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**STEERING COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
(CDDH)**

**DRAFTING GROUP ON THE EVALUATION OF THE FIRST EFFECTS OF
PROTOCOLS NO. 15 and NO. 16 TO THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION OF HUMAN
RIGHTS
(DH-SYSC-PRO)**

**Preliminary report on the European Court of Human Rights' use of the principle of
subsidiarity and margin of appreciation
in relation to Protocol No. 15 to the European Convention on Human Rights**

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*The views and opinions presented herein are those of the author and do not reflect an
official position of the Council of Europe.*

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1. Introduction

The Steering Committee for Human Rights of the Council of Europe (CoE) is currently evaluating the first effects of Protocols No. 15 and 16. A CDDH drafting Group ([DH-SYSC-PRO](#)) has been set up in this regard. At the first meeting of the Drafting group in March 2024, they decided to request external input for undertaking their mission. More specifically, the following was decided.

“8. The Group considered that collecting and processing data as regards the margin of appreciation and the principle of subsidiarity is a specialised task which cannot be performed by a member of the Group or the Secretariat. It noted the expertise and experience of Danish National Research Foundation's Centre of Excellence for International Courts and Governance (iCourts) in analysing the case-law of the Court. The Group decided to collect other proposals by 10 April 2024 for possible experts to gather data from publicly accessible sources and process this data, along with any received from the Registry.

9. The Chair and the rapporteur, with the support of the Secretariat, will consider these proposals. The data gathered as per above will be considered by the rapporteur in the preparation of the draft report, which should be presented to the Group for its examination at its 3rd meeting in 2025.”

Consequently, we have been asked to prepare a report on the on the European Court of Human Rights' (ECtHR or Court) use of the principle of subsidiarity and the doctrine of margin of appreciation (MaO) since the coming into force of Protocol No. 15 on 1 August 2021, as well as broader trends in these regards since the beginning of the reform process starting with the 2010 Interlaken High-Level Conference.

More specifically, the mandate has been defined as follows:

“The expert will collect data on the margin of appreciation and the principle of subsidiarity from the Court's judgments, analyse them and prepare a report on the following issues:

1. Parties' reliance on the new preambular recital of the Convention introduced by Article 1 of Protocol No. 15. Overview of the cases in which parties evoked it and their pertinent observations/arguments, if applicable.
2. The Court's reliance on the new preambular recital of the Convention introduced by Article 1 of Protocol No. 15. Overview of the cases in which the Court evoked it and any pertinent observations/arguments.
3. Possible trends in the use of the terms margin of appreciation and principle of subsidiarity in the Court's caselaw regarding all substantive rights as well as the requirement of exhaustion of domestic remedies for the period between Interlaken High-level Conference (18-19 February 2010) and the entry into force of Protocol No.15 (1 August 2021).
4. Possible trends in the use of the terms margin of appreciation and principle of subsidiarity in the caselaw regarding all substantive rights and the requirement of exhaustion of domestic remedies for the period 1 August 2021 to 1 July 2024.
5. Comparison of findings under 3 and 4.
6. Comparison of the Court's conditions/ criteria for accepting that national authorities' decisions are compatible with the Convention for two periods: (1) the period from the Interlaken High-level Conference (18-19 February 2010) to the entry into force of Protocol No.15 (1 August 2021) and (2) the period after 1 August 2021 to 1 July 2024.
 - a. Overview of the Court's caselaw examining the quality of national legislative decision-making processes; highlighting the evolution, if applicable, of the

- procedural criteria for defining the level of deference to be afforded to States Parties established in the Animal Defenders International line of cases.
- b. Overview of the Court's caselaw examining the quality of national judicial decision-making processes; highlighting the evolution, if applicable, of the criteria for defining the level of deference to be afforded to States Parties established in the Axel Springer and Von Hannover (No. 2) line of cases.
7. Comparison of the Court's criteria in assessing whether the requirement of exhaustion of domestic remedies has been fulfilled for two periods: (1) the period from the Interlaken High-level Conference (18-19 February 2010) to the entry into force of Protocol No.15 (1 August 2021) and (2) the period after 1 August 2021 to 1 July 2024."

The parties have discussed the specific analytical strategies and emphasised that more data-driven analysis is preferred to detect the broader picture of developments and trends in these regards and, thereby, provide the CDDH drafting Group the kind of input they currently do not have.

The present report is the first draft of the analyses so far conducted. It has been produced with the assistance of Nicolai Ole Lillegaard Nystromer, Data Specialist, and Ioannis Panagis, Computer Scientist, both working at iCourts, Centre for Excellence for International Courts. The structure of the present report reflects the mandate outlined above.

2. Parties' and Court's reliance on the new preambular recital of the Convention introduced by Article 1 of Protocol No. 15

This section responds to the following inquiries formulated by the CoE:

"Parties' reliance on the new preambular recital of the Convention introduced by Article 1 of Protocol No. 15. Overview of the cases in which parties evoked it and their pertinent observations/arguments, if applicable."

And

"The Court's reliance on the new preambular recital of the Convention introduced by Article 1 of Protocol No. 15. Overview of the cases in which the Court evoked it and any pertinent observations/arguments."

A search of the case-law on the central database HUDOC reveals that Protocol No. 15, in the period from 24 June 2013 (the date Protocol No. 15 was adopted and opened for signature) until 31 July 2021 (day before it entered into effect), was only cited in eight cases¹ (judgments and decisions). Of these citations, one is in a concurring opinion ([CASE OF ERLA HLYNSDÓTTIR v. ICELAND \(No. 3\)](#) (54145/10)), one a dissenting opinion ([CASE OF A AND B v. NORWAY](#) (24130/11 and 29758/11)), two were government submissions ([CASE OF OLIVARI AND OTHERS v. ITALY](#) (18766/11 and 36030/11) and [CASE OF PARRILLO v. ITALY](#) (46470/11)), one was in the assessment of the Court ([CASE OF M.A. v. DENMARK](#) (6697/18)), and three concerned the change in admissibility criteria with regard to the criterium of 'significant disadvantage'.

¹ URL:

[https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{%22fulltext%22:\[%22\%22protocole%20no.%2015\%22;%20\%22protocol%20no.%2015\%22%22\],%22sort%22:\[%22kdate%20Ascending%22\],%22documentcollectionid%22:\[%22GRANDCHAMBER%22,%22CHAMBER%22,%22DECISIONS%22\],%22kdate%22:\[%222013-06-24T00:00:00.0Z%22,%222021-07-31T00:00:00.0Z%22\]}](https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{%22fulltext%22:[%22\%22protocole%20no.%2015\%22;%20\%22protocol%20no.%2015\%22%22],%22sort%22:[%22kdate%20Ascending%22],%22documentcollectionid%22:[%22GRANDCHAMBER%22,%22CHAMBER%22,%22DECISIONS%22],%22kdate%22:[%222013-06-24T00:00:00.0Z%22,%222021-07-31T00:00:00.0Z%22]})

It can be concluded that during this period the applicants did not rely on Article 1 of Protocol No. 15 and only one government, Italy, used it twice. The same can be said about the Court which only once cited Article 1 of Protocol No. 15. The other citations are in dissenting or concurring opinions or concern other legal matters covered by Protocol No. 15.

In the subsequent period, from 1 August 2021 (the date of coming into force of Protocol No. 15) and until 15 September 2024 (the latest date for harvesting data for this report), Protocol No. 15 is cited in 46 judgments and 33 decisions.² Some of the judgments are linguistic duplicates and it leaves us with 38 judgments.

In these judgments, applicants only once relied on Article 1 of Protocol No. 15, governments once, and the court 16 times. Protocol 15 was moreover cited in one concurrent opinion and four dissenting opinions. One citation concerned relinquishment (Art. 3 of Protocol No. 15), ten citations concerned the introduction of the criteria of ‘significant disadvantage’/‘duly considered’ (Art. 5), and six citations concerned the new four-month rule for launching a complaint (Art. 4). The data on judgments is included in Appendix 1.

As in the previous period, we can observe that applicants and respondent states are not frequently citing Article 1 of Protocol No. 15. In fact, we only find one applicant and one respondent state citing it during the period. The Court is more actively citing it (16 times) but it is not a high frequency in light of the total number of cases during the period. The other citations concern other legal matters covered by Protocol No. 15.

In the assessed 32 decisions (one duplicate removed)³ we found the following citation patterns towards Article 1 of Protocol No. 15. It was cited 21 times concerning the introduction of the new four-month period for lodging a complaint (Art. 4), four times concerning the criteria of ‘significant disadvantage’/‘duly considered’ (Art. 5), and seven times with reference to Article 1 and subsidiarity. Considering these are admissibility decisions, the patterns found are unsurprising. The data on decisions is included in Appendix 2.

The clear impression, considering the thousands of judgments and decisions delivered during the period under consideration, is that neither the parties nor the Court very frequently rely on the new preambular recital of the Convention introduced by Article 1 of Protocol No. 15. There is clearly a higher frequency following the coming into force of Protocol No. 15, but the ratio of cases citing to it is still very low and close to statistically insignificant.

The answer to the questions posed by the CoE in this section on the parties’ and the Court’s reliance on Article 1 of Protocol No. 15 is that it is only rarely explicitly relied upon, neither by parties nor the Court.

These preliminary conclusions do not, however, mean that the system has not changed towards relying increasingly more on subsidiarity. In the next section, we have conducted a broader analysis which can test for the indirect reliance on the changes towards more

² URL:

[https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{%22fulltext%22:\[%22%22protocole%20no.%2015%22;%20%22protocole%20no.%2015%22%22\],%22sort%22:\[%22kdate%20Ascending%22\],%22documentcollectionid%22:\[%22JUDGMENTS%22,%22DECISIONS%22\],%22kdate%22:\[%222021-09-21T00:00:00.0Z%22,%222024-09-15T00:00:00.0Z%22\]}](https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{%22fulltext%22:[%22%22protocole%20no.%2015%22;%20%22protocole%20no.%2015%22%22],%22sort%22:[%22kdate%20Ascending%22],%22documentcollectionid%22:[%22JUDGMENTS%22,%22DECISIONS%22],%22kdate%22:[%222021-09-21T00:00:00.0Z%22,%222024-09-15T00:00:00.0Z%22]})

³ URL:

[https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{%22fulltext%22:\[%22%22protocole%20no.%2015%22;%20%22protocole%20no.%2015%22%22\],%22sort%22:\[%22kdate%20Ascending%22\],%22documentcollectionid%22:\[%22DECISIONS%22\],%22kdate%22:\[%222021-09-21T00:00:00.0Z%22,%222024-09-15T00:00:00.0Z%22\]}](https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#{%22fulltext%22:[%22%22protocole%20no.%2015%22;%20%22protocole%20no.%2015%22%22],%22sort%22:[%22kdate%20Ascending%22],%22documentcollectionid%22:[%22DECISIONS%22],%22kdate%22:[%222021-09-21T00:00:00.0Z%22,%222024-09-15T00:00:00.0Z%22]})

subsidiarity in the system. Such changes might well have been prompted by the introduction of Article 1 of Protocol No. 15.

3. Broader developments towards subsidiarity in the case law of the Court

In this section, rather than relying on the explicit citation of Article 1 of Protocol No. 15, we searched for the relevant legal terms related to subsidiarity. These include 'margin of appreciation', 'subsidiarity' and 'subsidiary' as well as their French equivalents. This allowed us to more broadly assess whether subsidiarity has become more central to operation of the Court during the two last decades and a half.

More specifically, in terms of the operational part of subsidiarity, we searched for the following three terms: 'margin of appreciation', 'marge nationale d'appréciation', and 'marge d'appréciation'. In terms of the more structural dimensions of subsidiarity, we searched for the following terms: 'subsidiarity', 'subsidiary', 'subsidiarité', and 'subsidaire'. However, to remove false positives deriving from migration cases where terms such as 'subsidiary protection' might appear, we only included 'subsidiary' if it was not followed by 'protection' within 25 characters and 'subsidaire' if it was not preceded by 'protection' or 'formes' within 25 characters. This identification of keywords builds on previous work that has used similar approaches.⁴ However, we here expand by also exploring the Court's reference to its subsidiary role in the European human rights system as an evocation of subsidiarity.⁵

These terms were searched for within the dataset of judgements, which we established using the HUDOC database of the Court. To be able to see changes in the *longue durée* when conducting this analysis, we established a dataset for the period 1 January 1 2000 to 12 September 12 2024 (the latest possible date for harvesting data for the preliminary report). In this period, there are 26.481 judgements. This is not the same number as in the HUDOC database because some documents exist in both English and French (as well as other languages) in the official database. We decided to prioritise English documents over the French, meaning a French document is only included in our investigation if an English translation does not exist. This is only a practical matter and does not impact on findings.⁶

The central measure we use for the analysis are evocations of the outlined terms referring to subsidiarity. The frequencies which we can observe do not indicate what has been argued by evoking those terms but only that they have been evoked. It is therefore a broad measurement we seek, but nevertheless a measurement of the frequency in which those terms are evoked in the case law. Put differently, assessing the evocation of subsidiarity this way is a quantitative measure, which is indicative of structural changes, but not a qualitative doctrinal measure per se. It is thus, a proxy for measuring a set of changes that can then be further explored using other data-driven or doctrinal methods.

Of the 26.481 judgements assembled, in some 5.088 cases there were evocations of 'margin of appreciation'/'marge d'appréciation', 'subsidiarity'/'subsidiarité', and/or 'subsidiary'/'subsidaire' as defined above. In 3.063 cases, 'margin of appreciation'/'marge d'appréciation'

⁴ Mikael Rask Madsen, "Rebalancing European Human Rights: Has the Brighton Declaration Engendered a New Deal on Human Rights in Europe?," *Journal of International Dispute Settlement* 9, no. 2 (2018); Mikael Rask Madsen, "'Unity in Diversity' Reloaded: The European Court of Human Rights' Turn to Subsidiarity and its Consequences," *Law & Ethics of Human Rights* 15, no. 1 (2021)..

⁵ In the final report, we will further refine the search terms. However, this will not in any significant way change the findings.

⁶ Please note that evocations of subsidiarity in dissenting and concurring opinions are included. In a revised version for the final dataset these can be removed. We estimate it is around 185 cases out of the total of judgments.

was evoked. In 2.645 cases, 'subsidiarity'/'subsidiarité', and/or 'subsidiary'/'subsidaire' was evoked. Of course, the frequency of evocations or the ratio of evocations vis-à-vis other cases are not necessarily stable over time. Moreover, the different forms of subsidiarity are also evoked differently over time. These differences can be explored statistically.

To visualise broad structural changes, the figures below show the total number of evocations per year, the total number of judgments per year, the ratio of subsidiarity evocations per year compared to the total number of cases, as well as the median of the ratio before and after the 2010 Interlaken Conference. Please note that for 2024, we could not include a full year. However, the ratios shown in the figures should not be impacted by this in any significant way as the relative frequency of evocations of subsidiarity should not be impacted on this. Of course, the total number of evocations are impacted and this should be kept in mind when reading the graphs for 2024.

In the first figure, we only measure the frequency of evocations of 'margin of appreciation'/'marge d'appréciation' since 2000 in the four dimensions just outlined.

Figure 3.1. Evocation of subsidiarity since 2000 as 'margin of appreciation'

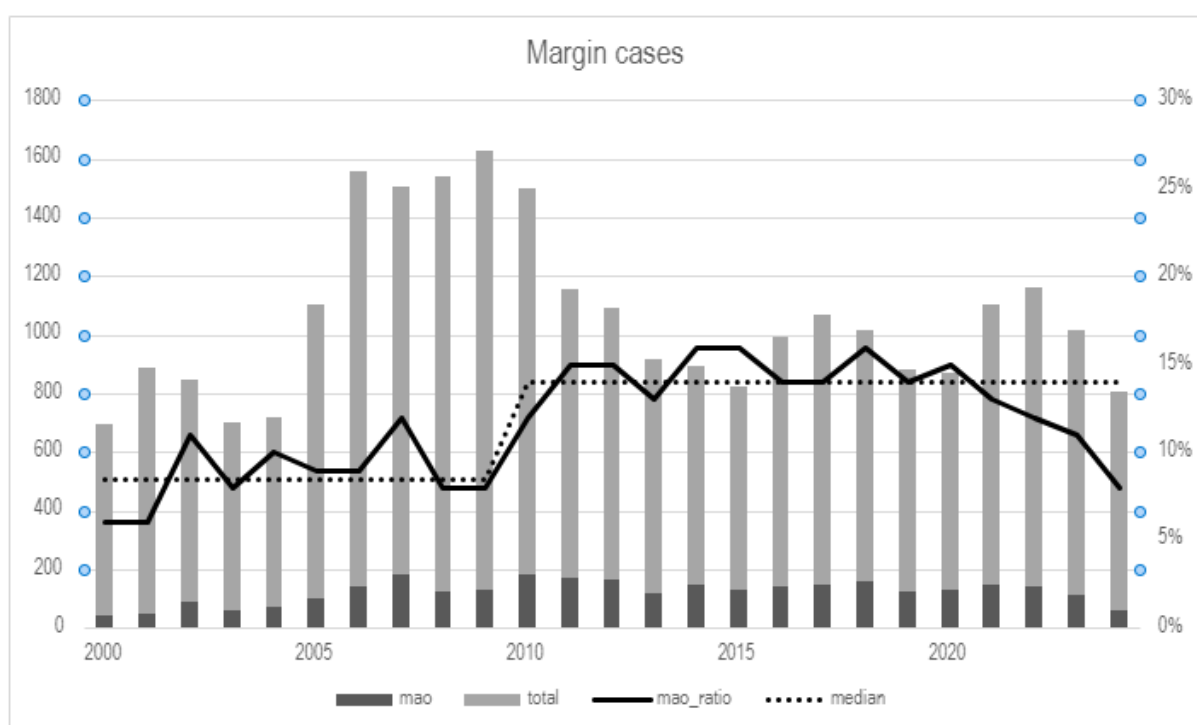
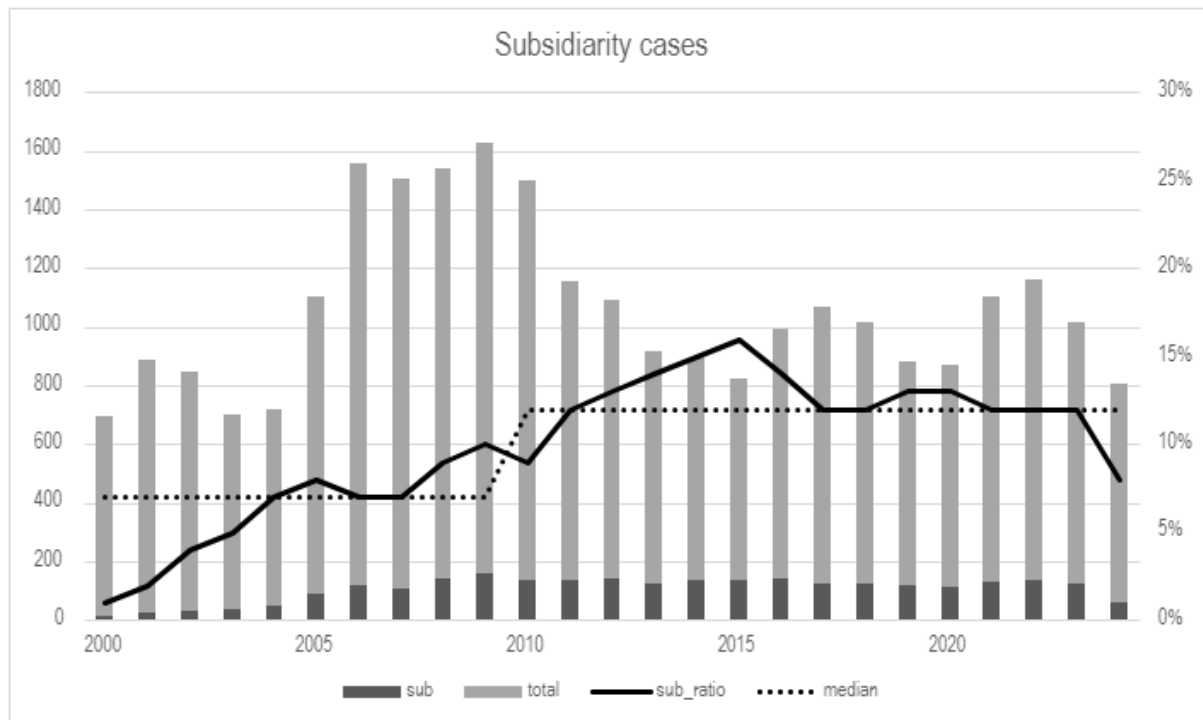


Figure 3.1 demonstrates that the growth in MaO evocations starts around 2010 and continues until around 2020. After 2020 there is a drop in the number of cases which evoke Mao. The ratio towards the end of the second period (2010-2024) is similar to the median in the first period (2000-2010). In other words, there appears to be a boom in the evocations of MaO during the reform process. This has, however, started to ebb out in recent years. This is a new findings as previous studies have not analysed the period beyond 2000 and, thus, have not noticed this recent change.

While MoA is the historic and operative way of referring to the systems in-built notion of subsidiarity, the terms 'subsidiarity' and 'subsidiary' are also appearing in the case law, albeit initially less frequently and typically referring to the more structural dimensions of the Convention system in terms of the subsidiary role of the Court vis-à-vis national institutions.

The evocation of subsidiarity as ‘subsidiarity’/ ‘subsidiarité’, and/or ‘subsidiary’/ ‘subsidaire’ is visualised below in Figure 3.2.

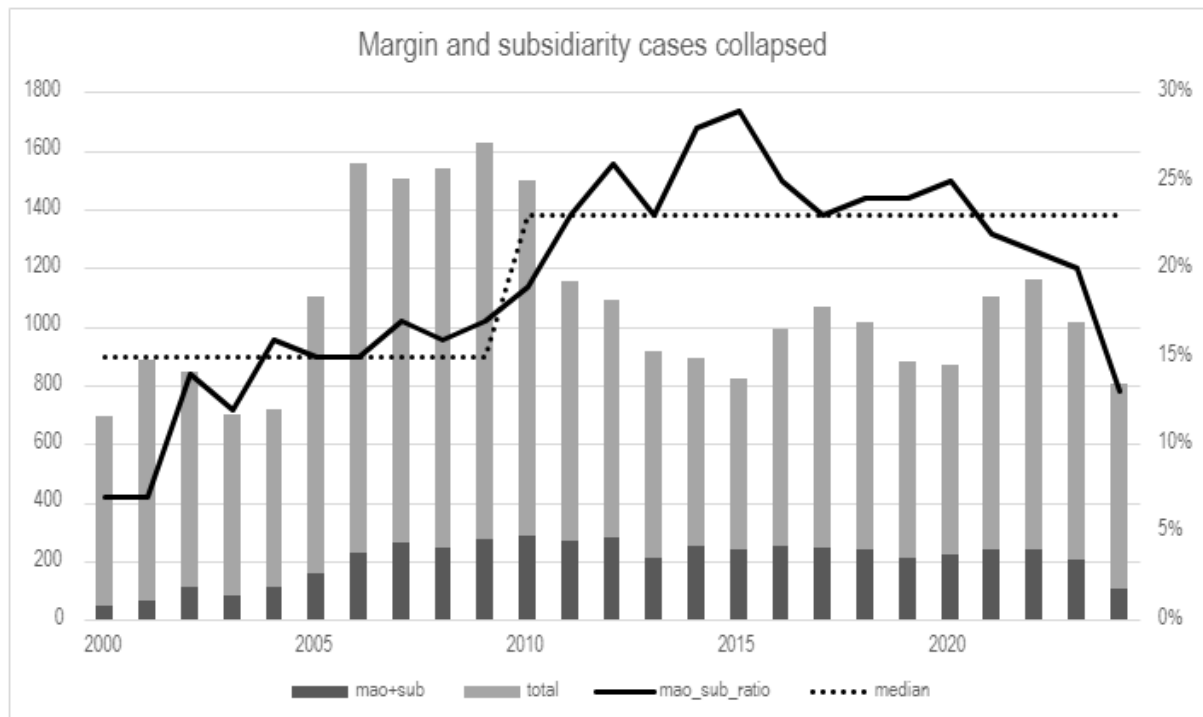
Figure 3.2. Evocation of subsidiarity since 2000 as ‘subsidiarity’ and/or ‘subsidiary’



The evocations of ‘subsidiarity’/ ‘subsidiarité’, and/or ‘subsidiary’/ ‘subsidaire’ are more recent than MaO evocations as it appears in the graph. They are relatively new terms that only gradually have entered the legal vocabulary of the Court but with an increased frequency all the way until 2015. Since then, it has stabilised and then dropped slightly towards the end of the period and approached the median of the first period.

When we combine the two measurements (‘margin of appreciation’ *and* ‘subsidiarity’, or ‘subsidiary’), we get the following overall picture of the development of references to subsidiarity since 2000.

Figure 3.3. Evocation of subsidiarity as ‘margin of appreciation’, ‘subsidiarity’ or ‘subsidiary’ since 2000



When the two datasets are combined, we get a fuller picture of the frequency of subsidiarity references in the case law of the ECtHR. The overall trends that have already been identified are here amplified since the growths and contractions are overlapping in the two datasets. Overall, we see a peak around 2014/2015 and then a beginning decrease since 2020 which continues until the end of the period under scrutiny. The frequency towards the end of the period is close to the median of the first period.

These findings contrast with the idea that the coming into force of Article 1 of Protocol No. 15 has increased attention to subsidiarity. Although, the limited data we introduced above about the direct, explicit reference to Article 1 of Protocol No. 15 suggested growth, the bigger picture shows the reverse development. The fact that subsidiarity was intensively debated during the reform process might have already triggered the effects of that debate in terms of increased attention to the subsidiarity. In other words, the effects (in terms of evocations of subsidiarity) did not await the coming into force of Article 1 of Protocol No. 15. The social effects basically preceded the legal effects. Add to that that forms of subsidiarity pre-existed in the doctrine and language of the court, including the very word ‘subsidiarity’, the expected impact of the introduction of the term in the preamble must always have been assumed to be limited. What is perhaps surprising, however, is that there is an overall decline in evocations at the precise moment Protocol 15 come into force.

These statistics have so far collapsed all evocations into one category. To return to the questions posed by the CoE in Section 2 above, we have attempted to divide the evocations between the parties (applicant and respondent state) and the Courts. Since we are dealing with a dataset consisting of 5.088 cases, it is not feasible to hand code who has evoked subsidiarity in each of these many cases. We therefore used the latest technology in terms of AI to train an algorithm to find the sections in each judgement, where respectively the applicant, the respondent state, and the court evoked subsidiarity. We also used the approach

to exclude sections where dissenting or concurrent opinions evoked subsidiarity as this might introduce false positives in the analysis.

The subsidiarity dataset consists of judgments where one or more terms from a predefined list of keywords occur. To determine which actor (Court, Respondent State, or Applicant) is using a given term, the term and its surrounding context are extracted and stored. Over 11,000 contexts were retrieved from the dataset, far exceeding what could be feasibly analysed manually. To automate this process, we employed a large language model, GPT-4o-mini, to assess the actor associated with each term. The language model was tasked with analysing the extracted contexts and making an informed decision about who was using the term based on the surrounding text. This approach not only accelerated the assessment but also improved consistency by applying a uniform decision-making framework across all cases. The results were then stored for further analysis and validation, ensuring the dataset could be used for subsequent legal and linguistic research.

This way of dissecting legal materials has not been tried before and the approach was developed specifically for this report. Since it is new and untested beyond our own testing when developing this analysis, we cannot guarantee that there are not some inaccuracies. However, we have cross-checked and have found little problems so far. Nevertheless, the findings below should be read in this light. Also, they are structural findings and should be read as such. This means that smaller distortions should be of little significance in these regards.^{6F7}

In the next three figures we visualise the frequencies of evocations of subsidiarity by respectively the Court, applicants and respondents. The three figures differ by their degree of detail. The first measures occurrences by month which makes the figure somewhat messy. In the second one, occurrences are measured by 3 months intervals, and in the third figure the measurement is per year. The data is the same in all three figures. We have inserted a black line to indicate when Article 1 of Protocol No. 15 came into force.

⁷ For the finalised version of the report we expect to run some tests to make sure we have as clean a dataset as possible using these methods.

Figure 3.4. Evocation of subsidiarity by parties, Court and respondents since 2000 (monthly)

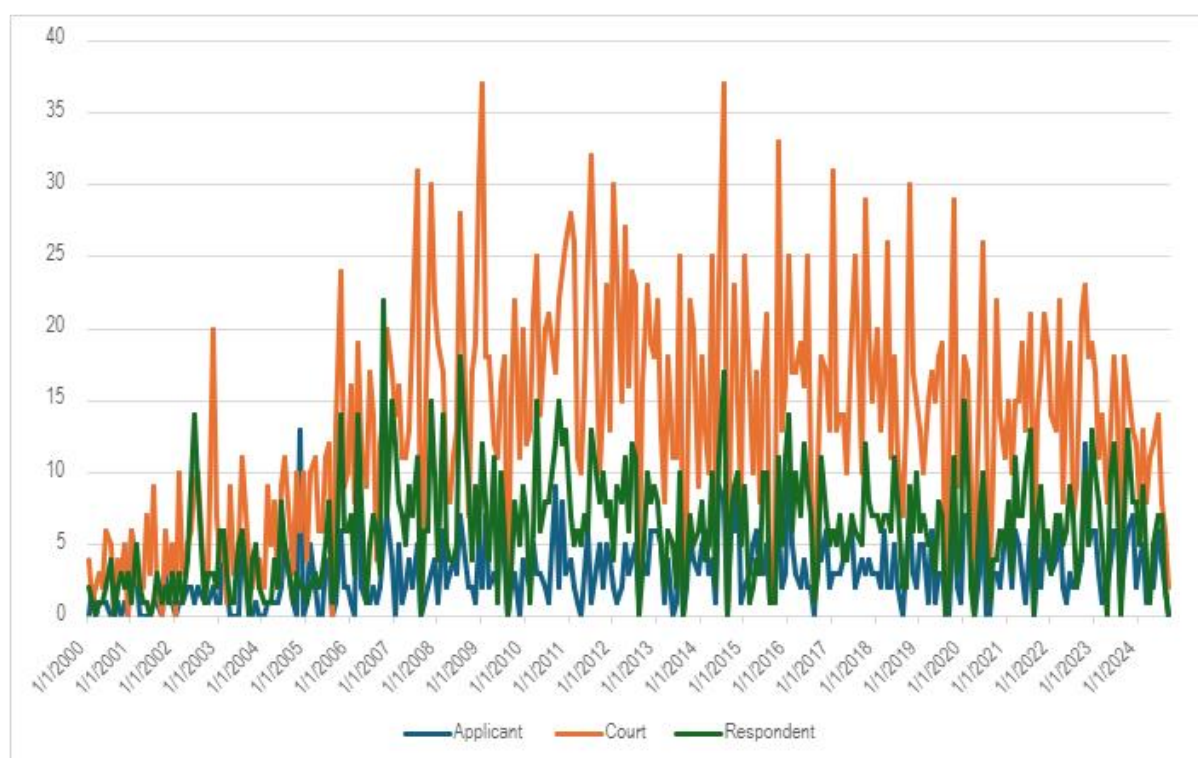


Figure 3.5. Evocation of subsidiarity by parties, Court and respondents since 2000 (quarterly)

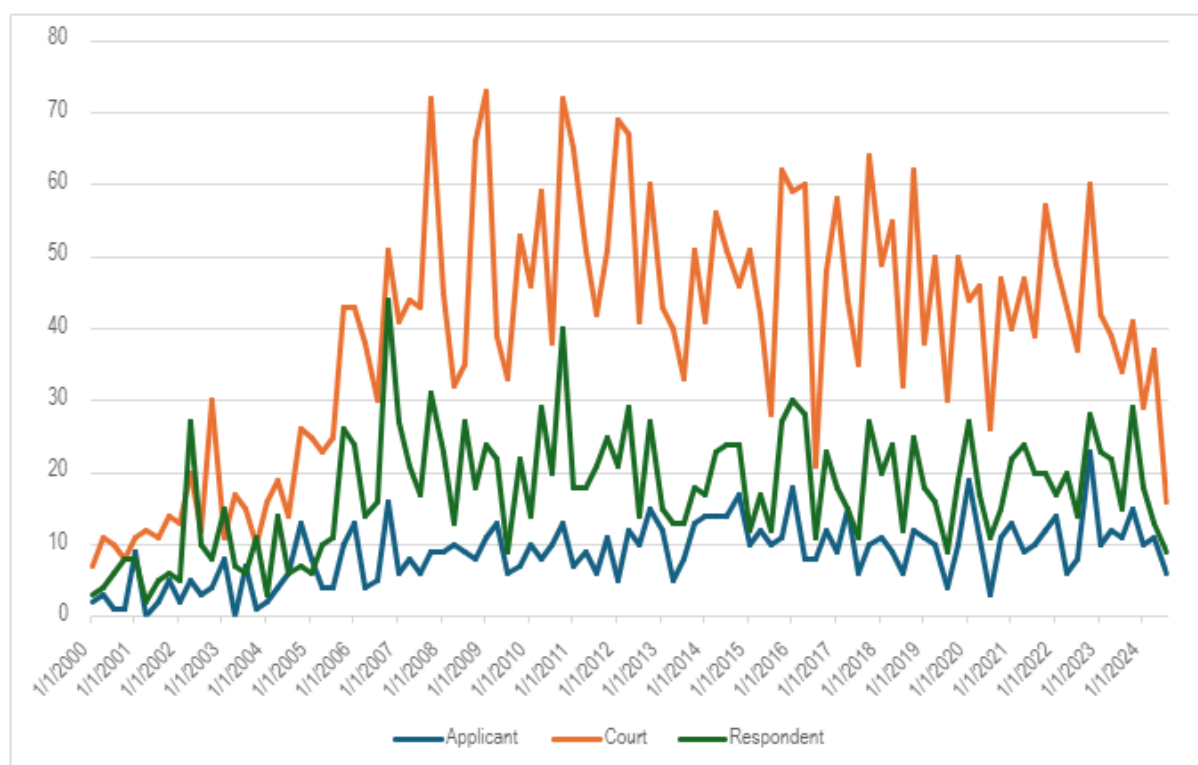
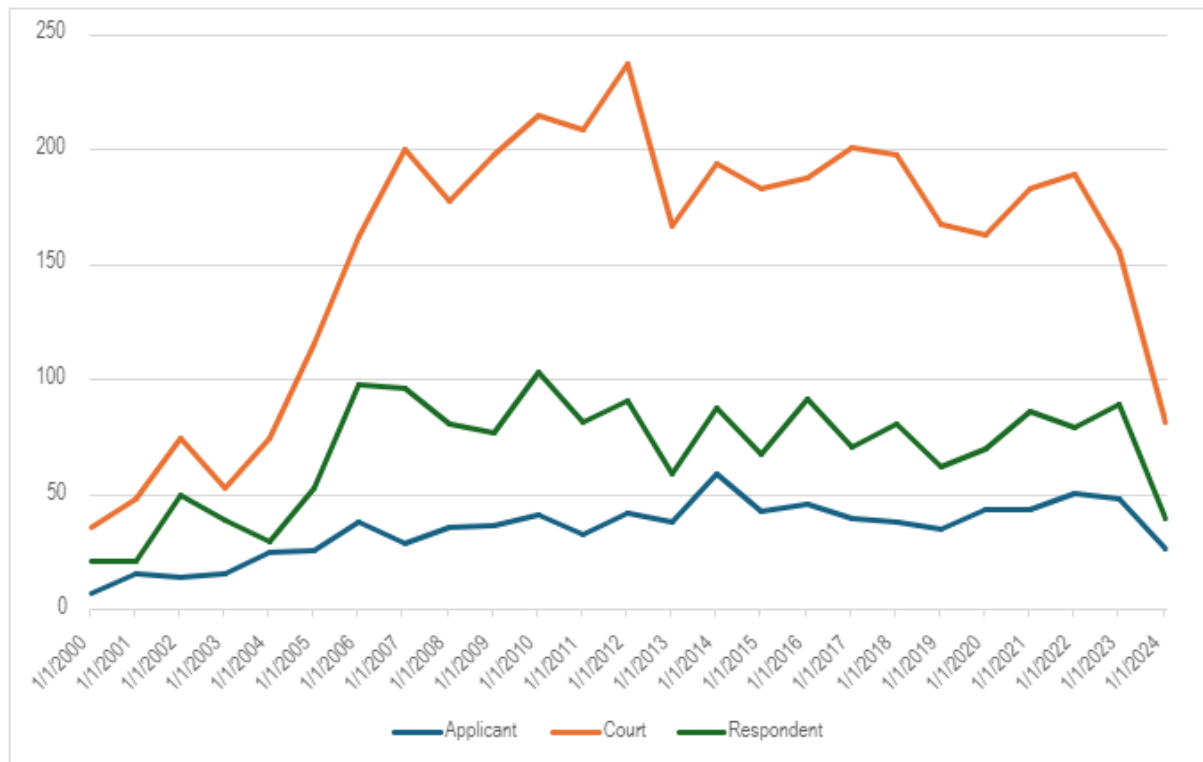
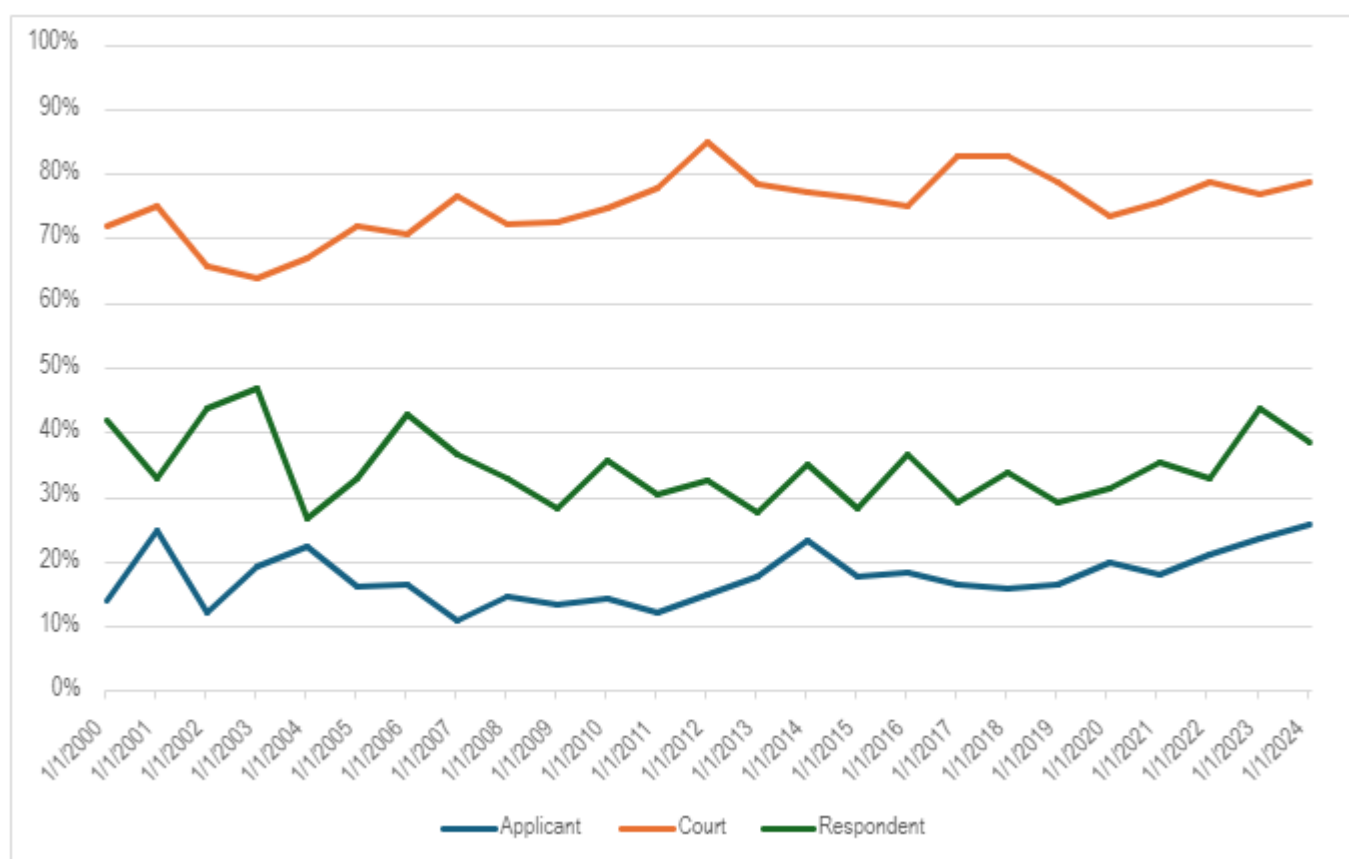


Figure 3.6. Evocation of subsidiarity by parties, Court and respondents since 2000 (annually)



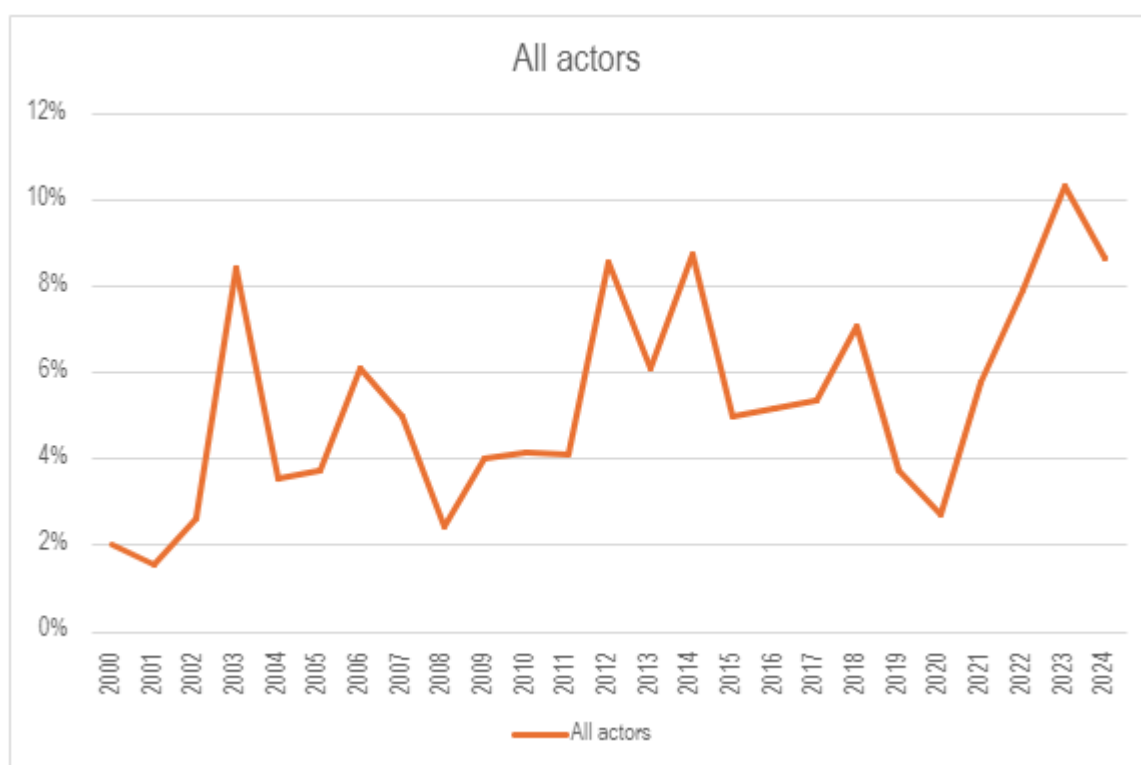
Viewing these three figures together, it becomes clear that the patterns we have observed so far also apply here. What is interesting is that the main actor when it comes to evoking subsidiarity is the Court. Unsurprisingly, respondent States evoke subsidiarity more than applicants. We can further tease out these differences by looking at the relative importance of each of the three actors. In the next figure we look at the percentages of each of the three actors of the total set of evocations of subsidiarity (100 percent).

Figure 3.7. Evocation of subsidiarity by parties, Court and respondents since 2000 (relative)



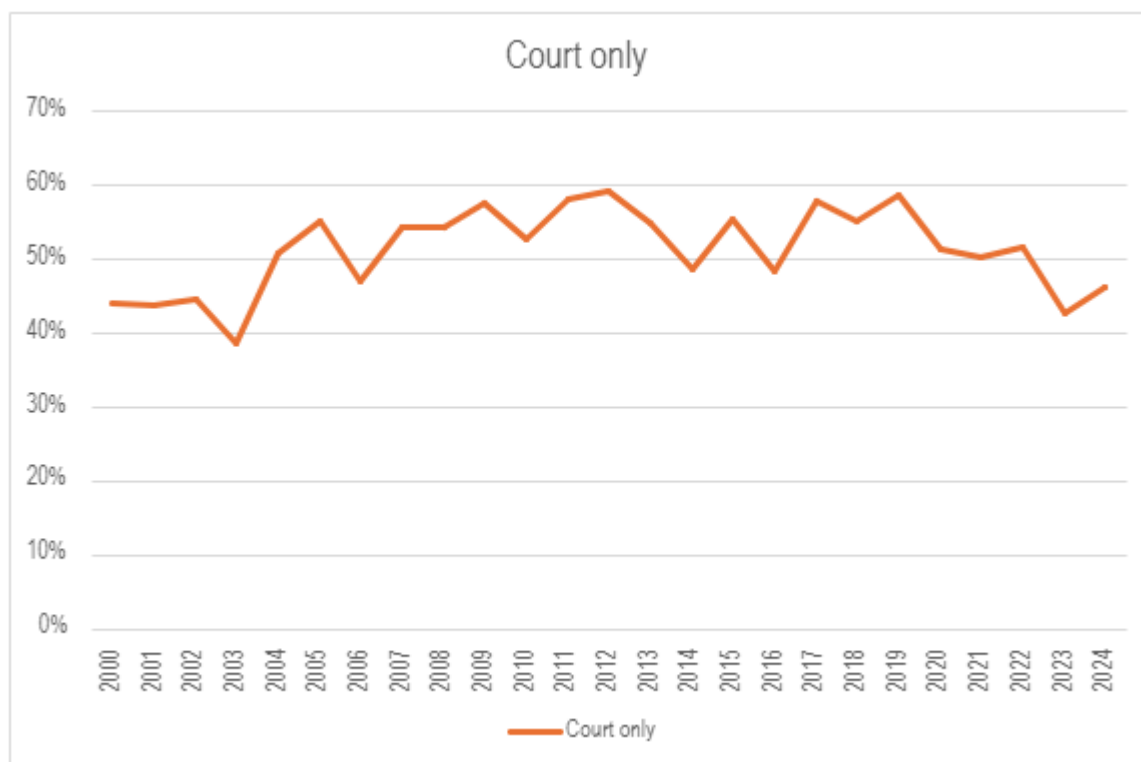
Please note that the percentages do not add up to 100 as in some cases more actors are evoking subsidiarity in the same case. In the following slides we unpack this by isolating evocations by the different actors (applicants, Court, and respondent States). We first look at the percentage of cases in which all three actors are evoking subsidiarity.

Figure 3.8. Percentage of cases where subsidiarity is evoked by all parties since 2000



As it appears, it is rare that all three actors are evoking subsidiarity in the same case. The most active actor is the Court as seen above. The number of cases in which Court evokes subsidiarity alone are visualised in the next figure.

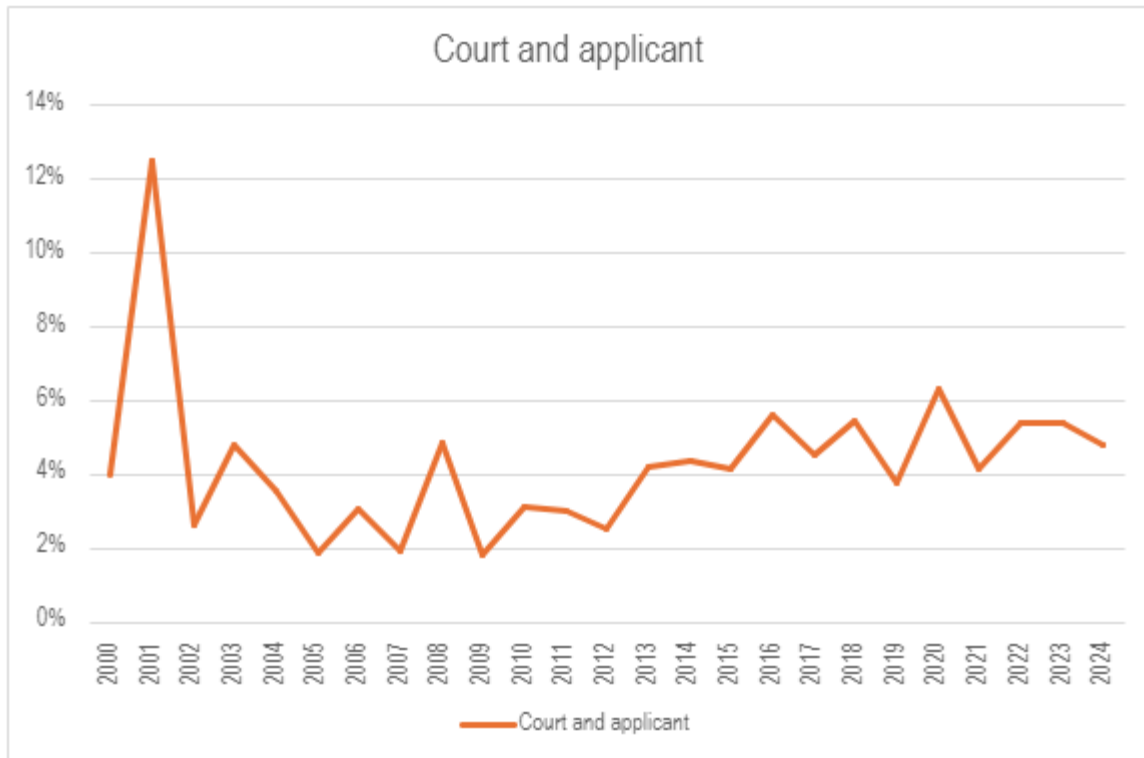
Figure 3.9. Percentage of cases where subsidiarity is evoked only by the Court since 2000



It becomes clear that the Court is quite actively evoking subsidiarity on its own in roughly half the subsidiarity cases. The Court, in many cases, does that to qualify its role in the present cases and remind the parties of its position in the broader European Convention system.

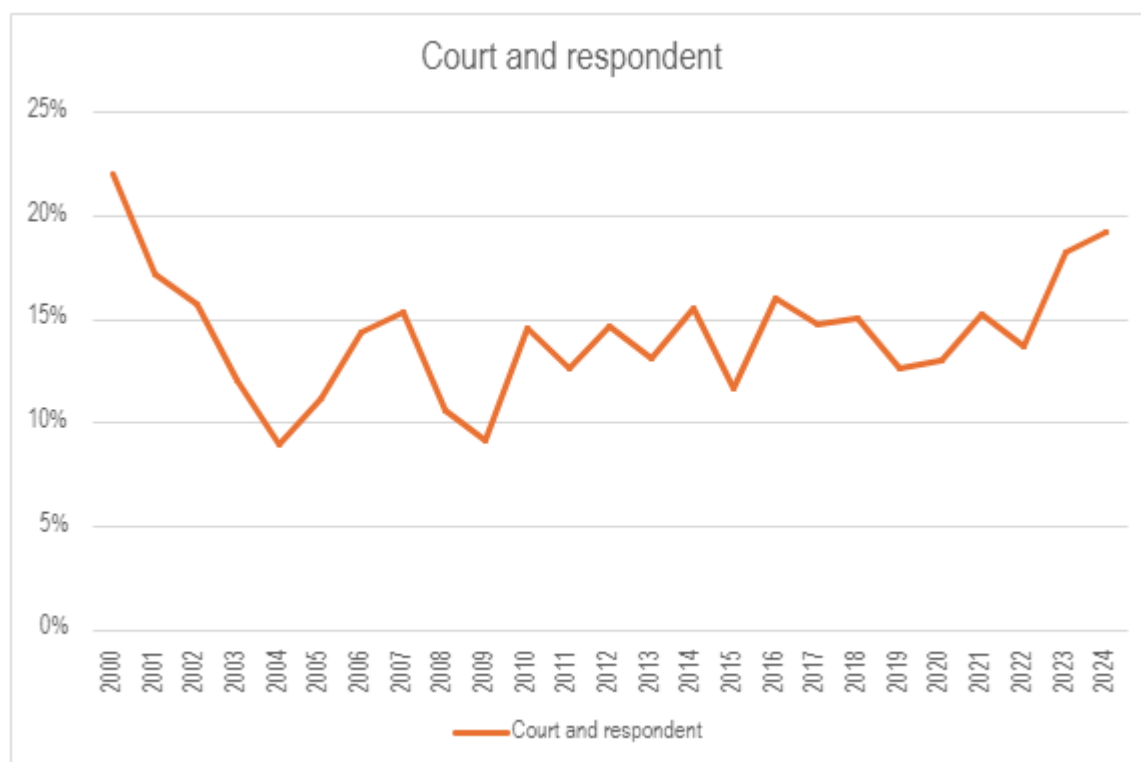
In other cases, the Court is evoking subsidiarity as a response to parties' submissions. This we have isolated in the next figure.

Figure 3.10. Percentage of cases where subsidiarity is evoked only by the Court and applicants since 2000



Except for some early cases, this combination of actors (Court and applicants) is rare and is most likely due to applicants having less interest in bringing up subsidiarity issues. The opposite scenario, namely that subsidiarity is evoked only by the Court and the respondents is visualised in the next figure.

Figure 3.11. Percentage of cases where subsidiarity is evoked only by the Court and respondents since 2000



The numbers are higher here and suggest that it is more likely that respondent States bring up subsidiarity as an issue than applicants. However, it is also clear that the Court – as shown above – is more actively bringing up subsidiarity on its own than as a response to applicants or respondents' arguments.

We can conclude that subsidiarity, since 2000, has increasingly become important in the case law although it has declined over the last few years. We can also conclude that a key driver in the increased importance of subsidiarity in the case law has been the Court. The Court has since 2000 consistently been the main actor in these regards. We also note that since the coming into force of Article 1 of Protocol No. 15 the frequency of evocations has declined somewhat. This suggests that the system had already integrated subsidiarity as an institutional and legal feature and that the coming into force of Protocol No. 15 has not altered that significantly. One can speculate that the decline in evocations is precisely a result of the issue having become more settled over the preceding years and, thus, less so the object of litigation.

4. Possible trends in the use of the terms margin of appreciation and principle of subsidiarity in the Court's case law since 2010

This section responds to the following questions formulated by the CoE:

“Possible trends in the use of the terms margin of appreciation and principle of subsidiarity in the Court's case law regarding all substantive rights as well as the requirement of exhaustion of domestic remedies for the period between Interlaken High-level Conference (18-19 February 2010) and the entry into force of Protocol No.15 (1 August 2021).”

And

“Possible trends in the use of the terms margin of appreciation and principle of subsidiarity in the caselaw regarding all substantive rights and the requirement of exhaustion of domestic remedies for the period 1 August 2021 to 1 July 2024.”

To respond to this query, we used the dataset already constructed for the analysis in Section 3 and conducted the following analysis. We explored the dataset to find which Convention or Protocol articles were at stake in cases that involved subsidiarity (as defined above in terms of MaO, ‘subsidiarity’, and ‘subsidiary’. In this section, we look at the two periods from the Interlaken Process and until the coming into force of Protocol No. 15 on 1 August 2021 (with a cut-off date set as 31 July 2021) and the period in which Protocol No. 15 came into force (1 August 2021) until 12 September 2024. Please note we explored a slightly longer period than what was requested as we were able to harvest new data until 12 September 2024 for the present report. In a finalised report it is envisaged that all of 2024 is included in the analysis.

In the first two figures we identify which ECHR articles are cited in subsidiarity cases, measuring it as their percentage of the total set of subsidiarity cases and as the total number of cases referring those cases. In many cases, the same case can cite more articles. Please note that in all figures the y-axis is adjusted to allow for the best visualisation in each case. The reader should therefore pay attention to the y-axis measurements, particularly when we use percentages. In all figures we indicate ‘before’ and ‘after’ to indicate total numbers or percentages for the two periods defined above: before Protocol No. 15 came into force and starting with the Interlaken Conference *and* after Protocol No. 15 into force.

Figure 4.1. Percentage of subsidiarity cases in relation to specific ECHR articles

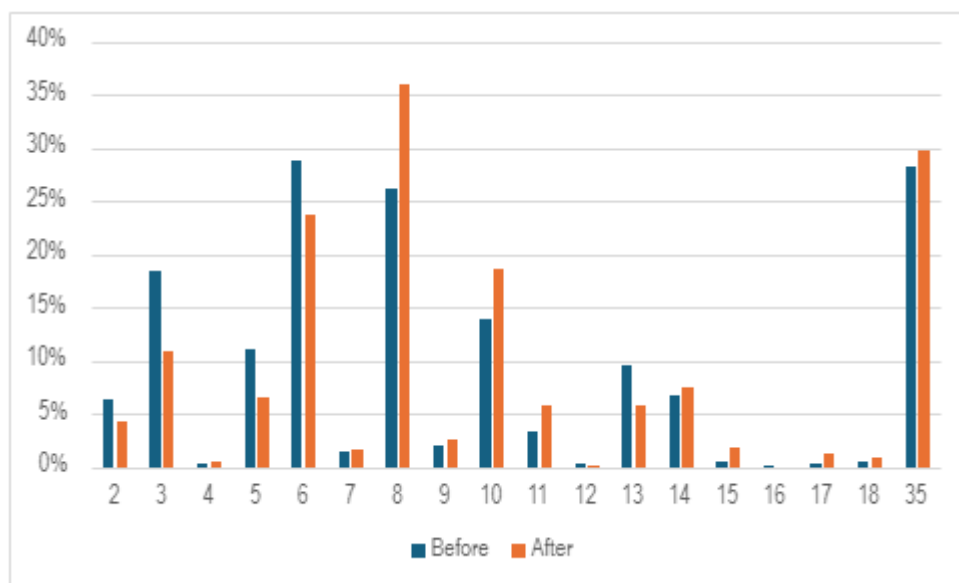
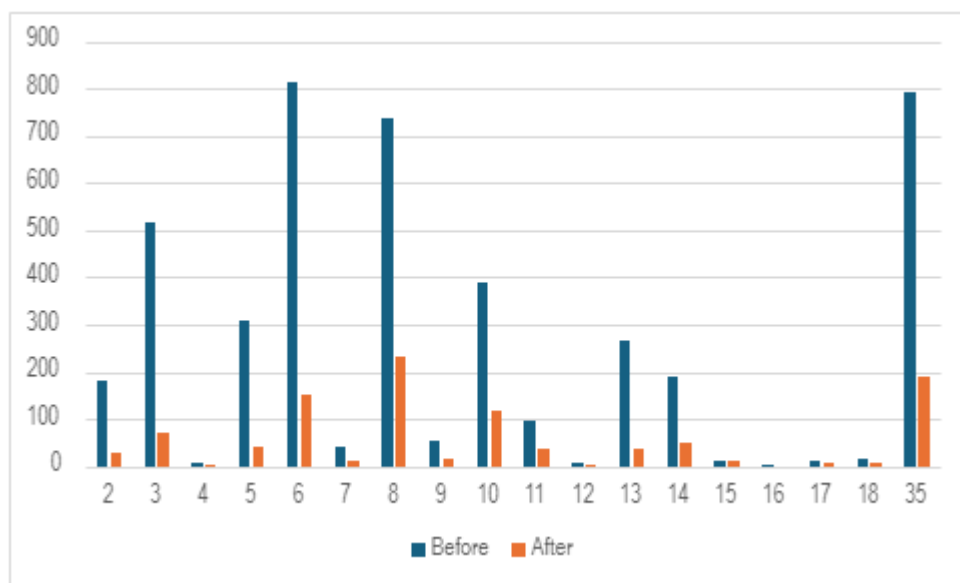


Figure 4.2. Total number of subsidiarity cases in relation to specific ECHR articles



It is clear from these two figures that the main articles with regard to which subsidiarity is evoked are articles 6, 10, and 35. The first figure is the most indicative in this regard as it allows for more direct comparisons. It suggests that these articles account for a very significant article references in subsidiarity cases. It also suggests that in the second period, after the coming into force of Protocol No. 15, there is a relative growth of references to article 8 and 35 in this regard.

In the following slides, we conduct the same analysis but with reference to the additional protocols which have established other substantive rights.

Figure 4.3. Percentage of subsidiarity cases in relation to specific protocol articles

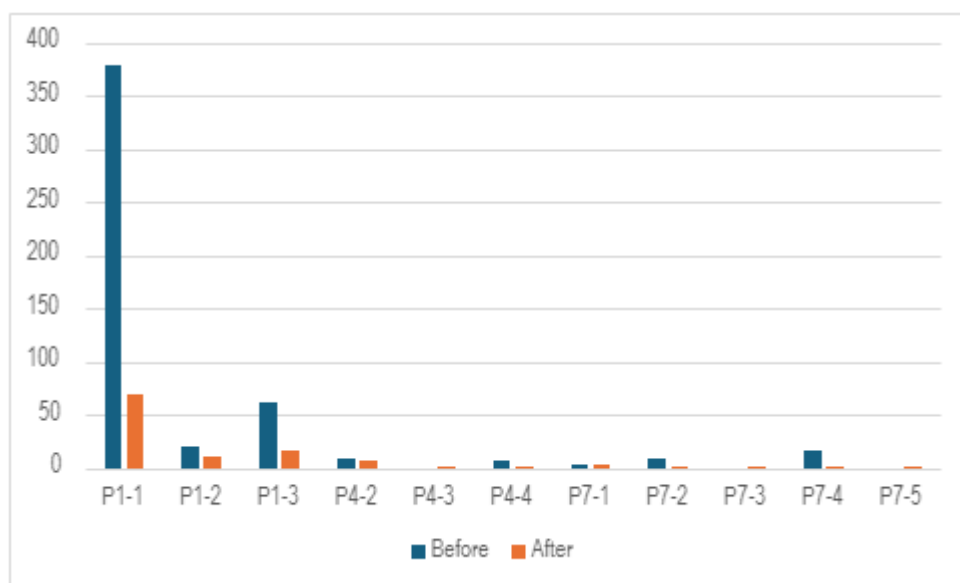
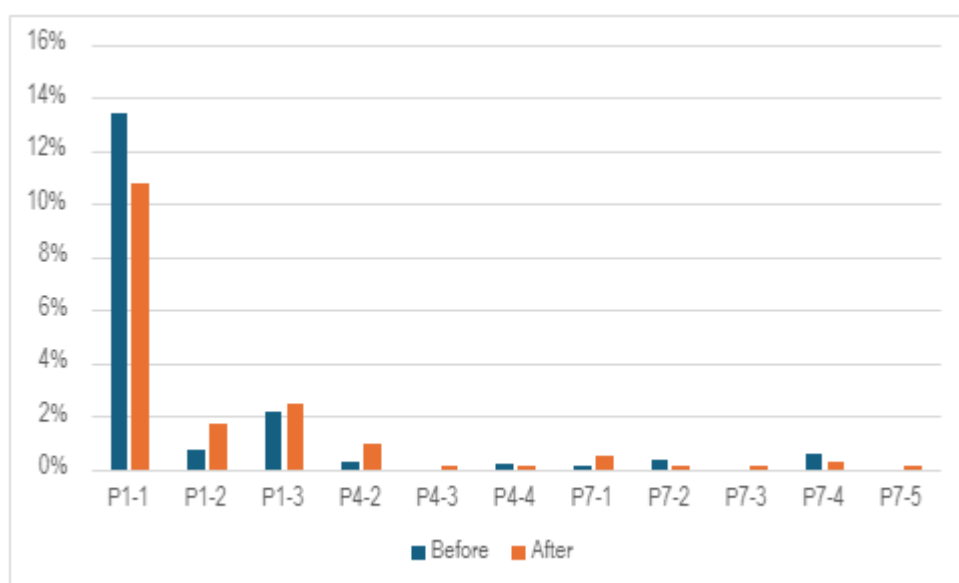


Figure 4.4. Total number of subsidiarity cases in relation to specific protocol articles



These two figures do not provide significant findings. Both figures suggest that the rights enshrined in the additional protocols do not provide a separate explanation for the general patterns regarding subsidiarity. Rather, they add to the existing picture of a few rights driving the overall change and that being predominantly Articles 8 and 35.

The next two figures combine the data from the previous figures but include only the most relevant Articles to better visualize changes in the jurisprudence with regard to subsidiarity.

Figure 4.5. Percentage of subsidiarity cases in relation to specific ECHR and protocol articles

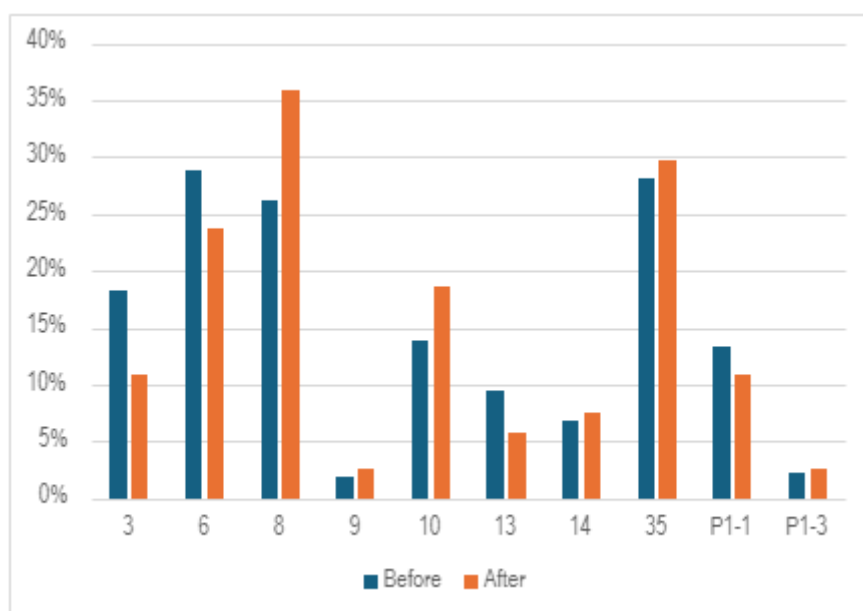
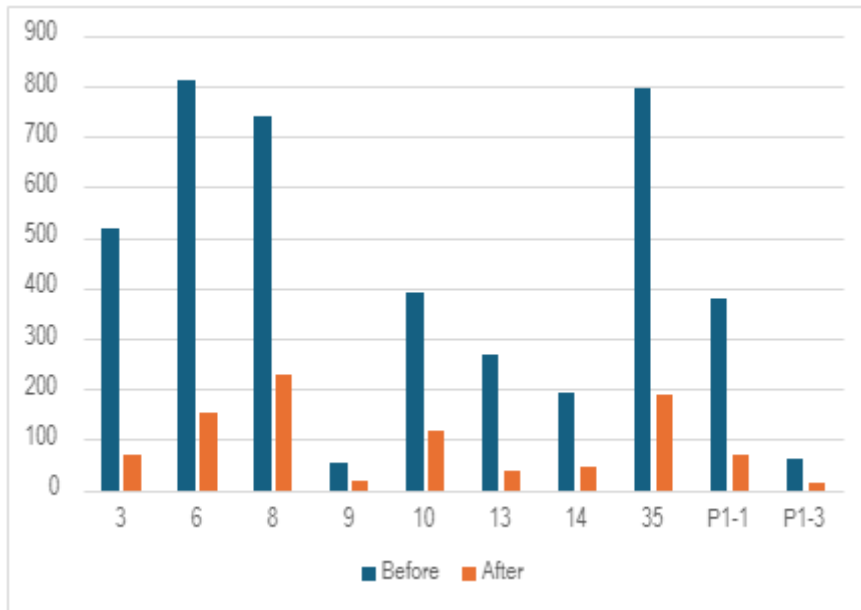


Figure 4.6. Total number of subsidiarity cases in relation to specific ECHR and protocol articles



Based on the empirical analysis, it becomes clear that a few Convention Articles are driving the change, namely ECHR Articles 8 and 35. This finding is consistent with the findings of earlier work which, although based on a much smaller dataset and restricted time-period, reached similar conclusions.⁸

A few preliminary observations can be made regarding these findings. It is well-known to European human rights experts that particularly Article 8 cases have been very much debated in some Western European countries, for example the UK and Denmark, and it is precisely the area in which the ECtHR has been most under fire from Western governments.⁹ Article 35 is however a very different provision and concerns admissibility. Without the certainty of having studied in-depth the more than a thousand Article 35 cases evoking subsidiarity post-Interlaken using more qualitative doctrinal methods, it is however likely that procedural subsidiarity can help explain this empirical finding regarding the exhaustion of domestic remedies.¹⁰ We return to these questions further below.

⁸ Madsen, "Rebalancing European Human Rights: Has the Brighton Declaration Engendered a New Deal on Human Rights in Europe?," 207; Madsen, "'Unity in Diversity' Reloaded: The European Court of Human Rights' Turn to Subsidiarity and its Consequences."

⁹ Roger Masterman, "The United Kingdom: From Strasbourg Surrogacy Towards a British Bill of Rights," in *Criticism of the European Court of Human Rights: Shifting the Convention System*, ed. Patricia Popelier, Sarah Lambrecht, and Koon Lemmens (Cambridge: Intersentia, 2016), 461-62; Mikael Rask Madsen, "Two-Level Politics and the Backlash against International Courts: Evidence from the Politicisation of the European Court of Human Rights," *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 22, no. 4 (2020).

¹⁰ Mikael Rask Madsen, "The Narrowing of the European Court of Human Rights? Legal Diplomacy, Situational Self-Restraint and the New Vision of the Court," *The European Convention on Human Rights Law Review* 2, no. 2 (2021); Robert Spano, "Universality or Diversity of Human Rights?: Strasbourg in the Age of Subsidiarity," *Human Rights Law Review* 14, no. 3 (September 1, 2014 2014), <https://doi.org/10.1093/hrlr/ngu021>, <http://hrlr.oxfordjournals.org/content/14/3/487.abstract>.

5. Comparison of findings in Section 4 and comparative structural analysis

In the two previous sections we have detailed who is evoking subsidiarity in the case law since 2010. A possible data distortion in the findings is that the period since the coming into force of Article 1 of Protocol No. 15 is relatively short. This amplifies the risk of some findings being distorted by specific developments in the case law during that period which cannot be normalised over a longer period.

To explore these findings more broadly, we introduce a different periodisation, namely from January 2000 January 2010 and from January 2010 to 12 September 2024 in order to allow us to see broader changes which might disappear when we use shorter periods as in Sections 4 and 5.

In the following we repeat the analysis of what substantive provisions are cited in cases citing subsidiarity (as broadly defined above in our construction of the dataset). In the first two figures we look at which ECHR articles are cited in these regards, measuring it as their percentage of the total set of cases and as the total number of cases.

Figure 5.1. Percentage of subsidiarity cases in relation to specific ECHR articles

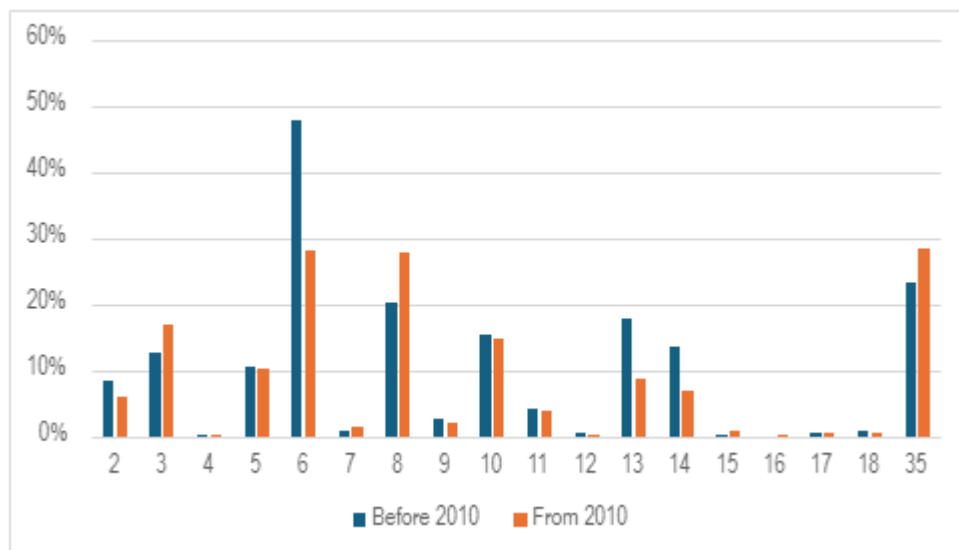
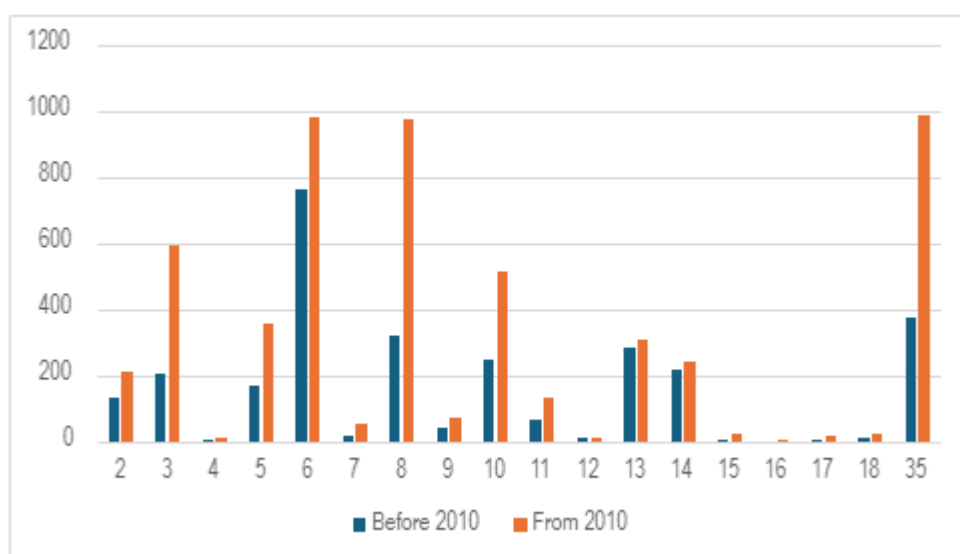


Figure 5.2. Total number of subsidiarity cases in relation to specific ECHR articles



It is clear from these two figures that where there is growth in subsidiarity in the second period (from 2010) is regarding particularly articles 8 and 35. In other words, it concerns the same articles as what we found in the previous section. Using this different periodisation however further highlights these changes.

In the next two figures we repeat the analysis of specific rights found in the additional Protocols.

Figure 5.3. Percentage of subsidiarity cases in relation to specific protocol articles

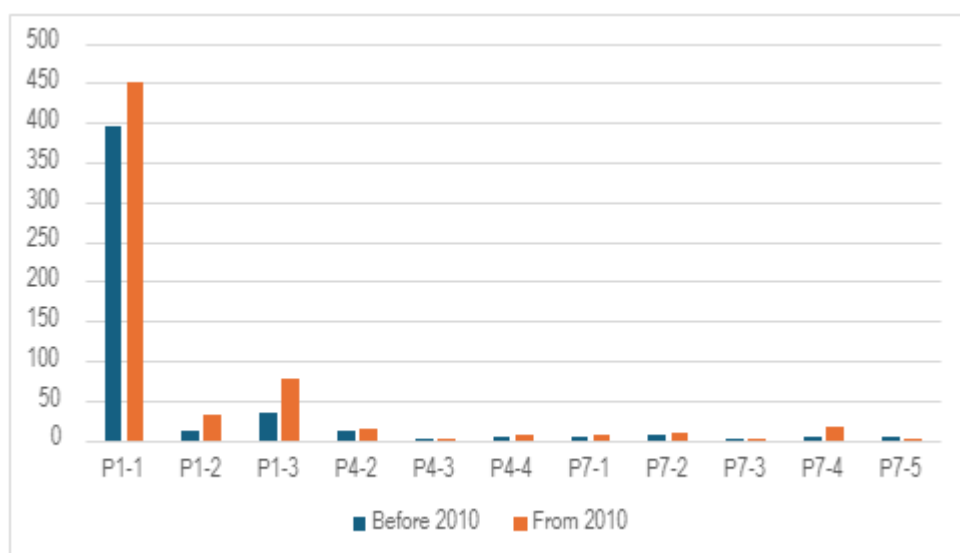
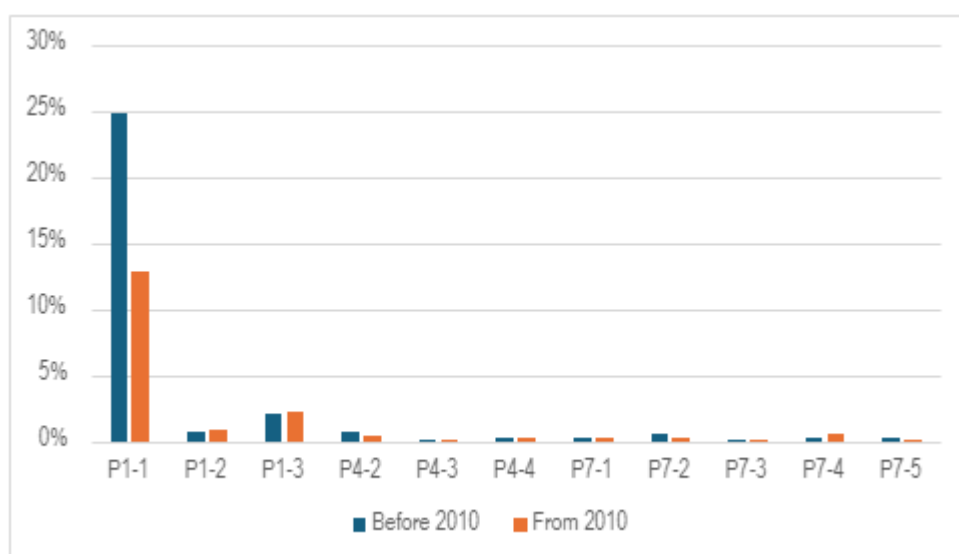


Figure 5.4. Total number of subsidiarity cases in relation to specific protocol articles



As in the previous analysis, rights enshrined in the additional Protocols do not seem to matter greatly for explaining structural changes regarding subsidiarity.

The following two graphs combine the findings of the previous figures but include only the most relevant provisions to better visualise the developments, repeating the analysis from the section above.

Figure 5.5. Percentage of subsidiarity cases in relation to specific ECHR and protocol articles

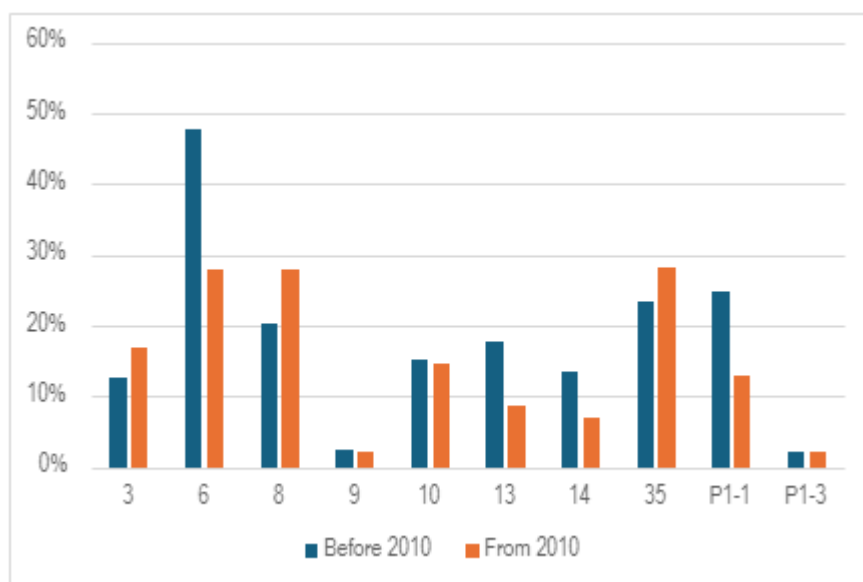
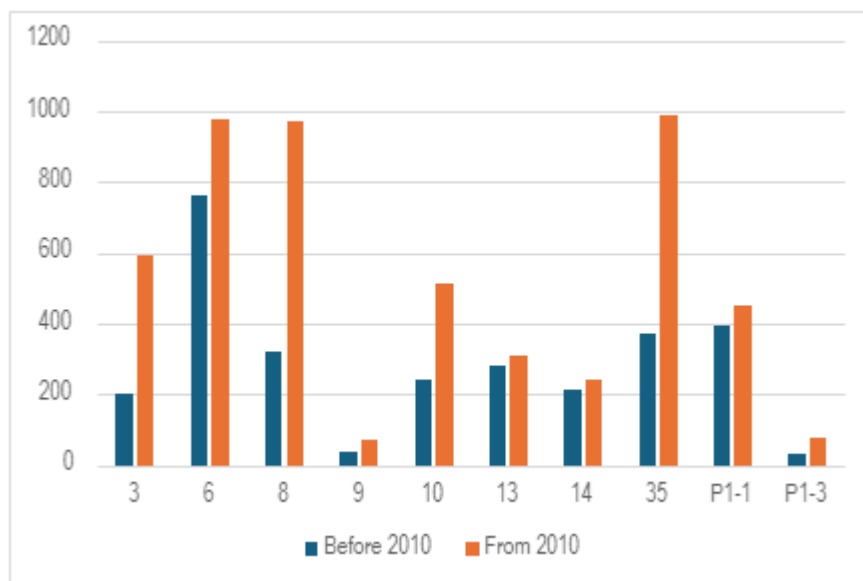


Figure 5.6. Total number of subsidiarity cases in relation to specific ECHR and protocol articles



Using the different periodisation, we can again observe that the main rights at stake in subsidiarity cases are articles 8 and 35. When using the longer time-period, it is also clear that there changes with regard to Article 3 but that these disappear when using the shorter period of the previous sections. Also, considering that Article 3 is a fundamental right, its appearance in this dataset is most likely driven by it being cited in Article 8 cases.

To conclude these analyses and respond to the questions formulated by the CoE, the main substantive right at stake in subsidiarity cases is Article 8. Among procedural rights, Article 35 is the most relevant and most cited.

6. Comparison of the Court's conditions/ criteria for accepting that national authorities' decisions are compatible with the Convention

This section responds to the following question formulated by the CoE: "Comparison of the Court's conditions/ criteria for accepting that national authorities' decisions are compatible with the Convention for two periods: (1) the period from the Interlaken High-level Conference (18-19 February 2010) to the entry into force of Protocol No.15 (1 August 2021) and (2) the period after 1 August 2021 to 1 July 2024.

- a. Overview of the Court's caselaw examining the quality of national legislative decision-making processes; highlighting the evolution, if applicable, of the procedural criteria for defining the level of deference to be afforded to States Parties established in the *Animal Defenders International* line of cases.
- b. Overview of the Court's caselaw examining the quality of national judicial decision-making processes; highlighting the evolution, if applicable, of the criteria for defining the level of deference to be afforded to States Parties established in the *Axel Springer and Von Hannover (No. 2)* line of cases."

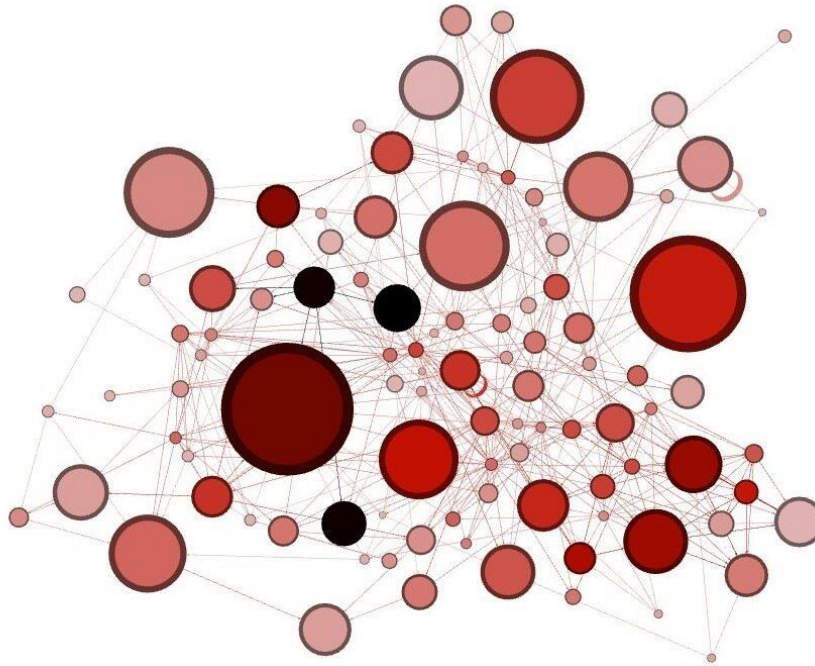
We have analysed each of the two questions in one long period from 19 February 2010 to 12 September 2024. The reason for not breaking it up into two periods is that to conduct a network analysis of these cases vis-à-vis all other subsidiarity cases, splitting the period in two would prohibit us from assessing the evolution of the centrality of these cases.

We used the already assembled a dataset of all cases involving MaO and/or subsidiarity for the period. The number of subsidiarity judgments in the period is 3.458. 2.032 of these judgments cites other subsidiarity judgments, and 2.053 judgments are being cited by other subsidiarity judgments. The citing and cited judgments makes for a network of 2.487 judgments since some judgements are not citing or being cited.

We used PageRank to calculate each judgment's centrality score in the network.¹¹ A high PageRank translates to a statistically speaking highly influential judgment. The PageRank score is furthermore used to size the nodes in the network. Besides this, we use each node's in-degree citations to define the colour of the node. The in-degree is the number of times this node (in our case judgment) is being referenced/cited by another subsidiarity judgment. To avoid visual clutter, we apply a filter on the in-degree and only visualise judgments that are cited 25 times or more. This brings down the number of nodes to 101 and the number of edges (references) to 429. Using these principles, the subsidiarity network can be visualised as follows.

¹¹ PageRank is the algorithm originally developed by google to rank web pages.

Figure 6.1. Network of subsidiarity cases (only major cases)

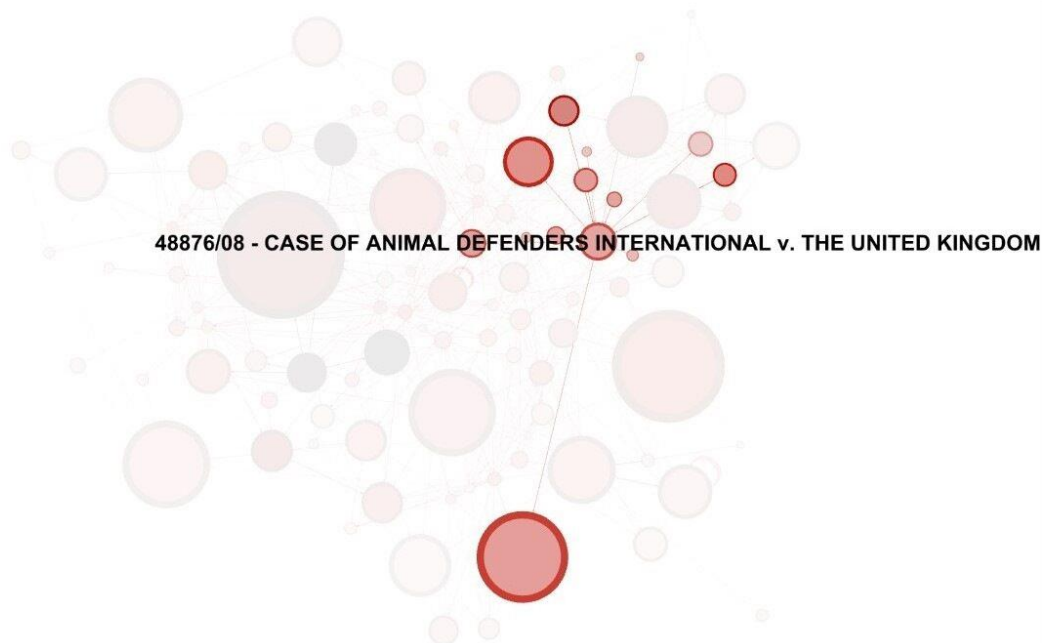


As to question *a*, we used this network to explore how the judgement *Animal Defenders International v. UK*, [no. 48876/08](#), 22 April 2013 was placed within the broader network of subsidiarity cases. In other words, we were interested in tracing whether the case has become a reference point in the broader network of subsidiarity cases in terms of a case many other cases cite to. We basically use network analysis to study whether a precedent or leading case has emerged based on its statistical centrality.¹²

The network of subsidiarity cases as visualised right above is hugely complex and not in itself helpful as it is simply containing too much information for our analysis. However, what is helpful for the present purposes is to see whether the specific case of *Animal Defenders International v. UK* has gotten traction in the network. To assess this, we analysed which cases in the network cited to *Animal Defenders International v. UK*. Once this was established, we could isolate the network around following *Animal Defenders International v. UK*.

¹² See about the underpinning theories of network centrality: Urska Šadl and Ioannis Panagis, "What is a Leading Case in European Union Law: An Empirical Analysis," *European Law Review* 40, no. 1 (2015); Urska Šadl and Henrik Palmer Olsen, "Can Quantitative Methods Complement Doctrinal Legal Studies? Using Citation Network and Corpus Linguistic Analysis to Understand International Courts," *Leiden Journal of International Law* 30, no. 2 (2017), <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0922156517000085>, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/article/can-quantitative-methods-complement-doctrinal-legal-studies-using-citation-network-and-corpus-linguistic-analysis-to-understand-international-courts/CC01D5633773395798E64ECBC6FC0384>.

Figure 6.2. Network of subsidiarity cases citing to *Animal Defenders International v. UK* (only major cases)



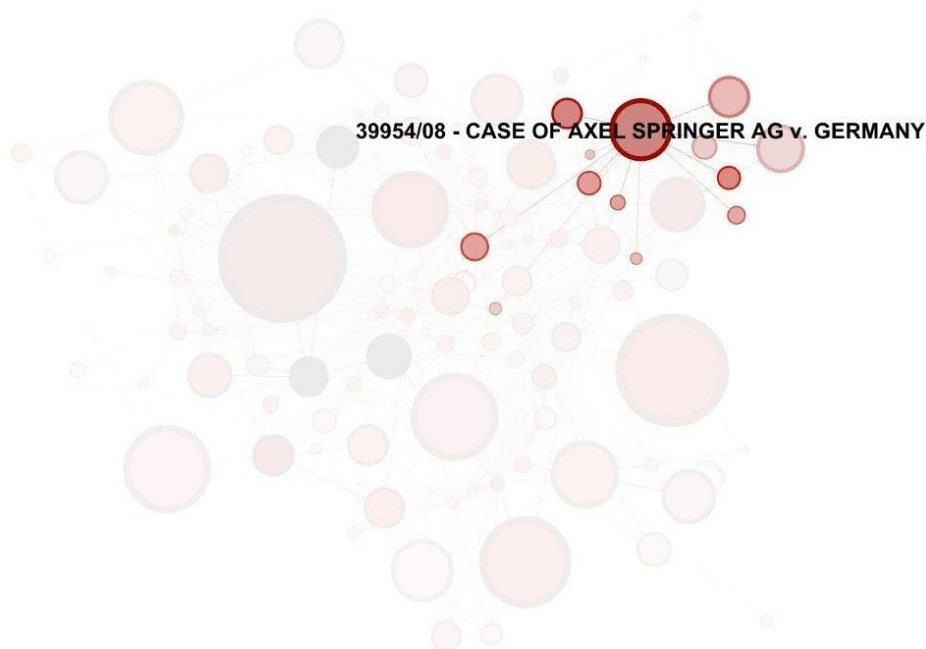
What we find is that the case of *Animal Defenders International v. UK* has developed into a relatively important case, which since 2013 has been cited 63 times (in-degree citations). We also note that the case continues to be cited as a reference in questions related to subsidiarity where it has become central for the examination of the quality of national legislative decision-making processes for affording deference to states.¹³ Our analysis can however not say anything specific on the qualitative requirements as this would require fine-grained doctrinal analysis. However, the compiled list of cases derived from the citation network provides a major step towards identifying possible incremental changes of the ideas pronounced in the central node of *Animal Defenders International v. UK*. In Appendix 3 all 63 cases citing *Animal Defenders International v. UK* are listed chronologically.

As to question b. we used the same network of MaO and/or subsidiarity cases and the same methods, but this time we explored how the following two cases were placed in the network throughout the period: *Axel Springer AG v. Germany* [GC], no. [39954/08](#), 7 February 2012 and *Von Hannover v. Germany* (No. 2), no. [40660/08](#), 7 February 2012.

As to *Axel Springer AG v. Germany* [GC] we find that the judgement has 101 citations towards it. This makes it the 7th most cited judgment among all subsidiarity cases. As documented in Appendix 4, the case continues to be cited as a central reference. The figure below visualises its network.

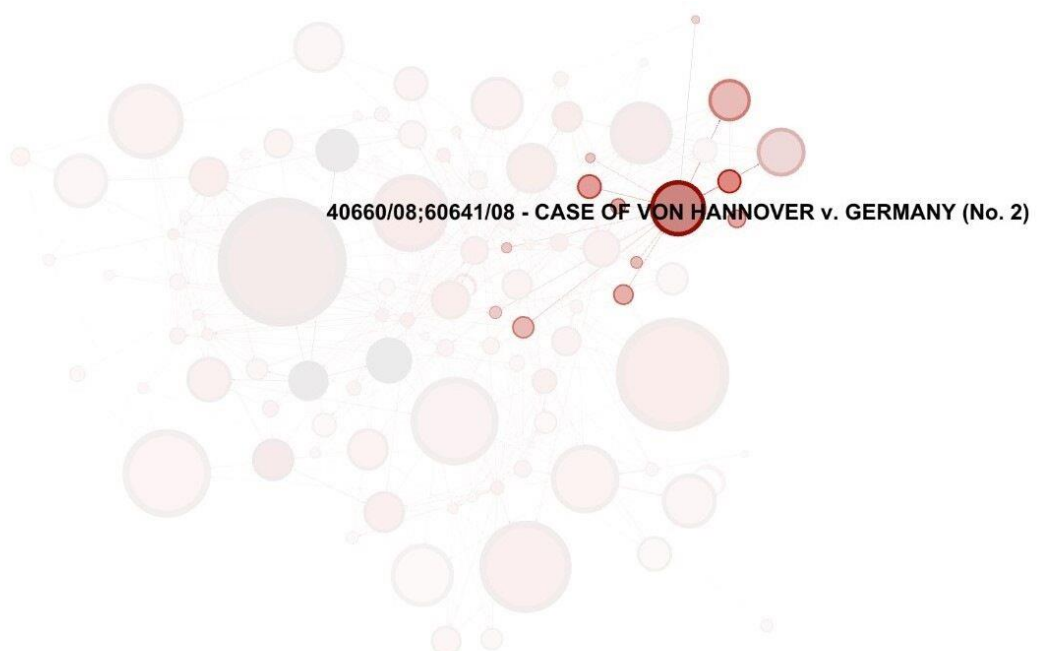
¹³ A series of other cases touch on similar issues: *Parillo v Italy*, no. [46470/11](#), 27 August 2015; *Lambert and others v France*, no. [46043/14](#), 5 June 2015; *S.A.S. v France*, no. [43835/11](#), 1 July 2014.

Figure 6.3. Network of subsidiarity cases citing to Axel Springer AG v. Germany [GC] (only major cases)



As to *Von Hannover v. Germany (No. 2)*, we find that the judgement has 104 citations towards it. This makes it the 6th most cited judgment among all subsidiarity cases. As documented in Appendix 5, the case continues to be cited as a central reference. The figure below visualises its network.

Figure 6.4. Network of subsidiarity cases citing to Von Hannover v. Germany (No. 2) (only major cases)



As explained already regarding *Animal Defenders International v. UK*, these methods only allow us to identify whether the requirements stipulated by these cases are still being cited in other judgments. Again, more fine-grained doctrinal analysis is needed to see the possible evolutions in the understanding of the requirements stipulated by the case. The list of cases that we have established by the citation network provides the roadmap for that analysis.^{13F¹⁴}

To conclude this section, we find that all three cases – Animal Defenders International, Axel Springer, and Von Hannover (No. 2) – remain central nodes in the subsidiarity network and important references for deference granted regarding respectively national legislative decision-making processes and the quality of national judicial decision-making processes. Data-driven methods cannot, however, stipulate the possible evolutions in these criteria.

¹⁴ A set of other cases could also be explored using these methods to assess their centrality, for example *Ibrahim v. UK*, App. Nos. [50541/08](#), [50571/08](#), [50573/08](#), and [40351/09](#), 13 September 2016; *Bărbulescu v. Romania*, [no. 61496/08](#), 5 September. 2017; *Ndidi v. UK*, [no. 41215/14](#), 14 September 2017.

7. Comparison of the Court's criteria in assessing whether the requirement of exhaustion of domestic remedies has been fulfilled

This section responds to the following question formulated by the CoE: "Comparison of the Court's criteria in assessing whether the requirement of exhaustion of domestic remedies has been fulfilled for two periods: (1) the period from the Interlaken High-level Conference (18-19 February 2010) to the entry into force of Protocol No.15 (1 August 2021) and (2) the period after 1 August 2021 to 1 July 2024."

To respond to this question, we explored whether the growing focus on subsidiarity has introduced new ways of assessing the exhaustion of domestic remedies. Even more specifically, the question is whether we can observe changes in the requirements of how expressly applicants should have evoked their Convention rights at domestic level before launching a claim before the ECtHR.

At the qualitative level, post Protocol No. 15 a case like *Lee v. UK* (no. [18860/19](#)) seems to introduce new subsidiarity requirements for exhausting domestic remedies which differ from those that already existed from cases like *Azinas v. Cyprus* (no. [56679/00](#)) and *Peacock v. UK* (no. [52335/12](#)).¹⁵ In those cases, the applicants were required to put the Convention complaint at least in substance to the national courts. Comparatively, it is generally assumed that *Lee v. UK* is heightening the requirements for admissibility in terms of how explicitly the case has been argued in ECHR terms at domestic level.

In *Lee v. UK*, the applicants relied on domestic law that enacted Convention rights, but they never 'aired, either explicitly or in substance' the Convention rights under contention (para 68). The novelty is arguably that rights have to be argued more explicitly in domestic litigation than previously, and that the ECtHR is making this a formal admissibility criterium and thereby deviating from previous case law.

Flexibility was part of the *Azinas v. Cyprus* (no. [56679/00](#)) standard. It states: 'the rule of exhaustion of domestic remedies must be applied with some degree of flexibility and without excessive formalism, it does not require merely that applications should be made to the appropriate domestic courts and that use should be made of remedies designed to challenge impugned decisions which allegedly violate a Convention right. It normally requires also that the complaints intended to be made subsequently at the international level should have been aired before those same courts, at least in substance and in compliance with the formal requirements and time-limits laid down in domestic law' (para 38). Clearly, the word 'explicitly' does not appear in *Azinas v. Cyprus* (no. [56679/00](#)), which – like a long series of cases – require that the ECHR matter has been raised 'in substance'. In a later case *Peacock v. UK* (no. [52335/12](#)), 'a passing reference' to convention rights was insufficient for fulfilling the requirements. Again, this suggests a lower threshold than *Lee v. UK*.

The question is then whether we statistically can identify developments that might suggest that Protocol No. 15 is having an impact on whether exhaustion of domestic remedies has been fulfilled in terms of a more formalist criteria such as *Lee v. UK*. To do so, we explored a different dataset that included all Article 35 cases (judgments and decisions) from 19 February 2010 (Interlaken) until 12 September 2024. This is a total of 13.596 documents, including 3.447 judgments and 10.149 decisions. The data is derived from the HUDOC database which is incomplete when it comes to admissibility decisions. Also, if the metadata provided by HUDOC is incomplete it will naturally impact findings.

¹⁵ We were suggested to focus on these three cases by the CoE.

Using this dataset we find that *Lee v. UK* (no. [18860/19](#)) has not been cited by other cases regarding Article 35 in this dataset. *Peacock v. UK* (no. [52335/12](#)) has been cited three times regarding Article 35.¹⁶ However, *Azinas v. Cyprus* (no. [56679/00](#)) has been cited 44 times regarding Article 35 since the Interlaken Conference and all the way until recently. In our dataset the most recent citation is from 29 August 2024. Appendix 6 provides the full list of cases citing to *Azinas v. Cyprus* since the Interlaken Conference.

These findings suggests that *Azinas v. Cyprus* is still a leading case and that the requirements stipulated in this case are still largely prevailing. Conversely, the heightened criteria found in *Lee v. UK* have not been picked in other cases. Considering that *Azinas v. Cyprus* was judged on 28 April 2004, the Interlaken Process and the coming into force of Article 1 of Protocol No. 15 do not seem to have substantively impacted on these requirements. These conclusions are, it should be underlined, alone based on the statistical analysis conducted on these three cases. It is probably possible to identify other cases that concern the combined issues of subsidiarity and Article 35 and better assess how the turn to subsidiarity has impacted the exhaustion of domestic remedies.

¹⁶ GARD AND OTHERS v. THE UNITED KINGDOM (39793/17), K.O'S. v. IRELAND (61836/17), and CASE OF DURDAJ AND OTHERS v. ALBANIA (63543/09;46707/13;46714/13;12720/14).

Appendix 1

						Applicant	Gov	Court	concurrent	dissenting	duly consid	Relinquishn	4 Months
CASE OF RINGIER AXEL SPRINGER SLOVAKIA, A.S. v. SLOVAKIA (No. 4)											1		
CASE OF ŠEKŠ v. CROATIA											1		
CASE OF COMMUNAUTÉ GENEVOISE D'ACTION SYNDICALE (CGAS) v. SWITZERLAND									1				
CASE OF GRZEDA v. POLAND								1				1	
CASE OF LINGS v. DENMARK								1					
CASE OF KAVALA v. TÜRKİYE							1	1					
CASE OF THÖRN v. SWEDEN								1					
CASE OF DELEGÉ v. THE NETHERLANDS											1		
CASE OF PINKAS AND OTHERS v. BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA								1					
CASE OF LOUCAIDES v. CYPRUS											1		
CASE OF K.K. AND OTHERS v. DENMARK								1					
CASE OF SUBAŞI AND OTHERS v. TÜRKİYE											1		
CASE OF FEDOTOVA AND OTHERS v. RUSSIA										1			
CASE OF JANÁČEK v. THE CZECH REPUBLIC											1		
CASE OF DUĞAN v. TÜRKİYE											1		
CASE OF HALET v. LUXEMBOURG							1						
CASE OF SANCHEZ v. FRANCE								1					
CASE OF X AND OTHERS v. IRELAND											1		
CASE OF TULEYA v. POLAND										1			
CASE OF CANAVCI AND OTHERS v. TÜRKİYE											1		
CASE OF HUMPERT AND OTHERS v. GERMANY										1			
CASE OF SNIJDERS v. THE NETHERLANDS										1			
AFFAIRE TARRICONE c. ITALIE													1
CASE OF DIACONEASA v. ROMANIA								1					
CASE OF VEREIN KLIMASENIORINNEN SCHWEIZ AND OTHERS v. SWITZERLAND								1					
CASE OF BORISLAV TONCHEV v. BULGARIA													1
CASE OF RFE/RL INC. AND OTHERS v. AZERBAIJAN											1		
CASE OF PASQUINELLI AND OTHERS v. SAN MARINO													1
AFFAIRE LIDIYA NIKITINA c. RUSSIE								1					
AFFAIRE BOURAS c. FRANCE								1					
AFFAIRE LOSTE c. FRANCE													1
AFFAIRE AVCIOĞLU c. TÜRKİYE								1					
AFFAIRE ȘTEFAN-GABRIEL MOCANU ET AUTRES c. ROUMANIE								1					
AFFAIRE EXECUTIEF VAN DEMOSUMS VAN BELGIË ET AUTRES c. BELGIQUE								1					
AFFAIRE YASAK c. TÜRKİYE													1
AFFAIRE LEFEBVRE c. FRANCE								1					
CASE OF Z.A. v. IRELAND								1					
CASE OF HAJIZADE AND ABDULLAYEV v. AZERBAIJAN													1
SUM							1	1	16	1	4	10	6

Appendix 2

						Applicant	Gov	Court	concurrent	dissenting	duly consid	Relinquishn	4 Months
NELJSEN v. THE NETHERLANDS											1		
LIPŠIĆ v. SLOVAKIA											1		
OLKHOVIK ET AL. v. RUSSIE								1					
SAAKASHVILI v. GEORGIA													1
M.C. v. FRANCE								1					
KAPUSTINA v. RUSSIA											1		
AĞCAKAYA v. TÜRKİYE											1		
THEVENON c. FRANCE								1					
VLAD c. ROUMANIE								1					
ORHAN v. TÜRKİYE													1
MANDIJA v. ALBANIA													1
AKKURT v. TÜRKİYE													1
ARAÚJO RAMOS AND OTHERS v. PORTUGAL													1
MACIEL DA SILVA v. PORTUGAL													1
DOHNAL v. THE CZECH REPUBLIC								1					
PÉROLA DE MATOS v. PORTUGAL													1
SALINAS CALADO DO CARMO VAZ v. PORTUGAL													1
ZANOTTI v. SAN MARINO													1
FOUGASSE c. FRANCE								1					
TUCCIO AND OTHERS v. ITALY													1
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SÎNGEORZAN AND GAIȚĂ v. ROMANIA													1
BORGES COUTINHO VILAÇA DE SOUSA v. PORTUGAL													1
CAMPEGGI v. ITALY													1
HASSAN AND OTHERS v. HUNGARY													1
GERNELLE ET SA SOCIÉTÉ D'EXPLOITATION DEL'HEBDOMADAIRE LE POINT c. FRANCE								1					
COTENA v. ITALY													1
GELSOMINO v. ITALY													1
PRINARI v. ITALY													1
ROTOLO v. ITALY													1
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Appendix 3 - *Animal Defenders International v. UK* in-degree citations

	Docname	itemid	datetime
1	CASE OF REMUSZKO v. POLAND	001-122373	16-07-2013
2	CASE OF DELFI AS v. ESTONIA	001-126635	10-10-2013
3	CASE OF ÖSTERREICHISCHE VEREINIGUNG ZUR ERHALTUNG, STÄRKUNG UND SCHAFFUNG v. AUSTRIA	001-139084	28-11-2013
4	CASE OF PERİNÇEK v. SWITZERLAND	001-139724	17-12-2013
5	CASE OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF RAIL, MARITIME AND TRANSPORT WORKERS v. THE UNITED KINGDOM	001-142192	08-04-2014
6	CASE OF ORAN v. TURKEY [Extracts]	001-142636	15-04-2014
7	CASE OF A.B. v. SWITZERLAND	001-145457	01-07-2014
8	CASE OF MATÚZ v. HUNGARY	001-147276	21-10-2014
9	CASE OF GOUGH v. THE UNITED KINGDOM	001-147623	28-10-2014
10	CASE OF Y.Y. v. TURKEY	001-153134	10-03-2015
11	CASE OF MORICE v. FRANCE	001-154265	23-04-2015
12	CASE OF DELFI AS v. ESTONIA	001-155105	16-06-2015
13	AFFAIRE ÖZÇELEBİ c. TURQUIE	001-155354	23-06-2015
14	CASE OF DİLİPAK v. TURKEY	001-157399	15-09-2015
15	CASE OF PENTIKÄINEN v. FINLAND	001-158279	20-10-2015
16	CASE OF BIDART v. FRANCE	001-158709	12-11-2015
17	CASE OF ANNEN v. GERMANY	001-158880	26-11-2015
18	CASE OF MAGYAR TARTALOMSZOLGÁLTATÓK EGYESÜLETE AND INDEX.HU ZRT v. HUNGARY	001-160314	02-02-2016
19	CASE OF GARIB v. THE NETHERLANDS	001-161054	23-02-2016
20	CASE OF IVANOVA AND CHERKEZOV v. BULGARIA	001-162117	21-04-2016
21	CASE OF NOVIKOVA AND OTHERS v. RUSSIA	001-162200	26-04-2016
22	CASE OF KARÁCSONY AND OTHERS v. HUNGARY	001-162831	17-05-2016
23	CASE OF BAKA v. HUNGARY	001-163113	23-06-2016
24	CASE OF MAGYAR HELSINKI BIZOTTSÁG v. HUNGARY	001-167828	08-11-2016
25	CASE OF LASHMANKIN AND OTHERS v. RUSSIA	001-170857	07-02-2017

26	CASE OF A.-M.V. v. FINLAND	001-172134	23-03-2017
27	CASE OF BAYEV AND OTHERS v. RUSSIA	001-174422	20-06-2017
28	CASE OF SATAKUNNAN MARKKINAPÖRSSI OY AND SATAMEDIA OY v. FINLAND	001-175121	27-06-2017
29	CASE OF MEDŽLIS ISLAMSKJE ZAJEDNICE BRČKO AND OTHERS v. BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA	001-175180	27-06-2017
30	CASE OF GARIB v. THE NETHERLANDS	001-177406	06-11-2017
31	CASE OF GRA STIFTUNG GEGEN RASSISMUS UND ANTISEMITISMUS v. SWITZERLAND	001-179882	09-01-2018
32	CASE OF SEKMADIENIS LTD. v. LITHUANIA	001-180506	30-01-2018
33	CASE OF CORREIA DE MATOS v. PORTUGAL	001-182243	04-04-2018
34	CASE OF ZELENCHUK AND TSYTSYURA v. UKRAINE	001-183128	22-05-2018
35	CASE OF KULA v. TURKEY	001-184289	19-06-2018
36	CASE OF OGNEVENKO v. RUSSIA	001-187732	20-11-2018
37	CASE OF TORANZO GOMEZ v. SPAIN	001-187736	20-11-2018
38	CASE OF LEKIĆ v. SLOVENIA	001-188268	11-12-2018
39	CASE OF POLYAKH AND OTHERS v. UKRAINE	001-196607	17-10-2019
40	CASE OF GAUGHRAN v. THE UNITED KINGDOM	001-200817	13-02-2020
41	CASE OF ATV ZRT v. HUNGARY	001-202391	28-04-2020
42	CASE OF L.B. v. HUNGARY	001-207132	12-01-2021
43	CASE OF STRØBYE AND ROSENLIND v. DENMARK	001-207667	02-02-2021
44	CASE OF EMİNAĞAOĞLU v. TURKEY	001-208800	09-03-2021
45	CASE OF M.C. v. THE UNITED KINGDOM	001-208876	30-03-2021
46	CASE OF HANDZHIYSKI v. BULGARIA	001-209033	06-04-2021
47	AFFAIRE TÓKÉS c. ROUMANIE	001-209433	27-04-2021
48	CASE OF M.A. v. DENMARK	001-211178	09-07-2021
49	CASE OF GACHECHILADZE v. GEORGIA	001-211123	22-07-2021
50	CASE OF SIC - SOCIEDADE INDEPENDENTE DE COMUNICAÇÃO v. PORTUGAL	001-211572	27-07-2021
51	CASE OF ASSOTSIATSIYA NGO GOLOS AND OTHERS v. RUSSIA	001-213231	16-11-2021
52	CASE OF ŠEKS v. CROATIA	001-215642	03-02-2022

53	CASE OF COMMUNAUTÉ GENEVOISE D'ACTION SYNDICALE (CGAS) v. SWITZERLAND	001-216463	15-03-2022
54	CASE OF TESLENKO AND OTHERS v. RUSSIA	001-216630	05-04-2022
55	CASE OF NIT S.R.L. v. THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA	001-216872	05-04-2022
56	CASE OF LINGS v. DENMARK	001-217039	12-04-2022
57	CASE OF ECODEFENCE AND OTHERS v. RUSSIA	001-217751	14-06-2022
58	AFFAIRE BOUTON c. FRANCE	001-219707	13-10-2022
59	CASE OF THE KARIBU FOUNDATION v. NORWAY	001-220713	10-11-2022
60	AFFAIRE ZEMMOUR c. FRANCE	001-221837	20-12-2022
61	CASE OF L.B. v. HUNGARY	001-223675	09-03-2023
62	CASE OF FRAGOSO DACOSTA v. SPAIN	001-225042	08-06-2023
63	CASE OF COMMUNAUTÉ GENEVOISE D'ACTION SYNDICALE (CGAS) v. SWITZERLAND	001-229376	27-11-2023
64	CASE OF HUMPERT AND OTHERS v. GERMANY	001-229726	14-12-2023
65	AFFAIRE EXECUTIEF VAN DE MOSLIMS VAN BELGIË ET AUTRES c. BELGIQUE	001-230858	13-02-2024
66	CASE OF VEREIN KLIMASENIORINNEN SCHWEIZ AND OTHERS v. SWITZERLAND	001-233206	09-04-2024
67	CASE OF UKRAINE v. RUSSIA (RE CRIMEA)	001-235139	25-06-2024

Appendix 4 - *Axel Springer AG v. Germany* [GC] in-degree citations

	docname	itemid	datetime
1	CASE OF SCHWEIZERISCHE RADIO- UND FERNSEHGESELLSCHAFT SRG v. SWITZERLAND	001-111536	21-06-2012
2	CASE OF MOUVEMENT RAËLIEN SUISSE v. SWITZERLAND	001-112165	13-07-2012
3	CASE OF YORDANOVA AND TOSHEV v. BULGARIA	001-113542	02-10-2012
4	CASE OF PETA DEUTSCHLAND v. GERMANY	001-114273	08-11-2012
5	CASE OF NOVAYA GAZETA AND BORODYANSKIY v. RUSSIA	001-117683	28-03-2013
6	CASE OF REZNIK v. RUSSIA	001-118040	04-04-2013
7	CASE OF WĘGRZYŃSKI AND SMOLCZEWSKI v. POLAND	001-122365	16-07-2013
8	CASE OF NAGLA v. LATVIA	001-122374	16-07-2013
9	CASE OF CUMHURİYET VAKFI AND OTHERS v. TURKEY	001-126797	08-10-2013
10	CASE OF DELFI AS v. ESTONIA	001-126635	10-10-2013
11	CASE OF BŁAJA NEWS SP. Z O.O. v. POLAND	001-138567	26-11-2013
12	CASE OF UNGVÁRY AND IRODALOM KFT. v. HUNGARY	001-138568	03-12-2013
13	CASE OF OJALA AND ETUKENO OY v. FINLAND	001-139991	14-01-2014
14	CASE OF RUUSUNEN v. FINLAND	001-139989	14-01-2014
15	CASE OF MUSTAFA ERDOĞAN AND OTHERS v. TURKEY	001-144129	27-05-2014
16	CASE OF COUDERC AND HACHETTE FILIPACCHI ASSOCIÉS v. FRANCE	001-145084	12-06-2014
17	CASE OF A.B. v. SWITZERLAND	001-145457	01-07-2014
18	CASE OF AXEL SPRINGER AG v. GERMANY (No. 2)	001-145700	10-07-2014
19	CASE OF BRAUN v. POLAND	001-147676	04-11-2014

20	CASE OF BOHLEN v. GERMANY	001-152647	19-02-2015
21	CASE OF ERNST AUGUST VON HANNOVER v. GERMANY	001-152679	19-02-2015
22	CASE OF HALDIMANN AND OTHERS v. SWITZERLAND	001-152711	24-02-2015
23	CASE OF MORICE v. FRANCE	001-154265	23-04-2015
24	CASE OF DELFI AS v. ESTONIA	001-155105	16-06-2015
25	CASE OF SATAKUNNAN MARKKINAPORSSI OY AND SATAMEDIA OY v. FINLAND	001-156272	21-07-2015
26	CASE OF BREMNER v. TURKEY	001-158077	13-10-2015
27	CASE OF STANKIEWICZ AND OTHERS v. POLAND (No. 2)	001-158468	03-11-2015
28	CASE OF BESTRY v. POLAND	001-158467	03-11-2015
29	CASE OF COUDERC AND HACHETTE FILIPACCHI ASSOCIÉS v. FRANCE	001-158861	10-11-2015
30	CASE OF ANNEN v. GERMANY	001-158880	26-11-2015
31	CASE OF CARAGEA v. ROMANIA	001-159042	08-12-2015
32	CASE OF MAGYAR TARTALOMSZOLGÁLTATÓK EGYESÜLETE AND INDEX.HU ZRT v. HUNGARY	001-160314	02-02-2016
33	AFFAIRE KAHN c. ALLEMAGNE	001-161412	17-03-2016
34	CASE OF SOUSA GOUCHA v. PORTUGAL	001-161527	22-03-2016
35	CASE OF BÉDAT v. SWITZERLAND	001-161898	29-03-2016
36	CASE OF FÜRST-PFEIFER v. AUSTRIA	001-162864	17-05-2016
37	CASE OF BAKA v. HUNGARY	001-163113	23-06-2016
38	CASE OF ZIEMBIŃSKI v. POLAND (No. 2)	001-164453	05-07-2016
39	AFFAIRE MEDIPRESS-SOCIEDADE JORNALÍSTICA, LDA c. PORTUGAL	001-166483	30-08-2016

40	CASE OF MAGYAR HELSINKI BIZOTTSÁG v. HUNGARY	001-167828	08-11-2016
41	CASE OF TAVARES DE ALMEIDA FERNANDES AND ALMEIDA FERNANDES v. PORTUGAL	001-170393	17-01-2017
42	CASE OF ÓLAFSSON v. ICELAND	001-171974	16-03-2017
43	CASE OF SATAKUNNAN MARKKINAPÖRSSI OY AND SATAMEDIA OY v. FINLAND	001-175121	27-06-2017
44	CASE OF MEDŽLIS ISLAMSKJE ZAJEDNICE BRČKO AND OTHERS v. BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA	001-175180	27-06-2017
45	CASE OF BĂRBULESCU v. ROMANIA	001-177082	05-09-2017
46	CASE OF AXEL SPRINGER SE AND RTL TELEVISION GMBH v. GERMANY	001-177077	21-09-2017
47	CASE OF EGILL EINARSSON v. ICELAND	001-178362	07-11-2017
48	CASE OF GRA STIFTUNG GEGEN RASSISMUS UND ANTISEMITISMUS v. SWITZERLAND	001-179882	09-01-2018
49	CASE OF ALPHA DORYFORIKI TILEORASI ANONYMI ETAIRIA v. GREECE	001-181295	22-02-2018
50	CASE OF FALZON v. MALTA	001-181595	20-03-2018
51	CASE OF M.L. AND W.W. v. GERMANY	001-183947	28-06-2018
52	CASE OF EGILL EINARSSON v. ICELAND (No. 2)	001-184672	17-07-2018
53	CASE OF BIG BROTHER WATCH AND OTHERS v. THE UNITED KINGDOM	001-186048	13-09-2018
54	CASE OF KABOĞLU AND ORAN v. TURKEY	001-187565	30-10-2018
55	CASE OF VICENT DEL CAMPO v. SPAIN	001-187509	06-11-2018
56	CASE OF NARODNI LIST D.D. v. CROATIA	001-187397	08-11-2018
57	CASE OF TORANZO GOMEZ v. SPAIN	001-187736	20-11-2018
58	CASE OF MAGYAR JETI ZRT v. HUNGARY	001-187930	04-12-2018
59	CASE OF BRISC v. ROMANIA	001-188274	11-12-2018
60	CASE OF PRUNEA v. ROMANIA	001-188987	08-01-2019

61	CASE OF HØINESS v. NORWAY	001-191740	19-03-2019
62	CASE OF MITYANIN AND LEONOV v. RUSSIA	001-192900	07-05-2019
63	CASE OF MILJEVIĆ v. CROATIA	001-203169	25-06-2020
64	CASE OF MONICA MACOVEI v. ROMANIA	001-203837	28-07-2020
65	CASE OF BALASKAS v. GREECE	001-205545	05-11-2020
66	CASE OF DUPATE v. LATVIA	001-206155	19-11-2020
67	CASE OF PİŞKİN v. TURKEY	001-206901	15-12-2020
68	CASE OF L.B. v. HUNGARY	001-207132	12-01-2021
69	AFFAIRE GHEORGHE-FLORIN POPESCU c. ROUMANIE	001-207128	12-01-2021
70	CASE OF MATALAS v. GREECE	001-208763	25-03-2021
71	CASE OF HANDZHIYSKI v. BULGARIA	001-209033	06-04-2021
72	CASE OF MILOSAVLJEVIĆ v. SERBIA	001-210075	25-05-2021
73	AFFAIRE MELİKE c. TURQUIE	001-210417	15-06-2021
74	CASE OF S.W. v. THE UNITED KINGDOM	001-210494	22-06-2021
75	CASE OF HURBAIN v. BELGIUM	001-210884	22-06-2021
76	CASE OF HÁJOVSKÝ v. SLOVAKIA	001-210766	01-07-2021
77	CASE OF SIC - SOCIEDADE INDEPENDENTE DE COMUNICAÇÃO v. PORTUGAL	001-211572	27-07-2021
78	CASE OF MILOSAVLJEVIĆ v. SERBIA (No. 2)	001-211817	21-09-2021
79	CASE OF M.L. v. SLOVAKIA	001-212150	14-10-2021
80	CASE OF AVCI v. DENMARK	001-213522	30-11-2021

81	CASE OF STANDARD VERLAGSGESELLSCHAFT MBH v. AUSTRIA (No. 3)	001-213914	07-12-2021
82	CASE OF WOJCZUK v. POLAND	001-213790	09-12-2021
83	CASE OF SAMOYLOVA v. RUSSIA	001-213868	14-12-2021
84	CASE OF NIT S.R.L. v. THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA	001-216872	05-04-2022
85	CASE OF MEDIENGRUPPE ÖSTERREICH GMBH v. AUSTRIA	001-216975	26-04-2022
86	CASE OF AZADLIQ AND ZAYIDOV v. AZERBAIJAN	001-218077	30-06-2022
87	CASE OF DROUSIOTIS v. CYPRUS	001-218117	05-07-2022
88	CASE OF KHURAL AND ZEYNALOV v. AZERBAIJAN	001-219482	06-10-2022
89	CASE OF STANCU AND OTHERS v. ROMANIA	001-219982	18-10-2022
90	CASE OF AXEL SPRINGER SE v. GERMANY	001-222312	17-01-2023
91	CASE OF KHURAL AND ZEYNALOV v. AZERBAIJAN (No. 2)	001-222409	19-01-2023
92	CASE OF L.B. v. HUNGARY	001-223675	09-03-2023
93	CASE OF SAURE v. GERMANY (No. 2)	001-223703	28-03-2023
94	CASE OF MESIĆ v. CROATIA (No. 2)	001-224963	30-05-2023
95	CASE OF FRAGOSO DACOSTA v. SPAIN	001-225042	08-06-2023
96	CASE OF MARGARI v. GREECE	001-225316	20-06-2023
97	CASE OF HURBAIN v. BELGIUM	001-225814	04-07-2023
98	CASE OF RADIO BROADCASTING COMPANY B92 AD v. SERBIA	001-226417	05-09-2023
99	CASE OF EIGIRDAS AND VĮ "DEMOKRATIJOS PLĖTROS FONDAS" v. LITHUANIA	001-226471	12-09-2023

100	CASE OF BILD GMBH & CO. KG v. GERMANY	001-228530	31-10-2023
101	CASE OF WAŁĘSA v. POLAND	001-229366	23-11-2023
102	CASE OF ȚÎMPĂU v. ROMANIA	001-229318	05-12-2023
103	CASE OF NARBUTAS v. LITHUANIA	001-229604	19-12-2023
104	CASE OF ALMEIDA ARROJA v. PORTUGAL	001-231606	19-03-2024
105	CASE OF OLEG BALAN v. THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA	001-233631	14-05-2024
106	CASE OF KOKËDHIMA v. ALBANIA	001-234125	11-06-2024
107	CASE OF A.P. v. ARMENIA	001-234259	18-06-2024

Appendix 5 - *Von Hannover v. Germany* (No. 2) in-degree citations

	docname	itemid	datetime
1	CASE OF AKSU v. TURKEY	001-109577	15-03-2012
2	CASE OF FRĂSILĂ AND CIOCÎRLAN v. ROMANIA [Extracts]	001-110881	10-05-2012
3	CASE OF E.S. v. SWEDEN	001-111547	21-06-2012
4	CASE OF BJÖRK EIÐSDÓTTIR v. ICELAND	001-112091	10-07-2012
5	CASE OF FÁBER v. HUNGARY	001-112446	24-07-2012
6	CASE OF YORDANOVA AND TOSHEV v. BULGARIA	001-113542	02-10-2012
7	CASE OF MITKUS v. LATVIA	001-113648	02-10-2012
8	CASE OF AGEYEVY v. RUSSIA	001-118602	18-04-2013
9	CASE OF DELFI AS v. ESTONIA	001-126635	10-10-2013
10	CASE OF SÖDERMAN v. SWEDEN	001-128043	12-11-2013
11	CASE OF BŁAJA NEWS SP. Z O.O. v. POLAND	001-138567	26-11-2013
12	CASE OF OJALA AND ETUKENO OY v. FINLAND	001-139991	14-01-2014
13	CASE OF RUUSUNEN v. FINLAND	001-139989	14-01-2014
14	CASE OF A.L. v. POLAND	001-140920	18-02-2014
15	CASE OF THE NATIONAL UNION OF RAIL, MARITIME AND TRANSPORT WORKERS v. THE UNITED KINGDOM	001-142192	08-04-2014
16	CASE OF FERNÁNDEZ MARTÍNEZ v. SPAIN	001-145068	12-06-2014
17	CASE OF COUDERC AND HACHETTE FILIPACCHI ASSOCIÉS v. FRANCE	001-145084	12-06-2014
18	CASE OF AXEL SPRINGER AG v. GERMANY (No. 2)	001-145700	10-07-2014

19	CASE OF BOHLEN v. GERMANY	001-152647	19-02-2015
20	CASE OF ERNST AUGUST VON HANNOVER v. GERMANY	001-152679	19-02-2015
21	CASE OF DELFI AS v. ESTONIA	001-155105	16-06-2015
22	CASE OF SATAKUNNAN MARKKINAPORSSI OY AND SATAMEDIA OY v. FINLAND	001-156272	21-07-2015
23	CASE OF KHARLAMOV v. RUSSIA	001-157532	08-10-2015
24	CASE OF BREMNER v. TURKEY	001-158077	13-10-2015
25	CASE OF BESTRY v. POLAND	001-158467	03-11-2015
26	CASE OF STANKIEWICZ AND OTHERS v. POLAND (No. 2)	001-158468	03-11-2015
27	CASE OF COUDERC AND HACHETTE FILIPACCHI ASSOCIÉS v. FRANCE	001-158861	10-11-2015
28	CASE OF BĂRBULESCU v. ROMANIA	001-159906	12-01-2016
29	CASE OF MAGYAR TARTALOMSZOLGÁLTATÓK EGYESÜLETE AND INDEX.HU ZRT v. HUNGARY	001-160314	02-02-2016
30	CASE OF ÄRZTEKAMMER FÜR WIEN AND DORNER v. AUSTRIA	001-160623	16-02-2016
31	AFFAIRE KAHN c. ALLEMAGNE	001-161412	17-03-2016
32	CASE OF SOUSA GOUCHA v. PORTUGAL	001-161527	22-03-2016
33	CASE OF BÉDAT v. SWITZERLAND	001-161898	29-03-2016
34	CASE OF FÜRST-PFEIFER v. AUSTRIA	001-162864	17-05-2016
35	CASE OF INSTYTUT EKONOMICZNYKH REFORM, TOV v. UKRAINE	001-163354	02-06-2016
36	CASE OF ZIEMBIŃSKI v. POLAND (No. 2)	001-164453	05-07-2016
37	AFFAIRE MEDIPRESS-SOCIEDADE JORNALÍSTICA, LDA c. PORTUGAL	001-166483	30-08-2016

38	CASE OF MAGYAR HELSINKI BIZOTTSÁG v. HUNGARY	001-167828	08-11-2016
39	CASE OF TAVARES DE ALMEIDA FERNANDES AND ALMEIDA FERNANDES v. PORTUGAL	001-170393	17-01-2017
40	CASE OF ÓLAFSSON v. ICELAND	001-171974	16-03-2017
41	CASE OF INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPERS (IRELAND) LIMITED v. IRELAND	001-174419	15-06-2017
42	CASE OF SATAKUNNAN MARKKINAPÖRSSI OY AND SATAMEDIA OY v. FINLAND	001-175121	27-06-2017
43	CASE OF MEDŽLIS ISLAMSKJE ZAJEDNICE BRČKO AND OTHERS v. BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA	001-175180	27-06-2017
44	CASE OF BĂRBULESCU v. ROMANIA	001-177082	05-09-2017
45	CASE OF GARIB v. THE NETHERLANDS	001-177406	06-11-2017
46	CASE OF EGILL EINARSSON v. ICELAND	001-178362	07-11-2017
47	CASE OF GRA STIFTUNG GEGEN RASSISMUS UND ANTISEMITISMUS v. SWITZERLAND	001-179882	09-01-2018
48	CASE OF SEKMADIENIS LTD. v. LITHUANIA	001-180506	30-01-2018
49	CASE OF ALPHA DORYFORIKI TILEORASI ANONYMI ETAIRIA v. GREECE	001-181295	22-02-2018
50	CASE OF FALZON v. MALTA	001-181595	20-03-2018
51	CASE OF M.L. AND W.W. v. GERMANY	001-183947	28-06-2018
52	CASE OF EGILL EINARSSON v. ICELAND (No. 2)	001-184672	17-07-2018
53	CASE OF IBRAGIM IBRAGIMOV AND OTHERS v. RUSSIA	001-185293	28-08-2018
54	CASE OF E.S. v. AUSTRIA	001-187188	25-10-2018
55	CASE OF KABOĞLU AND ORAN v. TURKEY	001-187565	30-10-2018
56	CASE OF NARODNI LIST D.D. v. CROATIA	001-187397	08-11-2018

57	CASE OF TORANZO GOMEZ v. SPAIN	001-187736	20-11-2018
58	CASE OF MAGYAR JETI ZRT v. HUNGARY	001-187930	04-12-2018
59	CASE OF PRUNEA v. ROMANIA	001-188987	08-01-2019
60	CASE OF HØINESS v. NORWAY	001-191740	19-03-2019
61	CASE OF MITYANIN AND LEONOV v. RUSSIA	001-192900	07-05-2019
62	CASE OF LÓPEZ RIBALDA AND OTHERS v. SPAIN	001-197098	17-10-2019
63	CASE OF RINAU v. LITHUANIA	001-200336	14-01-2020
64	CASE OF MAGYAR KÉTFARKÚ KUTYA PÁRT v. HUNGARY	001-200657	20-01-2020
65	CASE OF P.N. v. GERMANY	001-202758	11-06-2020
66	CASE OF MILJEVIĆ v. CROATIA	001-203169	25-06-2020
67	CASE OF MONICA MACOVEI v. ROMANIA	001-203837	28-07-2020
68	CASE OF BALASKAS v. GREECE	001-205545	05-11-2020
69	CASE OF DUPATE v. LATVIA	001-206155	19-11-2020
70	CASE OF GUÐMUNDUR ANDRI ÁSTRÁÐSSON v. ICELAND	001-206582	01-12-2020
71	AFFAIRE GHEORGHE-FLORIN POPESCU c. ROUMANIE	001-207128	12-01-2021
72	CASE OF L.B. v. HUNGARY	001-207132	12-01-2021
73	CASE OF LACATUS v. SWITZERLAND	001-207695	19-01-2021
74	CASE OF BUDINOVA AND CHAPRAZOV v. BULGARIA	001-207928	16-02-2021
75	CASE OF BEHAR AND GUTMAN v. BULGARIA	001-207929	16-02-2021

76	CASE OF HALET v. LUXEMBOURG	001-210131	11-05-2021
77	CASE OF MILOSAVLJEVIĆ v. SERBIA	001-210075	25-05-2021
78	CASE OF HURBAIN v. BELGIUM	001-210884	22-06-2021
79	CASE OF HÁJOVSKÝ v. SLOVAKIA	001-210766	01-07-2021
80	CASE OF GACHECHILADZE v. GEORGIA	001-211123	22-07-2021
81	CASE OF SIC - SOCIEDADE INDEPENDENTE DE COMUNICAÇÃO v. PORTUGAL	001-211572	27-07-2021
82	CASE OF MILOSAVLJEVIĆ v. SERBIA (No. 2)	001-211817	21-09-2021
83	CASE OF STANISZEWSKI v. POLAND	001-212158	14-10-2021
84	CASE OF M.L. v. SLOVAKIA	001-212150	14-10-2021
85	AFFAIRE MARINONI c. ITALIE	001-213224	18-11-2021
86	CASE OF AVCI v. DENMARK	001-213522	30-11-2021
87	CASE OF STANDARD VERLAGSGESELLSCHAFT MBH v. AUSTRIA (No. 3)	001-213914	07-12-2021
88	CASE OF WOJCZUK v. POLAND	001-213790	09-12-2021
89	CASE OF SAMOYLOVA v. RUSSIA	001-213868	14-12-2021
90	CASE OF NIT S.R.L. v. THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA	001-216872	05-04-2022
91	CASE OF AZADLIQ AND ZAYIDOV v. AZERBAIJAN	001-218077	30-06-2022
92	CASE OF DROUSIOTIS v. CYPRUS	001-218117	05-07-2022
93	CASE OF KHURAL AND ZEYNALOV v. AZERBAIJAN	001-219482	06-10-2022
94	CASE OF STANCU AND OTHERS v. ROMANIA	001-219982	18-10-2022

95	AFFAIRE FLORINDO DE ALMEIDA VASCONCELOS GRAMAXO c. PORTUGAL	001-221474	13-12-2022
96	CASE OF KHURAL AND ZEYNALOV v. AZERBAIJAN (No. 2)	001-222409	19-01-2023
97	CASE OF HALET v. LUXEMBOURG	001-223259	14-02-2023
98	CASE OF NEPOMNYASHCHY AND OTHERS v. RUSSIA	001-224959	30-05-2023
99	CASE OF MESIĆ v. CROATIA (No. 2)	001-224963	30-05-2023
100	CASE OF FRAGOSO DACOSTA v. SPAIN	001-225042	08-06-2023
101	CASE OF B.F. AND OTHERS v. SWITZERLAND	001-225652	04-07-2023
102	CASE OF HURBAIN v. BELGIUM	001-225814	04-07-2023
103	CASE OF D.H. AND OTHERS v. NORTH MACEDONIA	001-225879	18-07-2023
104	CASE OF EIGIRDAS AND VĮ "DEMOKRATIJOŠ PLĖTROS FONDAS" v. LITHUANIA	001-226471	12-09-2023
105	CASE OF BILD GMBH & CO. KG v. GERMANY	001-228530	31-10-2023
106	CASE OF G.T.B. v. SPAIN	001-228837	16-11-2023
107	CASE OF NARBUTAS v. LITHUANIA	001-229604	19-12-2023
108	AFFAIRE EXECUTIEF VAN DE MOSLIMS VAN BELGIË ET AUTRES c. BELGIQUE	001-230858	13-02-2024
109	CASE OF ALMEIDA ARROJA v. PORTUGAL	001-231606	19-03-2024
110	CASE OF OLEG BALAN v. THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA	001-233631	14-05-2024
111	CASE OF BORONYÁK v. HUNGARY	001-234265	20-06-2024

Appendix 6 - the *Azinas v. Cyprus* in-degree citations

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1	CASE OF MEDVEDYEV AND OTHERS v. FRANCE	001-97979	29-03-2010
2	CASE OF GÄFGEN v. GERMANY	001-99015	01-06-2010
3	AFFAIRE KARAPANAGIOTOU ET AUTRES c. GRÈCE	001-101360	28-10-2010
4	CASE OF ŞERİFE YİĞİT v. TURKEY	001-101579	02-11-2010
5	AFFAIRE DARRAJ c. FRANCE	001-101554	04-11-2010
6	AFFAIRE GUADAGNINO c. ITALIE ET FRANCE	001-102840	18-01-2011
7	CASE OF MOLDOVAN AND OTHERS v. ROMANIA	001-103739	15-02-2011
8	AFFAIRE NEGREPONTIS-GIANNISIS c. GRÈCE	001-104678	03-05-2011
9	CASE OF CURMI v. MALTA	001-107548	22-11-2011
10	AFFAIRE I.M. c. FRANCE	001-108934	02-02-2012
11	CASE OF BJEDOV v. CROATIA	001-110953	29-05-2012
12	CASE OF KURIĆ AND OTHERS v. SLOVENIA	001-111634	26-06-2012
13	CASE OF SABRİ GÜNEŞ v. TURKEY	001-111957	29-06-2012
14	CASE OF PERİHAN AND MEZOPOTAMYA BASIN YAYIN A.Ş. v. TURKEY	001-140021	21-01-2014
15	CASE OF VUČKOVIĆ AND OTHERS v. SERBIA	001-142199	25-03-2014
16	CASE OF MARIĆ v. CROATIA	001-144681	12-06-2014
17	CASE OF M.S. v. CROATIA (No. 2)	001-152259	19-02-2015
18	CASE OF MURŠIĆ v. CROATIA	001-152730	12-03-2015
19	CASE OF TATAR v. SWITZERLAND	001-153770	14-04-2015
20	NICKLINSON AND LAMB v. THE UNITED KINGDOM	001-156476	23-06-2015
21	CASE OF MEIER v. SWITZERLAND	001-160800	09-02-2016
22	CASE OF PAJIĆ v. CROATIA	001-161061	23-02-2016
23	CASE OF AL-DULIMI AND MONTANA MANAGEMENT INC. v. SWITZERLAND	001-164515	21-06-2016
24	CASE OF PARADISO AND CAMPANELLI v. ITALY	001-170359	24-01-2017
25	CASE OF CHOWDURY AND OTHERS v. GREECE	001-172701	30-03-2017
26	CASE OF KÁROLY NAGY v. HUNGARY	001-177070	14-09-2017
27	CASE OF MERABISHVILI v. GEORGIA	001-178753	28-11-2017
28	CASE OF GRA STIFTUNG GEGEN RASSISMUS UND ANTISEMITISMUS v. SWITZERLAND	001-179882	09-01-2018
29	CASE OF RADOMILJA AND OTHERS v. CROATIA	001-181591	20-03-2018

30	CASE OF BERKOVICH AND OTHERS v. RUSSIA	001-181876	27-03-2018
31	MENDREI v. HUNGARY	001-184612	19-06-2018
32	CASE OF GESTUR JÓNSSON AND RAGNAR HALLDÓR HALL v. ICELAND	001-187476	30-10-2018
33	CASE OF RAMOS NUNES DE CARVALHO E SÁ v. PORTUGAL	001-187507	06-11-2018
34	CASE OF LEKIĆ v. SLOVENIA	001-188268	11-12-2018
35	CASE OF ZHDANOV AND OTHERS v. RUSSIA	001-194448	16-07-2019
36	CASE OF ILIAS AND AHMED v. HUNGARY	001-198760	21-11-2019
37	K.O'S. v. IRELAND	001-206717	10-11-2020
38	AFFAIRE N.M. ET AUTRES c. FRANCE	001-215360	03-02-2022
39	CASE OF KATSIKEROS v. GREECE	001-218427	21-07-2022
40	CASE OF DOMENECH ARADILLA AND RODRÍGUEZ GONZÁLEZ v. SPAIN	001-222414	19-01-2023
41	CASE OF VALVERDE DIGON v. SPAIN	001-222657	26-01-2023
42	CASE OF GROSAM v. THE CZECH REPUBLIC	001-225231	01-06-2023
43	CASE OF COMMUNAUTÉ GENEVOISE D'ACTION SYNDICALE (CGAS) v. SWITZERLAND	001-229376	27-11-2023
44	CASE OF PASQUINELLI AND OTHERS v. SAN MARINO	001-235475	29-08-2024

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