GENDERED CEREMONY AND RITUAL IN PARLIAMENT

ANNUAL REPORT

October 2008 – October 2009

The Leverhulme Trust

Contents

1. Introduction

The Gendered Ceremony and Ritual in Parliament Programme is half way through its programme cycle and has achieved much during its first two years:

- Research designs for each of the research sites have been formulated and refined as research progresses
- A comparative framework for the programme has been outlined
- Fieldwork has been conducted in each of the sites, and in some cases, team members have completed their second site visits
- Research findings continue to be presented at conferences and workshops
- Our annual conference and workshops have been well attended by colleagues in the academic community and have drawn very favourable reviews
- Programme associates and advisory board members continue to support the programme in increasing its national and international visibility.

There have been some challenges that we have met successfully:

- Theoretical and methodological diversity within the programme has been considerable and formulating a common agenda for research has been achieved through honest dialogue and flexibility
- The postdoctoral fellows and PhD students have encountered some of the expected challenges of conducting fieldwork – such as gaining access to informants and making judgements about disclosure and dissemination – but on the whole have found the fieldwork to be stimulating and rewarding
- A change of personnel has affected the South Africa team but the transition has been successfully managed.

The brief report that follows provides some detail of the work that we have done in the year 2008-2009.

1 October 2009
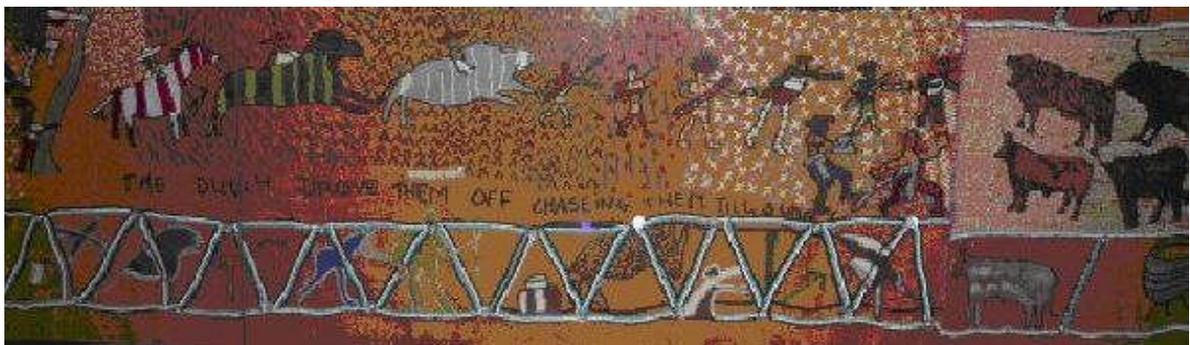
2. Research Overview

Our research continues to develop in significant ways, opening up creative new avenues of enquiry and new approaches to the study of parliaments.

The research designs, developed in the first year of the programme, are dynamic working documents that have been refined according to the interests and needs of each research group. We have worked on definitional issues, methods and methodologies, and comparative frameworks for our research. We continue to exchange ideas, literature and empirical data both informally, through GCRP reading groups and ad hoc meetings of team members, and formally, through workshops and conferences. Each team periodically submits updated bibliographies which are posted on the GCRP website for public access.

The postdoctoral fellows and the PhD students have undertaken extensive field work in the past year. This has provided them with empirical material upon which to build their theoretical analyses and to test their initial propositions. The task at hand now is to organise, analyse and integrate this material with the historical and theoretical work that they have undertaken with the guidance of their mentors and supervisors. The next year will be largely devoted to this work.

Our research agendas have led us to develop new insights about and approaches to researching ceremony and ritual in parliament. For example, an interest in legislative architecture emerged through our engagement with the literature on space and politics (see Annex 1). Our interest in gender and parliament has expanded to recognise the importance of intersectionality; that is, how gender interacts with region, race, caste, class, religion and other social differences in representation and politics. Ideas around legitimacy and deliberation have also become more central to the work of some team members. In general, team members are developing expertise in both the empirical data and the theoretical perspectives critical to understanding their legislative institutions, thus enabling them to engage with mainstream debates *and* introduce new concerns about parliamentary ceremony and ritual.

Research methodologies have been developed and refined to aid our research agenda. Professors Lovenduski and Childs organised and ran a comparative methodology workshop at Birkbeck College in January 2009 which focused on how legislative and policy-making processes in different parliaments could be compared. This built on earlier discussions between co-directors and postdoctoral fellows about the comparative element of the research. These meetings yielded a comparative research design which team members can employ as they generate findings on the shared themes identified in the first year. In addition to such 'in-house' GCRP research training, team members continue to develop their research skills through external courses. To take two examples, Victoria Hasson (PhD for the South Africa team) regularly participates in a comparative politics research training group, including presenting her work, at Sheffield University, and Faith Armitage (postdoctoral fellow for the UK team) completed an ethnographic research methods course at the European Consortium for Political Research Summer School in Slovenia in August 2009. Given the interdisciplinarity of GCRP's research agenda, all team members are delving into disciplines and sub-disciplines unfamiliar to them, such as political anthropology and organisation theory. This wide-ranging engagement has stretched our research boundaries in creative ways, including importing new methodological assumptions, approaches and techniques.

There continues to be a productive exchange of key articles and books within and across the three regional teams. For example, the India team established a reading group in December 2008, which has proved helpful in terms of identifying new research material. The reading material is posted on the GCRP website.

In the programme's first year, the co-directors recruited a group of academics, politicians and parliamentary experts to advise the programme. This supportive and strategically connected body of advisors and programme associates continue to make a significant contribution by participating in GCRP events, facilitating access to Parliament, and forging links with other key informants in all three regions of study.

3. PhD Students

The PhD students have made impressive progress in the past year. Rosa Malley (University of Bristol) completed her MSc in Social Science Research Methods with distinction, enabling her progression to MPhil status. In addition both Bairavee Balasubramaniam (University of Warwick) and Victoria Hasson (University of Sheffield) successfully received their upgrades to MPhil status.

Victoria and Bairavee presented well-received papers at the GCRP Annual Conference in October 2008, as did Rosa at the first European Conference on Politics and Gender in Belfast in January 2009.

All three PhD students have conducted fieldwork in their respective research sites over the past year. They have observed parliamentary proceedings and meetings, interviewed MPs and parliamentary officers, and conducted archival work. Rosa Malley has also completed internship placements with a number of MPs in the British House of Commons.

The PhD students have worked closely with the postdoctoral fellows, both in the field and in their desk research. During fieldwork, the postdoctoral fellows have been supporting the PhD students to develop their interviewing skills. The PhD students and fellows have also, in some instances, participated on panels together at conferences. In addition to presenting findings to a wider audience, this has also meant they've had the chance to offer each other detailed constructive criticism on work-in-progress. Currently, Victoria Hasson is finalising her contribution to the special issue of the *Journal of Legislative Studies* on 'Ceremony and Ritual in Parliament', which will be edited by Shirin Rai (forthcoming 2010; see Annex 2).

4. Postdoctoral Fellows

The postdoctoral fellows have been critical to the success of the programme. They have done empirical research, written and presented papers specific to their areas of research, taken on the comparative research that the co-directors have developed in conversation with them, and have helped in organising workshops and conference.

All three postdoctoral fellows (Faith Armitage, Carole Spary and Surya Monro) have conducted fieldwork in their respective research sites. Like the PhD students, they have observed parliamentary proceedings and meetings, interviewed MPs and parliamentary officers, and conducted archival work.

The postdoctoral fellows continue to have regular conference calls to discuss their individual research efforts and the comparative research agenda. They have formed a 'virtual' reading group by devoting some of these conference calls to discussing articles identified by the fellows as particularly helpful in developing their research.

Surya Monro from the South Africa team resigned in 2009 to take up a full-time, permanent research post at the University of Huddersfield, which meant recruiting a new postdoctoral fellow. From a competitive field of candidates, the programme was pleased to appoint Rachel Johnson, who is a historian and has worked extensively in South Africa. Rachel starts working for the programme in October 2009. Professor Waylen, the programme manager, and the other fellows are helping to insure Rachel gets a running start. For example, Rachel is selecting the next book or article that will form the basis for discussion for the postdocs' reading group. We are confident that she will contribute greatly to the work of the South Africa team and to the programme as a whole.

Currently, Faith Armitage and Carole Spary are finalising articles that will be submitted for consideration in the special issue of the *Journal of Legislative Studies*. They are also researching, writing and disseminating works-in-progress through conference participation and informal networks prior to submission to other academic journals.

5. Project Administration

The programme manager, Kala Williams, is based at the University of Warwick, and continues to liaise with the respective finance personnel for each university involved in the programme regarding invoicing and budget issues. Kala regularly reviews the budget for the programme and has developed 12 monthly financial projections for each site in order to ensure appropriate and transparent handling of spend. She advises the co-directors, postdoctoral fellows and PhD students on how to make the best use of funds provided, and works closely with the other senior administrators in the department as well as the research support services to ensure the budget is managed effectively. Kala also provides administrative support to the co-directors in organising GCRP conferences and workshops, both at Warwick and in other locations. She also continues to develop and update the programme website.

The programme manager's training needs were assessed by the Director and relevant training packages identified. The programme manager has successfully undertaken Prince 2, SAP financial packages and vocational study in Mastering Administration.

6. Dissemination and impact

Team members have mainly disseminated their preliminary research findings through participation in GCRP and external academic conferences, some of which have been mentioned above (see Annex 3 for workshop and conference details). The postdoctoral fellows have a number of working papers which are nearing completion and will be submitted to relevant journals in consultation with their mentors, and taking into consideration the impact publication may have on future access to informants.

The co-directors continue to make an impact through their participation in wider public debates on parliaments and legislatures. For example, Professor Rai presented a paper entitled 'Gender inequalities and parliamentary politics: dilemmas of change,' at the 934th Wilton Park Conference, Enhancing the Effectiveness of Parliaments: Challenges and Opportunities, in October 2008. Professor Childs was made a special advisor to the British House of Commons Speaker's Conference on diversity, a committee of MPs charged with exploring solutions to the historical under-representation of women, ethnic minorities and disabled people in parliament. These contributions build on previous interventions by the co-directors in the debates, such as their co-authored article, 'Making parliament more representative: identity and performance,' in the Political Studies Association's *Failing Politics? A response to* The Governance of Britain *Green Paper* (see Annex 4).

The year ahead promises to be a productive one in terms of research dissemination. Team members will be presenting work in numerous venues both close to home (such as to fellow students in PhD research seminars in their respective universities) and further a field. While it's not possible to anticipate all the conferences in which team members may participate, some highlights in the upcoming academic calendar for GCRP include the Gender and Politics Conference in Manchester (February 2010), the annual Political Studies Association conference in Edinburgh (March 2010), a workshop on the office of the speaker at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi (planned for spring 2010), the ninth Workshop of Parliamentary Scholars and Parliamentarians in Wroxton, UK (July 2010) and the annual American Political Science Association conference in Washington (August 2010) (see Annex 3 for further details for our conference calendar).

In addition, as part of a new University of Warwick funded programme of commissions from leading international artists that places them in dialogue with academic departments and research staff in order to expose them to different ways of working, the artist Rosalind Nashashibi will work with the GCRP team. Born in 1973, Nashashibi has already achieved considerable critical acclaim. In 2003 she was the first woman to win the prestigious Beck's Futures Prize and in the last three years she has had major solo exhibitions in North America, New Zealand and Europe. Last year, she exhibited a new work at Tate Britain and a major exhibition of her work is currently on show at the ICA in London before touring to Bergen, Norway.
(http://www.luxonline.org.uk/artists/rosalind_nashashibi/index.html)

7. Annexes

GCRP

GCRP WORKSHOP
15 JULY, 2009
Birkbeck, University of London
Room 102
Clore Building
25-27 Torrington Square
London WC1E 7JL

ARCHITECTURE AND POLITICAL REPRESENTATION PROGRAMME

3:00 – 3:10pm
Welcome| Introductions| Housekeeping - Joni Lovenduski & Shirin Rai

3:10 – 4:30 pm
Panel 1
Chair/Discussant: Sophie Watson (Sociology, Open University)
Linda Mulcahy (Law, Birkbeck College): 'Legal architecture and restraint of the uncontrollable impulse of the feminine'
Jane Rendall (Bartlett School of Architecture, UCL): 'Trafalgar Square: Détournement (A Site-Writing)'
Discussion

4.30 – 4.45 pm
Coffee Break

4:45 – 6:05pm
Panel 2
Chair/Discussant: Joni Lovenduski
John Parkinson (Politics, University of York): 'Space and place, cues and nudges: the relationship between physical form and political action'
Georgina Waylen (Politics, University of Sheffield): 'Building New Democracies: What role for Symbols and Space?'
Discussion

6:05 – 7:30pm
Wine Reception

RSVP: kala.williams@warwick.ac.uk

'*If you put MPs in a palace, they are going to behave like princes and princesses.*'
This view has no doubt gained wider support in the wake of the allowances and expenses scandal at Westminster.   The impact of architecture and public space on political behaviour was one of a range of themes addressed at a recent workshop on Architecture and Political Representation held at Birkbeck College. Connections between buildings and behaviour are frequently mooted in politics. One of the most well-known theses suggests an adversarial chamber such as Westminster's encourages adversarial politics, in contrast to the more consensual politics supposedly facilitated by legislative chambers arranged in a semi-circle or 'banana' shape. While speculation about such influences and connections is a popular pastime, surprisingly little scholarly work has been conducted on these issues. One group setting out to change this is the Gendered Ceremony and Ritual in Parliaments research group, funded by The Leverhulme Trust over four years. Composed of ten academics and PhD students at Birkbeck, Warwick, Sheffield and Bristol Universities, the group aims to develop comparative analyses of the parliaments of India, South Africa and the UK as distinct cultural and architectural institutions. The research programme is sponsoring a series of workshops and seminars, the latest of which was the Architecture and Political Representation event.

Four academics at the leading edge of this interdisciplinary field presented their current research. On the first panel was Jane Rendell (Bartlett School of Architecture, UCL), who presented her paper, 'Trafalgar Square: Détournement (A Site-Writing)', and Linda Mulcahy (Law, Birkbeck College), 'Legal architecture and restraint of the uncontrollable impulse of the feminine'. These papers considered various aspects of the social and cultural assumptions built into architecture and urban spaces. In particular, Jane Rendell explored how the concept of 'site writing' can be used to inject reflexivity into the critical interpretation of architectural norms. She juxtaposed traditional accounts of the monuments in Trafalgar Square with reflections on recent protests that had taken place therein and the wars that the UK is involved in Iraq and the situation of the Palestinians. Lynda Mulcahy's paper examined the effects of the architecture and layout of courtrooms on the practice of 'judgecraft'. Her paper showed how ostensibly neutral physical spaces express changing notions about the role of courtroom participants. Two examples were the entry of women's bodies into new zones and the marginalised role of the public indicated by their increasingly restricted viewing gallery. Nirmal Puwar, author of *Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place*, helped to lead off the discussion.

On the second panel was John Parkinson (Politics, University of York), who presented a paper entitled, 'Space and place, cues and nudges: the relationship between physical form and political action.' This forms part of Parkinson's on-going research programme, Democracy and Public Space, which explores the links between public space and democratic performance. Georgina Waylen (Politics, University of Sheffield), and a member of the Gendered Ceremony and Ritual in Parliaments research group, presented her paper, 'Building New Democracies: Understanding Symbols and Space?'. A central issue taken up by these papers was the relationship between the physical environment and political action. Parkinson argued that political buildings and spaces do influence the behaviour of its participants, but only insofar as reinforcing dominant norms and values. Employing two parliament buildings as case studies – the Reichstag in Germany and

Stormont in Northern Ireland – Waylen's paper examined the importance of the construction and control of symbols in building democracy. The papers prompted spirited discussion amongst participants about the importance of buildings and symbols vis-à-vis other political factors, and about the subjective meaning of buildings: the buildings are often less important than the stories told about them and the crucial issue lies with who has control over authoring and narrating the stories. There was also discussion about different epistemological and methodological approaches to the study of space, architecture and politics.

Special Issue
CEREMONY AND RITUAL IN PARLIAMENT

Editor : Shirin M. Rai

DESCRIPTION:

This book breaks new ground in the study of legislatures. It combines mainstream historical and social science approaches with cultural theory to consider how is constructed through parliamentary ritual, ceremony, space and socialisation. The focus is on the marginalised groups especially women and members of ethnic minorities who seek inclusion as representatives in democratic legislatures. Inclusion is more than a matter of eligibility and election, difficult though these processes are for outsiders. Once elected, they must negotiate inclusion in political elites through performance and conformity to practices that are structured by ceremony and ritual.   These processes shape the activities of members including incomers for whom they are essential to the achievement of belonging. While agreeing to the discipline of accepted ceremony and ritual secures elite status, at the same time it perpetuates their peripheral position of the incomers as political actors. The contributions assess aspects of the role ceremony and ritual in legislatures especially, but not exclusively, their gendered and racialised dimensions. Within this broad frame, various contributions consider the impact of space, identity, ritual and /or ceremony on the institutional form of parliament, how power is shaped within it, how the behaviour of members is facilitated, constrained and shaped, how power and rituals interact to and how they impinge upon the relationships between representative institutions and citizens. Contributions are theoretical and empirical, comparative or single country studies of national or sub national legislatures. They have interdisciplinary, historical, or postcolonial perspectives that contribute to this emerging field in the study of parliaments.

This book breaks new ground in the study of legislatures. We combine mainstream historical and social science approaches with cultural theory to consider how is constructed through parliamentary ritual, ceremony, space and socialisation. The volume will be broadly comparative and theoretical, including chapters on the UK, India, South Africa, Belgium, Chile and Scotland as well as on approaches to the understanding of ceremony and ritual in parliament.

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ABSTRACTS

Analyzing Ceremony and Ritual in Parliament
Shirin M. Rai, (University of Warwick)
This article explores the importance of ceremony and ritual as a prism through which to examine political institutions such as parliaments. By exploring ceremony and ritual in this way, it suggests that we can do the following: first, trace the circulation, the particularity and sedimentation of power in political institutions through which we can challenge the 'normalisation' of dominant power relations. Second, methodologically, challenge the popular view that ceremony and ritual can be overlooked as 'trappings' of power, thus emphasizing their continued relevance by analysing the differences between the two and how these can be mapped onto the reproduction of power relations. And third, challenge the values ascribed to particular forms of institutional power rather than the other – to analyse this particularity through the spectacle that is cast to represent them and to suggest that this is in itself representative of the structures –in-dominance in which parliaments are embedded.

Analysing Ceremony and Ritual in Parliaments: an Institutionalist Perspective
Georgina Waylen (Sheffield University)
This article will explore what an institutionalist approach to the analysis of ceremony and ritual in parliament might look like. To date the roles played by ceremony and ritual in parliaments have been relatively ignored by political scientists and left to anthropologists who often use approaches and theoretical frames that are unfamiliar and somewhat alien to much of political science. This article will explore the ways in which the incorporation of an analysis of ceremony and ritual would enhance institutionalist approaches to the study of parliaments. Until recently institutionalist approaches have also been largely unable and unwilling to incorporate these aspects into their analyses. The article will assess the extent to which some of the more recent developments in institutionalist analysis such as the emergence of a 'discursive institutionalism', an increased emphasis on the importance of informal rules, norms and institutions, together with the growing sophistication of certain variants of institutionalist analysis, particularly historical institutionalism, allows institutionalist analyses to add this extra dimension, thereby enhancing our understanding of how gendered parliamentary institutions are created, maintained and evolve and change.

A Methodology for Analysing Parliamentary Space
Nirmal Puwar, (Goldsmith College, University of London)
This paper will offer methodological directions for how political space can be researched and analysed. Based on extensive empirical research in the UK parliament it draws on the importance of paying attention to performance, architecture, sound and ambience. The movement between theoretical concepts and grounded research will be foregrounded in order
offer researchers a sense for how the analysis of 'Space Invaders: race, gender and bodies out of place' has been developed and extended to better understand the importance of space in the examination of political institutions such as parliaments.

Rituals and symbols in the House of Lords
Emma Crewe (Visiting Reader, Department of Anthropology, SOAS and Director, ChildHope)
This article argues that ritualised action is the process through which actors make sense of the world, link the past to present and the present to the future, allow expression of powerful emotions, and order (reaffirm, contest, or disguise) relationships within the social and political systems. The ideological baggage of many leads them to regard ritual as trivial and backward-looking, but this article illustrates Kertzer's assertion that 'far from being window dressing on the reality that is the nation, symbolism is the stuff of which nations are made.' Taking an empirical and interpretative approach, they are explored within a particular place - the British upper chamber of parliament - and time: 1998-2004. Within the House of Lords they are significant in that, (a) rules governing behaviour socialise new peers with remarkable efficiency, (b) peers' symbolic capital compensates for the limits to their political power, (c) ritualised debates mobilise consent to the dominance of the executive but also allow expression of substantive ideological divisions in parliament and in wider society. It is only by looking at how rituals order relationships within the Lords, especially the divisions between political parties and the subtle behind-the-scenes control of the 'usual channels', that we can understand a significant puzzle of the Lords, that is, why peers vote with their party more often than Members of Parliament do.

The group representative: When identities in parliaments become important
Karen Celis and Bram Wauters, (University College Ghent)
The article will elaborate (based on new interviews with women, ethnic minority and blue collar worker MPs from the Belgian House of Representatives) the constitution of the role of the 'group representative' through the interaction between identities and institutions. Here the identity of the descriptive representatives well be taken into account (allowing for comparisons between the groups selected) as well as the performances constituting group representation to assess how this interacts and is shaped by the broad institutional environment (parliamentary rules, culture and common behaviour; parties; civil society; media). Special attention will be devoted to how this dynamic determines access to power of marginalized groups.

Parliamentarians and performativity: normative standards versus disruptive behaviour in the Indian parliament
Carole Spary, Department of Politics and International Studies, (University of Warwick)
This paper discusses the significance of increasing disruptions to parliamentary debate and forced adjournments witnessed in the last two decades in the Indian Parliament. Chamber debate is one of many rituals which embody the symbolic norm of democratic representation in parliamentary institutions. The analysis explores the extent to which norms embedded within parliamentary ritual may discipline the actions of its participants, and to what extent these norms might privilege some groups and marginalise and exclude other groups. Formal norms of parliamentary debate in the Indian parliament are identified through an analysis of parliamentary documentation on rules, procedures, and conventions as well as training material for members of parliament. This analysis is then juxtaposed against a discussion of increasing disruptions to parliamentary debate in the house, focusing on how, when and why disruptions take place, who gets to disrupt, and how disruptive strategies are interpreted by members of

parliament. The main findings are contextualised in light of broader recent changes in democratic representation in. the Indian political system.

Ritual and Ceremony in South African Parliament
Victoria Hasson, (University of Sheffield)
This paper addresses an area in which there has been a paucity of research: the role of ceremony and ritual within legislatures. Utilising insights drawn from political anthropology, sociology and post-colonial studies, the paper traces the development of ceremony and ritual in South African parliament. Parliamentary ceremonies and rituals, as aspects of parliamentary culture, can be seen as both a manifestation of, and means of perpetuating (or altering), particular parliamentary institutional processes. Exploring parliamentary ceremony and ritual provides a means of gaining insight into the ways in which parliament reflects and forms power relations, and the inclusion and exclusion of socially marginalised groups. Different facets of ceremony and ritual will be explored in this paper, including space, dress, symbols, language, and routine and extraordinary parliamentary rituals and ceremonies. Particular attention will be paid to the unique ways in which these are gendered, sexualised, and racialised. South African parliament is of special interest to scholars working in the field of legislative studies, because of the complex processes by which colonial and postcolonial relations have been sedimented during and after the apartheid period, the radical changes associated with the transition to democracy, the significant post-transition changes, and the high levels of female representation within post-transition parliament.

Gender dynamics in the Scottish parliament: rituals of the old and new
Dr Fiona Mackay (University of Edinburgh, Scotland)
This article takes a broadly 'feminist institutionalist' approach to examine the gendered dynamics of political practice and culture in a new parliamentary space: the Scottish parliament. Gender equity entrepreneurs were involved in the design of the parliament and sought to create a "new politics" that was gender-aware and more gender-just, by inserting new actors, norms and practices, and attempting to recalibrate co-ordinates of power. Revisiting data gathered during the first parliament (1999-2003), the paper argues that formal and informal norms, practices and rituals of 'new' and 'old' politics co-exist; and gendered institutional innovation is vulnerable to resistance, erosion, drift and reversal. Although they use different vocabularies, there are striking parallels between institutionalist insights into the role of formal and informal norms, standard operating procedures and routinised "ways of doing things" in political life, and social analyses of ritual and ceremony. The paper asks to what extent an approach that explicitly recognizes (gendered) ritual – and harnesses social theories of ritual -- adds to our understandings of the gendered and political dynamics of a new political institution, nested within old institutions? Does analyzing political practice as ritual enable us to see more; to identify informal norms and shared meanings? Are political rituals key mechanisms of institutional resistance, and for the reproduction of gendered political norms and institutions? Whilst concepts of ritual might well illuminate mechanisms of continuity, are such approaches overly deterministic, foreclosing on the possibility of contestation, and unable to theorise innovation and change?

Contesting the Neutrality of the Speaker: Gender, Power, and Ceremony in the British House of Commons

Faith Armitage, Department of Politics, Birkbeck College, University of London

The claim that 'the Speaker of the House of Commons is neutral' is most commonly interpreted in the British political tradition as a statement about the Speaker's political non-partisanship. The Speaker must rise – and must be seen to rise – above party politics in order to have the confidence of the House. However, this claim about the Speaker's neutrality also appeals to a more general aspiration in formally egalitarian, liberal democracies: to ensure that political offices are neutral, in the sense of being open equally to men and women of all colours, backgrounds, and classes. Feminists and critical race scholars have unmasked these pretensions to gender- and race-neutrality, uncovering and mapping how implicit gender and racial hierarchies operate in political institutions. This paper extends those frameworks of analysis specifically to the Speaker to establish how the tenures of the current Speaker, Michael Martin, and his predecessor – the first woman Speaker – Baroness Betty Boothroyd have been marked by these dynamics. While Speakers are expected to bring a degree of individuality to the office, they are also expected to preserve a certain 'essence,' which unmistakeably is an upper-class, white male essence. This is evident, inter alia, in the way Speakers negotiate the ceremonial or 'dignified' aspects of the British parliament. Failure to achieve a balance between innovation and tradition, both in one's own person and institutionally, leads to punishment, including loss of support from Members and ridicule by the media. Speakers Boothroyd and Martin are not only the *objects* of gender- and class-based prejudice, however. The paper establishes the resources and power that the presiding officer has at his or her disposal to influence prevailing attitudes and norms in the Commons. The paper situates these dynamics of power and prejudice within a broader critical analysis of parliamentary tradition and change.

Institutionalizing Exclusion? The gendered dimensions of formal and informal norms in the Chilean congress

Susan Franceschet, (University of Calgary)

The work that legislators do on a day-to-day basis, for example, introducing bills, participating in parliamentary debates, and interacting with constituents, is shaped by both the formal rules of procedure that govern the institution of parliament and by informal norms of conduct. Both formal and informal norms have profoundly gendered effects to the extent that they encourage minority groups (such as women) to perform their roles according to the rules and behavioural styles of the dominant group. Often, this means adopting the legislative priorities of the dominant group as well. Thus, even when minority groups are present, their issues and priorities may remain marginalized because the norms that govern the institution inhibit their expression. In this paper, I analyse the formal and informal rules that shape (and discipline) what legislators do in the Chilean congress in terms of promoting a women's right agenda. In particular, I focus on: 1) the electoral system, which determines the "audience" for whom legislators "perform" in their actions and speech; 2) the division of power between the executive and legislative branch, which determines what parliamentarians are permitted to do; 3) the organization of congress, particularly the committee system which determines the veto points through which successful legislation must pass; and 4) informal norms that shape interaction among parties and between the government and opposition. This latter factor is particularly important in Chile, where a strong norm of consensus-seeking and conflict avoidance constrains the representation of issues that are viewed as

controversial.   This norm, in particular, reinforces the status quo by preventing the expression of many issues of concern to women.

Conference and Workshop Participation

Conference/ Workshop Details	Participant/ Attendee	Date Attended
ECPG conference on Politics and Gender	Rosa Malley	January 2008
Inter-disciplinary conference on 'Engendering Politics and Devolution' at Warwick University	Bairavee Balasubramaniam	February 2008
Joint Sessions of European Consortium of Political Research in Rennes, France	Carole Spary	April 2008
GCRP Workshop at Birkbeck College	Faith Armitage Surya Monro Carole Spary	June 2008
Conference for Parliamentarians and Parliamentary Scholars at Wroxton College	Faith Armitage Surya Monro Carole Spary	July 2008
Annual GCRP Conference	Faith Armitage Bairavee Balasubramaniam Victoria Hasson Carole Spary	October 2008
Foundational workshop between University of Warwick Social Sciences and Jawarhalal Nehru University (New Delhi)	Bairavee Balasubramaniam Carole Spary	November 2008
Workshop on Research in South Africa – University of Sheffield	Victoria Hasson Surya Monro	November 2008
Conservative Women's Organisation Annual Conference	Rosa Malley	November 2008
The First European Conference on Politics and Gender, held at Queen's University, Belfast	Faith Armitage Carole Spary	January 2009
GCRP Internal Workshop held at Birkbeck College	Carole Spary	January 2009
PSA Annual Conference	Carole Spary	April 2009
Workshop on the Indian Election 2009, at SOAS, University of London	Carole Spary	June 2009
ECPR General Conference in Potsdam, Germany	Faith Armitage Carole Spary	September 2009

Failing Politics? PSA Response to Governance Green Paper
Political Studies Association (2007)

Making Parliament More Representative: Identity and Performance
Sarah Childs, Joni Lovenduski, Shirin M. Rai and Georgina Waylen

Making parliaments more representative is identified as one important way to reinvigorate our democracy. The Green Paper advocates continuing with measures designed to reduce inequality in the numbers of men and women elected to be members of parliament and raises the possibility of increasing the scope for positive action to increase the representation of minority ethnic communities. But while these are laudable and valuable aims, it is also important to reflect whether this current lack of representativeness is in part both a symptom as well as a cause of some of the problems that have already been identified. As well as considering the most effective ways to change the composition of parliament, we also need to examine whether the ways in which parliament and the practices of governing can act to exclude and alienate some groups at the same time as empowering others.

Why Should Parliament Be Representative?
As the Green Paper so rightly points out, Parliament does not currently reflect the make up of the British population. Whilst women's advocates have been successful in raising numbers of women representatives, they are still only around 20 per cent of MPs, and fewer than 30 per cent of local councillors. These numbers are significantly better in Scotland and Wales, 33 and 47 percent respectively, where advocates did not have to contend with displacing existing incumbents when pressing the claims of women to be recruited as members and when introducing measures that enhance women's recruitment. The UK's minority ethnic communities constitute around 8 per cent of the population but only 2.3 per cent of the UK Parliament. Scotland and Wales had no BME (Black and Minority Ethnic) members in their new parliament and assembly until the elections of 2007.The Equalities Review states that at current rates of progress we will not elect a representative House of Commons before 2080. The social make up of representative institutions as well as their public image matter, for both symbolic and substantive reasons. Gender and ethnicity, race, religion, disability and sexuality are all dimensions along which we can study the efficacy, legitimacy and accountability of parliament. By focusing on how different social groups in society are represented in parliaments we see whether hitherto marginalized perspectives and concerns are articulated in political institutions. From an understanding that the important details of policies are worked out in deliberative processes which raise issues that cannot be predicted at elections and are not normally covered in manifestos, it follows that for legislation to reflect the interests of varying groups of individuals that representatives from those groups must be present. There is evidence to suggest that the social characteristics of representatives affect participation and attitudes. [1] The best way to ensure such presence is to ensure a legislature that resembles the population in terms of key social characteristics. In this way, presence matters.

Electoral Commission research reveals a statistically significant gap between the political activism of women and men. Participation differs by type of activity: there is no gender gap in voter turnout, although women are more likely than men to engage in cause oriented activities, such as signing petitions or boycotting products, but less likely to

campaign, contact their MPs or other representatives, donate time or money to, or be members of, political parties. Women are also less likely to join voluntary organizations. The same research shows that women are more active in constituencies in which the MP is a woman.[2] So, there is some further evidence that presence matters. Where we need more research is on the nature of performance in Parliament and how this might encourage or discourage greater civic engagement. Research also shows that voter turnout varies by minority group and there is some evidence that BME respondents to surveys are more disaffected than the majority white groups.

But arguments are necessarily complex. Most BME MPs represent constituencies with relatively large ethnic minority populations. There is an argument found, inter alia, in the Parekh report [3] that political parties should nominate minority candidates in seats where more than 25 per cent of the population are from ethnic minorities. This, however, consigns BME representation to areas where 'race is deemed to matter and away from those where it does not.'[4] The corollary is that white people are best represented by white representatives. The problem, here, is that this frames minority representation as a concern for the minority population and not as the general representation problem that it is.

A more representative parliament is therefore in the interests of all of society hence is an appropriate issue for government led reform. An argument can be made that a fair political process itself will determine which groups merit and will achieve political representation.[5] This argument however assumes some fairness in the process whereby unfair barriers prevent some groups from mobilizing effectively. The case in the UK for a more representative institution in terms of sex and race is easily made.

How do we Achieve Representativeness?
Women are not a minority group; they are in fact a majority of the population. The difficult and incomplete solutions to ensuring their presence in politics may not necessarily be a guide to policies on minority under-representation, but they are a good place to start. Such policies have included equality rhetoric, promotion and guarantees in a process in which, so far, guarantees such as all women shortlists have yielded the most significant results, though this falls foul of the interests of incumbents. Cross national research has concurred with this finding, showing that the most effective way to increase the representation of under-represented groups is through the imposition of well designed and effective measures that are appropriate to that electoral system. The success of gender equality guarantees suggests that both that the 2015 sunset clause in the Sex Discrimination (Electoral Candidates) Act should be extended and that consideration should be given for similar measures for BME candidates. Indeed the government should consider implementing prescriptive rather than just permissive legislation. Any such extension should include provision for the representation of BME women. Only two Black women sit in the 2005 House of Commons; none sit in either Holyrood or Cardiff.The experience of Scotland and Wales, where relatively high levels of women representatives has not been accompanied by the representation of BME communities suggests there is no necessary connection between changes to increase women's and BME representation. Specific action needs to be taken and efforts to enhance one group must not be at the expense of the other.

Beyond Representativeness: the politics of policy and performance

We need also to ask to what extent are political ceremony and rituals gendered, racialized and sexualized? How do dominant notions of appropriate public behaviour affect the representativeness of legislatures? By viewing the way in which political institutions 'do politics', through their evolving practices and rituals, we can assess how these socialise members into particular modes of interaction which can marginalise some members within parliaments and also alienate the public from what seem as alien and arcane modes of behaviour.

With an understanding that both the substance and the form of political institution and debate matters, we can examine politics in some new ways. So for example we need to look at the ways in which adversarial traditions, public school debating conventions complete with howling and barracking, parliamentary questions rituals, maiden speeches, indeed the form that speeches take, help to influence public perceptions of the representativeness of their political institutions. Indeed the impact of other rituals and practices, such as requirements to wear ties when speaking, hours suited to the 19th century professional male, Church of England prayers every day, coloured ribbons on hangers for swords, that are taken for granted need also to be assessed. As does the space within which debate takes place – such as the building arrangements modeled on Victorian Gentleman's clubs, the layout of rooms and the cathedral and courtroom architecture.

Encouraging citizens to engage more with Parliament, a wider understanding of how power plays out in both the form and substance of Parliament is needed. But despite some limited success to date, legislation and policy cannot by themselves address the issue of institutional culture – within parliament and political parties – which often deters engagement of general citizenry.

Concluding points

Disaffection with politics in all groups arises from perceptions that government does what it wants regardless. Actual policy outcomes as well as the performance of debates that lead to these affect the esteem of political processes adversely. Levels of political efficacy are low and vary by age, ethnicity and sex. A Parliament that does not look like the society it represents contributes to that perception. A Parliament in which the political spectacles that are played out are far removed from the lives of most citizens is in danger of being seen as equally currently excluded groups is an important step in the right direction, but only if it includes robust procedures of accountability. This implies change in both the electoral system and political parties and in the practices of politics.

[1] Pattie, C, Seyd, P and Whiteley, P 2004, *Citizenship in Britain:Values, Participation and Democracy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
[2] The Electoral Commission, 2004, *Gender and Political Participation,* available at www.electoralcommission.org.
[3] Bhikhu Parekh, 2002, *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain – the Parekh Report,* The Runnymeade Trust.
[4] Geddes, A 2001, *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe.* Thousand Island CA: SAGE.
[5] Phillips, A 1995 *The Politics of Presence,* Oxford: Oxford University Press