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Do votes matter?

Web appendix

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Data collection

The EUPOL data set (Häge 2011), which is based on the Commission's Prelex[1] database, was used to identify all legislative proposals (regulations or directives) on which the Council had not reached political agreement in first reading before 1 May 2004 and which could have been discussed in the Council before the entry into force of the Lisbon treaty on 1 December 2009. Decisions were excluded because they only apply to a small set of subjects and thus would not necessarily be of potential interest to all member states. There were 48 Commission proposals for legislative acts that were discussed in the Council in that time period. Four of them were withdrawn by the Commission without any indication of a meeting of the Council or a working group to discuss them (i.e., no references in Prelex or documents in the Council's public registry). Another proposal (COM (2003) 624) was withdrawn since a majority of member states felt that the directive was no longer necessary, being superseded by other legislation and international obligations. This leaves a total of 43 legislative proposals (16 regulations, 27 directives). For seven of them (2 regulations, 5 directives), the publicly available documentation is restricted, either because the documents are censored (e.g. COM (2004) 634) or because no comprehensive and comparable records (i.e., annotated versions of the complete proposal) are available (e.g. COM 2008 (810)). All but one of them are from 2008. In other cases, there are also no records of member states request (e.g., COM (2007) 93, COM (2008) 402), which could be due to this information not being publicly available (Cross 2012) or there having been no extensive debates. Most of them were very short proposals. The number of requests discussed in this study are minimum values, there were actually more requests filed by the member states. Thus, requests were identified for 23 legislative proposals.

The data set consists of 790 individual requests or 216 unique requests (identical requests made by several member states) which refer to 23 legislative proposals. There are some missing values for the success variables. For about 5 per cent (Council) and 7 per cent (final outcome) of the individual requests information on their successfulness is missing. The difference between the number of missing values is due to one proposal (COM (2008) 644) for which the Common Position falls within the time period of the study but the final outcome does not. Most of the missing values are generated by one proposal (COM (2006) 232) which was withdrawn by the Commission after the Council had discussed the matter but before it had agreed upon a Common Position.

[1] Prelex traces the legislative procedures, it was discontinued as of December 2014 and is now included in the EUR-Lex database.

Table 1: Descriptive statistics (individual requests, N=790)

	Frequency	Mean/percentage	Minimum	Maximum	SD
Success rates					
Common Position (N=579)					
Partial		62.5%			
Full		42.1%			
First reading (N=747)					
Partial		63.4%			
Full		45.5%			
Final outcome (N=733)					
Partial		61.3%			
Full		42.7%			
Type of legislation					
Directive	689	87.2%			
Regulation	101	12.8%			
New/amending					
Amending	278	35.2%			
New	512	64.8%			
Type of request					
Derogation	223	28.2%			
Extension	219	27.7%			
Lower	348	44.1%			
Recitals		28.6	9	66	10.3

Note: most of the variables are dummy variables (1: Yes, 0: No). The precentages for success rates are the percentages of cases for each category (e.g. partial success, Common Position) in which there was a success. The frequency is referring to the total number of cases in this instance. Percentages are rounded values.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics (unique requests, N=216)

	Frequency	Mean/percentage	Minimum	Maximum	SD
Success rates					
Common Position *(N=160)*					
Partial	160	42.5%			
Full	160	26.9%			
First reading (N=202)					
Partial	202	44.6%			
Full	202	30.2%			
Final (N=196)					
Partial	196	43.9%			
Full	196	29.1%			
Type of legislation					
Directive	181	83.8%			
Regulation	35	16.2%			
New/amending					
Amending	80	37%			
New	136	63%			
Type of request					
Derogation	78	36.1%			
Extension	54	25%			
Lower	84	38.9%			
Recitals		28.2	9	66	10.1
Number of countries making request		3.7	1	19	3.5
Sum of votes		56.6	3	253	53.3

Note: most of the variables are dummy variables (1: Yes, 0: No). The precentages for success rates are the percentages of cases for each category (e.g. partial success, Common Position) in which there was a success. The frequency is referring to the total number of cases in this instance. Percentages are rounded values.

Figure 1: Sum of individual requests by member state

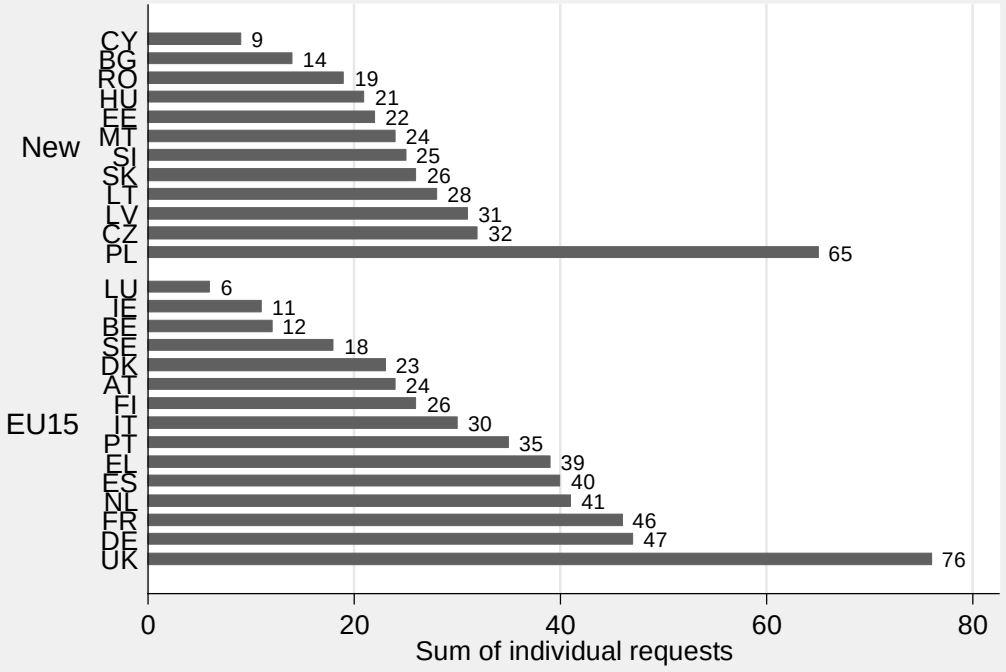


Figure 1: Number of individual requests

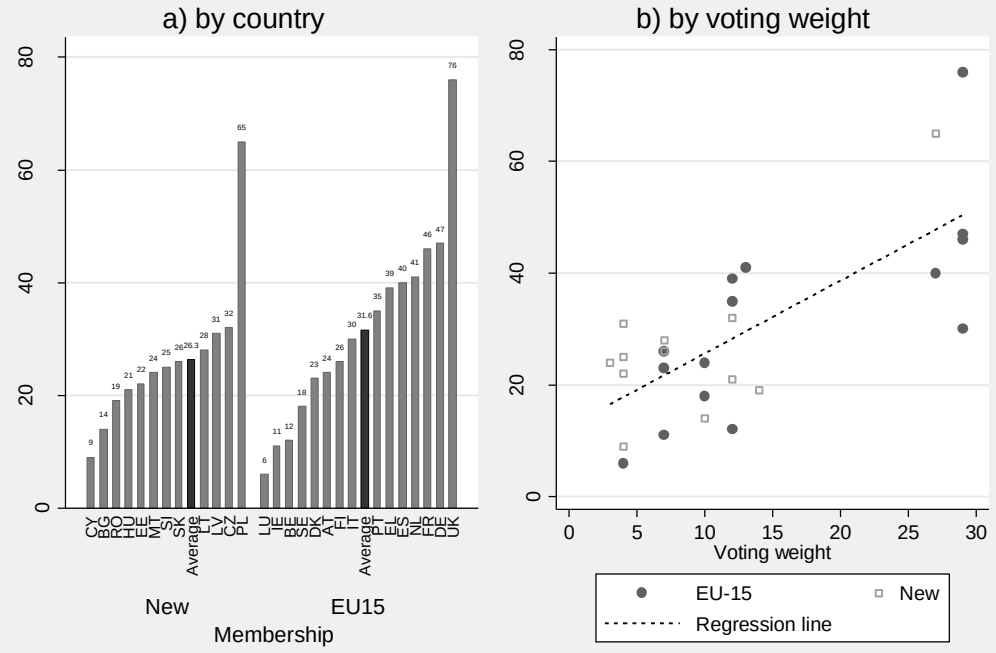


Figure 2: Use of different types of request (%) by country

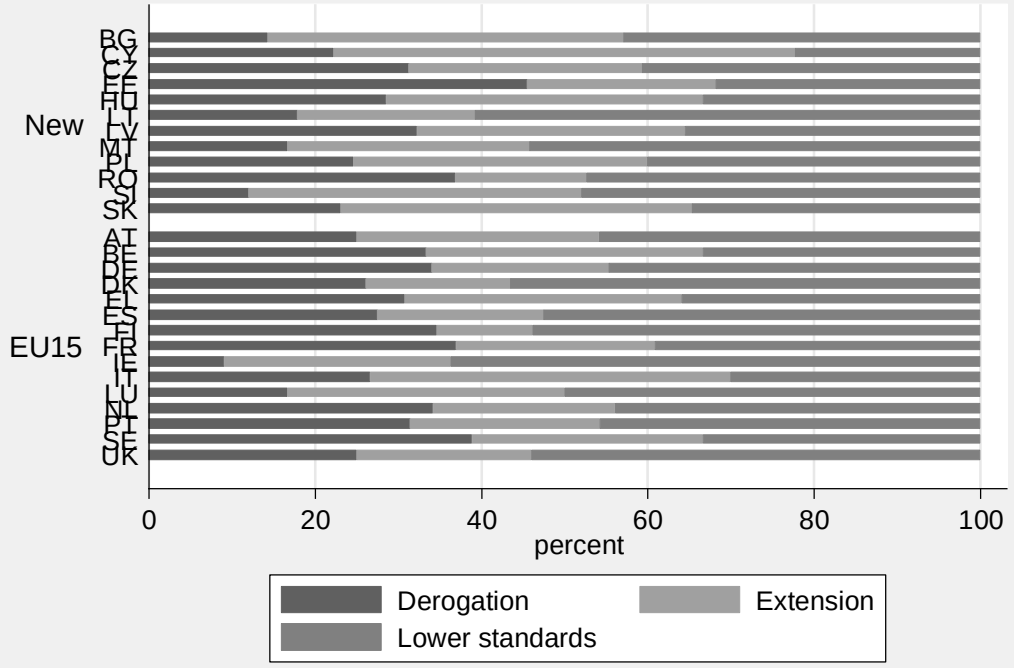


Figure 3: Success rate by type of legislation

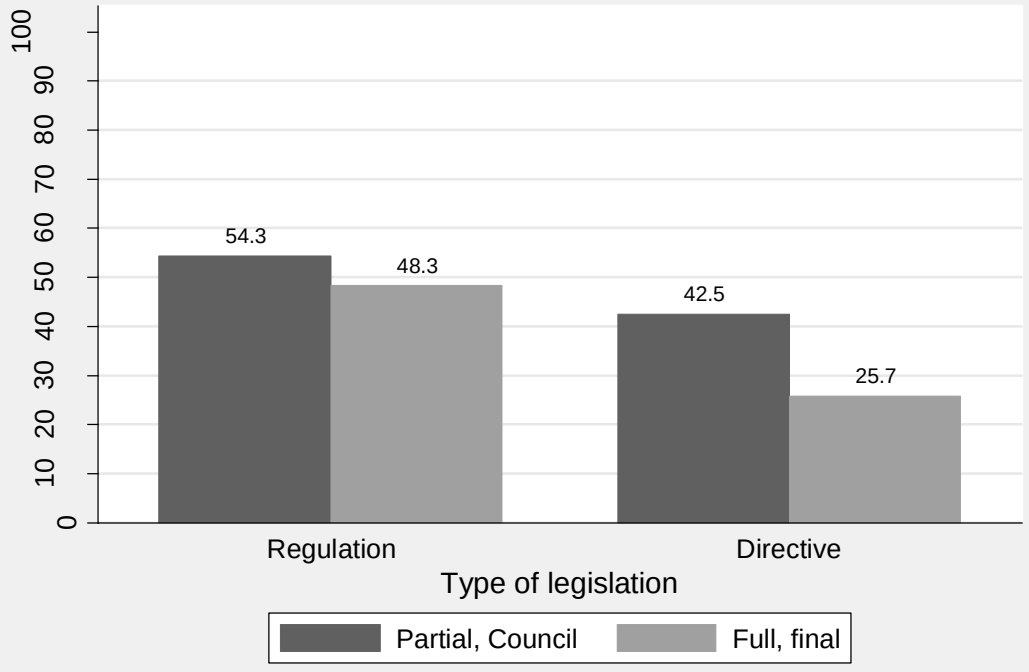


Figure 4: Success rate (partial, 1st reading) per country (%)

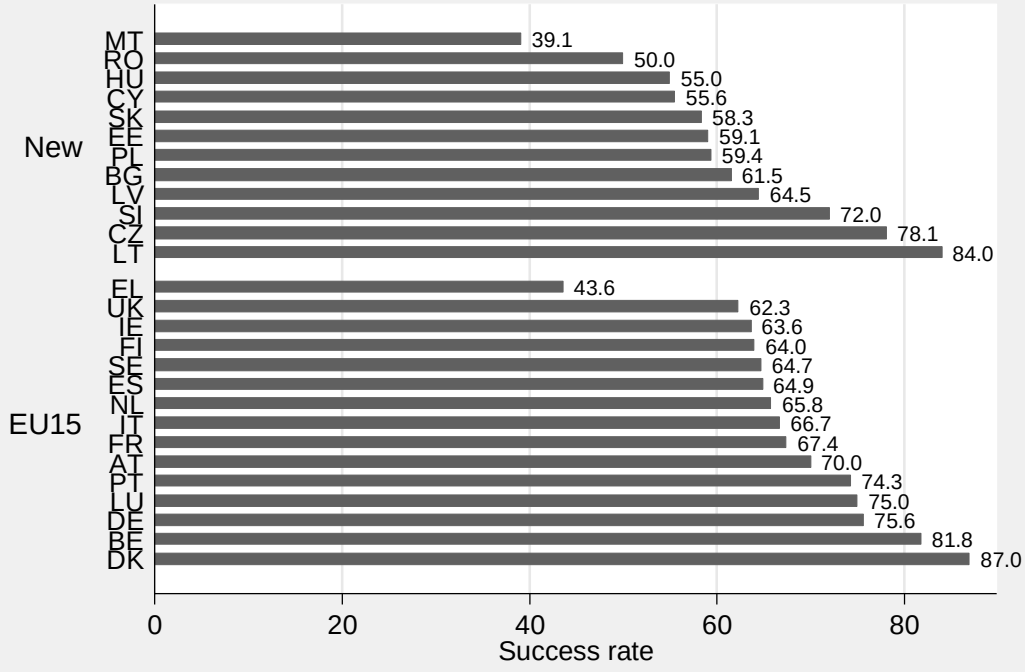
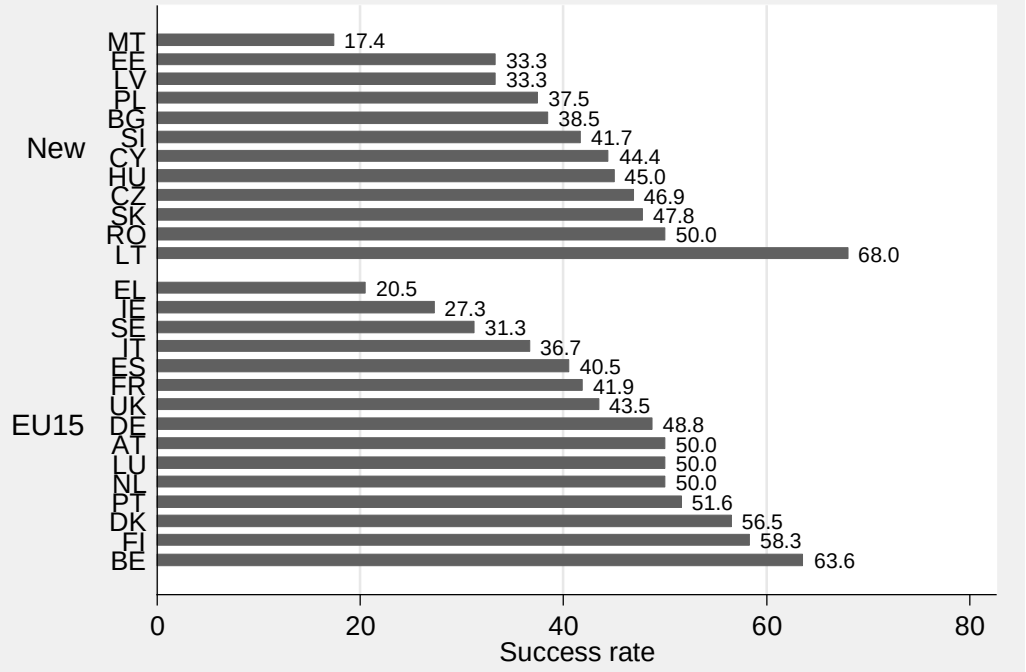


Figure 5: Success rate (full, final) per country (%)



Part 2:

Multivariate analysis

2.1. Functional form

Before starting with the multivariate analysis proper, we will have a closer look at the relationship between the main independent variable (sum of votes) and the dependent variables (success rate). Figure 1 shows a smoothed scatterplot (LOWESS). Ideally, the figure would have an S-shaped curve, indicating a functional form appropriate for logistic regression. Departures from monotonicity, like a U-shaped or reverse U-shaped form, would suggest a different functional form (e.g., a power transformation). Figure 1 shows an overall linear, monotonically increasing function. A smaller bandwidth reveals an uneven pattern, particularly a plateau in the middle of the section (around the threshold for a blocking minority), which has relatively few observations. The effect of votes might not be constant, so a transformation might be appropriate. Using a log transformation (Figure 2) or the square root (Figure 3) shows roughly the same pattern. The same pattern holds for partial success in the Council (Figure 4) and full success in the final adopted act (Figure 5). A comparison of the (full) regression model for sum of votes using the log transformation yields the same results as the models without transformation (Table 1). Sum of votes has a positive and statistically significant effect on the probability of success at all stages. Thus, the untransformed variable will be used.

The LOWESS curve for recitals (Figure 6) shows a stronger departure from monotonicity, but does not clearly indicate an alternative functional form. The models using the transformed (logged) and normal variable also do not differ significantly. In particular, the main relationship between sum of votes and the probability of success is unaffected by a transformation of the control variable for recitals (Table 2). Thus, the untransformed variable will be used.

Figure 1: Scatterplot smoother

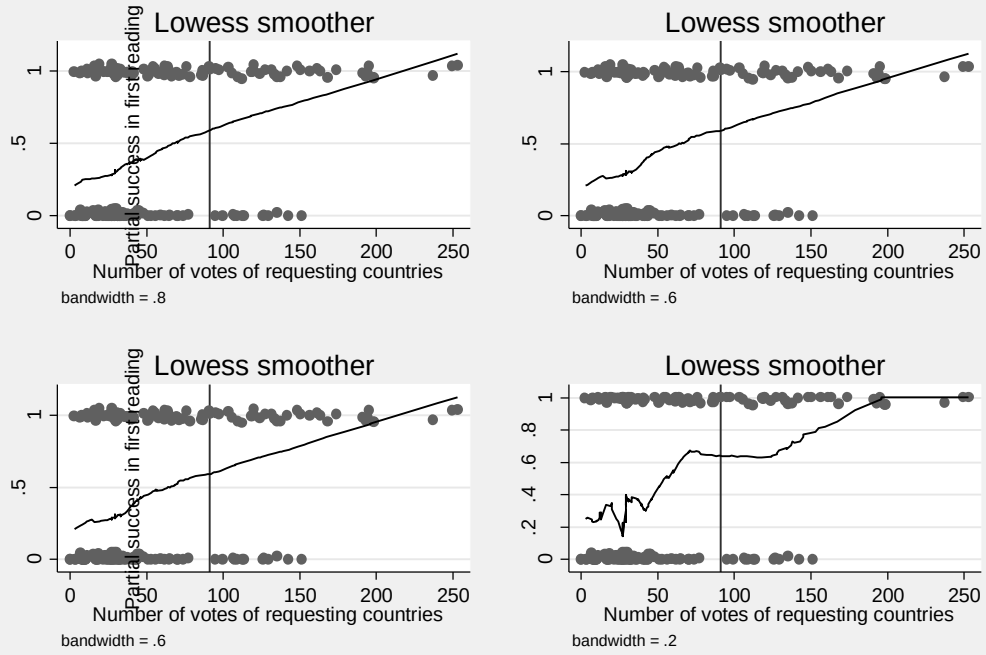


Figure 2: Scatterplot smoother (logged values)

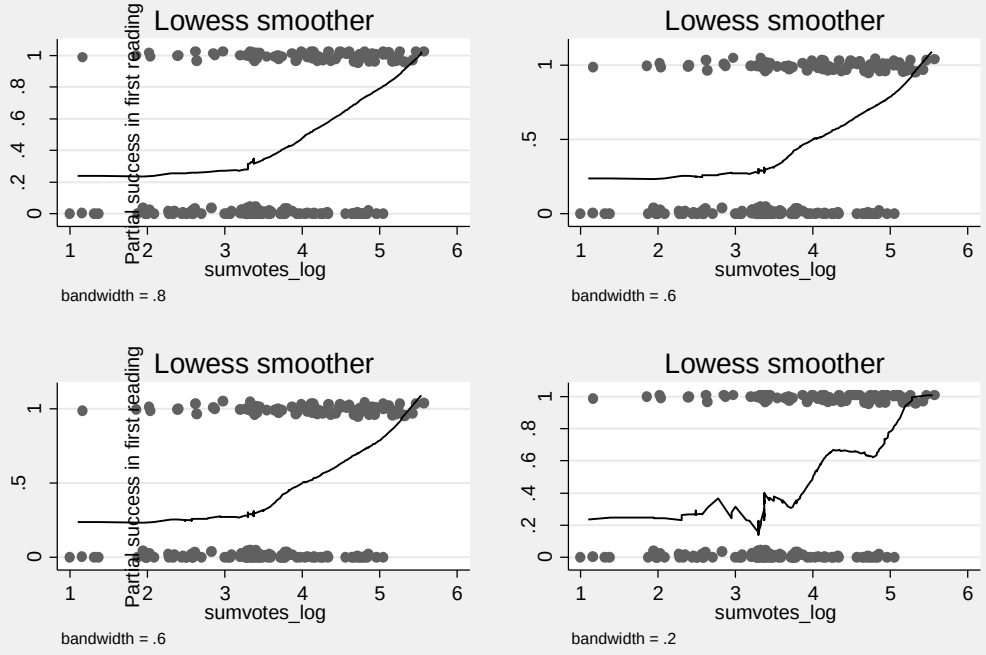


Figure 3: Scatterplot smoother (square root of values)

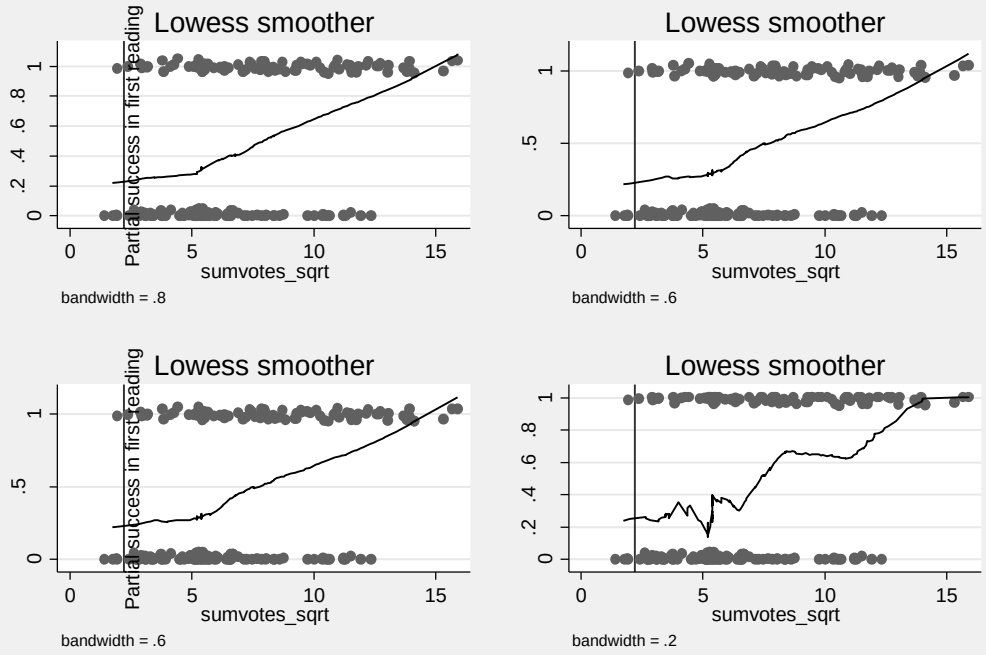


Figure 4: Scatterplot smoother (partial, Council)

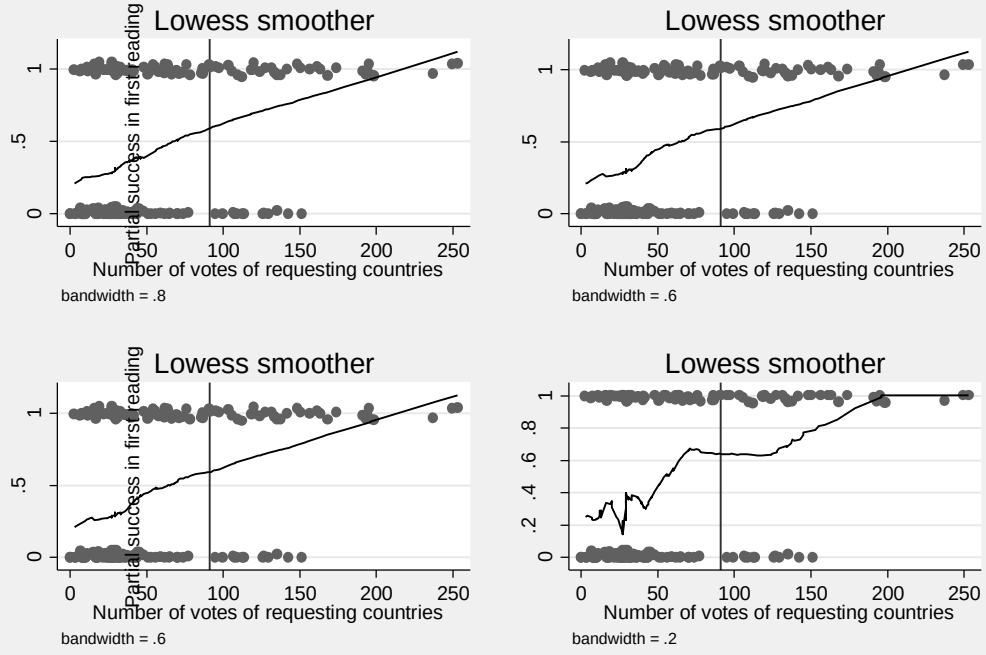


Figure 5: Scatterplot smoother (full, final)

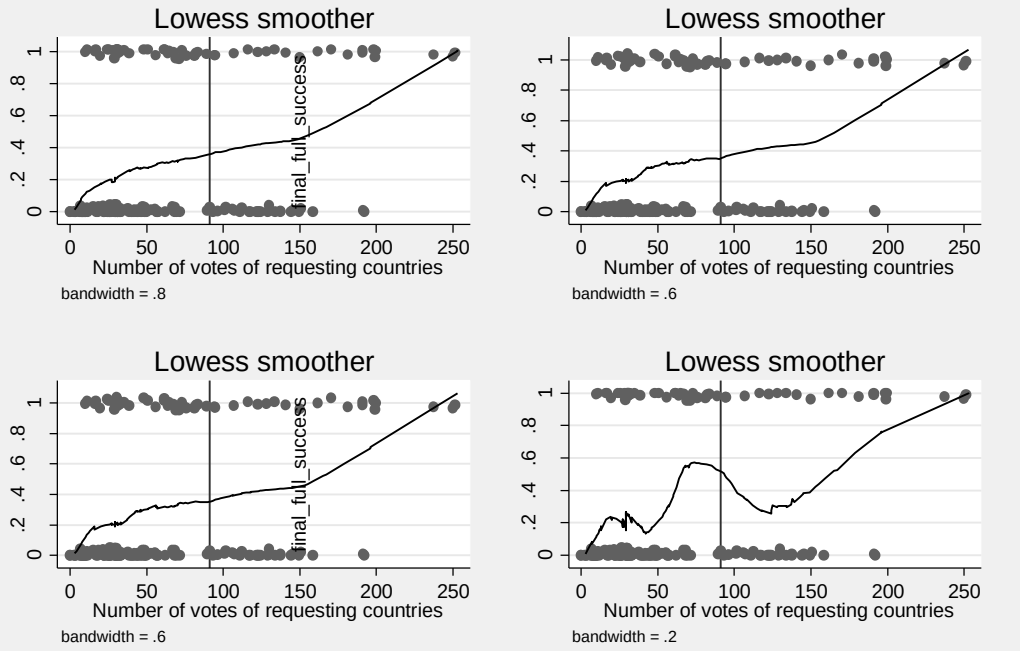


Figure 6: Scatterplot smoother for recitals

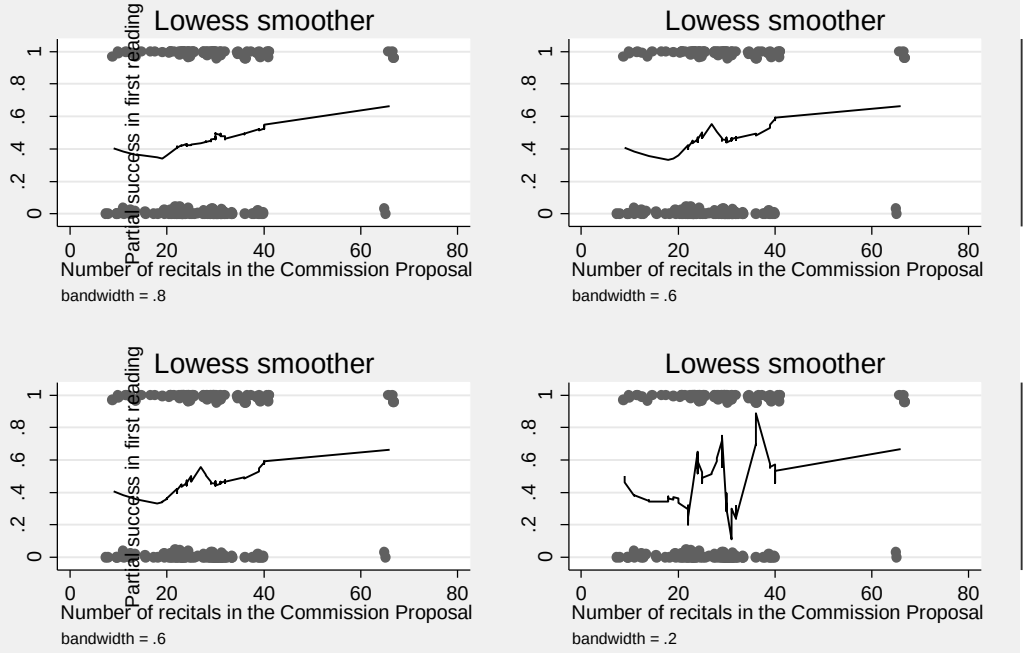


Table 1: Results for models with and without transformed variable (sum of votes)

	Partial, Common Position		Full, Common Position		Partial, first reading	
Sum of votes	0.024***		0.017***		0.021***	
	(0.005)		(0.004)		(0.004)	
Sum of votes (log)		1.344***		1.189***		1.041***
		(0.252)		(0.263)		(0.197)
Extension	0.624	0.616	0.070	0.058	0.540	0.544
	(0.484)	(0.503)	(0.528)	(0.541)	(0.418)	(0.421)
Lower standards	-0.512	-0.600	-0.048	-0.079	-0.577	-0.549
	(0.466)	(0.470)	(0.491)	(0.495)	(0.403)	(0.393)
Amending	-0.424	-0.408	-0.236	-0.205	-0.222	-0.264
	(0.609)	(0.606)	(0.629)	(0.631)	(0.366)	(0.362)
Directive	-0.850	-0.887	-1.364**	-1.466**	-0.543	-0.449
	(0.519)	(0.539)	(0.547)	(0.579)	(0.423)	(0.427)
Recitals	0.038	0.048	-0.016	-0.007	0.025	0.026
	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Intercept	-1.786*	-5.620***	-0.578	-4.147***	-1.566**	-4.330***
	(0.974)	(1.335)	(0.936)	(1.301)	(0.712)	(0.954)
N	160	160	160	160	202	202
Pseudo-R^2	0.222	0.223	0.153	0.162	0.192	0.165
p (all coeffic-ients=0)	≈ 0	≈ 0	≈ 0	≈ 0	≈ 0	≈ 0

Note: Standard errors in brackets. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 1 (ctd.): Results for models with and without transformed variable (sum of votes)

	Full, first reading		Partial, final		Full, final	
Sum of votes	0.016***		0.018***		0.015***	
	(0.003)		(0.004)		(0.003)	
Sum of votes (log)		1.067***		0.907***		0.930***
		(0.214)		(0.192)		(0.213)
Extension	-0.203	-0.258	0.332	0.316	-0.492	-0.539
	(0.440)	(0.447)	(0.423)	(0.424)	(0.465)	(0.468)
Lower standards	-0.481	-0.509	-0.724*	-0.686*	-0.382	-0.404
	(0.415)	(0.413)	(0.405)	(0.396)	(0.416)	(0.414)
Amending	0.226	0.175	-0.295	-0.327	0.212	0.174
	(0.371)	(0.375)	(0.363)	(0.358)	(0.375)	(0.377)
Directive	-0.796*	-0.720	-0.859*	-0.731	-1.240***	-1.128**
	(0.435)	(0.444)	(0.460)	(0.460)	(0.461)	(0.466)
Recitals	0.008	0.008	0.021	0.023	0.002	0.003
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Intercept	-1.349*	-4.401***	-0.933	-3.388***	-0.719	-3.413***
	(0.706)	(0.998)	(0.759)	(0.981)	(0.748)	(1.021)
N	202	202	196	196	196	196
Pseudo-R^2	0.135	0.140	0.172	0.145	0.127	0.125
p (all coeffic-ients=0)	≈ 0	≈ 0	≈ 0	≈ 0	≈ 0	≈ 0

Note: Standard errors in brackets. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 2: Results for models with and without transformed variable (recitals)

	Partial, Common Position		Full, Common Position		Partial, first reading	
Sum of votes	0.024***	0.023***	0.017***	0.017***	0.021***	0.021***
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Extension	0.624	0.626	0.070	0.050	0.540	0.533
	(0.484)	(0.484)	(0.528)	(0.530)	(0.418)	(0.418)
Lower standards	-0.512	-0.513	-0.048	-0.060	-0.577	-0.569
	(0.466)	(0.465)	(0.491)	(0.492)	(0.403)	(0.402)
Amending	-0.424	-0.460	-0.236	-0.302	-0.222	-0.159
	(0.609)	(0.606)	(0.629)	(0.628)	(0.366)	(0.360)
Directive	-0.850	-0.875*	-1.364**	-1.338**	-0.543	-0.611
	(0.519)	(0.520)	(0.547)	(0.550)	(0.423)	(0.415)
Recitals	0.038		-0.016		0.025	
	(0.031)		(0.030)		(0.017)	
Recitals (log)		0.697		-0.503		0.665
		(0.639)		(0.598)		(0.453)
Intercept	-1.786*	-3.024	-0.578	0.627	-1.566**	-3.017*
	(0.974)	(2.136)	(0.936)	(1.981)	(0.712)	(1.602)
N	160	160	160	160	202	202
Pseudo-R^2	0.222	0.220	0.153	0.155	0.192	0.192
p (all coeffic-ients=0)	≈ 0	≈ 0	≈ 0	≈ 0	≈ 0	≈ 0

Note: Standard errors in brackets. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 2 (ctd.): Results for models with and without transformed variable (recitals)

	Full, first reading		Partial, final		Full, final	
Sum of votes	0.016***	0.017***	0.018***	0.018***	0.015***	0.015***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Extension	-0.203	-0.231	0.332	0.326	-0.492	-0.513
	(0.440)	(0.439)	(0.423)	(0.423)	(0.465)	(0.463)
Lower standards	-0.481	-0.485	-0.724*	-0.718*	-0.382	-0.388
	(0.415)	(0.414)	(0.405)	(0.405)	(0.416)	(0.416)
Amending	0.226	0.261	-0.295	-0.246	0.212	0.227
	(0.371)	(0.362)	(0.363)	(0.357)	(0.375)	(0.367)
Directive	-0.796*	-0.839**	-0.859*	-0.930**	-1.240***	-1.265***
	(0.435)	(0.424)	(0.460)	(0.449)	(0.461)	(0.448)
Recitals	0.008		0.021		0.002	
	(0.017)		(0.017)		(0.017)	
Recitals (log)		0.074		0.556		-0.035
		(0.438)		(0.444)		(0.438)
Intercept	-1.349*	-1.344	-0.933	-2.128	-0.719	-0.521
	(0.706)	(1.547)	(0.759)	(1.597)	(0.748)	(1.568)
N	202	202	196	196	196	196
Pseudo-R^2	0.135	0.135	0.172	0.172	0.127	0.127
p (all coeffi-cients=0)	≈ 0	≈ 0	≈ 0	≈ 0	≈ 0	≈ 0

Note: Standard errors in brackets. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

2.2. Control variables

Besides the sum of votes, the success probability of a request could differ between various types of requests (derogations, extensions, lower standards) or between different type of legislative proposals (amending/new, directive/regulation). In addition, the complexity or salience of a proposal might affect the success probability of a request for changes. The number of recitals is used as a proxy for complexity and salience. Various logistic regression models were fitted to investigate whether the effect of the sum of votes is spurious, i.e. disappearing when other factors are controlled for. Tables 3 through 8 present the results for all combinations of the different stages (Common Position, first reading, final act) and degree of success (partial, full). The sum of votes has a positive and highly statistically significant effect ($p<0.01$) throughout all model specifications. The only other variable with a robust effect is directive. The type of request is a categorical variable, entered using two dummy variables (using derogations as the baseline category). The likelihood ratio tests suggest that their joint effect is statistically significant for partial success (all stages), but not for full success. Finally, we can estimate whether or not using the full model (model 7) is an improvement relative to the model which only includes sum of votes (model 1). For all models except the ones for full success for the Common Position and in first reading the likelihood ratio test suggests that adding control variables is useful (similarly, the pseudo-R^2 increase most for these models).

Table 3: Partial success, Common Position

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Sum of votes	0.021***	0.022***	0.022***	0.022***	0.023***	0.023***	0.024***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.005)
Extension		0.566			0.588	0.560	0.624
		(0.467)			(0.480)	(0.471)	(0.484)
Lower standards		-0.568			-0.544	-0.589	-0.512
		(0.445)			(0.462)	(0.452)	(0.466)
Amending			-0.677		-0.719		-0.424
			(0.536)		(0.558)		(0.609)
Directive			-0.846*		-0.816		-0.850
			(0.506)		(0.517)		(0.519)
Recitals				0.046*		0.048*	0.038
				(0.027)		(0.028)	(0.031)
Intercept	-1.497***	-1.480***	-0.752	-2.683***	-0.768	-2.721***	-1.786*
	(0.285)	(0.366)	(0.465)	(0.777)	(0.506)	(0.826)	(0.974)
N	160	160	160	160	160	160	160
Pseudo-R^2	0.161	0.190	0.186	0.175	0.214	0.204	0.222
p (all coefficients=0)	≈ 0	≈ 0	≈ 0	≈ 0	≈ 0	≈ 0	≈ 0
p (LR test vis-à-vis model 1)		0.043	0.064	0.085	0.020	0.024	0.022

Note: Standard errors in brackets. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 4: Partial success, 1st reading

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Sum of votes	0.020***	0.021***	0.020***	0.020***	0.021***	0.021***	0.021***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Extension		0.489			0.444	0.613	0.540
		(0.402)			(0.412)	(0.411)	(0.418)
Lower standards		-0.621			-0.600	-0.569	-0.577
		(0.388)			(0.398)	(0.394)	(0.403)
Amending			-0.082		-0.110		-0.222
			(0.341)		(0.354)		(0.366)
Directive			-0.787*		-0.685*		-0.543
			(0.402)		(0.410)		(0.423)
Recitals				0.023		0.027*	0.025
				(0.016)		(0.016)	(0.017)
Intercept	-1.372***	-1.336***	-0.744*	-1.998***	-0.772*	-2.136***	-1.566**
	(0.252)	(0.310)	(0.401)	(0.507)	(0.452)	(0.579)	(0.712)
N	202	202	202	202	202	202	202
Pseudo-R^2	0.146	0.173	0.160	0.154	0.184	0.184	0.192
p (all coeffic-ients=0)	≈ 0	≈ 0	≈ 0	≈ 0	≈ 0	≈ 0	≈ 0
p (LR test vis-à-vis model 1)		0.022	0.136	0.139	0.031	0.014	0.025

Note: Standard errors in brackets. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 5: Partial success, final act

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Sum of votes	0.017***	0.018***	0.017***	0.017***	0.018***	0.018***	0.018***
	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Extension		0.325			0.244	0.450	0.332
		(0.403)			(0.417)	(0.411)	(0.423)
Lower standards		-0.740*			-0.749*	-0.690*	-0.724*
		(0.387)			(0.401)	(0.393)	(0.405)
Amending			-0.141		-0.211		-0.295
			(0.339)		(0.353)		(0.363)
Directive			-1.090**		-1.010**		-0.859*
			(0.435)		(0.443)		(0.460)
Recitals				0.023		0.026*	0.021
				(0.015)		(0.016)	(0.017)
Intercept	-1.259***	-1.141***	-0.330	-1.890***	-0.227	-1.916***	-0.933
	(0.249)	(0.305)	(0.441)	(0.500)	(0.497)	(0.569)	(0.759)
N	196	196	196	196	196	196	196
Pseudo-R^2	0.116	0.145	0.141	0.125	0.166	0.155	0.172
p (all coeffic-ients=0)	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0
p (LR test vis-à-vis model 1)		0.021	0.035	0.131	0.010	0.015	0.011

Note: Standard errors in brackets. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 6: Full success, Common Position

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Sum of votes	0.015***	0.015***	0.017***	0.015***	0.017***	0.015***	0.017***
	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Extension		-0.064			0.097	-0.072	0.070
		(0.510)			(0.525)	(0.511)	(0.528)
Lower standards		-0.190			-0.028	-0.190	-0.048
		(0.467)			(0.489)	(0.467)	(0.491)
Amending			-0.114		-0.117		-0.236
			(0.581)		(0.585)		(0.629)
Directive			-1.376**		-1.379**		-1.364**
			(0.536)		(0.544)		(0.547)
Recitals				-0.010		-0.010	-0.016
				(0.028)		(0.028)	(0.030)
Intercept	-1.986***	-1.908***	-0.974**	-1.744**	-0.989*	-1.667**	-0.578
	(0.309)	(0.391)	(0.464)	(0.742)	(0.508)	(0.785)	(0.936)
N	160	160	160	160	160	160	160
Pseudo-R^2	0.114	0.115	0.151	0.114	0.151	0.115	0.153
p (all coeffic-ients=0)	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0
p (LR test vis-à-vis model 1)		0.915	0.032	0.722	0.137	0.96	0.203

Note: Standard errors in brackets. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 7: Full success, 1st reading

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Sum of votes	0.015***	0.016***	0.016***	0.015***	0.017***	0.016***	0.016***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Extension		-0.254			-0.244	-0.159	-0.203
		(0.423)			(0.433)	(0.432)	(0.440)
Lower standards		-0.587			-0.489	-0.549	-0.481
		(0.403)			(0.413)	(0.407)	(0.415)
Amending			0.334		0.269		0.226
			(0.354)		(0.359)		(0.371)
Directive			-0.887**		-0.850**		-0.796*
			(0.416)		(0.419)		(0.435)
Recitals				0.018		0.017	0.008
				(0.015)		(0.016)	(0.017)
Intercept	-1.808***	-1.588***	-1.280***	-2.318***	-1.093**	-2.107***	-1.349*
	(0.266)	(0.316)	(0.411)	(0.511)	(0.457)	(0.573)	(0.706)
N	202	202	202	202	202	202	202
Pseudo-R^2	0.108	0.116	0.129	0.113	0.134	0.121	0.135
p (all coeffic-ients=0)	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0
p (LR test vis-à-vis model 1)		0.337	0.0733	0.232	0.156	0.333	0.23

Note: Standard errors in brackets. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 8: Full success, final adopted act

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Sum of votes	0.013***	0.014***	0.014***	0.013***	0.015***	0.013***	0.015***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Extension		-0.467			-0.506	-0.372	-0.492
		(0.438)			(0.455)	(0.448)	(0.465)
Lower standards		-0.482			-0.386	-0.441	-0.382
		(0.399)			(0.415)	(0.403)	(0.416)
Amending			0.293		0.224		0.212
			(0.359)		(0.365)		(0.375)
Directive			-1.245***		-1.259***		-1.240***
			(0.436)		(0.442)		(0.461)
Recitals				0.020		0.017	0.002
				(0.015)		(0.016)	(0.017)
Intercept	-1.744***	-1.497***	-0.903**	-2.289***	-0.639	-2.000***	-0.719
	(0.268)	(0.318)	(0.438)	(0.515)	(0.490)	(0.575)	(0.748)
N	196	196	196	196	196	196	196
Pseudo-R^2	0.084	0.092	0.121	0.091	0.127	0.096	0.127
p (all coeffic-ients=0)	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0
p (LR test vis-à-vis model 1)		0.412	0.013	0.205	0.037	0.404	0.07

Note: Standard errors in brackets. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

2.3. Regression diagnostics: General fit and residuals

As discussed in the previous section, the full logistic regression model (including all control variables, model 7 in the previous tables) will be used. ROC curves of the models (Figure 7) show that the models fit well overall.

The next step is to investigate the residuals. Figures 8 through 13 show standardized residuals for the various full models. Figure 14 shows the associated leverage values. The figure identifies observations that have much larger values than the rest by plotting the ID number of the request. Table 9 lists these observations for relatively high residuals and leverage values (>.4). Some observations have high residuals for several dependent variables (printed in bold and italics). Observations which have both high residuals and high leverage are printed in italics in the second column.

Table 9: Observations with high residuals and leverage

Dependent variable	**High residuals**	**High leverage**
Partial, Common Position	***130***, 187, ***193***	120, 121, 124, 172, 173
Full, Common Position	192, ***193***	172, 173
Partial, first reading	***58, 124, 130, 193***	172, 173, 193, 194, 195
Full, first reading	***58, 124, 130, 193***	172, 173
Partial, final	***58, 124, 130***, 142, ***193***, 194, 195	67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 172, 173, *193, 194, 195*
Full, final	8, 22, 57, 64, 85, 127, 139, 172, 173	*172, 173*, 190

There are no obvious commonalities between the observations with high residuals. They are from different proposal and were decided in different years. Most of them are directives, but this is already included in the model. Table 10 compares the regression results for the models estimated with and without these cases. The substantive results do not change noticeably when the models are estimated without observations with high residuals.

Only the final success rates has observations which have both high residuals and high leverage. Table 11 compares the results for these models with and without these observations. Estimating the models without the potentially problematic cases does not substantially change the results, however.

Thus, the model has a good fit overall. The results are not driven by a few observations with high residuals and/or high leverage.

Figure 7: ROC curve

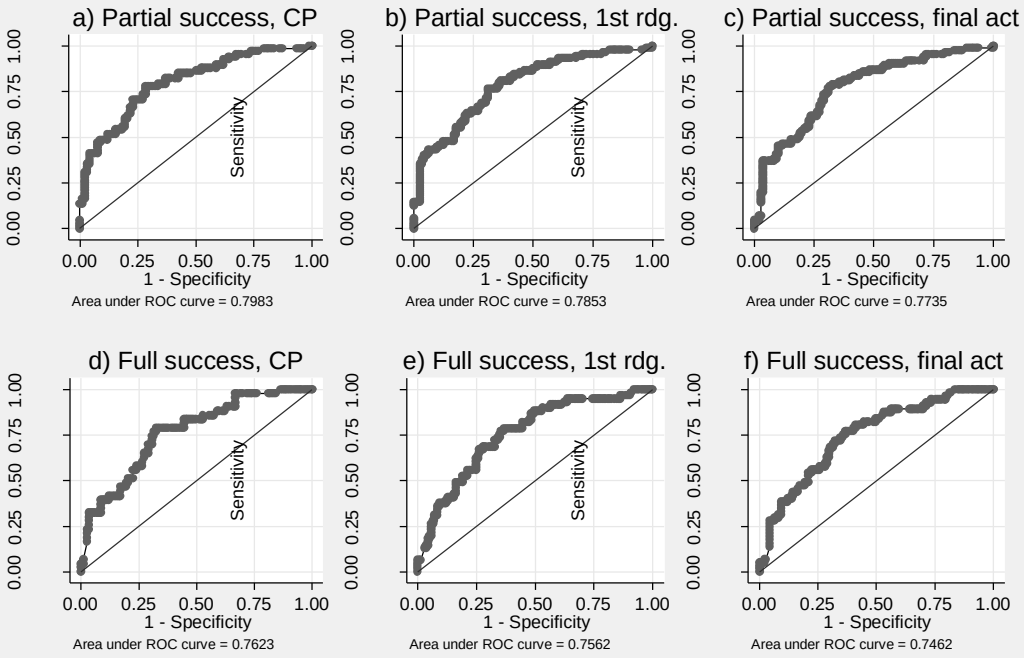


Figure 8: Standardized residuals (partial, CP)

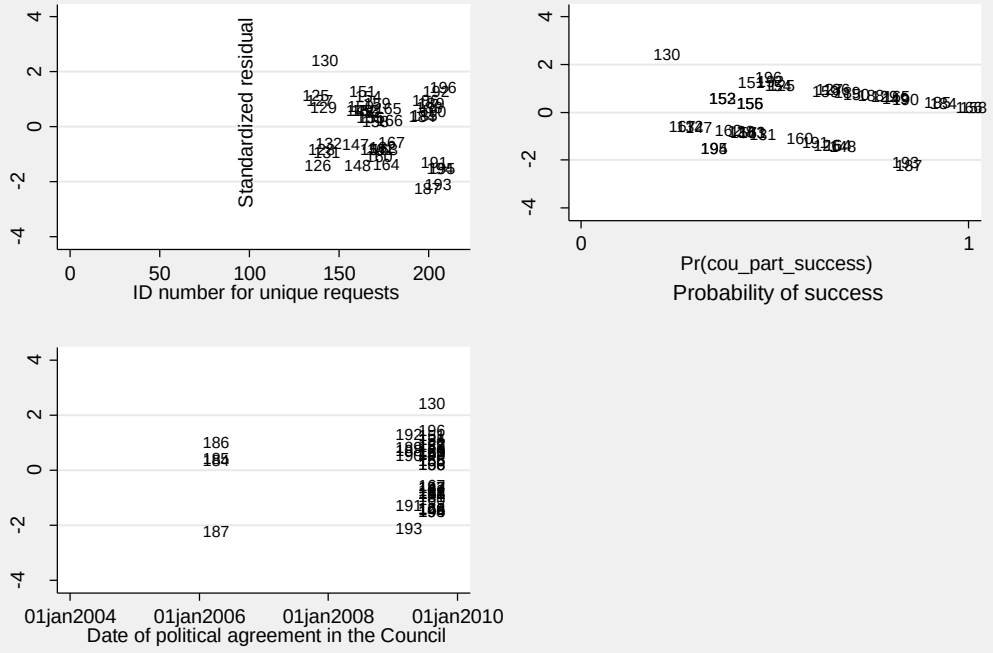


Figure 9: Standardized residuals (full, CP)

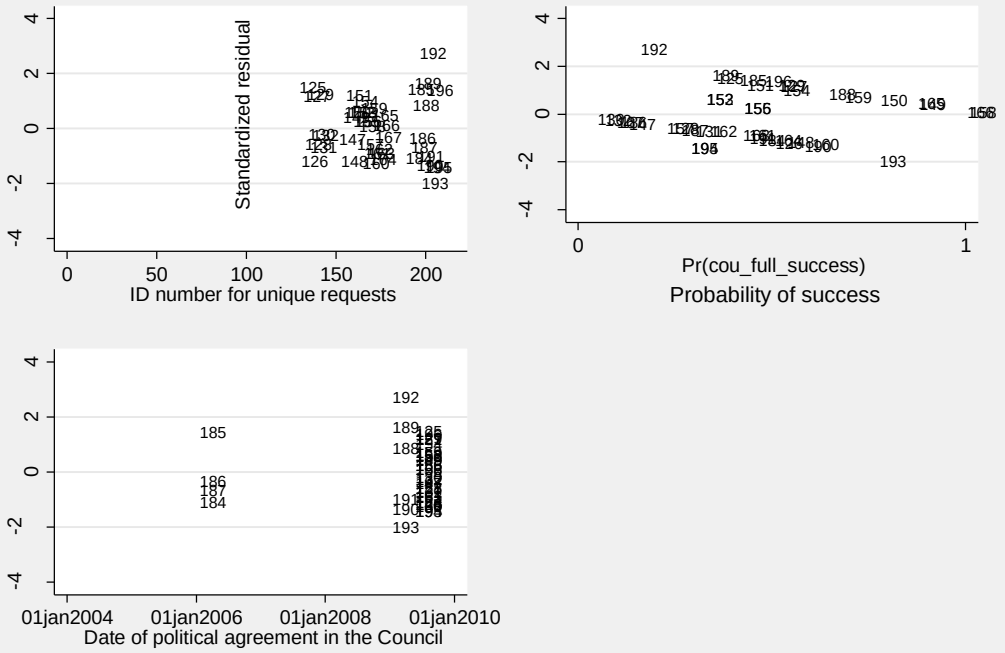


Figure 10: Standardized residuals (partial, 1st rdg.)

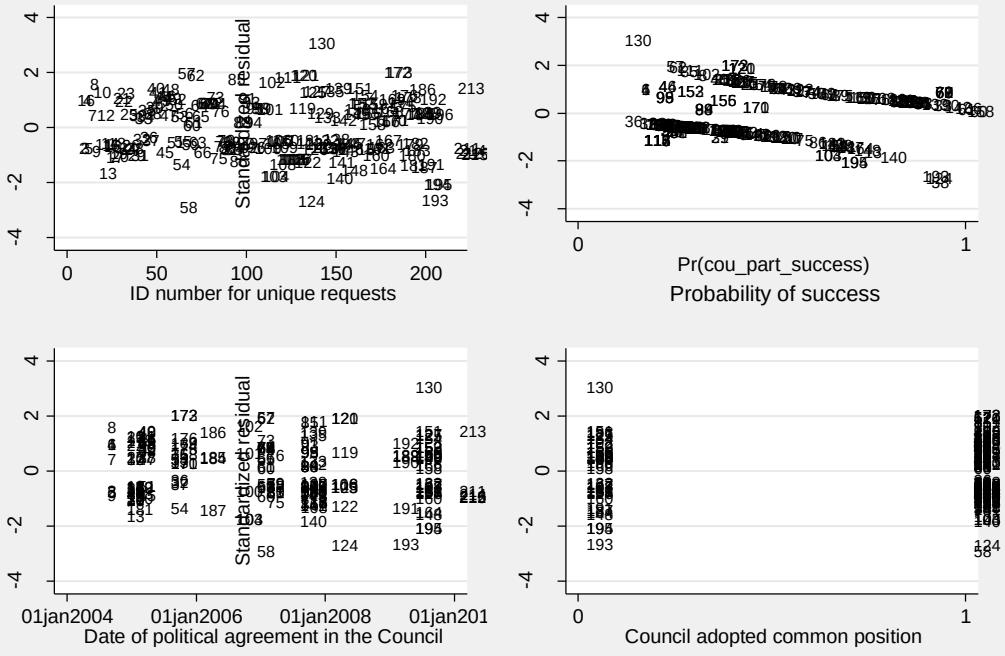


Figure 11: Standardized residuals (full, 1st rdg.)

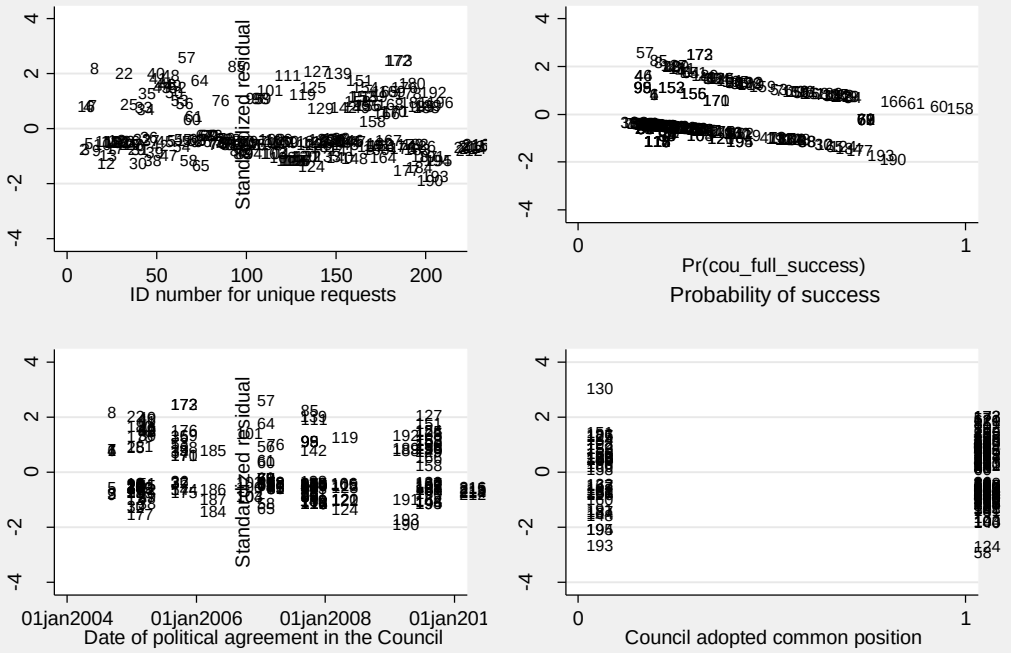


Figure 12: Standardized residuals (partial, final)

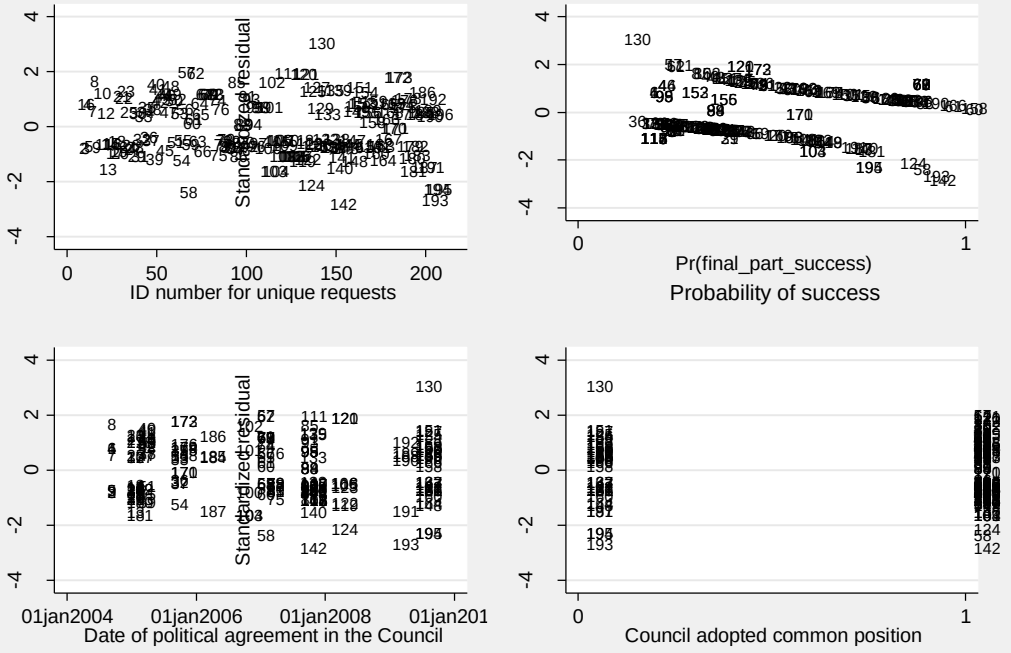


Figure 13: Standardized residuals (full, final)

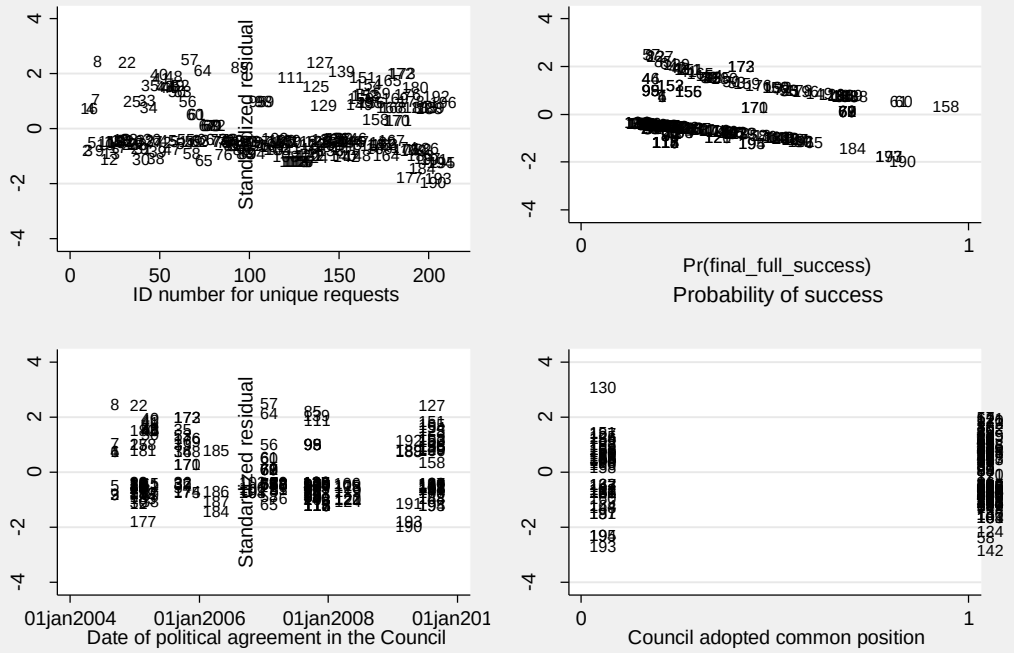


Figure 14: Leverage

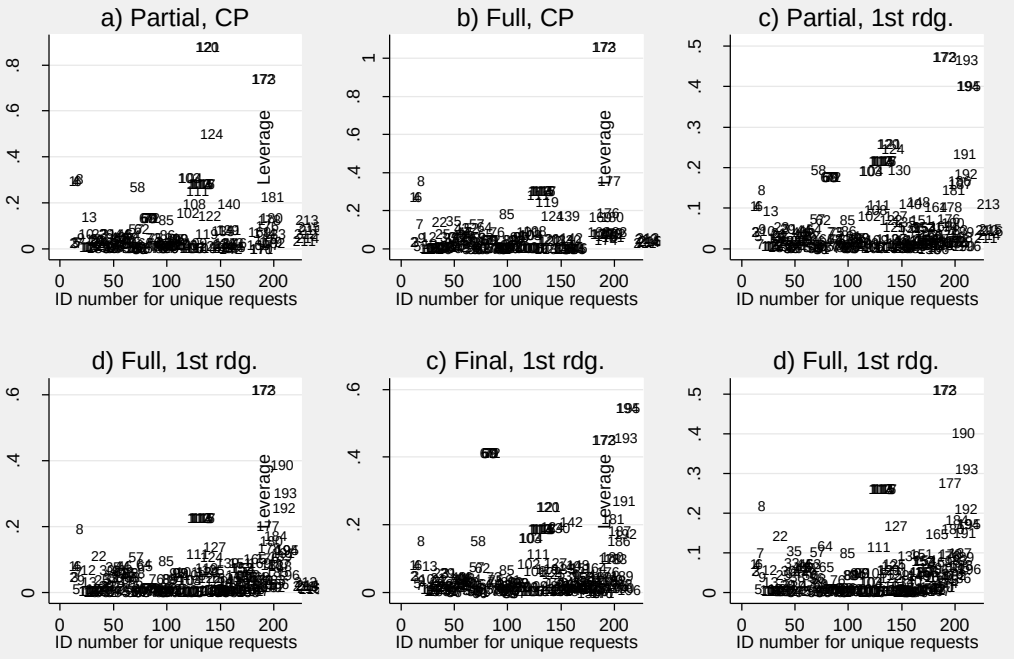


Table 10: Results for models with and without high residuals

	Partial, Common Position		Full, Common Position		Partial, first reading	
	All obs.	Without high residuals	All obs.	Without high residuals	All obs.	Without high residuals
Sum of votes	0.024***	0.028***	0.017***	0.018***	0.021***	0.026***
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Extension	0.624	0.869*	0.070	0.229	0.540	0.668
	(0.484)	(0.502)	(0.528)	(0.534)	(0.418)	(0.434)
Lower standards	-0.512	-0.573	-0.048	-0.061	-0.577	-0.823*
	(0.466)	(0.484)	(0.491)	(0.495)	(0.403)	(0.431)
Amending	-0.424	-0.130	-0.236	-0.046	-0.222	-0.245
	(0.609)	(0.629)	(0.629)	(0.642)	(0.366)	(0.390)
Directive	-0.850	-0.918*	-1.364**	-1.400**	-0.543	-0.623
	(0.519)	(0.533)	(0.547)	(0.550)	(0.423)	(0.443)
Recitals	0.038	0.049	-0.016	-0.011	0.025	0.037*
	(0.031)	(0.032)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.017)	(0.019)
Intercept	-1.786*	-2.278**	-0.578	-0.776	-1.566**	-1.988***
	(0.974)	(1.031)	(0.936)	(0.952)	(0.712)	(0.758)
N	160	158	160	158	202	198
Pseudo-R^2	0.222	0.262	0.153	0.164	0.192	0.248
p (all coeffic-ients=0)	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0

Note: Standard errors in brackets. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 10 (ctd.): Results for models with and without high residuals

	Full, first reading		Partial, final		Full, final	
	All obs.	Without high residuals	All obs.	Without high residuals	All obs.	Without high residuals
Sum of votes	0.016***	0.018***	0.018***	0.022***	0.015***	0.016***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Extension	-0.203	-0.112	0.332	0.437	-0.492	-0.422
	(0.440)	(0.445)	(0.423)	(0.439)	(0.465)	(0.470)
Lower standards	-0.481	-0.550	-0.724*	-0.966**	-0.382	-0.437
	(0.415)	(0.424)	(0.405)	(0.431)	(0.416)	(0.423)
Amending	0.226	0.312	-0.295	-0.319	0.212	0.290
	(0.371)	(0.379)	(0.363)	(0.383)	(0.375)	(0.382)
Directive	-0.796*	-0.841*	-0.859*	-0.960**	-1.240***	-1.294***
	(0.435)	(0.441)	(0.460)	(0.482)	(0.461)	(0.467)
Recitals	0.008	0.014	0.021	0.032*	0.002	0.009
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.019)	(0.017)	(0.018)
Intercept	-1.349*	-1.551**	-0.933	-1.270	-0.719	-0.889
	(0.706)	(0.720)	(0.759)	(0.800)	(0.748)	(0.759)
N	202	198	196	192	196	192
Pseudo-R^2	0.135	0.153	0.172	0.222	0.127	0.142
p (all coeffic-ients=0)	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0

Note: Standard errors in brackets. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 11: Regression results for models with/without high leverage, high residual observations

	Partial, final	Partial, final (w/o high leverage, high residual obs.)	Full, final	Full, final (w/o high leverage, high residual obs.)
Sum of votes	0.018***	0.019***	0.015***	0.015***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Extension	0.332	0.433	-0.492	-0.494
	(0.423)	(0.435)	(0.465)	(0.464)
Lower standards	-0.724*	-0.790*	-0.382	-0.521
	(0.405)	(0.416)	(0.416)	(0.426)
Amending	-0.295	-0.303	0.212	0.271
	(0.363)	(0.372)	(0.375)	(0.376)
Directive	-0.859*	-1.261**	-1.240***	-1.028**
	(0.460)	(0.499)	(0.461)	(0.477)
Recitals	0.021	0.029	0.002	0.001
	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Intercept	-0.933	-0.804	-0.719	-0.906
	(0.759)	(0.795)	(0.748)	(0.759)
N	196	193	196	194
Pseudo-R^2	0.172	0.199	0.127	0.128
p (all coeffic-ients=0)	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0

Note: Standard errors in brackets. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

2.4. Multi-level/clustered data structure

The data consists of requests which are clustered within proposals. Some of the control variables are at the level of proposals (amending/new, directive/regulation, number of recitals) while the main independent variable (sum of votes) is at the level of requests. Not incorporating this multi-level/clustered data structure could lead to erroneous results because ordinary regression assumes independent observations. Due to the clustered nature of the data, the results (success within a proposal) might however be correlated. Thus, the number of cases (independent observations) is actually lower than the overall number of observations suggests. This can be taken into account by using clustered standard errors or by estimating a multi-level model. Table 13 compares the results for the regression estimated with and without robust standard errors. The overall result for the relationship between the sum of votes and the success probability is not affected by incorporating the clustered data structure. Only the significance level for one of the control variables (directive), which is located at the proposal level, changes when using robust standard errors.

The relationship of our primary focus (sum of votes and success probability) lies at the level of unique requests. Since unique requests are nested within proposal, the success probability might primarily be affected by factors operating at the proposal level. The intraclass correlation describes the amount of variation due to the grouping of the data in proposals.

The intraclass correlation at the proposal level for the various models (full model, different dependent variables) is provided by table 12. It lies between 0.07 and 0.14, indicating a small to moderate effect of the group structure of the data.

Table 12: Intraclass correlation (proposal level)

Partial, Common Position	**0.143**	Full, Common Position	**0.07**
Partial, first reading	**0.11**	Full, first reading	**0.075**
Partial, final	**.098**	Full, final	**.118**

Table 14 shows the results of multi-level logistic regression models, incorporating the grouped structure of the data. The likelihood ratio tests suggest that estimating a multi-level model is an improvement vis-à-vis regular logistic regression. Testing for random slopes (not reported) shows that adding random slopes for the control variables does not improve the fit of the multi-level models. Thus, a random-intercept model will be used.

The overall results of the multi-level models are very similar to the previous results: sum of votes has a positive effect throughout, directives and type sometimes have statistically significant coefficients. Figure 15 presents predicted probabilities (with 95%-confidence intervals), showing the positive relationship between the number of votes of the requesting countries and the success probability of a request.

Table 13: Results using robust standard errors

	Partial, Common Position		Full, Common Position		Partial, first reading	
	Regular s.e.	Robust s.e.	Regular s.e.	Robust s.e.	Regular s.e.	Robust s.e.
Sum of votes	0.024***	0.024***	0.017***	0.017***	0.021***	0.021***
	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.003)
Extension	0.624	0.624*	0.070	0.070	0.540	0.540
	(0.484)	(0.349)	(0.528)	(0.625)	(0.418)	(0.335)
Lower standards	-0.512	-0.512	-0.048	-0.048	-0.577	-0.577
	(0.466)	(0.474)	(0.491)	(0.437)	(0.403)	(0.492)
Amending	-0.424	-0.424	-0.236	-0.236	-0.222	-0.222
	(0.609)	(0.563)	(0.629)	(0.556)	(0.366)	(0.380)
Directive	-0.850	-0.850	-1.364**	-1.364	-0.543	-0.543
	(0.519)	(0.823)	(0.547)	(0.847)	(0.423)	(0.595)
Recitals	0.038	0.038	-0.016	-0.016	0.025	0.025*
	(0.031)	(0.040)	(0.030)	(0.033)	(0.017)	(0.013)
Intercept	-1.786*	-1.786	-0.578	-0.578	-1.566**	-1.566**
	(0.974)	(1.131)	(0.936)	(0.878)	(0.712)	(0.721)
N	160	160	160	160	202	202
Pseudo-R^2	0.222	0.222	0.153	0.153	0.192	0.192
p (all coeffic-ients=0)	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0

Note: Standard errors in brackets. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 13 (ctd.): Results using robust standard errors

	Full, first reading		Partial, final		Full, final	
	Regular s.e.	Robust s.e.	Regular s.e.	Robust s.e.	Regular s.e.	Robust s.e.
Sum of votes	0.016***	0.016***	0.018***	0.018***	0.015***	0.015***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)
Extension	-0.203	-0.203	0.332	0.332	-0.492	-0.492
	(0.440)	(0.546)	(0.423)	(0.405)	(0.465)	(0.614)
Lower standards	-0.481	-0.481	-0.724*	-0.724	-0.382	-0.382
	(0.415)	(0.523)	(0.405)	(0.458)	(0.416)	(0.495)
Amending	0.226	0.226	-0.295	-0.295	0.212	0.212
	(0.371)	(0.422)	(0.363)	(0.382)	(0.375)	(0.467)
Directive	-0.796*	-0.796	-0.859*	-0.859	-1.240***	-1.240**
	(0.435)	(0.568)	(0.460)	(0.662)	(0.461)	(0.537)
Recitals	0.008	0.008	0.021	0.021	0.002	0.002
	(0.017)	(0.013)	(0.017)	(0.014)	(0.017)	(0.015)
Intercept	-1.349*	-1.349*	-0.933	-0.933	-0.719	-0.719
	(0.706)	(0.755)	(0.759)	(0.915)	(0.748)	(0.745)
N	202	202	196	196	196	196
Pseudo-R^2	0.135	0.135	0.172	0.172	0.127	0.127
p (all coeffic-ients=0)	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0	≈0

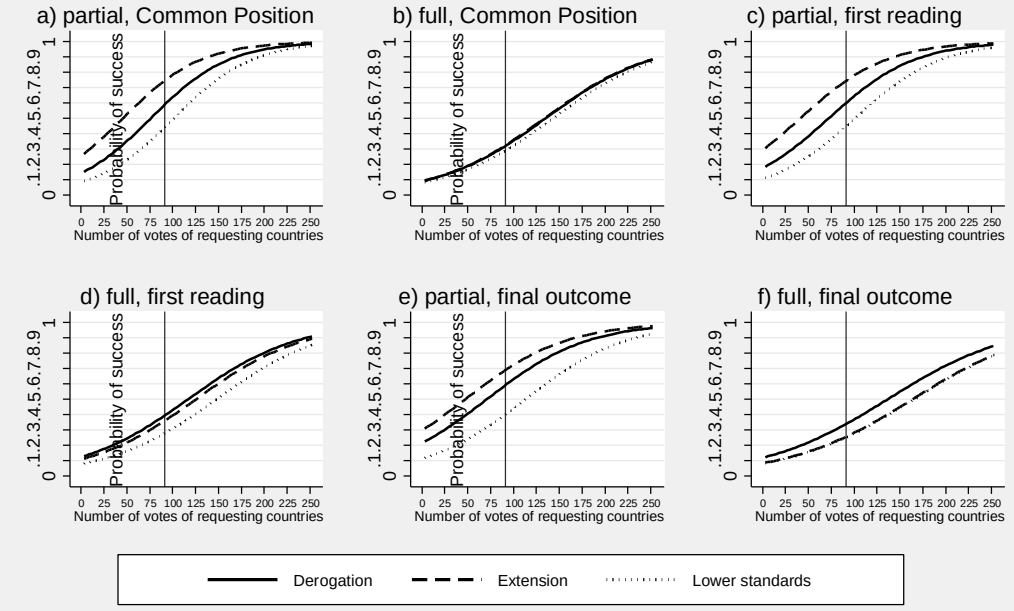
Note: Standard errors in brackets. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table 14: Multilevel models

Dependent	Common Position		First reading		Final act	
Variable: success	Partial	Full	Partial	Full	Partial	Full
Sum of votes	0.024***	0.017***	0.021***	0.017***	0.018***	0.015***
	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Extension	0.721	0.022	0.666	-0.148	0.433	-0.400
	(0.523)	(0.549)	(0.454)	(0.467)	(0.455)	(0.505)
Lower standards	-0.596	-0.140	-0.611	-0.526	-0.772*	-0.422
	(0.507)	(0.518)	(0.432)	(0.439)	(0.432)	(0.451)
Amending	-0.343	-0.264	-0.177	0.172	-0.276	0.170
	(0.829)	(0.736)	(0.496)	(0.460)	(0.481)	(0.514)
Directive	-0.845	-1.316**	-0.507	-0.737	-0.839	-1.248**
	(0.761)	(0.660)	(0.559)	(0.526)	(0.588)	(0.608)
Recitals	0.045	-0.017	0.027	0.009	0.023	0.003
	(0.042)	(0.035)	(0.022)	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.022)
Intercept	-2.071	-0.610	-1.787**	-1.499*	-1.095	-0.867
	(1.308)	(1.101)	(0.902)	(0.840)	(0.937)	(0.956)
Random effect (intercept)	-0.301	-0.698	-0.448	-0.664	-0.513	-0.411
	(0.400)	(0.623)	(0.400)	(0.500)	(0.429)	(0.421)
N	160	160	202	202	196	196
P (LR test vs. logistic regress.)	0.016	0.139	0.025	0.082	0.038	0.029

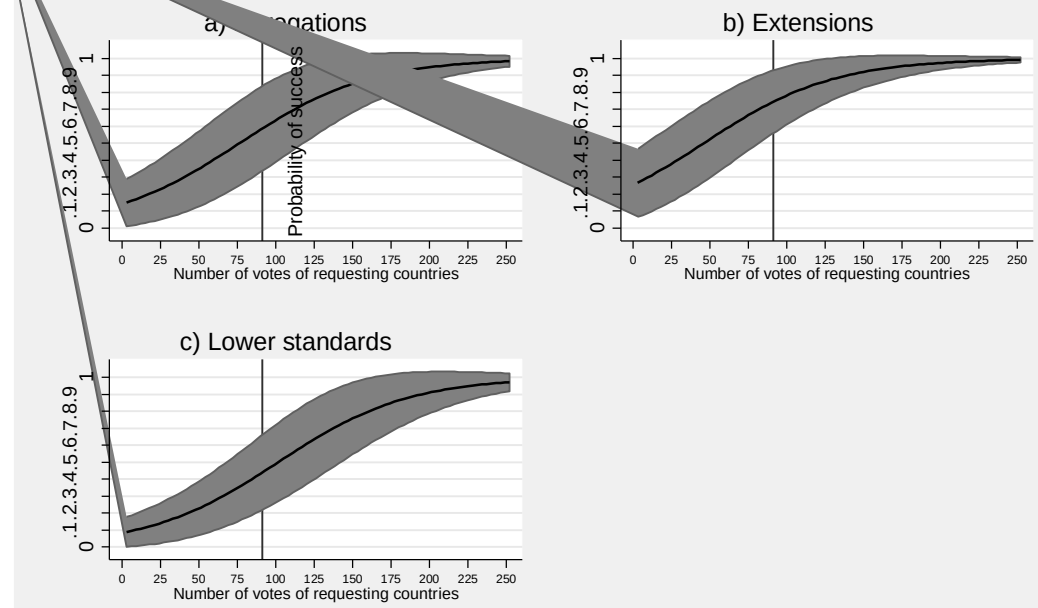
Note: Standard errors in brackets. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Figure 15: Predicted probabilities of success (multilevel model)



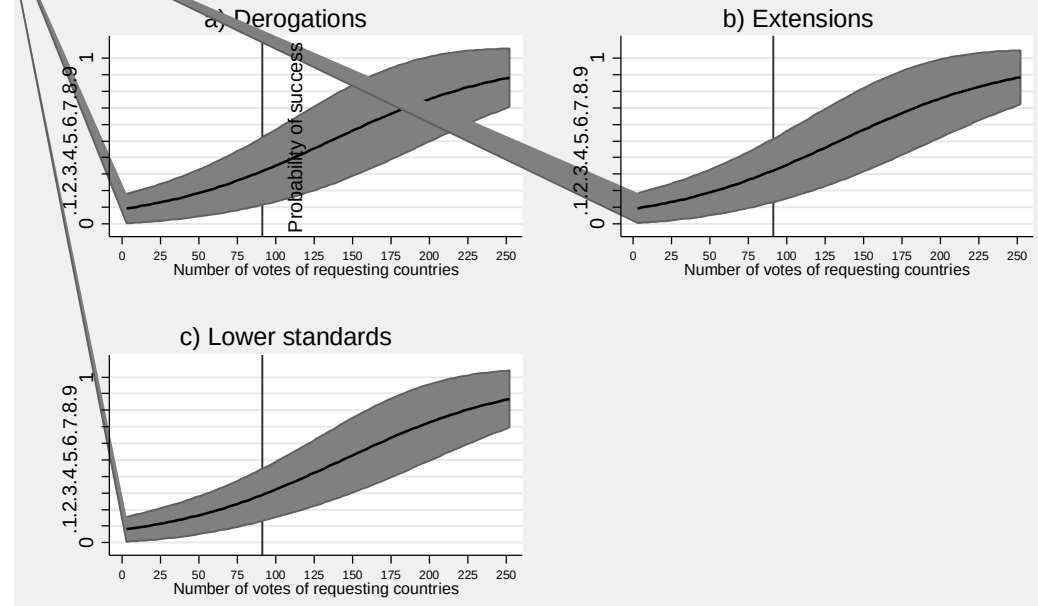
Note: Multilevel model with random intercepts, only fixed effects used for predicted probabilites.
Predictions are for directives, not amending, with recitals set at their mean value
Vertical line denotes threshold for blocking minority

Figure 16: Predicted probabilities of success (partial, Common Position)



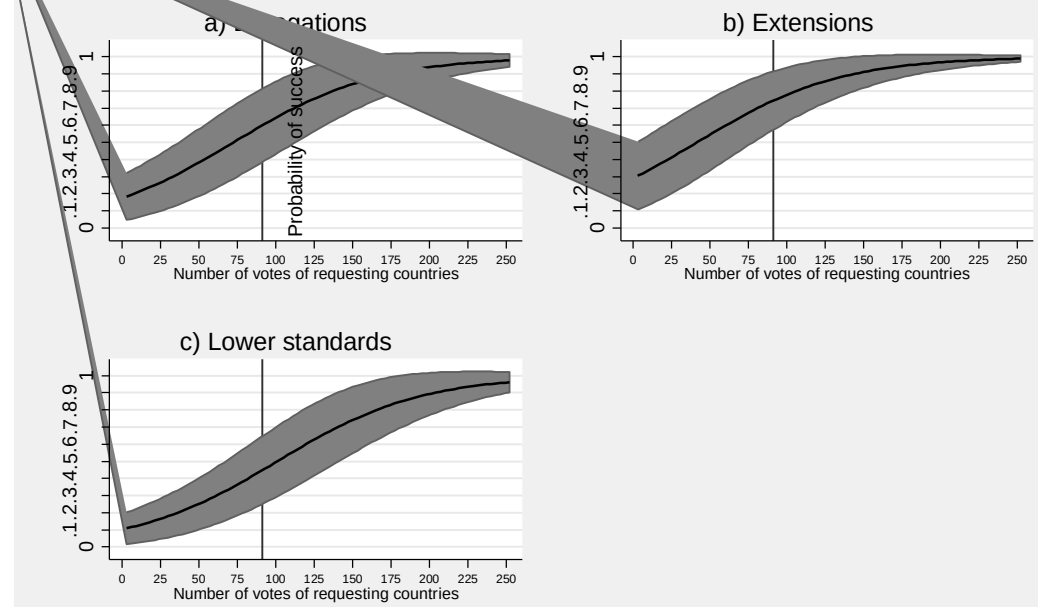
Note: Multilevel model with random intercepts, only fixed effects used for predicted probabilites.
Predictions are for directives, not amending, with recitals set at their mean value
Vertical line denotes threshold for blocking minority

Figure 17: Predicted probabilities of success (full, Common Position)



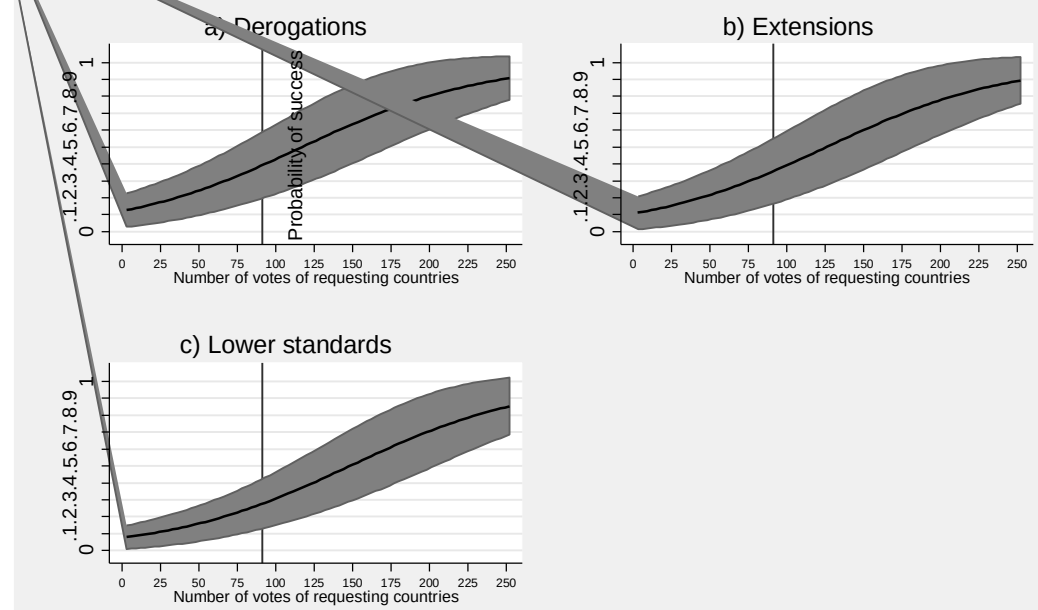
Note: Multilevel model with random intercepts, only fixed effects used for predicted probabilites.
Predictions are for directives, not amending, with recitals set at their mean value
Vertical line denotes threshold for blocking minority

Figure 18: Predicted probabilities of success (partial, 1st reading)



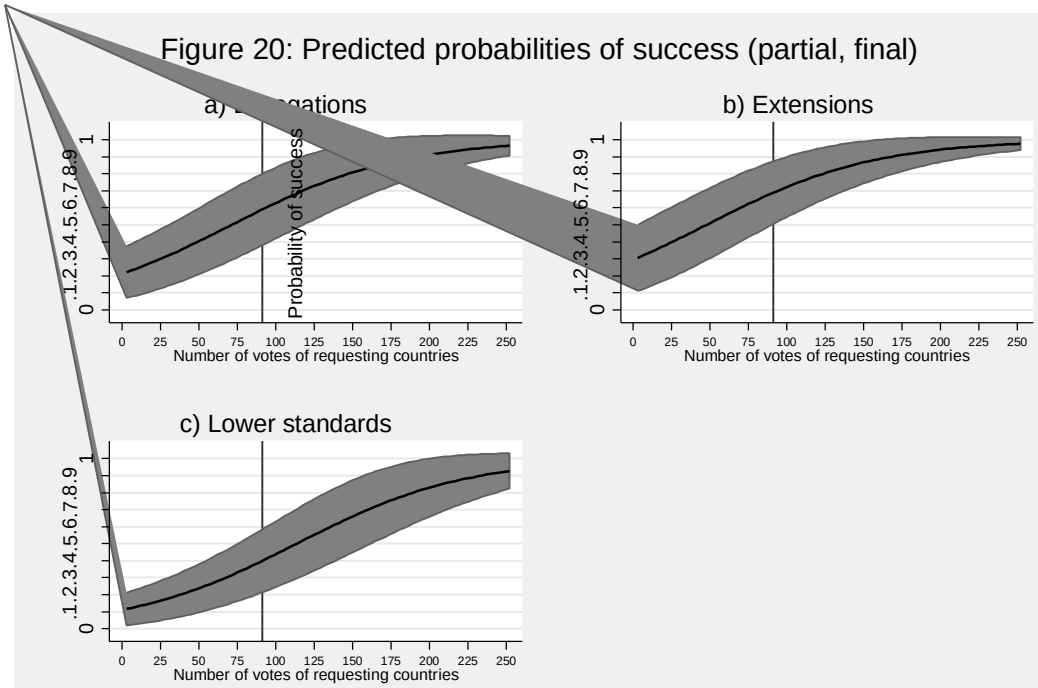
Note: Multilevel model with random intercepts, only fixed effects used for predicted probabilites.
Predictions are for directives, not amending, with recitals set at their mean value
Vertical line denotes threshold for blocking minority

Figure 19: Predicted probabilities of success (full, 1st reading)



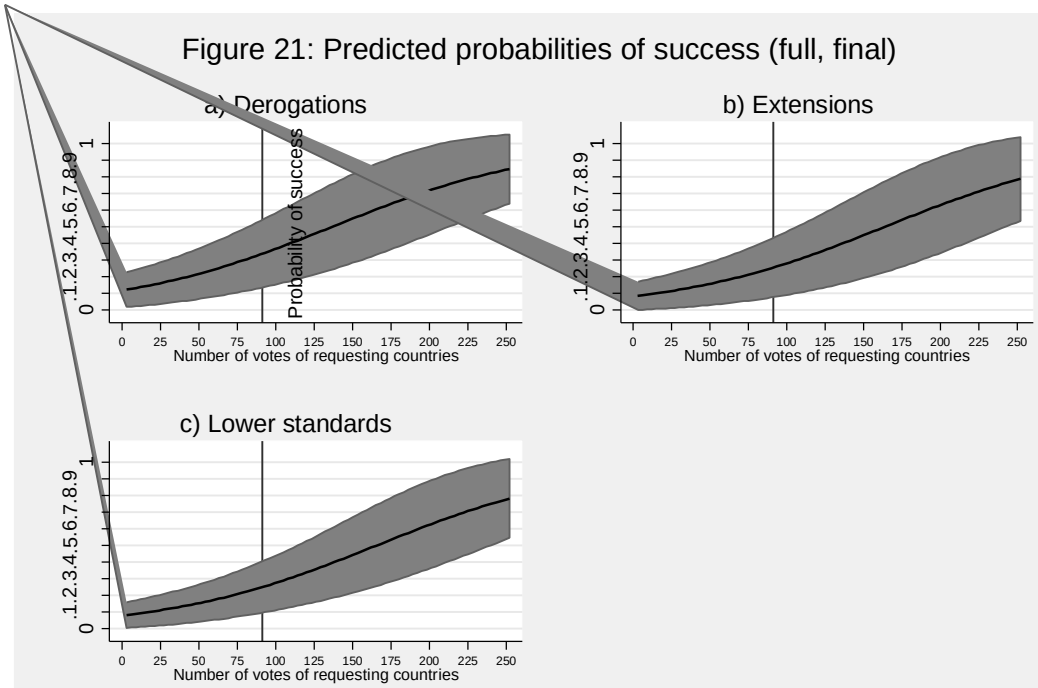
Note: Multilevel model with random intercepts, only fixed effects used for predicted probabilites.
Predictions are for directives, not amending, with recitals set at their mean value
Vertical line denotes threshold for blocking minority

Figure 20: Predicted probabilities of success (partial, final)



Note: Multilevel model with random intercepts, only fixed effects used for predicted probabilites.
Predictions are for directives, not amending, with recitals set at their mean value
Vertical line denotes threshold for blocking minority

Figure 21: Predicted probabilities of success (full, final)



Note: Multilevel model with random intercepts, only fixed effects used for predicted probabilites.
Predictions are for directives, not amending, with recitals set at their mean value
Vertical line denotes threshold for blocking minority

2.4. Ordered logistic regression (multi-level model)

The previous analysis distinguished between partial and full success, with the former including the latter. Thus, the dependent variable was binary: either no success or (at least some/complete) success. Alternatively, one could consider success as an ordinal variable with the values no success, partial success, full success.

Table 15 presents the results of an ordered logistic regression, with clusters at the level of proposals. The results are basically identical to the ones of the (binary) logistic regression. Both having a blocking minority and the sum of votes backing a request have a positive and statistically significant relationship to success.

Table 15: Ordered logistic regression results

DV: Success (ordinal)	Common Position		First reading		Final act	
Blocking	1.536***		1.370***		1.164***	
	(0.400)		(0.343)		(0.340)	
Sum of votes		0.019***		0.018***		0.016***
		(0.004)		(0.003)		(0.003)
Extension	0.555	0.514	0.474	0.378	0.259	0.154
	(0.447)	(0.450)	(0.391)	(0.394)	(0.400)	(0.403)
Lower	-0.268	-0.476	-0.393	-0.610	-0.493	-0.685*
Standards	(0.442)	(0.452)	(0.378)	(0.390)	(0.384)	(0.395)
Amending	-0.571	-0.445	-0.089	-0.034	-0.184	-0.129
	(0.743)	(0.695)	(0.440)	(0.419)	(0.456)	(0.434)
Directive	-1.007	-1.245**	-0.579	-0.734	-1.039*	-1.147**
	(0.674)	(0.619)	(0.496)	(0.471)	(0.550)	(0.523)
Recitals	0	0.004	0.019	0.015	0.015	0.011
	(0.036)	(0.034)	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.019)
Constant	0.45	0.291	0.348	0.244	0.394	0.290
	(0.339)	(0.281)	(0.248)	(0.221)	(0.268)	(0.244)
N	160	160	202	202	196	196

Note: Standard errors in brackets. * p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01