

The European People's Party: center right or center left?

An exhaustive analysis of the EPP's voting patterns on the Migration and Asylum Pact, the Green Deal, the Rule of Law and Trade

Authors: Rodrigo Ballester, Yann Caspar, Damille Devenyi

Mathias Corvinus Collegium – Centre for European Studies
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Rodrigo Ballester:

Rodrigo Ballester is the Head of the Centre for European Studies at the Mathias Corvinus Collegium in Budapest. He holds a law degree from the San Pablo CEU University in Madrid and a Master's degree in European Law (LL.M) from the College of Europe in Bruges (2002). Former EU official, he spent 16 years in Brussels, both in the European Parliament and the European Commission, notably as member of staff of the Hungarian Commissioner Tibor Navracsics (2014-2019). In 2024, he has been appointed Ministerial Commissioner responsible for the internationalisation strategy of Hungarian universities.

Yann Caspar:

Yann Caspar is a Franco-Hungarian lawyer, journalist, translator, and author. He holds a Master's degree in European Union law as well as a degree in law and economics from the University of Nancy, France. He specialises in political, legal, and economic issues in the Central European countries, particularly Hungary. Yann Caspar has been a researcher at the Mathias Corvinus Collegium Centre for European Studies since June 2023. He is the author and translator of several books.

Damille Devenyi:

Damille Devenyi is a researcher at the Mathias Corvinus Collegium Centre for European Studies. He is also a Master's student at the International Graduate School of the University of Granada and holds a degree in Political Science from the University of New England, USA. He has conducted research at the Fundación Euroárabe de Altos Estudios in Granada, Spain, focusing on anti-radicalization, prevention, and security programs between EU and Arab organizations. His experience includes working with NGOs in South Africa, Morocco, and the USA on community development, youth programs, and civic engagement.

INTRODUCTION

“Grosse Koalition”: while this term refers to an atypical way to sustain a government, in the European Union it describes the “business as usual” solution for a solid parliamentary majority in the European Parliament. For several legislatures already, a consolidated political consensus relies on a very large and unique coalition ranging from centre-right to extreme-left parties. In Brussels and Strasbourg, the common perception is that EPP, Socialists, Liberals, Greens and The Left (GUE/NGL) often vote together, despite being frequently at odds at national level. At the same time, this coalition also entails a strict exclusion of certain parties from the general majority – a *cordon sanitaire* – according to the standardized and infamous expression.

In fact, the party led by Manfred Weber often faces criticism for acting and voting like a “left-wing” party and being part of the progressive and federalist concert, despite being officially labelled as “centre-right” or even “conservative.” This raises some questions: to what extent did the EPP vote alongside liberal, socialist, green, and communist parties in the last legislature? In Europe, can the EPP still be labelled as a “centre-right” party?

Every European political family is a patchwork of national parties with different views. Votes within European political groups are not as monolithic as in national politics. Yet, the position taken by the majority of each European party remains the most relevant data to obtaining a clear indication of its political positioning (see Annex I to IV). For that reason, an accurate image of the EPP’s voting patterns is crucial to ascertain its political alignment. In that paper, we focus on the EPP’s final position (reflecting the majority of its members) on four salient political files, namely:

- **the Migration and Asylum Pact,**
- **the European Green Deal,**
- **the Rule of Law Resolutions against Hungary and Poland,**
- **and Trade Agreements.**

The study encompasses the period from 2019 to 2024 and is strictly limited to the four areas listed above. While it considers the final votes of national delegations which voted against the majority of their own group, the study primarily relies on the EPP’s final vote, supported by the majority of its members, to conclude that, in an overwhelming majority of cases, this party supported the same positions as the other coalition members, especially S&D and Renew.

Enough to qualify the EPP as a “centre-left” party? Just enough to provide relevant elements to the voters to answer that question on their own.

I. MIGRATION AND ASYLUM PACT

The **Migration and Asylum Pact** is a set of new rules designed to manage long-term migration and establish a common asylum system across the European Union (EU). On April 10, 2024, the European Parliament (EP) approved the new regulations, sending them to the Council of the EU, which formally adopted them a month later on May 14. On the same day as the Council's adoption, the European Commission (EC) published an "Explanatory Memo on the Pact on Migration and Asylum."¹ This memo serves as the blueprint for the following analysis, which examines the voting patterns within the EP, predominantly focusing on the European People's Party (EPP). The analysis reflects the party's defined stance on migration and asylum policies, providing insights on its approach and elucidating its legislative priorities regarding this critical topic.

A total of 14 pieces of legislation listed in the memo were analyzed, from the *Implementation of the Return Directive* of December 2020 to the *Standards for the Reception of Applicants for International Protection* of April 2024. **In all 14 cases, the EPP voted in tandem with the Socialists & Democrats (S&D) and Renew Europe (Renew) groups.** This overwhelming support, aided by intermittent backing from the Greens-European Free Alliance (Greens/EFA) and The Left (GUE/NGL), enabled the Migration and Asylum Pact's legislation to withstand any form of opposition.

Notable observations include the results of the September 2021 *EU Blue Card Directive*, which received 175 votes in favor from the EPP, coupled with a mere 2 votes against and not a single abstention. **This translates to a 98% approval rate within the party.** Similar support was observed with 97% of the S&D vote, 94% of Renew, and 100% of the Greens/EFA also opting for "In favor." Broad consensus among major parties was also visible in the legislation regarding the November 2021 establishment of the *European Union Agency for Asylum*, which received 396 votes in favor, 92 votes against, and 73 abstentions. **The EPP tallied 132 votes in favor, indicating a 92% approval rating,** along with 98% support from S&D with 116 votes in favor, and 100% backing from both Renew and the Greens/EFA, with 82 and 55 votes in favor, respectively.

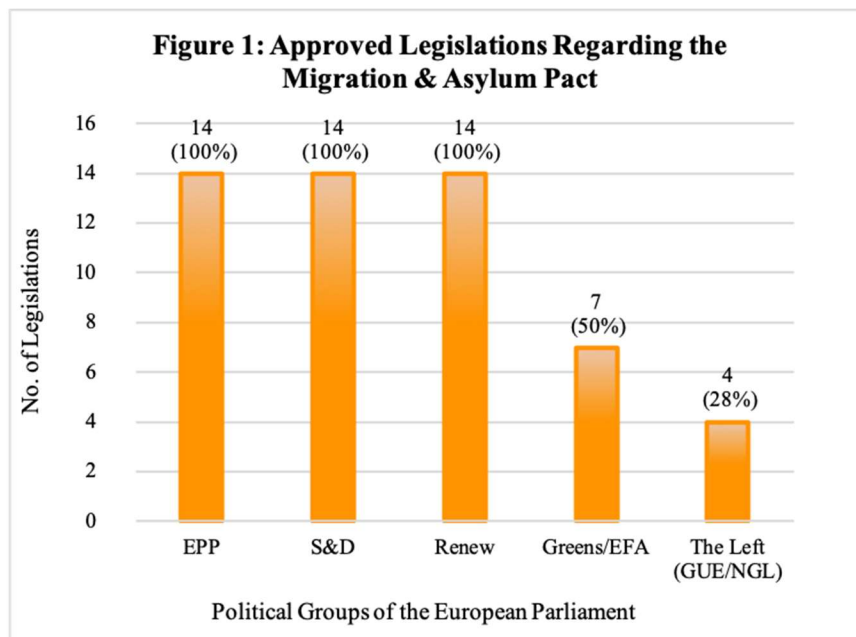
Further analysis shows the *Asylum and Migration Management Regulation (AMMR)* of April 2024 having received 121 votes in favor from the EPP, with 29 against and 1 abstention, **indicating an 80% approval rating.** In the same vote, the S&D's 104 votes in favor indicated an 83% approval rating, while Renew Europe's 86 votes in favor reflected a 90% approval rating. **In fact, 96% of the "In favor" votes came from the combined votes of these three parties.** In the same voting session of April 2024, the *European Criminal Records Information System for third-country nationals* also garnered significant attention, registering 140 votes in favor from the EPP, 13 against, and no abstentions, reflecting a favorability rate of 91%. The total votes were 414 in favor, 182 against, and 29 abstentions. This high count of "In favor" votes suggests strong solidarity on this matter, with the EPP's position surpassing that of S&D (73% in favor) and mirroring that of Renew (91% in favor).

¹ European Commission. (2024, May 14). *Explanatory memo on the Pact on Migration and Asylum*. Press Corner | Questions and Answers. Brussels. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/QANDA_24_1865#ftn1.

The results indicate how the EPP’s position plays an influential role in the overall parliamentary consensus. Continued analysis of the voting habits consistently reinforces this trend. Regarding the *Establishment of ‘Eurodac’ for the comparison of fingerprints for the effective application of Regulation (EU) No 604/2013* (vote on 10 April 2024), the EPP’s 140 votes in favor, together with 94 votes from the S&D and 86 votes from Renew, constituted **79% of approval in Parliament**. With only 8% of the EPP’s votes going against the establishment of ‘Eurodac’, their position reflects an endorsement in line with other major parties.

With respect to *Establishing a Return Border Procedure and Amending Regulation (EU) 2021/1148* on April 10th of this year, the EPP voted 124 in favor, 16 against, and 13 abstentions, indicating an 81% favorability rate. Comprising over one-third of the 329 votes in favor, the EPP demonstrated significant agreement, aligning with S&D’s 68% approval and Renew’s 91% approval of the legislation. Lastly, April 2024 saw the *Union Resettlement Framework* acquiring 127 in favor votes cast by the EPP, resulting in an 83% approval rating. The total votes were 452 in favor, 154 against, and 14 abstentions, illustrating strong uniformity with the broader parliamentary decision, where S&D and Renew also showed strong support at 95% and 92% respectively.

In summary, the EPP’s support for measures within the Migration and Asylum Pact consistently enabled the passing of legislation largely supported by S&D, Renew, and, in many cases, by the Greens-European Free Alliance (Greens/EFA). The **EPP’s average favorability rate across the 14 legislations stood at 86%**, underscoring a stance on migration and asylum policies inseparable from the EU’s legislative framework. These patterns indicate unified priorities and an invariable approach to approving migration and asylum regulations within the EP.



Source: European Parliament | Illustration generated by MCC Centre for European Studies

II. EUROPEAN GREEN DEAL

The second focal point is the **European Green Deal**, a comprehensive set of proposals aimed at harmonizing the EU's climate, energy, transport, and taxation policies with the objective of reducing greenhouse gas emissions by a minimum of 55% by 2030. This initiative, funded by the EU's seven-year budget and the NextGenerationEU Recovery Plan, also seeks to attain net zero greenhouse gas emissions by 2050 while decoupling economic growth from resource consumption. An analysis of 43 pivotal legislations forming the Green Deal reveals additional trends and alignments within the European Parliament (EP), highlighting areas of unanimity among the EPP, S&D, Renew, the Greens/EFA, and The Left.

The dataset concerning the 43 legislations was categorized into six primary domains based on a February 2024 regulatory update provided by EUROFI², a European think tank specializing in economic and financial policy, and the Institute for European Environmental Policy's (IEEP) European Green Deal Barometer 2024³. These six categories, detailed in Annex 2, encompass Energy, Industry, Buildings, Transport, Nature Preservation and Restoration, and Circular Economy – representing the principal areas of focus targeted by the Green Deal's legislative framework. **An analysis of selected legislations per category is provided in the text to illustrate the discerned voting patterns uncovered during the research endeavor.** All the votes relating to the 43 pieces of legislation of the Green Deal are exhaustively detailed in Annex II.

Beginning with the **Energy** sector, the *EU Strategy to Reduce Methane Emissions* of October 2021 received substantial support, with 563 affirmative votes, 122 against, and 11 abstentions. The EPP showcased robust backing, contributing 172 votes in favor, followed by S&D with 141 affirmative votes. Additionally, Renew exhibited considerable support with 93 votes, while the Greens/EFA unanimously supported the legislation, casting all 73 of their votes in favor. Furthermore, 37 of The Left's 38 votes supported the legislation, indicating a **97% approval rating within the party**. Combined, the total votes in favor from the EPP, S&D, Renew, the Greens/EFA, and The Left amounted to 516 votes, or 91% of the affirmative votes. Conversely, the European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR) and Identity and Democracy (ID) groups were generally opposed, with 52 and 67 negative votes, respectively.

In the **Industry** sector, a review of *A New Industrial Strategy for Europe* from November 2020 revealed a similar trend, with 486 votes in favor, 109 against, and 102 abstentions. The EPP, S&D, Renew, and the Greens/EFA demonstrated considerable alignment, tallying 186, 140, 60, and 68 votes in favor, respectively, **constituting 93% of the in favor vote**. Meanwhile, the ECR and ID were either in opposition or abstained, accounting for 45% of the opposition vote and 74% of the abstention vote, indicating a division on environmental policies. Notably, the EPP, S&D, and Greens/EFA supported this legislation with 100% of their votes. Regarding

² Pons, J.F., & Dubois, C. (2024, February). *The implementation of the Green Deal Legislative Programme: mission largely accomplished*. Eurofi Regulatory Update. Alphalex-Consult. Available at: https://www.eurofi.net/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/eurofi_the-implementation-of-the-green-deal-legislative-programme_ghent_february_2024.pdf.

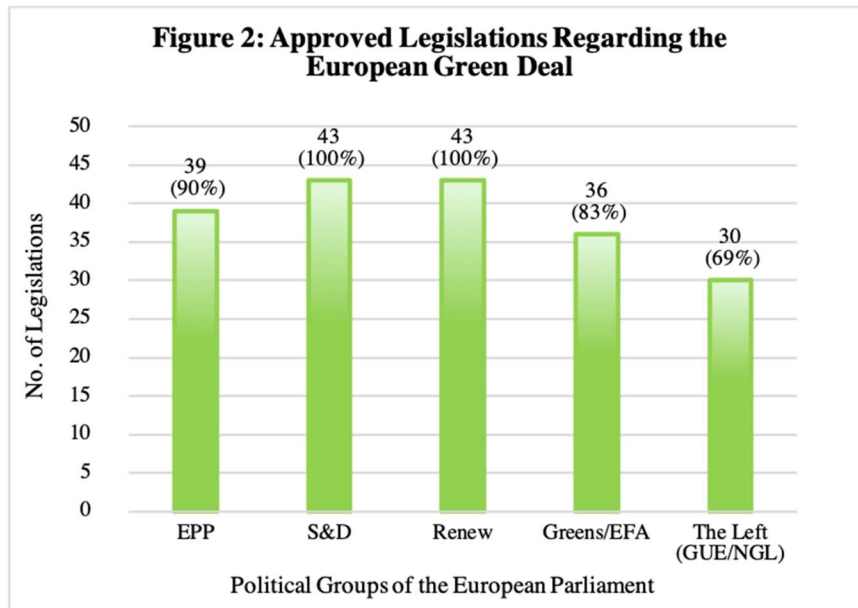
³ Institute for European Environmental Policy. (2024, May 21). *European Green Deal Barometer 2024*. Available at: <https://ieep.eu/publications/green-deal-barometer-2024/>.

the **Buildings** category, the June 2022 *Revision of the EU Emissions Trading System (ETS II for the building, road and transport sectors)* continued to reflect a pattern of a grand coalition versus the rest. With 439 votes in favor and 157 votes opposed (32 abstentions), the legislation's voting results highlight the split in the EP. The EPP had 93% party support, S&D stood at 92% support, Renew came in at 95% in favor, and the Greens/EFA maintained 98% party support with only 1 abstention out of 67 votes. Contrarily, the ECR's 52 votes against, ID's 55 against, and the Non-Inscrits '(NI) 20 votes made up 80% of the opposition.

In the **Transport** sector, the *Binding Annual Greenhouse Gas Emission Reductions by Member States (Effort Sharing Regulation)* of March 2023 received 486 votes in favor, 132 against, and 10 abstentions. The EPP, S&D, Renew, and The Left demonstrated near-unanimous support, while the Greens/EFA provided unanimous backing. Specifically, 155 out of the EPP's 157 votes **indicated 98% party support**, 127 out of the S&D's 129 votes indicated 98% party support, and 86 out of Renew's 91 votes indicated a 94% approval rate. Conversely, the ECR and ID groups constituted the bulk of the opposition, accounting for 83% of the negative votes. In one of only four shifts from the general voting trend of the EPP, with regard to the European Green Deal, the April 2024 legislation concerning the *Accounting of greenhouse gas emissions of transport services* secured only 27 affirmative votes, 116 negative votes, and 2 abstentions. The 116 opposing votes translates to 47% of the opposition, marking a unique reverse in routine voting practices.

In the realm of **Nature Preservation and Restoration**, the April 2023 *Social Climate Fund* garnered immense support, with 521 votes in favor, 75 against, and 43 abstentions. With near-unanimous backing from the EPP, S&D, Renew, the Greens/EFA, and The Left, the collective 461 votes of the total 639 cast, represented a combined 72% support from these five groups. Opposition from the ECR, ID, and the NI was less pronounced. It is worth mentioning, however, that this category also witnessed one of the largest displays of a change in voting habits by the EPP when in April of this year, they voted against the *Nature Restoration Law*. **In this instance, only 25 votes from the EPP went in favor, while 115 votes opposed the legislation and 10 abstained altogether.**

Lastly, the **Circular Economy** category is exemplified by the February 2021 *New Circular Economy Action Plan*, which received 574 votes in favor, 22 against, and 95 abstentions. **Remarkably, 92% of The Left and 96% of the EPP voted in favor, alongside 100% of S&D, Renew, and the Greens/EFA.** In contrast, 75% of the ECR abstained with 45 votes, and 50% of the ID abstained with 38 votes. Of the total 43 regulations analyzed in the Green Deal, the EPP voted against or abstained from only 4 regulations, whereas S&D and Renew supported all of them, and the Greens/EFA approved 36. Accordingly, the voting analysis underscores a sustained pattern: the EPP, S&D, Renew, and the Greens/EFA factions consistently favor European Green Deal initiatives, while the ECR and ID groups frequently oppose similar measures, indicating a significant partition within the Parliament.



Source: European Parliament | Illustration generated by MCC Centre for European Studies

III. RESOLUTIONS AGAINST HUNGARY AND POLAND

Shifting our focus to the **Resolutions Against Hungary and Poland**, distinct patterns of support and opposition among the political groups within the European Parliament (EP) could be observed. These resolutions aimed to uphold the rule of law, addressing actions by the Hungarian and Polish governments that were seen as violations of the Treaty on the European Union (TEU). The issues at hand included reforms to the judiciary, media regulations, and electoral laws. The analysis explores statistical evidence of the resolutions voted by the European Parliament during the last parliamentary term in order to make clear the EPP Group's position on this issue.

Beginning with *2020 Ongoing hearings under article 7(1) of the TEU regarding Poland and Hungary*, the motion for a resolution of the text as a whole obtained 446 votes in favor, 133 against, and 41 abstentions. Of the 446 votes in favor, 99 votes were from the EPP, 132 from S&D, 90 from Renew, and 68 from the Greens/EFA. Contrastingly, the ECR and ID groups heavily opposed this motion with 50 and 66 votes, respectively. The same trends can be observed two years later with the *2022 Ongoing hearings under Article 7(1) TEU regarding Poland and Hungary*. The motion for a resolution of the text as a whole obtained 426 votes in favor, 133 against, and 37 abstentions. Of the 426 votes in favor, 114 votes (or 26.5%) were from the EPP, 115 votes (or 27%) were from S&D, 92 votes (or 21%) were from Renew, and 65 votes (or 15%) were from the Greens/EFA. At the same time, the ECR and ID groups heavily opposed this motion with 52 and 56 votes, respectively, making up 81% of the opposition.

The *Rule of Law and the Polish National Recovery Plan (RRF)* received significant support with 411 votes in favor, 129 against, and 31 abstentions. **The EPP demonstrated ardent backing for the resolution with 109 votes in favor, representing 77% support within the party.** This is further supported by the position of the S&D, which cast 111 votes in favor, constituting 96% support within their party. Additionally, 95% of Renew, 98% of the Greens, and 90% of The Left also voted in favor. Conversely, 86% of the opposition came from the joint votes of the ECR, ID, and the NIs, accounting for 112 votes out of the total 129 votes against. On the resolution regarding the *Electoral Law, Investigative Committee, and the Rule of Law in Poland*, the **EPP, S&D, Renew, the Greens/EFA, and The Left again maintained similar sentiments with 95%, 99%, 94%, 98%, and 88% of votes in favor**, respectively. These figures collectively constituted 457 of the total 472 votes in favor, or 96% of the affirmative. The ECR and ID groups were predominantly opposed, with 52 and 58 votes against, indicating a disagreement on rule of law issues from these groups.

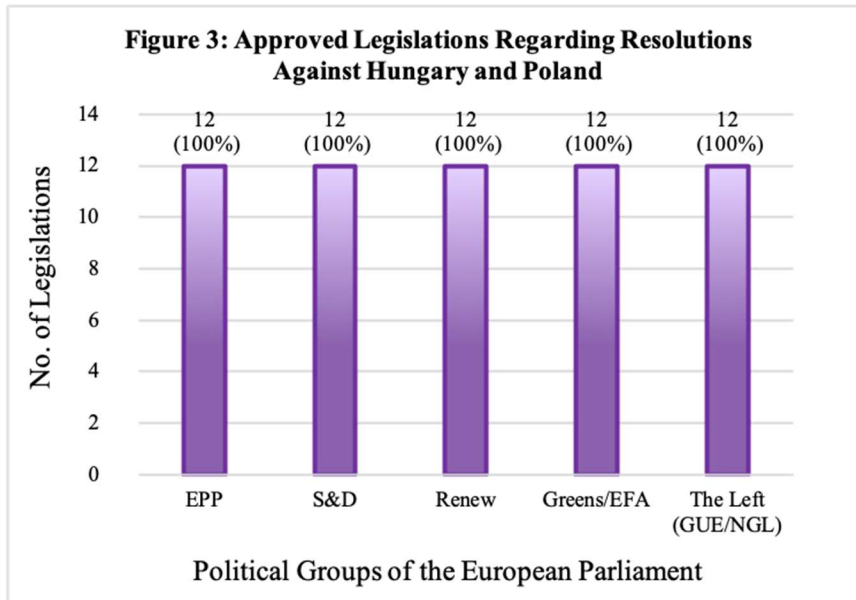
On the subject of *Breaches of the rule of law and fundamental rights in Hungary and the freezing of EU funds*, the motion secured 442 votes in favor, 144 against, and 33 abstentions. The distribution of "in favor" votes showed substantial support: **the EPP contributed 131 votes out of their 151**, S&D cast 122 votes out of their 126, Renew had 89 votes out of their 93, and the Greens/EFA provided 66 votes out of their 67. Opposition primarily came from the ECR, ID, and the NIs, with 55, 53, and 21 votes against, respectively, out of the total 144. With respect to the *Assessment of Hungary's compliance with rule of law conditions under the Conditionality Regulation*, 72% of the votes were in favor, while only 21% were against and 5% abstained. Similar to multiple previous cases, 91% of the affirming votes came from the EPP, S&D, Renew, and the Greens/EFA, while 90% of the dissenting votes came from the ECR, ID, and the NIs.

With regard to the *Existence of a clear risk of serious breach by Hungary of EU values on which the Union is founded*, the votes totaled at 433 in favor, 123 against, and 28 abstaining. Of these, 112 out of the EPP's 135 votes, combined with 123 from S&D, 88 from Renew, and 64 from the Greens/EFA, **constituted 89% of the support for the vote.** Unsurprisingly, the 123 opposition votes were cast mainly by the ECR – with 44 votes against – and ID – with 50 votes against –, augmented by 18 votes against from the NIs. This analysis of electoral conduct, along with previous examinations, further underscores a consistent voting pattern observed throughout the data. In each instance, when the ECR and ID (typically aided by the NIs) vote one way, the rest of the political groups within the EP vote in the opposite direction.

This year, the resolutions called *Situation in Hungary and frozen EU funds* and *Ongoing hearings under Article 7(1) TEU regarding Hungary to strengthen the rule of law and its budgetary implications* adopted on 18 January and 24 April, respectively, were **supported by an overwhelming majority of EPP members**: 101 votes in favor, 3 against and 8 abstentions for the first legislation and 113 votes in favor, 6 against and 13 abstentions for the second. The other groups, with the exception of the ID, ECR and NI groups, also voted overwhelmingly in favor of the adoption of these texts, with even fewer votes against and abstentions than the EPP group.

On the twelve resolutions adopted during the legislature against Hungary and Poland, the EPP Group has shown massive and constant support, adopting **100% of the texts with an average**

approval rate within the group of 83%. By way of comparison, the approval rate within the other groups that supported all of these resolutions was 98% within S&D, 97% within Renew, 98% for the Greens/EFA, and 86% for The Left.



Source: European Parliament | Illustration generated by MCC Centre for European Studies

IV. TRADE AGREEMENTS

The final subject of analysis, namely **Trade Agreements**, is one where a broader spectrum of voting habits becomes apparent. Analysing the voting practices of the Parliament’s political groups, offers valuable insights into the matter. This section focuses on 17 significant trade-related legislations coordinated and cooperated upon by the EU with countries such as Canada, Chile, and Japan. These trade agreements encompass sectors such as agriculture, transportation, and environmental standards, highlighting the comprehensive nature of agreements negotiated between the EU and its partner countries.

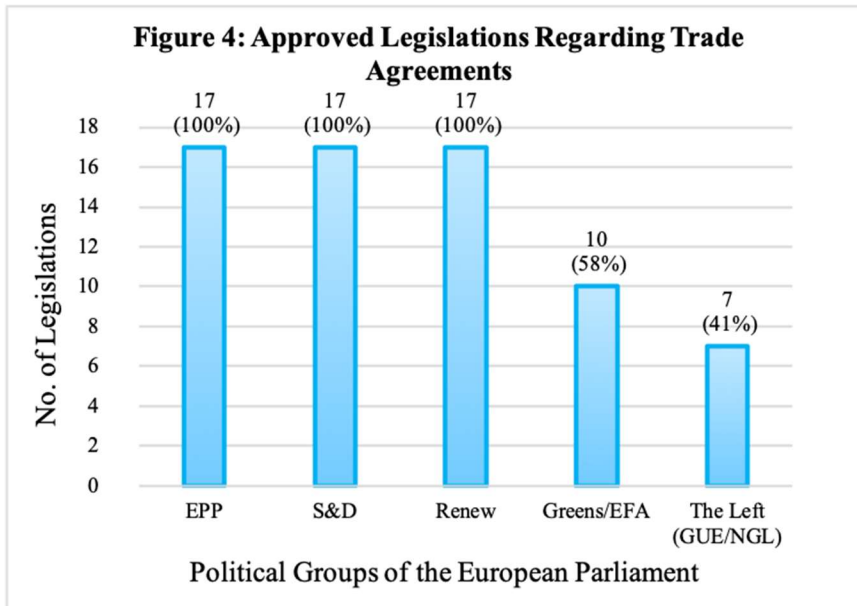
The 2019 February *EU-Singapore Trade Agreement*, the only legislation examined before the ninth parliamentary election was held between 23 and 26 of May 2019, **showed an EPP “In favor” vote of 97%**, followed closely by a Renew approval of 95%. The combined votes of the EPP, S&D, and Renew accounted for 79% of the 425 votes accepting the trade agreement. Support for the December 2019 *Accession of Solomon Islands to the EU-Pacific States Interim Partnership Agreement* was widespread, with some pushback from the Greens/EFA and The Left. The agreement received 534 votes in favor, corresponding to a 77% approval from the Parliament, with 411 of these votes coming from the EPP, S&D, and Renew. The ECR was 100% behind the agreement, with all 58 of their votes supporting the accession.

Voting for the trade agreement regarding the *Implementation of the EU-Canada Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA)* from January of this year, showed slightly less cohesion, resulting in 391 votes in favor, 157 against, and 83 abstentions. Nonetheless, **the EPP emerged as the largest proponent with 144 votes in favor**, followed by S&D with 105 votes and Renew with 97 votes. In contrast, the Greens/EFA and The Left were staunchly opposed, with 95% of the Greens/EFA and 100% of The Left voting against the initiative. The remaining groups, namely the ECR, ID, and the NIs, exhibited a more divided stance, with their votes being relatively evenly distributed among the three voting options.

When moving on to the July 2023 *EU/Chile Agreement: modification of concessions on all the tariff rate quotas included in the EU Schedule CLXXV as a consequence of the United Kingdom's withdrawal from the European Union*, one of the largest consensus observed so far was noted. The S&D, Renew and ECR groups all unanimously voted in favor, while the EPP had one abstention and the Greens/EFA had two, **resulting in 99% support from the EPP and 97% support from the Greens/EFA**. The final tally amounted to 577 in favor, 4 against, and 58 abstentions. The Left accounted for 31 abstentions, while the ID group contributed 19, making up 88% of the total abstentions. Of the 4 votes against, 1 came from The Left and the remaining 3 stemmed from the NIs. Out of the whole 639 votes cast, 577 – or 90% – were in favor, indicating broad cross-party support for the EU/Chile Agreement's modifications.

The aforementioned unity was surpassed by an impressive display of solidarity in the case of the July 2023 *EU/Japan Agreement on air services*, which recorded 626 votes in favor, 5 votes against, and 5 abstentions. **The EPP, Renew, and ECR all voted unanimously in favor**, while S&D had one vote against compared to 124 in favor, and the Greens/EFA had one abstention compared to 67 in favor. The largest opposition came from The Left and the NIs, each with a mere two votes against, followed by ID's three abstentions. Ultimately, 98% of the total 636 votes were in favor, showcasing a remarkable display of harmony across the major political groups. Additional EU trade agreements, which were largely welcomed by the EPP, S&D, and Renew alliance, include those with Kenya, Vietnam, and New Zealand gaining 72%, 63%, and 83% approval in the EP, respectively.

Across these votes, the EPP repeatedly aligned with S&D and Renew in favoring trade agreements, with affirmative votes ranging from 26% to 42% of the total votes in favor. **The EPP voted unanimously on agreements with The Solomon Islands, India, Guyana, Thailand, Malaysia, Japan, and Côte d'Ivoire**, while also demonstrating substantial support for the remaining 10 agreements. The patterns revealed in this research indicate a trend of strong collective endorsement for major trade agreements within the European Parliament, particularly among the EPP, S&D, and Renew groups.



Source: European Parliament | Illustration generated by MCC Centre for European Studies

CONCLUSION

A review of voting behavior during the plenary sessions of the European Parliament (EP) illustrates the EPP's pivotal role in determining the favorable outcome of legislation. Despite ideological differences, major groups within the EP, including the EPP, the Socialists & Democrats (S&D), Renew Europe (Renew), and the Greens/European Free Alliance (Greens/EFA), frequently align to shape the EU's legislative landscape. This pattern of convergence is particularly evident with the EPP, which approved 82 out of the 86 legislations examined, reflecting a **95% concurrence with the S&D and Renew**.

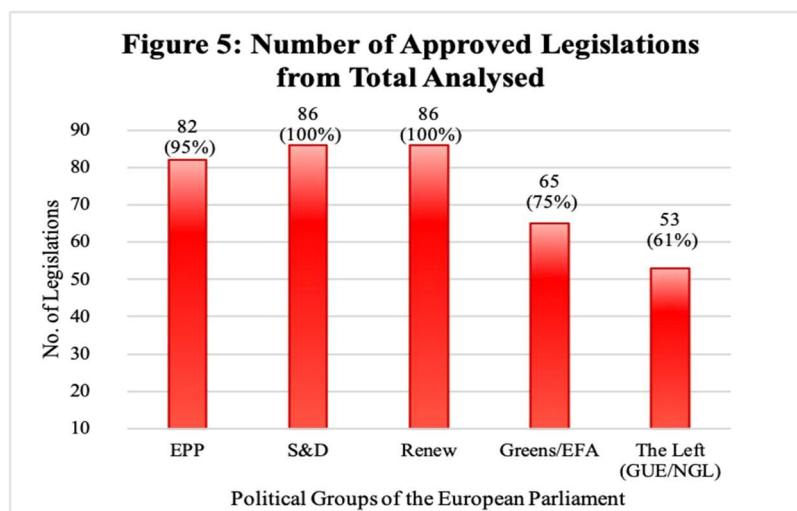
On the four areas analysed in the paper:

- EPP + S&D voted together 82 out of 86 times, or **95% concordance**.
- EPP + S&D + Renew voted together 82 out of 86 times, or **95% concordance**.
- EPP + S&D + Renew + Greens/EFA voted together 62 out of 86 times, or **72% concordance**.
- EPP + S&D + Renew + Greens/EFA + The Left voted together 49 out of 86 times, or **56% concordance**.

A final look at the figures shows the EPP approving:

- **100% of the legislations examined in the Migration and Asylum Pact,**
- **90% from the European Green Deal,**
- **100% from the Resolutions against Hungary and Poland,**
- **and 100% of the Trade Agreements.**

This heightened level of endorsement was only surpassed by the S&D and Renew, which both supported 100% of the legislations covered in this article. Among the total sample, the Greens/EFA approved 75% and The Left approved 61%, with divergence predominantly stemming from the Migration and Asylum Pact and the trade agreements explored.



Source: European Parliament | Illustration generated by MCC Centre for European Studies

ANNEXES

EXHAUSTIVE REVIEW OF THE VOTES BY CHAPTERS

ANNEX I: ASYLUM AND MIGRATION PACT

Table 1: Migration & Asylum Pact	Political Groups of the European Parliament								Voting Results		
	EPP	S&D	Renew	Greens/EFA	The Left	ECR	ID	NI	<i>In favor</i> +	<i>Against</i> –	<i>Abstention</i> (0)
	Implementation of the Return Directive (A9-0238/2020) 2020, December 16 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2020-12-16-RCV_EN.pdf]	160 + 20 – 4 (0)	135 + 3 – 2 (0)	91 + 0 – 5 (0)	73 + 0 – 0 (0)	1 + 13 – 25 (0)	37+ 17 – 8 (0)	0 + 75 – 0 (0)	15 + 6 – 5 (0)	512	134
Implementation of Article 43 of Directive 2013/32/EU on common procedures for granting and withdrawing international protection (Asylum Procedures Directive) (A9-0005/2021) 2021, February 09 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2021-02-09-RCV_EN.pdf]	155 + 20 – 8 (0)	132 + 0 – 3 (0)	93 + 0 – 4 (0)	71 + 0 – 0 (0)	37 + 1 – 0 (0)	0 + 21 – 39 (0)	0 + 75 – 0 (0)	17 + 7 – 1 (0)	505	124	55
New Avenues for Legal Labour Migration (Single Permit Directive) (A9-0143/2021) 2021, May 20 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2021-05-20-RCV_EN.pdf]	160 + 6 – 9 (0)	131 + 3 – 6 (0)	86 + 4 – 6 (0)	72 + 0 – 1 (0)	31 + 1 – 5 (0)	0 + 59 – 2 (0)	0 + 72 – 0 (0)	15 + 18 – 3 (0)	495	163	32
	175 +	136 +	93 +	70 +	32 +	35 +	0 +	15 +	556	105	31

EU Blue Card Directive ***I (A8-0240/2017) 2021, September 15 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2021-09-15-RCV_EN.pdf]	2 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	2 –	11 –	71 –	19 –			
	0 (0)	4 (0)	5 (0)	0 (0)	3 (0)	17 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0)			
European Union Agency for Asylum (A8-0392/2016) 2021, November 11 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2021-11-11-RCV_EN.pdf]	132 +	116 +	82 +	55 +	4 +	0 +	0 +	7 +	396	92	73
	1 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	3 –	41 –	33 –	14 –			
	9 (0)	2 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	28 (0)	6 (0)	22 (0)	6 (0)			
Addressing Situations of Crisis and Force Majeure Regulation ***I (A9-0127/2023) 2024, April 10 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-04-10-RCV_EN.pdf]	123 +	86 +	80 +	0 +	1 +	7 +	0 +	4 +	301	272	46
	29 –	30 –	4 –	65 –	32 –	47 –	32 –	33 –			
	0 (0)	9 (0)	10 (0)	4 (0)	0 (0)	4 (0)	16 (0)	3 (0)			
Asylum and Migration Management Regulation (AMMR) ***I (A9-0152/2023) 2024, April 10 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-04-10-RCV_EN.pdf]	121 +	104 +	86 +	5 +	1 +	0 +	0 +	5 +	322	266	31
	29 –	11 –	3 –	58 –	31 –	54 –	47 –	33 –			
	1 (0)	9 (0)	6 (0)	6 (0)	1 (0)	4 (0)	1 (0)	3 (0)			
(Asylum Procedure Regulation) Establishing a Return Border Procedure, and amending Regulation (EU) 2021/1148 ***I (A9-0164/2024) 2024, April 10 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-04-10-RCV_EN.pdf]	124 +	85 +	87 +	1 +	0 +	10 +	16 +	6 +	329	253	40
	16 –	31 –	4 –	65 –	30 –	44 –	31 –	32 –			
	13 (0)	8 (0)	4 (0)	3 (0)	3 (0)	5 (0)	1 (0)	3 (0)			
	138 +	97 +	87 +	2 +	0 +	34 +	4 +	4 +	366	229	26
	14 –	23 –	4 –	59 –	30 –	23 –	43 –	33 –			

<p>Screening of Third-Country Nationals at the External Borders (A9-0149/2023) 2024, April 10 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-04-10-RCV_EN.pdf]</p>	0 (0)	5 (0)	4 (0)	8 (0)	2 (0)	2 (0)	1 (0)	4 (0)			
<p>European Criminal Records Information System – Third-country Nationals ***I (A9-0148/2023) 2024, April 10 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-04-10-RCV_EN.pdf]</p>	140 +	93 +	87 +	2 +	1 +	36 +	45 +	10 +	414	182	29
	13 –	22 –	4 –	60 –	30 –	23 –	1 –	29 –			
	0 (0)	12 (0)	4 (0)	7 (0)	2 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0)	2 (0)			
<p>Establishment of ‘Eurodac’ for the comparison of fingerprints for the effective application of Regulation (EU) No 604/2013... (recast) ***I (A8-0212/2017) 2024, April 10 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-04-10-RCV_EN.pdf]</p>	140 +	94 +	86 +	0 +	2 +	36 +	39 +	7 +	404	202	16
	13 –	30 –	5 –	66 –	31 –	23 –	4 –	30 –			
	0 (0)	1 (0)	3 (0)	3 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (0)	4 (0)			
<p>Union Resettlement Framework ***I (A8-0316/2017) 2024, April 10 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-04-10-RCV_EN.pdf]</p>	127 +	119 +	88 +	67 +	29 +	3 +	2 +	17 +	452	154	14
	24 –	1 –	3 –	0 –	2 –	55 –	46 –	23 –			
	2 (0)	4 (0)	4 (0)	1 (0)	2 (0)	1 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)			
<p>Standards for the Qualification of Third-Country Nationals or Stateless Persons as Beneficiaries of International Protection ***I (A8-0245/2017) 2024, April 10 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-04-10-RCV_EN.pdf]</p>	122 +	116 +	88 +	6 +	1 +	0 +	3 +	4 +	340	249	34
	25 –	4 –	4 –	60 –	30 –	55 –	45 –	26 –			
	6 (0)	5 (0)	3 (0)	3 (0)	2 (0)	4 (0)	0 (0)	11 (0)			

Standards for the Reception of Applicants for International Protection (recast) ***I (A8-0186/2017) 2024, April 10 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-04-10-RCV_EN.pdf]	122 +	117 +	89 +	52 +	4 +	0 +	0 +	14 +	398	162	60
	27 –	0 –	4 –	0 –	6 –	54 –	48 –	25 –			
	6 (0)	7 (0)	2 (0)	17 (0)	23 (0)	4 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)			
(Illustration generated by MCC Center for European Studies)											

ANNEX II: THE EUROPEAN GREEN DEAL

Table 2: European Green Deal	Political Groups of the European Parliament								Voting Results		
	EPP	S&D	Renew	Greens/EFA	The Left	ECR	ID	NI	<i>In favor</i> +	<i>Against</i> –	<i>Abstention</i> (0)
	ENERGY										
An EU strategy to reduce methane emissions (A9-0277/2021) 2021, October 21 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2021-10-21-RCV_EN.pdf]	172 +	141 +	93 +	73 +	37 +	5 +	24 +	18 +	563	122	11
	2 –	0 –	5 –	0 –	0 –	52 –	46 –	17 –			
	2 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)	6 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0)			
Trans-European energy infrastructure ***I (A9-0269/2021) 2022, April 05 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2022-04-05-RCV_EN.pdf]	162 +	114 +	63 +	0 +	3 +	48 +	0 +	20 +	410	146	72
	0 –	12 –	14 –	68 –	26 –	1 –	17 –	8 –			
	0 (0)	0 (0)	18 (0)	1 (0)	4 (0)	7 (0)	37 (0)	5 (0)			
Revision of the Market Stability Reserve for the EU Emissions Trading System (A9-0045/2022) 2023, March 14 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-03-14-RCV_EN.pdf]	156 +	129 +	86 +	69 +	30 +	16 +	0 +	18 +	504	118	11
	1 –	0 –	5 –	0 –	3 –	40 –	56 –	13 –			
	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	4 (0)	5 (0)	1 (0)	1 (0)			
Revisions of the EU Emissions Trading Scheme (A9-0162/2022) 2023, April 18 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-04-18-RCV_EN.pdf]	137 +	110 +	94 +	53 +	6 +	2 +	0 +	11 +	413	167	57
	2 –	1 –	4 –	9 –	20 –	54 –	53 –	24 –			
	18 (0)	18 (0)	0 (0)	5 (0)	8 (0)	5 (0)	1 (0)	2 (0)			

Carbon border adjustment mechanism (CBAM) ***I (A9-0160/2022) 2023, April 18 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-04-18-RCV_EN.pdf]	141 +	130 +	89 +	68 +	24 +	9 +	0 +	26 +	487	81	75
	3 –	0 –	3 –	0 –	2 –	46 –	15 –	12 –			
	13 (0)	0 (0)	6 (0)	0 (0)	8 (0)	5 (0)	42 (0)	1 (0)			
Energy Efficiency Directive (recast) (A9-0221/2022) 2023, July 11 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-07-11-RCV_EN.pdf]	159 +	124 +	80 +	67 +	24 +	2 +	0 +	15 +	471	147	17
	1 –	1 –	15 –	0 –	6 –	49 –	57 –	18 –			
	4 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (0)	7 (0)	1 (0)	0 (0)			
Ecodesign Regulation ***I (A9-0218/2023) 2023, July 12 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-07-12-RCV_EN.pdf]	127 +	126 +	85 +	67 +	30 +	3 +	0 +	17 +	455	99	54
	9 –	0 –	3 –	0 –	0 –	50 –	32 –	5 –			
	13 (0)	1 (0)	6 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (0)	16 (0)	13 (0)			
Renewable energy directive (A9-0208/2022) 2023, September 12 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-09-12-RCV_EN.pdf]	150 +	125 +	82 +	66 +	29 +	0 +	0 +	18 +	470	120	40
	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	3 –	52 –	56 –	9 –			
	9 (0)	1 (0)	12 (0)	0 (0)	3 (0)	5 (0)	1 (0)	9 (0)			
Internal markets for renewable gas, natural gas and hydrogen (recast) ***I (A9-0032/2023) 2024, April 11 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-04-11-RCV_EN.pdf]	144 +	111 +	85 +	23 +	1 +	55 +	19 +	9 +	447	90	54
	1 –	0 –	0 –	15 –	31 –	4 –	16 –	23 –			
	1 (0)	5 (0)	5 (0)	23 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0)	15 (0)	3 (0)			
INDUSTRY											
A New Industrial Strategy for Europe (A9-0197/2020) 2020, November 25 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2020-11-25-RCV_EN.pdf]	186 +	140 +	60 +	68 +	0 +	10 +	0 +	22 +	486	109	102
	0 –	0 –	27 –	0 –	28 –	12 –	38 –	4 –			
	0 (0)	0 (0)	11 (0)	0 (0)	11 (0)	40 (0)	36 (0)	4 (0)			

<p>Framework for ensuring a secure and sustainable supply of critical raw materials (Green Deal Industrial Plan) (A9-0260/2023) 2023, December 12 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-12-12-RCV_EN.pdf]</p>	157 +	125 +	86 +	44 +	5 +	57 +	42 +	33 +	549	43	24
	1 –	1 –	0 –	11 –	15 –	2 –	8 –	5 –			
	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	7 (0)	13 (0)	2 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0)			
<p>Industrial Emissions Directive (A9-0216/2023) 2024, March 12 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-03-12-RCV_EN.pdf]</p>	83 +	122 +	41 +	66 +	27 +	29 +	0 +	25 +	393	173	49
	66 –	0 –	13 –	0 –	4 –	27 –	51 –	12 –			
	4 (0)	6 (0)	33 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)	5 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)			
<p>Union’s electricity market design: Directive ***I (Green Deal Industrial Plan) (A9-0151/2024) 2024, April 11 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-04-11-RCV_EN.pdf#page=293&zoom=100,56,45]</p>	135 +	110 +	86 +	58 +	1 +	46 +	25 +	12 +	473	80	27
	5 –	6 –	4 –	3 –	29 –	5 –	10 –	18 –			
	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)	9 (0)	15 (0)	2 (0)			
<p>Regulation on Packaging and packaging waste (A9-0319/2023) 2024, April 24 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-04-24-RCV_EN.pdf]</p>	132 +	122 +	82 +	67 +	27 +	19 +	0 +	27 +	476	129	24
	18 –	4 –	13 –	0 –	1 –	35 –	50 –	8 –			
	10 (0)	1 (0)	1 (0)	0 (0)	4 (0)	7 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)			
<p>Framework of measures for strengthening Europe’s net-zero technology products manufacturing ecosystem (Net Zero Industry Act) ***I (Green Deal Industrial Plan) (A9-0343/2023) 2024, April 25 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-04-25-RCV_EN.pdf]</p>	130 +	83 +	83 +	0 +	2 +	17 +	32 +	14 +	361	121	45
	1 –	13 –	0 –	39 –	20 –	22 –	9 –	17 –			
	0 (0)	1 (0)	8 (0)	21 (0)	5 (0)	8 (0)	2 (0)	0 (0)			

BUILDINGS											
Revision of the EU Emissions Trading System ***I - Commission Proposal (ETS II for the building, road and transport sectors) (A9-0162/2022) 2022, June 22 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2022-06-22-RCV_EN.pdf]	148 +	120 +	90 +	66 +	3 +	2 +	1 +	9 +	439	157	32
	0 –	1 –	4 –	0 –	25 –	52 –	55 –	20 –			
	11 (0)	9 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)	8 (0)	2 (0)	1 (0)	0 (0)			
Energy Performance of Buildings (recast) - Commission Proposal (A9-0033/2023) 2023, March 14 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-03-14-RCV_EN.pdf]	51 +	119 +	59 +	70 +	34 +	0 +	0 +	10 +	343	216	78
	58 –	6 –	24 –	0 –	1 –	57 –	56 –	14 –			
	48 (0)	5 (0)	9 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0)	4 (0)	1 (0)	9 (0)			
TRANSPORTS											
More efficient and cleaner maritime transport (A9-0029/2021) 2021, April 27 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2021-04-27-RCV_EN.pdf]	165 +	142 +	97 +	1 +	6 +	18 +	3 +	21 +	453	92	154
	4 –	1 –	0 –	62 –	3 –	1 –	18 –	3 –			
	5 (0)	1 (0)	0 (0)	9 (0)	30 (0)	44 (0)	53 (0)	12 (0)			
Integration of CORSIA- Notification under the Carbon Offsetting and Reduction Scheme for International Aviation (CORSIA) (A9-0145/2022) 2022, December 13 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2022-12-13-RCV_EN.pdf]	159 +	125 +	93 +	65 +	25 +	55 +	24 +	27 +	573	44	11
	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	1 –	35 –	8 –			
	1 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (0)	1 (0)	0 (0)	4 (0)			
Binding annual greenhouse gas emission reductions by Member States (Effort Sharing Regulation)	155 +	127 +	86 +	69 +	29 +	2 +	2 +	16 +	486	132	10
	1 –	0 –	5 –	0 –	3 –	58 –	52 –	13 –			

(A9-0163/2022) 2023, March 14 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-03-14-RCV_EN.pdf]	1 (0)	2 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)	1 (0)			
Revision of the EU Emissions Trading System for Aviation (A9-0155/2022) 2023, April 18 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-04-18-RCV_EN.pdf]	128 +	131 +	94 +	68 +	15 +	5 +	0 +	22 +	463	117	64
	2 –	0 –	4 –	0 –	10 –	54 –	35 –	12 –			
	27 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	9 (0)	1 (0)	23 (0)	4 (0)			
Monitoring, reporting and verification of greenhouse gas emissions from maritime transport (A9-0134/2023) 2023, April 18 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-04-18-RCV_EN.pdf]	150 +	129 +	95 +	68 +	22 +	11 +	0 +	25 +	500	131	11
	1 –	0 –	3 –	0 –	10 –	49 –	56 –	12 –			
	6 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)	2 (0)			
Deployment of alternative fuels infrastructure (A9-0234/2022) 2023, July 11 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-07-11-RCV_EN.pdf]	164 +	127 +	94 +	68 +	32 +	4 +	0 +	25 +	514	52	74
	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	2 –	38 –	7 –	5 –			
	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0)	16 (0)	51 (0)	5 (0)			
Sustainable maritime fuels (FuelEU Maritime Initiative) (A9-0233/2022) 2023, July 11 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-07-11-RCV_EN.pdf]	160 +	126 +	94 +	68 +	18 +	22 +	42 +	25 +	555	48	25
	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	7 –	30 –	4 –	7 –			
	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	9 (0)	4 (0)	11 (0)	1 (0)			
Sustainable aviation fuels (ReFuelEU Aviation Initiative) (A9-0199/2022) 2023, September 13 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-09-13-RCV_EN.pdf]	154 +	127 +	92 +	64 +	7 +	11 +	39 +	24 +	518	97	8
	2 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	24 –	49 –	15 –	7 –			
	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	4 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)	3 (0)			

Trans-European Transport Network (A9-0147/2023) 2024, April 24 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-04-24-RCV_EN.pdf]	143 +	119 +	96 +	64 +	13 +	51 +	51 +	28 +	565	37	29
	14 –	0 –	1 –	1 –	11 –	7 –	0 –	3 –			
	2 (0)	8 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0)	8 (0)	3 (0)	0 (0)	6 (0)			
Accounting of greenhouse gas emissions of transport services - Commission Proposal (A9-0070/2024) 2024, April 10 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-04-10-RCV_EN.pdf]	27 +	116 +	90 +	67 +	32 +	1 +	1 +	15 +	349	243	12
	116 –	0 –	3 –	0 –	1 –	57 –	45 –	21 –			
	2 (0)	7 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0)			
NATURE PRESERVATION AND RESTORATION											
Cohesion Policy and regional environment strategies in the fight against climate change (A9-0034/2021) 2021, March 25 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2021-03-25-RCV_EN.pdf]	169 +	144 +	95 +	71 +	36 +	3 +	22 +	32 +	572	79	37
	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	56 –	18 –	5 –			
	0 (0)	1 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)	3 (0)	31 (0)	1 (0)			
EU Biodiversity Strategy for 2030: Bringing nature back into our lives (A9-0179/2021) 2021, June 08 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2021-06-08-RCV_EN.pdf]	149 +	143 +	75 +	69 +	39 +	19 +	1 +	20 +	515	90	86
	20 –	0 –	15 –	0 –	0 –	36 –	16 –	3 –			
	5 (0)	1 (0)	8 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (0)	52 (0)	15 (0)			
European Climate Law (A9-0162/2020) 2021, June 24 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2021-06-24-RCV_EN.pdf]	171 +	138 +	98 +	5 +	3 +	0 +	1 +	26 +	442	203	51
	0 –	6 –	0 –	66 –	35 –	19 –	68 –	9 –			
	1 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0)	1 (0)	44 (0)	0 (0)	3 (0)			
Land use, land use change and forestry (LULUCF)	151 +	126 +	88 +	68 +	34 +	2 +	0 +	10 +	479	97	43

(A9-0161/2022) 2023, March 14 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-03-14-RCV_EN.pdf]	3 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	2 –	49 –	33 –	10 –			
	1 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)	9 (0)	22 (0)	9 (0)			
Social Climate Fund (A9-0157/2022) 2023, April 18 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-04-18-RCV_EN.pdf]	151 +	130 +	81 +	68 +	31 +	15 +	21 +	24 +	521	75	43
	2 –	1 –	11 –	0 –	2 –	13 –	35 –	11 –			
	4 (0)	0 (0)	6 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)	30 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0)			
Deforestation Regulation (A9-0219/2022) 2023, April 19 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-04-19-RCV_EN.pdf]	125 +	125 +	87 +	69 +	33 +	45 +	40 +	28 +	552	44	43
	11 –	0 –	7 –	0 –	0 –	7 –	15 –	4 –			
	22 (0)	2 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	10 (0)	2 (0)	7 (0)			
Surface water and groundwater pollutants – Commission proposal (A9-0238/2023) 2023, September 12 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-09-12-RCV_EN.pdf]	158 +	128 +	85 +	66 +	32 +	6 +	0 +	20 +	495	12	124
	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	5 –	1 –	6 –			
	0 (0)	0 (0)	9 (0)	0 (0)	3 (0)	46 (0)	56 (0)	10 (0)			
Implementation of the Common Fisheries Policy (CFP) and future perspectives (A9-0357/2023) 2024, January 18 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-01-18-RCV_EN.pdf]	129 +	100 +	83 +	2 +	0 +	24 +	1 +	32 +	371	92	92
	0 –	7 –	4 –	55 –	11 –	1 –	9 –	5 –			
	1 (0)	1 (0)	0 (0)	4 (0)	17 (0)	27 (0)	38 (0)	4 (0)			
EU Action Plan: protecting and restoring marine ecosystems for sustainable and resilient fisheries (A9-0437/2023) 2024, January 18 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-01-18-RCV_EN.pdf]	126 +	96 +	79 +	2 +	1 +	25 +	48 +	25 +	402	95	57
	0 –	8 –	3 –	57 –	23 –	0 –	0 –	4 –			
	3 (0)	4 (0)	6 (0)	2 (0)	5 (0)	26 (0)	0 (0)	11 (0)			

Soil Monitoring and Resilience (Soil Monitoring Directive) ***I (A9-0138/2024) 2024, April 10 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-04-10-RCV_EN.pdf]	21 +	113 +	79 +	65 +	28 +	11 +	1 +	18 +	336	242	33
	110 –	5 –	16 –	5 –	2 –	42 –	43 –	19 –			
	18 (0)	2 (0)	1 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0)	5 (0)	2 (0)	3 (0)			
Classification, labelling and packaging of substances and mixtures (A9-0271/2023) 2024, April 23 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-04-23-RCV_EN.pdf]	147 +	127 +	92 +	67 +	29 +	11 +	31 +	29 +	533	11	65
	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	1 –	4 –	5 –	1 –			
	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	43 (0)	13 (0)	6 (0)			
Nature Restoration Law (A9-0220/2023) 2024, April 27 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-02-27-RCV_EN.pdf]	25 +	117 +	60 +	69 +	28 +	3 +	0 +	27 +	329	275	24
	115 –	4 –	30 –	0 –	3 –	60 –	50 –	13 –			
	10 (0)	3 (0)	6 (0)	2 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0)			
CIRCULAR ECONOMY											
New Circular Economy Action Plan (A9-0008/2021) 2021, February 09 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2021-02-09-RCV_EN.pdf]	176 +	141 +	97 +	71 +	35 +	7 +	25 +	22 +	574	22	95
	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	8 –	12 –	2 –			
	7 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (0)	45 (0)	38 (0)	2 (0)			
Regulation on batteries and waste batteries (A9-0031/2022) 2023, June 14 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-06-14-RCV_EN.pdf]	150 +	129 +	90 +	65 +	34 +	51 +	38 +	30 +	587	9	20
	0 –	1 –	2 –	0 –	0 –	2 –	1 –	3 –			
	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0)	7 (0)	9 (0)	2 (0)			
Regulation on Shipments of Waste (A9-0290/2022) 2024, February 27	149 +	127 +	95 +	71 +	22 +	56 +	33 +	34 +	587	8	33
	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	3 –	1 –	4 –			

[https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-02-27-RCV_EN.pdf]	2 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	8 (0)	3 (0)	16 (0)	4 (0)			
Urban wastewater treatment ***I (A9-0276/2023) 2024, April 10	139 +	117 +	84 +	69 +	28 +	9 +	16 +	19 +	481	79	26
	0 –	5 –	3 –	0 –	3 –	26 –	27 –	15 –			
	[https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-04-10-RCV_EN.pdf]	2 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)	22 (0)	0 (0)			
(Illustration generated by MCC Center for European Studies)											

ANNEX III: RESOLUTIONS AGAINST HUNGARY AND POLAND REGARDING THE RULE OF LAW

Table 3: Resolutions Against Hungary and Poland	Political Groups of the European Parliament								Voting Results		
	EPP	S&D	Renew	Greens/EFA	The Left	ECR	ID	NI	<i>In favor</i> +	<i>Against</i> –	<i>Abstention</i> (0)
	Ongoing hearings under article 7(1) of the TEU regarding Poland and Hungary (B9-0032/2020) 2020, January 16 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2020-01-16-RCV_EN.pdf]	99 + 35 – 21 (0)	132 + 0 – 0 (0)	90 + 0 – 8 (0)	68 + 0 – 2 (0)	34 + 2 – 2 (0)	4 + 50 – 5 (0)	0 + 66 – (0)	19 + 25 – 3 (0)	446	178
Breaches of EU law and of the rights of LGBTIQ citizens in Hungary as a result of the adopted legal changes in the Hungarian Parliament - Motion for a resolution (B9-0412/2021) 2021, July 08 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2021-07-08-RCV_EN.pdf]	113 + 12 – 41 (0)	125 + 1 – 0 (0)	96 + 0 – 1 (0)	69 + 0 – 1 (0)	38 + 0 – 0 (0)	4 + 48 – 10 (0)	1 + 69 – 0 (0)	13 + 17 – 5 (0)	459	147	58
The Rule of law crisis in Poland and the primacy of EU law (B9-0532/2021) 2021, October 21 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2021-10-21-RCV_EN.pdf]	159 + 5 – 5 (0)	132 + 1 – 0 (0)	95 + 0 – 0 (0)	69 + 0 – 2 (0)	33 + 2 – 3 (0)	0 + 58 – 4 (0)	0 + 68 – 0 (0)	14 + 19 – 2 (0)	502	153	16
Rule of Law and the consequences of the ECJ ruling (B9-0134/2022)	124 + 7 –	140 + 0 –	100 + 0 –	69 + 0 –	31 + 4 –	0 + 59 –	0 + 62 –	14 + 23 –	478	155	29

2022, March 10 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2022-03-09-RCV_EN.pdf]	17 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)	1 (0)	5 (0)	2 (0)	3 (0)			
Ongoing hearings under Article 7(1) TEU regarding Poland and Hungary (B9-0263/2022) 2022, May 05 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2022-05-05-RCV_EN.pdf]	114 +	115 +	92 +	65 +	26 +	0 +	0 +	14 +	426	133	37
	4 –	0 –	1 –	0 –	3 –	52 –	56 –	17 –			
	24 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0)	0 (0)	3 (0)	2 (0)	1 (0)	5 (0)			
The rule of law and the potential approval of the Polish national Recovery Plan (RRF) (RC-B9-0317/2022) 2022, June 09 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2022-06-09-RCV_EN.pdf#page=27&zoom=100,70,45]	109 +	111 +	87 +	59 +	28 +	0 +	3 +	14 +	411	129	31
	13 –	0 –	1 –	0 –	3 –	53 –	45 –	14 –			
	19 (0)	5 (0)	3 (0)	1 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)	2 (0)			
Existence of a clear risk of a serious breach by Hungary of the values on which the Union is founded (A9-0217/2022) 2022, September 15 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2022-09-15-RCV_EN.pdf]	112 +	123 +	88 +	64 +	29 +	3 +	0 +	14 +	433	123	28
	9 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	2 –	44 –	50 –	18 –			
	14 (0)	1 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0)	3 (0)	4 (0)	1 (0)	3 (0)			
Assessment of Hungary's compliance with the rule of law conditions under the Conditionality Regulation and state of play of the Hungarian RRP (B9-0511/2022) 2022, November 24 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2022-11-24-RCV_EN.pdf]	115 +	116 +	87 +	64 +	22 +	0 +	1 +	11 +	416	124	33
	6 –	0 –	2 –	0 –	3 –	44 –	50 –	19 –			
	16 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)	1 (0)	2 (0)	7 (0)	1 (0)	5 (0)			
	131 +	122 +	89 +	66 +	22 +	0 +	0 +	12 +	442	144	33

Breaches of the rule of law and fundamental rights in Hungary and frozen EU funds (B9-0257/2023) 2023, June 01 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-06-01-RCV_EN.pdf]	8 –	3 –	1 –	0 –	3 –	55 –	53 –	21 –			
	12 (0)	1 (0)	3 (0)	1 (0)	0 (0)	8 (0)	5 (0)	3 (0)			
The electoral law, the investigative committee and the rule of law in Poland (B9-0319/2023) 2023, July 11 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-07-11-RCV_EN.pdf]	147 +	126 +	85 +	67 +	32 +	1 +	0 +	14 +	472	136	16
	3 –	0 –	2 –	0 –	2 –	52 –	58 –	19 –			
	4 (0)	1 (0)	3 (0)	1 (0)	2 (0)	3 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0)			
Situation in Hungary and frozen EU funds (B9-0086/2024) 2024, January 18 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-01-18-RCV_EN.pdf]	101 +	83 +	78 +	56 +	15 +	0 +	0 +	12 +	345	104	29
	3 –	0 –	2 –	0 –	1 –	37 –	40 –	21 –			
	8 (0)	4 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (0)	5 (0)	5 (0)	2 (0)			
Ongoing hearings under Article 7(1) TEU regarding Hungary to strengthen the rule of law and its budgetary implications (B9-0223/2024) 2024, April 24 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-04-24-RCV_EN.pdf]	113 +	104 +	85 +	62 +	24 +	2 +	0 +	9 +	399	117	28
	6 –	0 –	3 –	0 –	1 –	49 –	41 –	17 –			
	13 (0)	1 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0)	3 (0)	5 (0)	0 (0)	4 (0)			
(Illustration generated by MCC Center for European Studies)											

ANNEX IV: TRADE AGREEMENTS

Table 4: Trade Agreements	Political Groups of the European Parliament								Voting Results		
	EPP	S&D	Renew	Greens/EFA	The Left	ECR	ID	NI	<i>In favor</i> +	<i>Against</i> –	<i>Abstention</i> (0)
EU-Singapore Free Trade Agreement ⁴ (A8-0053/2019) 2019, February 13 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-8-2019-02-13-RCV_EN.pdf]	179 +	95 +	61 +	1 +	1 +	60 +	20 +	8 +	425	186	41
	4 –	61 –	2 –	42 –	39 –	1 –	29 –	8 –			
	1 (0)	10 (0)	1 (0)	5 (0)	2 (0)	0 (0)	20 (0)	2 (0)			
Accession of Solomon Islands to the EU-Pacific States Interim Partnership Agreement (A9-0050/2019) 2019, December 17 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2019-12-17-RCV_EN.pdf]	167 +	140 +	104 +	3 +	0 +	58 +	46 +	16 +	534	145	13
	0 –	5 –	0 –	63 –	35 –	0 –	21 –	21 –			
	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (0)	2 (0)	0 (0)	3 (0)	5 (0)			
EU-Vietnam Free Trade Agreement (A9-0003/2020) 2020, February 12 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2020-02-12-RCV_EN.pdf]	149 +	103 +	82 +	1 +	0 +	41 +	12 +	13 +	401	192	40
	3 –	26 –	3 –	62 –	31 –	8 –	51 –	8 –			
	10 (0)	11 (0)	5 (0)	1 (0)	3 (0)	3 (0)	3 (0)	4 (0)			
EU/Honduras Voluntary Partnership Agreement (resolution)	172 +	143 +	96 +	72 +	1 +	8 +	54 +	30 +	576	54	69
	1 –	0 –	1 –	0 –	0 –	39 –	11 –	2 –			

⁴ In this particular case, since the EU-Singapore Free Trade Agreement was approved by a European Parliament with a slightly different political composition (on the 13th of February, 2019), the votes under Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe Party (ALDE) are counted as Renew votes and the votes for the Europe of Nations and Freedom (ENF) and Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy (EFDD) are combined to form the ID votes.

(A9-0054/2021) 2021, April 27 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2021-04-27-RCV_EN.pdf]	1 (0)	1 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	38 (0)	16 (0)	9 (0)	4 (0)			
The EU-UK Trade and Cooperation Agreement *** - The outcome of EU-UK negotiations (A9-0128/2021) 2021, April 27 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2021-04-27-RCV_EN.pdf]	171 +	144 +	96 +	61 +	21 +	53 +	0 +	32 +	578	51	68
	1 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	2 –	3 –	43 –	2 –			
	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)	11 (0)	16 (0)	7 (0)	30 (0)	3 (0)			
Future of EU-Africa trade relations (A9-0169/2022) 2022, June 23 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2022-06-23-RCV_EN.pdf]	145 +	118 +	86 +	65 +	30 +	0 +	0 +	19 +	463	43	81
	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	9 –	30 –	4 –			
	1 (0)	0 (0)	5 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0)	43 (0)	24 (0)	6 (0)			
EU-India future trade and investment cooperation (A9-0193/2022) 2022, July 05 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2022-07-05-RCV_EN.pdf]	155 +	121 +	93 +	0 +	0 +	55 +	32 +	26 +	482	107	40
	0 –	3 –	1 –	63 –	32 –	0 –	1 –	7 –			
	0 (0)	6 (0)	1 (0)	4 (0)	2 (0)	3 (0)	23 (0)	1 (0)			
Indo-Pacific strategy in the area of trade and investment (A9-0170/2022) 2022, July 05 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2022-07-05-RCV_EN.pdf]	150 +	122 +	75 +	0 +	1 +	56 +	31 +	23 +	458	51	124
	0 –	1 –	0 –	2 –	27 –	0 –	15 –	6 –			
	7 (0)	7 (0)	20 (0)	65 (0)	6 (0)	4 (0)	10 (0)	5 (0)			
EU/Guyana Voluntary Partnership Agreement: forest	161 +	134 +	95 +	67 +	26 +	4 +	58 +	30 +	575	9	61
	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	1 –	7 –	0 –	1 –			

law enforcement, governance and trade in timber products to the EU (Resolution) (A9-0018/2023) 2023, February 14 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-02-14-RCV_EN.pdf]	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (0)	47 (0)	1 (0)	7 (0)			
EU/Thailand Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (Resolution) (A9-0193/2023) 2023, June 14 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-06-14-RCV_EN.pdf]	149 +	125 +	92 +	66 +	22 +	50 +	15 +	27 +	546	42	26
	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	2 –	4 –	29 –	7 –			
	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	12 (0)	7 (0)	3 (0)	4 (0)			
EU-Malaysia Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (resolution) (A9-0194/2023) 2023, June 14 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-06-14-RCV_EN.pdf]	149 +	128 +	92 +	65 +	21 +	50 +	15 +	28 +	548	43	25
	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	2 –	4 –	30 –	7 –			
	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	13 (0)	7 (0)	2 (0)	3 (0)			
EU/Chile Agreement: modification of concessions on all the tariff rate quotas included in the EU Schedule CLXXV as a consequence of the United Kingdom's withdrawal from the European Union (A9-0222/2023) 2023, July 11 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-07-11-RCV_EN.pdf]	161 +	124 +	95 +	66 +	3 +	59 +	40 +	29 +	577	4	58
	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	1 –	0 –	0 –	3 –			
	1 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0)	32 (0)	0 (0)	19 (0)	4 (0)			
EU/Japan Agreement: air services (A9-0221/2023)	163 +	124 +	94 +	67 +	34 +	58 +	56 +	30 +	626	5	5
	0 –	1 –	0 –	0 –	2 –	0 –	0 –	2 –			

2023, July 11 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-07-11-RCV_EN.pdf]	0 (0)	(0)	0 (0)	1 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (0)	1 (0)			
EU-New Zealand Free Trade Agreement (resolution) (A9-0314/2023) 2023, November 22 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2023-11-22-RCV_EN.pdf]	149 +	121 +	92 +	50 +	1 +	6 +	10 +	28 +	457	104	74
	3 –	1 –	0 –	14 –	25 –	12 –	40 –	9 –			
	7 (0)	1 (0)	5 (0)	1 (0)	5 (0)	47 (0)	3 (0)	5 (0)			
Implementation of the EU-Canada Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) (A9-0400/2023) 2024, January 17 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-01-17-RCV_EN.pdf]	144 +	105 +	97 +	0 +	0 +	10 +	10 +	25 +	391	157	83
	6 –	13 –	0 –	61 –	35 –	10 –	17 –	15 –			
	4 (0)	5 (0)	2 (0)	3 (0)	0 (0)	39 (0)	25 (0)	5 (0)			
EU-Kenya Economic Partnership Agreement (A9-0012/2024) 2024, February 29 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-02-29-RCV_EN.pdf]	115 +	86 +	80 +	3 +	0 +	39 +	23 +	20 +	366	86	56
	8 –	5 –	0 –	16 –	27 –	3 –	20 –	7 –			
	1 (0)	6 (0)	1 (0)	40 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0)	1 (0)	6 (0)			
EU/Côte d'Ivoire Voluntary Partnership Agreement: forest law enforcement, governance and trade in timber and timber products to the EU (Resolution) (A9-0137/2024) 2024, April 10 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/PV-9-2024-04-10-RCV_EN.pdf]	152 +	121 +	95 +	68 +	21 +	4 +	37 +	23 +	521	11	78
	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	0 –	10 –	0 –	1 –			
	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	9 (0)	45 (0)	9 (0)	15 (0)			
(Illustration generated by MCC Center for European Studies)											