

CONTENTS

List of Contributors viii

Foreword x

CHRISTOS L. ROZAKIS

Acknowledgements xiv

- 1 **How (Difficult Is It) to Build Consensus on
(European) Consensus?** 1

PANOS KAPOTAS AND VASSILIS P. TZEVELEKOS

PART I **Understanding European Consensus:
Meaning, Function, Mechanics, History** 27

- 2 **European Consensus: New Horizons** 29

KANSTANTSIN DZEHTSIAROU

- 3 **Consensus in the Legitimacy-Building Era of the
European Court of Human Rights** 42

ED BATES

- 4 **Consensus, Stasis, Evolution: Reconstructing
Argumentative Patterns in Evolutive
ECHR Jurisprudence** 71

CHRISTIAN DJEFFAL

- 5 **The Consensus Argument in NGOs' *Amicus Curiae*
Briefs: Defending Minorities through a Creatively
Used Majoritarian Argument** 96

LAURA VAN DEN BYNDE

- 6 **Determining the Content of the European Consensus
Concept: The Hidden Role of Language** 120

JAROSLAV VĚTROVSKÝ

- 7 How the ECtHR's Use of European Consensus Considerations Allows Legitimacy Concerns to Delimit Its Mandate 141
KRISTIN HENRARD
- 8 Borges' *Pierre Menard, Author of the Quixote* and the Idea of a European Consensus 167
SIONAIDH DOUGLAS-SCOTT
- PART II Appraising European Consensus: Legitimacy and National Divergence 187
- 9 A Better Signpost, Not a Better Walking Stick: How to Evaluate the European Consensus Doctrine 189
ANDREAS FOLLESDAL
- 10 Constructive Consensus and Domestic Democracy 210
THOMAS KLEINLEIN
- 11 The European Consensus Doctrine and the ECtHR Quest for Public Confidence 236
OR BASSOK
- 12 Can European Consensus Encourage Acceptance of the European Convention on Human Rights in the United Kingdom? 258
MERRIS AMOS
- 13 When to Use European Consensus: Assessing the Differential Treatment of Minority Groups by the European Court of Human Rights 283
DIMITRIOS KAGIAROS
- 14 When the European Court of Human Rights Decides Not to Decide: The Cautionary Tale of *A, B & C v. Ireland* and Referendum-Emergent Constitutional Provisions 311
FIONA DE LONDRAS
- PART III Consensus Analysis Outside the ECHR System 335
- 15 The Inter-American Court of Human Rights' Tentative Search for Latin American Consensus 337
LUCAS LIXINSKI

- 16 National Consensus and the Eighth Amendment:
Is There Something to Be Learned from the
United States Supreme Court? 364
JAKA KUKAVICA
- 17 Levels of Generality in the Comparative Reasoning of
the European Court of Human Rights and the
European Court of Justice: Towards Judicial
Reflective Equilibrium 392
JENS T. THEILEN
- 18 Consensus as Challenge and Retraction of Rights:
Can Lessons Be Drawn from – and for – EU
Citizenship Law? 421
NIAMH NIC SHUIBHNE
- 19 Building Consensus on European Consensus 448
CONOR GEARTY

Index 468