**Politicizing International Cooperation. The Mass Public, Political Entrepreneurs and Political Opportunity Structures**

**\*\*\* Supplementary Materials \*\*\***

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**Figure S1:** Public opinion on international organizations in EU versus non-EU countries



Note: International Social Survey Program, waves 1995. 2003, 2013. Share of respondents (dis)agreeing or strongly (dis)agreeing with each statement.

**Figure S2:** Public opinion on international organizations in developed versus developing countries

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Note: International Social Survey Program, waves 1995. 2003, 2013. Share of respondents (dis)agreeing or strongly (dis)agreeing with each statement.

**Table S1:** Descriptive Statistics for Figure 2

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Mean** | **Standard Deviation** | **Minimum**  **Value** | **Maximum**  **Value** |
| Mainstream Parties | 5.64 | 1.28 | 1.75 | **7** |
| Challenger Parties | 3.28 | 1.71 | 1 | 7 |
| Radical Right Parties | 2.09 | 0.93 | 1 | 4.75 |
| Conservative Parties | 4.95 | 1.60 | 2.27 | 7 |
| Liberal Parties | 6.25 | 0.80 | 3.93 | 7 |
| Christian-Democratic Parties | 5.63 | 1.30 | 2.6 | 6.89 |
| Socialist/Social-Democratic Parties | 6.05 | 0.59 | 4.8 | 7 |
| Radical Left Parties | 4.14 | 1.63 | 1.82 | 6.36 |

Note: for more information on the Chapel Hill Expert Survey Trend File, see: <https://www.chesdata.eu/1999-2014-chapel-hill-expert-survey-ches-trend-file>. For more information on the classification of challenger parties, see <http://catherinedevries.eu/challenger_party_list.pdf>

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Table S2.** List of Referendums included in Figure 3 | | | | | |
| **Country** | **Date** | **Type** | **Result** | **Outcome** | **Title** |
| France | 23.04.72 | more integration | yes | cooperative | Enlargement of the European Community |
| Ireland | 10.05.72 | Accession | yes | cooperative | Accession to the European Community |
| Norway | 26.09.72 | Accession | no | non-cooperative | Accession to the European Community (EC) |
| Denmark | 02.10.72 | Accession | yes | cooperative | Accession to the European Community (EC) |
| Switzerland | 03.12.72 | cooperation | yes | cooperative | Federal decree on agreement between the Swiss Confederation and the EEC  and member states of the EC on coal and steel |
| United Kingdom | 05.06.75 | disintegration | yes | cooperative | UK European Communities membership referendum |
| Switzerland | 13.06.76 | cooperation | no | non-cooperative | Federal decree on an agreement between Switzerland and the International  Development Agency on a loan of 200 million francs |
| Panama | 23.10.77 | cooperation | yes | cooperative | Panama Canal-Treaty with the USA (Torrijos-Carter-Treaties) |
| Denmark | 27.02.86 | more integration | yes | cooperative | Single European Act |
| Spain | 12.03.86 | disintegration | yes | cooperative | Remaining a NATO member |
| Switzerland | 16.03.86 | Accession | no | non-cooperative | Federal decree on accession of Switzerland to the UN |
| Ireland | 26.05.87 | more integration | yes | cooperative | Single European Act |
| Switzerland | 17.05.92 | Accession | yes | cooperative | Federal law governing Swiss involvement with the Bretton Woods institutions |
| Switzerland | 17.05.92 | Accession | yes | cooperative | Federal decree on Swiss accession to the Bretton Woods institutions  (IMF and World Bank) |
| Denmark | 02.06.92 | more integration | no | non-cooperative | European Union - Treaty of Maastricht |
| Ireland | 18.06.92 | accession | yes | cooperative | Accession to the European Union |
| France | 20.09.92 | more integration | yes | cooperative | European Union Treaty (Maastricht) |
| Switzerland | 06.12.92 | accession | no | non-cooperative | Federal decree on European Economic Area |
| Liechtenstein | 13.12.92 | accession | yes | cooperative | Accession to the European Economic Association (EEA) |
| Denmark | 18.05.93 | more integration | yes | cooperative | Revised Treaty of Maastricht |
| Austria | 12.06.94 | accession | yes | cooperative | Accession to the European Union |
| Sweden | 13.10.94 | accession | yes | cooperative | Accession to the European Union |
| Finland | 16.10.94 | accession | yes | cooperative | Accession to the European Union |
| Åland Islands | 20.11.94 | accession | yes | cooperative | Accession to the European Union |
| Norway | 28.11.94 | accession | no | non-cooperative | Accession to the European Union (EU) |
| Liechtenstein | 09.04.95 | accession | yes | cooperative | Accession to the European Economic Association (EEA) |
| Belarus | 14.05.95 | more integration | yes | cooperative | Presidential proposal 2: Economic collaboration with the Russian Federation |
| Slovakia | 24.05.97 | accession | invalid | invalid | NATO membership |
| Hungary | 16.11.97 | Accession | yes | cooperative | Accession to the NATO |
| Ireland | 22.05.98 | more integration | yes | cooperative | EU Treaty of Amsterdam |
| Denmark | 28.05.98 | more integration | yes | cooperative | EU Treaty of Amsterdam (Enlargement of the EU) |
| Switzerland | 21.05.00 | cooperation | yes | cooperative | Federal decree on approval of sectoral agreements between Switzerland  and the EC and/or its member states or Euratom |
| Brazil | 07.09.00 | non-cooperation | no | non-cooperative | Continuation of the agreement with the IMF |
| Denmark | 28.09.00 | more integration | no | non-cooperative | Introduction of the common Currency (Euro) |
| Switzerland | 04.03.01 | more integration | no | non-cooperative | Citizen's initiative "Yes to Europe" |
| Ireland | 07.06.01 | more integration | no | non-cooperative | Ratification of the Treaty of Nice |
| Switzerland | 03.03.02 | Accession | yes | cooperative | Citizen's initiative "For Switzerland's membership to the UN" |
| Ireland | 19.10.02 | more integration | yes | cooperative | Ratification of the Treaty of Nice |
| Malta | 08.03.03 | Accession | yes | cooperative | Accession to the European Union |
| Slovenia | 23.03.03 | Accession | yes | cooperative | Accession to the NATO |
| Slovenia | 23.03.03 | Accession | yes | cooperative | Accession to the EU |
| Hungary | 12.04.03 | Accession | yes | cooperative | Accession to the European Union |
| Lithuania | 11.05.03 | Accession | yes | cooperative | Accession to the European Union |
| Slovakia | 17.05.03 | Accession | yes | cooperative | Accession to the European Union |
| Poland | 08.06.03 | Accession | yes | cooperative | Accession to the European Union |
| Czech Republic | 14.06.03 | Accession | yes | cooperative | Accession to the European Union |
| Estonia (1991-today) | 14.09.03 | Accession | yes | cooperative | Accession to the European Union |
| Latvia | 21.09.03 | Accession | yes | cooperative | Accession to the European Union |
| Bolivia | 18.07.04 | cooperation | yes | cooperative | Energy policy - Exchanging gas for access to the Pacific Ocean |
| Spain | 20.02.05 | more integration | yes | cooperative | Referendum on the EU Constitution |
| France | 29.05.05 | more integration | no | non-cooperative | Referendum on the Adoption of the European Constitution |
| Netherlands | 01.06.05 | more integration | no | non-cooperative | Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe |
| Switzerland | 05.06.05 | cooperation | yes | cooperative | Federal decree of 17 December 2004 on the approval and implementation  of the bilateral agreements between Switzerland and the EU on the Schengen  and Dublin accords |
| Luxembourg | 10.07.05 | more integration | yes | cooperative | Referendum on the European Constitution |
| Switzerland | 25.09.05 | more integration | yes | cooperative | Federal decree on approval and implementation of the protocol on the  extension of the agreement on the free movement of persons to the new  EU member states between Switzerland on the one hand and the EU and its  members states on the other as well as approval of the revision of the  accompanying measures on the free movement of persons |
| Switzerland | 26.11.06 | more integration | yes | cooperative | Federal Law of 24 March 2006 on cooperation with the countries of  Eastern Europe |
| Costa Rica | 07.10.07 | accession | yes | cooperative | Free-trade Treaty between Central America and the USA |
| Georgia | 05.01.08 | accession | yes | cooperative | Accession to NATO |
| Taiwan | 22.03.08 | accession | no | non-cooperative | Accession to international organisations under any name |
| Taiwan | 22.03.08 | accession | no | non-cooperative | Accession to the United Nations under the name 'Taiwan' |
| Ireland | 12.06.08 | more integration | no | non-cooperative | Ratification of the Treaty of Lisbon |
| Switzerland | 08.02.09 | more integration | yes | cooperative | Federal Decree of 13 June 2008 approving the renewal of the agreement  between Switzerland and the European Community and its Member States on  the free movement of persons and the approval and implementation of the  Protocol to extend the agreement on free movement to Bulgaria and Romania |
| Switzerland | 17.05.09 | more integration | yes | cooperative | Federal government decision of 13.6.2008 on the approval and execution of  an exchange of notes between Switzerland and the European Community  concerning the implementation of regulation (EG) No. 2252/2004 on biometric  passports and travel documents (further development of the rights vested in Schengen) |
| Ireland | 02.10.09 | more integration | yes | cooperative | Ratification of the Treaty of Lisbon |
| Iceland | 06.03.10 | non-cooperation | no | non-cooperative | Amendment of the Icesave compensation agreement with Great Britain and  the Netherlands |
| Iceland | 09.04.11 | non-cooperation | no | non-cooperative | State guarantee for the Icesave- compensation fund |
| Croatia | 22.01.12 | accession | yes | cooperative | Accession to the European Union |
| Ireland | 31.05.12 | more integration | yes | cooperative | Treaty on Stability Coordination and Governance in the Economic and  Monetary Union |
| Switzerland | 09.02.14 | non-cooperation/noncompliance | yes | non-cooperative | Citizens' initiative «Against mass immigration» |
| Denmark | 25.05.14 | Accession | yes | cooperative | Accession to European Unified Patent Court (UPC) |
| Switzerland | 30.11.14 | non-cooperation/noncompliance | no | cooperative | Citizens' initiative of 02.11.2012 «Halt overpopulation - Preserve the  natural environment» (Ecopop) |
| Greece | 05.07.15 | non-cooperation | no | non-cooperative |  |
| Denmark | 03.12.15 | more integration | no | non-cooperative |  |
| Switzerland | 28.02.16 | noncompliance | no | cooperative | Citizens' initiative of 29 December 2012 "For the enforcement of the  deportation of criminal foreigners" |
| Netherlands | 06.04.16 | more integration | yes | non-cooperative | ukraine association agreement eu |
| UK | 23.06.16 | disintegration | yes | non-cooperative | brexit |
| Hungary | 02.10.16 | non-cooperation/noncompliance | invalid | non-cooperative | eu refugee policy |
| Guatemala | 15.04.2018 | cooperation | Yes | cooperative | Submission of the territorial disputes with Belize to the International  Court of Justice |
| North Macedonia | 30.09.2018 | cooperation | Yes | cooperative | Agreement between the Republic of Macedonia and Greece on the change of  name to \Republic of Northern Macedonia‚Äù " |
| Antigua and Barbuda | 06.11.2018 | Accession | No | non-cooperative | Caribbean Court of Justice (CCJ) as the final court of appeal |
| Belize | 06.11.2018 | cooperation | Yes | cooperative | Submission of the territorial disputes with Guatemala to the International  Court of Justice |
| Grenada | 06.11.2018 | Accession | No | non-cooperative | Joining the Caribbean Court of Justice (CCJ) and judicial reform |
| Switzerland | 25.11.2018 | non-cooperation/noncompliance | No | cooperative | Citizens' initiative \Swiss law instead of foreign judges (initiative for  self-determination)". |
| Switzerland | 19.05.2019 | noncompliance | Yes | cooperative | Implementation of an amendment to the EU Weapons Directive  (further development of Schengen) |