

APPENDIX: AN OVERVIEW OF DATA GATHERING PROCESS AND ANALYSED DOCUMENTS INCLUDED IN FINAL DATASET

For Commission documents we used two search tools, specifically the Register of Commission Documents and the DORIE database. When using the register, all types and all versions of documents were considered relevant. Next, we conducted an ‘all words’ rather than ‘exact phrase’ title field search in the document description for ‘European elections’. When searching for documents in the DORIE database, we queried ‘Commission’ for the ‘Author(s)’ field, and narrowed the search to include the theme ‘Commission’, subtheme ‘Nomination-appointment-confirmation of the Commission (President and Members)’, and further to other subsections ‘General’ and ‘President’.

The Public Register of Council documents was used to search for EUCO and Council of the EU documents. We were able to access documents related to the agendas, results and minutes of the meetings of the individual configurations of the Council as well as of the COREPER meetings. In the case of the European Council, we employed EUCO conclusions.¹ We also searched for documents by entering keywords and thematic area. We entered ‘President of the Commission’ and in the second case ‘European elections’ into the ‘Words in Subject’ field. In both cases, we searched for documents related to the institutional questions by choosing for ‘INST’ in the ‘Subject Matter’ field.

In the case of the EP, we used the Public Register of Documents, employing a ‘Document type’ search. We considered ‘Documents relating to parliamentary activity’ (Section 1) as a relevant category. Within this section, the ‘Plenary documents’ and the ‘Committee documents’ (Subsections 1.2 and 1.4) were relevant. In the case of Plenary documents, we were interested in documents related to the ‘Agenda’, ‘Texts adopted in plenary’, and ‘Texts tabled in plenary by a Member, group or committee’ (Subsections 1.2.2, 1.2.6, and 1.2.7). After identifying a particular plenary session in which the procedure for nominating/appointing the Commission President was discussed, we supplemented our dataset by provisional versions of documents, ‘Amendments’ and ‘Motions for resolutions/decisions’. In the case of Committee documents, we narrowed our focus on the Committee on Constitutional Affairs (AFCO) since the institutional issues primarily fall within its competences, and specifically on ‘Minutes’, ‘Working documents’ and ‘Reports’ (Subsections 1.4.2, 1.4.5, and 1.4.8). Again, when a particular meeting of the AFCO proved to be relevant, we searched for additional documents such as ‘Draft reports’, ‘Draft opinions’, and amendments to draft reports and draft opinions. Additionally, we considered ‘Press documents’ (Subsection 2.2 in the register), specifically press releases, as an important source of information. However, in this case, we decided to use a ‘Keyword’ search. Thus, we searched for ‘Commission president’, and ‘European elections’ when choosing ‘Press release’ in the ‘Document type’ field. In addition, we also used DORIE. As author, ‘European Parliament, EP’ was selected, while the thematic specification remained the same as in the previous case.

In searching for documents from the Euro-parties as well as from the EP groups, we used the official websites of these actors. For the purpose of this study, party congress documents, resolutions, declarations and press releases proved to be important.

The documents published in course of treaty revisions are also a part of our analysis. These documents include the preliminary and final positions of EU institutions and member states, EUCO conclusions and reflection groups’ reports. As in the case of the Commission and the EP, we employed DORIE. The thematic criteria remained unchanged, however this time, we used the ‘Arena’ field rather than the ‘Author(s)’ field, specifically ‘IGC/Amsterdam; IGC/Nice; IGC/Constitution/2003-2004; IGC/Lisbon’. Additionally, we also used the University of Zaragoza website (Universidad Zaragoza 2003) to provide references to relevant documents, and the official website of the European Convention.

All documents were gathered in 2015. Unfortunately, some documents are no longer publicly available (especially those published on parties' webpages).

Author/ Source	Document/Website Title	Adopted/ Published
ALDE	EP Election 2014 – procedure on nomination of common liberal top candidate(s)	2013
ALDE	Nominees for the ALDE Party European Commission President candidate announced	2013
ALDE	Agreement between Olli Rehn & Guy Verhofstadt – statement by ALDE Party President	2013
ALDE	Guy Verhofstadt and Olli Rehn to lead election campaign for European Liberals	2014
ALDE	ALDE votes were crucial for Juncker's election	2014
CEU	Informe del Grupo de Reflexión	1995
CEU	Progress Report from the Chairman of the Reflection Group on the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference	1995
CEU	Debate on the report of Mr Andrew Duff – Practical arrangements for the holding of the European elections in 2014	2013
CEU	Council conclusions on the EU Citizenship Report 2013	2013
CEU	Memorandum from Benelux	2000
EC	Report on the Operation of the Treaty on European Union	1995
EC	Committee on Institutional Affairs – Summary record (24 February 1995)	1995
EC	CIG 1996 – Position des Etats membres sur les thèmes à l'ordre du jour de la conférence intergouvernementale	1996
EC	"For a democratical European Union with Political and Social Content". Greece's Contribution to the 1996 IGC	1996
EC	Note for the Attention of Commissioner Oreja	1998
EC	Committee on Institutional Affairs – Summary record (21-22 July 1998)	1998
EC	Committee on Institutional Affairs – Summary record (28-29 September 1998)	1998
EC	Committee on Institutional Affairs – Summary record (24-25 June 1998)	1998
EC	Committee on Institutional Affairs – Summary record (21-22 September 1998)	1998
	Institutional Affairs Committee – Summary record (30 November/1 December 1998)	1998
EC	Adapting the institutions to make a success of enlargement	2000
EC	Romano Prodi Presenting the Commission Communication to the European Convention	2002
EC	Meetings of the President-designate, Mr Barroso, with the political groups European Parliament, Brussels, 13 and 14 July 2004	2004
EC	Follow-up to the European Parliament resolution on the impact of the Treaty of Lisbon on the development of the institutional balance of the European Union, adopted by the Commission on 14 July 2009	2009
EC	Report on the election of Members of the European Parliament (1976 Act as amended by Decision 2002/722/EC, Euratom) and on the participation of European Union citizens in elections for the European Parliament in the Member States of residence (Directive 93/109/EC)	2010
EC	Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council on the statute and funding of European political parties and European political foundations	2012
EC	State of the Union 2012 Address	2012
EC	Why we need a United States of Europe now	2012
EC	A blueprint for a deep and genuine economic and monetary union. Launching a European Debate – Communication from the Commission	2012
EC	A New Deal for Europe	2012

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EC	Letter by President Barroso to the President of the European Parliament, Mr Martin Schulz	2012
EC	Preparing for the 2014 European elections: further enhancing their democratic and efficient conduct – Communication from the Commission	2013
EC	Commission Recommendation of 12.3.2013 on enhancing the democratic and efficient conduct of the elections to the European Parliament	2013
EC	Report on the 2014 European Parliament elections	2014
EC	Minutes of the 2087th meeting of the Commission held in Brussels (Berlaymont) on Wednesday 28 May 2014 (morning)	2014
EDP	EDP welcomed Liberal's decision to present Guy Verhofstadt as their candidate	2014
EDP	Guy Verhofstadt is the best candidate!	2014
EDP	EDP adopted its Manifesto and will officialise its candidate to the Commission Presidency on March 12th	2014
EDP	Guy Verhofstadt, EDP candidate	2014
EGP	Resolution on the Future of the European Greens	2004
EGP	The personalisation of the campaign	2008
EGP	EGP campaign leaders and Green ambassadors	2009
EGP	Imagine a different European election	2013
EGP	Green European party leaders move elections campaign forward – call for candidates is on	2013
EGP	EGP launches Green Primary to select the two Leading Candidates for European elections 2014	2013
EGP	The Green Primary (Resolution as adopted during 19th Council Meeting, 2013)	2013
EGP	Ska Keller and José Bové will lead the Greens in their European campaign	2014
EGP	First European Presidential Debate	2014
EGP	Greens remain force to be reckoned with in EU politics	2014
EL	EL-Declaration: 2014 European elections: for a democratic refoundation of Europe	2012
EL	European elections: concerning the submission of an EL candidacy for the presidency of the European Commission	2013
EL	Tsipras, Nominated by the European Left, as the Voice to Denounce the Policies of the Troika in the European Commission	2013
EL	The Party of the European Left (EL) relies to withstand in a radical way the austerity that is imposing the Troika and to fight in defence of public services	2013
EL	Change Europe – for a Europe of work	2013
EL	Eurovision Debate: Tsipras captures the public's attention, most tweeted leader	2014
EL	European Left poised to take third place in European Elections	2014
ELDR	Putting Citizens First	1995
ELDR	Guiding Principles for the Work of the Convention	2002
ELDR	Presidency of European Commission	2007
EP	Resolution on the functioning of the Treaty on European Union with a view to the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference – Implementation and development of the Union	1995
EP	Report on the functioning of the Treaty on European Union with a view to the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference – Implementation and development of the Union – Part I A: Motion for a resolution	1995
EP	Report on the functioning of the Treaty on European Union with a view to the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference – Implementation and development of the Union – Part I B: Explanatory Statement	1995
EP	Draft Report on the development of the European Union	1995

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EP	Report on the functioning of the Treaty on European Union with a view to the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference – Implementation and development of the Union – Part III: Co-draftsmen's working documents	1995
EP	White Paper on the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference	1996
EP	Portugal and the IGC for the revision of the Treaty on European Union.	1996
EP	Guidelines of the Austrian Government on the subjects likely to be dealt with at the 1996 IGC	1996
EP	Progress Report on the Intergovernmental Conference	1996
EP	Resolution on Parliament's opinion on the convening of the Intergovernmental Conference; and evaluation of the work of the Reflection Group and definition of the political priorities of the European Parliament with a view to the Intergovernmental Conference	1996
EP	Resolution on the general outline for a draft revision of the Treaties	1997
EP	Initial Analysis of the Treaty of Amsterdam	1997
EP	Note on the European Parliament's Priorities for the IGC and the new Amsterdam Treaty: Report and initial Evaluation of the results	1997
EP	Resolution on the Amsterdam Treaty	1997
EP	Report on the institutional implications of the approval by the European Parliament of the President of the Commission and the independence of the members of the Commission	1998
EP	Resolution on the institutional implications of the approval by the European Parliament of the President of the Commission and the independence of the members of the Commission	1998
EP	Report on the European Parliament's proposals for the Intergovernmental Conference	2000
EP	European Parliament resolution containing the European Parliament's proposals for the Intergovernmental Conference	2000
EP	Report on the Treaty of Nice and the future of the European Union	2001
EP	European Parliament resolution on the constitutional process and the future of the Union	2001
EP	European Parliament declaration on the election of the President of the Commission by the European Parliament	2003
EP	Report on the draft Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe and the European Parliament's opinion on the convening of the Intergovernmental Conference (IGC)	2003
EP	Report on guidelines for the approval of the European Commission	2003
	Report on the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe	2004
EP	Report on the institutional aspects of the European Union's capacity to integrate new Member States	2006
EP	Report on the impact of the Treaty of Lisbon on the development of the institutional balance of the European Union	2009
EP	Resolution of 7 May 2009 on the impact of the Treaty of Lisbon on the development of the institutional balance of the European Union	2009
EP	Working document on the impact of the Lisbon Treaty on the development of the institutional balance of the European Union	2009
EP	Motion for a resolution on the elections to the European Parliament in 2014	2012
EP	Draft motion for a resolution – Amendments 1-17	2012
EP	Statistics – 2012/2829(RSP) – B7-0520/2012	2012
EP	Amendment 1 – on behalf of the PPE Group	2012
EP	Amendment 5 – on behalf of the Verts/ALE Group	2012
EP	European Parliament resolution of 22 November 2012 on the elections to the European Parliament in 2014	2012

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EP	Debates – Thursday, 22 November 2012 - Strasbourg	2012
EP	Debates (Explanations of vote) – Thursday, 22 November 2012 – Strasbourg	2012
EP	Draft report on improving the organisation of the elections to the European Parliament in 2014	2013
EP	Draft report – Amendments 1-79	2013
EP	Draft report – Amendments 80-85	2013
EP	Report on improving the practical arrangements for the holding of the European elections in 2014	2013
EP	Debates – Wednesday, 3 July 2013 – Strasbourg	2013
EP	European Parliament resolution of 4 July 2013 on improving the practical arrangements for the holding of the European elections in 2014	2013
EP	Gianni Pittella: “The last European elections have been a turning point for the EU”	2014
EP	EP Conference of Presidents: arrangements for electing next Commission President	2014
EP	Conference of Presidents statement on Commission President election	2014
EP	European Parliament press kit for the 26-27 June European Council	2014
EP	Parliament elects Jean-Claude Juncker as Commission President	2014
EPP	Ability to Act, Democracy and Transparency: The European Union – the road to European integration	1995
EPP	A Constitution for a Strong Europe	2002
EPP	Manifesto. EPP Statutory Congress 17-18 October 2012, Bucharest, Romania	2002
EPP	Capacity to act – Democracy - Transparency	2004
EPP	Appointment of the future President of the European Commission	2004
EPP	For a Europe of the Citizens: Priorities for a Better Future (Rome Manifesto)	2006
EPP	EPP Action Programme, Dublin Congress, 6-7 March 2014, Dublin, Ireland	2014
EPP Group	EPP leaders meet in the aftermath of the European Elections (16-17 June 2004)	2004
EPP Group	Twelve Prime Ministers meet in EPP Summit in Meise	2004
EPP Group	Hans-Gert Poettering on the adoption of the European Constitution – “A historic achievement for Europe”	2004
EPP Group	EPP-ED Group confirms its support for Mr Barroso	2004
EPP Group	Hans-Gert Poettering on the new Barroso Commission	2004
EPP Group	EPP-ED Study Days Budapest – Full Group meeting endorses José Manuel Durão Barroso as President of the European Commission	2004
EPP Group	Nomination of Prime Minister Barroso for Commission President – Comment from EPP President Wilfried Martens	2004
EPP Group	EPP-ED Study Days Budapest – Converting electoral success into political results now	2004
EPP Group	EPP-ED Study Days in Athens: Next EU Commission needs quick but stable majority	2009
EPP Group	Juncker for President: “The voice of European citizens has been heard”	2014
EPP Group	EPP Group expresses full support to Jean-Claude Juncker	2014
EUCO	2595th Council meeting – Heads of State or Government (29 June 2004)	2004
EUCO	Presidency Conclusions. Brussels European Council, 11 and 12 December 2008	2008
EUCO	Presidency Conclusions. Brussels European Council, 18/19 June 2009	2009
EUCO	European Council decision proposing to the European Parliament a candidate for President of the European Commission	2014
EUCO	Ausführungen von Präsident Herman van Rompuy im Anschluss an die Tagung des Europäischen Rates	2014
EUR-Lex	Minutes of the sitting of Wednesday 13 January 1999.	1999
EUR-Lex	Minutes of the sitting of Wednesday 13 January 1999.	1999

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Greens/EFA	Commission presidency. EU governments must make decision based on outcome of European elections	2014
PES	The Party of European Socialists and the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference	1996
PES	Spring 2004: new challenges for the PES	2004
PES	A New Way Forward, A Stronger PES	2009
PES	Un candidat social-démocrate unique à la Présidence de la Commission européenne	2009
PES	PES Strategy 2010-2014. A Mandate for Change	2010
PES	A democratic and transparent process for designating the PES candidate for the European Commission Presidency	2010
PES	Selecting our common candidate in 2014	2011
PES	Europe, our common Future. Celebrating 20 years of the Party of European Socialists	2013
PES	European Socialists elect Martin Schulz as Candidate for Commission President	2014
PES	PES Presidency sets out Battle Plans for European Election Campaign	2014
PES	Schulz connecting best with EU voters	2014
PES	Juncker must deliver more progressive Europe, say PES Leaders	2014
PES	PES will be “unrelenting” in ensuring Juncker Commission takes a more progressive path	2014
S&D	Socialists issue a warning as they urge ministers to put off nomination for Commission Presidency	2009
S&D	Barroso deal “a political, legal and institutional outrage”	2009
S&D	S&D Group claim victory as fast-track Barroso decision is blocked	2009
S&D	The choice for Commission President must be political	2009
S&D	Swoboda on EP elections? “Direct election of Commission President to make EU more democratic”	2014
S&D	“European Council must give Juncker a mandate to negotiate”	2014
S&D	“We will support Jean-Claude Juncker if he respects our policy programme for change”	2014

Abbreviations: ALDE – Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe ; CEU – Council of the European Union; EC – European Commission; EDP – European Democratic Party; EGP – European Green Party; EL – European Left; ELDR – European Liberal Democrat and Reform Party; EP – European Parliament; EPP – European People’s Party; EUCO – European Council; Greens/EFA – Greens/European Free Alliance; PES – Party of European Socialists; S&D – Socialists & Democrats.

The EUCO conclusions adopted in 2004 and later are available in the Public register. The conclusions prior to 2004 are available through official website of the EUCO/Council of the EU.