BRIEF CONTENTS

Introduction: The Call for Collaboration page 1

PART I INSTITUTIONS AND INTERACTIONS
1 Constitutionalism beyond Manicheanism 31
2 The Promise and Perils of Dialogue 58
3 The Case for Collaboration 86

PART II RIGHTS IN POLITICS
4 Governing with Rights 121
5 Legislating for Rights 150
6 Legislated Rights: From Domination to Collaboration 170

PART III JUDGE AS PARTNER
7 Judge as Partner 205
8 The HRA as Partnership in Progress 230
9 Calibrated Constitutional Review 266
10 Courting Collaborative Constitutionalism 297

PART IV RESPONSIVE LEGISLATURES
11 Underuse of the Override 333
12 Declarations, Obligations, Collaborations 363

Conclusion: The Currency of Collaboration 403
CONTENTS

Acknowledgements page xi
List of Abbreviations xvi

Introduction: The Call for Collaboration 1
1 Collaboration Calling 1
2 The Collaborative Constitution as Practice and Principle 13
3 Constitutions, Comparison, Context 18
4 Outline and Overview 23

PART I INSTITUTIONS AND INTERACTIONS

1 Constitutionalism beyond Manicheanism 31
   1 Introduction 31
   2 Clash of the Titans 32
   3 The Terror of the Twin Tyrannies 42
   4 Political versus Legal Constitutionalism 50
   5 Conclusion: A Farewell to Arms 55

2 The Promise and Perils of Dialogue 58
   1 Introduction 58
   2 Divining Dialogue 60
   3 The Canadian Conversation: From Metaphor to Model 64
   4 The UK Debate about Dialogue 70
   5 Promises 73
   6 Perils 76
   7 Dialogue, Disagreement, Distortion 80
   8 Conclusion 85

3 The Case for Collaboration 86
   1 Introduction 86
   2 Dividing Constitutional Labour 87
   3 Curbing and Counteracting 94

vii
CONTENTS

4 Comity and Collaboration 97
5 Conflict within Constraints: From Showdown to Slowdown 106
6 Conclusion 116

PART II RIGHTS IN POLITICS

4 Governing with Rights 121
1 Introduction: A Shared Responsibility 121
2 The Executive and the Constitution 123
3 Executive Engagement with Rights 128
   a Cabinet, Civil Servants, and Bill Teams 130
   b The Office of Parliamentary Counsel 132
   c The Attorney General and the Law Officers 134
   d The Minister: Claiming Compatibility between Law and Politics 137
   e The Joint Committee on Human Rights 138
4 Raising Rights-Consciousness 139
5 Envisioning Executive Constitutionalism 142
6 Conclusion 147

5 Legislating for Rights 150
1 Introduction 150
2 Unpacking Parliament 151
3 The JCHR as a Hybrid Constitutional Watchdog 156
4 Raising Rights-Consciousness in Parliament 163
5 Conclusion 168

6 Legislated Rights: From Domination to Collaboration 170
1 Introduction 170
2 Deconstructing Executive Dominance 172
3 Legislating for Terror 179
4 Legislative Decision, Judicial Distortion, Democratic Debilitation 184
5 Detecting Debilitation? 186
6 Discerning Distortion? 189
7 Claiming Compatibility: A Case Study of Money in Politics 195
8 Conclusion 201

PART III JUDGE AS PARTNER

7 Judge as Partner 205
1 Introduction: Between Supremacy and Subordination 205
2 The Contribution Courts Make 206
3 Janus-Faced Judging in a Joint Enterprise 208
4 From Faithful Agent to Constitutional Partner 212
# Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Of Common Law Rights and Clear Statements</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The Principle of Legality as a Presumption of Partnership</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>The HRA as Partnership in Progress</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Art of the Possible</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taking Interpretation to the Limit</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interpreting Rights, Declaring Wrongs</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Declarations as Decision not Dialogue</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Hidden Strengths of Weak-Form Review</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Calibrated Constitutional Review</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Introduction: Between Abdication and Usurpation</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Courts as Quality-Control</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mapping the Contours of Comity</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Calibrated Constitutional Review</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Courting Counter-Terrorism</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proportionality in Partnership</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Courting Collaborative Constitutionalism</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Legislative Leeway at the End of Life</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proportionality and Political Process Review</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Avoiding Pre-emption</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Court as Catalyst, Judge as Nudge</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a Alerts, Prods, and Pleas</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b Judicial Advice and Soft Suggestions</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c Judicial Warnings</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 Stepping in Where Parliament Fears to Tread</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 From Passive Virtues to Collaborative Devices</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8 Conclusion</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Underuse of the Override</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Great Expectations</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Canada in Context</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Reconciling Rights and Democracy UK-Style</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Underuse by Design not Demonisation</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# Part IV Responsive Legislatures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Underuse of the Override</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Great Expectations</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Canada in Context</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Reconciling Rights and Democracy UK-Style</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 Underuse by Design not Demonisation</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table of Contents

5 From Dialogue and Disagreement to Comity and Collaboration 353
6 The Upshot of Understanding the Override 357
7 Conclusion 360

12 Declarations, Obligations, Collaborations 363
1 Introduction 363
2 Uncovering Conventions 364
   a What Are Conventions? 364
   b Regular Practice 365
   c Normative Obligation 367
3 Patterns of Political Response 368
4 Institutionalising a Compliance-Oriented Approach 370
5 Willing Compliance, Workaday Acceptance 372
6 An Open and Welcoming Response 376
7 Courting Controversy 379
   a When Life Means Life 380
   b Courting Counter-Terrorism 383
   c Rhetoric, Resistance, and Registering Sex Offenders 386
   d Political Wrangling about Prisoner Voting 391
8 A Convention to Comply with Declarations of Incompatibility? 397
9 Conclusion 400

Conclusion: The Currency of Collaboration 403
1 Collaborative Leitmotivs 403
2 Broadening the Collaborative Horizon 408
3 Collaboration as Currency 411

Bibliography 417
Index 486