

PUBLICATIONS

Refereed Journal Articles

- (With Christine Arnold) The Importance of Actor Cleavages in Negotiating the European Constitution, *International Studies Quarterly*, 54, 2010, 615-633.
- Negotiating European Economic and Monetary Union, *Homo Oeconomicus*, 25, 2, 2008, 203-223.
- Council Decision Rules and European Union Constitutional Design, *AUCO Czech Economic Review*, 2, 1, 2008, 76-96.
- (With Robert Thomson) Who Has Power in the EU? The Commission, Council and Parliament in Legislative Decision-making, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 44, 1, 2006, 391-417.
- (With Rein Taagepera) National Representation in International Organizations: The Seat Distribution Formula Implicit in the European Union Council and Parliament, *Political Studies*, 54, 2, 2006, 370-398.
- (With Ken Benoit, Michael Laver, Christine Arnold and Paul Pennings) Measuring National Delegate Positions at the Convention on the Future of Europe Using Computerized Wordscoring, *European Union Politics*, 6, 3, 2005, 291-313.
- (With Moshé Machover) The Nice Treaty and Voting Rules in the Council: A Reply to Moberg (2002), *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 42, 3, 2004, 497-521.
- (With Hannu Nurmi) Which Decision Rule for the Future Council? *European Union Politics*, 4,1, 2003, 37-50.
- (With Tanja A. Börzel) Brussels Between Bern and Berlin: Comparative Federalism Meets the European Union, *Governance*, 16, 2, 2003, 179-202.
- Preferences and Power in the European Union, *Homo Oeconomicus*, XIX, 3, 2002, 311-26.
- (With Ben Soetendorp) The Hidden Dynamics of EU Council Decision-making, *Acta Politica*, 4, 2001, 252-87.
- (With Reinoud Wolffenbuttel) Estimating the Vote Distribution in the Council of the European Union, *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 4, 1, 2001, 38-54.
- The Council of the European Union: Challenges and Prospects (Guest Editor's Introduction), *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 4, 1, 2001, 6-8.
- Coalition Formation and Voting in the Council of the European Union, *Homo Oeconomicus*, XVII, 2000, 31-55.
- The Creation of the European Economic and Monetary Union: Intergovernmental Negotiations and Two-Level Games, *European Journal of Public Policy*, 7, 2000, 744-66.

- Power, Connected Coalitions and the Council of the European Union, *International Political Science Review*, 1999, 371-91.
- The Netherlands and Coalition Formation in the Council of the European Union, *Acta Politica*, 34, 1999, 67-91.
- Voting Strength in the European Parliament, *European Journal of Political Research*, 31, 1997, 351-66.
- Coalitions and Power: Effects of Qualified Majority Voting in the Council of the European Union, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 34, 1996, 255-73.
- The Balance Between Small and Large: Effects of a Double-Majority System on Voting Power in the European Union, *International Studies Quarterly*, 39, 1995, 351-70.
- Der potentielle Einfluss der Schweiz im EG-Ministerrat: Eine Analyse aufgrund des Banzhaf-Machtindex" (The Potential Influence of Switzerland in the EC Council of Ministers: An Analysis based on the Banzhaf Power Index), *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaft und Statistik (The Swiss Review of Economics and Statistics)*, 1994, 1, 89-105.
- Admission of European Free Trade Association States to the European Community: Effects on Voting Power in the European Community Council of Ministers, *International Organization*, 4, 1993, 629-43.
- (With Heinz Hauser) Harmonization or Regulatory Competition in the European Community (and the European Economic Area)? *Aussenwirtschaft (The Swiss Review of International Economic Relations)*, 46, 3/4, 1991, 265-80.
- Decision-Making in the European Economic Area and the Sovereignty of European Free Trade Association States, *Aussenwirtschaft (The Swiss Review of International Economic Relations)*, 45, 4, 1990, 463-94.

Monographs

- The Euro: A Concise Introduction to European Monetary Integration*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2005.
- EG-Beitritt oder Teilnahme am EWR: Entwicklungen in der EG und ihre Rückwirkungen auf die integrationspolitischen Optionen der Schweiz*, Chur, Switzerland: Rüegger, 1992.
- Perceptions and Positions in the International Debt Crisis. An Analysis of Public Statements made by Government Representatives in Developing and in Industrialized Countries*. Zürich: Forschungsstelle für Politische Wissenschaft an der Universität Zürich (Kleine Studien zur Politischen Wissenschaft, 239-240), 1987.

Edited Volumes

(Co-edited with Adrian M.A. van Deemen and Mika Widgrén) *Institutional Challenges in the European Union*, London/New York: Routledge, 2002.

(Co-edited with Arild Saether) *Free Trade Agreements and Customs Unions: Experiences, Challenges and Constraints*, Brussels/Maastricht: European Commission/ European Institute of Public Administration, 1997.

Other Publications

Voting Weights, Thresholds and Population Size: Member State Representation in the Council of the European Union, in *Collective Decision-Making: Views from Social Choice and Game Theory*, Festschrift for Harrie de Swart, edited by Adrian M.A. van Deemen and Agnieszka Rusinowska, Berlin: Springer, 2010, 151-168.

(With Thomas van der Valk) Politics, Economics and Public Opinion: Government Preferences for the Creation of European Economic and Monetary Union, in *Økonomi og Tid (Economics and Time)*, edited by Sigbjørn Sødal, Festschrift for Arild Saether, Agder University College, Norway, 2010, 31-49.

Can Academics Help? Research in International Relations. Inaugural Lecture, Leiden University, October 14, 2008.

Negotiating the European Constitution: Actor Cleavages and Bargaining Outcomes. In: Tichý, Luboš et al. (eds.), *European Integration at the Crossroads*, Beroun: Univerzita Karlova, 2008, pp. 127-144.

(With Christine Arnold) The Importance of Actor Cleavages in Negotiating the European Constitutional Treaty, European Governance Papers C-07-03, December 2007.

(With Robert Thomson) "Introduction: Explaining Legislative Decision Making in the European Union", in Robert Thomson, Frans Stokman, Christopher H. Achen and Thomas König, eds., *The European Union Decides*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 1-24.

(With Vincent Boekhoorn and Ad M.A. van Deemen) "A Cooperative Approach to Decision-Making in the European Union", in Robert Thomson, Frans Stokman, Christopher H. Achen and Thomas König, eds., *The European Union Decides*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 178-210.

(With Christine Arnold and Paul Pennings) "The Netherlands: Domestic Preference Formation on the European Constitution", in Thomas König and Simon Hug (eds.), *Preference Formation and European Constitution-building: A Comparative Study in Member States and Accession Countries*, London: Routledge, 2006, 176-182.

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- (With Andreas Nölke and Jan Beyers) Contending Political-Economy Perspectives on European Interest Group Activity, in Andreas Warntjen and Arndt Wonka, eds., *Governance in Europe: The Role of Interest Groups*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2004, 42-56.
- (With Adrian M.A. van Deemen) Challenges to Efficiency and Coalition-Formation in the Council of the European Union, in: Madeleine O. Hosli, Adrian M.A. van Deemen and Mika Widgrén, eds., *Institutional Challenges in the European Union*, London/New York: Routledge, 2002, 65-87.
- (With Adrian M.A. van Deemen and Mika Widgrén) Introduction, in: Madeleine O. Hosli, Adrian M.A. van Deemen and Mika Widgrén, eds., *Institutional Challenges in the European Union*, London/New York: Routledge, 2002, xiii – xvii.
- Preferences and Power in the European Union, in Manfred J. Holler and Guillermo Owen (eds.), *Power Measures*, Vol. II, Munich: Accedo Verlagsgesellschaft, 2001, 311-26.
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- (With Josep M. Colomer) Decision-Making in the European Union: The Power of Political Parties, in Peter Moser, Gerald Schneider and Gebhard Kirchgässner, eds., *Decision Rules in the European Union*: Houndmills/London: Macmillan, 2000, 234-59.
- (With Sanoussi Bilal) Connected Coalition Formation and Voting Power in the Council of the European Union: An Endogenous Policy Approach, Working paper European Institute of Public Administration (EIPA), 99/W/05, December 1999.
- The EMU and International Monetary Relations: What to Expect for International Actors? In Carolyn Rhodes, ed., *The European Union in the World Community*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1998, 165-91.
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- (With Arild Saether) Free Trade Agreements and Customs Unions, in Madeleine O. Hosli and Arild Saether, eds., *Free Trade Agreements and Customs Unions: Experiences, Challenges and Constraints*, Brussels/Maastricht: European Commission/European Institute of Public Administration, 1997, 3-10.

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(With Heinz Hauser and Alfred Nydegger) Die Schweiz vor dem EG-Binnenmarkt (Switzerland Facing the EC Internal Market), in Heinz Hauser, ed., *Die Schweiz vor dem EG-Binnenmarkt* (Switzerland Facing the EC Internal Market), Grösch: Rügger, 1988, 57-95.

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Conference Papers and Work in Progress

Quantitative Methods for the Social Sciences (book manuscript; in preparation)

Institutional Change in the European Union (book manuscript; in preparation)

(With Rebecca Moody, Bryan O'Donovan, Serguei Kaniovski and Anna C. H. Little) Distributive and Collective Effects of United Nations Security Council Reform (manuscript)

(With Anke Hoekstra) What Fosters Enduring Peace? An Analysis of Factors Influencing Civil War Resolution (manuscript)

(With Rebecca Moody) Coalition Formation on Peacekeeping Resolutions in the United Nations Security Council (manuscript)

(With Evelyn van Kampen, Frits Meijerink and Katherine Tennis) Voting Cohesion in the United Nations General Assembly: The Case of the European Union (manuscript)

- (With Marc Uriot) Domestic Politics and European Union Negotiations: Voting in the Council 1995 to 2004 (manuscript)
- (With Serguei Kaniovski and Vincent van Beest) Vote Probabilities, Thresholds and Decision Capacity: The Council of the European Union (manuscript)
- (With Michal Parizek and Bêla Plechanovová) Inertia and Patterns of Decision-Making in the European Union, paper presented at the 5th Pan-European Conference on European Union Politics, Porto, Portugal, June 23-26, 2010.
- Reforming the United Nations Security Council: Collective and Distributive Effects, presented at the Workshop 'New Approaches to Voting and Social Choice', Tilburg University, May 25-26, 2009.
- (With Mikko Mattila and Marc Uriot) Voting Behavior in the Council of the European Union after the 2004 Enlargement, paper presented at the Forth Pan-European Conference on EU Politics, Riga, Latvia, September 25-27 and at the Eleventh Biennial Conference of the European Union Studies Association (EUSA), Los Angeles, April 23-25, 2009.
- (With Han Dorussen, Christine Arnold and Hartmut Lenz) Negotiating the European Constitution: The Role of Public Opinion, presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April 2-5, 2009.
- (With Peter van Roozendaal and Caspar Heetman) Coalitions in the Council of the European Union, paper presented at the CONNEX-Workshop 'Coalition-Formation in the European Union', Leiden University, January 24-25, 2008.
- (With Serguei Kaniovski) Towards An Empirical Model of Coalition Formation in the EU Council of Ministers, paper presented at the CONNEX-Workshop 'Coalition-Formation in the European Union', Leiden University, January 24-25, 2008.
- (With Annemarie S. Walter) Explaining the Dutch 'No' on the European Constitutional Treaty, paper presented at the CONNEX-Workshop 'Coalition-Formation in the European Union', Leiden University, January 24-25, 2008.
- Explaining Voting Behavior in the Council of the European Union, paper presented at the First World Meeting of the Public Choice Societies, Amsterdam, March 29 – April 1, 2007, the fourth General Conference of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), Pisa, 6-8 September 2007 and the 6th Workshop of the Europaeum Economics of European Integration Research Project, 5-6 October 2007, Prague.
- (With Christine Arnold) The Importance of Actor Cleavages in Negotiating the European Constitution, paper presented at the 102nd Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (APSA), Pennsylvania, August 31 - Sept 3, 2006.
- (With Christine Arnold) Actor Cleavages and Socio-Economic Policy-Making: Negotiating the European Constitution, paper presented at the DOSEI Follow-Up Meeting, Zurich, June 30 - July 1, 2006.
- Actor Preferences for Institutional Provisions in the European Constitution, paper presented at the Conference of the Good Governance Consortium (GGC), Vienna, May 10-12, 2006.

- Decision-making in the Council of the European Union: The Role of Formal and Informal Constraints, paper presented at the Workshop “Who Governs in the Council of Ministers of the European Union?”, European University Institute, May 19-20, 2006.
- (With Christine Arnold) Public Opinion Heterogeneity and Euroskepticism, paper presented at the ECPR Joint Sessions, April 25-30, 2006, Nicosia.
- (With Christine Arnold, Han Dorussen and Hartmut Lenz) Public Opinion Heterogeneity and European Integration, paper presented at the Conference of the Council for European Studies, March 29-13 April 2, 2006, Chicago.
- (With Christine Arnold) Actor Preferences for Procedures Regarding European Constitution Amendments, paper presented at the 3rd Pan-European ECPR Conference, Budapest, September, 8-10, 2005.
- (With Christine Arnold, Han Dorussen and Hartmut Lenz) Domestic Preference Heterogeneity and Negotiations on the European Constitution, paper presented at the 3rd Pan-European ECPR Conference, Budapest, September, 8-10, 2005 and at the Annual Work Conference of the Netherlands Institute of Government (NIG), Nijmegen, November 11, 2005.
- (With Christine Arnold) Cleavages, Coalition-Formation and Eastern Enlargement: Negotiating the European Constitution, paper presented at the DOSEI Final Conference, Brussels, June 20-21, 2005.
- (With Paul Pennings and Christine Arnold) The EU Constitution and Positions on Governance, paper presented at the Joint Sessions of Workshops of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), Uppsala, April 13-18, 2004.
- (With Christine Arnold and Paul Pennings) Social Policy-Making in the European Union: A New Mode of Governance? Paper presented at the 2004 Conference of Europeanists, Chicago, March 11-13.
- (With Robert Thomson) Who has Power in the European Union? A Comparison of Intergovernmentalism and Supranationalism in EU Decision-making, paper presented at the 61st Annual Conference of the Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA), Chicago, April 3-6, 2003.
- (With Vincent Boekhoorn and Ad M.A. van Deemen) A Cooperative Approach to Decision-making in the European Union, paper presented at the 8th Biennial International Conference of the European Union Studies Association (EUSA), Nashville, Tennessee, March 27-29, 2003.
- (With Moshé Machover) The Nice Treaty and Voting Rules in the Council: A Reply to Moberg (2002), paper presented at the 2003 Meeting of the Public Choice Society and Economic Science Association, Nashville, Tennessee, March 21-23, 2003.
- (With Rein Taagepera) National Representation in International Organizations: A Seat Distribution Formula for the EU Council and Parliament, paper presented at 2003 Meeting of the Public Choice Society and Economic Science Association, Nashville, Tennessee, March 21-23, 2003.

(With Adrian M.A. van Deemen) Conflict and Cooperation in Collective Decision-making Systems (mimeo).

(With Sanoussi Bilal and Paul Albuquerque) Spatial Voting Power Indices, paper presented at the ECPR General Conference / Pan-European IR Conference, University of Kent at Canterbury, September 6-10, 2001.

(With Sanoussi Bilal and Paul Albuquerque) The Probability of Coalition-Formation: Revised Voting Power Indices and Spatial Analysis, paper presented at the Seventh ECSA Biennial Conference, May 31-June 2, 2001, Madison, Wisconsin, USA.

Negotiating European Economic and Monetary Union, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (APSA), August 31 - September 3, 2000, Washington DC.

(With Sanoussi Bilal) Connected Coalitions and Voting Power: Endogenous Policy in the European Union, paper presented at the 96th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (APSA), August 31 - September 3, 2000, Washington DC.

(With Ben Soetendorp) The Hidden Dynamics of EU Council Decision-Making, paper presented at the 41st Annual Convention of the International Studies Association (ISA), March 14-17, 2000, Los Angeles.

The New Voting Weights in the Council of the European Union, paper presented at the 41st Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association (ISA), March 14-17, 2000, Los Angeles.

(With Josep M. Colomer) How Political Parties Rather than National Governments Are Building the European Union, paper presented at the 95th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association (APSA), Atlanta, Georgia, September 2-5, 1999.

(With Sanoussi Bilal) Industry Structure, Coalition Formation and the Council of the European Union, paper presented at the Biennial Meeting of the European Community Studies Association (ECSA), Pittsburgh, June 2-5, 1999.

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(With Reinoud F. Wolffenbuttel) The Distribution of Votes in the Council of the European Union, paper presented at the 40th Annual Meeting of the International Studies Association (ISA), February 15-20, 1999, Washington, DC.

(With Tanja Börzel) Brussels, Bern and Bonn: Comparative Federalism and Subsidiarity in the European Union, paper presented at the 94th Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 3-6, 1998, Boston, MA.

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