

Online appendix

Appendix A. Structural differences between four regional organizations

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