



Project No.: CIT4-CT-2006-028698

**RECON**  
**Reconstituting Democracy in Europe**

Integrated Project  
Priority: 7 - Citizens and Governance in a Knowledge-Based Society

**Deliverable No. 56**  
**Workshop on theories of representation**

Due date of deliverable: April 2009  
Actual delivery date: 22 May 2009

Start date of project: 1 January 2007

Duration: 60 months

Lead contractors for this deliverable  
Partner 20 – Institute for European Integration Research  
Austrian Academy of Sciences, Austria

Final version

Project co-funded by the European Commission within the Sixth Framework Programme (2002-2006)		
Dissemination Level		
<b>PU</b>	Public	
<b>PP</b>	Restricted to other programme participants (including the Commission Services)	
<b>RE</b>	Restricted to a group specified by the consortium (including the Commission Services)	X
<b>CO</b>	Confidential, only for members of the consortium (including the Commission Services)	

## 1. Introduction

RECON Deliverable No. 56 – *Workshop on theories of representation* is part of work package 3 – Representation and Institutional Make-Up. The overall objective of WP 3 is to assess the status of democracy in Europe, with emphasis on (a) clarifying the nature of the challenges facing systems of representation at the national and supranational levels in Europe; (b) analyzing interactions between these levels; (c) establishing the direction of change (towards which of the three RECON models these systems develop); and (d) evaluating the democratic quality of these arrangements.

In the months 25-42, the main aim of WP 3 is to operationalise the theoretical and methodological frameworks developed during the first two years of the project. In addition to this, the work package will integrate new fields of study, one of which is that of the new partner Austrian Academy of Sciences (OEAW) on representative claims and the 2009 European elections. In the current work period, this sub-project aims to lay down the theoretical foundations in a first working paper on representative theory, and to stage a workshop serving as an arena to discuss the theoretical findings before finalizing a working paper on representative models.

## 2. Presentation of the workshop

The ‘Workshop on representative theory’ was organised by the Institute for European Integration Research of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna on 22 May 2009. After a first working paper delivering a critical assessment of various representative theories<sup>1</sup> developed by the OEAW team, the workshop served the aim of connecting theoretical considerations with the team’s empirical research planned within the framework of RECON’s WP 3. This empirical part analyses the extent of coordination of representative claims by transnational party federations in the last elections to the European Parliament. Thus, the further refinement of the theoretical frame and the operationalisation of the three RECON models were the focus of this Vienna workshop.

The workshop opened with a presentation by James Bohman (Saint Louis University), who argued that in ‘multi-perspectival polities’ constituted by multiple *demos*, representation needs to function differently than standard assumptions on representation in single-perspectival polities constituting a *demos* would suggest. WP 3 coordinator Christopher Lord (ARENA, University of Oslo) then critically assessed the notion that democracy is first and foremost about efficient aggregation of the public’s wants and called for a focus on democracy as a value, a right and a procedure. Such a focus, namely, will allow us to appreciate the notion that in constructing a representative system on the EU level we should not focus primarily on its ability to correlate public preferences to outcomes, but, more profoundly, on democratic deliberation on the nature of the relations between the public desires and policy outcomes. The third presentation in the first panel by Dario Castiglione (University of Exeter) addressed some of the key reasons for renewed scholarly interest in issues of representation and the need of its ‘re-thinking’. While he argued for modifications in a number of key concepts related to political representation, he also stressed the need to conceive of ‘representation’ as a system rather than a set of related but multiple practices and institutions. John Erik Fossum (ARENA,

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<sup>1</sup> ‘On Political Representation: Myths and Challenges’, Johannes Pollak, Jozef Bátora, Monika Mokre, Emmanuel Sigalas and Peter Slominski, [RECON Online Working Paper 2009/03](#) (D7).

University of Oslo) acted as a discussant of the first panel and provided a number of useful comments, not least arguing for the need to consider the notion of parliamentary field when thinking of the emerging system of political representation in the EU.

The second panel was opened by a presentation of the paper authored by the OEAW team including Jozef Bátora, Monika Mokre, Johannes Pollak, Emmanuel Sigalas and Peter Slominski. They presented ideas on how representative systems can be operationalised in relation to the three RECON models and elaborated upon a set of hypotheses to be tested in the 2009 EP election campaigns. In the following paper, Ben Crum and Eric Miklin (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) applied the notion of the EU parliamentary field to study the case of the EU Services Directive. By doing that they sought to specify the terms of engagement between the demois in the EU. Sandra Kröger (University of Bremen) then reviewed a number of key conceptual issues related to representation of civil society actors in the multi-level system of EU governance. The discussant of the second panel, Berthold Rittberger (University of Mannheim) provided a number of constructive critical remarks.

The fact that most of the papers directly engaged each others' concepts as well as the small setting of the workshop provided an excellent opportunity for fruitful discussions of how the concept of political representation should be re-thought to have explanatory value in multi-level polities such as the EU.

### **3. Participants**

Bátora, Jozef	EIF, Austrian Academy of Sciences
Bohman, James	Saint Louis University
Castiglione, Dario	University of Exeter
Crum, Ben	Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
Fossum, John Erik	ARENA, University of Oslo
Kröger, Sandra	University of Bremen
Lord, Christopher	ARENA, University of Oslo
Miklin, Eric	Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
Mokre, Monika	EIF, Austrian Academy of Sciences
Pollak, Johannes	EIF, Austrian Academy of Sciences
Rittberger, Berthold	MZES, University of Mannheim
Sigalas, Emmanuel	EIF, Austrian Academy of Sciences
Slominski, Peter	EIF, Austrian Academy of Sciences

### **4. Programme**

See attachment

## Workshop on Representative Theory

Vienna, 22 May 2009

RECON WP 3 – Representation and Institutional Make-up

Organised by the Institute for European Integration, Austrian Academy of Sciences

Venue: Austrian Academy of Sciences, Dr. Ignaz Seipel Platz 2, A-1010 Vienna,  
Museumszimmer

### Programme

10:00-12:30 **What Is Representation Good for at All?**

**How to Represent Demoi**

**James Bohman**

*Saint Louis University*

**The Democratic Value of Representation**

**Christopher Lord**

*ARENA, University of Oslo*

**The Return of Representation in Democratic Theory**

**Reasons and Prospectives**

**Dario Castiglione**

*University of Exeter*

**Comments: John Erik Fossum**

*ARENA, University of Oslo*

12:30-14:00 *Lunch break*

14:00-16:30 **The Representative Properties of the RECON Models**

**Reconstituting Political Representation in the EU**

**An Analytical Framework Embedding SHARE within RECON**

**Monika Mokre and Manos Sigalas**

*Austrian Academy of Sciences*

**Exploring Structures and Standards of [democratic representation  
in] the Multilevel Parliamentary Field**

**The Case of the EU Services directive**

**Ben Crum and Eric Miklin**

*VU University Amsterdam*

**The Representation of Civil Society across Levels of Governance  
Conceptual Issues and Empirical Evidence**

**Sandra Kröger**

*University of Bremen*

**Comments: Berthold Rittberger**

*MZES, University of Mannheim*

19:00 *Dinner*