



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

## Essays on legislative decision-making in the European Union

Pourebrahimi Andouhjerdi, A.

### Citation

Pourebrahimi Andouhjerdi, A. (2025, January 14). *Essays on legislative decision-making in the European Union*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4175838>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4175838>

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

## REFERENCES

- Achen, Christopher H. 2006a. "Evaluating Political Decision-Making Models." In *The European Union Decides*, eds. Robert Thomson, Frans N. Stokman, Christopher H. Achen, and Thomas König. Cambridge University Press, 264–98. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511492082.011.
- Achen, Christopher H. 2006b. "Institutional Realism and Bargaining Models." In *The European Union Decides*, eds. Robert Thomson, Frans N. Stokman, Christopher H. Achen, and Thomas König. Cambridge University Press, 86–123. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511492082.005.
- Arregui, Javier, and Clément Perarnaud. 2022. "A New Dataset on Legislative Decision-Making in the European Union: The DEU III Dataset." *Journal of European Public Policy* 29(1): 12–22. doi:10.1080/13501763.2021.1991983.
- Arregui, Javier, Frans N. Stokman, and Robert Thomson. 2006. "Compromise, Exchange and Challenge in the European Union." In *The European Union Decides*, eds. Robert Thomson, Frans N. Stokman, Christopher H. Achen, and Thomas König. Cambridge University Press, 124–52. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511492082.006.
- Aspinwall, Mark. 2002. "Preferring Europe: Ideology and National Preferences on European Integration." *European Union Politics* 3(1): 81–111. doi:10.1177/1465116502003001005.
- Bailer, Stefanie. 2004. "Bargaining Success in the European Union: The Impact of Exogenous and Endogenous Power Resources." *European Union Politics* 5(1): 99–123. doi:10.1177/1465116504040447.
- Bailer, Stefanie, Mikko Mattila, and Gerald Schneider. 2015. "Money Makes the EU Go Round: The Objective Foundations of Conflict in the Council of Ministers: Money Makes the EU Go Round." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 53(3): 437–56. doi:10.1111/jcms.12194.
- Bailey, Michael A., Anton Strezhnev, and Erik Voeten. 2017. "Estimating Dynamic State Preferences from United Nations Voting Data." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(2): 430–56. doi:10.1177/0022002715595700.
- Boekhoorn, Vincent, Adrian M. A. Van Deemen, and Madeleine O. Hosli. 2006. "A Cooperative Approach to Decision-Making in the European Union." In *The European Union Decides*, eds. Robert Thomson, Frans N. Stokman, Christopher H. Achen, and Thomas König. Cambridge University Press, 178–210. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511492082.008.
- Bressanelli, Edoardo, Christel Koop, and Christine Reh. 2020. "EU Actors under Pressure: Politicisation and Depoliticisation as Strategic Responses." *Journal of European Public Policy* 27(3): 329–41. doi:10.1080/13501763.2020.1713193.

- van der Brug, Wouter, and Claes H. de Vreese, eds. 2016. *(Un)Intended Consequences of EU Parliamentary Elections*. Oxford University Press.  
doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198757412.001.0001.
- Bueno De Mesquita, Bruce. 1994. *European Community Decision Making: Models, Applications, and Comparisons*. Yale University Press. doi:10.12987/9780300158113.
- Craig, Paul, and G. De Búrca. 2015. *EU Law: Text, Cases, and Materials*. Sixth edition. Oxford, United Kingdom ; New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Crombez, Christophe. 2000. "Spatial Models of Logrolling in the European Union." *European Journal of Political Economy* 16(4): 707–37. doi:10.1016/S0176-2680(00)00008-2.
- Crombez, Christophe, and Pieterjan Vangerven. 2014. "Procedural Models of European Union Politics: Contributions and Suggestions for Improvement." *European Union Politics* 15(2): 289–308. doi:10.1177/1465116513517014.
- De Leon, Cesar Garcia Perez. 2012. "Does Implicit Voting Matter? Coalitional Bargaining in the EU Legislative Process." *European Union Politics* 13(4): 513–34.  
doi:10.1177/1465116512453883.
- De Wilde, Pieter, and Michael Zürn. 2012. "Can the Politicization of European Integration Be Reversed?\*: Can the Politicization of European Integration Be Reversed?" *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 50: 137–53. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5965.2011.02232.x.
- Delhey, Jan. 2007. "Do Enlargements Make the European Union Less Cohesive? An Analysis of Trust between EU Nationalities." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 45(2): 253–79. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5965.2007.00711.x.
- Döring, Holger, Constantin Huber, and Philip Manow. 2022. "ParlGov 2022 Release."  
doi:10.7910/DVN/UKILBE.
- Elgstrom, Ole, Bo Bjurulf, Jonas Johansson, and Anders Sannerstedt. 2001. "Coalitions in European Union Negotiations." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 24(2): 111–28.  
doi:10.1111/1467-9477.00049.
- Finke, Daniel, and Andreas Fleig. 2013. "The Merits of Adding Complexity: Non-Separable Preferences in Spatial Models of European Union Politics." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 25(4): 546–75. doi:10.1177/0951629813493212.
- Foster, Nigel G. 2016. *EU Law Directions*. 5th edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fraccaroli, Nicolò, Alessandro Giovannini, Jean-François Jamet, and Eric Persson. 2022. "Ideology and Monetary Policy. The Role of Political Parties' Stances in the European Central Bank's Parliamentary Hearings." *European Journal of Political Economy* 74: 102207. doi:10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2022.102207.

- Franchino, Fabio, Mark A. Kayser, and Christopher Wratil. 2022. "Electoral Competitiveness and Responsiveness: Rational Anticipation in the EU Council." *Journal of European Public Policy* 29(1): 42–60. doi:10.1080/13501763.2021.1991986.
- Giuliani, Marco. 2023. "Italy in the Council of the European Union: Votes and Statements." *Contemporary Italian Politics*: 1–20. doi:10.1080/23248823.2023.2220187.
- Golub, Jonathan. 2022. "Power in the European Union: An Evolutionary Computing Approach." *Journal of European Integration* 44(2): 225–44. doi:10.1080/07036337.2020.1835886.
- Grande, Edgar, and Swen Hutter. 2016. "Introduction: European Integration and the Challenge of Politicisation." In *Politicising Europe*, eds. Swen Hutter, Edgar Grande, and Hanspeter Kriesi. Cambridge University Press, 3–31. doi:10.1017/CBO9781316422991.002.
- Gruisen, Philippe. 2019. "The Trio Presidency and the Efficiency of Council Decision-Making: An Empirical Study." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 57(4): 692–709. doi:10.1111/jcms.12841.
- Guinaudeau, Isabelle, and Olivier Costa. 2022. "Issue Politicization in the European Parliament. An Analysis of Parliamentary Questions for Oral Answer (2004–19)\*." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 60(3): 507–25. doi:10.1111/jcms.13243.
- Häge, Frank, and Simon Hug. 2016. "Consensus Decisions and Similarity Measures in International Organizations." *International Interactions* 42(3): 503–29. doi:10.1080/03050629.2016.1138107.
- Häge, Frank M. 2013. "Coalition Building and Consensus in the Council of the European Union." *British Journal of Political Science* 43(3): 481–504. doi:10.1017/S0007123412000439.
- Hagemann, Sara. 2008. "Voting, Statements and Coalition-Building in the Council from 1999 to 2006." In *Unveiling the Council of the European Union*, eds. Daniel Naurin and Helen Wallace. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 36–63. doi:10.1057/9780230583788\_3.
- Hagemann, Sara. 2015. "Studies of Bargaining in the European Union." In *Research Methods in European Union Studies*, eds. Kennet Lynggaard, Ian Manners, and Karl Löfgren. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 136–53. doi:10.1057/9781137316967\_9.
- Hagemann, Sara, Stefanie Bailer, and Alexander Herzog. 2019. "Signals to Their Parliaments? Governments' Use of Votes and Policy Statements in the EU Council." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 57(3): 634–50. doi:10.1111/jcms.12844.
- Hagemann, Sara, Sara B. Hobolt, and Christopher Wratil. 2017. "Government Responsiveness in the European Union: Evidence From Council Voting." *Comparative Political Studies* 50(6): 850–76. doi:10.1177/0010414015621077.

- Hagemann, Sara, and Bjorn Hoyland. 2008. "Parties in the Council?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 15(8): 1205–21. doi:10.1080/13501760802407714.
- Heisenberg, Dorothee. 2005. "The Institution of 'consensus' in the European Union: Formal versus Informal Decision-Making in the Council." *European Journal of Political Research* 44(1): 65–90. doi:10.1111/j.1475-6765.2005.00219.x.
- Hellström, Johan. 2008. "Partisan Responses to Europe: The Role of Ideology for National Political Parties' Positions on European Integration." *Journal of European Public Policy* 15(2): 189–207. doi:10.1080/13501760701817690.
- Hertz, Robin, and Dirk Leuffen. 2011. "Too Big to Run? Analysing the Impact of Enlargement on the Speed of EU Decision-Making." *European Union Politics* 12(2): 193–215. doi:10.1177/1465116511399162.
- Hix, Simon, Abdul Noury, and Gérard Roland. 2009. "Voting Patterns and Alliance Formation in the European Parliament." *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences* 364(1518): 821–31. doi:10.1098/rstb.2008.0263.
- Hooghe, Liesbet, and Gary Marks. 2009. "A Postfunctionalist Theory of European Integration: From Permissive Consensus to Constraining Dissensus." *British Journal of Political Science* 39(1): 1–23. doi:10.1017/S0007123408000409.
- Hörl, Björn, Andreas Warntjen, and Arndt Wonka. 2005. "Built on Quicksand? A Decade of Procedural Spatial Models on EU Legislative Decision-Making: Edited by Berthold Rittberger." *Journal of European Public Policy* 12(3): 592–606. doi:10.1080/13501760500091950.
- Hosli, Madeleine O., Mikko Mattila, and Marc Uriot. 2011. "Voting in the Council of the European Union after the 2004 Enlargement: A Comparison of Old and New Member States: VOTING IN THE COUNCIL OF THE EU AFTER THE 2004 ENLARGEMENT." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 49(6): 1249–70. doi:10.1111/j.1468-5965.2011.02196.x.
- Høyland, Bjørn, and Vibeke Wøien Hansen. 2014. "Issue-Specific Policy-Positions and Voting in the Council." *European Union Politics* 15(1): 59–81. doi:10.1177/1465116513495970.
- Huhe, Narisong, Robert Thomson, Javier Arregui, and Daniel Naurin. 2022. "Intergovernmental Cooperation Networks, National Policy Positions and Partisan Ideologies: Longitudinal Evidence from the Council of the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy* 29(1): 78–96. doi:10.1080/13501763.2021.1991980.
- Hutter, Swen, Edgar Grande, and Hanspeter Kriesi, eds. 2016. *Politicising Europe: Integration and Mass Politics*. 1st ed. Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9781316422991.

- Hutter, Swen, and Hanspeter Kriesi. 2019. "Politicizing Europe in Times of Crisis." *Journal of European Public Policy* 26(7): 996–1017. doi:10.1080/13501763.2019.1619801.
- Kauppi, Niilo, and Claudia Wiesner. 2018. "Exit Politics, Enter Politicization." *Journal of European Integration* 40(2): 227–33. doi:10.1080/07036337.2018.1425244.
- König, Thomas. 2007. "Divergence or Convergence? From Ever-Growing to Ever-Slowing European Legislative Decision Making: Divergence or Convergence?" *European Journal of Political Research* 46(3): 417–44. doi:10.1111/j.1475-6765.2006.00648.x-i1.
- König, Thomas, and Sven-Oliver Proksch. 2006. "Exchanging and Voting in the Council: Endogenizing the Spatial Model of Legislative Politics." *Journal of European Public Policy* 13(5): 647–69. doi:10.1080/13501760600808394.
- Kostadinova, Petia, and Amie Kreppel. 2022. "Loyal Agent or Shirking Partner: Understanding the Policy Goals of National Ministers in the Council of the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy* 29(1): 23–41. doi:10.1080/13501763.2021.1991984.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter. 2016. "The Politicization of European Integration: The Politicization of European Integration." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 54: 32–47. doi:10.1111/jcms.12406.
- Leinaweaver, Justin, and Robert Thomson. 2014. "Testing Models of Legislative Decision-Making with Measurement Error: The Robust Predictive Power of Bargaining Models over Procedural Models." *European Union Politics* 15(1): 43–58. doi:10.1177/1465116513501908.
- Lelieveldt, Herman, and Sebastiaan Princen. 2015. *The Politics of the European Union*: 2nd ed. Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9781316340387.
- Leuffen, Dirk, Thomas Malang, and Sebastian Wörle. 2014. "Structure, Capacity or Power? Explaining Salience in EU Decision-Making: Explaining Salience in EU Decision-Making." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 52(3): 616–31. doi:10.1111/jcms.12100.
- Mariano, Nathan, and Christina J. Schneider. 2022. "Euroscepticism and Bargaining Success in the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy* 29(1): 61–77. doi:10.1080/13501763.2021.1991985.
- Mattila, Mikko. 2004. "Contested Decisions: Empirical Analysis of Voting in the European Union Council of Ministers." *European Journal of Political Research* 43(1): 29–50. doi:10.1111/j.1475-6765.2004.00144.x.
- Mattila, Mikko. 2009. "Roll Call Analysis of Voting in the European Union Council of Ministers after the 2004 Enlargement." *European Journal of Political Research* 48(6): 840–57. doi:10.1111/j.1475-6765.2009.01850.x.

- Mühlböck, Monika, and Jale Tosun. 2018. "Responsiveness to Different National Interests: Voting Behaviour on Genetically Modified Organisms in the Council of the European Union: Responsiveness to National Interests." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 56(2): 385–402. doi:10.1111/jcms.12609.
- Naurin, Daniel. 2018. "Liberal Intergovernmentalism in the Councils of the EU: A Baseline Theory?: LI in the Councils: A Baseline Theory?" *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 56(7): 1526–43. doi:10.1111/jcms.12786.
- Ovádek, Michal. 2021. "Facilitating Access to Data on European Union Laws." *Political Research Exchange* 3(1): 1870150. doi:10.1080/2474736X.2020.1870150.
- Pircher, Brigitte, and Mike Farjam. 2021. "Oppositional Voting in the Council of the EU between 2010 and 2019: Evidence for Differentiated Politicisation." *European Union Politics* 22(3): 472–94. doi:10.1177/14651165211004754.
- Pourebrahimi, Arash, Madeleine O. Hosli, and Peter Van Roozendaal. 2023. "Explaining Contestation: Votes in the Council of the European Union." In *Advances in Collective Decision Making, Studies in Choice and Welfare*, eds. Sascha Kurz, Nicola Maaser, and Alexander Mayer. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 301–19. doi:10.1007/978-3-031-21696-1\_18.
- Proksch, Sven-Oliver, and Jonathan B. Slapin. 2011. "Parliamentary Questions and Oversight in the European Union: Parliamentary Questions and Oversight in the European Union." *European Journal of Political Research* 50(1): 53–79. doi:10.1111/j.1475-6765.2010.01919.x.
- Risse, Thomas. 2014. "No Demos? Identities and Public Spheres in the Euro Crisis: No Demos?" *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 52(6): 1207–15. doi:10.1111/jcms.12189.
- Schmidt, Vivien A. 2019. "Politicization in the EU: Between National Politics and EU Political Dynamics." *Journal of European Public Policy* 26(7): 1018–36. doi:10.1080/13501763.2019.1619189.
- Schmitter, Philippe C. 2009. "On the Way to a Post-Functionalist Theory of European Integration." *British Journal of Political Science* 39(1): 211–15. doi:10.1017/S0007123408000483.
- Schneider, Gerald, Bernard Steunenberg, and Mika Widgrén. 2006. "Evidence with Insight: What Models Contribute to EU Research." In *The European Union Decides*, eds. Robert Thomson, Frans N. Stokman, Christopher H. Achen, and Thomas König. Cambridge University Press, 299–316. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511492082.012.
- Slapin, Jonathan B. 2014. "Measurement, Model Testing, and Legislative Influence in the European Union." *European Union Politics* 15(1): 24–42. doi:10.1177/1465116513492896.

- Steunenberg, Bernard, and Torsten J. Selck. 2006. "Testing Procedural Models of EU Legislative Decision-Making." In *The European Union Decides*, eds. Robert Thomson, Frans N. Stokman, Christopher H. Achen, and Thomas König. Cambridge University Press, 54–85. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511492082.004.
- Tallberg, Jonas. 2010. "The Power of the Chair: Formal Leadership in International Cooperation." *International Studies Quarterly* 54(1): 241–65. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2478.2009.00585.x.
- Thomson, Robert. 2011. *Resolving Controversy in the European Union: Legislative Decision-Making before and after Enlargement*. 1st ed. Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9781139005357.
- Thomson, Robert, Javier Arregui, Dirk Leuffen, Rory Costello, James Cross, Robin Hertz, and Thomas Jensen. 2012. "A New Dataset on Decision-Making in the European Union before and after the 2004 and 2007 Enlargements (DEUII)." *Journal of European Public Policy* 19(4): 604–22. doi:10.1080/13501763.2012.662028.
- Thomson, Robert, and Madeleine O. Hosli. 2006. "Explaining Legislative Decision-Making in the European Union." In *The European Union Decides*, eds. Robert Thomson, Frans N. Stokman, Christopher H. Achen, and Thomas König. Cambridge University Press, 1–24. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511492082.002.
- Thomson, Robert, and Frans N. Stokman. 2006. "Research Design: Measuring Actors' Positions, Salience and Capabilities." In *The European Union Decides*, eds. Robert Thomson, Frans N. Stokman, Christopher H. Achen, and Thomas König. Cambridge University Press, 25–53. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511492082.003.
- Thomson, Robert, Frans N. Stokman, Christopher H. Achen, and Thomas König, eds. 2006. *The European Union Decides*. 1st ed. Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511492082.
- Van Der Veer, Harmen, and Simon Otjes. 2021. "A House Divided against Itself. The Intra-institutional Conflict about the Powers of the European Parliament." *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies* 59(4): 822–38. doi:10.1111/jcms.13133.
- Van Gruisen, Philippe, and Christophe Crombez. 2019. "National Parliamentary Control and Voting in the Council of the European Union." *European Journal of Political Research* 58(3): 981–1000. doi:10.1111/1475-6765.12316.
- Warntjen, Andreas. 2010. "Between Bargaining and Deliberation: Decision-Making in the Council of the European Union." *Journal of European Public Policy* 17(5): 665–79. doi:10.1080/13501761003748641.

- Wratil, Christopher. 2018. "Modes of Government Responsiveness in the European Union: Evidence from Council Negotiation Positions." *European Union Politics* 19(1): 52–74. doi:10.1177/1465116517735599.
- Zimmer, Christina, Gerald Schneider, and Michael Dobbins. 2005. "The Contested Council: Conflict Dimensions of an Intergovernmental EU Institution." *Political Studies* 53(2): 403–22. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9248.2005.00535.x.

## Overview of author contributions

The PhD regulations outlined by the Doctorate Board of Leiden University, require to provide an overview of the author contributions of the (co-authored) chapters within this dissertation. The current Statement serves to comply with this requirement.

### Chapter 1: Introduction

Written entirely by Arash Pourebrahimi.

### Chapter 2: A Consensus model in legislative decision-making: the Council of the European Union

Written entirely by Arash Pourebrahimi.

### Chapter 3: A New Dataset on Legislative Decision-making in the European Union

Written entirely by Arash Pourebrahimi.

### Chapter 4: Policy Dimensions and Contestation in the Council of the European Union 2010 to 2021

Arash Pourebrahimi and Madeleine Hosli designed the study. Arash Pourebrahimi collected the data, constructed the dataset, implemented the model in the R programming language and STATA, and conducted the analysis. Arash Pourebrahimi drafted the manuscript. Madeleine Hosli reviewed and revised the manuscript.

## Chapter 5: A Dyadic Method to Investigate Voting Behaviour in the Council of the European Union

Arash Pourebrahimi, Madeleine Hosli and Jaroslaw Kantorowicz designed the study. Arash Pourebrahimi collected the data, constructed the dataset, implemented the model in R and STATA, and conducted the analysis. Arash Pourebrahimi drafted the manuscript. Madeleine Hosli and Jaroslaw Kantorowicz reviewed and revised the manuscript.

## Curriculum Vitae

Arash Pourebrahimi studied at Daneshmand high school in Tehran, Iran. He received his BSc in Industrial Engineering from Azad University, Qazvin, Iran. He received his MSc in Economics from the University of Tehran (Kish International Campus), Iran. He holds an MA in Economics from the Graduate Center of the City University of New York (CUNY).

During his Ph.D. studies at the Institute of International Security and Global Affairs at Leiden University, he was a visiting fellow at the Department of Government at Harvard University. He worked as a research associate at the Institute for Quantitative Social Science at Harvard University. Arash has worked as a research assistant at various institutions such as CUNY Stone Center, Syracuse University, Princeton University, and the University of California, Los Angeles. Arash has presented his research at conferences such as the Midwest Political Science Association, the Public Choice Society conference, the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study, and the Lorentz Center.

In addition to his research, Arash has taught courses in econometrics, statistics, macroeconomics, and microeconomics at the City University of New York. He has supervised theses at Leiden University and the Erasmus University of Rotterdam. Arash has worked as a tutor in the International Relations and Diplomacy (MSc) program at Leiden University. He is one of the organizers of the diplomacy and global affairs seminar at Leiden University. He is a member of the Education Committee of the International Relations and Diplomacy (MSc) program at Leiden University.