

Table A. Model specific ways of meeting the RECON indicators of democratic performance

Indicator	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
How far, how equally and how securely do citizens enjoy rights of free speech, association and assembly?	National freedoms of speech, association and assembly are available to domestic publics in their control of powers delegated to the EU.	Union-wide guarantees of freedoms of speech, association and assembly in each Member State.	EU treats freedoms of speech, association and assembly as cosmopolitan rights to which even those addressees of its laws who are not its own citizens are entitled.
How far and how equally can citizens exercise public control through free and fair voting?	Free and fair elections to national executive and legislative offices which control delegations of power to the Union.	Free and fair elections to executive and legislative office at the Union level.	Free and fair elections to all representative bodies that together exercise controlling powers over the Union (see next point)
How far can representatives elected by the people exercise ultimate controlling power over all public bodies on a day-to-day basis?	Effective national parliamentary scrutiny and control of powers delegated to the Union.	A European Parliament scrutinises and controls of the powers of other Union institutions.	Combinations of national and European parliamentary control reproduce aspects of the democratic state (holistic public control and political equality) even in a non-state polity
How far do political parties structure voter choice in ways which help citizens exercise public control as equals?	National party competition allows citizens to exercise control over delegations of power to the Union.	Parties structure voter choice so that elections to EU office can be used to exercise control over Union decisions.	Networks of party actors at the national, European and international levels support an inter-parliamentary co-operation with a cosmopolitan reach.
How plural and how independent is the range of social groups, organised interests and communications media that seeks to influence the polity?	Range and independence of the national civil society actors that seek to influence Union policy, and the equality of their access.	Range and independence of civil society actors organised to influence majority formation at EU level and equality of their access.	National, European and international networks of all civil society actors allow all affected by Union policies to participate equally and critically in their formulation.
How far are decisions deliberated within a public sphere that allows all matters to be justified and decided, free of inequalities in power and resources?	Each Member State is a well-formed public sphere where all points of view have equal access to national procedures for controlling delegations of power to the EU.	The EU is itself a public sphere in which all views on the exercise of its powers are considered and justified in relation to one another on a basis of equality.	The exercise of EU powers is guided by a commitment to ideals of a cosmopolitan public sphere in which equal consideration is given even to policy addressees who are not EU citizens.
How far and how equally do citizens enjoy civic capabilities needed for them to exercise public control over the polity?	Citizens are able to make informed and deliberated choices in selecting representatives who exercise national procedures for controlling delegations of power to the EU.	Citizens are able to make informed and deliberated choices in elections to executive and legislative office at the Union level.	As well as allowing its own citizens to make informed choices, the EU puts no unreasonable obstacles on capabilities that addressees of its laws who are not Union citizens need for the exercise of their rights to fair consideration in the making of EU decisions.
How far does the polity rest on a rule of law that itself encompasses no more and no less than those conditions required for citizens to author their own laws as equals?	National procedures for controlling delegations of power to the EU are covered by rule of law principles in all Member States.	The European Union develops its own democratic rule of law controlled by majorities formed at the European level.	Soft law is sufficient to ensure compliance with all conditions necessary for all the Union's policy addressees to see themselves as equal authors of those laws.

<p>How far is the polity accepted as a unit whose members can make decisions binding on all? How far can citizens exercise equal control over the design of the polity itself?</p>	<p>National control over delegations of power to the Union ground public acceptance of the EU polity itself. National procedures for bargaining and ratifying Treaty change allow citizens of all Member States to exercise public control over the design of the EU polity as equals.</p>	<p>Majorities of voters and their representatives are widely accepted as having the right to make legally binding decisions in the exercise of powers assigned to the EU. Those majorities can also control the further development of the EU polity as equals in so far as changes affect powers already assigned to the Union.</p>	<p>The EU polity is accepted as a legitimate source of law-making by all addressees of those laws (and not just by citizens of the Union) who are also able to control as equals further developments in how the Union polity will apply to them.</p>
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