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**The Debate over the Future of the British
Monarchy in Selected Newspapers**

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Prohlašuji, že jsem práci zpracovala samostatně a použila jen uvedených pramenů a literatury.

Plzeň, duben 2017

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Poděkování

Mé poděkování patří PhDr. Alici Tihelkové, Ph.D.za odborné vedení, trpělivost a ochotu, kterou mi v průběhu zpracování bakalářské práce věnovala.

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1 INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of the thesis is to analyze the way in which modern British media depict the future of the British monarchy. It is assumed that the newspaper coverage may be either republican-leaning, which presumes that it supports the idea of the abolition of the monarchy, or conservative-leaning, with the aim of providing arguments in favor of the monarchy and the Royal Family. Thus, another objective of the thesis is to establish whether the framing in the selected newspapers varies according to their political inclination. The final objective of this Bachelor thesis is to examine the framing techniques used by British media to depict the heir apparent, Prince Charles, and his son, Prince William, when dealing with the succession controversy.

The thesis is divided into two parts: the theoretical part and the research part. The first part introduces general information concerning the British monarchy, the media in the United Kingdom and also comprises relevant information on media research. The main sources for this part are monographs and publications which provide material about the history and the politics of the United Kingdom, some of them include *Who runs this place?* by Anthony Sampson, *British Politics Today* by Bill Jones and also *The Queen* by Ben Pimlott. Internet sources were also used in the theoretical part of the thesis, for example the website of the UK Parliament which contains the most recent legal documents regarding the role of the monarchy in the British politics.

The purpose of the research part of this thesis is to analyze the agenda setting and the framing techniques used by various newspapers

across the UK. This part is divided into three parts in order to examine the approach of British media to different topics and issues regarding the Royal Family. The first part deals with the image of the Royal Family, discussing public appearances of the members of the Royal Family and quoting opinions given by the Britons themselves. The second part analyzes the attitudes of the selected newspapers towards republicanism in the UK. The objective of this part is to learn whether media put on their agenda the question concerning the idea of the abolition of the monarchy. The final part addresses the controversy regarding the succession line, which arisen due to the fact that the approval rating of Prince William tends to be somewhat higher than the one of Prince Charles.

The main sources for the final part of the thesis are online platforms of selected newspapers or journals such as *The Sun*, *The Daily Express*, *The Guardian*, *The Telegraph* and *Spiked*. The classification of British newspapers, which is also mentioned in the theoretical part, served as a basis for the abovementioned selection; therefore the newspapers of different categories are introduced in this part. *The Sun* and *The Daily Express* represent tabloids, *The Guardian* and *The Telegraph* represent broadsheets and *Spiked* represents online-only newspaper which is also seen as an alternative media source. Another reason why the author has chosen those newspapers is connected with their political inclination and presumed bias. In that way, sources covering all categories and political spheres are present in this part.

2 THE BRITISH MONARCHY

2.1 The definition of monarchy

Monarchy is a form of government where the sovereign power fully or partially belongs to monarch (king/tsar/emperor/sheik/sultan, etc), who usually inherits it and either passes it as an inheritance or nominates a person who will become their successor. [1]

There are one hundred and ninety five states in the world and only forty three of them are monarchies. Modern monarchy is encountered in different forms. There are ones where a monarch has supreme power (Vatican, Brunei, Oman, UAE, Swaziland and Saudi Arabia) and variants present in Europe, which are considered to be more democratic. Thus, there are two types of monarchy: absolute and constitutional. [2], [3]

In the absolute monarchy legislature is formed and exercised by a sovereign, who is not amenable to any sanction. In the constitutional monarchy the power of a sovereign is limited and the separation of powers is present with a parliament in legislative branch, the courts in adjudicative branch and ministers in the field of administration. [4]

2.2 Constitutional monarchy in the UK

The history of British monarchy starts in the eleventh century with the emergence of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Wessex. It represented a powerful institution with a monarch acting as a sovereign whose power was unlimited. In the thirteenth century King John encountered a number of conflicts which resulted in losing British territories in France. These

events led to the subscription of Magna Carta., a document which placed legislature above the monarchy and implemented limitations on its power and is nowadays considered to be the basis of modern British democracy.

[5] [6]

Since then a significant amount of laws have been passed that limited the monarchy to an even greater extent. The Bill of Rights of 1689, which was accepted after the Glorious Revolution, imposed more restrictions on the monarchy and secured the position of the Parliament. It deprived the monarch of such rights as suspending laws, levying taxes and forming a regular army. [7]

Therefore, by 2017, the power of the monarch has become mostly representative. The Queen performs ceremonial duties which have significant cultural role in modern English society. The Queen takes part in annual ceremony of the Parliament opening, meets the Prime Minister every week, receives foreign ambassadors and delegates, and makes official visits to countries in order to maintain diplomatic and economic relations.

A substantial amount of Her Majesty's official duties or "the royal prerogative" is only executed de jure, after a consultation with the Prime Minister and with the Cabinet of the United Kingdom who are accountable to the House of Commons. While de jure monarch has the right to appoint the Prime Minister, de facto they are heads of the party which gained majority in the Parliament. In case none of the parties did, the Queen will appoint appoints the Minister herself. She used this prerogative only once in 1974 when she chose Harold Wilson to be the Prime Minister. Actual

legislature implies that the Queen summons and dissolves the Parliament, but this process is controlled by the Parliament Act of 1911, which states that the Parliament is elected for a five-year period and is automatically dissolved afterwards.

The monarch in the United Kingdom is sworn allegiance, the image of the Queen can be found on banknotes, coins and post stamps, country's anthem is "God, save the Queen". The reigning monarch is a head of Royal military forces and has a prerogative to declare wars and make peace, sign and ratify international agreements.

Nevertheless, it is important to mention the Royal Assent and the Queen's Consent. The difference between two methods lies in the fact that while the Royal Assent is a mandatory agreement required for the bill to become a law and represents nothing but a legal formality as the monarch has not rejected the Royal Assent since 1707 [8], the Queen's Consent is required in case the bill affects the Crown and has been implemented in 1999 when Parliament suggested to take military action against Iraq. Based on that, one may conclude that the monarchy in the United Kingdom has power to veto some of parliamentary bills. In relation to it, the report was published by Political and Constitutional reform committee in 2014. It discusses the impact the Queen's Consent has on legislature and is critical of it as, according to some speakers, the monarch should have no role in legislative process. [9]

2.3 The Royal Family

The Royal Family are individuals who stand in the line of succession to the throne determined by The Act of Union in 1800.

According to the Act, the throne is inherited by a first child with male priority. The Act of Settlement of 1701 not only prevented Roman Catholics from becoming monarchs, but it also prohibited Anglicans whose spouse is a Catholic to reign in the country.

However, on the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting held in 2011 in Perth, Australia, David Cameron suggested reforming the existing rules of succession in order to eliminate sex and religious discrimination. In December 2012 new law has been approved by Commonwealth countries. Nowadays the line of succession is defined by the Succession to the throne Act of 2013, is determined by seniority and does not exclude the members of the Royal Family who are married to Roman Catholics. [10]

2.3.1 The Queen

Elizabeth II was born on 21st of April in 1926 in London. She was named in honor of her mother, Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon. She became an heir presumptive after the abdication of Edward VIII and her father becoming King George VI. That meant that if King George VI later had had a son, he would have inherited the throne.

In 1947 Elizabeth married Phillip Mountbatten, who was an officer within the British fleet. To marry Elizabeth, Phillip became a naturalized subject of the UK, accepted Anglicanism and rejected the titles of Danish royal family. Instead he was given the titles of Duke of Edinburgh, Earl of Merioneth and Baron Greenwich. [11]

When King George VI's died the couple was travelling in Kenya.

Elizabeth returned to the United Kingdom as Queen Elizabeth II. The coronation ceremony was the first one to be broadcasted on television and happened on 2nd of June in 1953. The first person to pledge allegiance to her was her husband – Duke of Edinburgh.[12]

The title of the Queen differs from country to country. For the United Kingdom and North Ireland it is as follows:

Elizabeth the Second, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of Her other Realms and Territories Queen, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith.

They have four children: Prince Charles, Princess Anna, Prince Andrew and Prince Edward.

The Queen's family encountered many hardships and aroused a great deal of media interference in 1980s when Prince Charles married Diana Spencer who incited the attention of media to her private life. The Princess of Wales collaborated with Andrew Morton, who later published a book with an insight into the life of the Royal Family: "*Diana: Her True Story*". Along with the book, in August 1992 media published recorded dialogues between the Princess of Wales and James Gilbey and a transcript of Prince of Wales's intimate calls in November, which exposed the monarchy to public scrutiny. [13] Despite the past hardships, Elizabeth II still evokes public fascination and maintains high levels of approval. On the year of her Diamond Jubilee the monarchy showed 80% of approval as published in *the Telegraph*. [14] According to Anthony Sampson, people can identify with the Queen as with "a working mother with a demanding job, a dysfunctional family and tiresome relations". In

the 21st century, when every politician is asked to be as transparent and accountable as possible, she maintains a neutral image and never tells her views in obedience to constitution, but is respected and considered as an embodiment of the whole nation [15].

2.3.2 Prince Charles

Prince Charles was born on 14th of November 1948. His full name is Charles Phillip George Mountbatten-Windsor. He was given the title of Prince of Edinburgh when he was born, but later, when his mother Elizabeth was crowned, he was granted the title of Duke of Cornwall. He is the heir to the British throne, field marshal, fleet admiral and marshal of Royal Air Force.

On 29th of July 1981 he married Diana Spencer, who gave birth to Prince William and Prince Harry. On 9th of April 2005 he married for the second time. The relationship between Prince Charles and his spouse Camilla Parker Bowles attracted the attention of media and were criticized, which made them opt for a civil marriage.

Charles is engaged in charity work and is a head of more than 350 charity organizations covering such issues as protection of the environment and agriculture.

Prince Charles has spent the majority of his life as an apparent heir to the throne waiting to become King Charles III. His views are considered to be different from traditional values of politicians and citizens. He does not hesitate to express his opinion about any matter. He considers himself popular within ordinary people as “his views could be

refreshing”. His private life including the marriage with Diana Spenser and subsequent adultery were one of the main targets of British media. In 1992 Andrew Morton published a book “*Diana: Her true story*”, where the Princess reveals information about her relationship with the Royal Family members. Later the media also published his conversations with Camilla Parker-Bowles, his mistress. [16] The couple divorced in December 1992, the year later described by Elizabeth II as “annus horribilis”.

2.3.3 Prince William

Born on 21st of June 1982 in London in Prince Charles and Princess Diana’s family he is the second heir to the throne. His mother insisted that her children were not educated in traditional reserved royal style, but attended a public school in Berkshire.

After graduating from Eton College he took a gap year and devoted himself to royal duties. He visited many third-world countries and organized major charity events. Prince William chose the University of Saint Andrew for his higher education and obtained Master’s degree in geography and achieved excellent academic results. He met his future wife Kate Middleton at university and despite heavy attention and pressure from the media, the couple married in 2011. The event became a public holiday and was discussed by people all around the world. [17], [18]

Prince William left his military service in order to perform royal duties and guard charity organizations. In his interview with BBC News in 2016 Prince William admitted being partially exempted from royal duties and underlined that he prioritizes his family and his children the most. And

although Prince William expressed his readiness to become a (relevant and modern) monarch, he said “I don’t lie awake waiting to be a king”.^[19]

3 BRITAIN'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION

Before analyzing the way in which news is delivered to the public by British papers, it is important to outline recent economic and social changes in the UK as they may have a certain impact.

The reason for this is that there have been major changes in the UK policy as David Cameron's Conservative government defined the elimination of national debt as one of its main objectives. In order to achieve it, the government carried out measures referred to as the "age of austerity" by David Cameron in his speech in 2009. [20] The measures were introduced as a part of the June budget in 2010 and were expected to lead to "cyclically adjusted current balance by the end of the rolling, five-year forecast period". One of the measures involved the reduction of government spending and the increase of taxes including Value Added Tax (VAT) to 20%. [21]

Despite the fact that the policy was due to expire in 2015, after the Brexit referendum and subsequent decision of the United Kingdom to leave the European Union, it has been announced that the measures will remain until 2020s.[22]

In accordance with a case study by Oxfam, the changes, especially the cuts to the welfare budget, resulted in an increase in poverty rates, with more people falling into poverty during the period from 2010 to 2014, as well as in overall unemployment level. The study also underlines the effect which the economic strategies had on women and children, who seem to be affected to a greater degree and the percentage is expected

to grow in later years. [23], [24]

Charity food banks marked the rise of demand throughout recent years. The main reason is considered to be delays in benefit payments, which resulted in people encountering hardship. The government was criticized for not being able to provide people with stable and secure conditions. [25] Consequently, a significant number of riots took place across the country. *BBC News* quoted more than two hundred and fifty thousands of people participated in an anti-cuts march in March 2011, and the same number of discontent citizens participated in the demonstration of June 2015. Furthermore, violent protests occurred after the Queen's speech on State Opening of Parliament in May, 2015. [26], [27], [28]

In the face of the struggling economy and the declining living standards, the monarchy is increasingly criticized by anti-monarchists for its spending. In November 2016 the media covered the need to repair Buckingham palace and quoted an amount of three hundred sixty nine million pounds as a price for work. The majority of the Labour Party reacted negatively and called for the Royal Family to act wisely at a time of austerity. [29], [30]

4 THE BRITISH PRESS

For years, British newspapers had been competing with television broadcasters and eventually prevailed over them in expressing their views on politics and revealing scandalous facts about the life of British celebrities and politicians. As a consequence, the latter group acts more respectfully towards printed media and treats them with caution. [31]

In the 20th century, the main media outlets included *the Express*, *the Mail*, *the Times*, *the Observer*, *the Daily Telegraph* and *the Sunday Times*. All of them were owned by a few people, the most outstanding of whom were press barons Lord Beaverbrook, Lord Rothermere, the Astor family and the Berry brothers. [32]

According to the National Readership Survey, over seventy percent of the press is concentrated in the hands of major corporations and billionaires, with more than fifty percent owned by Lord Rothermere and Rupert Murdoch. [33]

The current trend suggests that the newspapers in the United Kingdom are composed of three types of format: tabloids, mid-market and quality newspapers or broadsheets. According to the market overview given at *Newsworks* website, it is estimated that tabloids are more popular than broadsheets. [34] British daily printed newspapers *The Sun* and *The Daily Mirror* are tabloids, which provide shorter articles with a significant amount of images and pictures and little attention to news and analysis. Broadsheets include *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Guardian* and *The Observer*, their content comprises longer and more serious articles, present news and political updates. Broadsheet readers are considered to

be educated middle and upper-middle class readers, while tabloids target working class and lower-working class people. As stated in circulation ranking British tabloid *The Sun* is followed by middle-market newspapers *The Daily Express* and *The Daily Mail*, which both try to entertain and cover news and important events. [35][36][37]

British newspapers are also divided according to their political inclination and values. Due to the fact that newspapers are mainly owned by companies and businessmen, traditionally British press was considered to be pro-Conservative. Nevertheless there has been a minor change during the 1990-s, when under the influence of Tony Blair some newspapers reoriented to New Labour. [38]

Recent statistics showed that the percentage of pro-Conservative newspapers has been increasing since 2000-s and dominates nowadays, with the most popular British tabloid *The Sun* supporting the member of the Conservative party David Cameron in 2009 elections, despite the fact that it supported Labour since 1997. [39]

The Department of Social Sciences of Loughborough University studied the general election in 2010 and shared the findings with *The Independent*. According to the department, the majority of British press strongly supported the Conservative party, although analysts underlined the inconsistency of newspapers in their incline towards one or the other party. Among all the newspapers only *The Daily Mirror* and *The Daily Telegraph* adhered to one party since 1945, supporting the Labour and the Conservative correspondingly. [40]

In 2015 International Business Times analyzed the endorsement

campaigns promoted by British newspapers with highest readership levels and published the results on its website. The research showed that newspapers including *The Sun*, *The Daily Mail*, *the Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent* supported Conservatives, whereas Labour Party was endorsed by *The Guardian* and *The Observer*. [41]

According to the article published in *the Canary* in 2016, Britons consider the newspapers in their country to be “most right-wing and biased”, which has resulted in their growing preference for independent online sources. Due to the rise of online newspapers, print media have started to lose their profits and search for alternative means of financing. Some of instruments include unpaid internships and inclination towards sensational news as opposed to the topics of public concern.[42] A former commentator of *The Telegraph* Peter Osborne mentioned the fact that the newspaper he worked for relies on advertising from corporations in terms of revenue. He also revealed that *The Telegraph* does not prioritize the interests of readers, but acts in a way which is advantageous for its major advertisers. [43] In 2015, the media watchdog organization Media Reform Coalition published a report overviewing the ownership of newspapers and criticizing the concentration of mainstream media ownership in the hands of a few corporations. [44]

Therefore, the number of Britons who trust mainstream media has declined in recent years. A study conducted in 2015 quotes 38 percent, which is 4 percent lower than it was in 2014. [45] Nevertheless, there has been an attempt to contribute to fairer, independent and more pluralistic news. Alternative media in the United Kingdom include newspapers *Red*

Pepper, The Canary, Spiked, Strike! and publishing cooperatives *New International* and *Real media*. The online resources advocate the same values and consider mainstream newspapers to be distorted and not representing wide range of opinion. They are claimed to be non-profit and are mainly funded by readers or editors. [46], [47], [48]

5 MEDIA RESEARCH

In order to provide accurate research into the British newspapers and their articles concerning the future of the British monarchy, it is necessary to introduce the concept of framing and agenda setting.

Agenda setting is the dominance of certain issues over the others in the media. It implies that some topics are covered with a precedence over the others. Framing is a way how the information on the agenda is presented. Media may highlight positive sides of the issue and diminish the relevance of the negative ones or vice versa.

The theory of framing was first introduced by E. Goffman in his work "Frame Analysis". Framing theory suggests that the way the media shapes its information influences the perception of the reader, that is to say how they are going to think about it. Fairhurst and Sarr developed the framing theory and described some of the framing techniques, some of them include: metaphor, stories, tradition, jargons, catch-phrases and contrast. [49]

According to M.R. Johannesen the information may be covered from different points of view and thus influence the way it appears to the reader. The probability that framing will have an impact rises both in case a reader encounters with the topic for the first time and does not have any opinion about it and in case a reader has already formed their opinion about the subject and adheres to it. In the article M.R. Johannesen applies the framing theory in his research of Norwegian media, presents his findings on the topic and gives information about the work he conducted. He also specifies different approaches which can be used in frame

analysis. They are qualitative, quantitative and mixed. [50]

6 THE DEBATE OVER THE FUTURE OF THE BRITISH MONARCHY IN SELECTED NEWSPAPERS

Owing to the fact that the approach of the British media to the Royal Family varies in accordance with their political inclination and the interest of their readers, this chapter will examine the newspaper coverage of selected topics related to the British monarchy.

6.1 The image of the Royal Family

In order to analyze the ideas about the future of the British monarchy, it is also essential to review the articles dealing with the image of the Royal Family at present. For this purpose five newspapers were selected in accordance with their presumable classification. A tabloid (*The Sun*), a middle-market newspaper (*The Daily Express*), two broadsheets (*The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph*) and one representing alternative independent media source (*Spiked*).

6.1.1 *The Sun*

Due to the fact that *The Sun* is described as a tabloid, its agenda is more likely to cover scandalous stories and details of personal lives of celebrities than serious news. Most articles concern royal duties, where the Royals are framed as an assiduous family who are often engaged in charity and other public events. Some of them discuss the Royal Family as patrons for many organizations across the country and are published periodically. Often they do not only highlight the event, but also provide a photo report discussing the attire of royal patrons in details. To illustrate, as Prince William, Kate Middleton and Prince Harry attended an event

devoted to Children's Mental Health week, the statement "Kate Middleton looks radiant in red" was used as a part of the headline. Based on that, it may be concluded that *the Sun* attempted to frame the Duchess of Cambridge not only as a patron for charity, but also as a fashion icon. [51], [52], [53], [54], [55].

A great deal of attention is drawn to relationships between the members of the Royal Family. *The Sun* sometimes analyzes the body language and interaction of the Royal Family members with one another, another essential argument in favor of that claim is that it uses somewhat subjective language to introduce an opinion on some matter. Specifically, the tabloid uses the following headlines to introduce the content: "*Hilarious moment the Queen ticks Wills off on Buckingham palace balcony during RAF flypast*", "*Prince Philip looks unimpressed when Wills plants a kiss on his cheek during visit to his work*".[56], [57].

Recently, the newspaper has put the state of the Queen's and the Duke of Edinburgh's health on its agenda and expressed a great deal of concern about the monarch's well-being. It quoted attendees of the service in church at Sandringham who expressed anxiety and wished the monarch a speedy recovery. [58], [59] After Prince Philip and the Queen had recovered, *the Sun* framed the reigning monarch as "a trooper" due to the fact that she recovered from a heavy cold despite her advanced age. [60]

Generally, the newspaper's coverage of the Royal Family seems to be positive and respectful and does not include any hints of criticism of their position in the British cultural realities.

6.1.2 *The Daily Express*

Despite the fact that *The Daily Express* is seen as a middle-market newspaper which is supposed to provide news and entertainment at the same time, its coverage of the Royal Family seems to be somewhat similar to *The Sun*'s. For instance, similarly to *The Sun* it expressed concerns regarding the Queen's health just after she and Prince Philip had cancelled their travel arrangements because of a sudden sickness. Apparently, the public were troubled by the news, so *The Daily Express* attempted to grant reassurance by publishing many articles concluding that the Queen's health condition was decent and the monarch would be able to attend royal engagements in the nearest future. [61], [62].

The Daily Express uses a somewhat powerful vocabulary to describe the Queen's personality, which may be due to the fact that separate words can evoke a national sentiment in readers. To illustrate, in order to highlight her first public engagement after sickness, journalist Richard Palmer headlined his article "*Perfect in pink: Queen makes first official engagement of the year after sickness*", which is somehow subjective and might impact the readers' perception before they read the article. [63] Similarly, one of *the Daily Express*' articles quotes the Prime Minister Theresa May and her favorable reference in its headline "*Our remarkable Queen' Elizabeth II cannot stop smiling as she celebrates sapphire jubilee*". It is possible to say that the newspaper appears to treat the reigning monarch with respect as it acknowledges the Queen's devotion to the United Kingdom. [64] Likewise, *The Daily Express* evaluates positively the Queen's attire and appearance on the occasions

when the monarch attends engagements and performs royal duties. [65], [66]

Negative framing almost does not appear in the newspaper; however, there are reports dealing with the resentment which the Britons expressed about the costs of the monarchy. One example of this is how Richard Palmer reported that the Royal Family had been accused of not being modest while Britain struggled at the time of austerity. [67] Nevertheless, the report does not seem to have a specific opinion on the matter and thus can be considered purely informative.

6.1.3 *The Guardian*

As mentioned earlier, in 2015 *the Guardian* was considered to be pro-Labour and it seems that this fact has had an impact on the way the newspaper frames the Royal Family nowadays. To illustrate, Rosie Boycott and Joan Smith shared their vision of the monarchy in a discussion which was dedicated to the celebration of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee. According to the journalists, the coverage of the Royal Family in the United Kingdom is not accurate as it does not examine their assets and taxes with sufficient scrutiny. Joan Smith wishes to see the head of state an elected body that would be more approachable than the Queen and would have better insight into human rights and equality. [68]

On the other hand, *the Guardian* acknowledges the Queen's authority and popularity with people and calls her "an icon of an age of relative peace and prosperity". An editorial article "*The Guardian view on the Queen's milestone: look beyond a record-breaking reign*" says one of the Queen's greatest achievements is that she has managed not to allow

the politics to interfere with the monarchy. That aside, it seems to question the future of the monarchy owing to the fact that Prince Charles, in the words of *The Guardian*, does not possess the same personal qualities as the Queen. [69]

In 2014 the broadsheet seemed to take interest in royal spending as it examined a report by the public accounts committee. In the introduction to the article, the author insists that the data should be scrutinized by “those who are after the facts”. It introduces an extract from a conversation between the Labour activist Margaret Hodge and Sir Alan Reid and Mike Stevens who are responsible for the Royal Household. The conversation had not appeared sufficient for *the Guardian*, so deeper analysis was introduced. The broadsheet challenged the popular claim that “the Royal Family is a bargain for Britain” by providing the total revenue which the Buckingham Palace generated in tourism in 2012. [70]

In the same way, Catrine Bennett claims that the Royal Family “aren’t worth tuppence”. According to her, the Royal Household “finessed” the growing costs of the monarchy by stating that the amount which the Britons pay every year is insignificant in comparison with the total monthly expense of each family in the UK. Catrine Bennett considers the allegation inaccurate and frames the members of the Royal Family as individuals whose lifestyle is exceptionally luxurious. [71]

Furthermore, Suzanne Moore approached the problem of austerity and raised the question about the value of the monarchy: “*Why are we subsidizing the Royal Family at a time of gross inequality?*” In a somewhat sarcastic way, she described the hardship the British

experience at the time of “gross inequality and zilch mobility” and expressed annoyance with the Conservative ideology which suggests that people have to accept that “such concentrated wealth is a global trend”. [72]

The sentiment of people is also a subject for debate in *The Guardian*. In one of the articles devoted to Prince William’s and Kate’s wedding, the historian Dominic Sandbrook argues that the percentage of people who oppose the monarchy decreased in comparison with 1997 with a number of people who think that the monarchy is relevant being relatively high nowadays. According to the article, the monarchy will remain present for another 50 years which the author frames negatively as he begins his deduction with “I have bad news for you”. [73] A similar idea has been introduced by Bridie Jabour, who believes that Australia has become increasingly monarchist and estranged from republicanism since 2011. In her speculation, the author accuses Kate Middleton of representing an illusion of functionality and stability to people, hence it seems that the journalist does not approve the fact that Australians prefer “their head of state to be unelected and live on the other side of the world”. [74]

6.1.4 *The Telegraph*

The theoretical part of this thesis deals with the statistics concerning general elections and emphasizes that *The Telegraph* has supported and adhered to the Conservative party since 1945, which has contributed to the fact that a great number of articles in the newspaper depict the Royal Family positively. The broadsheet provided a report

based on a survey on the British monarchy among the Britons which stated that according to the poll, the majority of voters were pro-monarchist, while republican-leaning nationals formed the minority. [75] There was another publication on the occasion of the Queen's 90th birthday, suggesting that her current popularity and high approval rating could be due to her "dignity, diligence and unwavering sense of duty towards the country". *The Daily Telegraph* drew attention to the fact that the monarchy has been "rebranded" since the day of the Queen's Coronation, which could have as well had an impact on the popularity and overall image of the Royal Family. [76]

Similarly to *The Sun* and *The Daily Mail*, the broadsheet covered the state of the Queen's health after the monarch decided not to attend a Sandringham church service. One of the articles which covered the topic provided video materials with comments from British citizens who had expressed support and sympathy to the Queen. The reason for this article may be the fact that some Britons felt anxious about the Queen's health as the monarch celebrated her 90th birthday that year. [77]

The occasion of the Queen's birthday occupied the substantial part of newspaper's agenda with a plenty of articles and interviews published in 2016. For instance, *The Telegraph* explained the reason why the UK monarch has two birthdays and in order to complement the article it created an interactive timeline on its online platform to educate the readers. [78]

The Telegraph's coverage of the Queen's 90th birthday reveals personal and emotional characteristics of the Royal Family members.

Most of it comprises the extracts from the interviews from the “*Our Queen at 90*” ITV documentary which coincided with the occasion. Ashley Gething, the producer and director of the documentary, admitted being surprised by the Queen’s sense of humor and by her work ethic. The director outlines how supportive the Royal Family members have been to the Queen during the entire period of her reign. Marcia Moody noted particularly the guidance which Elizabeth II provides to younger members of the Royal Family, namely Kate Middleton, who said that “She took the time to make sure that I was happy and looked after” during one of the Queen’s engagements in Leicester. *The Daily Telegraph* also published a photo report which aimed to demonstrate the life of the monarch on and off duty. [79] [80] [81]

Similarly to *The Sun* and *The Daily Mail*, a significant amount of *The Telegraph’s* content contains information about Royal Duties. For instance, it reported on the charity event organized by Place2B, where Kate Middleton addressed the participants on the problem of the mental health of children. The newspaper highlighted the fact that the Duchess of Cambridge gave reasons for her interest in the problem and included personal emotional connection in her speech. [82]

Particular attention should be given to the way the newspaper discusses royal expenses. To illustrate, *The Telegraph* informed the public about the Royal Train as a mode of transport which is preferred by the Queen. Despite the fact that the broadsheet quoted the costs of the Royal Train and mentioned the discontent which was expressed by British people, it emphasized the value it represents to the monarch and her

family. Thus, it is possible to suggest that *the Telegraph* frames the Royal Family positively and avoids outspoken criticism. [83]

The Telegraph also investigated the leakages which would occur after politicians would have a private conversation with the monarch. For example, the broadsheet criticized the former Prime Minister David Cameron for “breaching” the protocol as he had said that the Queen expressed joy about the result of the Scottish referendum. Furthermore, there were a number of articles dealing with the recent referendum on the intention of the United Kingdom to leave the European Union owing to the fact *The Sun* claimed that the Queen expressed her viewpoint on the event during a private conversation. The newspaper investigated those issues and framed people who are believed to have been involved in the conflicts in a somewhat negative way. [84][85][86][87]

All things considered, *the Telegraph* seems to advocate conservative values and act defensively with regard to the monarchy and the Queen.

6.1.5 Spiked

Spiked editors define their team as “a fan of reason, liberty, progress, economic growth, choice, conviction and thought experiments about the future” on the website. They claim that they oppose the limits of freedom of speech and advocate the idea that golden age for humankind is in the future.

The newspaper’s policy seems to be reflected in the content which resists the monarchy at an even greater extent in comparison with

abovementioned broadsheet *The Guardian*. To illustrate, when Kensington Palace's statement about Prince Harry's girlfriend, Meghan Markle, who has been abused by the media, was issued *Spiked* described it as "unduly strong" and presumed that it is the right of press to expose the Royal Family to public scrutiny and it is not obliged "to bow and scrape before the royals". Therefore, Prince Harry's attempt to limit the media was framed negatively in the article of Guy Birchall, who headlined it with a somewhat straightforward phrase "*Hands off the press, your Highness*". [88]

Another example is Tim Black's opinion on the Royals, who associates them with celebrities and argues that the way global press portrays the British monarchy has been gradually transforming. According to the author, the monarchy itself has contributed to the change as it has been trying for decades "to find some new, workable source of authority". In his article he argues that image which British press created for the heir to the throne Prince William and his wife Kate Middleton contradicts the traditionalism antecedently ascribed to the monarchy. [89]

Similarly to Tim Black's commentary, Brendan O'Neil, the editor of *Spiked*, criticized the republic-leaning journalists who expressed their discontent with the fact that Kate Middleton's pregnancy evokes a great deal of attention from the Britons. He advocated his opinion by underlining the fact that nowadays the members of the Royal Family are not treated as a supreme source of power, but rather as celebrities. [90]

6.2 Monarchy vs. republic

6.2.1 *The Sun*

With regard to the fact that *The Sun* has been pro-Conservative in recent election campaigns, it should come as no surprise that its agenda comprises mostly conservative views and includes a great deal of information neither about the abolition of the British monarchy, nor about the possibility that Britain might one day become a republic.

Nevertheless, after the announcement concerning a troublesome condition of the Buckingham Palace and after the decision of the government to raise the Sovereign Grant by 15% in order to carry out restoration work, many protestors have signed a petition against it. *The Sun* addressed the problem and reported that anti-Royalists expressed their discontent with the issue and accused the Queen of not having sympathy for those who struggle in the period of austerity. Despite the fact that it also stated that anti-monarchists called for the abolition of the monarchy in the United Kingdom, it did not frame the situation negatively and did not take any side. [91]

It seems reasonable to assume that *The Sun* avoids and consequently does not put the issue on its agenda. And yet it contains informative reports with neither positive, nor negative framing being provided.

6.2.2 *The Daily Express*

After the Queen cancelled some of her Royal Duties due to her

sickness, *The Daily Express* estimated that its readers have become more concerned about her health condition and about what would happen in case the Queen deceases, therefore several authors depicted the possible future of the monarchy. Most of them do not anticipate the United Kingdom to become a republic and do not consider plausible the idea that Prince Charles would abdicate so that Prince William becomes the next sovereign. [92][93][94]

On the other hand, in April 2016 the newspaper approached the problem of the future of the British monarchy differently introducing the viewpoint of a historian Dr. Anne Whitelock. The specialist suggested that the monarchy might not be popular with the Britons after Queen Elizabeth II deceases. Her claim is based on the fact that the main reason for the popularity of the monarchy is the affection for the reigning monarch, but not for the institution itself. Dr. Whitelock anticipates the level of public approval for the Royal Family to decrease in case Prince Charles becomes the King, which in turn may lead to the abolition of the monarchy and "...to Britain becoming a republic". In addition, according to the historian, "the question of the future of the monarchy will become even more pressing" as the younger generation do not have strong loyalty for the monarchy. The same article quoted the recent statistics and, according to the estimates, the majority of questioned people remain in favor of the monarchy.[95]

Nevertheless, *The Daily Express* seems to promote conservative viewpoints and does not prompt much debate about whether the United Kingdom should become a republic and abolish the existing monarchy.

6.2.3 *The Guardian*

The Guardian has a great deal of support for republicanism, which is reflected in the agenda, namely the newspaper's website contains a separate section devoted to republicanism. A major debate was provoked by the need to restore Buckingham Palace, which can be exemplified by Matthew Weaver's opinion. The author discussed people's discontent with the issue and quoted anti-monarchist opinion that the Queen should allow turning the Palace into a museum. [96]

According to Seumas Milne, the monarchy is irrelevant for the United Kingdom. He underlines that if the monarchy had a solely representative role, there would be no reason to raise the question of its abolition. Nevertheless the monarchy retained some power and influence and this, in the words of Seumas Milne, undermines democracy in the state. The journalist also suggests that the monarchy is seen as an embodiment of "social inequality at birth" which needs to be stopped peacefully, namely by conducting elections. [97]

Roy Greenslade commented on an article by *The Spectator* which advocated the relevance of the Queen. The journalist questioned the arguments and criticized the ideas promoted by the newspaper concluding that though it had suggested that the Queen should not abdicate, it had also somehow implied that "she should be the last of her line". [98]

In 2015, the broadsheet made a report on Republic's annual conference where it quoted Graham Smith, the chief executive, who sees the death of monarch not as an opportunity, but rather as a "potential

threat to the movement". His apprehension is based on high approval rating for the monarchy, which, according to the article, equaled 66 percent. Nevertheless, *the Guardian* reports that the attitude of people may change in the future and thus it will strengthen the Republic group in the United Kingdom. [99] Later in 2016 *the Guardian* published an article where Graham Smith supposed that the percentage of people supporting the monarchy is high mostly due to the amount of time the Queen has been reigning over the country. He continues by saying that the Republic is positive about the future and plans to continue its campaign in favor of abdication of the monarchy. [100]

6.2.4 *The Telegraph*

Similarly to *The Daily Express*, *The Telegraph* quoted Dr. Whitelock's opinion on the future of the British monarchy. Nevertheless the broadsheet seemed to be more critical than the tabloid as it analyzed the viewpoint of the historian. According to *The Telegraph*, Dr. Whitelock "gets it wrong" and supports its claim by a number of arguments in favor of the monarchy in the United Kingdom. For instance, it suggests that the British people were "brought up with the monarchy as an extra member of the family" referring to the emotional bind the British citizens may have to the institution. In addition, according to the author, republicanism in the United Kingdom is a movement of minority, which makes the assumed rise of interest towards the abolition of the monarchy doubtful. [101] Also, Nick Allen reported that the United Nations called for the UK to consider a referendum and to question the Britons regarding their willingness to have a written republican constitution. He later quoted a royal source which

not only claimed that people have not yet expressed any interest in a reform, but also stated that the Queen was “a focus for national unity, identity and pride”. [102]

The Telegraph appears to advocate monarchism in the United Kingdom and depict republicanism as a movement which is supported by the minority of the UK and Commonwealth citizens. For instance, Morgan Meaker provided the results of the referenda around Commonwealth on the matter of the abolition of the monarchy, which revealed that most of the countries voted against the idea. [103] In 2008 Mary Kenny, the author of “*Crown and Shamrock: -Love and Hate between Ireland and the British Monarchy*”, confessed to *The Telegraph* that she was annoyed by the fact that the monarchy was being mocked on the BBC and revealed that she “came to appreciate the British monarchy” even though she was raised as a republican. [104] Another publication regarding the Queen’s 90th birthday discussed the value of the monarchy to the United Kingdom, recalling the time when the country became republican in 1600. The article compares the monarchy, which seems to have somewhat “republican sensibilities” and is seen by the author as “the product of trial and error”, to the “imperial-style” presidency in the United States of America. In addition, even though the author acknowledges that the role of the institution of monarchy in the United Kingdom is not “purely symbolic” he or she finishes the speculation with a proclamation “long live the Queen”. [105] Furthermore, Simon Heffer argued that the republican movement in the United Kingdom should not be considered as a threat to the monarchy due to the fact that their leaders are “boring, chippy and irrelevant”. [106]

With regard to the previous part dealing with the image of the Royal Family, it can be concluded that *the Telegraph* seems to be favoring the monarchy and does not consider the impending monarchy abolition plausible.

6.2.5 Spiked

The source provides enough debate on the matter as many materials on the official website outline the irrelevance of the monarchy to modern British society. For instance, a column by Jon Holbrook addressed the litigation between *the Guardian* and the government in order to clarify the extent to which a monarch can interfere in politics in the country. The author recognizes that, according to the constitution, a monarch is required to exercise their power and influence the government; however Jon Holbrook does not seem to be tolerant to the legislature. He proposes that “the hereditary influence on the exercise of power” should be replaced with “power that is assumed and exercised democratically”, which probably indicates that the columnist advocates republican-leaning values. [107]

Spiked notes growing crisis of both monarchism and republicanism in the United Kingdom and Commonwealth, therefore the decision of the majority of Generation Y (*people born after 1980) to vote against republicanism in Australia was not unexpected for the newspaper. Nevertheless, it does not associate this fact with what Brendan O’Neil defined as “monarchist revival”, on the contrary, according to the newspaper it indicates the correlation with celebrity image, which young members of the Royal Family have cultivated for themselves. The author

of “*Will, Kate and the myth of a monarchist revival*” introduces several more reasons for the Australians to reject the republicanism. Firstly, according to the interviewed, the Royals seem more approachable and “normal” than other political figures representing Australia, and secondly, there seems to be little trust to political class, which makes citizens unwilling to abolish the monarchy in the country. [108]

Apart from advocating its beliefs, *Spiked* appears to be observing other journalists in various periodicals across the country, which allows readers to follow the newspaper’s inclination. For example, in a number of articles the newspaper subjects the writers from *The Guardian* and *The Daily Mail* to skepticism and asserts that their views are “pseudo-republican” and do not correlate with the definition of republicanism, which is “trusting the public”. In one of the columns, the editor of *Spiked* Brendan O’Neil reveals his personal view on republicanism: “republicanism is not about sneering, but rather is about engagement, taking ourselves and the public seriously, talking about how society should be run, and by whom”. [109] Similarly, in 2012 *Spiked* quoted some of the observers, who had opposed and criticized the Diamond Jubilee celebrations, and interpreted their words as revealing that “they’re not remotely republican”. *Spiked* enforced its claim by arguments that the Queen and the Royal Family are seen as celebrities and the citizens’ willingness to celebrate has nothing to do with monarchism. The newspaper concluded, “It is entirely possible to be a republican...and to have some fun this Jubilee weekend.” [110]

Another confirmation to the fact that *Spiked* is a republican-leaning

newspaper is recent news about Donald Trump's intention to visit the United Kingdom. In one of his articles, a columnist Tim Black informs the readers about a petition written in order to prevent the US President from making an official state visit as, according to petitioners, "it would embarrass the Queen". The author of the article disagrees with the proposal and says somewhat emphatically that "Better an elected leader than an unelected one". Similar unambiguous statement was made by Naomi Firsht in "*Republicanism is in dire need of repairs*". The journalist announced that it is the viewpoint of *Spiked* that the monarchy should be abolished because "hereditary rulers...should have no place in democracy". [111][112]

6.3 Prince Charles vs. Prince William

6.3.1 *The Sun*

As mentioned, owing to the fact that *The Sun* is a tabloid, it puts a great deal of emphasis on revealing celebrities' personal lives. Therefore the family of Prince William is set as one of the main subject matters of the newspaper's agenda. The tabloid publishes articles illustrating the approach of his family towards Royal Duties, where Prince William is mostly framed as an indefatigable individual who manages his Duties with consistency and humanity. [113] *The Sun* is inclined to highlight Prince William's positive personal qualities and promote him and his spouse as reputable members of the Royal Family. [114]

To illustrate, his visit to Centrepoint homeless hostel in Northolt is framed as a sentimental event as, according to the article, Prince William might have a personal bond with the place since his mother, Princess

Diana, acted as a patron of the hostel. [115] Similarly, the headline for William's and Kate's charity visit at the Child Bereavement UK Centre communicates the emotional part involved in Prince William's Royal Duties and demonstrates the approving attitude of the newspaper: *"I LOST MY MUMMY WHEN I WAS VERY YOUNG TOO' Prince William speaks movingly about Princess Diana's death as he comforts girl, 9, whose dad died from cancer during royal visit to bereavement centre."* [116]

The Sun notes the similarity between Prince William and Princess Diana in their ability to communicate with people and frames it positively. According to the article published on 26th of August, people appreciate him being emotionally related and sincere: "Sharing this sort of personal information is what his mum used to do. It made us identify with her and see her as a real person." [117]

The newspaper provides the same framing, reporting on the Kate Middleton's and Prince William's visit to a youth mental health charity, where, in a dialog with volunteers the Duke of Cambridge mentioned the impact his job as a pilot for air ambulance had on him emotionally. In addition, the report says "the royal couple had seemed "passionate" about child mental health", which again frames Prince William as a sympathetic individual who is involved in his Royal Duties both physically and mentally. [118]

The positive portrayal of Prince William somewhat overbalances the one which criticizes him. Yet there are some journalists who have doubts concerning the amount of Prince William's engagements in public

events. For instance, one of *the Sun's* articles quotes statistics based on which the author noted that the family of Prince William does not take as much Royal Duties as Prince Charles did at the same age. [119] Moreover, the latter article on the Duke of Cambridge's family which discussed his resignation from the job as a pilot for an air ambulance and taking more of Royal Duties appears to frame the decision positively. It is the newspaper's view that Prince William is likely to help the Queen by the resignation. [120]

Unlike the Duke of Cambridge, Prince Charles is framed as an unwanted future monarch and is occasionally being ridiculed by authors. Namely the article by James Delingpole where the author poses a rhetorical question with a somewhat ironic reference: "What does the Prince of Wales most want to be when he finally grows up: A half-baked political activist or a halfway decent king?"[121]

The new book about global warming written by Prince Charles is as well put on *the Sun's* recent agenda; however the attitude of the newspaper appears to be somewhat skeptical. One of the examples is Jeremy Clarkson's review from January 2017. The columnist challenges the Prince Charles' ideas and believes that Prince Charles "...doesn't seem to have got the comedy angle at all." [122] To give another example, *the Sun* presents its own imaginative version of a Ladybird style book about Prince Charles, where the future monarch is depicted as a subject for derision. [123]

Nevertheless, *the Sun* appreciates the Duke of Wales' engagement in Royal Duties, such as sowing seeds for a windflower in Green Park,

London. The tabloid noted his contribution to the restoration of wildlife in the city. [124]

The tabloid occasionally publishes relatively neutral articles, for instance *The Sun's* journalist Jennifer Hale published a report dealing with the Prince Charles' speech on "Thought of the Day" programme. The journalist quoted the future monarch's view on religious persecution and complemented the text by stating "... and wants (Prince Charles) to be seen as a "Defender of Faiths", not just a "Defender of Faith" when he becomes the supreme governor of the Church of England". [125]

To sum it up, although *the Sun* does not provide outspoken discussion of the question whether Prince William is a more wanted future monarch than Prince Charles, the Duke of Cambridge is put on the agenda more often and is framed more positively than the Duke of Wales.

6.3.2 *The Daily Express*

Unlike *the Sun*, *the Daily Express* does not tend to use ironic references in headlines, but focuses more on presenting serious news. For instance, the publication dealing with Prince Charles' activities as a patron lacks subjectivity and evaluates his contribution as a speaker for human rights, namely religious freedom. [126][127][128]

The Daily Express does not appear to favor one or the other heir to the throne and equally places Prince Charles and Prince William on its agenda. Public appearances and participation of both heirs to the throne in various events around the country seem to be the core of the newspaper's agenda.

However *The Daily Express* discusses the problem of who should become the next monarch more explicitly than *the Sun* does. The journalist Reiss Smith's article "*Will Charles be king? Or he step aside for William after the Queen?*" recognizes the controversy of the issue. To support his speculation, the author cites the results of a recent survey on the personal ratings of the Royal Family. According to the article, some argue that Prince Charles's abdication would have better impact on the monarchy due to the fact that Prince William's approval rating is considerably higher than the one of Prince Charles. Nevertheless, the author questions the probability that Prince Charles may abdicate so that Prince William becomes the King, as it will interrupt the succession line and "break with royal protocol".[129]

6.3.3 *The Guardian*

Generally, the newspaper is republican-leaning, and thus does not give clear preference to any of the heirs to the throne.

Nevertheless *the Guardian* discussed the extent to which Prince Charles had attempted to influence the politics in the country with so-called 'black spider' memos. According to Nick Cohen, the Prince is "woefully unqualified" for the role of the monarch because of his apparent partiality. The journalist compared Prince Charles to a "politician running for office" and supported the viewpoint by quoting some of Prince's aides who had not rejected the accusations and had said that King Charles would "reshape the monarch's role" and "make heartfelt interventions". The author does not believe it is appropriate and remembers the occasions on which Prince Charles intervened into various fields in

politics. [130] The topic was raised again in April by Robert Booth, who discussed the upcoming publication of the Prince Charles' letters to ministers. According to the author, the occasion may result in that more people could be in favor of Prince William "leapfrogging his father to the throne". The journalist adds that at that moment 31% of people would prefer Prince William to succeed the Queen on the throne. [131]

After the letters of Prince Charles, also named 'black spider' memos, had been published, the Guardian again attracted the attention of its readers to the issue. The review by Robert Booth and Matthew Taylor argued that the memos appear to be a sufficient evidence of what the journalists called "lobbying at highest political level". [132]

On the other hand, there was a number of articles published on the occasion of Prince Charles' 65th birthday most of which analyzed his affairs as the heir apparent and provided some insight into his possible future as the UK monarch. Despite the fact that a considerable amount of publications in *the Guardian* seem to frame the Duke of Wales either critically or negatively, reporters were less biased towards him on this occasion. For instance, Jonathan Dimbleby begins his article by listing personal qualities of the heir and concludes that all of them make him "a human being". The journalist continues by admitting that despite the hardships in the past, Prince Charles seems to be "at least on the right track". The statement is followed by the analysis of his engagements in charities, his views on controversial issues which are raised in the international community and the assumption that when Prince Charles becomes the King, he will be respected and listened to by politicians.

Another article by Esther Addley and Rob Evans matches the opinion by Jonathan Dimbleby and presumes that even though some may be skeptical about the Prince's views on certain issues, it is possible that they could alter their mind "20 years later". [133] [134]

Nevertheless the framing which is critical of the Duke of Wales dominates on the agenda of *the Guardian*. The journalists Katharine Whitehorn, Simon Jenkins and Mary Dejevsky argued that though Prince Charles appears to be "opinionated", his views and suggestions may be neither followed, nor taken into account. The views of the heir to the throne are called "insignificant", while Prince Charles himself, according to the abovementioned journalists, is "a constitutional nonentity", whose interventions do not appear to have any impact on the British politics. [135][136][137]

Provided that *the Guardian* is more likely to put the question of the abolition of the monarchy on its agenda than to encourage the debate on whether Prince Charles should abdicate in favor of Prince William, the journalists frame the Duke of Cambridge with equal skepticism and scrutiny. As an example, Victoria Coren Mitchel argues that Prince William is a "successful royal", "uncontroversial" and "undislikable" somewhat sarcastically. This is due to the fact that, according to the journalist, Prince's opinions are "featureless" and may reflect the views of political campaigners, which is "to his credit". [138]

Ken Wharte argued that Prince William seemed hypocritical due to the fact that he had promoted the removal of all the ivory artifacts from the royal palaces and later attended a hunting event together with Prince

Harry and the Duke of Westminster. The author called for consistency which Prince William is supposed to adhere to if he intends to protect endangered species. [139]

Apart from that *the Guardian* deals with the impact which the image of Prince William's family seems to have on observers. It is believed that the image implies that the royal couple is seen by the public as a middle-class family which they can identify with. However, according to the newspaper, this can be regarded as the delusion which the Royal Family utilizes in order to avoid public resentment. The authors of "*William and Kate just like us? We'd prefer them to act like royals*" and "*Kate and William: royals living the dream of modern middle class parents?*" advocate the idea that Prince William and his wife, Kate Middleton, "live in a parallel universe" and "The disguise is not convincing." In addition, the broadsheet advocated that Prince William should take more Royal Duties instead of volunteering his services as a pilot for an air ambulance as, in the words of Ken Wharthe, despite the Duke of Cambridge desire to be seen to be normal, the kind of job he had chosen is "a task far from normal".[140][141][142]

6.4.4 *The Telegraph*

The newspaper's framing of Prince Charles appears to be positive through a continuous period of time. To illustrate, the revelation of so-called 'black spider' memos did not provoke the same reaction as, for instance, it did in *the Guardian*, and the arguments to the contrary were introduced. In 2015, when the memos were finally revealed under the initiative of the republican-leaning broadsheet *The Guardian*, *The*

Telegraph opted for another type of framing, examining the issue from the opposite perspective. It framed Prince Charles as a conscious person who seems to treat his future as a monarch with a great deal of responsibility and earnest. A brief summary of the Prince's letters to the ministers was provided presumably in order to help readers to obtain an insight on the issues which were addressed by the Duke of Wales. [143] Eleanor Steafel calls Prince Charles "charming" while overviewing some of the his letters which involved concerns about such controversies as the plight of Patagonian fish, recognition of the historical importance of a part of Smithfield Market and alternative medicine. It seems that the author wants to emphasize the insignificance of the 'black spider' memos and the irrelevance of the claim of *The Guardian* that Prince Charles is "meddling" in the politics. [144] Additionally, Andrew Roberts anticipated *The Guardian* to feel "foolish" due to the fact that the memos did not appear "sensational", but rather "worthy, respectable, responsible and even somewhat mundane". [145]

The question of succession also seems to concern the newspaper as reports on approval ratings emerge on the agenda somewhat frequently. There are several journalists who challenged the deduction, which was based on the results of polls, suggesting that Prince William could become the next monarch, including Urmee Khan in 2008, Andrew Pierce in 2008 and 2009, Andrew Anderson and Roya Nikkhah in 2010, Andy Bloxham in 2011 and Penny Junor in 2013. In order to analyze the attitude of *The Telegraph* towards the Duke of Wales it seems worth to notice how the mood has been changing through the time period from 2008 and 2013. For example, in 2008, the year which is notable due to

the fact that Prince Charles' 60th birthday, Andrew Pierce introduced the idea that Prince Charles "may never be King Charles". The article suggests that Prince Charles is indeed concerned about the issues which he publicly addresses and that despite the fact that he is aware of the derision of people, he adheres to his beliefs. In addition, the author covers most of the Prince's activities including charities, the effort to tackle climate change and change the world to the best. [146] Later the results of a recent poll were provided and it appeared that Prince Charles would be a more popular king than his son, Prince William. It also noticed a positive change in the attitude of the British towards the heir to the throne with less people supporting him in 2005. [147]

In 2010 *The Telegraph* dealt with the public concern that Prince William had been said to be attempting to precede his father on the throne with a number of articles quoted the royal aides who denied the speculation. According to the authors, Prince William has not conveyed any wish to become the next monarch so far and is extremely supportive of his father's affairs. [148][149]

There were more findings based on the polls in 2011 which analyzed the support of the Britons to particular family members and controversies connected with the line of succession. More people expressed support to the Duke of Wales as the next monarch than to the Duke of Cambridge. The newspaper supposed that the reason for this may be that, due to Prince William's upcoming wedding, more citizens would want him to "enjoy some years of as-normal-as-possible life with Kate". [150]

The figure of Prince William appears on the newspaper's agenda frequently with most journalist expressing support for him. *The Telegraph* dispels the myth that Prince William is “work-shy” in a number of articles describing his affairs both as a patron for many charity organizations and as a pilot for an air ambulance. The journalists tend to justify smaller number of public engagements of Prince William by emphasizing that the Duke of Cambridge has recently become a father and places his children first because of his own childhood had been “tremendously difficult”. According to the newspaper, Prince William does not want the same difficulties for his children. [151] One of the authors claims that the way how Prince William has overcome the hardships of the past is remarkable and not every individual is capable to deal with similar situations as he did. [152] In that way the broadsheet probably defends Prince William from public criticism. Furthermore, Neil Lyndon proclaims the Duke of Cambridge “the perfect role model” listing possible arguments to support his claim. [153]

Nevertheless, *The Telegraph* does not promote Prince William as the next monarch and adheres to the succession line which, in the words of the newspaper, is a symbol of “the remarkable stability of the monarchy”. Telegraph View acknowledges that Prince Charles' reign may differ from that of the Queen; however it does not view this as an unfavorable outcome. On the contrary, *The Telegraph* advocates that the best course for the Duke of Wales may be that he remains faithful to his own values. [154]

6.5.5 Spiked

It seems reasonable to conclude on the basis of two previous parts that *Spiked* is a republican-leaning newspaper and does not question whether Prince Charles or Prince William should become the next monarch. On the contrary, it is more likely to encourage readers to consider the abolition of the monarchy.

On the other hand, the newspaper often compiles material concerning environmental issues and therefore discusses Prince Charles' participation in debates over climate change. Nevertheless, apparently the debate over the issue does not occupy significant space on *Spiked's* agenda. To illustrate, while Jacob Feredi conveyed disappointment about the Duke of Wales' new book as, in his words, it might be predictable, Rob Lyons called Prince Charles "His Royal Hystericalness". The abovementioned probably suggests the journalists assume that the arguments of Prince Charles are exaggerated and should not be taken with earnest. [155][156]

Previous part discussed the celebrity image of young members of the Royal Family, in particular of Prince William and his spouse, Kate Middleton. For this reason, many articles on *Spiked's* online platform claim that the couple should be regarded as celebrities, and the fear of some British periodicals that the interest of the public may be explained as growing monarchist movement is not feasible.

All things considered, *Spiked* defends the abolition of the monarchy, promotes democratic values and frames the Royal Family as irrelevant for the future of the United Kingdom.

7 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis was to analyze the attitude of selected newspapers towards the future of the British monarchy, that is to say to examine the agenda setting and framing used by different UK newspapers.

The first part provided relevant information concerning the question of the future of the British monarchy. Many aspects were presented which allow us to understand the background of the problem. The statistics showed that media is relatively biased in the UK with some newspapers adhering to one party during election campaigns. The first part also described the current socio-economic situation in the UK which seems to have influenced the agenda setting of media sources.

The second part analyzed five newspapers each of whom were selected based on its assumed political inclination. The analysis demonstrated that the approach to the problem of the British monarchy differs in tabloids and broadsheets as well as in republican-leaning and conservative-leaning newspapers. According to the the research conducted, tabloids tend to deliver scandals and pay little to no attention to serious news in their agenda. The situation is opposite in broadsheets with many articles discussing current events in detail and providing arguments in favor or against it. The analysis also showed that conservative-leaning newspapers such as *The Daily Express*, *The Sun* and *The Telegraph* express a great deal of support towards the Royal family. The publications concerning the criticism of the Royal family do occur, but they are usually presented as reports and do not provide any

subjective opinion. On the other hand, republican-leaning newspapers frame the British family negatively and argue that the monarchy in the United Kingdom will cease to exist in the future.

Nevertheless, the media in the United Kingdom approach the succession issue in a similar manner. Even though some criticize Prince Charles for certain reasons, most newspapers agree that Prince William should not become the next monarch as it goes against the protocol which needs to be observed by the monarchy.

All things considered, it is possible to acknowledge that the topic of the thesis appears to be somewhat controversial, leaving ample space for further and more in-depth future research.

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8 ABSTRACT

The objective of the Bachelor thesis is to analyze the coverage of the future of the British monarchy in selected newspapers and journals and to elicit possible media bias in them.

The thesis is comprised of two main parts: the theoretical part and the research part. The first part deals with terms relevant to the topic, discusses the socio-economic background of the UK and quotes statistical data regarding the media in the country. The second part analyzes different media sources in accordance with their political inclination and categorization. These sources include *The Sun*, *The Daily Express*, *The Guardian*, *The Telegraph* and *Spiked*. The research is divided into three subparts each of them evaluating different aspects connected with the future of the British monarchy. They include the image of the Royal Family nowadays, the question of whether the UK should become a republic and the controversy regarding the succession line and whether Prince William or Prince Charles should succeed the Queen.

9 RESUMÉ

Cílem této bakalářské práce je analyzovat téma budoucnosti britské monarchie ve vybraných časopisech a zjistit zdá média straní určitému názoru.

Práce se skládá ze dvou hlavních částí: teoretické a výzkumné. První část se zabývá relevantními pojmy, diskutuje o sociálně ekonomickém pozadí Spojeného království a uvádí statistické údaje tykající se médií v zemi. Druhá část analyzuje různé zdroje medií v souvislosti s jejich politickými sklony a kategorizaci. Tyto zdroje jsou *The Sun*, *The Daily Express*, *The Guardian*, *The Telegraph* and *Spiked*. Výzkum je rozdělen do třech částí, každá hodnotí různé aspekty spojené s budoucností britské monarchie. Patří mezi ně obraz královské rodiny v dnešní době, otázka, zda Spojené království by se mělo stát republikou a otázka nástupnictví a zda Princ William nebo Princ Charles by měl nastoupit po Královně.

11 APPENDICES

11.1 Budget 2010¹

At this time of rapidly rising debt, the fiscal mandate will be supplemented by a **target for public sector net debt as a percentage of GDP to be falling at a fixed date of 2015-16**, ensuring that the public finances are restored to a sustainable path.

This Budget takes urgent action to eliminate the bulk of the structural deficit through **plans for additional consolidation of £40 billion per year by 2014-15**. These plans include:

- **£32 billion per year by 2014-15 from spending reductions**. This includes £30 billion of current spending reductions and no further reductions in capital spending beyond those already announced. **The Budget announces the Spending Review will be on 20 October 2010;**
- **as part of these spending reductions, the Budget announces £11 billion of welfare reform savings** designed to reward work and protect the most vulnerable, including adopting the Consumer Prices Index for the indexation of benefits, tax credits and public service pensions from April 2011. **The Budget also announces a two year freeze in public sector pay, except for those earning less than £21,000 a year;** and
- **£8 billion per year from net tax increases. This includes an increase in the main standard rate of Value Added Tax (VAT) to 20 per cent and the standard and higher rate of Insurance Premium Tax (IPT) to 6 per cent and 20 per cent from 4 January 2011.**

By 2014-15, 80 per cent of the additional consolidation measures set out in this Budget will be delivered through spending reductions.

The Budget and the plans the Government inherited represent a total consolidation of £113 billion per year by 2014-15 and £128 billion per year by 2015-16, of which £99 billion per year comes from spending reductions and £29 billion per year from net tax increases. By 2015-16, 77 per cent of the total consolidation will be delivered through spending reductions.

As a result of the action the Government is taking, the OBR projects in its Budget forecast that:

- public sector net borrowing will decline to 1.1 per cent of GDP in 2015-16;
- the structural current deficit will be eliminated by 2014-15, with a projected surplus of 0.8 per cent of GDP in 2015-16; and
- public sector net debt will peak at 70.3 per cent of GDP in 2013-14, before declining to 67.4 per cent of GDP in 2015-16.

The OBR's judgement is that the policies set out in this Budget are consistent with a greater than 50 per cent chance of achieving the Government's fiscal mandate and target for debt. The OBR's central forecasts also show the mandate and debt target being met a year early in 2014-15.

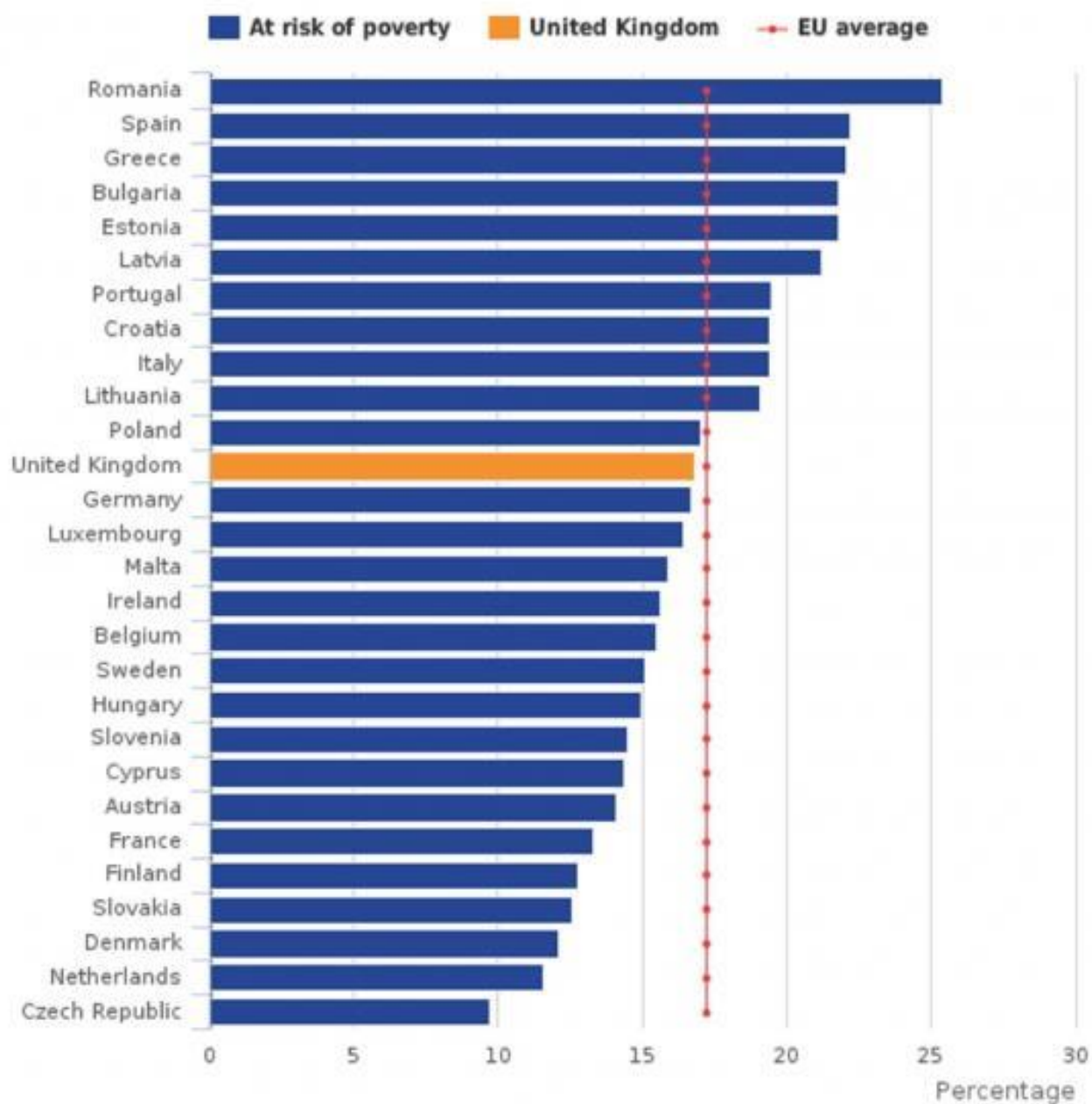
The first section of Chapter 1 describes the source of the imbalances in the UK economy and the scale of the economic and fiscal challenge the country faces. It sets out the Government's fiscal plans in more detail.

Freedom: enterprise

The second element to rebalancing the economy is creating the conditions for enterprise and sustainable growth. If growth is to be sustainable, it needs to be based on an expansion in the private sector, not the public sector, and businesses across all regions and industries need the right conditions to be able to grow.

¹ Government UK [online] Available from: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/248096/0061.pdf [Retrieved 17 January 2017]

11.2 UK Poverty charts²



² Independent [online] Available from: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/business/news/uk-poverty-the-charts-that-show-the-true-state-of-low-income-britain-a7031666.html> [Retrieved 18 January 2017]

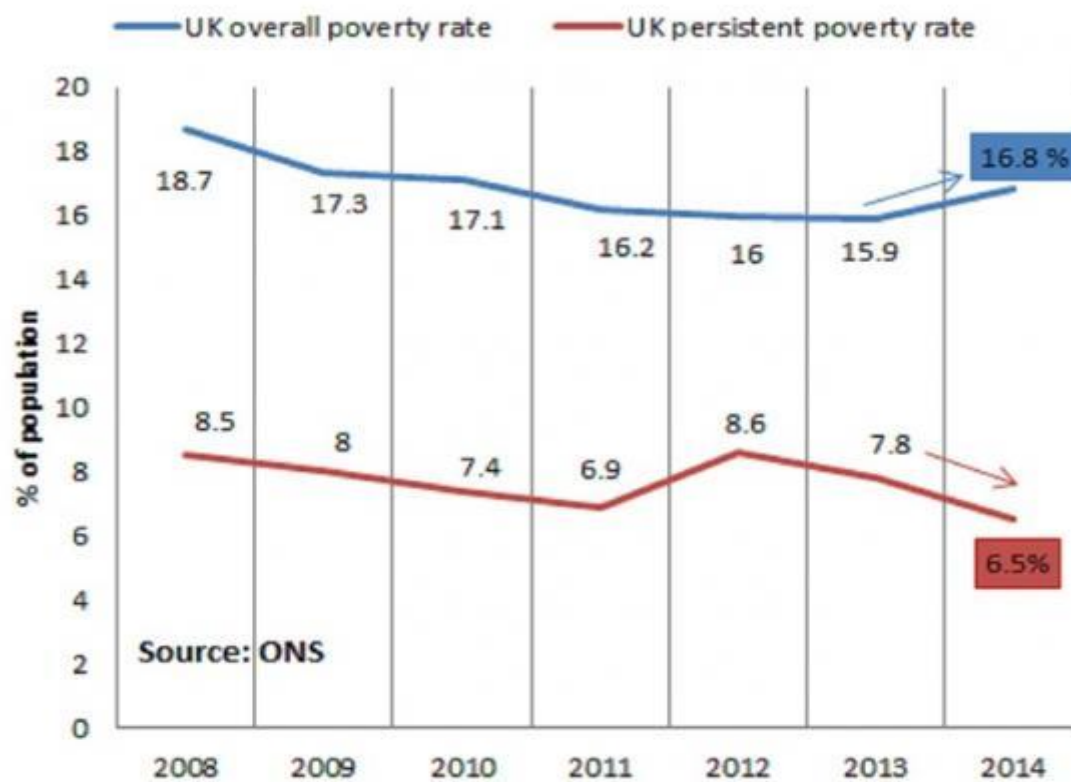
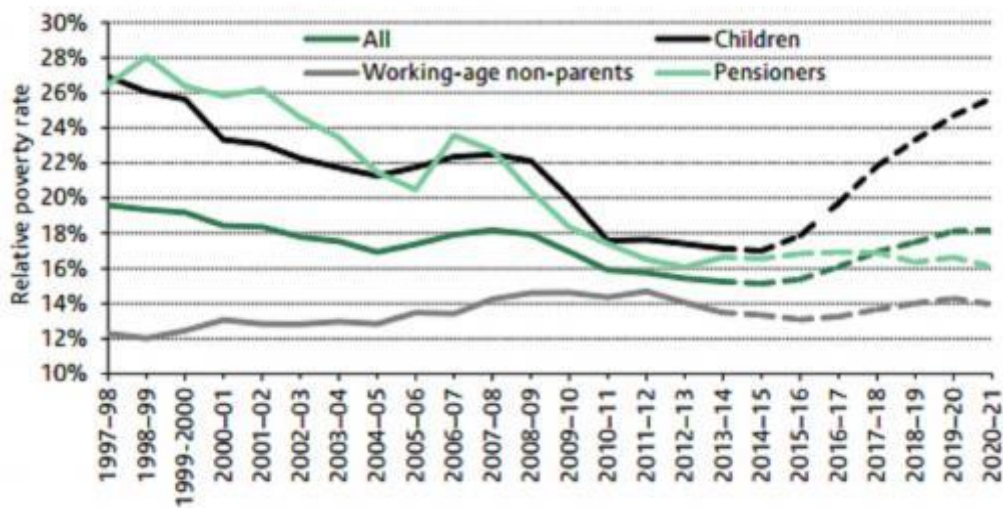


Figure 3.9. Relative poverty rates: 1997–98 to 2020–21



11.3 Who owns the UK media?³

NATIONAL NEWSPAPERS

Market Share by Circulation (ABC)

Between 2014 and 2015 there was little structural change in the UK's national newspaper market.^{1,2} Although every national newspaper lost circulation in the year between July 2014 and July 2015 – the national press as a whole saw a year-on-year decline in circulation of 6.6% on average³ – this conceals substantial variations in circulation decline. The *Daily Star* fared worst, with an 11.7% decline, while *The Times* saw a much smaller decline of slightly under 1% (Table 1).

Table 1: Average Daily Circulation, National Newspapers (July 2015)

Title	Average Daily Circulation (July 2015)	YoY % Change	Share of Circulation
<i>Sun</i>	1,856,790	-9.75%	27.2%
<i>Daily Mail</i>	1,657,706	-2.82%	24.3%
<i>Daily Mirror</i>	878,527	-10.49%	12.9%
<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	489,459	-4.75%	7.2%
<i>Daily Express</i>	429,810	-10.58%	6.3%
<i>Daily Star</i>	411,725	-11.69%	6.0%
<i>Times</i>	394,910	-0.93%	5.8%
<i>i</i>	276,137	-3.42%	4.0%
<i>Financial Times</i>	207,179	-2.90%	3.0%
<i>Guardian</i>	168,369	-7.07%	2.5%
<i>Independent</i>	57,930	-8.24%	0.8%
Total	6,828,542	Average: -6.60%	100.0%

The Sunday newspaper market has seen similar declines. On average, titles lost 8.9% of circulation between July 2014 and 2015 (Table 2). Both the daily and Sunday markets are dominated by two titles (and their Sunday affiliates) – the *Sun* and *Daily Mail* account for 51% of all daily newspapers sold, while the *Sun on Sunday* and *Mail on Sunday* account for just under half of all national Sunday

1 National newspapers are defined here as those classified as national by the Audit Bureau of Circulations, but not including those that have an area of focus smaller than the UK. Therefore, national newspapers in Scotland and Wales are not included; neither is the *Evening Standard*.

2 See Media Reform Coalition (2014) *Media Ownership Reform: A case for action* for circulation market share figures from 2014.

3 Audit Bureau of Circulations, July 2015 figures

³ Media Reform Coalition [online] Available from: http://www.mediareform.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Who_owns_the_UK_media-report_plus_appendix1.pdf

Table 5: Market share of national newspapers publishers, by turnover (most recent accounts)

Company	Turnover (National Papers) ⁵	Market Share ⁶	Cumulative Share
News Corp UK & Ireland Ltd ⁷	£836.5m	29.3%	30.1%
Associated Newspapers Ltd	£679.3m	23.8%	51.7%
Telegraph Media Group Ltd	£318.1m	11.2%	63.1%
The Financial Times Ltd	£296.4m	10.4%	73.8%
MGN Ltd (Mirror Group)	£256.7m	9.0%	83.0%
Guardian News & Media Ltd	£210.8m	7.4%	90.6%
Express Newspapers	£197.0m	7.2%	98.0%
Independent Print Ltd	£55.3	1.9%	100.0%
Total	£2,850m	100.0%	



⁵ From most recent accounts registered at Companies House (as of September 2015)

⁶ Market share figures subject to rounding

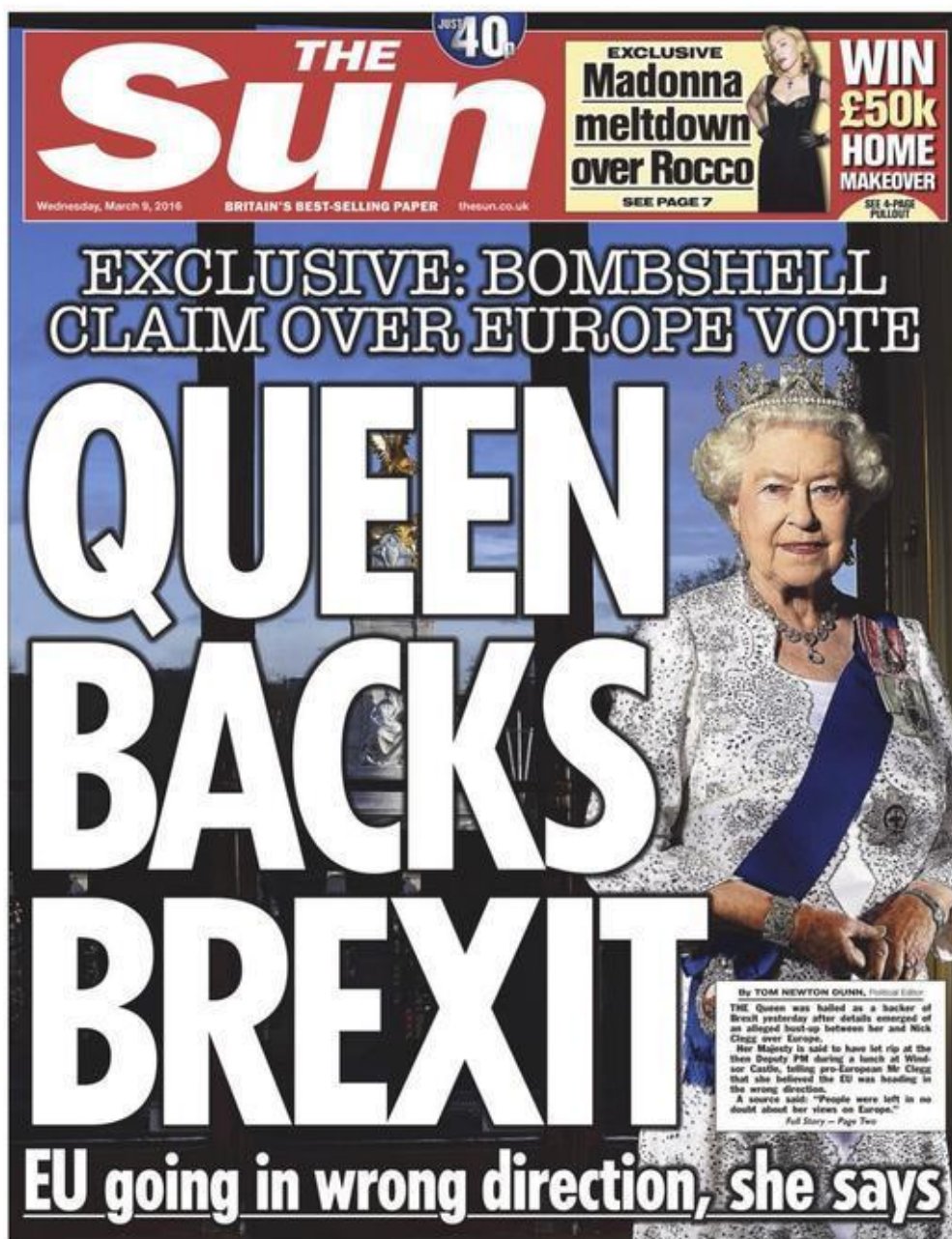
⁷ Combined Turnover for News Group Newspapers Ltd and Times Newspapers Ltd

11.4 Strong: The Queen addressed both Houses of Parliament for the first time in a decade as MPs peers and dignitaries honoured her 60 years on the throne⁴



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⁵ Mail Online [online]. [Retrieved 12 April 2017]. Available from: <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2117487/Diamond-Jubilee-The-Queen-addresses-Parliament-Westminster-Hall.html>

11.5 The Sun's front page on 9 March 2016⁵

⁵ Independent [online] Available from: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/eu-referendum-the-suns-queen-backs-brexit-headline-ruled-as-misleading-a7035056.html> [Retrieved 12 April 2017].