**Online appendix**

**Appendix A.** Structural differences between four regional organizations

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| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Structural dimension | EC/EU | ASEAN | Mercosur | SADC(C) |
| *Geographic macro-region* | Europe | Asia | Latin America | Africa |
| *Development levels*  *(mean GDP per capita)* | Industrialized  (1,915 $) | Industrialized, developing (10,467 $) | Developing (4,515 $) | Developing (1,438 $) |
| *Economic systems* | Capitalist | Mixed (capitalist, communist) | Capitalist | Capitalist |
| *Colonial history/power* | No (colonizers) | Yes: France, Netherlands, England | Yes: Spain/Portugal | Yes: England |
| *Power distribution* | No hegemon | Hegemon (Indonesia) | Hegemon (Brazil) | No hegemon |
| *Dominant regime type* | Democratic | Mainly autocratic | Democratizing | Mixed (autocratic, democratizing) |
| *Dominant legal system* | Civil law | Mixed | Civil law | Mixed |
| *Civilizational category (Huntington)* | Western | Mixed (Islamic, Buddhist) | Latin American | African |
| *Dominant religion* | Christian | Islam, Buddhism | Christian | Christian, ethnic religions |

*Note*: Where relevant, structural dimensions are measured in the year in which the governments adopted a common market goal (EU: 1957; ASEAN: 2003; Mercosur: 1991; SADC: 1993)

*Source*: Own elaboration.

**Appendix B.** Coding of delegation

Delegation to the general secretariat

Delegation to the general secretariat is an additive nine-point scale.

* *Membership accession*. Is the secretariat authorized to vet, solicit, or negotiate membership of the IO (0, 1)?
* *Constitutional amendments*. Is the secretariat authorized to initiate or negotiate constitutional amendments (0, 1)?
* *Substantive non-compliance*. Is the secretariat authorized to initiate a formal proceeding against a member state in non-compliance with IO rules (0, 1)?
* *Financial non-compliance*. Is the secretariat authorized to initiate a formal proceeding against a member state in financial arrears (0, 1)?
* *Drafting the budget*. Is the secretariat authorized to (co-)draft the annual budget of the IO (0, 1)?
* *Policy initiation*. Is the secretariat authorized to propose one or more of the following: recommendations, resolutions, or declarations; programs or projects; laws, regulations, decisions, or directives; protocols or conventions (0, 1)?
* *Monopoly of policy initiation*. Is the role of the secretariat in initiating policy a) not mandated; b) mandated by the IO’s founding document and shared with other bodies; c) anchored in the IO’s founding document and exclusive (0, 0.5, 1)?
* *Executive powers*. Is the secretariat of the IO authorized to carry out executive functions, such as framing multi-year strategic plans, drafting policy, or turning general legislation into directives or executive orders (0, 1)?
* *Monopoly of executive powers*. Does the secretariat monopolize these powers or does it share them with another body (0, 1)?

Delegation to judicial bodies

Judicial delegation is an additive six-point scale. The first five components are adopted from James McCall Smith (2000). The sixth dimension was added after consulting experts.

* *Is there automatic right for third‐party review of dispute* (0, 0.5, 1)*?* A regional organization scores 1 if a member state can initiate litigation over the objections of the party litigated against (automatic right); and 0.5 if access to third party dispute settlement depends on the consent of a political body.
* *Is the composition of the tribunal ad hoc or standing* (0, 0.5, 1)*?* Regional organizations with a standing tribunal score 1; ad hoc tribunals score 0.5.
* *Are rulings binding, conditionally binding or nonbinding* (0, 0.5, 1)*?* Our assessment is based on explicit language in the treaty, convention or protocol that sets up the dispute settlement mechanism. Conditional bindingness is applicable when: a) a state consents *ex ante* to bindingness; b) or a state can register a derogation or exception; c) or a decision requires *post hoc* approval by a political body.
* *Do non-state actors have access to dispute settlement* (0, 1)*?* Under non-state actors are understood third-party international organizations, parliaments, trade, business or public interest groups, or individuals. Access means they can take a member state or a body of the regional organization to court for violation of rights that evolve from the contract.
* *Can a remedy be imposed* (0, 0.5, 1)*?* Regional organizations score 1 if rulings take direct effect, that is, they bind domestic courts to act; they score 0.5 if states are authorized to take retaliatory sanctions.
* *Is there a preliminary ruling system* (0, 0.5, 1)*?* Regional organizations score 1 if preliminary rulings are compulsory, that is, domestic courts must refer cases of potential conflict between national and supranational law to the supranational court or must abide by supranational rulings; and 0.5 if preliminary rulings are optional.