

## ONLINE APPENDIX 1 *continued*

### *Notes:*

#### Database

All information is extracted from the EUR-Lex database, which is available at <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/index.htm>, last download: 24 January 2010.

#### Type of legislative output

There are three types of legislative output in the EU. The treaties constitute primary legislation where the member states define the decision-making rules, policy competences, and organizational settings of the EU. Secondary acts are regularly proposed by the Commission and must be adopted by the Council, sometimes in conjunction with the European Parliament. Tertiary acts are enacted by the Commission alone.

We include acts under the authorship of the Council or the European Parliament and the Council as secondary acts and acts under the authorship of the Commission as tertiary acts. We exclude (a few) acts with the European Parliament as the sole author and a few acts with mixed secondary/tertiary authorship.

#### Period of study

In the period of study from 1983 to 2009, the EU extended legislative competences to new areas by treaty revisions (Single European Act in 1987, Maastricht Treaty in 1993, Amsterdam Treaty in 1999, and Nice Treaty in 2003) and experienced several enlargement rounds with the accession of new countries (Southern enlargement in 1986, Northern/EFTA enlargement in 1995, and Eastern enlargement in 2004 and 2007).

The Treaty of Lisbon, which entered into force on 1 December 2009, enables the Commission to adopt delegated acts supplementing or amending non-essential elements (Article 290 TFEU) and implementation acts for uniform implementation across the EU (Article 291 TFEU). The conditioning for delegated acts and a new monitoring of implementation powers replaced the old Comitology system used for some tertiary acts.

#### Type of legislative instrument

A directive sets out general rules to be transferred into national law by each member state and a regulation specifies law for all member states, while a decision only deals with a particular issue and specific member states. Other acts are, e.g., merger and joint venture decisions, general decisions of the European Coal and Steel Community, framework decisions in criminal justice matters, and joint actions in the Common Foreign and Security Policy.

ONLINE APPENDIX 2 *EU Legislation by Policy Area, Instrument, and Type (Secondary/Tertiary Acts)*

EU policy area	Directives	Regulations	Decisions	Other acts	All acts
Directory code of EU legislation					
1. General affairs and external relations (GENEXT)	22/0	2,018/2,474	3,051/1,396	734/356	5,825/4,226
01. General, financial, and institutional matters	19/0	326/58	1,180/360	75/90	1,600/508
11. External relations	2/0	1,606/2,186	1,424/1,033	64/265	3,096/3,484
18. Common foreign and security policy	1/0	86/230	447/3	595/1	1,129/234
2. Economic and financial affairs (ECOFIN)	108/4	84/52	347/66	219/26	758/148
09. Taxation	101/4	9/19	215/22	13/7	338/52
10. Economic and monetary policy and free movement of capital	7/0	75/33	132/44	206/19	420/96
3. Justice and home affairs (JHA)	24/0	68/9	232/49	196/7	520/65
19. Area of freedom, security, and justice	21/0	68/9	231/49	196/6	516/64
20. People's Europe	3/0	0/0	1/0	0/1	4/1
4. Employment and social policy (ESP)	98/13	79/40	79/83	91/33	347/169
05. Freedom of movement for workers and social policy	98/13	79/40	79/83	91/33	347/169
5. Competitiveness (COM)	629/461	1,954/4,609	447/3,235	152/4,433	3,182/12,738
02. Customs union and free movement of goods	14/13	1,717/4,275	110/192	9/30	1,850/4,510
06. Right of establishment and freedom to provide services	151/20	18/24	7/60	12/27	188/131
08. Competition policy	7/14	17/60	23/1,593	2/4,026	49/5,693
12. Energy	32/6	32/9	98/59	23/98	185/172
13. Industrial policy and internal market	387/408	94/181	175/651	102/223	758/1,463
14. Regional policy and coordination of structural instruments	0/0	67/53	17/670	1/9	85/732
17. Law relating to undertakings	38/0	9/7	17/10	3/20	67/37
6. Transport (TRA)	159/70	139/171	56/135	30/59	384/435
07. Transport policy	159/70	139/171	56/135	30/59	384/435
7. Agriculture and fisheries (AF)	358/500	3,351/36,221	564/7,019	33/96	4,306/43,836
03. Agriculture	356/500	2,374/34,055	346/6,626	31/85	3,107/41,266
04. Fisheries	2/0	977/2,166	218/393	2/11	1,199/2,570
8. Environment (ENV)	160/50	84/233	87/501	97/103	428/887
15. Environment, consumers, and health protection	160/50	84/233	87/501	97/103	428/887
9. Education (EDU)	0/0	10/16	103/33	94/6	207/55
16. Science, information, education, and culture	0/0	10/16	103/33	94/6	207/55
All EU policy areas	1,558/1,098	7,787/43,825	4,966/12,517	1,646/5,119	15,957/62,559

ONLINE APPENDIX 3 *EU Legislation by Policy Area, Commission Term, and Type (Secondary/Tertiary Acts)*

Commission	Inauguration	Year	GENEXT	ECOFIN	JHA	ESP	COM	TRA	AF	ENV	EDU	All
Thorn	07.01.1981	1983	129/306	14/11	0/0	10/6	144/440	8/4	227/651	5/1	3/1	540/1,420
		1984	72/256	10/5	0/0	14/6	168/346	9/7	254/805	14/1	3/0	544/1,426
Delors I	06.01.1985	1985	108/130	13/2	0/0	11/9	198/248	8/18	265/880	10/8	4/1	617/1,296
		1986	179/152	8/3	0/0	10/4	244/281	12/6	318/1,125	19/2	2/0	792/1,573
		1987	111/109	5/6	0/0	9/7	211/307	9/4	282/1,085	8/6	3/0	638/1,524
		1988	101/130	9/3	0/0	12/5	226/276	9/6	260/1,093	16/7	4/0	637/1,520
Delors II	06.01.1989	1989	122/121	11/3	0/0	15/9	212/283	14/6	264/973	12/7	6/1	656/1,403
		1990	171/165	8/3	2/0	14/15	155/363	13/10	255/1,128	15/11	3/3	636/1,698
		1991	155/136	7/1	0/0	12/7	124/402	16/6	202/1,114	14/7	9/1	539/1,674
		1992	153/112	25/2	0/0	23/2	129/353	25/14	263/1,139	14/12	11/2	643/1,636
Delors III	06.01.1993	1993	144/88	23/2	1/0	13/4	139/464	23/12	192/1,071	13/61	4/0	552/1,702
		1994	201/112	10/3	15/0	11/4	137/463	15/12	166/1,159	14/25	10/2	579/1,780
Santer/Marín	23.01.1995	1995	181/201	10/3	18/0	12/3	80/401	13/9	179/2,827	14/18	11/1	518/3,463
		1996	169/194	16/3	34/0	17/1	99/469	12/16	166/2,263	15/23	6/2	534/2,971
		1997	192/201	38/1	22/0	13/5	75/606	10/7	152/2,390	17/30	10/0	529/3,240
		1998	251/197	38/11	24/0	14/5	82/583	12/19	134/2,545	14/25	6/1	575/3,386
		1999	245/174	22/10	24/1	15/6	76/653	8/23	94/2,600	24/42	12/0	520/3,509
Prodi	13.09.1999	2000	269/198	27/12	22/1	11/9	75/704	11/30	68/2,545	18/36	6/3	507/3,538
		2001	244/152	32/7	43/5	11/6	61/744	14/19	78/2,489	23/57	13/0	519/3,479
		2002	249/162	43/7	41/3	12/6	76/599	19/18	64/2,204	19/41	11/0	534/3,040
		2003	328/176	38/8	49/3	26/5	65/520	16/23	67/2,058	23/46	19/7	631/2,846
		2004	385/149	59/7	36/5	15/4	58/515	26/14	64/1,973	18/56	8/4	669/2,727
Barroso I	22.11.2004	2005	336/148	50/14	26/3	8/6	48/506	5/21	46/2,048	8/74	5/5	532/2,825
		2006	330/139	53/6	31/8	9/7	80/598	17/31	74/1,896	25/58	10/5	629/2,748
		2007	342/107	57/3	43/9	9/6	47/614	8/34	58/1,488	13/72	6/7	583/2,340
		2008	374/97	59/7	43/12	12/12	75/547	15/28	57/1,228	24/87	14/6	673/2,024
		2009	284/114	73/5	46/15	9/10	98/453	37/38	57/1,059	19/74	8/3	631/1,771
All		1983-2009	5,825/4,226	758/148	520/65	347/169	3,182/12,738	384/435	4,306/43,836	428/887	207/55	15,957/62,559

*Note:* We precisely put the acts in Commission terms according to the date of adoption. However, for structuring the dataset on policy positions, we do not split the years under study, but assign full years to one and only one Commission term, i.e. Thorn: 1983 to 1984 (1981 and 1982 excluded), Delors I: 1985 to 1988, Delors II: 1989 to 1992, Delors III: 1993 to 1994; Santer/Marín: 1995 to 1999 (Marín only replaced Santer as interim Commission president; the other Commissioners remained in office), Prodi: 2000 to 2004 and Barroso I: 2005 to 2009.

ONLINE APPENDIX 4 *Assignment of CMP/EMP Categories*

Dimension	Issue	Poles	
national/supranational	i101 Internationalism	p101n_109 Internationalism/negative	p101s_107 Internationalism/positive
national/supranational	i102 European integration	p102n_110 European integration/negative	p102s_108 European integration/positive
national/supranational	i103 National way of life	p103n_601 National way of life/positive	p103s_602 National way of life/negative
left/right	i201 Military	p201l_105 Military/negative	p201r_104 Military/positive
		p201l_106 Peace/positive	
left/right	i202 Freedom	p202l_201 Freedom and human rights/positive	p202r_605 Law and order/positive
		p202l_202 Democracy/positive	
left/right	i203 Administration	p203l_404 Economic planning/positive	p203r_303 Governmental and administrative efficiency/positive
		p203l_405 Corporatism/positive	
left/right	i204 Enterprise	p204l_412 Controlled economy/positive	p204r_401 Free enterprise/positive
		p204l_413 Nationalisation/positive	
left/right	i205 Market	p205l_403 Market regulation/positive	p205r_402 Incentives/positive
left/right	i206 Protectionism	p206l_406 Protectionism/positive	p206r_407 Protectionism/negative
left/right	i207 Macroeconomics	p207l_409 Keynesian demand management/positive	p207r_414 Economic orthodoxy/positive
left/right	i208 Quality of life	p208l_416 Anti-growth economy/positive	p208r_410 Productivity/positive
		p208l_501 Environmental protection/positive	
left/right	i209 Welfare state	p209l_503 Social justice/positive	p209r_505 Welfare state limitation/positive
		p209l_504 Welfare state expansion/positive	
left/right	i210 Traditional morality	p210l_604 Traditional morality/negative	p210r_603 Traditional morality/positive
left/right	i211 Multiculturalism	p211l_607 Multiculturalism/positive	p211r_608 Multiculturalism/negative
left/right	i212 Labour groups	p212l_701 Labour groups/positive	p212r_702 Labour groups/negative
left/right	i213 Target groups	p213l_705 Underprivileged minority groups/positive	p213r_704 Middle class and professional groups/positive

*Notes:*

This assignment was originally published by König and Luig 2012, 611.

A two-dimensional representation is necessary to consider the importance of the political groups in the European Parliament. The parliamentary median can hardly affect the size of a bicameral left-right core in a one-dimensional policy space when the Council applies unanimity or qualified majority voting rule.

Policy area	Commission term	national-supranational dimension						left-right dimension									
		§101 Internationalism	§102 European integration	§103 National way of life	§201 Military	§202 Freedom	§203 Administration	§204 Enterprise	§205 Market	§206 Protectionism	§207 Macroeconomics	§208 Quality of life	§209 Welfare state	§210 Traditional morality	§211 Multiculturalism	§212 Labour groups	§213 Target groups
GENEXT	Thorn	40.4	44.0	15.6	0.1	0.5	9.7	29.4	13.2	21.7	2.9	10.3	5.3	1.3	0.1	5.0	0.6
	Delors I	31.5	46.2	22.2	0.9	1.2	10.7	27.4	16.0	20.6	4.8	7.5	7.3	2.2	0.5	0.6	0.4
	Delors II	36.4	42.6	21.0	0.6	1.2	13.7	27.7	16.6	10.7	5.1	7.7	12.2	1.4	0.6	1.7	0.7
	Delors III	26.2	64.0	9.8	1.0	2.4	9.8	23.5	21.2	10.8	2.5	8.3	10.1	7.7	0.2	1.4	1.2
	Santer/Marín	13.8	76.0	10.2	3.0	7.2	6.0	23.2	21.8	8.5	3.5	8.2	9.3	3.6	1.2	3.2	1.3
	Prodi	16.8	70.3	12.9	6.3	10.3	5.7	20.9	17.1	6.5	1.7	10.8	10.2	3.9	0.9	3.4	2.5
	Barroso I	20.7	62.5	16.9	6.4	16.6	5.5	17.0	15.5	3.1	1.6	12.0	11.5	2.3	1.7	4.0	2.6
ECOFIN	Thorn	32.4	35.2	32.4	0.9	1.7	10.2	41.9	1.5	8.4	3.9	11.4	9.7	3.5	3.0	1.1	2.8
	Delors I	35.1	13.4	51.5	0.3	3.3	5.5	36.3	8.3	2.6	8.4	13.8	8.8	1.0	0.7	10.0	1.0
	Delors II	19.7	30.3	50.0	1.7	7.5	8.2	30.5	10.7	3.9	4.7	13.7	9.3	1.3	0.9	6.6	1.1
	Delors III	6.5	59.3	34.2	0.3	7.5	9.3	34.6	13.6	1.1	6.6	15.4	3.2	2.1	0.1	6.0	0.3
	Santer/Marín	10.4	45.3	44.3	0.7	3.8	6.5	26.1	18.3	0.7	10.7	8.0	10.4	1.0	0.7	12.1	0.9
	Prodi	10.1	59.7	30.2	0.5	3.2	9.2	23.7	15.3	0.7	4.3	16.1	7.0	0.7	0.6	17.5	1.2
	Barroso I	8.5	53.2	38.3	0.4	2.2	13.1	25.3	13.5	1.3	6.6	15.5	7.2	0.9	0.5	11.7	1.8
JHA	Thorn	4.3	4.3	91.3	1.9	18.9	5.7	22.6	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	20.8	9.4	1.9	9.4	1.9
	Delors I	4.3	4.3	91.3	1.9	18.9	5.7	22.6	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	20.8	9.4	1.9	9.4	1.9
	Delors II	4.3	4.3	91.3	1.9	18.9	5.7	22.6	1.9	1.9	1.9	1.9	20.8	9.4	1.9	9.4	1.9
	Delors III	8.0	20.9	71.1	1.8	50.4	0.9	9.6	0.4	0.9	0.4	0.4	2.6	10.1	1.3	1.3	19.7
	Santer/Marín	14.3	54.0	31.7	1.1	74.7	2.1	5.2	0.7	0.4	1.1	0.6	2.2	5.6	0.7	0.8	4.8
	Prodi	16.1	39.1	44.8	0.9	61.5	1.5	8.7	2.4	0.4	1.9	0.7	3.6	10.8	0.5	2.2	5.0
	Barroso I	9.5	41.7	48.7	0.3	62.1	2.4	12.9	1.6	0.4	1.3	1.1	5.0	4.1	1.2	2.0	5.5
ESP	Thorn	8.5	58.1	33.3	0.1	5.3	3.7	4.3	3.2	0.3	1.0	4.3	40.6	1.6	0.7	30.9	3.9
	Delors I	10.5	30.6	58.9	0.1	5.9	4.5	5.3	1.8	0.2	0.3	3.9	36.5	3.0	0.5	26.9	11.1
	Delors II	3.3	22.1	74.6	0.1	5.5	4.9	3.9	1.4	0.0	0.5	2.7	27.7	5.7	0.4	40.4	6.8
	Delors III	6.4	38.4	55.2	0.2	5.2	5.7	9.0	3.9	0.5	0.4	2.5	29.6	2.4	1.6	34.5	4.6
	Santer/Marín	9.8	44.3	45.9	0.4	5.3	4.4	6.8	2.4	0.5	0.5	3.6	33.0	8.2	0.7	29.1	4.9
	Prodi	9.9	42.4	47.7	0.1	5.6	2.3	6.1	4.0	0.1	0.2	4.4	28.2	4.0	0.6	40.9	3.4
	Barroso I	14.0	26.6	59.4	2.3	4.6	2.1	7.8	1.7	0.1	0.3	6.9	31.3	3.1	0.3	26.9	12.4
COM	Thorn	27.5	37.9	34.6	0.1	2.2	7.4	22.4	8.2	42.1	1.5	8.4	3.2	1.3	1.4	0.8	1.1
	Delors I	22.4	35.1	42.6	0.2	3.0	10.7	26.2	9.6	35.4	2.0	4.5	3.8	1.4	0.3	1.8	1.2
	Delors II	22.4	36.2	41.4	0.5	3.6	11.9	29.3	12.2	25.3	1.9	5.2	5.4	1.8	0.5	1.1	1.4
	Delors III	14.5	46.1	39.4	0.5	3.2	10.6	26.3	10.9	15.1	3.7	16.5	7.6	1.3	0.8	2.0	1.5
	Santer/Marín	13.8	53.9	32.3	0.6	4.6	5.8	37.0	19.7	7.7	3.0	8.6	4.7	2.4	0.6	3.4	1.8
	Prodi	13.3	47.8	39.0	1.1	2.4	2.4	40.7	23.8	3.1	4.1	9.1	4.5	2.3	0.7	4.1	1.6
	Barroso I	16.9	39.4	43.7	1.5	2.6	2.3	38.0	21.0	3.4	4.2	10.8	6.1	2.1	0.8	4.8	2.3
TRA	Thorn	57.0	9.1	33.9	0.8	4.8	22.6	21.8	8.1	2.4	1.6	9.7	24.2	0.8	0.8	1.6	0.8
	Delors I	33.6	15.1	51.3	0.2	4.3	16.8	24.2	17.2	2.6	2.5	4.3	20.6	3.4	0.2	0.8	2.8
	Delors II	36.6	9.5	54.0	1.0	12.2	13.0	25.8	14.6	1.0	1.8	10.7	13.7	0.9	0.2	3.0	2.1
	Delors III	39.3	29.2	31.5	0.7	5.2	8.1	35.6	19.3	0.8	0.8	13.6	8.4	4.9	0.1	1.3	1.2
	Santer/Marín	36.8	33.4	29.8	1.6	8.6	6.5	34.2	16.3	0.8	0.7	17.1	8.2	2.0	0.1	2.2	1.5
	Prodi	33.0	33.2	33.8	3.7	7.8	3.5	21.9	13.4	0.5	1.1	26.1	12.8	2.4	0.3	2.1	4.5
	Barroso I	24.7	24.5	50.8	7.8	7.0	2.7	20.1	8.7	0.9	1.0	24.0	12.1	2.6	1.0	6.8	5.3
AF	Thorn	26.6	26.8	46.5	0.2	2.5	22.5	34.2	7.4	10.3	4.8	6.7	7.8	1.6	0.2	1.6	0.2
	Delors I	28.7	24.7	46.7	0.1	1.5	27.8	31.3	5.9	10.6	3.8	9.1	5.5	2.5	0.0	1.6	0.3
	Delors II	24.8	21.0	54.2	0.0	1.9	25.7	35.4	5.4	3.8	2.8	11.3	8.8	3.4	0.3	0.9	0.3
	Delors III	5.1	82.1	12.7	0.0	3.4	15.9	34.9	4.6	6.0	3.7	17.3	5.0	6.6	0.3	1.6	0.7
	Santer/Marín	2.7	91.1	6.2	0.2	3.5	6.6	24.0	6.3	30.9	4.7	13.5	4.4	4.4	0.4	0.4	0.6
	Prodi	3.3	90.1	6.6	0.0	1.0	2.4	19.4	11.0	37.0	2.5	13.4	3.9	6.5	0.4	1.8	0.6
	Barroso I	7.1	80.8	12.1	0.1	1.3	3.7	24.7	11.9	17.4	1.4	22.3	3.9	10.2	0.4	1.6	1.2

Policy area	Commission term	national-supranational dimension						left-right dimension									
		s101 Internationalism	s102 European integration	s103 National way of life	s201 Military	s202 Freedom	s203 Administration	s204 Enterprise	s205 Market	s206 Protectionism	s207 Macroeconomics	s208 Quality of life	s209 Welfare state	s210 Traditional morality	s211 Multiculturalism	s212 Labour groups	s213 Target groups
ENV	Thorn	20.3	34.7	44.9	0.2	8.8	19.6	6.5	14.2	0.9	0.2	36.3	9.2	1.5	0.2	0.4	1.9
	Delors I	8.7	38.9	52.4	0.1	4.0	9.8	7.9	30.6	0.4	0.4	38.8	6.2	0.8	0.1	0.4	0.7
	Delors II	31.2	21.2	47.6	0.1	3.8	11.1	8.8	18.0	0.4	0.1	46.0	6.2	3.3	0.4	1.1	0.9
	Delors III	8.0	42.8	49.2	0.0	2.6	8.8	8.5	14.4	0.2	6.6	52.3	4.4	0.6	0.3	0.9	0.3
	Santer/Marín	14.2	54.9	30.9	0.0	3.7	6.1	9.3	25.7	0.5	0.1	46.4	4.2	1.0	0.6	0.6	1.8
	Prodi	15.8	50.4	33.8	0.4	2.3	1.7	7.3	23.3	0.6	0.1	55.3	4.3	1.4	0.3	1.4	1.4
	Barroso I	16.6	42.3	41.1	0.8	3.5	1.6	8.2	21.7	0.6	0.3	50.5	5.7	2.5	0.5	1.7	2.5
EDU	Thorn	20.0	54.3	25.7	0.8	0.8	33.6	11.8	5.9	0.8	1.7	10.1	14.3	0.8	2.5	9.2	7.6
	Delors I	14.0	46.2	39.8	0.6	4.1	27.8	8.3	3.0	0.6	2.4	14.8	24.3	0.6	3.6	7.1	3.0
	Delors II	34.4	28.6	37.0	0.1	1.7	12.8	16.5	4.5	1.2	0.4	32.7	18.2	0.6	2.5	5.2	3.5
	Delors III	27.7	38.0	34.3	0.2	1.3	17.2	17.4	11.2	0.4	1.1	17.4	10.7	0.9	17.9	1.8	2.2
	Santer/Marín	17.2	56.8	26.0	0.5	7.5	5.7	9.6	5.4	0.7	0.6	11.0	15.6	1.1	29.3	4.6	8.5
	Prodi	15.7	55.3	29.0	0.2	9.8	2.4	13.6	5.9	0.6	0.6	6.7	21.8	1.9	26.2	7.0	3.3
	Barroso I	14.9	42.1	43.0	0.2	12.4	1.6	27.1	2.5	0.0	1.3	5.3	14.5	2.0	21.4	6.5	5.1

*Note:*

EULIS identifies issue saliencies in the EU's legislative agenda by applying an electronic dictionary (consisting of keywords derived from the CMP/EMP coding scheme) to the texts and bibliographic notices of EU secondary and tertiary acts.

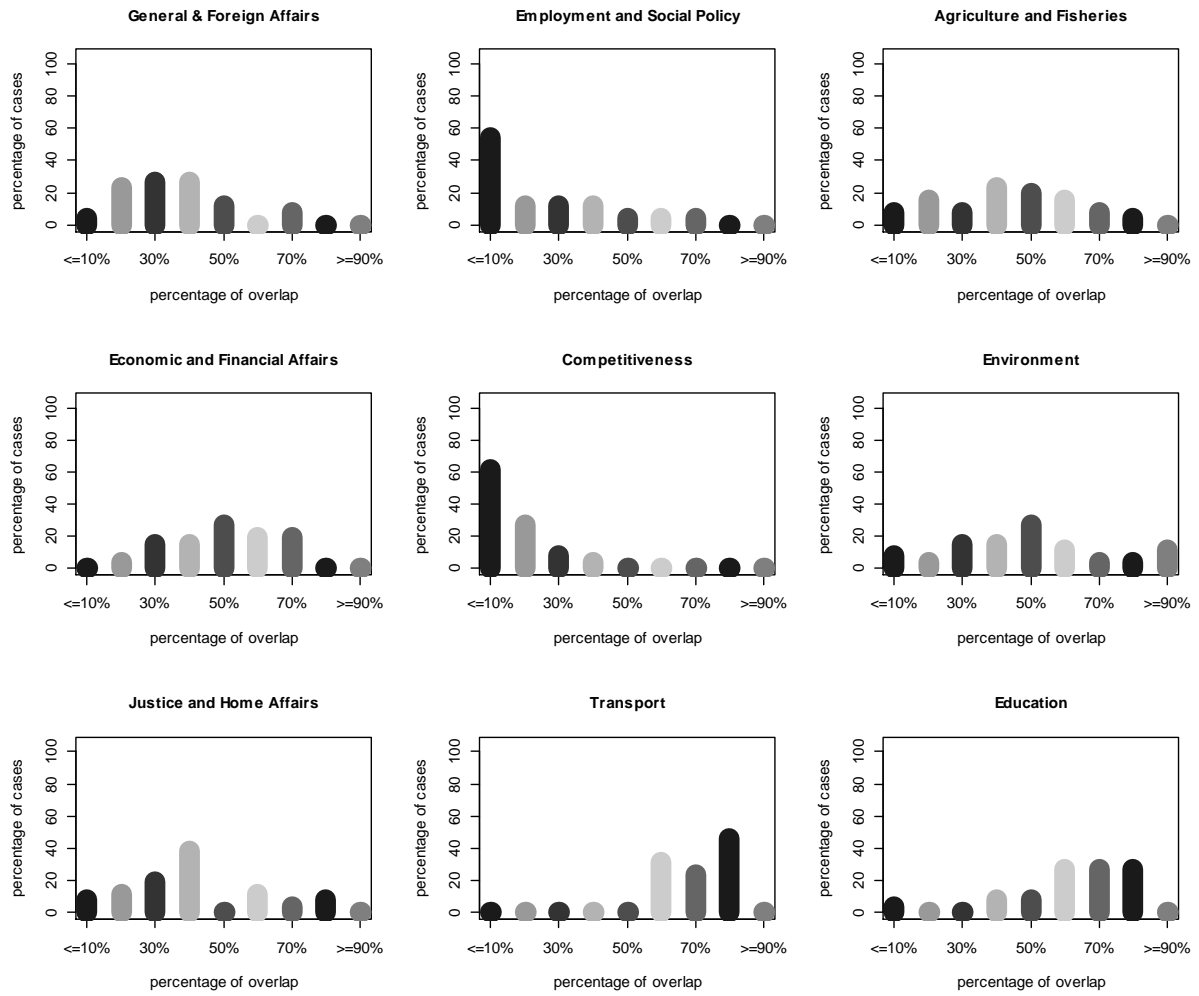
ONLINE APPENDIX 6      *EULIS Algorithm*

$$eulis_{ns}=[(\log(p_{101s}+0.5)-\log(p_{101n}+0.5))\times s_{101}+\dots+(\log(p_{103s}+0.5)-\log(p_{103n}+0.5))\times s_{103}]/100$$

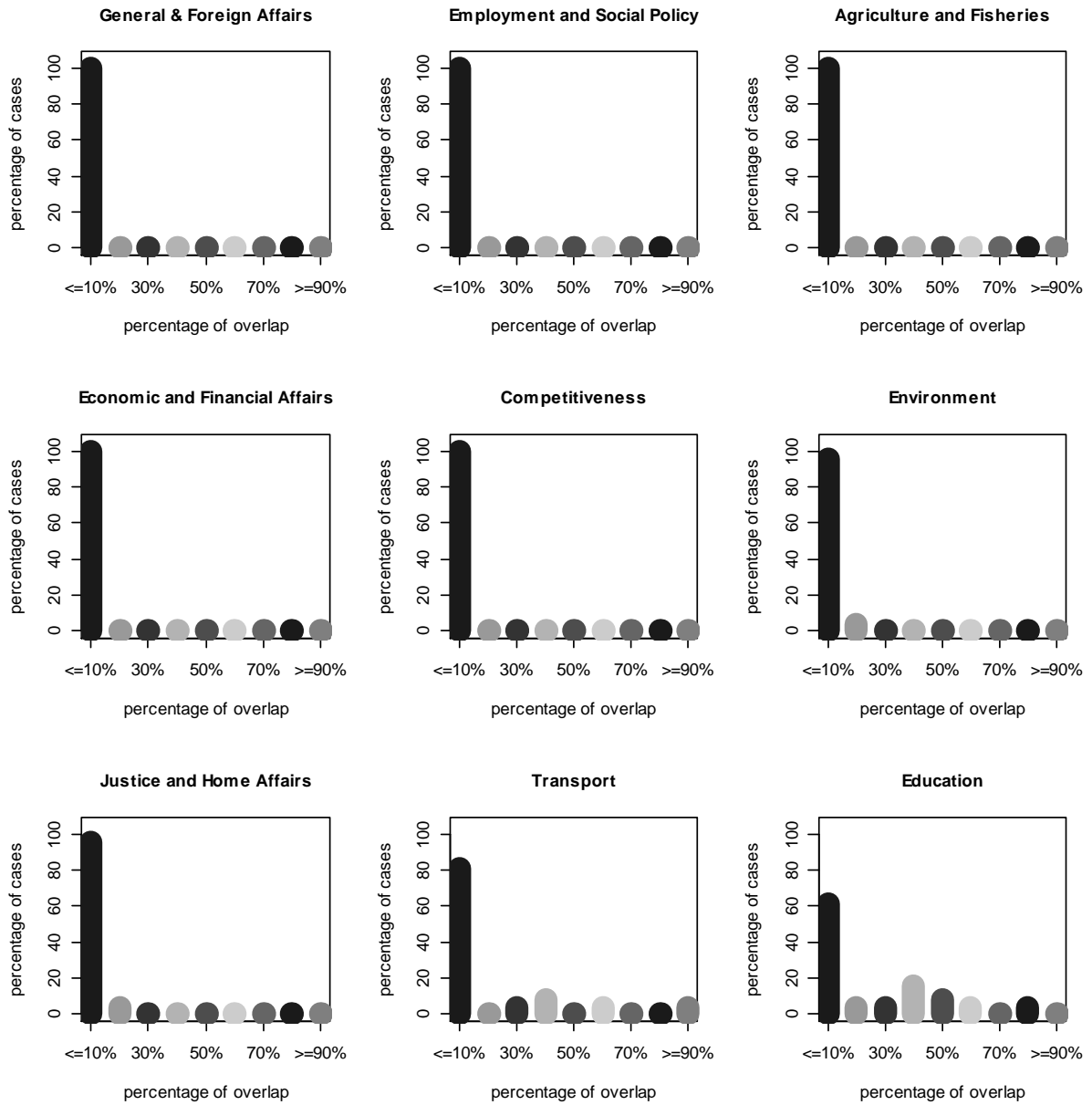
$$eulis_{r}=[(\log(p_{201r}+0.5)-\log(p_{201l}+0.5))\times s_{201}+\dots+(\log(p_{213r}+0.5)-\log(p_{213l}+0.5))\times s_{213}]/100$$

where “p” denotes the absolute number of quasi-sentences identified per ideological pole (as shown in Appendix 4) and “s” denotes the issue salience in the legislative agenda (as shown in Appendix 5).

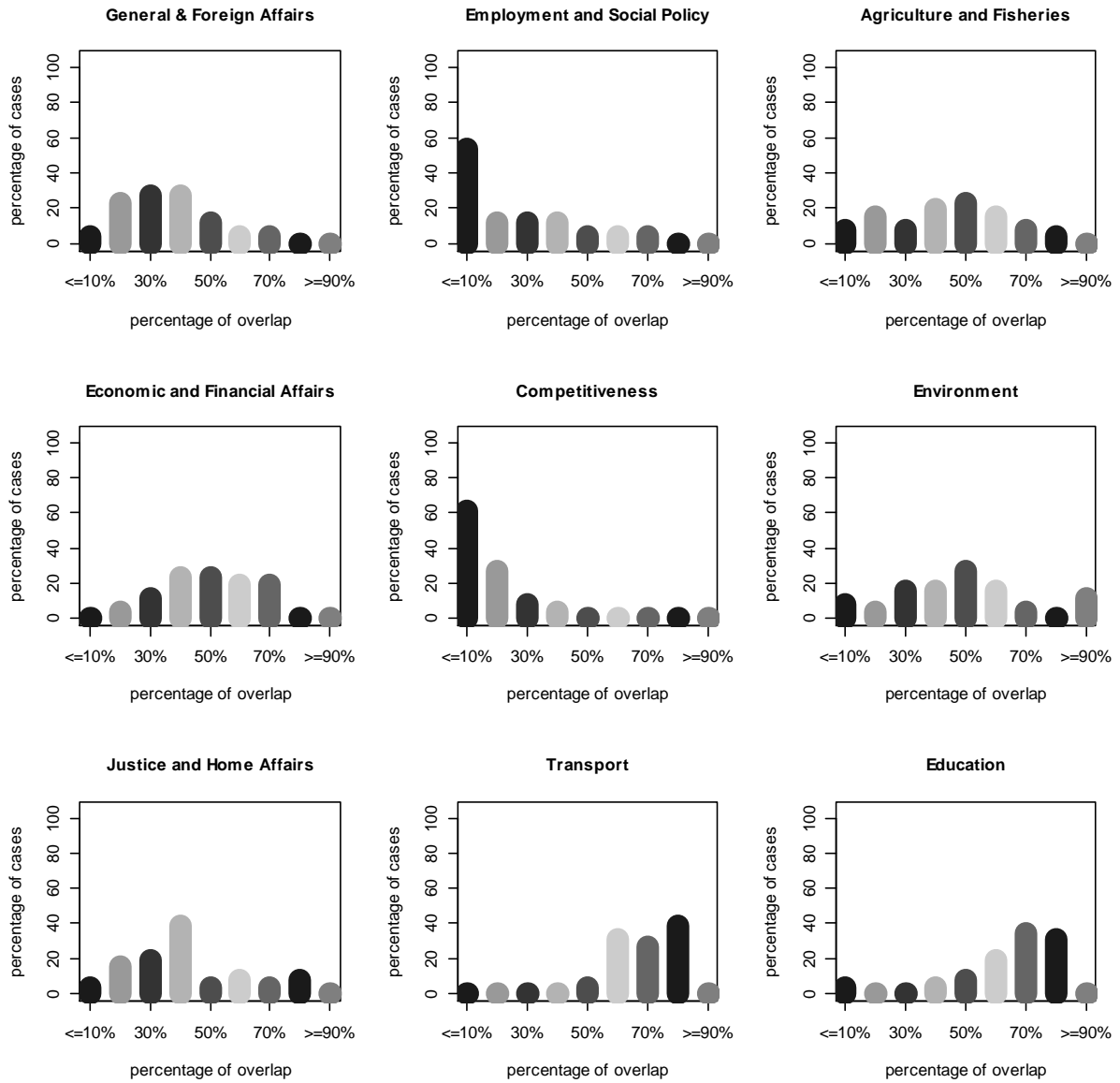




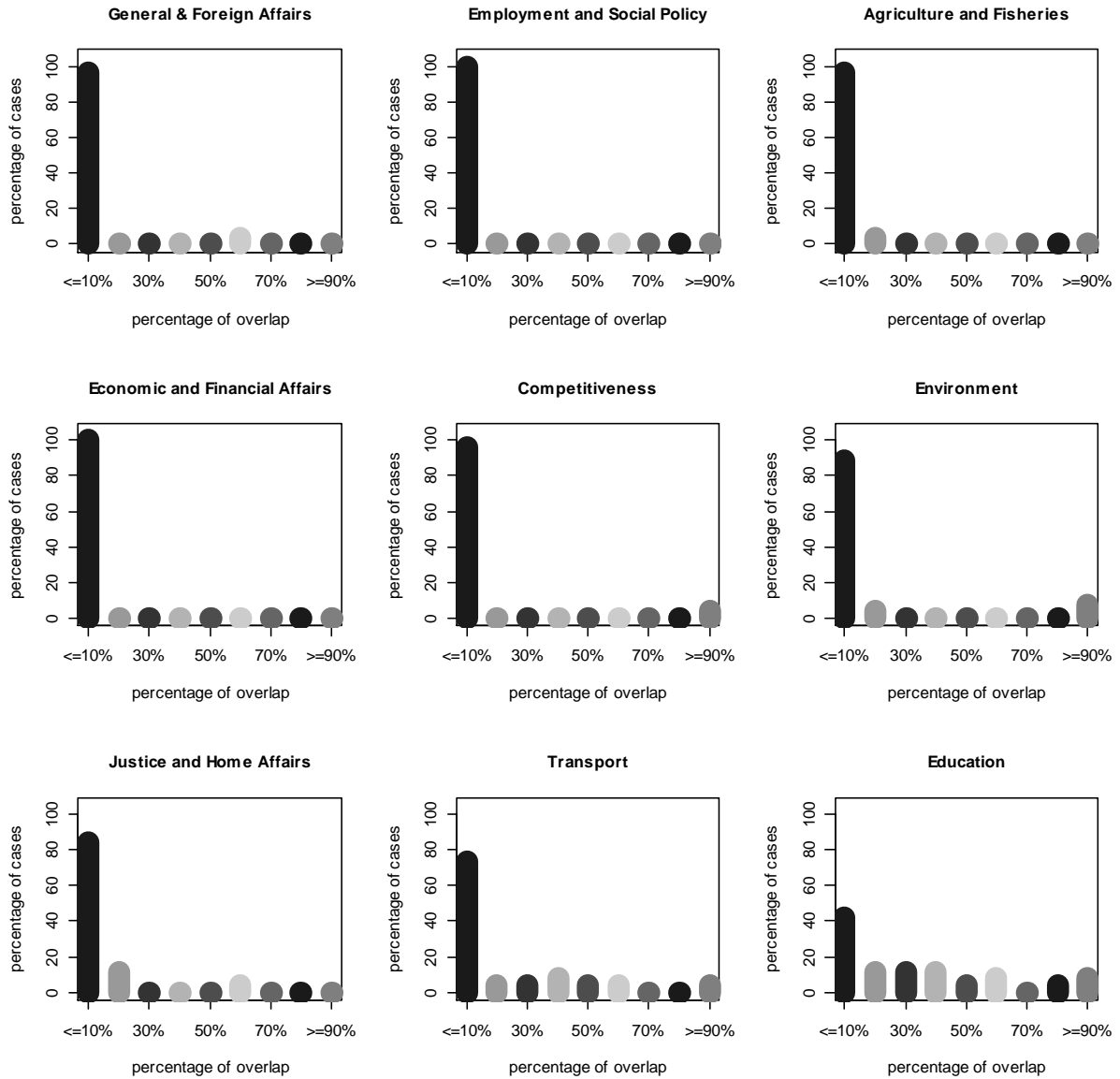
*Online Appendix 7a. Overlap of legislative cores in subsequent years in the consultation procedure under unanimity rule*



*Online Appendix 7b. Overlap of legislative cores in subsequent years in the consultation procedure under qualified majority rule*



*Online Appendix 7c. Overlap of legislative cores in subsequent years in the co-decision procedure under unanimity rule*



*Online Appendix 7d. Overlap of legislative cores in subsequent years in the co-decision procedure under qualified majority rule*