

Gendered Ceremony and Ritual in Parliament

Overarching Research Plan

SUMMARY OF GCRP RESEARCH AIMS, OBJECTIVES & QUESTIONS

Hypothesis:

Representative institutions operate through evolving repertoires of ceremony and ritual within a political space, which control the members (performance) and signify their function to the public (audience).

Aims and objectives:

The aims and objectives of the research programme are to increase the understanding of how ceremony and ritual operate within parliaments by:

1. examining how power and rituals affect both the working of parliaments, and the relationship among parliamentarians;
2. assessing the relationship between civil society groups and MPs as it is reflected in the performance of parliamentarians;
3. encouraging reformers to take account of the representation of marginalised groups when updating working practices and reforming parliament; and
4. developing an interdisciplinary approach to studying representation of marginalised groups in parliaments.

Overarching research questions:

1. How can we understand ceremony and ritual in the context of political institutions such as parliaments? What are the formal and informal rules and norms of the Parliament and how do they intersect? How are they expressed and transmitted? How do they vary across types of political system? How do they link with political symbols?
2. What are the connections between ceremony and ritual in parliament, and political processes and outcomes.
3. Are ceremony and ritual gendered? How? To what extent are gendered ceremony and rituals reflective of the intersectionalities of dominant social relations of class, ethnicity, faith, caste (in India), sexuality and gender?
4. How do masculinities/femininities play out through these gendered ceremonies and ritual? How do regional identities intersect with performance of gendered roles in parliament? Do party political identities make a difference to performance of gender?
5. Do parliamentary ceremonies and rituals discipline MPs? How? Are men and women disciplined in different ways?
6. How do the performed ceremonies and rituals change over time? Through what processes?
7. To what extent has the representative function of parliament changed over time? How has the performance of representative politics inside parliament been affected by the changing nature of politics in civil society? What are the relationships between MPs and constituencies and civil society groups and how do these vary across types of political system? Are they affected by ceremony and ritual?
8. What are the dominant notions of appropriate behavior? How do dominant notions of appropriate public behavior take affect? How do they vary across institutions, categories of member, and staff? Do they affect the representativeness of legislatures?

9. What emerges when we look at ceremony and ritual from a cross-cultural, feminist and/or gendered perspective? Is it possible to make generalizations about parliamentary ceremony and ritual across different states? If so, what features stand out?
10. How can a focus on ceremony and ritual (in parliaments) enhance feminist institutionalist analyses (of parliaments)?
11. What is the relationship between a disjuncture or newness of institutions and the nature of ceremony and ritual? What can this add to our understanding of institutions and institutional change?
12. What kind of comparative frameworks can be used to analyse gendered ceremony and ritual in the three parliaments? How can this contribute to a comparative politics of gender/gendered comparative politics?
13. How can the concepts associated with intersectionality enhance the understanding of gendered ritual and ceremony in parliament?
14. What forms of Southern gender analysis (postcolonial feminisms, womanisms) are useful in the parliamentary context and how does analysis of gendered ritual in Parliament extend feminists and gender analysis?

Sub-research questions:

- **Defining ceremony and ritual.** To what extent can differences in ceremony and ritual be distinguished *from each other* in parliamentary contexts?
- What are the ceremonies, rituals, conventions and procedures both in key areas of parliamentary activity such as debates and also in daily rituals such as opening ceremony, speaker process etc? What role does the formal/informal constitution play within parliamentary ceremony and ritual? What roles do the parties play with regards to CR?
- What are the formal/informal norms in Parliament, and how do they intersect? How do they vary by performer? How are they expressed and transmitted? Who is included/excluded?
- How can we describe culture (s) MPs, House officials and staff, press, include language, dress codes/ costumes, speech and discourse requirements, behavioral hierarchies?
- What are the functions and activities such as Parliamentary activities of women and men at all levels of parliamentary hierarchies, by cohort?
- **Mapping power in Parliament:** how do the following conceptions of power inform our understanding of ceremony and ritual?
 - LEnglandes and power
 - Foucault and governmentality
- Do ceremony and ritual shed light on
 - elite discourses of power?
 - power relations between elites and the masses – could it be about the process of unifying elites but also of disciplining some sections of these elites?
 - signification of representation – to members and outsiders, to self and other? Self and self? (multiple identities, race, gender, class)
- How do we understand
 - **identity**
 - **legitimacy**
 - **performativity**
 - **space?**
- And how do we use these concepts to understand ceremony and ritual in Parliament?
- How do **politics of a period** get reflected in ceremony and rituals in parliaments and what does that tell us about the period of politics?
- What is the timeline of the development of Parliament in relation to key themes?

Research Methods:

Secondary literature review (including classic sources and official accounts)

Analysis of parliamentary debates

Research methods described in theme-specific sections

Data Sources:

Secondary literature on ceremony and ritual, gender and representation, political theory, and political anthropology/social anthropology.

Outcomes:

A detailed theoretical understanding of the key analytical concepts employed in the research project as well as the potential for their application to the empirical case of Indian, South African, and English Parliament.

Country-specific (i.e. additional to above)

These questions are key/generic so no country-specific questions are identified at this point.

NATION, EMPIRE AND POSTCOLONIALISM

‘Generic’ research questions:

What is the impact of the colonial era on parliamentary ceremonies and ritual? What is the role of policies that are inclusive of multicultural populations in relation to ceremonies and ritual, within contemporary parliaments?

Sub-questions:

- What is the historical context of parliamentary democracy¹? How has it shaped the function and norms of parliament? How are these embodied in ceremony and ritual?
- What have been the key junctures/moments of transition and how have these been embodied in ceremony and ritual?

Country-specific (i.e. additional to above)

India

Sub-questions:

- What is the significance of the study of British parliamentary ceremony and ritual for understanding post-colonial Indian parliamentary politics?
- What has been the colonial overhang of British ceremony and ritual in the postcolonial Indian parliament?

Data sources: Documentary material on the 1919 Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and the 1935 Government of India Act.

England

Sub-questions:

- What is the significance of Indian and South African pre-colonial, colonial, and postcolonial legislatures for English parliamentary ceremony and ritual? And other legacies relating to colonial eras – both the British Empire and – for instance – the Norman conquest of Britain?
- What is the significance of Scottish and Welsh devolution for English parliamentary ceremony and ritual?
- What is the significance of Northern Irish politicians in Westminster for English parliamentary ritual and ceremony?

Sources: Writings on responses to parliament e.g. Vallance, Abdela, MacDougall, Childs, Sones, Phillips and work on Welsh, Scottish, and Irish MPs, also e.g. Searing.

¹ This refers to both the historical processes by which ‘parliament’ is constructed and the concrete manifestation of parliament within the contexts studied.

South Africa

Sub-questions:

- What is the significance of the study of British parliamentary ceremony and ritual for understanding post-colonial South African parliamentary politics prior to 1948? And during the apartheid era?
- What about Dutch, Indian, and other legislatures that had some influence?
- What were/are the Afrikaans rituals and ceremonies associated with Parliament, pre and post apartheid?
- What is the significance of the study of British parliamentary ceremony and ritual for parliamentary politics within post-apartheid era South African legislatures? What has the Africanization of symbols etc entailed? Is Africanisation of ceremony and ritual a process of distancing/differentiation between regimes of power past and present? Has there been a rejection of things associated with Westminster model post 1994? Ways in which the Westminster model has been continued – the Westminsterisation of previously oppositional parties, groups, people? (comparison with the Supreme Court as a new institution with a more African sensibility and notions of justice?)
- What can we learn from the study of British imperial architecture about issues of representativeness that concerned postcolonial elites? How does that space frame political performance?

Data sources: Analysis of archival material about choice of symbols etc post-1994.

Research methods:

Archival research – including analysis of archives for negotiations about symbols, ritual and ceremony

Secondary literature

Data sources:

Documentary material

Secondary literature on the colonial period.

Outcome:

A detailed understanding and appreciation of the historical context of the emergence of the Parliament tracing from (date TBC – Indian team suggested ‘from colonial period’) in terms of its impact on the institutional design, ceremonies and ritual.

CROSS-CUTTING THEME 1: IDENTITY AND PERFORMATIVITY

‘Generic’ research questions:

How do ceremony and ritual affect particular identities in parliaments? How do MPs with different identities negotiate ceremony and ritual in parliament?

How do ceremony and ritual help us understand the importance of performing roles within a political space, in an historical context and mediated through the lens of specific identities?

Sub-questions:

- Does the dominant normalising process of parliamentary institutions represent an embedded and reiterated preference for any one particular identity, and thus subordinate, marginalise, and exclude other identities? What are the identity hierarchies and how are these signified (language, dress, behavioural hierarchies)?
- Do parliamentarians possess beliefs along these lines about parliamentary ritual? That is, do parliamentarians (tacitly or explicitly) promote a dichotomy between ‘rational’ parliamentary procedures and ‘irrational’ or merely decorative and superfluous parliamentary ritual?
- Are parliamentary rituals and ceremonies representative/constitutive of a particular identity for parliamentarians? How might this particular identity be characterised/typologised? In what ways is this identity gendered, classed? What about particular types of masculinity, femininity, and purported gender-neutrality? What affect do these representation of identity have upon types of masculinity and femininity? Is the configuration of a gender neutral identity itself a disciplinary practice? Gendered identities associated with particular party affiliations (e.g. the ‘backbone of the party’ ANC women, Blair’s babes)?
- How is gender sexed/sexuality gendered, within parliament? Do particular politicians have particular types of sexed identity, which also affects their gendered identity? (e.g. ‘cleavage’ debate) Which sexualities are privileged and which are obscured or absent? What is the role of ceremony and ritual in this? What is the role of ritual and ceremony in sexing gender/gendering sexuality within parliament? Are certain sexualities privileged/absent/obscured?
- What does it mean to be a ‘good’ or ‘bad’ parliamentarian? Can we speak of a singular parliamentary subjectivity?
- Do parliamentary ceremony and ritual privilege particular gender, racial/ethnic, regional and religious identities? How might these be discerned in ritualised forms of parliamentary communication and debate?
- To what extent do the norms and practices deemed appropriate in parliamentary institutional culture resonate or conflict more with some identities more than others?
- How significant are differences in the regional identity of parliamentary members towards normalising processes of parliamentary institutional culture?
- How has the increasing fragmentation of political parties and the rising importance of state-level politics and coalition politics at the national level impacted upon parliament as a representative-democratic institution?
- In what ways do induction rituals such as parliamentary training shape the identities of parliamentarians (parliamentary subjects)?
- What is the role of ritual and ceremony in the identity changes of female and male MPs, on entry into parliament and later? Are there any discernible patterns over time? What

- about MPs who leave? And those who are assimilated? Those who remain for a time but who do not fit well within the institution?
- Is association with particular gendered debates and processes an issue for individual actors within parliament and if so, how do these individuals act to mediate this (in terms of norms, cultures etc)?
 - Do parliamentary ceremonies and rituals discipline MPs? How? Are men and women disciplined in different ways? Are people from different class, ethnic, cultural, racial and religious backgrounds disciplined in different ways?
 - How are parliamentary rituals embodied in speech, dress, movement? What are the Parliamentary dress codes and costumes (formal and informal) – MPs, staff (all levels) How are rituals gendered?
 - How do parliamentary ceremony and ritual become routinised in MP behaviour? (sanction, incentive, socialisation, disciplining etc.)?
 - How are parliamentary rituals enforced, formally and informally?
 - How are parliamentary norms enacted through the performative rituals of chamber deliberation and debate? To what extent does the Speaker of the House play a crucial role to the reproduction of parliamentary norms through the direction and enforcement of parliamentary ritual?
 - How are performative disruptions of ceremony and ritual identified
 - cross-generationally?
 - on grounds of education, class, gender, sexuality/sexual orientation, region?
 - To what extent are Parliamentary clerks and secretarial staff key to the enforcement of parliamentary norms through their participation/monitoring/organisation of the enactment of ritual?
 - What are the formal/informal rules are apparent in parliament and how are these expressed and transmitted? How do they vary by performer/situation? discourses and behaviour operate to reinforce/challenge institutional processes?
 - How does behaviour compare across sex, race, party, and time in core parliamentary ceremonies and daily rituals?
 - How does ritual affect parliamentary working (relationships amongst parliamentarians and between civil society groups and MPs)?
 - How is performance in parliament externally perceived, e.g. parliamentary sketches (of MPs' dress/style of interaction; men and women's performance on floor of chamber – what is perceived to be successful, and how is this gendered?) Analysis of visual representations of MPs and others who inhabit Parliament, artwork of parliament
 - What aspects of parliament can be characterized as 'spectacle'? How and why do we distinguish 'spectacle' from non-spectacular parliamentary activities?
 - How have parliamentary spectacles changed over time?
 - What forms of speech and communication and what sorts of costumes are constitutive of parliamentary spectacle?
 - How do those who inhabit parliament present themselves visually and in speech? How are they visually represented by others? Does this differ by sex, race, and other characteristics?
 - Analysis of Parliamentary dress codes and costumes (formal and informal) – MPs, staff (all levels). Presentation of the self as 'work' and gendered/raced etc differences re this?
 - Analysis of costume/speech of everyday of grand ceremonies (eg, analysis of state opening, maiden and/or resignation speeches; question time)
 - Analysis of media coverage (eg, of MPs' dress/style of interaction; men and women's performance on floor of chamber – what is perceived to be successful, and how is this gendered?)

- Analysis of visual representations of MPs and others who inhabit Parliament, artwork of parliament

Country-specific (i.e. additional to above)

India

Sub-questions:

- Are parliamentary rituals and ceremonies representative/constitutive of a particular identity for parliamentarians? In what ways is this identity caste-specific?
- Do parliamentary ceremony and ritual privilege particular caste, regional and identities? How might these be discerned in ritualised forms of parliamentary communication and debate?
- How are performative disruptions of ceremony and ritual identified on grounds of caste?

Data sources: Documentary analysis of parliamentary procedural documentation such as the Handbook for Members of the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha, audio-visual material from the Parliamentary Bureau of Training.

Analysis of Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha debates and questions

Interviews with Members of Parliament including members of the Inter-Parliamentary Group

Parliamentary staff including Parliamentary Bureau of Training

Analysis of audio-visual material from Lok Sabha TV

ENGLAND

Sub-questions:

- What is the impact of Irish, Scottish, and English identities on ritual and ceremony in parliament, and parliamentary norms? How do these intersect with other social characteristics?
- Analysis of Parliamentary dress codes and costumes (formal and informal)– MPs, staff (all levels, Black Rod to cleaners)
- Analysis of costume and speech employed in everyday versus grand ceremonies (eg, analysis of maiden and/or resignation speeches; question time; PMQs)
- Analysis of media coverage (eg, of MPs' dress/style of interaction - cleavage debate - Smith and May of autumn 2007; women MPs alleged inability to 'perform' on floor of chamber)
- Analysis of visual representations of MPs and others who inhabit Parliament, eg, photographic exhibition summer 2007 on those work at Parliament; Portraits of MPs in House and Portcullis House

Data sources: Eskine May, H of C factsheets, Rogers and Walters, auto/biographies/existing interview data (BRS; Sones et al, Michael Rush, Hansard Society reports)

Writings on responses to parliament e.g. Vallance, Abdela, MacDougall, Childs, Sones, Phillips and work on Welsh, Scottish, and Irish MPs, also e.g. Searing.

South Africa

Sub-questions:

- Are parliamentary rituals and ceremonies representative/constitutive of a particular identity for parliamentarians? In what ways is this identity racialised in terms of tribal or other ethnic identity/affiliation?
- How have the parliamentary processes associated with a pacted but quite swift transition to democracy impacted on/been affected by people with different gendered/racialised identities (e.g. the differences between afrikaner and black and coloured women)?
- What are the relationships between MPs, those they claim to represent, and civil societies who share their social identity? How are such identities 'acted upon'/'played out' by the MP and civil society groups? What about insider/outside and activist identities amongst MPs and former MPs?
- How do notions of traditional identity permeate and shape parliamentary ceremonies, rituals and norms? How do 'modern' notions of identity interface with these?
- How have particular actors become associated with gendered issues (eg Zuma and the rape trial) and in what ways is this mediated by parliamentary ritual, ceremony, norms?
- How can concepts associated with intersectionality enhance the understanding of gendered ritual and ceremony in parliament?
- What role has ritual and ceremony served in the process of institutionalisation / socialisation of new identities post-apartheid? Are these racialised, gendered or spatialised?
- Has there been an Africanization of dress, custom etc. post 1994?

Data sources: Analysis of IDASA and Parliamentary Monitoring websites, auto/biographies to include e.g. Pregs Govender, Winnie Mandela, Helen Suzman, Thabo Mbeki, Nelson Mandela, Zuma, also Britton and Geisler.

Research methods:

Semi-structured interviews

Observation

Documentary analysis

Internet-based research

Biographical research

Press and media analysis

Visual ethnography: observation, photography

Using audio-visual/visual material as prompts in interviews

Process tracing,

Archival, media and secondary sources.

Observation, elite interviews and media/visual representation analysis.

Data sources:

Interviews with Members of Parliament

Analysis of Presidential Address to Parliament and other ceremonies

Photographs taken during observation (outside the Chambers)

Observation of parliamentary training

Documentary analysis of parliamentary procedural documentation

Analysis of particular parliamentary debates, Select Committees and Standing Committees.

Analysis of reactions of different groups of MPs and spectators to Parliament, also parliamentary sketches for representations of MPs (by sex, race, other social characteristics)

Outcome:

1. An understanding of the ways in which parliamentary rituals and ceremonies shape and discipline the identities of parliamentary subjects, the extent to which parliament ceremony and ritual privilege some subject identities and exclude others, and how some challenge dominant ceremonies and rituals. What is the potential for reform towards more inclusive democratic processes?
2. A detailed understanding of how ceremony and ritual are embodied through performance, how performance signifies ceremony and ritual, and the effect performance has on the disciplining function of ceremony and ritual but also the negotiating and subverting potential of parliamentary subjects. A classificatory scheme for ceremony etc.

CROSS-CUTTING THEME 2: SPACE**‘Generic’ research questions:**

1. How are ceremony and ritual played out spatially?
2. To what extent is parliamentary ceremony and ritual embodied in and differentiated through *space*?

In this context, the concept of space is understood in the following three ways:

- As a means of distinguishing between parliamentary institutional spaces, in order to analyse parliament as an internally differentiated institution (heterogeneous spaces).
- To provide a way of analysing ceremony and ritual as spatially embodied performance (embodied spaces).
- As a way of investigating the link between space and institutional continuity/change: institutional space as sedimentation of norms (institutionalised spaces)

Sub-research questions:

- How do parliamentary ceremony and ritual vary in different spatial contexts? What is the significance of the differences in spatial contexts for these variations? Do marginalisation and exclusion within parliamentary institutions vary according to the context in which they occur? How does this take effect?
- How has the historical construction of parliamentary spaces changed over time?
- How are internal differences in institutional norms and practices related to wider societal norms of appropriate behaviour? (For instance, spatial and sexual segregation of men and women, and different caste groups).
- In the parliament, who are the ‘space’ invaders?² How do they use space to challenge or subvert dominant behavioural norms? Do they see *themselves* as space invaders?
- How are institutional norms embedded in parliamentary spaces? How do they affect the way parliamentary subjects identify with and move within the differentiated spaces of Parliament?
- Do ceremonies and rituals support the construction of spaces? Do ceremonies and rituals help to construct various discursive spaces within which identities and performances may be disciplined, and disciplined along lines of gender or race?
- How is the environment currently symbolised and represented in parliament? How do issues concerning climate change - including debates concerning post-colonialism,

² With ‘Identity’ (above).

development, and gender - play out in parliament? Is the possibility of significant spatial changes to parliament and state machinery itself (e.g the Thames flooding) considered?

Country-specific:

India

- Are the dominant practices of marginalisation within the Chamber of the Lok Sabha or the Rajya Sabha exacerbated or diminished in other parliamentary spaces?
- How are physical spaces such as the Parliament House or the recently built Parliamentary Library, the Ladies Room, evocative of parliamentary norms?

ENGLAND

- What historical changes to the spaces of Westminster are important for understanding existing C&R? (e.g. custom of bowing to Speaker apparently derives from fact that HC housed in a deconsecrated chapel for much of its history)
- How is parliament – in terms of space – experienced, perceived, lived, challenged, transformed, and resisted by those who inhabit it? Does this differ for different MPs, by role? By different spaces in the Palace of Westminster? By occupational group – e.g. housekeepers versus officers versus members?
- What consideration do MPs give to space on the subject of parliamentary reform?

South Africa

- How is parliament ‘experienced’, ‘perceived’, ‘lived’ (‘challenged’, transformed’, ‘resisted’) by those who inhabit it? Does this differ for different MPs? by role? by different spaces in Parliament? What about civil society representatives who engage with parliamentary spaces?
- What are MPs, parliamentary workers, and the public’s perceptions and experiences of the spaces, for example, the Chambers by comparison with the new Supreme Court?

Research methods:

Visual ethnography (photographs, video)

Semi-structured interviews

Documentary analysis

Data sources:

Members of Parliament (including committee members)

Parliamentary staff

Parliament Library

Material of the Parliamentary Bureau of Training

Architectural drawings of Parliament buildings

Outcome:

An understanding of the way in which the concept of ‘space’ might inform an understanding of ceremony and ritual in Parliament.

CROSS-CUTTING THEME 5: DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATION AND LEGITIMACY

‘Generic’ research question:

What part do ceremony and ritual play in legitimising Parliament as a democratic institution of governance?

Sub-questions:

- How does Parliament perform/signify its representative function to its citizens and internationally? To what extent has this changed over the years and why?
- Has/Is the historical configuration of political elites changed/changing in the last decade. If so, what effect has this had on parliamentary institutional norms? Can we observe these changes through changes in parliamentary ceremony and ritual?
- Does this suggest that changes in political elites have an important impact on dominant parliamentary norms and thus on the rituals used to reproduce them?
- Does it suggest that parliamentary rituals are weak and susceptible to change?
- Do ceremony and ritual confirm the place of Parliament as representative institution or undermine it in the popular imagination?
- Have there been attempts to reform parliamentary ceremony and ritual? If so, from what sources have these come? And if so how has parliament responded to these?
- How do dominant notions of appropriate behavior affect the representativeness of legislatures?
- In what ways are issues which may be framed as women’s issues and marginalised – or mainstreamed and where the latter, are there any changes in overall culture? Analysis to look, for example, of cases of women MPs supporting embattled women MPs in Chamber (Routledge-Madlala?)
- What discrepancies are there between different types of symbol, ritual within parliament, eg possible divergences between website representations and the norms within parliamentary activities?
- What are the interactions in cross-party groups as well as ANC; other party groups established concerning gender and legitimacy?
- How do certain policy or political affiliations affect the types of ritual/symbol/norm presented by particular actors within parliaments (e.g do women MPs feel a need to dress more conservatively when pursuing more radical stances?)
- What are the reactions of different groups of MPs and spectators to parliament?
- How do MPs’ interactions with public/civil society groups reflect on issues of legitimacy? What are the relationships between MPs, those they claim to represent, and civil society groups which share their social identity? How are such identities ‘acted upon’/ ‘played out’ by the MPs and civil society groups? (ie, how is the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation negotiated in parliament?)
- (How) are ceremonies and rituals constitutive of parliament’s institutional processes and norms? Are they essential, or are they “technically superfluous frills and decorations” (Leach 1954: 12)?
- Are parliamentary ceremonies and rituals effective ways to communicate state power to the public, as compared with, say, military displays?
- Do ceremony and ritual shed light on elite discourses of power?

- Do ceremony and ritual shed light on power relations between elites and the masses?
- With regard to political parties, can we understand the changing balance of power through ceremony and ritual?
- What relation do parliamentary ceremony and ritual bear to parliamentary power³?

Country-specific (i.e. additional to above)

India

Sub-questions:

- Has/Is the historical configuration of political elites changed/changing in the last decade or so (e.g. rise of Hindutva, fragmentation and democratisation of party politics, coalition politics etc.)?

ENGLAND

Sub-questions:

- What are the issues concerning representation of a multi-ethnic population, with changing demographics? How do 'race', faith, gender, sexuality and other social characteristics intersect within Parliament, with regards to representation?

South Africa

Sub-questions:

- What issues are there concerning legitimacy following the dismantling of apartheid? And, following recent developments with key politicians? That is, are individual members of parliament's legitimacy dependent upon, constructed around, constituted by the use of rituals and ceremony/norms /rhetoric?

Research methods:

Semi-structured interviews

Surveys

Visual ethnography: observation, photography

Process tracing

Archival, media and secondary sources.

Websites

Analysis of particular parliamentary debates (set pieces and everyday), discussions in Select Committees and Standing Committees, and other parliamentary activities.

Consider discourse analysis following key debate of one or more types through legislative process (possible comparative project across three Parliaments).

Data sources:

Public opinion surveys including those already published

Interviews: journalists, citizens

Television coverage

India:

Public opinion surveys including those already published (e.g. CSDS)

³ Defined primarily as the operation of power (individual, party, faction, pressure group) within parliament, but also as the power of parliament within the political system.

Lok Sabha TV programme on visitor reactions to Parliament
South Africa:
IDASA and parliamentary monitoring websites

Outcome:

An understanding of how ceremony and ritual function to legitimise Parliament as an institution of representative democracy but also of governance, and whether this has changed over time due to external and internal changes.

GCRP Project Themes, Overlaps and Divergences⁴

	Nation, Empire & Postcolonialism	Identity & Performativity	Space	Democratic Representation & Legitimacy	Team-specific themes & preoccupations
Representative ‘Generic’ Questions	What is the impact of the colonial era on parliamentary ceremony and ritual? What is the role of policies that are inclusive of multicultural populations in parliamentary ceremony and ritual?	How do ceremony and ritual affect particular identities in parliaments? How do MPs with different identities negotiate parliamentary ceremony and ritual?	How are ceremony and ritual played out spatially? To what extent is parliamentary ceremony and ritual embodied in and through space?	What part to ceremony and ritual play in legitimising parliament as a democratic institution of governance? Are parliamentary ceremony and ritual effective ways to communicate state power to the public, as compared with, say, military displays?	
Representative Team Questions					
South Africa	What were and are the Afrikaans parliamentary ceremonies and rituals, pre- and post-apartheid?	Has there been an Africanization of dress and customs post-1994?	What are MPs, parliamentary workers, and the public’s perceptions and experiences of the spaces, for example, the Chambers by comparison with the new Supreme Court?	What issues are there concerning legitimacy following the dismantling of apartheid, and following recent developments with key politicians?	What is the role of feminist institutionalism in understanding SA Parliament? Policy areas: Should we do a cross-site analysis of one or more policy areas, such as domestic violence?
India	What has been the colonial overhang of British ceremony and ritual in the postcolonial	How are performative disruptions of ceremony and ritual identified on grounds of	Are the practices of marginalisation within the Chamber of the Lok Sabha or	How has the historical configuration of political elites changed in the last decade or so	Power: Do ceremony and ritual shed light on elite discourses of power?

⁴ This table attempts to give an overview of the project’s shared cross-cutting themes (not the overarching ones, which are self-evident), with the first row identifying a set of questions germane to all teams. The rows which follow then given an idea of the more specific questions within each theme that individual teams wish to pursue. These questions are, of course, just examples, not exhaustive of the subject area. The right-most column indicates issues that we felt were either not fully captured within the four shared categories, or are of particular interest to one of the teams.

	Indian parliament?	caste?	the Rajya Sabha exacerbated or diminished in other parliamentary spaces?	(e.g. rise of Hindutva; fragmentation and democratisation of party politics; coalition politics)?	
United Kingdom	How does Scottish and Welsh devolution affect ceremony and ritual in Westminster?	What is the impact of Irish, Scottish, Welsh, and English identities on ceremony and ritual in parliament? How do these intersect with other social characteristics?	How are parliamentary spaces experienced and challenged by those who inhabit them? Does this differ for different occupational groups – e.g. housekeepers, officers, or MPs?	What relationship is there – if any – between parliamentary traditions and ceremonies and public (dis)engagement with politics?	Spectacle and costume (e.g. parliamentary dress codes and costumes, for cleaners, clerks, and MPs) Behaviour: How do dominant notions of appropriate behaviour affect the representativeness of legislatures?