

Gendered Ceremony and Ritual in Parliament

GCRP



The Leverhulme Trust

Annual Report
October 2009 - September 2010

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Introduction

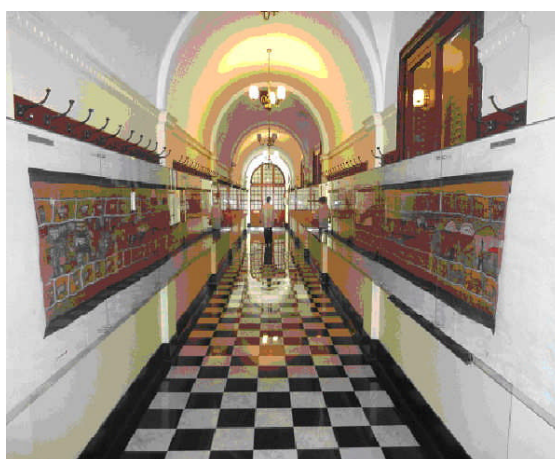
2009-2010 has been a year of consolidation for the programme. A central component of our work this year has been conducting further extensive fieldwork in each of the three research sites and the rigorous analysis of the resulting data. Through this analysis we have also been able to write up and present our findings through publications in journals and participations in different conferences.

We started the third year of the programme with a site visit conducted by the Leverhulme Trust on the 8th and 9th October, 2009. The purpose of the visit was to review the work of the programme – its intellectual rigour as well as its administrative management. Sir Richard Brook and Prof. Katie Wales carried out the review and met with the University of Warwick senior management as well as the programme members and some Advisory Board members and Associates (for the programme, see Annex 1). I presented a comprehensive review of the programme's work thus far and all members responded to questions put forward by the reviewers. The reviewers also had separate meetings with our PhD students and Postdoctoral Fellows. As part of the review, we also made a short research photo and audio loop with photographs taken by researchers and also mounted a small exhibition of 'parliamentary kitsch'! The feedback that we received from the reviewers was extremely useful and positive.

As the report below shows, the programme has been developing strongly with progress in all areas of our work. We now look forward to building on this work to further develop theoretical and comparative insights.



Shirin M. Rai
Director, GCRP
07 October 2010



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Research Overview

The programme continues to develop innovative and rigorous research on ceremony and ritual in parliament.



Three areas of research have been consolidated through the work of our postdoctoral fellows: the opening ceremony, the Speaker and parliamentary disruptions.

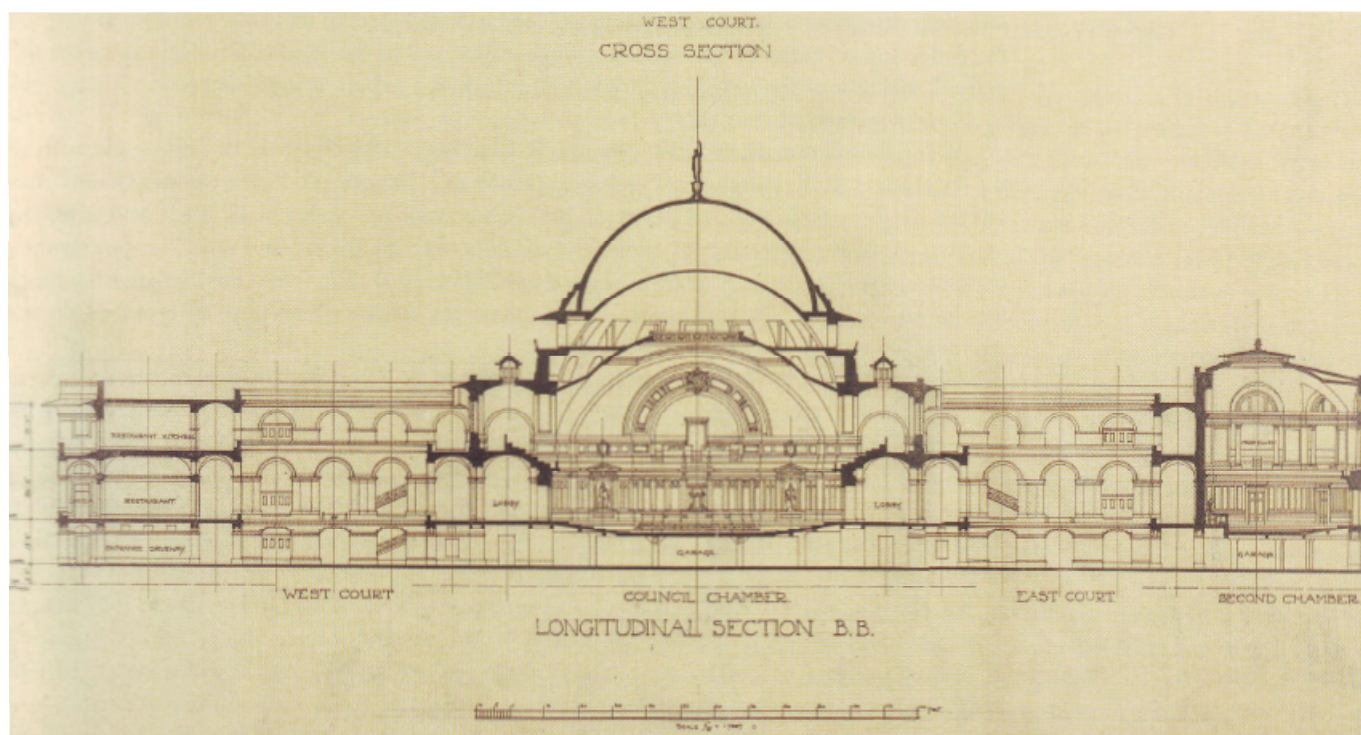
The postdoctoral fellows continue to make strong contributions to the work of the programme. Rachel Johnson, who joined the programme in 2009 (following the departure of Surya Monro) began research on the historical development of the opening ceremony of the South African parliament exploring the complex relationship between symbolic and substantive change in a political institution. She has focused particularly upon the shifting hierarchies of participation encoded in the ceremonies and rituals of parliament's annual opening. She presented a paper on this to the ASUK conference held in Oxford in September 2010. Rachel will help organise a workshop on opening ceremonies in parliaments at the University of Sheffield in May/June 2011. The three postdoctoral fellows will draw together work comparing the importance of opening ceremonies, ceremonial continuity and change across the three sites.

In August 2010, Faith Armitage and Carole Spary completed a paper about the Speakers of the British House of Commons and the Indian Lok Sabha (lower house) for the annual American Political Science Association conference. The paper explores the Speakership through ceremony and ritual, paying particular attention to rituals of selection and election, and institutional similarities and differences of these rituals as they have developed over time in the parliaments of India and the UK. It explores both the contested, power-laden aspects of selection and election, as well as its re-integrating affirmative effects, achieved in part through the awe-inspiring speeches of members which glorify the office of the Speaker and the ideals of parliamentary democracy more generally. Carole presented their paper in Washington DC in September 2010. Faith, Carole and Rachel also intend to co-author a paper about the gendered aspects of the Speakerships in the three parliaments.



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A new area of research that was consolidated is that of art and architecture in democratic institutional transitions. This builds on the successful workshop organised by Joni Lovenduski and Faith Armitage at Birkbeck College, 15th July 2009. Georgina Waylen presented a paper at this workshop comparing parliaments in South Africa, Germany and the assembly in Northern Ireland. Following on from this, Shirin Rai joined Georgina Waylen on a trip to Cape Town to visit the South African parliament and to develop comparative insights into how art and architecture frame political transition; they will write a paper comparing the democratic transitions of India and South Africa.



The work of the PhD students progresses apace. Supervised by Sarah Child, Shirin Rai and Georgina Waylen, all three are making good progress. Victoria Hasson expects to submit her dissertation for examination by the end of April 2011, and Bairavee Balasubramaniam and Rosa Malley expect to submit theirs by the end of September 2011. All three have contributed to the programme's outreach by writing newsletters and digests, presenting papers at conferences and contributing written papers as working papers and to the *Journal of Legislative Studies* Special Issue (Hasson).

The next stage of our work will be to bring all these different threads of work together and to demonstrate how the lens of 'ceremony and ritual' brings innovative methodologies and modes of analyses to bear upon the study of political institutions. We have successfully done this in our publication of the special issue of *Journal of Legislative Studies*, but the challenge remains - how to hold together the distinct but overlapping theoretical approaches of the members of the programme, while at the same time building a common framework that is distinctive to the programme. We hope to address this issue in the forthcoming work of the programme with our usual robust, frank and productive discussions in the various workshops that we will be organising and through publication of our deliberations.

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Fieldwork

Extensive fieldwork has been undertaken by each team on the programme this year, and the data collected during the end of the last annual period has been processed and catalogued (for example, the India team now holds a duplicate AV archive of parliamentary recordings).

Rachel Johnson visited Cape Town in February 2010 to observe the opening ceremony of the National Assembly and conduct research in provincial and University archives within Cape Town. Rachel also used the newspaper collections of the British Library in her research on the opening ceremony. A return visit to South Africa is planned for October 2010 in which Rachel will conduct interviews with South African MPs and Parliamentary staff. Victoria Hasson will be conducting further fieldwork in South Africa in November.

Dr Carole Spary followed up her fieldwork in Delhi in August 2009 (in which she interviewed a wide range of individuals associated with the parliament and utilised the parliamentary library archive) with a return visit in August 2010 to conduct further observation and interviews. Carole utilised the British Library's Asia collection in her research on the history of the Indian speakership. PhD student Bairavee Balasubramaniam also conducted research from May to August 2010, obtaining primary and secondary sources from the Parliament Library Archives and interviewing 22 Indian MPs. She is planning to return to Delhi in November/December 2010 to conduct follow-up interviews and further archival research. The India team also watched closely the live coverage of the Indian parliamentary debate on the Women's Reservation Bill, as well as exploring the opinions and debates it precipitated in surrounding media. Bairavee Balasubramaniam's news digests, available on the GCRP website, capture a range of this information. She will return to New Delhi for a second period of fieldwork focusing in particular on archival work in the parliamentary library and interviewing officials in the ministry of finance on the budget session in parliament. Shirin Rai conducted interviews with parliamentary officials in India on 'backstage' role of the Secretariat in the Indian parliament. She and Carole Spary are writing an article on this topic.

The Westminster team's fieldwork and data collection have continued in 2010. In January 2010 the Westminster team leads, Joni Lovenduski and Sarah Childs, conducted a YouGov survey of attitudes to various parliamentary activities, concentrating on PMOs. The survey produced some surprising results, which will be analysed in conjunction with other existing data. Faith Armitage continued both formal and informal interviews with MPs, peers, officials and staff. One of her main focuses is gathering information about the Speakership, and to this end, she has attended various talks given by the current Speaker, John Bercow, at the Houses of Parliament; participated in a special seminar and dinner at Speaker's House organised by the Study of Parliament Group; and collected materials about former Speaker Bernard Weatherill from the Weatherill Collection of papers housed at the University of Kent, Canterbury and private collections. Parliamentary archivists and curators at Westminster have also been very helpful with locating relevant materials. PhD student Rosa Malley has completed her fieldwork in Westminster and the Scottish Parliament and shadowed and interviewed MSPs in March and April 2010.

March 2010

GCRP India Team News Update

RAJYA SABHA PASSES HISTORIC WOMEN'S RESERVATION BILL



Disrupting vote attempt to break microphone
On the 6th of March 2010, the Upper House (Rajya Sabha) of the Indian Parliament passed a Bill providing 33% reservation of seats in the national parliament and state assemblies to women MPs, amidst intense scenes of political violence, disruption and other dramatics. It's been an exciting time for all of us on the India team as we have been glued to our screens following all the excitement and the numerous political analysis and panels discussing these events. In this brief newsletter, we would like to briefly introduce the Bill, the drama and (implicitly) the significance of these events for our research.

The Women's Reservation Bill, in various forms, has been introduced on at least seven other occasions since 1976, seeking to reserve one third of all seats in the Lower House (Lok Sabha) and in state legislatures for women. Though incumbent governments have had more than the requisite number of MPs supporting the bill, it has faced severe challenges in its very introduction, as opposed to later legislative stages of deliberation or passing/rejecting. Though major political parties have supported the bill, the House has been held to ransom by the disruptive activities of much smaller parties from certain states that strongly articulate their politics in terms of caste. These parties demand for quota reservations for Muslim women, Other Backward Caste women, and the like - though no constitutional provisions exist for these measures at present.

Coinciding with the centenary celebrations of International Women's Day, on March 8th, since the bill was taken up for consideration following its successful introduction in May 2008 in the Rajya Sabha before, unlike the Lok Sabha, the bill drew not hope with the decision of the government. Disrupting MPs forced several adjournments in both houses, with Rajya Sabha MPs disrupting in the well of the house and snatching up papers and grabbing microphones on the desk of the Chairperson of the Rajya Sabha, who is also the Vice President of India. Their attempts were interpreted as an attack on the Vice President herself and were strongly condemned by other MPs and the press, leaving it as the House of Shame.

On the following day, when MPs lay down in the floor of the Rajya Sabha and refused to move, even through adjournments. In an unprecedented fashion, the ruling party moved for their suspension from the House. Marshals were called in to protect the presiding officer and physically remove the disrupting MPs, and one of them attempted to stall proceedings further by smacking a glass on the floor. Thereafter, the Chairperson called for a voice vote on taking the bill into consideration, which procedurally bypassed debate on the bill. However, at the behest of opposition parties who supported the bill but threatened to boycott the vote if debate did

not take place, MPs were permitted to hold discussion on the bill. After approximately three hours debating the bill, 268 members voted in favour with one against.

Outside the walls of Parliament, political drama continued as the Government was repeatedly criticised by its allies for poor floor management, a disregard for informing their allies, and for hindering the democratic process. For instance, MPs of their largest ally in the Lok Sabha, the Teharri Congress, walked out of the Rajya Sabha in protest. On the previous day, Lata Prasad Yadav of the Bahujan Samaj Party (a key opponent of the bill) visited President Pratibha Patil to seek her intervention as all the major parties were united on the bill. Hundreds of women protesters sought to enter Parliament, calling for the immediate passage of the bill.

The Bill must now be passed by Lower House, and at least half of the State Legislatures. One of the ruling party's (Indian National Congress) key allies, namely, the Samajwadi Party and the Bahujiya Janata Dal (whose members mainly participated in the disruptions) have declared withdrawal of their support for the government. This withdrawal poses difficulties for the passing of this bill in the Lok Sabha, and for the passing of the Finance Bill (Budget), which if not passed is effectively a vote of no confidence in the government. One's related worry, the government may also face difficulties passing bills in general in the Upper House as they do not possess the majority of seats - in fact, the bill's passage was facilitated through a new cross-party consensus. Of additional interest is the media storm of the bill as a considerable political risk pointed through by the President of the Congress Party, Mrs. Sonia Gandhi, marking her further position as a political leader.

This account is but a narrow slice of proceedings, yet it delivers a narrative of events that lend themselves readily to performance-oriented analysis of political contention and political legitimacy that has transpired over today's research so far. For press coverage and videos, we recommend you go to NDTV.com.

Compiled by Bairavee Balasubramaniam
India Team, GCRP

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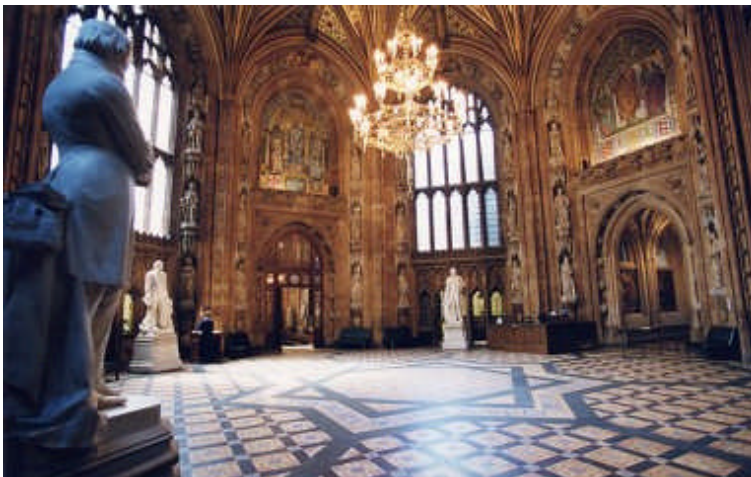
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This includes participant observation and over seventy elite interviews with MPs and MSPs. In order to develop ethnographic skills, Faith attended the ECPR summer school in Ethnographic Methods for Political Science Research in Slovenia. While there, she established contacts with the Slovenian parliament for comparative purposes.

Shirin Rai and Georgina Waylen visited Cape Town in July 2010 to conduct research on architecture, art and the symbolic in parliament, with a view to writing a comparative paper on South Africa and India. They toured the parliament and viewed its art works. They interviewed several parliamentary officials – the Sergeant-at-arms of the National Assembly, the Secretary to the Assembly, the Administrator and the ex-curator for the parliament’s art collection, the director of a civil society group that monitors the working of parliament, the Parliamentary Monitoring Group. The idea was to understand how the parliamentary space and symbols are being transformed in the post-apartheid era and what do they tell us about the complex politics of South Africa’s transition to democracy and then to compare the South African experience with the postcolonial transition in India.



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Conferences, speaking engagements and publications



The programme has started to bear fruit in terms of research outcomes and project visibility.

Georgina Waylen organised a panel on GCRP at the American Political Science Association conference in September 2-5, 2010 in Washington DC; together with Shirin Rai and Carole Spary, she also presented a paper on the panel at this prestigious event.

Shirin Rai gave a keynote address to the 19th Women's History Network Conference on 10th September, the theme of which this year is *Performing the Self: Women's Lives in Historical Perspective*. She spoke on gendered performance in parliament.

Sarah Childs and Joni Lovenduski presented a preliminary paper on the results of their YouGov survey at Birkbeck in March 2010. Joni presented a paper on accountability and ceremony and ritual at the Western Political Science Association Annual Conference in March 2010. Faith presented her paper 'Parliamentary Oaths' at the PSA Annual Conference in Edinburgh in April 2010. The Westminster research team used Gender and British Politics seminars at Birkbeck College as a forum to present their research and receive feedback on it. Rosa presented 'Hanging around' Westminster: researching substantive representation of women through participant observation.

Carole Spary organised two panels at the British Association of South Asian Studies, University of Warwick in March 2010, on gender and politics in South Asia – one of which was on GCRP. Carole, Bairavee and Shirin presented papers, 'Performing Ethno-Linguistic Representation in Indian Parliamentary Ceremony and Ritual', 'Obstructing rituals of legislation: the Women's Reservation Bill in the Indian parliament' and 'Ceremony and Ritual in the Indian Parliament' respectively. Carole is guest editing the annual conference special issue, which appears in the journal *Contemporary South Asia*. Carole also organised a panel on GCRP at the European Consortium of Political Research to be held in Budapest on January 13-15, 2011. Shirin Rai presented a paper on GCRP to the University of Warwick's School of Theatre, Performance and Cultural Studies, as part of an ongoing interdisciplinary exchange of ideas.



In terms of publications, Shirin Rai guest edited a special issue on 'Ceremony and Ritual in Parliament' for the *Journal of Legislative Studies*. This was published in September 2010. Several programme members contributed articles to the special issue – Georgina Waylen, Victoria Hasson, Faith Armitage and Carole Spary, and Sarah Childs and Joni Lovenduski helped by reviewing articles for the issue. Several associates of GCRP – Karen Celis, Emma Crewe, Nirmal Puwar and Susan Franceschett also contributed articles to this special issue. Shirin also contributed an essay on 'Ceremony and Ritual in Parliament' to the volume on *Complexity* published by the University of Warwick (see <http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~db=all~content=g925929707>).

For a full list of external events contributed to and publications this year by the GCRP team and for a list of contents of the *JLS* special issue, please see Appendices 2 and 3, respectively.

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Doctoral work

This year the PhD students have been extremely active in promoting the visibility of the programme across a range of platforms.

They produced posters outlining their research for the site visit, which have been displayed at a range of venues. They regularly produce newsletters and news digests which are published on the programme website.

The students have attended international conferences, participated in GCRP events and research seminars and networking opportunities, and undertaken a range of training activities. For example, Rosa Malley participated in Gender and Politics Research Group seminars at Birkbeck, attended the 'Voice for Choice' reception at the Barbican Centre, and met with GCRP Advisory Board member Emma Crewe to receive advice on research methodologies. Bairavee Balasubramaniam presented her research at several events at the University of Warwick organized by the Critical International and Political Studies Graduate Working Group, the Politics Society and at a Summer School organized by the Institute of Advanced Studies (University of Warwick), the Warwick Law School and the Southern and Eastern African Research Center on Women's Law (Harare) on gender development and legal pluralism. Bairavee also co-founded the Ethnography Research Network, an interdisciplinary resource. Victoria Hasson has written an article in contribution to the special edition on Ritual and Ceremony in Parliaments, which was published in the Journal of Legislative Studies in September, entitled *Rules and Rituals: The Case of South Africa's New Committee System*. Victoria presented her work at an exhibition held at the University of Sheffield's Interdisciplinary Centre of the Social Sciences, and is currently focused on writing-up her thesis. Victoria is due to return to South Africa to conduct the final stage of her fieldwork on the 13th November 2010.

All PhD students are progressing well with their research and writing, and in November 2009 Rosa joined Bairavee and Victoria in successfully upgrading from MPhil to PhD status.

GCRP South Africa Newsletter Volume 2 Winter 2010

Second impressions... Victoria Hasson PhD student

My second fieldwork trip was in some ways even richer than my first, spending more time in interviews, and specifically in interviews with members of parliament. In many ways this had the effect of politicizing all the material that I collected on the first trip. I feel like I had suddenly been brought into a complex overlay of political positions, each of which could be distinguished in a number of other ways including gender, culture, age and personal political history. I was extremely lucky to have gained access to the number of members that I did, which included a chief wing, a minister and two former leaders of the opposition. I was even more grateful to those members of the smaller parties who gave me some of their time, despite the greater time pressures that those members face. Whilst some of my impressions of the institution remained consistent with those from my first visit, others changed. The informal nature of committee meetings and committee dress code seemed to have formalized to the extent that everyone was now wearing suits and jackets. The pleasures of food and drink had also disappeared. However the sense of ease and openness around the institution remained, even if the tone seemed to have shifted. Having compounded the impressions of parliamentary staff and officials interviewed on the first trip with the political impressions of members on the second, I felt overwhelmed with questions to resolve upon my return home. Suddenly the story of ritual and ceremony seemed to have been sucked into a vacuum of politics and power.

GCRP Advisory Board Member Professor Robert Howell has received the Communication Award from the Political Studies Association.

"As Director of the Constitution Unit at University College London, since 1995, he has consistently worked to develop the constitutional reform agenda, to communicate those ideas to government and more generally to inject academic rigour and principle into public debate." Congratulators Robert

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GCRP 5th India News Digest Summer 2010

Overview: Second half of budget session of Lok Sabha, 14 April - 7 May 2010

15 Bills passed by Lok Sabha in Budget Session 2010
Yanoo News India, 7 May 2010 <http://bit.ly/8j5jnp>

Women MPs outline man in parliament debates
TarangaBlog, 7 May 2010 <http://bit.ly/dh1LDH>

Parliament session ends with little business conducted
TarangaBlog, 7 May 2010 <http://bit.ly/g1tKXk>

Matters of significant controversy and/or disruption

Oppn MPs walk out over N-Liability Bill
Mumbai Mirror, 8 May 2010 <http://bit.ly/8d0qNj>

Cit. motions defeated in LS, huge division in Opposition
Indian Express, 27 April 2010 <http://bit.ly/dYdGVV>

Demand for canteen curbs Lok Sabha
Times of India, 4 May 2010 <http://bit.ly/8mC0Gs>

Govt buckles, agrees to canteen curbs
Times of India, 8 May 2010 <http://bit.ly/8vEZZE>

Women's quota bill unlikely in Lok Sabha this session
The Economic Times, 1 May 2010 <http://bit.ly/8kpwk>

RUP, SP MPs walk out of Lok Sabha over Muslim quota
TarangaBlog, 29 April 2010 <http://bit.ly/8V6G6W>

Lok Sabha adjourned on motion of privilege on phone tapping of firm
TarangaBlog, 28 April 2010 <http://bit.ly/8tysPA>

BJP gives breach of privilege notice against PM
TarangaBlog, 27 April 2010 <http://bit.ly/8Lz8Fr>

Statements, rulings etc associated with the Speaker/Chairman

Lok Sabha Speaker sets precedent on accepting out-moction
Taranga Blog, 27 April 2010 <http://bit.ly/8jGzjP>

Meira Kumar to attend Commonwealth Parliamentary Association meet
NewKerala.com, 7 May 2010 <http://bit.ly/8jdpvYR>

Question hour to be made more effective: Meira Kumar
Times of India, 20 June 2010 <http://bit.ly/8jB5KMd>

Frequent disruptions will render House irrelevant:
Speaker's statement
TarangaBlog, 7 May 2010 <http://bit.ly/8jtdW9y>

127 hours of parliament lost to frequent disruptions
TarangaBlog, 7 May 2010 <http://bit.ly/8jtdW9y>

Amel seeks connectives to stop Rajya Sabha's time wastage
TarangaBlog, 07 May 2010 <http://bit.ly/8jtdW9y>

Indian Railways Minister Mamata Banerjee brings the budget to parliament <http://bit.ly/8jtdW9y>

Compiled by Bairavee Balasubramaniam, PhD Student, GCRP India Research Team

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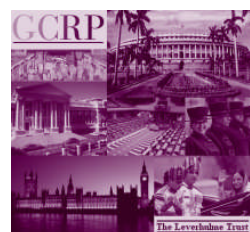
GCRP Westminster Newsletter Volume 2 Winter 2010

Participant observation Rosa Malley PhD student

Participant observation through shadowing placements with MPs in the British Parliament – all of whom are known to be active on women's issues – provided a fast-paced and fascinating induction into the sometimes obscure, and always bustling, Westminster Village. Partially described by Richard Fennell (2008) as 'looking and poking – or just hanging around', my participant observation involved two-four week periods accompanying MPs in their normal working day: attending events in parliament and the constituency; watching their performances in the Chamber and Committees; running to meetings with colleagues, visitors and constituents; and chatting between events and over lunches. Intermittently participating as a parliamentary researcher and watching from the sidelines as an observer provided an opportunity to watch MPs behaviour and activities; to see interaction between MPs, their colleagues and the people they represent; and to learn the perspectives of MPs. Observation of taken-for-granted ways of behaving, and talking to people about how and why they behave as they do, provided insight into how MPs experience parliament. Shadowing MPs was an exciting, enjoyable and innovative way to increase understanding of the UK parliament.

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GCRP events

The GCRP site visit from the Leverhulme Trust on 8 and 9 October 2009 at the University of Warwick was very successful. For a programme of the visit, please see Appendix 1.

An internal workshop was held on 13 January 2010, allowing researchers to exchange findings and discuss methodologies and overall progress of the research programme in detail. Joni Lovenduski presented a paper on 'Accountability, ceremony and ritual in parliament'. There was good discussion on the comparative work within the programme.

The South Africa team hosted an exhibition of the GCRP project at the University of Sheffield, which was launched on 5 May 2010 and ran for a month.



Faith and Rosa did some outreach work by speaking at 'A Global Voice for Women', an event organised by women's group Soroptimist International in conjunction with Warwick Law School on 26 June 2010. They spoke about their research on gendered ceremony and ritual in Westminster politics to a very interested and enthusiastic audience.

Carole organised the workshop on 'Disruptive Democracy: Analysing legislative protest in contemporary legislatures' at the University of Warwick on Friday 19 November 2010 (with the assistance of previous and current acting programme managers James Zborowski and Jill Pavey). For the workshop programme and report, please see Appendix 4.

In her capacity as co-convenor of the ECPR Standing Group on Gender and Politics, Faith Armitage is taking a leading role in the organisation of the second European Conference on Politics and Gender, to be held in Budapest, Hungary in January 2011. A GCRP panel for this conference was convened by Carole; Faith and Carole as well as Bairavee and Rosa will speak on this panel.

After numerous site visits and extensive consultations, the date and venues for the final GCRP conference have now been finalised. The two day event will take place on **Friday 28 and Saturday 29 October 2011**. The first day of the event will be in the House of Lords; the second will be in the British Library.

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Project administration

The programme manager, Ms Kala Williams, went on maternity leave in November 2009. In her absence, Tina Davies took over the financial work (between September, 2009 and May, 2010), and James Zborowski assumed all of Kala's other programme responsibilities. Kala has resumed her work on a part-time basis and will oversee the finances of the programme until December, when she returns to regular hours of work.

James worked extremely well under the supervision of programme director. In addition to the day-to-day duties of his role, he contributed to programme-related design work. He updated and much improved the programme website. His design work for programme newsletters, posters and the folders for GCRP events was exceptionally good. James has now left the programme to take up a permanent teaching post at Department of Film Studies at the University of Hull. Jill Pavey took over James' responsibilities in a seamless way. She has been hugely helpful in the organisation of the workshop on 'Disruptive Democracy' and helping with the annual report.

Kala has now resumed her duties.

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Gendered Ceremony and Ritual in Parliament

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GCRP

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The GCRP Programme, funded by the Leverhulme Trust, examines how struggles over the meanings and performance of ceremony and ritual in parliament secure and reproduce as well as challenge and transform institutional norms. Its insights into the theory and practice of representation are intended to inform democratic practice and invigorate political participation.

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The Year Ahead

As is evidenced above, our work is supported by a strong intellectual framework, dedicated researchers and administrators and by a culture of open and productive communication. As one of our Advisory Board members, Dr. Emma Crewe pointed out, we have “succeeded in establishing the only community of researchers working internationally on ceremony and rituals in parliaments.” Colleagues from Finland, France, India, South Africa, UK and United States have participated in our workshops. We have also included sociologists, historians, political scientists and anthropologists in our meetings and discussions. We hope that we will continue to extend this community and through this influence the work on parliamentary studies.

2010-11 is the last year of the programme. This year will build on the achievements of the programme thus far. We will focus on analysing the rich data collected this year, writing papers, disseminating our work through presentations and participation in conferences and workshops and develop further interdisciplinary work and networks.



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Appendix 1: Leverhulme Site Visit Programme



Gendered Ceremony and Ritual in Parliament THE LEVERHULME TRUST SITE VISIT Programme

October 8th & 9th 2009
University of Warwick

October 8th 2009

Scarman House

6:30pm Drinks Reception
7:30pm Dinner

October 9th 2009

9:00am
Welcome| Introductions| Shirin Rai

9:15am
Programme Overview – Shirin Rai
Q&A and Discussion

10:15am
Tea & Coffee

10:45am
Leverhulme Trust Meeting with PhDs

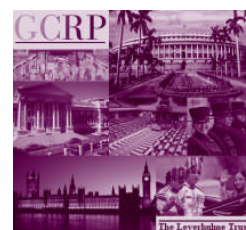
11:30 am
Leverhulme Trust Meeting with Post Doctoral Fellows

12:15pm
Summing Up– Leverhulme Trust and Programme Co-directors

12:30pm
Lunch
Conclusion of Site Visit

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Appendix 2: List of external events and publications

Participation in external events

Faith Armitage

- Presented overview of the GCRP research programme to the Soroptomist Society, University of Warwick, 26 June 2010.
- Armitage, F. (2010) 'Selecting the Speaker: Principles, Power, and Prejudice in the British House of Commons,' presented to the Department of Politics, Birkbeck College, London, departmental away day, June 2010
- Armitage, F. (2009) 'Are parliamentary ceremonies a problem for British democracy?', presented at ECPR annual conference in Potsdam, Germany, 9-12 September 2009
PSA Annual conference, Manchester 7-9 April 2009
- Armitage, F. (2009) 'The Parliamentary Oath' presented at the PSA Annual conference 2010, Edinburgh, 29 March – 1 April.
- Attended ECPR Summer School in Ethnographic Methods, Slovenia, August 2009 (also visited and interviewed officials of the Slovenian parliament during visit)
- Armitage, F. (2008) 'Challenging the Neutrality of the Speaker: Gender, Power, and Ceremony in the British House of Commons,' at the 8th Workshop for Parliamentarians and Parliamentary Scholars, Wroxton, 26th-27th July).

Rachel Johnson

- Exhibition: Gender Ceremony and Ritual Exhibition held at ICOSS, University of Sheffield, May 2010.
- Johnson, R.E. 'Performing Political Womanhood: parliamentary debates on abortion in South Africa, 1975-1996' presented at 'Performing the Self', The Women's History Network Annual Conference, University of Warwick 10th-12th September 2010.
- Johnson, R.E. "'Immense Crowds, Splendid Enthusiasm": A history of the opening ceremony of the South African Parliament, 1910-2010' presented at African Studies Association UK Biennial Conference, University of Oxford, 16th-19th September 2010.

Carole Spary

- Armitage, F. and C. Spary (2010) 'Selecting the Speaker: ritual and power in the British and Indian parliaments', presented at the American Political Science Association Annual Conference, 2nd-5th September 2010 Washington DC, USA.
Sponsored by the UK Political Studies Association.
- Spary, C. (2010) 'Performing Ethno-linguistic representation in the Indian parliament', presented at the British Association for South Asian Studies Annual Conference, 29th – 31st March 2010, University of Warwick, UK.
- Spary, C. 'Regional and gender identity in parliamentary ceremony and ritual: a study of diversity and representation in the Indian Parliament', presented at:
First European Conference on Politics and Gender, Queen's University, Belfast, 21st-23rd January 2009.
Subsequently revised and presented at the 5th ECPR General Conference, Potsdam Universität, Germany, 10th -12th September 2009.
- Spary, C. 'Disrupting rituals of parliamentary debate in the Indian parliament', presented at
Eighth Conference of Parliamentarians and Parliamentary Scholars, Wroxton College, Oxfordshire, UK, 26th-27th July 2008.
Subsequently revised and presented at the British Association of South Asian Studies Annual Conference 2009, University of Edinburgh, March 30th - April 1st 2009

Appendix 2: List of external events and publications (continued)

PUBLICATIONS

Faith Armitage

Armitage, F (2010) 'The Speaker, Parliamentary Ceremonies and Power,' published in the *Journal of Legislative Studies*, Vol. 16 (3) pp. 325-337.

Armitage, F. 'Speaker's Conference on Diversity in Parliament, UCL Constitution Unit *Monitor*, Issue 41. Available as a PDF at:

<http://www.ucl.ac.uk/silva/constitution-unit/publications/tabs/monitor-newsletter/monitor-41>

Armitage, F. (2009) 'Architecture and Politics', *Birkbeck Magazine*, Issue 26 Autumn 2009 p.6, http://www.bbk.ac.uk/about_us/publications/bbk/bbk26.pdf

Carole Spary

Spary, C. (2010) 'Performing Ethno-Linguistic Representation: a Study of Indian Parliamentary Ceremony and Ritual', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, forthcoming Winter 2010

Spary, C. (2010) 'Disrupting rituals of debate in the Indian parliament', *Journal of Legislative Studies* Vol. 16 (3) pp.338-351

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Participation in external events

Faith Armitage

Co-organiser, Second European Conference on Politics and Gender, Budapest, Hungary, January 2011

Armitage, F. (2011) The Parliamentary Oath: Descriptive Representation, Gender Politics and Socialisation in the House of Commons", for presentation at Second European Conference on Politics and Gender, Budapest, Hungary, January 2011

Participation at 'Disruptive Democracy: analysing legislative protest in contemporary legislatures', University of Warwick, 19th November 2010

Rachel Johnson

Johnson, R. (2011) 'Performing Political Womanhood: parliamentary debates on abortion in South Africa, 1975-1996', for presentation at Second European Conference on Politics and Gender, Budapest, Hungary, January 2011

Participation at 'Disruptive Democracy: analysing legislative protest in contemporary legislatures', University of Warwick, 19th November 2010

Participation at 'Forging the Nation: Performance and Ritual in the (Re)Production of the Nation', 21st ASEN Annual Conference, 5-7 April 2011

Co-organiser of GCRP Workshop on the opening ceremony of parliaments and political and public ceremony to be held at the University of Sheffield, June 7th 2011

Carole Spary

Spary, C. 'Performing political representation: MPs' perspectives on parliamentary disruptions in India' (working title), for presentation at 'Disruptive Democracy: analysing legislative protest in contemporary legislatures', University of Warwick, 19th November 2010

Spary, C. 'Madam Speaker! Symbolic representation and the election of the first woman Speaker in India' (working title), for presentation at the 2nd European Conference on Politics and Gender, Central European University, Budapest, 13-15th January 2011

Publications (forthcoming and manuscripts in preparation for submission)

Armitage, F. and C. Spary (2010) 'Selecting the Speaker: ritual and power in the British and Indian parliaments', estimated submission date December 2010.

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Appendix 3: List of contents for *JLS* special issue



[The Journal of Legislative Studies](#), Volume [16](#) Issue 3 2010

Ceremony and Ritual in Parliament

ISSN: 1743-9337 (electronic) 1357-2334 (paper)

Publication Frequency: 4 issues per year

Subject: [Governance](#);

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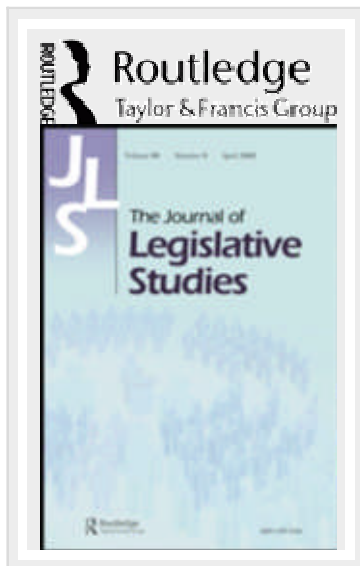
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Appendix 3: List of contents for *JLS* special issue (continued)**The Journal of Legislative Studies, Volume 16 Issue 3 2010****Ceremony and Ritual in Parliament**

ISSN: 1743-9337 (electronic) 1357-2334 (paper)

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- [Pinning the Butterfly: Women, Blue-Collar and Ethnic Minority MPs vis-à-vis Parliamentary Norms and the Parliamentary Role of the Group Representative](#)
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- [The Gendered Dimensions of Rituals, Rules and Norms in the Chilean Congress](#)
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Appendix 4: Disruptive Democracy Workshop Programme & Report

DISRUPTIVE DEMOCRACY

Analysing legislative protest in contemporary legislatures

Friday 19 November 2010, University of Warwick

- 10 - 10.30 Arrival and refreshments
- 10.30 - 11 **Welcome and introductions** (Shirin Rai, Carole Spary)
Introduction of research agenda
- 11 - 12.30 **Panel 1: Analysing legislative performance**
Chair: Georgina Waylen (University of Sheffield)
Speakers: Alan Finlayson (Swansea University)
Jeffrey Green (University of Pennsylvania) - TBC
Nirmal Puwar (Goldsmiths, University of London)
- 12.30 - 1.30 Lunch
- 1.30 - 3 **Panel 2: Analysing legislative protest (1)**
Chair: Sarah Childs (University of Bristol)
Speakers: Faith Armitage (Birkbeck, University of London)
Rachel Johnson (University of Sheffield)
Carole Spary (University of Warwick)
Discussant: Sarah Whitmore (Oxford Brookes University)
- 3 - 3.30 Refreshments
- 3.30 - 5 **Panel 3: Analysing legislative protest (2)**
Chair: Joni Lovenduski (Birkbeck, University of London)
Speakers: Dafyd Fell (SOAS)
Cornelia Ilie (Malmö University)
Sarah Richardson (University of Warwick)
Discussant: Yvette Hutchison (University of Warwick)
- 5 - 5.30 **Roundtable: workshop reflections and next steps**
Chair: Shirin Rai (University of Warwick)
- 5.30 Close



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Appendix 4: Disruptive Democracy Workshop Programme & Report cont.

GCRP Workshop Report

'Disruptive Democracy: Analysing Legislative Protest in Contemporary Legislatures'
19th November 2010
University of Warwick, Coventry, UK

Convenors: Professor Shirin Rai and Dr Carole Spary (Warwick)

On the 19th November 2010, scholars from diverse disciplines gathered together at the University of Warwick for a GCRP-led workshop on analysing legislative disruption and protest in contemporary legislatures. The workshop was convened with three aims in relation to GCRP programme research interests. Firstly, we wanted to explore the *performance* of deliberation and representation in the context of disruptive acts during parliamentary debates, particularly *by legislators themselves rather than activist members of the public*. Secondly, the workshop programme was designed to enable a *comparison* of different empirical and theoretical insights into the study of legislative protest *across* contemporary legislatures. The third aim of the workshop was to evaluate the significance of disruption and legislative protest for the quality of democratic theory and practice more broadly. The theme of the workshop built upon a core strand of the GCRP team's research - disruption in the context of parliamentary debates - but the participation of external speakers allowed the comparison to extend beyond the three case studies covered by the programme - India, South Africa and the UK - to include presentations on the Taiwanese and Swedish legislatures, as well as benefiting from a discussant's expertise on the Ukrainian case. The workshop was particularly noteworthy for its inter-disciplinary participation of scholars from Politics, Sociology, Performance Studies, History, and Linguistics, allowing participants to explore a range of theoretical and analytical approaches all oriented around a central theme.

The workshop began with brief introduction session, where the convenors gave some background context to the workshop and presented pertinent research questions on legislative protest to be discussed throughout the day. These questions sought to explore empirical, theoretical, analytical, methodological, normative and comparative dimensions to the theme of legislative protest. The workshop began from the premise that each legislative setting will have its own institutional, historical, and cultural specificities as to the threshold of an acceptable level of the transgression of ritualised norms of debate and how individual parliaments as institutions respond to disruptions. Particular institutional occurrences raise the comparative question of why are disruptions tolerated in some parliamentary contexts but not in others, and how and why do they emerge in the first place? Participants were also asked to consider the broader implications of disruptions for democratic institutions, such as whether disruptions in legislatures represent a tacit acknowl-

edgement of the declining power of parliament in modern liberal representative democracies? Or whether disruptions are a last ditched attempt to demonstrate the continuing relevance of parliaments? Or whether disruptions are evidence that parliaments remain a critical central platform for democratic deliberation?

Following this introductory session, the workshop consisted of three panel sessions, the first of which discussed theoretical and analytical approaches to the study of legislative performance. Alan Finlayson (Swansea) presented on the topic of legislative oratory, Jeffrey Green (UPenn) discussed the relationship between two types of legislative performance - how legislative actors deliver their performance of democratic representation and how legislatures perform according to a measured set of criteria - and Nirmal Puwar spoke on how legislative space informs the performance of legislators.

The remaining two panels focused on empirical case studies of legislative protest. The three GCRP fellows, Faith Armitage, Rachel Johnson and Carole Spary presented research on each of their respective case studies, Westminster, South Africa and the UK. Cornelia Ilie (Malmo) presented a comparative analysis of techniques of subordination in parliamentary speeches in the UK and Swedish parliaments, whereas Dafydd Fell (SOAS) explored legislative conflict over time in the Taiwanese legislature. Finally, Sarah Richardson (Warwick) gave a historical flavour to the workshop, presenting on the Ladies' Gallery in Westminster. Individually, these papers were empirically rich and provided interesting insights into each of their institutional settings. But more importantly, together they brought to light important comparative insights and generated a number of further comparative questions that proved particularly useful for the project team going forward.

The workshop proved to be highly successful, with all speakers engaging seriously with the workshop theme and sub-themes, and with extensive engagement from participants, provoking intellectually engaging discussions, responding to questions and issues set out at the start of the workshop and raising new ones. Workshop discussions confirmed this was an important yet under-explored area of research. Participants also emphasised the need to employ inter-disciplinary analytical tools and frameworks beyond conventional political science. Following on from the workshop, we hope to be able to produce a collection of papers which reflect and build upon the workshop presentations and the discussions held. Initial interest has been secured with the journal of Democratization and the process of developing a full proposal and inviting submissions from workshop participants is now in motion.

Acknowledgements: Shirin Rai and Carole Spary would like to thank Jill Pavey (then acting programme administrator), Kala Williams (programme manager), and James Zborowski (former acting programme administrator) for their assistance with workshop organisation.

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Appendix 5: GCRP Team

GCRP Team	
Professor Shirin Rai	Director, University of Warwick
Professor Sarah Childs	Co-Director, University of Bristol
Professor Joni Lovenduski	Co-Director, Birkbeck College
Professor Georgina Waylen	Co-Director, University of Sheffield
Dr Carole Spary	Post-doctoral Fellow, University of Warwick
Dr Rachel Johnson	Post-doctoral Fellow, University of Sheffield
Dr Faith Armitage	Post-doctoral Fellow, Birkbeck College
Bairavee Balasubramaniam	PhD Student, University of Warwick
Victoria Hasson	PhD Student, University of Sheffield
Rosa Malley	PhD Student, University of Bristol
Mrs Kala Williams	Programme Manager, University of Warwick

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Appendix 6: Advisory Board and Associate Members Lists

Advisory Board	
Molly Andrews	University of East London
Diana Coole	Birkbeck College, University of London
Emma Crewe	Childhope
Oonagh Gay	House of Commons, Westminster
Niraja Gopal Jayal	Jawaharlal Nehru University
Shireen Hassim	University of Witwatersrand
Robert Hazell	University College London

Associate Members	
Christine Battersby (reader Emerita in Philosophy)	University of Warwick
Professor Karen Celis	University College Ghent
Professor Philip Cowley	University of Nottingham
Professor Susan Franceschet	University of Calgary
Dr Fiona Mackay	University of Edinburgh
Lia Nijzink	University of Capetown
Professor Anne Phillips	London School of Economics
Professor The Lord Norton of Louth	University of Hull
Dr Oliver Phillips	University of Westminster
Dr Nirmal Puwar	Goldsmiths, University of London
Professor Vicky Randall	University of Essex
Dr Meg Russell	University College London
Professor Judith Squires	University of Bristol
Professor Sophie Watson	Open University

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