



Article

The Judicialisation of Parliamentary Privilege in Canada: A Cautionary Tale

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Abstract: Over the past few decades, Canadian courts have exerted strong influence over the meaning and operation of parliamentary privileges. Starting with a television producer's Charter rights claim to access a provincial legislature's public gallery and followed by an employment law claim made by the chauffeur to the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Supreme Court of Canada has articulated an approach under which judges closely scrutinise privileges invoked by legislatures when defending themselves against litigated claims. By applying the doctrine of necessity, Canadian courts make authoritative rulings on what counts as a valid legislative function and the processes and activities needed to fulfil those functions. Canadian courts also require the scope of parliamentary privileges to be pleaded in narrow terms that correspond to the details of a plaintiff's claim, which has resulted in a hollowed-out conception of privilege over time. In scrutinising the necessity and scope of privilege, Canadian courts have chipped away at the separation of powers. Further, the Canadian approach unjustifiably prioritises the judicial vindication of private rights over the institutional needs of the legislature. Courts in other jurisdictions should reject the Canadian approach and avoid scrutinising the propriety of the exercise of privilege through a necessity test. Instead, courts should engage in a more limited jurisdictional test to confirm the availability of a relevant category of parliamentary privilege in law or historical practice. Judicialising parliamentary privileges weakens the autonomy and vitality of legislative institutions, with the Canadian approach serving as a cautionary tale. Ultimately, the legislature is accountable to the electorate for the exercise of its privileges. To promote fairness and reduce the risk of court interference, parliaments should strengthen the accountability and transparency associated with the exercise of their privileges, including by developing guidelines for their appropriate use.



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1. Introduction

In the Westminster tradition, "parliamentary privilege" refers to the rights, powers and protections that belong to each House of Parliament to ensure its effective functioning as a legislative assembly.¹ The most well-known privilege is free speech, which facilitates robust debate by shielding legislators from lawsuits for statements made during the course of parliamentary proceedings.² Parliamentary privilege forms part of the general law.³ In

¹ See, e.g., Natzler and Hutton (2019), paragraph 12.1 (United Kingdom); Maingot (1997) (Canada); Bosc and Coggon (2017) (Canada); Campbell (2003) (Australia); Evans (2014) (Australia). "Privilege" is a somewhat problematic term to the extent that it suggests total immunity from the law. Privilege is instead part of the general law with recognised categories of privilege forming part of the law and customs of parliament (for parliament).

² While legislators and committee witnesses cannot be sued in a court of law for defamation in relation to statements made during parliamentary proceedings, they are subject to House rules and orders, including those relating to decorum and speech.

³ HM Government (2012), page 11. See also Canada (House of Commons) v. Mold, page 685.

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Joseph P. Maingot

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Table of Contents Parliamentary Privilege In Canada Second Edition

1. Understanding the eBook Parliamentary Privilege In Canada Second Edition
 - The Rise of Digital Reading Parliamentary Privilege In Canada Second Edition
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Parliamentary Privilege In Canada Second Edition
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms
 - Features to Look for in an Parliamentary Privilege In Canada Second Edition
 - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Parliamentary Privilege In Canada Second Edition

- Personalized Recommendations
- Parliamentary Privilege In Canada Second Edition User Reviews and Ratings
- Parliamentary Privilege In Canada Second Edition and Bestseller Lists
- 5. Accessing Parliamentary Privilege In Canada Second Edition Free and Paid eBooks
 - Parliamentary Privilege In Canada Second Edition Public Domain eBooks
 - Parliamentary Privilege In Canada Second Edition eBook Subscription Services
 - Parliamentary Privilege In Canada Second Edition Budget-Friendly Options
- 6. Navigating Parliamentary Privilege In Canada Second Edition eBook Formats
 - ePUB, PDF, MOBI, and More
 - Parliamentary Privilege In Canada Second Edition Compatibility with Devices
 - Parliamentary Privilege In Canada Second Edition Enhanced eBook Features
- 7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Parliamentary Privilege In Canada Second Edition
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking Parliamentary Privilege In Canada Second Edition
 - Interactive Elements Parliamentary Privilege In Canada Second Edition
- 8. Staying Engaged with Parliamentary Privilege In Canada Second Edition
 - Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers Parliamentary Privilege In Canada Second Edition
- 9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Parliamentary Privilege In Canada Second Edition
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Parliamentary Privilege In Canada Second Edition
- 10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
- 11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Parliamentary Privilege In Canada Second Edition
 - Setting Reading Goals Parliamentary Privilege In Canada Second Edition
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
- 12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Parliamentary Privilege In Canada Second Edition

- Fact-Checking eBook Content of Parliamentary Privilege In Canada Second Edition
- Distinguishing Credible Sources

13. Promoting Lifelong Learning

- Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
- Exploring Educational eBooks

14. Embracing eBook Trends

- Integration of Multimedia Elements
- Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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