Summer School brought together more than 20 junior scholars from around the world to discuss topics in comparative public law method, engagement, and career development, and drew on the expertise of senior and mid-career scholars at the Centre and colleagues from a range of partner institutions.

Following the Winter/Summer School, the CCL Project also hosted a one-day conference on lessons from “Constitutional Failure”, focusing on the comparative lessons from Chile, Ireland and Australia of recent unsuccessful attempts at formal constitutional change.

These events were supported by the Centre itself, as well as a generous gift from the Manos Foundation (to support the Winter/Summer School), and two separate grants supporting collaboration between the Centre and Brazil’s FGV (to support the workshop on democratic resilience in Brazil) and the University of Chile (to support the constitutional failure conference). Our thanks to Daniel Bogéa, and Associate Professors Sean Brennan, Harry Hobbs and Paul Kildea for their work in helping obtain these grants.

The Constitutionalism from the Global South Project, under the leadership of Professor Melissa Crouch, has also continued its work supporting capacity building and engagement in the Asia-Pacific region, and among our own outstanding HDR candidates from the Global South. The Project has also hosted and co-hosted several distinguished speakers from Indonesia in the first half of this year.



Rosalind Dixon  
Centre Director



Elisabeth Perham  
Centre Deputy Director



The Elections and Referendums Project, under the leadership of Associate Professor Paul Kildea, co-hosted a well-attended and very interesting workshop with the Electoral Regulation Research Network, featuring Antony Green prior to his final appearance on the ABC for the federal election night coverage. Related to election law, the Centre also recently co-hosted a seminar joint with the Centre for Comparative Constitutional Studies at Melbourne Law School on developments in relation to electoral law and campaign finance regulation.

The Constitutional Democracy Project has also been continuing work on primary and high school civics education – further details of the projects and progress can be found in the relevant Project report.

The Indigenous Legal Issues Project has also been very busy, particularly following the delivery by the High Court of the very important judgment in *Yunupingu v Commonwealth*, with Project Director Associate Professor Sean Brennan drawing on his vast expertise in native title law and constitutional law to respond to public and media interest in the decision.

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 paid tribute to the Centre's long-serving Advisory Council Chair, The Hon John Basten AO KC – who retired (for the second time) as an Acting Justice of the Supreme Court in April. Centre members Associate Professors Sean Brennan and Janina Boughey paid tribute to John's contributions to the law in relation to native title and land rights, and administrative justice, while former Centre colleague Professor Lisa Burton Crawford (University of Sydney) paid tribute to his contributions to the law on statutory interpretation. We note that these, and other, achievements were also justifiably recognised through John's inclusion in the 2025 Australia Day honours list. We are grateful to Centre member Dr Ashleigh Barnes for agreeing to co-lead this initiative when she returns from parental leave later this year.

The Centre likewise continues its collaboration with four other Sydney law schools – at the University of Sydney, UTS, Macquarie and Western Sydney University – in its organisation of the Greater Sydney Law Schools' Public Law Reading Group and Global Book Series. Associate Professor Harry Hobbs has generously stepped in to help lead this initiative, which has co-hosted two book events so far this year: the first featuring a discussion of Professor Aileen Kavanagh's book *The Collaborative Constitution*, featuring Kavanagh and Centre Director Rosalind Dixon; and the other a discussion of Associate Professor Whitney Taylor's new book, *The Social Constitution*, with commentary from Professor Carlos Bernal-Pulido, former Colombian Constitutional court judge and colleague at the University of Dayton School of Law and Macquarie Law School; Dr Victoria Miyandazi, a Kenyan scholar based at the University of Nottingham; and our own PhD candidate Sinethemba Memela as chair.

The last few months have also been a busy period in administrative law and justice. The Administrative Law and Justice Project, under the joint leadership of Associate Professors Janina Boughey and Ellen Rock, has hosted a number of seminars, including an important and widely attended seminar reviewing the functioning of the Administrative Review Tribunal (joint with the NSW Chapter of the Australian Institute of Administrative Law (AIAL)), and a seminar (joint with the Kaldor Centre of International Refugee Law and the NSW Chapter of the AIAL) on the limits of immigration detention after *NZYQ* (attended by over 200 people).

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](#)

The Centre continues to grow in strength with new members, including Faculty colleagues Dr Brendan Clift and Jason O’Neil, and PhD candidates Aishwarya Singh and Mathew Idiculla. You can read more about these new members in the People section of this newsletter. We are also pleased to see several of our PhD alumni graduating with unconditional passes. Our congratulations in that context to Joshua Aird, Joshua Gibson and Jemimah Roberts. The next few months promise again to be busy ones with upcoming Global Books seminars and special seminars to coincide with the visits of Professor Eoin Carolan (University College Dublin) and Dr Ailbhe O’Neill SC (Trinity College Dublin), as well as former Centre member Dr Siddharth Narrain (NLSIU).

Finally, the Centre sends its congratulations and best wishes to Sir Anthony Mason on his 100th birthday. Ros was fortunate to meet with Sir Anthony and all past Directors of the Centre, as well as some other senior UNSW public law colleagues, in April to celebrate Sir Anthony’s birthday.

With our thanks for your ongoing support,

Ros and Lizzy



Current and former G+T Centre colleagues with Sir Anthony Mason

## CENTRE ACTIVITIES

### EVENTS

#### Public Law in the Classroom Workshop 6 February 2025

The 11th annual PLIC Workshop was held in a hybrid format at UNSW on 6 February (the day before the Constitutional Law Conference). Organised by the Gilbert + Tobin Centre in conjunction 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 workshop was a great success, attracting around 50 public law teachers from across the country and internationally – with about 30 of those in-person, and the rest attending online. Session 1 focused on ‘Building micro-skills’ with Professor Melissa Castan (Monash University), the UNSW Law & Justice Education Design and Quality team, and Professor Sarah Murray (on behalf of a UWA project team also comprising Julie Falck, Aidan Ricciardo and Professor Ian Murray) presenting. Session 2 looked at ‘Design and visualisation to increase engagement’ with Alex Chan (University of Adelaide), Dr Sangeetha Pillai (UNSW) and Dr Kaitlyn Poole (WSU) on the panel. Session 3 was on ‘Assessment - innovative and authentic’, featuring Julie Falck (UWA), Associate Professor Ellen Rock (UNSW), Dr Catherine Greentree and Dr Jemimah Roberts (Macquarie) and Dr Aleydis Nissen (University of Antwerp/Université Libre de Bruxelles). Keep an eye on your inbox to register for next year’s event on **5 February 2026** – we’ll send an invitation later in 2025.

#### Constitutional Law Conference 7 February 2025

The 2025 Constitutional Law Conference (with the support of the Australian Association of Constitutional Law and Federation Press) was held in a hybrid format at the Gilbert + Tobin offices in Barangaroo, with around 130 in-person attendees and approximately the same number joining online. The conference featured discussions on important developments in the High Court, Federal Court and state courts and provided an overview of the key public law debates in 2024. It included papers on the constitutional separation of powers, migration, native title, and the role of government lawyers in Australian public law, among



other topics. The conference was addressed and attended by leading judges, academics, barristers and government lawyers. We are pleased to report that the conference was once again a great success, and given the positive feedback, we will be holding the event in the same format and in the same location next year – so please mark **6 February 2026** in your diaries (invitation coming soon).

### **Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia**

**7 April 2025**

At this public event, held in the Moot Court at the UNSW Faculty of Law & Justice, Justice Arsul Sani of the Indonesian Constitutional Court spoke about landmark cases related to constitutional democracy in Indonesia. The session was chaired by Centre members Professor Melissa Crouch and PhD candidate Mohammad Ibrahim. The event was supported by the Asia Law & Policy Forum, the Gilbert + Tobin Centre for Public Law, and the School of Global and Public Law in the UNSW Faculty of Law & Justice.



### **Australia Votes 2025: Election Preview with Antony Green**

**14 April 2025**

In this lunchtime seminar, held a few weeks before the 2025 federal election, ABC election analyst Antony Green talked about the races to watch in the House and the Senate and reflected on emerging trends in elections and their administration. The event was jointly hosted by the Gilbert + Tobin Centre of Public Law and the Electoral Regulation Research Network. Antony Green has covered more than 60 federal, state and territory elections for the ABC. In 2015, Antony was appointed an Adjunct Professor in the Department of Government and International Relations at the University of Sydney. In February 2025, Antony announced that he would retire from presenting elections after the 2025 poll. The event was held in the Adrian Cameron Room (formerly the Staff Common Room) at the UNSW Faculty of Law & Justice.



### **Queer Judgments Book Launch**

**15 April 2025**

The Gilbert + Tobin Centre of Public Law co-hosted the launch of the book of the Queer Judgments Project, in which contributors from around the world re-imagine, re-write and re-invent, from queer and other complementing perspectives, judgments that have considered issues relating to sexual orientation, gender identity and expression, and sex characteristics. At the event, editors and contributors to the book (Senthurun Raj and Lucas Lixinski respectively) engaged with students who have written their own Queer Judgments as part of their law degrees and dove deeper into the power of critical judgments as a tool for legal education. It was held in the Boardroom of the UNSW Faculty of Law & Justice.



### **The Administrative Review Tribunal—The First 6 Months**

**5 May 2025**

In October 2024, the Administrative Review Tribunal replaced the Administrative Appeals Tribunal, with various new objectives, features, processes and powers. In December 2024 the Administrative Review Council was re-established with an objective of monitoring and advising on the operation and integrity of Australia's administrative law system. These developments reflect a significant (re) commitment to the values and principles which underpinned the administrative law reforms of the 1970s. In this online webinar, Professor Margaret Allars SC, Chair of the Administrative Review Council and Simone Burford, Deputy President and Jurisdictional Lead - Protection of the ART explored the first six months of the new Tribunal's operation, and the prospects for the revived ARC. This Zoom seminar was hosted by the Gilbert + Tobin Centre of Public Law and the Australian Institute of Administrative Law (NSW).





Junior and senior scholars at the recent Winter/Summer School

## ICON•S Global Winter/Summer School for Junior Scholars 14-23 May 2025

In this third edition of the ICON•S Winter/Summer School, 21 junior scholars from 14 countries participated in introductory sessions on comparative constitutional law research methodology, writing and publishing, academic skills, and career planning. Throughout the program, participants had opportunities to workshop and showcase their research projects. They received feedback from their peers and senior scholars through various activities, including panels and poster presentations. The workshop culminated in a Comparative Constitutional Law Roundtable on the final day, where junior scholars served as chairs/commentators on sessions where senior scholars presented research in progress. One of the most valuable aspects of the Winter/Summer School was the opportunity for junior scholars to connect with peers from diverse backgrounds and nationalities, fostering a global community of scholars. A dedicated meeting addressed gender gap challenges in academia, further strengthening bonds within the public law academic community. Continuing from previous editions, the Winter/Summer School featured a Mentorship Program where senior scholars volunteered to provide insights, advice, and expertise to junior scholars, helping them navigate the challenges and opportunities in the field. This year, the Winter/Summer School was hosted by the Centre, and jointly organised by the Centre, ICON•S through its Committee on Community and Engagement, the NUS Centre for Asian Legal Studies, the Centre for Comparative and Public Law at HKU Law, the uOttawa Public Law Centre, Northwestern Pritzker Law School, and the Australia/New Zealand Chapter of ICON•S.



## The Limits of Immigration Detention After NZYQ 12 June 2025

In the November 2023 case of *NZYQ v Minister for Immigration*, the High Court unanimously held that non-citizens could not be held in immigration detention when there was 'no real prospect of removal from Australia becoming practicable in the reasonably foreseeable future'. Since *NZYQ*, numerous cases have tested and refined the limits of this principle, including: *ASF17 v Commonwealth*; *YBFZ v Minister for Immigration*; and *CZA19 v Commonwealth*. This webinar, co-hosted by the Gilbert + Tobin Centre of Public Law, the Kaldor Centre for International Refugee Law and the AIAL (NSW Chapter), explored these developments and the limits of administrative detention. The session was chaired by Anna Talbot (Kaldor Centre); speakers included Kate Bones (Banco Chambers), Sanmati Verma (Human Rights Law Centre), and Douglas McDonald-Norman (Gilbert + Tobin Centre of Public Law PhD candidate, and Lecturer at UTS Faculty of Law from July 2025).



## GREATER SYDNEY LAW SCHOOLS' PUBLIC LAW READING GROUP AND GLOBAL BOOK SERIES

The Reading Group and Global Book Series brings together public law academics from across greater Sydney to discuss global books in the field of public law. In 2025, the series has returned in a mixed format, with some sessions online and some hybrid, the latter allowing for a formal discussion of the book with international and remote guests followed by a more informal discussion by public law scholars attending in person.

## The Collaborative Constitution by Aileen Kavanagh 20 February 2025

Constitutional theorists have long thought about how to conceptualise the separation of powers. In her recent book, *The Collaborative Constitution*, Professor Aileen Kavanagh (TCD) offers an important new take on these age-old

questions, suggesting that the relationship between the branches of government is best understood in collaborative terms, and hence characterised by norms of comity, restraint and reciprocity. In an engaging online discussion, Professor Kavanagh explored her constructive vision of constitutionalism in conversation with Professor Rosalind Dixon. The conversation was chaired by Associate Professor Harry Hobbs.

### ***The Social Constitution* by Whitney Taylor**

**22 May 2025**

Most Constitutions contain significant lists of rights, but constitutional rights on paper don't necessarily translate in a meaningful way into rights in practice. Based on extensive fieldwork, this book explores how new constitutional rights become meaningful and institutionalised. For this event, held in conjunction with the ICON+S Winter-Summer School, Taylor was joined in conversation by Professor Carlos Bernal-Pulido (University of Dayton School of Law and Macquarie Law School; former justice of the Colombian Constitutional Court) and Dr Victoria Miyandazi (University of Nottingham) in a conversation chaired by Centre PhD candidate Sinethemba Memela.



Speakers and chair at the Taylor book seminar

## UPCOMING EVENTS

### **Anti-Constitutional Politics, Disillusionment & Democratic Backsliding**

**23 July 2025**

Democracy is under threat from a wide variety of directions around the world. But one source of trouble comes from public disillusionment with parties and politics "as usual", and a resulting turn toward illiberal populist parties and would-be authoritarian political candidates. In this special seminar, hosted by the Gilbert + Tobin Centre of Public Law, Professor Eoin Carolan (University College Dublin) explores these dynamics and dangers, drawing on comparative experience from a range of countries worldwide, but especially Hungary, Poland and Argentina. The seminar will be chaired by Centre Director Professor Rosalind Dixon and feature commentary by Professor Theunis Roux (UNSW). It will be held at the UNSW Faculty of Law & Justice (Level Two Boardroom) and online via Teams. Please register [here](#).

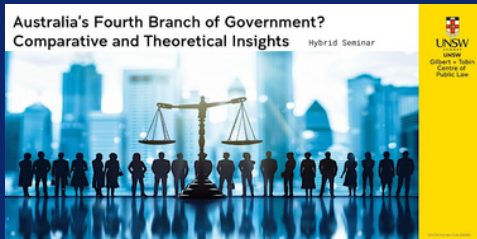


### **Making Housing Rights Real? A Comparative Human Rights & Public Law Perspective**

**23 July 2025**

Australia – like many other advanced economies – is in a housing access and affordability crisis. This crisis has potential adverse implications for human dignity, societal equality, and faith in the democratic project. In this special seminar, co-sponsored by the UNSW Housing Analytics Lab, Australian Human Rights Institute and Gilbert + Tobin Centre of Public Law, we explore these potential impacts – as well as the potential for a human rights or constitutional rights frame to help advance access and affordability. The seminar will focus on lessons from the Irish experience, and especially the recent report of the Irish Housing Commission on a constitutional right to housing, but in conversation with the Australian context. The seminar will feature Professor Chris Pettit (UNSW Housing Analytics Lab), Housing Commission of Ireland referendum sub-committee chair Dr Ailbhe O'Neill SC (Trinity College Dublin), and Dr Hilary Hogan (Maynooth University), in conversation with Scientia Professor and Centre Director Rosalind Dixon. It will be held at the UNSW Faculty of Law & Justice (Adrian Cameron Room) and online via Teams. Please register [here](#).





## Australia's Fourth Branch of Government? Comparative and Theoretical Insights

14 August 2025

Constitutional scholars have traditionally thought of the separation of powers as involving three branches of government – the legislature, executive and courts. In recent years, however, attention has been turned to a “fourth branch” of government, which involves oversight and accountability through a range of independent institutions, such as electoral and human rights commissions and independent integrity bodies. In this special seminar, hosted by the Gilbert + Tobin Centre of Public Law, Professors Eoin Carolan (University College Dublin) and Gabrielle Appleby (UNSW) explore the role of these bodies globally, with a particular attention to lessons for and the experiences of Ireland and Australia. It will be held at the UNSW Faculty of Law & Justice (Adrian Cameron Room) and online via Teams. Please register [here](#).

---

## THE AUSPUBLAW BLOG

AUSPUBLAW has had a busy start to 2025. 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 High Court – including *R v Hatahet* [2024] HCA 23 (Cherry Tang and Eden Blair), *Attorney-General (Tas) v Casimaty* [2024] HCA 31 (Patrick Hossack), *DPP v Smith* [2024] HCA 32 (Kent Blore) and *CZA19 v Commonwealth* [2025] HCA 8 (Douglas McDonald-Norman) – but also posts on the ongoing fallout from the ACT Integrity Commission’s findings regarding Walter Sofronoff’s conduct (Dane Luo) and the potential legal mechanisms for investing authority in a First Peoples’ representative body (Harry Hobbs and Lorne Neudorf).

Looking to the second half of 2025, 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, after several responses to the Blog’s call for expressions of interest, we are looking forward to having our first book forum of the year to examine a recently released monograph on Australian public law.

We thank everyone for their support of the Blog during the first six months of 2025 and we are excited to continue AUSPUBLAW’s work in the latter part 2025.

**Rebecca Lucas, Sangeetha Pillai, Kelly Yoon and Janina Boughey**

---

## PEOPLE

### Brendan Clift

Dr Brendan Clift is a Lecturer in the UNSW Faculty of Law & Justice, having joined earlier this year from Melbourne Law School where he undertook his PhD before joining that faculty. With higher degrees in journalism as well as law, media law and defamation (including their intersection with freedom of expression) account for one stream of his research and writing. His other research involves law in authoritarian contexts, including institutional behaviour and civil and political rights in those jurisdictions. Brendan has a special interest



[www.auspublaw.org](http://www.auspublaw.org)



in Hong Kong, where he lived for over a decade, and he is currently working on a monograph titled *The Legitimacy Trap: Politics, Law and Society in China's Hong Kong*, to be published by Routledge.



### **Mathew Idiculla**

Mathew Idiculla is a PhD candidate at the UNSW Faculty of Law & Justice. His research interests are in the areas of constitutionalism, federalism, local governance, and cities and his doctoral research examines how the authority to plan and govern the city is contested between multiple constitutional actors in India. Mathew graduated with a BA, LLB from Bangalore University and has over 12 years of experience as a legal consultant and academic in India. He was a visiting faculty member at the National Law School of India University (Bengaluru) and Azim Premji University and a research consultant at the Centre for Law and Policy Research. Mathew has been part of multiple international research projects, consultancy engagements, and has played an active role in framing municipal laws and policies for Indian states. He writes frequently on various law and policy issues in the op-ed pages of India's national daily newspaper and his scholarly work has appeared in multiple edited books and in journals like *VRÜ: World Comparative Law*, *Socio-Legal Review*, *Economic and Political Weekly*, and *Chinese Journal of Comparative Law*.



### **Jason O'Neill**

Jason O'Neil is a Lecturer in the UNSW Faculty of Law & Justice, and a doctoral candidate in the School of Social Sciences. His research interests span Indigenous studies, public law, and public policy, with an emphasis on Indigenous peoples' cultural resurgence and rights to self-determination as peoples. Jason's PhD thesis is focused on Indigenous self-determination in Australian public policy, with an emphasis on reconfiguring public policy to respond to Indigenous peoples' right to self-determination and cultural authority. Jason teaches into the public law curriculum.



### **Aishwarya Singh**

Aishwarya Singh is a PhD candidate at the UNSW Faculty of Law & Justice. Her doctoral research examines the development of rights for sexual minorities in India with a focus on judicial federalism. She has a Bachelor of Laws degree from Jindal Global Law School, India and a Bachelor of Civil Law (Distinction) from the University of Oxford. She has previously worked as a judicial clerk for a former Chief Justice of India and as a lecturer at Jindal Global Law School. Her research interests include comparative constitutional law, family law, and law and gender/sexuality.

---

## **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 & Justice 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.

In May, the Centre, along with the NSW Chapter of the Australian Institute of Administrative Law (AIAL), hosted an online seminar on the new Administrative Review Tribunal (ART) and the Administrative Review Council (ARC). Deputy President Simone Burford, the ART's Jurisdictional Area Leader for Protection, gave insights into how the Tribunal was operating in its first six months and Professor Margaret Allars SC spoke about the ARC's focus and role.

In June, the Centre, along with the NSW Chapter of the AIAL and the Kaldor Centre for International Refugee Law hosted an online panel discussion on the limits of immigration detention post-NZYQ. The panel was expertly chaired by Anna Talbot from the Kaldor Centre, and panellists Douglas McDonald-Norman (UNSW), Kate Bones (Banco Chambers) and Sanmati Verma (Human Rights Law Centre) gave insights into the constitutional and human ramifications of the recent court decisions on immigration detention. The webinar attracted more than 200 participants.

Chantal Bostock has published an article (with co-authors Anna Rowe, Chien Hoong Gooi and Cameron Williams) in the *Legal Education Review* with the results of their research on student emotions around studying administrative law.

Janina Boughey has continued her projects on government outsourcing, the administrative law implications of automating government functions, and statutory interpretation. Janina is collaborating with Oren Tamir (University of Arizona) and Lisa Burton Crawford (University of Sydney) on a project which aims to bring theoretical and methodological rigour to the use of comparison in statutory interpretation. The Centre hosted a workshop in December 2024 on comparative statutory interpretation, in which leading scholars on statutory interpretation from across the common law world participated.

Ellen Rock has been continuing her research into government accountability and liability topics. She has two forthcoming publications. The first is a chapter on the institutional factors that contribute to public trust in government integrity (to be published by Hart Publishing in late 2025). The second is an article which will feature in a forthcoming issue of the *Melbourne University Law Review* examining the circumstances in which an invalid exercise of government power affects government liability in tort. Ellen has also been reappointed as an independent legal adviser to NSW Parliament until the end of the 58th term of Parliament, supporting the Legislative Council Delegated Legislation Committee in its scrutiny of delegated legislation.

Ellen and Janina are also working together on a new project investigating the potential effect of the Administrative Review Tribunal on the decision-making behaviour of administrative decision-makers. They will be presenting a paper on that topic at the AIAL National Conference to be held in Perth in late July.

### **Comparative Constitutional Law Project**

**Project Director: Rosalind Dixon / Deputy Director: Elisabeth Perham**

The CCL project was very active in the first part of this year – especially during the month of May. We were also delighted to welcome two new PhD candidates – Mathew Idiculla and Aishwarya Singh, whose profiles you will find earlier in the newsletter.

In March, we hosted a visit from Professor Oran Doyle (Trinity College Dublin/Academia Sinica). While here, Oran delivered a research seminar on constitutional amendment, and a methods workshop for HDR students on constitutional theory.



Scholars at the recent Winter/Summer School

Between 14 and 23 May, the Project hosted the third ICON•S Winter/Summer School for Junior Scholars. This event is convened by Professor Rosalind Dixon, and supported by a range of colleagues from UNSW and institutions that partner in delivering this important program. This year, we were joined by over 20 junior scholars from around the world, who engaged in a series of sessions on research methodology, and academic skills (including research dissemination and career development). The program culminated in a day during which the participants presented their own work, followed by a Comparative Constitutional Law Roundtable, where mid-career and senior scholars presented their work, providing an opportunity for the junior school participants to put their chairing and commenting skills to work. As always, we thank ICON•S for trusting us with this important program. We are grateful for the generous financial support of the Manos Foundation to support the travel of junior scholars to Sydney for the Winter/Summer School, as well as to the institutions that partnered with us this year to deliver it: the NUS Law Centre for Asian Legal Studies, the Centre for Comparative and Public Law at HKU Law, the uOttawa Public Law Centre, Northwestern Pritzker Law School, and the Australia/New Zealand Chapter of ICON•S. We also thank Gustavo Buss (ICON•S/Federal University of Paraná) and Centre PhD Candidate Shanil Wijesinha for their work on the Program, as well as Winter School alumnae Taís Penteado (Yale) and Paulina Milewska (EUI) for their on-the-ground support, and Winter/Summer School alumna Naz Yılcıoğlu (Maastricht) for her support from afar.



Gautam Bhatia's book launch

As part of the Winter/Summer School, we were also delighted to host a launch of regular Centre visitor Dr Gautam Bhatia's new book, *The Indian Constitution: A Conversation with Power*, with excellent comments from Centre PhD candidate Aishwarya Singh, and expertly chaired by Centre PhD candidate Douglas McDonald-Norman.

Prior to the Winter/Summer School, the Project (together with the Constitutional Democracy Project) held a workshop on democratic resilience in Brazil, and we were joined by a number of Brazilian scholars for this workshop. The workshop was funded by a grant obtained by Rosalind Dixon and Centre PhD candidate Daniel Bogéa to support collaboration between the Centre and the Fundacao Getulio Vargas Direito Rio. To take advantage of the presence of our Brazilian visitors, we also hosted a short workshop on Constitutional Restoration in Poland and Brazil, featuring discussion of work by colleagues Professors Wojciech Sadurski (University of Sydney) and Tomás Daly (University of Melbourne).

And after the Winter/Summer School, we held (again jointly with the Constitutional Democracy Project) a one-day workshop on the topic of lessons from "Constitutional Failure", focusing on the comparative lessons from Chile, Ireland and Australia of recent unsuccessful attempts at formal constitutional change. This workshop was partially funded by a grant obtained by Rosalind Dixon with the support of Centre colleagues Sean Brennan, Harry Hobbs, Paul Kildea, and Elisabeth Perham to support collaboration between the Centre and colleagues at the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile. We were delighted to also have the involvement of Professors Oran Doyle and Rachael Walsh, who are members of our Partner Centre – the Trinity Centre for Constitutional Governance at Trinity College Dublin – in that workshop.

In April, Rosalind Dixon and Elisabeth Perham travelled to Hong Kong to participate and present work in a Comparative Public Law Roundtable hosted by our Partner Centre, the Centre for Comparative and Public Law at Hong Kong University, and co-organised by that Centre and Rosalind Dixon. Elisabeth was also delighted to be invited to Taiwan in early May to participate and present work in a Comparative Constitutional Law Roundtable hosted and funded by Academia Sinica.



Elisabeth Perham's visit to Taiwan

## **Constitutional Democracy Project**

***Project Director: Rosalind Dixon***

As noted above under the Comparative Constitutional Project, the Constitutional Democracy Project jointly hosted workshops in May relating to constitutional resilience in Brazil, constitutional restoration in Brazil and Poland, and constitutional failure with a focus on recent constitutional reform attempts in Australia, Chile and Ireland.

The Constitutional Democracy project also completed reports on the two primary and high school civics trials conducted by the Centre in 2024. The reports can be found [here](#). The Centre is also planning to share findings from the primary school trial with other interested schools, who may want to learn from and emulate the trial democracy-informed SRC model. It is also collaborating with the Story Factory and NSW Parliament to offer the second iteration of the high school #Writingdemocracy challenge, with the hope of continuing to expand the program in collaboration with the NSW Department of Education in 2026. A video report of the 2024 program be found [here](#). Thanks are due to Rose Vassel for her outstanding work as a project officer on these projects, as well as to the Story Factory and NSW Parliament for their generous support and collaboration.

## **Constitutionalism from the Global South Project**

***Project Director: Melissa Crouch***

In April 2025, the G+T Centre, together with the Asia Law & Policy Forum, hosted two events with distinguished guest speaker, Justine Arsul Sani of the Indonesian Constitutional Court. These events were hosted by Mr Mohammad Ibrahim (PhD candidate) and Professor Melissa Crouch.

In May 2025, we hosted a talk by Magdalena Sitorus, a prominent writer and advocate for women's and children's rights in Indonesia. She was a former commissioner of the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan), the Indonesian Commission on Child Protection (Komisi Perlindungan Anak Indonesia – KPAI) and the Executive Director of the Solidarity Action for Victims of Violence Against Women and Children. Magdalena's seminar was hosted by Ms Tirtawening (PhD candidate) and Professor Melissa Crouch.

We congratulate Cambodian judge and UNSW Law & Justice PhD candidate Ms Chhunvoleak Srun (Voleak) on the successful completion of her PhD on the role of courts in land disputes in Cambodia. Her PhD passed without amendments and with a recommendation for the Dean's award. In term 1, we welcomed to the UNSW PhD program Mr Abdul Halim, who is a judge on leave from the Religious Courts in Indonesia. In term 2, we welcome Ms Titis Anindya, a researcher from the Indonesian Constitutional Court, to the PhD program. We congratulate both of them on their success in obtaining an Australia Award scholarship and Indonesian government LPDP scholarship respectively.

In March 2025, an Intercultural Legal Dialogue series was launched at the Faculty of Law & Justice as an opportunity to learn about and from the experience of our PhD candidates who also have years of experience as academics in teaching and research in law schools in their home country. Given the position of UNSW Law & Justice as a Global North institution that is now home to many experienced Global South scholars, these panels are an opportunity to build on conversations that can facilitate intercultural legal dialogue across legal and academic traditions, systems and cultures in and beyond the academy. The conversation will be a platform for deeper engagement with the plurality of scholarly epistemic locations, experiences, and

practices of teaching and researching law. Many PhD students affiliated with the G+T Centre are contributing as panel members to this series of events.

### **Elections and Referendums Project**

**Project Director: Paul Kildea**

In one of the highlights of the year so far, on 14 April the Centre hosted ABC election analyst Antony Green for a lunchtime seminar at UNSW. Antony spoke about the upcoming federal election, paying particular attention to some close House of Representative races. He also reflected on recent election trends, including the increase in early voting and the rise of the Teal independents. During the Q&A, Antony talked about his decision to retire from presenting election coverage after the 2025 election, and reflected on some of the more memorable election nights that he has covered in his decades-long career. All in all, it was a highly enjoyable seminar and we wish Antony well for all the behind-the-camera election work that he has planned for the coming years. The seminar was co-hosted with the Electoral Regulation Research Network (ERRN).

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

**Project Director: Daniel Joyce**

The Freedom of Expression, Social Media and Online Speech Project has welcomed a new member, Dr Brendan Clift. Associate Professor Daniel Joyce and Dr Clift are planning an event to coincide with the visit of Dr Siddharth Narrain from NLSIU (Bengaluru) in September. Daniel Joyce has recently given a guest lecture on content moderation and the Facebook Oversight Board and has been asked to provide a training in defamation law for KLC lawyers. He is currently revising chapters on freedom of expression and offensive publications for the new edition of David Rolph et al, *Media Law: Cases, Material and Commentary* (OUP).

### **Gender & Public Law Project**

**Project Co-Directors: Rosalind Dixon and Gabrielle Appleby**

The Gender & Public Law project is again supporting the NSW Pathways to Politics for Women program ('PTP'). The 2025 NSW PTP program will be co-directed by Centre Director Rosalind Dixon and Centre Deputy Director Elisabeth Perham, and supported by Marian Iskander as Assistant Director. Applications for the fifth iteration of the Program closed in early May, and demand for the program remains strong. It will be run in August and September this year, culminating in a session in the NSW Parliament on 19 September, where all participants will give a stump speech in the chamber of the Legislative Assembly.

We were delighted to see five of our Program alum run in the recent Federal election. Sally Sitou (2021 program) was successful in seeking re-election as the ALP member for Reid. Manal Bahsa (2023 program, Greens, Barton) Mandy Nolan (2023 program, Greens, Richmond), Savanna Peake (2023 program, ALP, Wentworth), and Jaimee Rogers (2024 program, Liberal, Warringah) also ran very strong campaigns, and we congratulate them all.

### **Indigenous Legal Issues Project**

**Project Director: Sean Brennan**

Sean's work in the project has continued to focus on the litigation by Yolngu people from North East Arnhem Land that is testing the boundaries of the Constitution and native title law, regarding compensation for the past extinguishment of native title rights.



Elisabeth Perham and Paul Kildea with Antony Green

The High Court delivered judgment in *Commonwealth v Yunupingu* in March 2025. That involved a Commonwealth appeal against findings by the Full Federal Court on several preliminary questions of law in the landmark compensation claim launched by the Gumatj clan in 2019. The claim particularly focuses on the vesting of mineral rights in the Crown and the grant of bauxite mining leases near Nhulunbuy (Gove) in the mid-20th Century.

These acts were done under Commonwealth law, in the period before self-government in the Northern Territory. The Constitution says in s 51(xxxi) that the Commonwealth must give 'just terms' for the 'acquisition of property'. The Gumatj said that this guarantee applied to the extinguishment of native title under Commonwealth law and that, as they were not compensated by the government for the acts which brought about bauxite mining on their land, those acts were invalid. That would trigger the validation provisions under the federal Native Title Act, and a statutory right to recover compensation in the Federal Court.

The High Court unanimously upheld that constitutional argument put forward by Gumatj. In doing so, the Court overturned a precedent from 1969 that said the just terms guarantee did not apply when the Commonwealth made laws for a Territory that involved the acquisition of property. The Court also rejected the proposition put forward by Justice Gummow in a 1997 case and relied on by the Commonwealth in *Yunupingu*, that native title was 'inherently defeasible' in a way that meant its extinguishment did not attract just terms.

The decision in March was highly consequential. It means that Gumatj can now press forward with their compensation claim in the Federal Court. Across the Territory, the case has expanded the possibilities for other groups to recover compensation, by confirming that the relevant starting date for compensable acts is 1911, when the Commonwealth acquired the Territory from South Australia. This is several decades earlier than is conventionally thought to be the case in the States.

Having researched and written about the issue over many years, Sean was able to respond to the strong public and media interest in the High Court decision. He did radio and press interviews in Sydney, Canberra and Alice Springs and for national online media outlets, and a post for the Indigenous Constitutional Law blog. He also appeared in a webinar co-hosted by the Centre with the Uluru Dialogues and the Indigenous Law Centre, and another hosted by the WA branch of the Australian Association of Constitutional Law, as well as giving a paper on the topic at an international property law conference hosted at UNSW at the end of May.

Sean also gave a paper at a gathering of judges, academics and others at the Supreme Court on 1 May concerning the contribution to native title and statutory land rights law by John Basten, chair of the Centre's Advisory Committee, upon his retirement from the NSW Court of Appeal.

Centre member Harry Hobbs has continued work on his DECRA project examining modern treaty-making, including a visit to Canada in February and March 2025. Harry attended the Land Claims Agreements Coalition Conference in Gatineau, Quebec, which marked the 50th anniversary of the first modern treaty in Canada, the James Bay Cree Treaty. He also met colleagues and presented work at the University of Ottawa, Queens' University, the University of British Columbia, and the University of Victoria. Harry was also able to discuss modern treaty-making with a range of practitioners, including members of the Nisga'a First Nation government, the British Columbia Treaty Commission, and ministerial advisers to the federal and British Columbian governments.

In May 2025, Harry visited Melbourne University as a guest of the Indigenous Law and Justice Hub. Harry delivered a guest lecture to JD students, presented work in progress to the law school, and discussed his research with members of the Treaty Authority and First Peoples' Assembly, who are currently engaged in negotiations towards the first formal treaty in Australian history. These rich opportunities are informing Harry's scholarship on modern treaty-making processes in Australia.

### **Public Law Teaching Project**

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

As noted under the Events section of this newsletter, the eleventh annual Public Law in the Classroom (PLIC) Workshop was held in a hybrid format at the UNSW Faculty of Law & Justice on 6 February. This workshop is organised by the Centre in conjunction 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, and this year it was well-attended and we received very good feedback.

Following a request from several participants that we find ways to connect this teaching community across the year, the convenors of the Workshop are trialling a series of four 'brown bag' lunch webinar sessions across the year, as a way of providing an opportunity to meet and discuss a range of teaching related issues. The first session was held on 4 April on the topic of 'Managing the Research/Admin/Teaching Juggle', and featured a presentation by Professor Sarah Murray (UWA), followed by a discussion facilitated by Dr Elisabeth Perham. The second, on the topic of 'Employer Expectations of Public Law Lawyers' was held on 11 June and featured a presentation by Dr Bruce Chen (Deakin), followed by a discussion facilitated by Associate Professor Svetlana Tyulkina. Two more sessions will be held – in August on the topic of 'Teaching International Students', and in October on the topic of 'Reflections on the 2025 Teaching Year'.

Elisabeth and Svetlana will also hold a meeting of the Public Law Teaching Interest Group at the International Society of Public Law Conference in Brasilia in July, and continue to build global connections focussed on this topic.

---

## **PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS**

### **PUBLICATIONS**

#### **Janina Boughey**

Lisa Burton Crawford and Janina Boughey, 'Automated Information About the Law' (2025) (July) *Public Law* 499.

Janina Boughey, 'Outsourcing administrative functions: an ongoing and evolving challenge for administrative law' (2024) 112 *AIAL Forum* 46.

#### **Chantal Bostock**

Chantal Bostock, Anna Rowe, Chien Hoong Gooi and Cameron Williams, 'Fear of Administrative Law? Student Emotions Around Studying Administrative Law at Australian University' (2025) 35(1) *Legal Education Review* 1

### **Rosalind Dixon**

Rosalind Dixon, 'A New Australian Constitutionalism? Constitutional Purposes, Proportionality and Process Theory (George Winterton Memorial Lecture 2024)', (2024) 46 *Sydney Law Review* 455

Rosalind Dixon 'Courts and comparative representation-reinforcing theory (2025) 14 *Global Constitutionalism* 206

Rosalind Dixon, 'Julie Suk, *After Misogyny: How the Law Fails Women and What to Do About it*' (2025) 10 *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 1093 (Book Review)

Rosalind Dixon, 'Responsive Judicial Remedies' (2025) 14 *Global Constitutionalism* 323

Irene Parra Prieto, Rosalind Dixon and David Landau 'Reforma judicial abusiva en México/Abusive Judicial Reform in Mexico' (2024) 22 *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 1184

### **Harry Hobbs**

Harry Hobbs, Stephen Young and Joe McIntyre (eds), *Pseudolaw and Sovereign Citizens* (Hart Publishing, 2025)

Harry Hobbs, Stephen Young and Joe McIntyre, 'Understanding Pseudolaw' in Harry Hobbs, Stephen Young and Joe McIntyre (eds), *Pseudolaw and Sovereign Citizens* (Hart Publishing, 2025) 3-21

Stephen Young, Harry Hobbs and Rachel Goldwasser, 'The Rise of Sovereign Citizen Pseudolaw in the United States of America' in Harry Hobbs, Stephen Young and Joe McIntyre (eds), *Pseudolaw and Sovereign Citizens* (Hart Publishing, 2025) 95-120 ()

Harry Hobbs, Stephen Young and Joe McIntyre 'Responding to Pseudolaw' in Harry Hobbs, Stephen Young and Joe McIntyre (eds), *Pseudolaw and Sovereign Citizens* (Hart Publishing, 2025) 334-349

Joe McIntyre, Harry Hobbs and Stephen Young 'The Strawmen Trap: Non-Appearance and the Pitfalls of Pseudolaw' (2025) 99 *Australian Law Journal* 319-335

### **Daniel Joyce**

Daniel Joyce 'The International Court of Justice, mass media and international public opinion' in Achilles Skordas and Lisa Mardikian (eds) *Research Handbook on the International Court of Justice* (Edward Elgar, 2025) 583-602

### **Paul Kildea**

Paul Kildea, 'Getting to Yes: Explaining State Referendum Success And What (If Anything) the Commonwealth Can Learn From It' (2025) 48(1) *UNSW Law Journal* 5-39

Paul Kildea, 'Merely Advisory or Effectively Binding? The Status of Plebiscite Results in Australia' in Sarah Murray and Lachlan Umbers (eds), *Civic Engagement in Australian Democracy* (Anthem Press, 2025) 69-84.

Paul Kildea, 'Law of the Land: Australia's Constitution (and Why We Need It)' in Amanda Dunn (ed), *How Australian Democracy Works: And Why We Need It More Than Ever* (Thames & Hudson, 2025), 59-66

## PRESENTATIONS

### **Ashleigh Barnes**

'Australian Constitutional Values – The case for dignity?' ICON-S Australia/NZ Constitutional Theory Group Biennial Plenary Conference, Melbourne, January 2025 (invited keynote)

### **Janina Boughey**

'The Contribution of John Basten in Administrative Law', Judges and the Public Law Academy, Supreme Court of New South Wales, Sydney, 1 May 2025.

### **Sean Brennan**

'*Yunupingu*: Judicial Choices and Indigenous Rights over Land in Australia', Association of Law, Property and Society Annual Meeting, Sydney, 30 May 2025

'Reflections on the 2023 Voice Referendum', Constitutional Failure Workshop, UNSW, 26 May 2025

'The Contribution of John Basten in Native Title and Statutory Land Rights Law', Judges and the Public Law Academy, Supreme Court of New South Wales, Sydney, 1 May 2025

'Understanding *Commonwealth v Yunupingu*', Western Australia Chapter of the Australian Association of Constitutional Law Seminar, Online, 10 April 2025

'Native Title, Just Terms Compensation and Equality Before the Law', Webinar hosted by Uluru Dialogues, Indigenous Law Centre and Gilbert + Tobin Centre of Public Law, 26 March 2025

### **Melissa Crouch**

'Law and Authoritarianism', Columbia University Law School, January 2025

'The Military and the Constitution in Africa', Pretoria University Law School, February 2025

'International Day of Women Judges', UNDP, March 2025

'Constitutional Legitimacy in Myanmar', University of Melbourne Law School, May 2025

### **Rosalind Dixon**

'On Constitutional Failure', Constitutional Failure Workshop, UNSW, 26 May 2025

'Polyvocal Constitutionalism', University of Hong Kong, Comparative Public Law Roundtable, 23 April 2025; University of Sydney, Julius Stone Institute, March 2025; UNSW Comparative Constitutional Roundtable, 23 May 2025

'The Australian Constitution: A People's Guide', University of Melbourne, February 2025; University of Sydney, 2025

### **Harry Hobbs**

'Super Statutes and Treaty-Making', Presentation at the ICONS-ANZ Constitutional Theory Biennial Plenary Conference, Melbourne, 24 January 2025

'Modern treaty-making in Australia', Presentation to the Victorian Treaty Authority, Melbourne, 23 April 2025

Book talk on Pseudolaw and Sovereign Citizens, Judicial Studies Institute, Masarykova Univerzita, Czechia, 28 April 2025

'Pseudolaw and Sovereign Citizens', Presentation to the Australia and New Zealand District and County Court Judges Biennial Conference, Brisbane, 8 May 2025

'Law-Making Power under Treaties: Delegated or Inherent', Presentation to Melbourne Law School, Melbourne, 15 May 2025

'A Guide to Pseudolaw and Sovereign Citizens', Keynote address to the National Investigations Symposium, Sydney, 29 May 2025

'Pseudolaw and Sovereign Citizens', Presentation to the Queensland Magistrates Conference, Brisbane, 4 June 2025

### **Mathew Idiculla**

'Rethinking Property and Housing Rights: Claiming Housing amidst Urban Informality in India', Association of Law, Property, and Society (ALPS) Annual Conference, Sydney, 30 May 2025

### **Daniel Joyce**

'Defamation law for lawyers', Presentation at Kingsford Legal Centre, 11 June 2025

### **Surbhi Karwa**

'First Things First: Women's Reservation and the Indian Constituent Assembly, 1947-1950' Asian Law Centre Graduate Workshop, University of Melbourne, June 2025

### **Paul Kildea**

'Constitutional Failure: Comparing Federal and State Referendums in Australia', Paper presented at Constitutional Failure workshop, UNSW, 26 May 2025

'What Does the "No" Vote Mean?', Paper presented at Indigenous Law Centre webinar, 2 April 2025

### **Jason O'Neil**

'Indigenous sovereignty and the Voice: structural reforms to respect First Nations Country-based authority', Faculty of Law Twilight Seminar, Bond University, 20 May 2025

## **Elisabeth Perham**

'Constitutional Failure in Oceania', Constitutional Failure Workshop, UNSW, 26 May 2025

'Theorising Constitutions Comparatively' (co-authored with Rosalind Dixon), Comparative Public Law Workshop, Hong Kong University 23 April 2025; Taipei Comparative Constitutional Roundtable, Academia Sinica, 5 May 2025; Comparative Constitutional Law Roundtable, UNSW, 23 May 2025

## **Ellen Rock**

'Standing in the Shoes of a Merits Reviewer', Presentation at the Public Law in the Classroom Workshop 2025, UNSW, 6 February 2025

## **MEDIA PUBLICATIONS**

### **Sean Brennan**

Extensively quoted in 'Landmark Ruling Won't Open Floodgates to Native Title Compensation Claims', Lawyerly, 25 March 2025.

'Australia's Constitutional Guarantee for Property Rights Applies to Native Title' on Indigenous Constitutional Law Blog (18 March 2025) <https://www.auspublaw.org/home/australias-constitutional-guarantee-for-property-rights-applies-to-native-title>

Radio interview about High Court Yunupingu decision, Breakfast with Stewart Brash, ABC Alice Springs, 17 March 2025.

Extensively quoted in 'What does the High Court native title decision mean for Aboriginal people nationwide?', ABC News Online, 14 March 2025.

Radio interview about High Court Yunupingu decision, Canberra Live with Leon Delaney, 2CC Canberra, 13 March 2025.

Press interview about High Court Yunupingu decision, Sydney Morning Herald, 12 March 2025.

### **Brendan Clift**

'Sentencing of Hong Kong democrats just the latest legal blow', East Asia Forum (3 January 2025) <https://eastasiaforum.org/2025/01/03/sentencing-of-hong-kong-democrats-just-the-latest-legal-blow/>

### **Rosalind Dixon**

'If Trump Wields the Wrecking Ball, the Democratic Damage May be Irreversible', *Sydney Morning Herald* (21 January 2025) <https://www.smh.com.au/world/north-america/if-trump-wields-the-wrecking-ball-the-democratic-damage-may-be-irreversible-20250120-p5l5rm.html>

### **Harry Hobbs**

'Lawmaking by a First Peoples' Representative Body: Delegated Legislation or Incorporation by Reference?', *Australian Public Law Blog* (3 June 2025) <https://www.auspublaw.org/blog/2025/6/lawmaking-by-a-first-peoples-representative-body-delegated-legislation-or-incorporation-by-reference> (with Lorne Neudorf)

### **Mathew Idiculla**

'The SC ruling reining in the Governor is a boost to federalism', The News Minute (13 April 2025) <https://www.thenewsminute.com/news/opinion-the-sc-ruling-reining-in-the-governor-is-a-boost-to-federalism>

'TN Governor Judgement: Constitutional History as an Interpretive Device', Supreme Court Observer (13 May 2025) <https://www.scobserver.in/journal/tn-governor-judgement-constitutional-history-as-an-interpretive-device/>

### **Surbhi Karwa**

'Parliamentary Rules, the JPC on Waqf Bill and the Need of Deliberative Culture' (Two-part series) Law and Other Things Blog (February 2025) <https://lawandotherthings.com/parliamentary-rules-the-jpc-on-waqf-bill-and-the-need-for-deliberative-culture-part-i/>

### **Douglas McDonald-Norman**

P Baruah and Douglas McDonald-Norman, 'Entirely transparent: Policy and prose in the Supreme Court's 6A judgment', The Leaflet (26 November 2024) <https://theleaflet.in/leaflet-specials/constitution-day-special-2024/entirely-transparent-policy-and-prose-in-the-supreme-courts-6a-judgment>

Douglas McDonald-Norman, 'Detaining non-citizens and the rule of law', The Hindu (6 May 2025) <https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/detaining-non-citizens-and-the-rule-of-law/article69542404.ece>

Douglas McDonald-Norman, 'Beyond the Border: CZA19 Across The Indian Ocean', Australian Public Law Blog (20 May 2025) <https://www.auspublaw.org/blog/2025/05/beyond-the-border-cza19-across-the-indian-ocean>

## **SUBMISSIONS**

### **Harry Hobbs**

Presentation to the Joint Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs, 'Inquiry into Truth and Justice Commission Bill 2024', 18 February 2025

### **Mathew Idiculla**

"Legal and Policy Framework for Effective Urban Governance: Enabling Collective Local Self-Governance in Urban Kerala", Thematic Paper, *Kerala Urban Policy Commission*, Government of Kerala, India, 22 February 2025

### **Ellen Rock**

Stakeholder submission to the NSW Legislative Council Regulation Committee, 'Evaluation of the Regulation Committee's Technical Scrutiny Function' (December 2024)

# CENTRE PERSONNEL

## Director

**Rosalind Dixon**, *Scientia Professor*, BA LLB UNSW, LLM SJD Harvard

## Deputy Director

**Elisabeth Perham**, *Lecturer*, BA (Hons) LLB (Hons) Wellington, LLM Harvard, PhD UNSW

## Administrator

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

## Centre Members

**Gabrielle Appleby**, *Professor*, LLB (Hons) UQ, LLM Melb, PhD Adelaide

**Chantal Bostock**, *Senior Lecturer*, BA/LLB Tasmania, LLM Syd, PhD UNSW

**Janina Boughey**, *Associate Professor*, LLB (Hons 1) B Ec (Soc Sci) (Hons 1) Syd, LLM ANU, PhD Monash

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

**Brendan Clift**, *Lecturer* BA LLB Macquarie, MJ LLM HKU, PhD Melb

**Melissa Crouch**, *Professor*, BA LLB (Hons) PhD Melb

**Ben Golder**, *Professor*, BA (Hons) LLB UNSW, PhD Lond

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

**Daniel Joyce**, *Associate Professor*, BA (Hons) LLB (Hons) ANU, LLM PhD Cambridge

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

**Zsafia Korosy**, *Lecturer*, BA (Hons) LLB (Hons) UNSW, LLM Yale, PhD UNSW

**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

**Ellen Rock**, *Associate Professor*, BA/LLB (Hons) UNE, PhD ANU

**Sangeetha Pillai**, BA LLB (Hons) UNSW, LLM Syd, PhD UNSW

**Svetlana Tyulkina**, *Senior Lecturer*, LLB (Hons) LLM CEU, MLitt Monash, PhD CEU

## 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**, *Barrister*, BA (Hons) LLB UNSW, LLM Harvard

**David Hume**, *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**, *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**

**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

**Martin Roland Hill**, BA (Hons) Newcastle, LLB (Hons) Syd, LLM Syd

**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

## **Centre Advisory Committee**

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

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

**Emeritus Professor Rosalind Croucher** AM

**Mr Danny Gilbert** AM, Managing Partner, Gilbert + Tobin

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

**Emeritus Professor John McMillan** AO

**The Hon Justice Anna Mitchelmore**, New South Wales Court of Appeal

**The Hon Justice Melissa Perry**, Federal Court of Australia

**Ms Fiona Roughley** SC, NSW Bar

**Professor Andrew Lynch**, Dean, Faculty of Law & Justice, UNSW

## **Centre Steering Committee**

**Scientia Professor Jane McAdam**, Faculty of Law & Justice, UNSW (Chair)

**Ms Anne Cregan**, Partner, Gilbert + Tobin

**Scientia Professor Megan Davis**, Pro Vice-Chancellor Society, UNSW

**Professor Michael Legg**, Faculty of Law & Justice, UNSW

**Professor Carla Treloar**, Faculty of Arts, Design & Architecture, UNSW