

Human Rights Monitoring Mechanisms of the Council of Europe

Edited by
Gauthier de Beco



Routledge Research in Human Rights Law

Human Rights Monitoring Mechanisms of the Council of Europe

Edited by Gauthier de Beco



First published 2012
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Simultaneously published in the USA and Canada
by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2012 editorial matter and selection: Gauthier de Beco, individual chapters: the contributors.

The right of the editor to be identified as the author of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Human rights monitoring mechanisms of the Council of Europe / [edited by] Gauthier de Beco.

p. cm. — (Routledge research in human rights law)

ISBN 978-0-415-58162-2 (hardback) — ISBN 978-0-203-80833-7

(ebook) 1. Human rights monitoring—Europe. 2. Human rights—Europe. 3. Council of Europe. I. de Beco, Gauthier.

KJC5132.H8637 2011

341.4'8094—dc23

2011020752

ISBN: 978-0-415-58162-2 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-0-203-80833-7 (cbk)

Typeset in Baskerville
by RefineCatch Limited, Bungay, Suffolk



Printed and bound in Great Britain by
CPI Antony Rowe, Chippenham, Wiltshire

Human Rights Monitoring Mechanisms of the Council of Europe

The book studies the human rights monitoring mechanisms of the Council of Europe. It provides an in-depth examination of six such mechanisms: the Commissioner for Human Rights, the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (the CPT), the European Committee of Social Rights (the ECSR), the Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (the ACFC), the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) and the Committee of Experts of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (the CECL).

The human rights monitoring mechanisms of the Council of Europe seek to establish a permanent dialogue with governments in order to encourage them to better implement human rights treaties. They function principally through the use of national reports, on which basis they make recommendations, and also visit or question states directly. The book looks at each mechanism in turn, discussing their mandate, composition and powers and evolutions therein, as well as their relationship with other actors. It includes both a general discussion of the role of European human rights monitoring mechanisms as well as a comparative analysis of these mechanisms. The book aims to provide a clear understanding of the underlying approach of European human rights monitoring mechanisms and the challenges faced by them in terms of effectiveness. It will be useful for practitioners and students alike, especially those following courses in human rights or related fields.

Gauthier de Beco is an Associate Researcher at the Centre for Philosophy of Law at the University of Louvain, Belgium.

Routledge Research in Human Rights Law

Available titles in this series include:

The Right to Development in International Law

The case of Pakistan

Khurshid Iqbal

Global Health and Human Rights

Legal and philosophical perspectives

John Harrington and Maria Stuttaford

The Right to Religious Freedom in International Law

Between group rights and individual rights

Anat Scolnicov

Emerging Areas of Human Rights in the 21st Century

The role of the universal declaration of human rights

Marco Odello and Sofia Cavandoli

The Human Rights to Water and its Application in the Occupied Palestinian Territories

Amanda Cahill

International Human Rights Law and Domestic Violence

The effectiveness of international human rights law

Ronagh McQuigg

Human Rights in the Asia-Pacific Region

Towards institution building

Hitoshi Nasu and Ben Saul

Human Rights Monitoring Mechanisms of the Council of Europe

Gauthier de Beco

Forthcoming titles in this series include:

The European Court of Human Rights in the Post-Cold War Era

Universality in transition

James A. Sweeney

Children and International Human Rights Law

The right of the child to be heard

Aisling Parkes

Ensuring and Enforcing Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

The jurisprudence of the UN committee on economic, social and cultural rights

Marco Odello and Francesco Seatzu

The EU as a ‘Global Player’ in Human Rights?

Jan Wetzel

Vindicating Socio-economic Rights

International standards and comparative experiences

Paul O’Connell

Corporate Human Rights Violations

Overcoming regulatory hurdles

Surya Deva

Jurisdiction, Immunity and Transnational Human Rights Litigation

Xiaodong Yang

The Positive Obligations of the State under the European Convention of Human Rights

Dimitris Xenos

Preface

A number of human rights monitoring mechanisms have been established since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted in 1948, within the United Nations and also on a regional level, including in Europe. This reflects an official recognition that human rights standards are indeed an international concern and that multilateral co-operation on their implementation is desirable.

We have learnt that monitoring and implementation mechanisms are more effective when their *independence* is recognised and respected, which is generally the case for those created within the Council of Europe framework. The protection of this independence requires care in the appointment of committee members and other office holders and an impartial system of funding of the mechanisms.

Those acting on behalf of these bodies also have a responsibility for ensuring the integrity of procedures. They should themselves avoid any country stereotyping and always stand above party political struggles. Governments must be prepared to listen to well-founded criticism even when these messages could be utilised by the opposition. They should accept that the international representatives are in touch with and listen to non-governmental groups.

Another lesson is that the various human rights bodies must co-operate with one another and co-ordinate their activities. Some governments have genuine problems in coping with the many human rights visitors and the reporting requirements and in integrating the recommendations into concrete policies.

This underlines the need for information sharing, rational division of labour and co-ordinated actions between the international actors. Confusing overlaps should be avoided and a principle of subsidiarity be established. It is absolutely essential that the various mechanisms avoid giving conflicting messages.

The key aspect in any analysis of international human rights bodies has to be whether they have a real impact and genuinely protect and improve the concrete situation of people. This is what it is all about. This requires a clear mandate, necessary resources and an approach that is strategic – recognising the enormous difficulty of the task and its political sensitivity.

There is a need for a broader evaluation of ways of improving and strengthening the international human rights system. This book, therefore, is very welcome and timely. It fills a gap in the literature about European human rights monitoring mechanisms. It provides an in-depth examination of human rights monitoring

mechanisms established in the Council of Europe by reviewing their composition, functions and working methods as well as their historical evolution.

Written by experts who have practical experience of the monitoring mechanisms concerned, the volume also discusses the underlying approach of these mechanisms through an insightful comparative analysis. While it highlights the achievements of European human rights monitoring mechanisms, it is not afraid to criticise or point at weaknesses when appropriate.

Many people are directly concerned with European human rights monitoring mechanisms. Civil servants, activists and students alike should find the book interesting. It will help people to better understand the role of these mechanisms and the advantages and means of strengthening the mechanisms.

Indeed, there are no grounds for complacency. We should constantly remind ourselves about the enormous responsibility that comes with the fact that so many people all over the world have put their trust into our serious efforts. International human rights bodies should regularly review their working methods and strive to become more efficient and relevant. Real impact in the long run must remain the ultimate benchmark for making governments accountable for their human rights performance.

Thomas Hammarberg
Commissioner for Human Rights
of the Council of Europe

Author biographies

Gauthier de Beco holds an LLM (Master of Laws) degree from the University of Nottingham and a PhD in Law from the University of Louvain. In addition to being Associate Researcher at the Centre for Philosophy of Law of the University of Louvain, he is currently working as a Legal Adviser at the Human Rights Unit of the Belgian Ministry of Justice, where he is focusing on the human rights monitoring mechanisms of the Council of Europe. Previously he was working as a research fellow at the Centre for Philosophy of Law of the University of Louvain for four years. He is also a consultant to the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and several international NGOs.

Olivier De Schutter (LLM, Harvard University; PhD, University of Louvain (UCL)) is Professor at the Catholic University of Louvain and at the College of Europe (Natolin) and the UN Special Rapporteur on the right to food. He is also a Member of the Global Law School Faculty at New York University and is Visiting Professor at Columbia University. Between 2002 and 2006, he chaired the EU Network of Independent Experts on Fundamental Rights, a high-level group of experts which advised the European Union institutions on fundamental rights issues. He has acted on a number of occasions as expert for the Council of Europe and for the European Union. Since 2004, and until his appointment as the UN Special Rapporteur on the right to food, he has been the General Secretary of the International Federation of Human Rights (FIDH) on the issue of globalization and human rights.

Robert Dunbar is Senior Research Professor and the Director of ‘Soillse’, a major research project focusing on public policy relating to Scottish Gaelic (and minority languages more generally). His work focuses on the management of linguistic diversity in international and comparative legal contexts and on planning and policy for the maintenance of minority languages. He is an expert of the Council of Europe and regularly advises on the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages.

Renate Kicker has doctorate degrees in law and political sciences and is currently Associate Professor at the Institute of International Law and International Relations,

Karl-Franzens-University of Graz and Director of the European Training and Research Centre for Human Rights and Democracy (ETC) in Austria. She is a former member and First Vice-president of the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment.

Emma Lantschner is assistant professor at the Centre for South-East European Studies at the University of Graz, Austria. She attained her PhD with a thesis on standard setting and conflict management through the monitoring mechanisms of bi- and multilateral instruments. She is currently involved in a research project entitled 'Standard setting through monitoring'.

Matthias Sant'Ana holds a law degree from the University of Brasilia, Brazil, and master's degrees in International and European Law (DES, DEA), and in human rights law (DES) from Université Catholique de Louvain, and is currently preparing his doctoral dissertation at the Centre for the Philosophy of Law at the same university. He previously worked for the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (Washington, DC) and the Marangopoulos Foundation for Human Rights (Athens, Greece).

Lauri Sivonen is adviser to the Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights and acts as thematic co-ordinator in the Commissioner's Office. His specific fields of expertise include non-discrimination and systematic work for implementing human rights. Lauri Sivonen holds university degrees in international law, political history and social anthropology.

Lanna Yael Hollo holds a law (LLB) degree from McGill University in Montreal and a Master's Degree in Political Science from the University of Toronto, Canada. She is a specialist on minority rights and equality law and policy. She worked for a number of years as a legal and policy researcher at the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance and wrote a book on this Commission, published in November 2009 by the Council of Europe. Her ongoing consulting work has recently focused on discrimination and security questions as well as minorities in western Europe.

Contents

<i>Preface</i>	xiii
THOMAS HAMMARBERG	
<i>Author biographies</i>	xv
Introduction: the role of European human rights monitoring mechanisms	1
GAUTHIER DE BECO	
<i>I.1 Introduction</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>I.2 Background</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>I.2.1 Scope of the book</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>I.2.1.1 Non-judicial mechanisms</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>I.2.1.2 Non-political mechanisms</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>I.2.2 Classifications</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>I.2.2.1 Treaty-based v. non-treaty-based mechanisms</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>I.2.2.2 Substitute v. reinforcement mechanisms</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>I.2.2.3 Substantive rights v. vulnerable groups</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>I.3 Human rights monitoring</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>I.4 Permanent dialogue</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>I.5 Cross-issues of the book</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>I.6 Presentation of the chapters</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>I.7 Bibliography</i>	<i>16</i>
1 The Commissioner for Human Rights	17
LAURI SIVONEN	
<i>1.1 Introduction</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>1.2 Background</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>1.2.1 Origins</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>1.2.2 Mandate</i>	<i>19</i>
<i>1.3 Functions</i>	<i>23</i>
<i>1.3.1 Country monitoring</i>	<i>23</i>
<i>1.3.2 Thematic advice and awareness raising</i>	<i>28</i>

- 1.4 *Cooperation* 31
 - 1.4.1 *Cooperation with national human rights structures and NGOs* 31
 - 1.4.2 *Relationship with other Council of Europe bodies* 33
 - 1.4.3 *Cooperation with other international organisations* 36
- 1.5 *Challenges* 38
- 1.6 *Conclusion* 40
- 1.7 *Bibliography* 41

2 The European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (the CPT)

43

RENATE KICKER

- 2.1 *Introduction* 43
- 2.2 *Legal basis* 44
 - 2.2.1 *The European Convention for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment* 44
 - 2.2.1.1 *The geographical scope of application of the European Convention for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment* 45
 - 2.2.2 *Special monitoring agreements* 46
 - 2.2.3 *Secondary rules and guidelines* 46
 - 2.2.3.1 *Internal rules of procedure* 46
 - 2.2.3.2 *General reports* 46
 - 2.2.4 *Strengths and weaknesses of the legal basis* 47
- 2.3 *Mandate of the CPT* 48
 - 2.3.1 *A preventive and non-judicial mechanism* 48
 - 2.3.2 *The scope of the mandate ‘ratione personae’ and ‘ratione materiae’* 48
 - 2.3.3 *The range and limits of powers of the CPT* 50
 - 2.3.3.1 *Onsite inspections* 50
 - 2.3.3.2 *Immediate observations* 51
 - 2.3.3.3 *Public statement* 51
 - 2.3.3.4 *Standard setting through monitoring* 52
 - 2.3.4 *The principles of cooperation and confidentiality* 53
 - 2.3.5 *Strengths and weaknesses of the mandate of the CPT* 54
- 2.4 *Composition of the CPT* 54
 - 2.4.1 *Legal criteria for membership* 54
 - 2.4.2 *Appointment procedure* 56
 - 2.4.3 *External experts* 57
 - 2.4.4 *Secretariat* 57
 - 2.4.5 *Strengths and weaknesses concerning the composition of the CPT* 58
- 2.5 *The monitoring procedure* 58
 - 2.5.1 *Visits and monitoring cycles* 58
 - 2.5.2 *Sources of information* 59

- 2.5.2.1 *The CPT's own fact finding* 59
- 2.5.2.2 *Cooperation with other bodies* 59
- 2.5.3 *Assessment criteria for monitoring* 60
- 2.5.4 *The reporting procedure* 60
- 2.5.5 *Strengths and weaknesses of the monitoring procedure* 61
- 2.6 *The ongoing dialogue between the CPT and member States* 61
 - 2.6.1 *Acceptance and implementation of recommendations* 61
 - 2.6.2 *Reactive mechanisms in case of non-compliance* 63
 - 2.6.2.1 *The public statement procedure and high-level talks* 63
 - 2.6.2.2 *Further assistance provided* 64
 - 2.6.3 *Strength and weaknesses of the dialogue between the CPT and member States* 64
- 2.7 *Cooperation with other bodies* 65
 - 2.7.1 *Cooperation with other Council of Europe bodies* 65
 - 2.7.1.1 *European Court of Human Rights* 65
 - 2.7.1.2 *Committee of Ministers* 65
 - 2.7.1.3 *Parliamentary Assembly* 66
 - 2.7.1.4 *Commissioner for Human Rights* 66
 - 2.7.2 *Cooperation with OPCAT bodies* 67
- 2.8 *Developing strength and overcoming weaknesses* 68
 - 2.8.1 *Getting the membership right* 68
 - 2.8.2 *Focusing on the preventive mandate* 68
 - 2.8.3 *Rationalising the working methods* 68
 - 2.8.4 *Compiling its 'core' standards* 68
- 2.9 *Conclusion* 69
- 2.10 *Bibliography* 69

3 The European Committee of Social Rights (the ECSR)

71

OLIVIER DE SCHUTTER AND MATTHIAS SANT'ANA

- 3.1 *Introduction* 71
- 3.2 *The European Social Charter at a glance* 72
 - 3.2.1 *Origins and evolution of the European Social Charter system* 72
 - 3.2.2 *Distinguishing features of the European Social Charter* 74
- 3.3 *European Social Charter monitoring procedure* 77
 - 3.3.1 *European Committee of Social Rights: organisation and functions* 77
 - 3.3.2 *Monitoring procedure* 77
 - 3.3.2.1 *State reports* 78
 - 3.3.2.2 *ECSR's conclusions* 80
 - 3.3.2.3 *Governmental Committee* 80
 - 3.3.2.4 *Role of the Committee of Ministers* 81
 - 3.3.2.5 *Reports on non-accepted provisions* 82
 - 3.3.3 *Interpretative statements and the digest of case law* 83
 - 3.3.4 *Working methods and information sources* 84
 - 3.3.5 *The ECSR's conclusions: European social policy dialogue in action* 87

- 3.4 *Interaction with judicial and quasi-judicial mechanisms* 92
 - 3.4.1 *Relationship with national courts and with the European Court of Human Rights* 92
 - 3.4.2 *Complementary nature of the collective complaints mechanism* 97
- 3.5 *Conclusion* 98
- 3.6 *Bibliography* 98

4 The Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (the ACFC)

100

GAUTHIER DE BECO AND EMMA LANTSCHNER

- 4.1 *Introduction* 100
- 4.2 *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* 101
 - 4.2.1 *Origin and drafting* 101
 - 4.2.2 *Nature of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* 102
 - 4.2.3 *Obligations* 104
- 4.3 *Monitoring the Implementation of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* 105
 - 4.3.1 *The ACFC* 105
 - 4.3.2 *The monitoring procedure* 108
 - 4.3.2.1 *State reports* 108
 - 4.3.2.2 *Information from other sources* 112
 - 4.3.2.3 *Country visits* 113
 - 4.3.2.4 *Opinions of the ACFC* 114
 - 4.3.2.5 *Comments of State Parties* 117
 - 4.3.2.6 *Resolutions of the Committee of Ministers* 118
 - 4.3.2.7 *Follow-up* 119
 - 4.3.3 *Commentaries* 120
- 4.4 *Conclusion* 123
- 4.5 *Bibliography* 124

5 The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI)

127

LANNA YAEL HOLLO

- 5.1 *Introduction* 127
- 5.2 *Background* 127
 - 5.2.1 *History* 128
 - 5.2.2 *Mandate* 128
- 5.3 *Composition* 130
- 5.4 *Activities* 131

- 5.4.1 *Country-by-country approach* 131
 - 5.4.1.1 *Evolution of ECRF's monitoring procedure* 132
 - 5.4.1.2 *Key principles underlying ECRF's country monitoring* 135
- 5.4.2 *General themes* 137
- 5.4.3 *Relations with civil society* 139
 - 5.4.3.1 *Organising national round tables* 139
 - 5.4.3.2 *Cooperating with NGOs* 139
 - 5.4.3.3 *Holding meetings with specialised bodies* 140
 - 5.4.3.4 *Carrying out a media strategy* 140
- 5.5 *Relationship with the European Court of Human Rights* 140
 - 5.5.1 *Standard setting* 141
 - 5.5.2 *Influence on the jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights* 142
- 5.6 *Impact at the national level* 143
 - 5.6.1 *ECRF's likely impact* 144
 - 5.6.2 *Improving its impact* 146
- 5.7 *Conclusion* 148
- 5.8 *Bibliography* 149

6 The Committee of Experts of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (the CECL)

150

ROBERT DUNBAR

- 6.1 *Introduction* 150
- 6.2 *The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* 151
 - 6.2.1 *Origin and drafting* 151
 - 6.2.2 *Nature of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* 152
 - 6.2.3 *Obligations of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* 154
- 6.3 *Monitoring the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (Part IV, Articles 15–17)* 155
 - 6.3.1 *The CECL* 156
 - 6.3.2 *The monitoring procedure* 158
 - 6.3.2.1 *Periodical reports* 159
 - 6.3.2.2 *Information from other sources* 161
 - 6.3.2.3 *On-the-spot visits* 163
 - 6.3.2.4 *Reports of the CECL* 164
 - 6.3.2.5 *Comments of State Parties* 166
 - 6.3.2.6 *Recommendations of the Committee of Ministers* 167
 - 6.3.3 *Other outputs of and participation by the CECL* 168
- 6.4 *Conclusion* 168
- 6.5 *Bibliography* 169

Conclusion: a comparative analysis of European human rights monitoring mechanisms

171

GAUTHIER DE BECO

- C.1 Introduction* 171
- C.2 Functions of European human rights monitoring mechanisms* 172
 - C.2.1 Country monitoring* 172
 - C.2.1.1 State reporting* 173
 - C.2.1.2 Visits* 174
 - C.2.1.3 Reports of the monitoring mechanisms* 174
 - C.2.1.4 Resolutions of the Committee of Ministers* 175
 - C.2.2 Standard setting* 176
 - C.2.3 Cooperation with civil society organisations* 177
- C.3 Fundamental principles of European human rights monitoring mechanisms* 178
 - C.3.1 Cooperation* 179
 - C.3.2 Confidentiality* 180
- C.4 Factors potentially enhancing the effectiveness of European human rights monitoring mechanisms* 180
 - C.4.1 Membership* 181
 - C.4.2 Flexibility* 183
 - C.4.3 Relevance* 184
 - C.4.4 Visibility* 184
- C.5 Relationship with other actors* 185
 - C.5.1 Political mechanisms* 186
 - C.5.2 Judicial mechanisms* 187
 - C.5.3 Other European human rights monitoring mechanisms* 189
- C.6 Challenges ahead for European human rights monitoring mechanisms* 191
 - C.6.1 Resources* 191
 - C.6.2 Data* 192
 - C.6.3 Timing* 192
 - C.6.4 Follow-up* 193
- C.7 Conclusion* 194

Annexes

197

- 1 Resolution (99)50* 199
- 2 The ECPT* 202
- 3 Part IV of the ESC (Articles 21–29)* 210
- 4 The Turin Protocol* 213
- 5 Section IV of the FCNM (Articles 24–26)* 218
- 6 Resolution (97)10* 220
- 7 Resolution CM/Res(2009)3 amending Resolution (97)10* 227
- 8 Resolution Res(2002)8* 228
- 9 Part IV of the ECRML (Articles 15–17)* 231
- 10 The Rules of Procedures of the CECL* 233

Introduction

The role of European human rights monitoring mechanisms

Gauthier de Beco

I.1 Introduction

This book deals with the human rights monitoring mechanisms of the Council of Europe (which will also be referred to as European human rights monitoring mechanisms or, usually in the singular, monitoring mechanism). These mechanisms have proliferated during the last two decades and today their activities represent a substantial proportion of those of the organisation, involving many people both in the public administration of member States and civil society organisations, not to mention the personnel in Strasbourg. However, European human rights monitoring mechanisms have received less attention than the European Court of Human Rights, which is the Council of Europe's judicial mechanism. While their work is considerable, these mechanisms remain largely unknown. With the exception of the civil servants and activists involved, the majority of the population seems unaware of their existence.

This book studies the following six human rights monitoring mechanisms of the Council of Europe: the Commissioner for Human Rights, the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (the CPT), the European Committee of Social Rights (the ECSR), the Advisory Committee on the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (the FCNM) (the ACFC), the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) and the Committee of Experts of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (the ECRML) (the CECL).

There is a gap in the literature on the human rights monitoring mechanisms of the Council of Europe. The underlying approach of these mechanisms has not been examined in-depth and is therefore not widely understood. This is a missed opportunity, especially since the European Court of Human Rights is experiencing a crisis, despite the entering into force of Protocol No. 14 to the European Convention on Human Rights. European human rights monitoring mechanisms therefore deserve more attention.

Furthermore, the existing literature on European human rights monitoring mechanisms is more concerned with the treaties that created these mechanisms than with these mechanisms themselves. Moreover, the few studies relating to