

CONCLUDING NOTES: REAPPRAISING POLITICS AND DEBATE

Why should a researcher concern herself with the activity of politics? In this book we hope to have given some answers to this question for students and scholars alike in the humanities and social sciences. We also hope to have offered compelling reasons to reappraise politics as a contingent and controversial activity, as it is our impression that this perspective is sometimes underappreciated or left out completely in current research.

Students and scholars have much to gain by studying politics as an activity. This perspective opens up several dimensions that are critical for understanding politics as action, as opposed to a perspective that focuses primarily on the outcome of politics, as seen for instance in studies of votes and legislative processes. If the researcher does not include the dimensions linked to the activity-character of politics, her results will be based only on a part of the full panorama. As an example, in EU studies frequently the European Parliament's powers against the Commission and the Council are evaluated by counting the voting results of legislative processes. While this is a possible and perfectly legitimate approach, it does not tell the researcher *how* the battle of forces between the institutions and their members went about, what *strategies* the actors used, how they applied them, and *why* they won, lost or adjourned their motions. Moreover, concentrating on the mere outcomes of decision-making does not tell the researcher much about the backgrounds, moves and rhetoric of the politics involved. As politics is mainly carried out by linguistic acts (speeches, documents, letters, legislative

texts, etc.), this dimension is crucial to its understanding. Scholars should therefore be sensitive to the processes and actions, strategies, intentions and speech acts that underlie the outcome of politics, when they analyse speeches and writings of persons involved in the studied contexts of politics.

We have endeavoured to show that, if a person wants to study politics as an activity, she should focus on the moves and strategies of the actors involved and gain some knowledge about the rules and the language of politics; in other words, she needs political literacy. In addition, she should have or develop concrete approaches and practices that allow for studying the actions, moves and speech acts of the agents, their claims and their backgrounds.

Besides our general aim of highlighting why politics should be studied from the point of view of its activity dimensions, we also wanted to offer some useful hints and comments in this respect. While we strongly believe that each research design must be individual and custom-tailored to the research question and the researcher's own interests, we still think there are some approaches and practices that could be helpful and valuable for a broader public. Moreover, we wanted to provide concrete examples of how politics as an activity can be studied.

We also hope to have encouraged students and scholars to reconsider debate as a political activity. Debates, as has been underlined, can take different forms and take place in different arenas, even if parliamentary debate is considered its classical paradigm. They may be either virtual ('frozen') or live, and they may occur within a single sitting or be extended over long time periods.

With our theoretical and introductory thoughts and with our exemplary cases, we have aimed to show that the study of the rhetorical aspects of politics, as found in various types of debate, should not be limited to scholars of rhetoric or discourse analysis alone. On the contrary, the case studies are important for understanding aspects of political life itself, including the outcomes of elections or referenda, where quite often the vote is preceded by some form of debate or an exchange of arguments (see, in particular, Chapters 3 and 4).

As mentioned, there are different interpretations in the work of classical and modern political thinkers about the concept of politics and its role in human life. The different interpretations can open our eyes today to a wider range of interpretations as to what is to be considered political.

While Aristotle's characterisation of human beings as *zoon politikon* is usually translated as *political animal*, a closer approximation would be to say that human beings are bound to the *polis* 'by nature' (*Politics*, 1253a).

However, the ancient Greek *polis* itself was not necessarily viewed as ‘natural’, for it was a counter-formation to the old despotic regime (see e.g. Finley 1983; Hansen 1998). In contrast, modern defenders of politics, such as Max Weber in his essay on the city (1922, 727–814) and Hannah Arendt (1993) denied that human politics had a ‘natural’ character and, instead, emphasised its voluntary or human character.

A claimed rejection of or disinterest in politics should also, therefore, not be seen as contrary to ‘human nature’, for it might itself be of political significance, especially in participatory regimes with universal suffrage and parliamentary government. In today’s representative democracies, the low regard for ‘politics’ and ‘politicians’ is a common practice and seems to be on the rise. Many opinion polls show a low degree of ‘interest in politics’. In contrast to other periods, such as the 1960s and 1970s, the reputation of ‘politics’ seems once again to have hit a nadir (for similarities between the current climate and the period around 1900, see Palonen 2012b). Celebrities in arts and sports, for example, frequently state a disinterest in politics or may even take pride in declaring ‘I know nothing about politics’. Even scholars can be heard to declare ‘I never vote’. While in totalitarian regimes such declarations may have a touch of protest (see Konrad 1985), in legitimate democratic polities with the right to express controversial opinions, they are rather signs of resignation. Political action, even in the minimal sense of voting or expressing one’s opinion in a political conflict of the day, is then abandoned and one’s own political fate is left for others to decide.

But such ‘anti-political’ declarations also refer to the narrow conception of politics as a sphere (as sketched in Chapter 1), that is, as referring only to the deeds or misdeeds of professional politicians. However, when everything—even the denial of being involved in ‘politics’—can be regarded as political, it does not make sense just to declare that something has political aspects or to blame others to be apolitical, unpolitical or anti-political. To understand such uses, we have to move the discussion to the level of different conceptions of politics. Or they might be a question of political literacy: when someone claims that there is nothing political in a phenomenon, the claim challenges others to invent modes of identifying political aspects in it.

Our book has a normative perspective (*Wertbeziehung* for Weber 1917a) in so far as it welcomes, so to say, ‘more politics in all our lives’, and as it discusses various possibilities for confronting political (i.e. contingent and controversial) situations. For Weber, ‘all of us’ who may vote,

speak in political meetings or write about political issues to newspapers are ‘occasional politicians’ (Weber 1919, 41).

Today, the possibilities for acting as an occasional politician have multiplied due to the numerous internet *fora* available for expressing opinions. On the other hand, these *fora* create very limited political spaces, sometimes only reserved for a small public interested in a special question. However, as we have illustrated in this volume, the range of what is seen as contingent and controversial is also expanding. Traditions and conventions have been losing their force. Not only is the vote no longer ‘inherited’ from the family or the home village (in the way that Wright 2012, for example, writes about his ‘inherited’ commitment to the Labour Party), but the choices of life and lifestyle have become politicised in our sense of the concept. The choices of what one eats, what clothing one wears, how and where one travels, for example, have become highly contingent, controversial and therefore thoroughly political.

We would like to offer a political mode of thinking that emphasises the actors and the activity dimension of politics, as well as its contingent and controversial character. This approach presents an alternative to the seemingly ‘unpolitical’ language of markets, businesses, capital and so on that have been metaphorically extended to everyday language, media discourse and even the evaluation of research. Using terms like systems, structures, processes and functions forms a kind of common sense within administrative jargon which they have adopted from the social sciences as they were a half-century ago. If politics appears at all in such languages, it is in the binary codes of government versus opposition and right wing versus left wing (see in particular Luhmann 2000).

In contrast, we have attempted to draft a concept of ‘political literacy’, defined as the ability and willingness to deal with the political in seemingly everyday situations, and to discuss how such literacy may be used for reading and analysing debates and documents. We have also illustrated some of the different ways of reading and interpreting politics and debates, despite some common standards and practices that mark all qualitative and interpretative analyses. As the examples in Section 4.1 have shown, one and the same debate can be read with quite different *foci*, depending on the research interest and the research question. In order to carry out research, a researcher thus needs to develop a particular and individual research design, going continually back and forth between the sources, the research questions and intermediate findings. The sources (to reiterate the point once more) do not speak for themselves: they must be interpreted by the

researcher. But the sources do carry a 'veto power': they must be taken seriously, and the researcher must be prepared to have her predefined categories overturned by them.

In conclusion, therefore, we hope to have indicated a number of possible paths and approaches to a broad understanding of the study of politics as an activity, and of debates and documents as an important part of it, in a way that transcends a narrow specialisation into subfields and subdisciplines. Politics has many facets which must be valued in their entirety and in their full complexity.

Metaphorically, politics can be seen as a game or as play, as it is a symbolic form of organising life structured by distinct rules. Politics is also a language-based activity, and the speech acts performed possess a political character. Moreover, to see politics as a human action means to emphasise its intrinsic relation to contingency, just as a politician always faces a horizon of possibilities, not knowing in advance what the consequences and outcomes of her actions may be, as they always depend also on the other actors involved and their moves. Politics relates to human beings and how we interact.

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INDEX

A

- adjournment, 8, 44, 52, 53, 55,
56, 66, 126, 159, 160, 180, 223
- adversity, adversary, 9, 12–14, 16,
18–20, 22, 23, 35, 36, 47, 72,
73, 155, 220–2
- agenda, agenda-setting, v, 8, 11,
14–17, 19, 21, 23, 25,
30–3, 35–8, 41, 42, 44–7,
51–4, 56, 57, 66, 73, 74, 78, 79,
103, 112–4, 116, 119, 132,
134–7, 139, 141, 143, 145, 154,
156, 158, 161, 162, 167, 171–3,
182, 183
- amendment, 13, 32, 44, 45, 49, 51–3,
56, 66, 118, 134, 143, 144, 158,
159, 162, 163, 168–70, 174,
175, 180, 181, 208, 209, 222n2
- Ankersmit, Frank, 38, 62, 64
- applause, acclamation, 36–40, 72,
112, 122, 214
- Arendt, Hannah, vii, 28, 57, 225
- argument, argumentation, ii, 1–3, 6,
9, 13, 14, 19, 21–3, 26, 34, 40,
48, 49, 52, 53, 57, 60, 63, 65,
69–77, 81–4, 91, 93, 97, 98,
101, 102, 107, 111, 115, 120,
122, 124–6, 131–41, 148, 150,
155, 156, 190, 197, 198, 202–5,
213, 215, 224
- Aristotle, vi, 14, 76, 224
- Assemblée nationale, 42, 110, 166
- assembly, 14–16, 18, 23, 29–31, 33–5,
37–42, 45–9, 52, 56, 62, 70, 74,
156, 158, 162, 164–6, 170, 171,
173, 177, 180
- deliberative, 15, 16, 36, 41, 52, 62,
156, 162, 165, 170, 173, 177
- legislative, 41, 42, 48, 120, 138,
162, 165, 169, 179, 183
- representative, 42, 156, 162, 170
- association, 19, 20, 34, 48, 49, 143,
155, 215, 217, 222
- Attlee, Clement, 112, 142, 144, 151

Note: Page numbers followed by ‘n’ refer to foot notes.

- audience, 9, 12, 13, 16, 18–20, 22, 27, 28, 36, 47, 67, 72–5, 122, 131, 132, 134, 137, 141, 156, 159
- Austin, J.L., 4, 26, 71, 79
- B**
- backbench, backbenchers, 8, 37, 38, 42, 45–7, 49, 52, 53, 55, 56, 66, 112–5, 119–21, 123, 124, 129, 130, 138–41, 145, 182, 183
- Bagehot, Walter, 15, 40, 46, 48, 56, 120, 147
- Ballot, secret voting, 39, 206
- Bentham, Jeremy, 17, 34, 43, 165, 166, 178, 179
- bill (parliamentary), 32, 44, 46, 51, 79, 112, 117, 119, 126, 127, 129, 135, 144, 145, 156, 166, 175, 180, 181
- Brown, Gordon, 38, 111–20, 125–41
- budget, 31, 45, 66, 74, 76, 163, 179
- Bundesrat, 92, 208–10
- Bundestag, 92, 98, 124, 168, 200–4, 207, 208, 210–15
- bureaucracy, administration, 5, 19, 26, 31, 46, 48, 49, 53, 55, 75, 85, 113, 164, 165, 171, 176, 179, 189, 195, 226
- Burke, Edmund, 39, 170
- Burke, Kenneth, 71, 75, 76
- C**
- cabinet, 46, 48, 116, 120, 136, 137, 174, 176
- Cambridge Union, vii, 9, 45, 75, 110, 156–61, 218
- Cameron, David, 38, 112, 114, 116–9, 127–9, 134–7, 139–41
- Campion, Gilbert, 34, 37, 42–4, 51–3, 55, 81, 166, 167
- Carlyle, Thomas, 38, 54
- chance, 7, 9, 27, 45, 46, 64, 100, 115, 135, 138, 143, 147, 150, 159, 160, 162, 168, 170, 173, 181, 184, 219, 220
- Churchill, Winston, 145, 150
- citizenship, 80, 86, 110, 111, 145, 184–200, 222n4
- Clegg, Nick, 38, 112, 114, 117–9, 128, 129, 137, 138, 140, 141
- clerk (of the House of Commons), 34, 45, 165
- clôture*, closure, 8, 15, 33, 50, 53, 56, 66, 176, 181
- code, coding, 43, 82, 83, 94–7, 124, 125, 197, 226
- committee (parliamentary), 13, 14, 19, 20, 27, 31, 42–4, 46, 47, 49–53, 56, 113–5, 117, 119–21, 126, 128, 150, 157, 158, 160, 162, 163, 166–75, 179, 181–3, 188, 213, 222n3
- communism, communists, 28, 34, 40, 76, 79, 105
- computer-supported analysis, 106–7
- concepts, conceptions, v, vi, 2–6, 8, 10, 14, 15, 21–4, 26, 27, 29, 35, 37, 38, 41, 43, 47, 51, 60–3, 68, 72, 74–82, 99, 103, 104, 111–21, 124–6, 130, 132, 142–55, 162, 177, 179, 183, 185, 186, 188, 190, 191, 193, 198, 201, 213–5, 217, 224–6
- conceptual analysis, conceptual history, 2, 27, 60, 67–70, 72, 77–80, 110, 142–55, 162, 185–6, 199, 217
- Congress (United States), 41, 45, 55, 164, 168, 170
- consensus, 15, 40, 63, 64, 100, 101, 113, 137, 201, 202, 206, 210, 211, 213, 215
- constituency, 32, 39, 49, 113, 116, 123, 138, 144, 145, 148, 155, 170, 181, 183

- constitution, 19, 38, 57, 65, 76, 84–7,
 91, 92, 100, 104, 105, 111–22,
 124–7, 130, 131, 135, 136,
 138–9, 147, 164, 186, 187, 191,
 198, 200–5, 207–09, 211–4
 Constitutional Court, 43, 210, 211
 contingency, vi, 7, 9, 10, 12, 25, 29,
 67, 111, 143, 147, 148, 150,
 165, 216, 217, 222, 225–7
 controversy, v, vi, 3, 7, 9, 14, 15, 17,
 20, 21, 24–6, 29, 32, 35, 41, 43,
 44, 48, 54, 63, 67, 77, 78, 87,
 111, 142, 143, 148, 150, 151,
 154–6, 159–61, 165, 216, 217,
 225–7
 conversation, 15, 29
- D**
- debater, 3, 4, 12, 13, 17, 18, 24, 27,
 29, 30, 34, 36, 47, 49, 64, 67,
 72, 73, 124, 181, 182
 debate types
 academic, 1, 14, 19, 21–3, 34, 35,
 57, 60, 79, 86, 156
 on agenda and of agenda, 103, 183
 documents as debates, 14, 19–21,
 24, 26, 35, 44, 57, 59–107, 161
 frozen, vi, 13, 14, 20, 156, 226
 live, 13, 14, 16, 18–21, 24,
 156, 224
 multistage and-layer debates, 50–4
 oral, 23, 45
 parliamentary, v, 2, 13–7, 19, 23,
 25–57, 60, 67, 73–5, 78, 79, 87,
 98, 110–55, 167, 176–9, 180,
 185, 186, 191, 213, 214, 224
 press, 200–15
 public, 14–6, 18, 20, 21, 27, 47,
 49, 70, 71, 86, 88, 91, 155,
 156, 200, 214
 virtual, 1, 18–19
 written, 19, 23, 24, 27
- debating societies, 20, 48, 110,
 155–61
 decision-making, 5, 20, 26, 43, 46, 53,
 54, 80, 91, 122, 127, 131, 137,
 160, 161, 163, 164, 176, 223
 deliberation, 14, 15, 21, 31, 39, 45,
 49, 54, 117, 118, 130, 159, 164,
 175–7, 214
 deliberative rhetoric,
 See rhetoric deliberative
 De Mille, James, 9, 15, 30, 73
 democracy, v, 27, 30–2, 40, 49, 78,
 80, 82, 113, 118, 124, 125,
 127–30, 134–8, 147, 149, 163–5,
 190, 197, 198, 205, 225
 democratisation, 31, 32, 49, 78, 80,
 85, 144, 184
 diplomacy, 14, 28, 29, 36, 37, 39, 40,
 72, 151, 175, 176, 180, 182,
 183, 193
 discourse, 6, 7, 14, 15, 18, 60, 61,
 68–70, 84, 86–93, 95, 98–102,
 104–6, 111, 122, 145, 200–2,
 210, 212, 213, 215, 226
 discourse analysis, theories, 2, 59,
 60, 67–70, 77, 98, 102, 104,
 200, 224
 discussion, 8, 9, 14–16, 20, 31, 40,
 41, 43–5, 48, 51, 67, 74, 79,
 88, 91, 92, 105, 106, 109,
 112, 114, 116, 119, 121,
 126, 130, 134–6, 139, 143,
 149, 151, 154, 157, 160, 162,
 163, 225
 dispute, 1, 3, 4, 14–16, 22–4, 30, 34,
 35, 40, 63, 73, 77, 78, 82, 114,
 142, 195
 dissensus, dissent, 14–16, 56, 166,
 203, 205, 207, 210–15
 distance, distanciation, 13, 18, 23, 24,
 60–4, 80, 81, 101, 114, 154,
 202, 215
 distribution of time, 8, 55, 176, 177

division (vote by), 2, 23, 50, 172
 document analysis, 81–96, 161–200
 documents, 1, 2, 14, 18–21, 24, 26,
 35, 44, 57, 59–107, 110, 111,
 161, 165, 184–200, 215, 224,
 226, 227

E

election, 8, 12, 22, 28, 29, 33, 37, 38,
 44, 47, 54, 78, 105, 110,
 112–19, 121, 128, 129, 135,
 136, 141, 162, 170, 171, 180,
 184, 193, 224
 electorate, 47, 126, 134, 137,
 141, 184
 eloquence, oratory, 9, 31, 38, 48, 70,
 73, 74, 155, 182
 epideictic rhetoric. *See* rhetoric,
epideictic
 equality, 149, 198
 European Commission, 111, 162–5,
 168–71, 173–84, 186–8, 190–5,
 197, 222n4, 224
 European Council, 29, 39, 65, 92,
 163, 164, 174, 180, 187–9, 192,
 197, 199, 222n
 European Parliament, 10, 11, 17, 42,
 46, 47, 50, 110, 161–84, 186,
 187, 191, 195–7, 223
 European Union EU, 4, 11, 12, 26,
 29, 40, 45, 84–107, 110, 111,
 138, 161–205, 207, 209–13,
 215, 217, 222, 223
 citizenship, 86, 110, 111, 184–200,
 222n4
 Council of the European Union
 (of ministers), 29, 111, 162–4,
 169, 173–6, 179–83, 186–
 9, 191, 193, 195–9, 222n, 223
 EU elections, 22, 110, 162, 170,
 180, 184, 193

F

fair play, fairness, 10, 16, 30, 36, 41–3,
 46, 55, 63, 81, 156, 160, 172,
 177, 216, 222
 figures. *See* rhetorical, figures
 forensic rhetoric. *See* rhetoric,
 forensic
 Foucault, Michel, 60, 68, 69, 200
 freedom, liberty, 41, 76, 78, 80,
 127, 171, 173, 188, 189, 195,
 197, 198
 free and fair elections, 41,
 78, 198
 free mandate, 16, 40, 78,
 170–3, 182
 free speech, 36, 53, 76, 78, 176

G

Gladstone, William, 31, 43, 54
guillotine (parliamentary), 8, 50, 53,
 56, 176, 177, 181

H

Habermas, Jürgen, 40, 215
 Hamilton, William Gerard, 8, 75, 78,
 153, 154
 Hatsell, John, 42, 43, 52, 53, 166
 House of Commons, lower House, vii,
 viii, 8, 32, 37, 42, 43, 46, 75, 80,
 98, 110–4, 117, 119–40, 142–55,
 165, 167, 222n3
 House of Lords, upper House, 49, 51,
 113, 126, 132, 133, 135, 144,
 145, 148, 151, 152

I

ideal type, 12, 13, 18, 21–3, 25, 27,
 29–41, 64, 76, 84, 94, 103,
 161–3, 165, 166, 215

- interests, interest groups, 1, 5, 6, 20, 29, 37, 39, 40, 42, 59, 60, 82, 97, 104, 106, 111, 123, 126, 131, 134, 150, 160, 163, 164, 170, 176, 178, 191, 199. *See* research, interest
- interjection(s), 32, 33, 74, 206
- interpretation, 1, 11, 12, 17, 18, 21, 22, 30, 34, 40, 43, 44, 47, 55–57, 60, 63, 64, 68, 74, 76, 80–3, 96, 110, 119, 132, 143, 146, 147, 152, 155, 158–61, 184, 185, 187, 188, 194, 199, 217, 224
- interpretative
 approach, analysis, 59, 67, 81–4, 90, 93, 96, 98, 107, 125, 226
 strategies, 59, 70, 82, 93, 97, 109
 techniques, tools, 22, 60, 109
- interruption(s), 33, 38, 52, 66
- irony, 71, 75, 76, 81, 149
- item (on the agenda), 14, 19, 23, 31, 33, 41, 45, 51, 52, 56, 73, 119, 134
- K**
- Koselleck, Reinhart, vi, 8, 54, 61, 62, 65, 77, 78, 142, 184
- L**
- Laclau, Ernesto, 68, 69, 77
- legislation, 9, 31, 32, 45, 46, 54, 65, 79, 112, 114, 120, 126, 131, 133, 143, 156, 163, 164, 167–9, 174, 175, 182, 183, 187, 189, 190, 195–7, 204, 223
- M**
- majority (parliamentary), 2, 13, 15, 22, 23, 31, 35, 47, 50, 52, 56, 57, 66, 80, 114, 116–8, 126, 133, 139, 156, 160, 162, 171, 178, 199, 201–3, 205, 206, 209, 212–4
- Martin, James, 7, 67, 72
- material selection(s), 59, 88, 90–3, 200
- May, Thomas Erskine, 32, 33, 43, 45, 52, 53, 165, 167
- member of parliament. *See* parliamentarian /MP
- of Bundestag, 92, 98, 105, 124, 164, 168, 200–5, 207, 208, 210–5
- of European Parliament, (MEP), 164, 171, 173, 177, 178, 181
- of House of Commons/Lords, 32, 43, 81, 113, 120, 128, 138, 147, 148, 153, 155
- metaphor, vii, 6, 10, 65, 71, 75, 76, 226, 227
- Mill, John Stuart, 32, 38, 52
- minister, 5, 28, 29, 40, 45, 47, 111, 119, 135, 150, 151, 163, 164, 174, 175, 181, 184, 186, 187, 204, 206, 209–11, 222n1
- minority, 13, 31, 35, 50, 145, 156, 159, 205, 206
- motion (parliamentary), 8, 9, 14–6, 18, 23, 30, 32–4, 37, 44–6, 49, 51–4, 66, 79, 112, 113, 118, 121, 138, 145, 156, 159, 160, 166, 168–70, 175, 180, 181, 183, 222n2, 223
- Mouffe, Chantal, 7, 68, 69, 77
- N**
- naming, 5, 11, 24, 36, 50, 76, 195, 215, 218
- negotiation, 14, 28, 36, 37, 39, 40, 42, 72, 151, 172, 175, 176, 179, 180, 182, 191, 203, 213
- Nietzsche, Friedrich, 21, 22, 30, 63, 72

O

objectivity, 4, 21, 63, 73, 81
 obstruction, 43, 50, 54–6, 178
 opinion, 7, 13, 16, 20, 30, 34, 38, 53, 56,
 86, 100, 111, 123, 145, 149, 150,
 156, 166, 168, 169, 171, 173, 174,
 178, 180–2, 202, 207, 214, 225
 opposition (parliamentary), v, 3, 8, 13,
 16, 24, 37, 38, 40, 45–7, 50, 55,
 66, 76, 111, 112, 114, 116, 118,
 119, 122–5, 127, 128, 134, 136,
 137, 140, 141, 145, 146, 149,
 150, 154, 171, 173, 178, 201,
 202, 207–9, 226
 order (parliamentary), 8, 15, 16, 31,
 33, 34, 38, 42, 43, 50, 66, 148,
 151, 159, 176, 178, 179
 Oxford Union, vii, 9, 45, 75, 110,
 156–60

P

pamphlet, 14, 19, 21, 26, 57, 88
 paradiastole, 22, 72, 76, 110, 153
 parliamentarian /MP, 6, 8, 16, 30, 32,
 33, 38–40, 43, 46, 47, 49, 50,
 53–5, 77, 80, 113, 120, 121,
 125, 128, 136, 146–8, 152, 154,
 155, 162, 171, 178, 181–3
 parliamentarism, parliamentarisation,
 47, 49, 75, 119, 184
 parliamentary
 agenda, 8, 14–7, 30–2, 35, 37, 42,
 44–7, 51–4, 73, 74, 76, 103,
 112–4, 116, 119, 132, 134–6,
 139, 141, 143, 145, 154, 162,
 163, 167, 168, 171, 173,
 182, 183
 calendar, 11, 54–6, 180
 committee (*see* committee
 parliamentary)
 debate, 2, 13, 15, 16, 19, 23, 25,
 27, 29–45, 54, 67, 73–5, 78,

79, 87, 98, 110–44, 151, 154,
 176, 180, 185, 186, 213, 224
 eloquence, oratory (*see* eloquence,
 oratory)
 freedom, 36, 41, 78, 80, 171, 172
 government, 30, 40, 45, 46, 48–50,
 54, 55, 111–41, 163, 175, 176,
 184, 199, 225
 initiative, 45–7, 120, 174, 175,
 180, 182, 185, 195, 197, 199,
 211, 214
 procedure (*see* procedure, rules of
 procedure)
 questions, 32, 33, 37, 43–6, 52, 54,
 66, 75, 111, 123, 124, 129,
 140, 143, 145, 172–4, 184
 records, protocols, 19, 33, 83, 87,
 88, 176
 reform, 31, 32, 38, 48, 79, 144–52
 rhetoric, 31–3, 42, 47, 70, 73–5,
 110, 131–41, 150, 153, 169
 sovereignty, 132, 134, 137–41, 174,
 175
 time, 8, 31, 34, 37, 41, 51–7, 73,
 114–8, 146, 162, 176, 177,
 180, 181, 211, 214
 party
 conference, 16, 18, 29, 47, 208
 discipline, whips, 37, 121, 214
 leader, leadership, 12, 118, 119,
 123, 146, 182, 202, 209, 212
 manifestos, programmes, 18, 19, 35,
 46, 57, 65, 82, 87
 Perelman, Chaim, 71, 75, 76
 performance (rhetorical), 10, 11, 16,
 17, 19, 23, 72, 74, 171
 perspective, perspectivism, vi, 2, 4–6,
 15, 16, 20–5, 30, 31, 35, 38, 41,
 51, 54, 57, 60–4, 69, 70, 73,
 77, 78, 82, 85, 87, 92, 105,
 110, 111, 115, 131, 147, 151,
 162, 165, 183, 198, 215, 216,
 223, 225

- persuasion, 3, 13, 14, 18, 22, 28, 39, 47, 70, 72–5, 131, 132, 137, 140, 156, 158, 159, 161, 173, 203, 212
 platform, 47, 149, 155, 172
 plenum, plenary, 8, 14, 27, 31, 32, 41, 45, 50–3, 56, 112, 144, 162, 166–70, 173, 175, 177, 181, 182
 policy, 1, 2, 7, 9–11, 14, 29, 35, 49, 65, 112, 142–5, 150, 184, 186, 219, 220
 policy papers, documents, 18–20, 87, 110, 111, 184–200
polis, vi, 185, 224, 225
 political
 action, activity, v, vi, 1–3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 20, 24, 25, 28, 59, 60, 62, 64, 67, 69, 70, 81, 96, 132, 147, 150, 156, 157, 161, 185, 201, 213, 216, 221, 224, 225
 actors, agents, v, 1–5, 22, 23, 62, 65, 110, 143, 149–51
 controversy, 48, 150, 151, 161
 judgement, 149, 151
 literacy, 2, 4, 25–9, 57, 106, 109, 110, 226–8
 science, theory, 9, 10, 16, 18, 62, 67, 71, 72, 113, 120, 149, 152
 struggle, 8, 26, 79, 84, 161, 187, 188, 193, 194, 196, 199
 thinking politically, 6, 30, 35, 225
 time, 41, 148, 151, 161, 180
 politician, v, 5, 8, 9, 17, 21, 23, 26–30, 35, 48, 49, 63, 65, 75, 147–8, 101, 115, 116, 137, 138, 141–4, 146–50, 152, 154, 161, 181–3, 201–3, 210, 213, 215, 226, 227
 occasional, 5, 27, 28, 35, 147, 226
 professional, v, 6, 28, 55, 75, 78, 147, 150, 152, 154, 157, 225
 politicisation, 9–12, 15, 26, 27, 29, 65, 78, 143, 144, 165, 217, 219, 220, 226
 politicking, 4, 9–12, 29, 65, 73, 110, 143, 144, 152–5, 217, 219, 220
 politics
 as activity, v, vi, 1, 2, 5–15, 23, 143, 216, 223–7
 language of politics, 3–4, 12, 13, 23, 62, 67–73, 110, 132, 144–6, 149, 151, 152, 154, 161, 216, 218, 224–7
 party politics, 146–8
 as sphere, 5, 6, 10, 22, 110, 148, 151
 polity, 1, 9–12, 29, 65, 112, 124, 142, 143, 145, 146, 150, 151, 185, 186, 189, 215–22, 224
 popular sovereignty, 132, 137, 138, 140–2
 president
 of parliament, 17, 34, 37, 42, 44, 49, 50, 92, 100, 125, 162, 164, 168, 171–80, 182, 183, 212, 215
 of state, 92, 192, 212, 215
 presidentialism, 37, 48, 100, 164
 previous knowledge, 90, 95, 96
 prime minister, 29, 43, 74, 111, 112, 114, 116–25, 127, 129–32, 134–41, 163, 174, 175, 182, 191
 procedure, rules of procedure, vii, 8, 15–7, 19, 30, 33, 34, 37–9, 41–6, 53, 54, 63, 66, 67, 70, 73, 80, 81, 87, 103, 110, 111, 113, 118, 119, 123, 132, 133, 143, 155, 156, 159–84, 187, 196, 197, 204, 222n3
 pro et contra, for and against, 2, 13, 14, 16–8, 29–31, 39, 47, 49, 50, 62, 70, 166, 176, 184, 213, 214
 public meeting, 15, 18, 27, 47, 71, 88

Q

qualitative

- analysis, 84, 88
- research, 82, 102

quantitative analysis, quantitative text analysis, 81

R

rapporteur, 47, 167, 169, 170, 181, 182

readings (parliamentary), 44, 51, 55, 110, 112, 125, 144, 145, 166, 168, 207, 213, 214

reality, 21–3, 43, 73, 86, 94

Redlich, Josef, 17, 32, 43, 55, 81, 156

referee, 17, 34, 49, 50, 180, 217

reply (parliamentary), 18, 32, 50, 53, 74, 112, 117, 123, 128, 129, 131, 134, 136, 138, 166, 168, 182

representation (political), 16, 38, 39, 42, 50, 62, 78, 80, 110, 116, 118, 123, 133, 137, 139, 145, 149, 154, 156, 162–4, 170, 173, 176–80, 182, 184, 185, 190, 201, 208, 225

research

- as activity, 2, 20, 59, 60, 62, 64, 67, 70, 132, 223–7
- design, 65, 85, 87, 90, 95, 200, 224, 226

interest, 2, 19, 59, 70–2, 84–8, 103, 109, 152, 158, 164, 224

materials, 87–90, 157

methodology, 59, 68, 69, 82

practices, 2, 59–107

question, 52, 59, 82–90, 95, 102, 103, 109, 122, 131, 157, 224, 226

responsibility (to the parliament), 29, 48, 104, 124, 126, 128, 136, 137, 140, 141, 163, 169, 171, 174, 176

rhetoric

deliberative, 14, 15, 31, 39, 42, 72, 131–5, 140

epideictic, 14, 36, 37, 40, 42, 47, 48, 72, 131, 133, 140

forensic, 14, 26, 42, 43, 71, 72, 131, 132, 135, 140, 141

rhetorical

figures, 60, 72–7, 103, 114, 148, 151

genres, 14, 15, 41, 42, 72, 131, 132

strategies, 1, 71–3, 121, 153, 158, 159, 223, 224

topoi, 26, 57, 60, 66, 72, 74, 75, 97, 103, 115, 117, 132–4, 137, 140, 141, 149, 184

tropes, 60, 71–7, 83

ridicule, 6, 79, 80, 117, 136

rights, 49, 76, 78, 110, 111, 113, 135, 156, 162, 173, 175, 184–200, 204, 217, 222n4

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 38, 183

S

sampling, 83, 88, 89, 91–3, 95, 96, 102

Sartre, Jean-Paul, 5, 40

scarcity (of time), 8, 54–6

Schmitt, Carl, 4, 6, 38, 54, 73, 153, 154

Scobell, Henry, 32, 53

Skinner, Quentin, 3, 17, 21, 22, 26, 35, 60, 61, 63, 67, 68, 71, 72, 76, 78, 79, 153, 154, 171, 184, 191, 215

socialism, socialists, 39, 49, 81, 104, 146, 201, 207

speaker (of parliament), 8, 16–9, 32, 33, 36, 38, 43, 44, 47, 49, 50, 52, 54, 66, 80, 124, 159, 177

speech acts

illocutionary, 4, 26, 60, 79

locutionary, 4, 26, 79

speech competitions, 13, 29, 36, 71

standing orders, 42, 161

strategy, 18, 35, 52, 73, 93–6, 105, 135, 143, 159, 160, 200–15, 220

street names, 5, 24, 215
 Suffrage, franchise, 32, 33, 78–80,
 144, 149, 225

T

tactics, 35, 45, 47, 111, 151, 165,
 217–219, 221
 talk, 12, 15, 23, 29, 54, 55, 62, 135,
 139, 176, 205
 textbook, 3, 21, 23, 26, 63
 theatre, 16, 27, 61
 theoretical relevance, 83, 88, 91
 theoretical sampling, 88, 93, 95, 96, 102
topos, 66, 74, 115, 117, 118, 132–
 134, 137, 141, 183
 trope, 60, 71–7, 83

U

unparliamentary language/ conduct,
 16, 33, 42–4, 66, 80, 178,
 179, 183

urgency, 43, 53, 54, 112–5, 128, 132,
 136, 143, 156, 174, 175, 210

V

vote of confidence, 37, 45, 46,
 133–4, 175
 voter(s), 18, 27, 32, 62, 151, 163,
 184
 vote, voting (as a procedure) 2, 13,
 17, 18, 22, 30, 31, 33–6, 38–40,
 44–50, 53, 56, 78, 80, 85, 91,
 98, 118, 133, 144–6, 156–60,
 162, 163, 166, 169–76, 180–5,
 187, 223–5

W

Weber, Max, v, vii, 21–3, 27–30,
 32, 35, 39, 49, 55, 63, 64, 73,
 81, 147, 162, 163, 170, 215, 225,
 226
 Wodak, Ruth, 68, 69