

Summaries

Claudia Christiane Gatzka, The Heyday of Party Democracy. Politisation as Everyday Practice in the Federal Republic, 1969–1980

This article is building upon the assumption that practicing democracy is not reserved for non-parliamentary arenas. Beyond the mere act of voting, electors can also become actors signifying their participation in parliamentary democracy through certain actions. The article investigates the ›long‹ 1970s in West Germany as a period when parliamentary democracy manifested itself particularly in local contexts. It examines the encounter of electorate and parties in urban space and forms of communication on important issues of the time. It outlines how voters and parliamentary representatives shaped the discourse on participation of the time and adopted techniques of the protest movements. In so doing, it describes a decade when West German party democracy was able to present itself as particularly legitimate – ironically at the very time when it was heavily challenged by non-parliamentary actors. The article illuminates the role voters played in local politics, to what extent protest actors influenced these practices, the way how the mood of socio-economic crisis caused a convergence between the electorate and parties and why it ended in the late 1970s.

Liesbeth van de Grift, Representing European Society. The Rise of New Representative Claims in 1970s European Politics

The 1970s saw a concerted effort by the European Commission, as well as by sectoral and public interest groups, to bring the European Community (EC) closer to ›the man on the street‹. New consumer and environmental policies were designed to give the Community a more ›human‹ face, to help shift its image from an organisation primarily focused on common market and trade policies to one geared more towards guaranteeing a particular standard of well-being and quality of life for its citizens. This change allowed transnational consumer-oriented NGOs, such as consumer groups, to enter the European political arena and influence cross-border issues. Outside of Brussels, meanwhile, these groups resorted to direct action such as protests and boycotts to influence European policymaking. In doing so, they challenged the power of vested interest groups, such as agriculture, industry and trade unions, and altered conceptions and practices of interest representation. This article examines these understudied aspects of ›bottom-up‹ mobilisation and civil society engagement in the history of European integration. It uses the ›European Economic and Social Committee‹ (EESC) as a lens through which we can observe these changes on the supranational level.

Niels Grüne, Rural Society and Democratic Participation. Political Translocalisation in German Regions from the Late Ancien Régime until the Mid-Nineteenth Century

Focusing on German rural regions from the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, this article examines how local communities, through a combination of endogenous forces and external incentives, entered a large-scale arena of political communication based on and perpetuated by political organisations. It investigates factors that either fostered or inhibited procedures, mindsets and identification patterns outside the everyday life-world. The category of ›democratic participation‹ is geared towards institutionally established and widely accessible practices of participation in communities with an inherent transcendence of local ›policy arenas‹. Three regions are particularly suitable for a comparative analysis given their specific similarities and differences: the northern Upper Rhine Plain,

the Hessian-Franconian uplands and eastern Westphalia. After outlining the conditions of local and village communities, the article focuses empirically on processes of *political translocalisation* in the following fields of action and discourse: (1) key representative bodies as the core of emerging party orientations; (2) an argumentative shift from local (legal) traditions to territorial or national norms in petitions; (3) diffusion and cohesion of political currents such as liberalism and conservatism in rural milieux. The comparative analysis which is based on a multi-causal explanatory model reveals to what extent dissolving boundaries of political interpretations and semantics were tied to local and municipal social structures and conflicts.

Paul Lukas Hähnel, Multi-level Parliamentarism in Imperial Germany. A Quantitative and Qualitative Study of Dual Parliamentary Mandates

In 1871 Imperial Germany, roughly half of the members of the Reichstag held parliamentary mandates both at Reich and state level. Dual parliamentary mandates were not constitutionally stipulated and thus formed an informal structural element of the political system. Previous scholarship has attached importance only to Prussian dual representatives in regard to parliamentary political opinion formation and decision-making processes. In contrast, the significantly higher proportion of dual representatives from the South of Germany has been largely ignored. Therefore, the contribution focuses on this group of dual representatives operating in the tension between Reich and state level as well as on federal structures of the political system of Imperial Germany. To this end, parliamentary bodies at Reich and state level are seen as cross-level negotiation spaces where dual representatives operated as key actors. Based on the quantitative evaluation of dual parliamentary mandates and exemplary analyses of political opinion formation and decision-making processes in the fields of financial politics (customs and tax reform of 1878/79) and food regulations (wine law of 1909), the article develops hypotheses about the significance of dual parliamentary mandates for the functioning of the constitutional system of Imperial Germany. It argues that southern German dual representatives in particular served as a hinge between the parliamentary groups at Reich and state level and prohibited Reich and state politics drifting apart.

Anne Heyer, The First People's Parties? Concepts of Democracy of Early Party Organisation in Imperial Germany, Great Britain and the Netherlands, 1860s–1870s

The vast majority of today's political parties in Europe decisively support democratic decision-making processes. This was a completely different matter during the foundation stage of the early party organisations in the 1860s and 1870s. Both concept and practice of democratic politics were highly controversial, often negatively connoted and associated with violent upheaval and revolution by contemporaries. Taking the German Social Democratic Labour Party, the British National Liberal Federation and the Dutch Anti-Revolutionary Party as examples, this article shows the important role of democratic values and processes for the emergence of early party organisations. The founders of these party organisations shaped the political culture of the subsequent decades, perhaps even centuries, by implementing their organisations as ultimate tools of political opinion formation of ordinary people. Already at the foundation conferences the notion of »the people« played an essential role. The three party organisations shared concerns about skilful demagogues potentially manipulating their followers. As a result, they focused on representative processes which allowed ordinary members to influence the political course of the party in an orderly fashion. Even though the organisational implementation proved to be at least partially mere rhetoric rather than democratic practice, these early party founders developed organisational standards which influenced all subsequent party organisations.

The different organisational resolution strategies illustrate the challenge to enforce normative democratic ideals. This might be instructive in the context of today's debates on the role of political parties in modern democracies.

Anna Catharina Hofmann, Practicing Democracy under Dictatorship? Political Participation and Its Limits in the Late Franco Regime (1966–1973)

Like all twentieth-century authoritarian regimes, the Franco dictatorship (1936/39–1975) did not hold onto power merely through terror and repression. Rather, it was a »dictatorship of participation« (Sven Reichardt) using democratic practices such as elections and referendums for safeguarding its power. From the early 1960s, the Francoist »Movimiento« promised a »democratisation« of the dictatorship under the slogan of »political development« (*desarrollo político*). Using two examples, this contribution examines how this promise of democratisation was adopted, interpreted and translated into democratic practices »from below« from the mid-1960s onwards. It puts a focus on both the Spanish press after the abolition of pre-censorship in 1966 and on the so-called family representatives elected into the Francoist *Cortes* for the first time in 1967. The different proponents of freedom of opinion and assembly used opinion pieces, polls, petitions and new political practices to present themselves as independent actors of control and criticism rather than representatives of the powerless population. Taking the MATESA scandal of 1969 as an example, the article shows that the regime was in fact put under pressure by these activities. It finally demonstrates that the dictatorship itself contributed to increasingly undermine its legitimacy by propagating »democratisation« for years and leaving expectations in an »opening« of the regime unfulfilled.

Theo Jung, Making an Appearance by Exiting. Boycotting Debates as Parliamentary Practice in Great Britain and France (1797–1823)

At the turn from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, boycotting parliamentary debates became part of the action repertoire of oppositional groups. Repeatedly constellations occurred when, as a response to governmental majority's repressive attitude, parliament was at risk of losing both its legitimacy as a forum of the nation and its instrumental value as the stage of the political opposition. In such cases, continuing parliamentary debate could appear not only pointless, but even damaging, in the sense that it unintentionally legitimised existing conditions. As a defiant refusal to participate, exiting parliamentary debate was a political practice itself and a means to challenge the dominating constitutive conditions of parliament, rather than the final step of political action. Building upon case studies from Edinburgh, Dublin, London and Paris, the article discusses the significance of this »acting-by-non-acting« practice during the early stage of modern parliamentarianism. The way how these boycotts were carried out, the reactions they provoked and finally their successful outcome show the specific dimensions of the political field at that time. Seen as a controversial breach of expectations, they illuminate an understanding of politics that focused on expressing the *vox populi* in an unprecedented fashion. At the same time, the difficulties which the boycotters faced demonstrate the precarious position of the opposition within contemporary parliamentarianism, which was very different to our expectations of democracy today. Finally, the conflicts within the oppositional groups – ranging from the British Whigs in Dublin and Westminster to the French Ultra-royalists and left-liberals – show that the refusal to participate in the key political arena in a period of emerging party and parliamentary group affiliations imposed a great challenge – sometimes too great a challenge – on the discipline of the political collective.

Harm Kaal, *The Voice of the People. Communicative Practices of Popular Political Engagement in the Netherlands, 1950s–1960s*

This article discusses how interaction between politicians and the people has shaped Dutch political culture in the 1950s and 1960s. First, a range of communicative practices are outlined through which politicians and the people interacted, practices to which historians have hitherto paid scant attention in their studies on post-war political history: the letters citizens sent to politicians, their contributions to suggestion boxes, surveys that polled popular opinion and the questions people addressed to politicians live on television. Through these practices, both politicians and the people they represented articulated new notions of democracy and political representation. Second, based on a unique set of sources – the letters people addressed to Prime Minister Jo Cals after his forced resignation in October 1966 – the article delves deeper into the question of how citizens made sense of politics and political representation amidst this transformation of Dutch political culture. Citizens clearly did not take up their pens merely to vent their emotions and express their admiration, but also to express their views on the state and future of Dutch democracy and to display their political agency. By writing these letters, they were defining their own role and position as democratic subjects.

Nathalie Le Bouëdec, *The Court as an Arena of Democratic Action? Broadening the People's Participation in the Jurisdiction in Germany during the Early Weimar Republic and the Immediate Post-War Years*

From today's perspective, it is not self-evident to understand the court as an arena of democratic action. However, the article shows that this matter has been frequently under debate during times of democratic change, not only in the Pre-March period, but also during the early Weimar and the immediate post-war years after the Second World War. The comparative analysis is based on the fact that both periods were shaped by a profound distrust in the judicial system and on several similarities of discourses between 1918 and 1945. In 1918/19, the Social Democratic camp in particular stressed the connection between the sovereignty of the people and citizens' participation in jurisdiction. Hopes of democratic practices in court manifested themselves in the concept of »people's judges«. The main focus was on a reform of lay jurisdiction, giving it a new, democratic function and legitimisation. Irrespective of being co-opted by the Nazis, the immediate post-war years after 1945 saw a democratic revival of these discussions. While West German interest was quickly waning, the GDR systematically expanded people's participation in jurisdiction – albeit at the price of politically controlling the judiciary. The article emphasises that democratisation expectations and practical implementation diverged substantially. In both cases, lawyers and politicians experienced that their wishes were counteracted by the disillusioning reality, which is shown by court reports. Finally, the article argues that this discrepancy did not result from special framework conditions, but was caused by the tensions arising between the constitutional democratic principle on the one hand and the nature of judicial practice on the other, which perhaps allows for people's participation only to a limited extent.

Thomas Mergel, *Fraud, Violence, Vote-Buying. Electoral Cultures in Europe in the Transition to the Political Mass Market, 1860–1914*

The article discusses the implementation of modern voting systems from the last third of the nineteenth century as a transition period comparing western European countries and argues that a political mindset related to this development had to be acquired gradually. Electoral corruption, social pressure and disruptive violence had previously been part of electoral practices. Elections had been seen as collective decisions and thus had to be pub-

lic. Secret ballots were considered non-community-building, making it impossible to sell one's vote or to publicly giving it to the »right« person or party. Moreover, elections could no longer be celebrated as festive events with excessive consumption of alcohol and violence. The article focuses on different national electoral cultures: England had a long tradition of vote-buying and violence, while electoral corruption and vote-counting fraud were more common in France. In Germany, irregularities were less frequent, but controlling the vote was practised at a large scale by land and industrial barons as well as Catholic clerics and Social Democratic functionaries. The least irregularities were committed in Switzerland. The fact that it was the two countries with the most longstanding democratic traditions – England and France – which saw the most rule violations raises the question of whether the political mass market reframed the issue of electoral rules.

Anne Engelst Nørgaard, A Battle for Democracy. The Concept of Democracy in the Constitutional Struggle, Denmark 1848–1849

This article investigates the introduction of the concept of democracy to everyday political language in the Danish speaking parts of the Danish monarchy in 1848/49. I argue that the concept was transformed from being a seldom guest in political communication before 1848 to become a highly contested concept in August 1848 as part of the constitutional struggle (March 1848–June 1849). Here, a conflict on representation developed into a battle for the concept of democracy and for the right to call oneself a democrat. The article combines methodological approaches suggested by Reinhart Koselleck and Quentin Skinner. By exploring the political communication of four dominant political currents of the time, I ask how the concept of democracy was interpreted and applied across the political spectrum and how different social interests affected the usage of the concept. The article shows that a radical association and a peasant association began to apply the concept of democracy to their central slogan from late July 1848. This change of communication accompanied a break of the former radical-liberal alliance and a changed political practice as both associations now aspired to represent particular social interests in national politics. The article demonstrates how opposing political currents responded to this strategy and discusses the subsequent battle on the meaning of the concept of democracy. I further argue that the concept became localised and associated with a single association in the spring of 1849, thus gaining a more fixed meaning than it had had just months before. The article zooms in on one and a half years of Danish history focusing on the modern concept of early democracy and discusses the varied meanings and usages of this concept in this period of vast social changes.

Giulia Quaggio, Social Movements and Participatory Democracy. Spanish Protests for Peace during the Last Decade of the Cold War (1981–1986)

As was the case in Northern Europe during the last decade of the Cold War, grassroots groups supporting a new idea of peace and the end of the nuclear arms race multiplied throughout Southern Europe. In particular after Franco's death, in a contested process, Spain ultimately decided to join NATO and to review the presence of US military bases. This triggered the rise of a varied anti-NATO movement that linked an intense debate on the idea of democracy with the opposition to the military blocs and the fear of a nuclear war. The Spanish case is interesting for several reasons. Firstly, the existence of a massive peace movement contrasts with the common idea of a »Mediterranean syndrome«, that is the recognition of a peculiar weakness of civil society in Southern Europe. Secondly, the debate on democratic practices interlinked with the process of building new democratic institutions after a long dictatorship. According to the anti-NATO grassroots committees, peace not only implied unilateral disarmament, but also the configuration of a different

way of life in which citizen involvement in public decisions played an important role beyond the traditional ideological divisions and the hegemonic elites of newly legalised political parties. How did these movements frame and practice an idea of participatory democracy? How did this idea come into conflict or was it strategically used by leftist parties? How did this appreciation of democracy pervade the repertoire of protest practices? To address these issues documents from Spanish peace groups, mostly minutes of their meetings, and anti-NATO publications during the first half of the 1980s have been consulted. In addition, leaflets and peace activists' pamphlets have been analysed in order to chart the ways in which activists articulated notions of self-representation as democratic and methods for interacting with the new democratic institutions.

James Retallack, August Bebel. A Life for Social Justice and Democratic Reform

The focus of this essay falls on August Bebel, who entered adulthood in the early 1860s as a journeyman turner (*Drechsler*) producing door handles from buffalo horns and who died in 1913 as the unchallenged leader of the world's largest Social Democratic Party. This meteoric rise to prominence would appear to cement Bebel's place in history. But Bebel and his party faced cross-cutting opportunities and challenges as Imperial Germany's political culture evolved. Social democratisation was speeding up as politics penetrated to the base of society, whereas the democratisation of Germany's constitution, political system and forms of governance slowed down after 1871. The arc of my reflections draw a link between the practice of biography and »the practice of democracy«. Both offer an opportunity to reflect upon the conditions under which political participation can be realised as the electoral rules of the game are being transformed. In the first section I discuss the challenge of writing »a life« without falling into what Pierre Bourdieu called »l'illusion biographique«. In part two I consider whether Bebel can be said to have devoted his life not to socialism per se but to social justice. In part three I consider whether he sought not revolution but democratic reform, and in the last part I offer some general observations about Bebel's life of celebrity. As I suggest there, Bebel was a popular firebrand and a parliamentary pragmatist, a belated convert to Marxism and the harbinger of worldwide revolution, a doctrinal touchstone and a political chameleon. As Germany entered the medial age, Bebel's celebrity helps explain his contemporary influence and historical significance without, however, dissolving these paradoxes. Bebel remains an enigma, even though almost no one thought so at the time.