Contents

1	Intr	oductio	n	1
	1.1	On Co	ollective Decision-Making	1
	1.2	Summ	ary of the Argument and the Main Findings	4
	1.3	Implic	ations for EU Studies and Political Science	8
	1.4		ure of the Study	10
2	Ana	lysing	Collective Decision-Making	
	in th	ie Cour	ncil: A Research Design	13
	2.1	The Co	ouncil of the European Union: A Black Box	13
	2.2			15
		2.2.1	Portfolio Holder Policy Drift in the Council?	17
	2.3	Resear	rch on Council Decision-Making	19
		2.3.1	Council Voting Studies	20
		2.3.2	Theoretical Models of Council Decision-Making	22
	2.4	.4 Research Design: Understanding the Black Box		26
		2.4.1	The Ontological Point of Departure	26
		2.4.2	The Epistemological and Methodological Point	
			of Departure	30
		2.4.3	Period of Investigation and Policy Domains	38
	2.5	Conclu	usion	40
3	Mea	sureme	ent: Power, Positions and Salience in the Council	
			s	41
	3.1		rement	41
	3.2	2 Making Sense of Annual Intervals: On Legislative		
			ty and Elections	42
	3.3	·		
		3.3.1	Formal Voting Power: Shapley–Shubik's ϕ ,	
			Penrose's ψ or Banzhaf's β ?	45
		3.3.2	Informal Voting Power in the Council of Ministers	51

xii Contents

	3.4	Estimating Policy Positions in the EU Council of Ministers	53
		3.4.1 Hand-Coding Electoral Platforms	54
		3.4.2 The Euromanifestos Project	57
		3.4.3 Deriving Policy Positions from Euromanifestos	
		Data: On Policy Indices, Scaling and Uncertainty	58
		3.4.4 Validation of Policy Positions	69
	3.5	Estimating Salience from Electoral Platforms	75
		3.5.1 Validation of Salience	77
	3.6	Conclusion	78
4	The	Dimensionality and Nature of Conflict	85
	4.1	The Council's Political Space	85
	4.2	Integration, Redistributive Clashes or Ideology?	
		On Conflict in the Council	89
		4.2.1 Three Perspectives on Political Conflict	89
	4.3	Methodological Considerations	94
		4.3.1 Multidimensional Scaling	95
	4.4	Dimensions and Nature of Conflict	100
		4.4.1 The Spatial Dimension of Conflict	104
	4.5	Conclusion	110
5	Coa	litions in the Council: On Stability and Determinants	113
_	5.1	The Wondrous Study of Coalitions in the Council	113
	5.2	Coalitions in the Council: A Conceptual Framework	115
	٥.2	5.2.1 Coalitions at the Voting Stage	118
		5.2.2 Coalitions at the Bargaining Stage	122
		5.2.3 Stability and Determinants Across Levels of Analysis	124
	5.3	Actor Alignments in the Council	126
	5.5	5.3.1 Stability of Actor Alignments	127
		5.3.2 Determinants of Actor Alignments	129
	5.4	Conclusion	134
	J. 4	Conclusion	1.77
6	Win	ners and Losers of Decision-Making	137
	6.1	Council Decision-Making: A Positive-Sum Game	137
	6.2	Theoretical Accounts of Council Decision-Making	139
		6.2.1 'Winning' and 'Losing' in the Council	140
	6.3	Achieving Desired Policy Outcomes	146
		6.3.1 Before Enlargement (1998–2003)	146
		6.3.2 After Enlargement (2004–2007)	149
		6.3.3 Absolute 'Winners' and 'Losers' by Domain and Year	151
	6.4	Determinants of Success in Council Deliberations	151
		6.4.1 The Operationalisation of Variables	151
		6.4.2 Neither Power Nor Luck	155
	65	Conclusion	162

Contents	xiii

7	Conclusion		
	7.1	7.1 The Democratic Deficit: A Necessary Evil?	
	7.2	A Research Agenda	173
		Concluding Remarks	