

The (Family) Firm: Representation and Power in the British Royal Family

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I declare that this thesis is my own work; has not been submitted in substantially the same form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere; and that the word length conforms to the permitted maximum.

Laura Clancy, December 2018

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Abstract

This thesis is concerned with the cultural politics of the contemporary British monarchy. It examines media representations of the monarchy from Elizabeth II's 1953 coronation to the present day, and draws on the intellectual legacies of British Cultural Studies, in particular Stuart Hall, to examine the role of media culture in producing consent for monarchical power. It does this through a close analysis of a range of media texts, from newspapers, magazines, books, portraiture and paintings, photographs, films, television productions, radio shows, websites, social media outputs, cartoons, political commentary, fan/anti-monarchy publications, public opinion polls and surveys, government reports, palace documents and legal archives; to more material phenomena such as monarchy memorabilia and tourist sites around the UK.

Centrally, this thesis counters understandings of the monarchy as an archaic institution, an anachronism to corporate forms of wealth and power, and therefore irrelevant. Rather, I propose to understand the monarchy as part of capital regimes, committed to accumulating wealth and securing power. To do this, I conceptualise the monarchy as a corporation: The Firm. I unpack The Firm's labour relations, wealth, assets, operational tactics and legal status in order to expose the mechanics and technologies involved "behind the scenes". Further, I contend that The Firm's corporate power is disguised through careful stage management, and the production of the monarchy in media representations as the royal *family*. I analyse these representations using a figurative, mixed-method approach. I draw on a set of case studies – the Queen, Prince Charles, Prince Harry and Kate Middleton – to explore how various royal figures 'body forth' (Castañeda, 2002: 3) The Firm and produce consent for monarchical power, as well as producing consent for various phenomena across British social, political and cultural life. In drawing out the economic, political, social and cultural functions of monarchy, I extend conventional understandings of *what monarchy is* and *why monarchy matters*.

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Chapter One

Introduction: Britain, the Aristocracy, and the Elites

On 5th November 2017, leaked documents from two offshore tax havens in the Cayman Islands revealed that the Duchy of Lancaster – the Queen’s private estate – had used offshore private equity funds to avoid paying tax on its holdings (Osborne, 2017b). The so-called ‘Paradise Papers’¹ showed that the Duchy’s investments have put funds into an array of businesses, including retailer BrightHouse, Britain’s largest rent-to-own company which has been ‘criticised for exploiting thousands of poor families and vulnerable people’ (Osborne, 2017b) by charging huge interest rates on purchases using cost credit. The Duchy responded to the Paradise Papers by claiming ‘our investment strategy is based on advice and recommendation from our investment consultants and appropriate asset allocation’ (Paradise Papers Reporting Team, 2017), essentially admitting that they were unaware of the full extent of their investments. On 7th November 2017, the Chair of the Duchy, Sir Mark Hudson, was knighted by the Queen at Buckingham Palace in a pre-planned ceremony the monarchy seemingly saw unfit to cancel (Proctor, 2017). The Queen has never publicly apologised for investments made on her behalf that investigative journalists have shown contribute to exploitative practices leading to poverty in debt.

Later on 7th November 2017, another leak from the Paradise Papers revealed Prince Charles’s private estate, the Duchy of Cornwall, had invested millions of pounds in offshore companies, including Sustainable Forestry Management, a Bermuda-registered business which was run at the time by Charles’s best friend Hugh van Cutsem (Osborne, 2017a). The investment was put into land to protect it from deforestation in mid-2007 (*ibid.*). In January 2008, Charles featured in a charity video in which he discussed tactics for protecting rainforests (*ibid.*). As *The Guardian* commented in their analysis of the Paradise Papers, ‘the duchy should have publicly declared the investment in a company that might have indirectly benefitted from the impact of the prince’s longstanding support for conservation projects’ (*ibid.*). In response to the scandal, the Duchy claimed that Charles never had any ‘direct involvement in investment decisions’ (*ibid.*), and again

¹ The documents were named the ‘Paradise Papers’ because the offshore financial centres were based on luxury tropical islands.

Charles has never publically apologised for the investments made on his behalf that potentially exploit conflicts of interest.

In the days following the Paradise Papers revelations, Labour Shadow Chancellor John McDonnell called for the monarchy to publish full financial records and tax data for ‘complete openness and transparency’ (Cowburn, 2017). Buckingham Palace has never directly responded to this request. In July 2018, the Duchy of Lancaster’s Annual Report made no direct reference to the Paradise Papers or the investments revealed within. Instead, in a section on ‘Strategic Risk’, Keeper of the Privy Purse Alan Reid reiterated that management of the investment portfolio was made independently of the Queen and the Duchy: ‘the Duchy employs an investment consultant to advise overall and an investment manager to manage the financial portfolio on a day-to-day basis’ (Duchy of Lancaster, 2018: 15). This can be read as an attempt to abdicate the Duchy of responsibility for the investments, and as scholar David McClure claims, the erasure of the Paradise Papers from the report makes it appear as though they ‘were a mirage and the bad press [was] a bad dream’ (Weaver, 2018). In September 2018, *The Guardian* revealed that HM Revenue and Customs will start blocking individuals involved in controversial tax schemes from receiving knighthoods or honours, because ‘poor tax behaviour is not consistent with the award of an honour’ and these individuals are likely to ‘bring the system into disrepute’ (Greenfield, 2018). No mention was given to the monarchy’s involvement in ‘poor tax behaviour’, given it’s central role in the honours system. This example raises questions and themes that are fundamental to this thesis.

Themes of the Thesis

The representation of the Paradise Papers as a “scandal” constituted a rare moment for the British monarchy, in which it faced (temporary) overt public criticism and (temporary) attention drawn to its means of accumulating wealth. On 6th November 2017, *The Guardian* represented the exposé of the findings on the front page, using the iconic etching of the Queen’s profile on British coins to make critical connections between the monarchy, wealth accumulation, and class-based exploitation (Figure 1.1). As this thesis will demonstrate, representations of the British monarchy are typically carefully crafted to be deferential and celebratory. The Paradise Papers led to a fracturing of this typicality. The information contained within the documents also encapsulates the key themes underpinning this thesis: the interrelations between the hereditary wealth of

the monarchy, the “old elites”, and the wealth of the “new elites” in contemporary Britain; and the ways in which the monarchy is a key player in financial capitalism.

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Paradise Papers

Revealed

Queen's cash invested in controversial retailer accused of exploiting the poor

Hilary Osborne
Nick Hopkins

Millions of pounds from the Queen's private estate has been invested in a Cayman Islands fund as part of an offshore portfolio that has never before been disclosed, according to documents revealed in an investigation into offshore tax havens.

Files from a substantial leak show for the first time how the Queen, through the Duchy of Lancaster, has held – and still holds – investments via funds that funnelled money into an array of businesses, including a chain of off-licences, and the retailer BrightHouse, which has been criticised for exploiting thousands of poor families and vulnerable people.

The duchy admitted it had no idea about its 12-year investment in BrightHouse until approached by the Guardian and other media. The international project called the Paradise Papers.

Though the duchy characterised its initial stake in BrightHouse as negligible, it would not disclose the size of its original 2005 investment that coincided with a boost in the company's value. BrightHouse has been accused of overcharging customers, and using hard sell tactics on people with mental health problems and learning difficulties. Last month, it was ordered to pay £14.8m in compensation to 249,000 customers.

Critics are likely to ask why the Queen had invested in a company that was in first place, and the duchy may face awkward questions about whether there was

enough oversight and management of the Queen's "forward investments" to ensure they remained ethical.

The new documents also disclosed investing one in Ireland, and will be under pressure to give details of where the money is being held.

Although the estate said it received no tax advantages from its offshore investments, the Queen, one of the world's richest women, will likely re-emerge campaign groups and the like. MPs have demanded greater scrutiny of royal spending. The disclosures also highlight the lack of transparency that has been a concern for royalists, who have criticised the financial ambiguities of the offshore sector and demanded major changes.

The Duchy of Lancaster is a private estate that generates a return for the reigning monarch. It was set up in 1399 and manages land and investments held for the monarch for the use of the royal household's annual statements.

Recent filings by the duchy show that assets total £519m at the end of March. The Paradise Papers offer an unprecedented glimpse of the way the duchy has invested in a range of assets, including details of complex offshore arrangements that are not set out in the royal household's annual statements.

According to the leak, the duchy has held off-shore investment funds designed to shield UK investors from having to pay US tax on their holdings. Investors who do not pay tax in the UK can face

The world's second biggest data leak

2.6TB The Paradise Papers, 2016

1.4TB The Paradise Papers
3.7GB WikiLeaks, 2010
3.3GB HSBC files, 2015
4.4GB Luxembourg
tax haven 2014
360GB Offshore secrets, 2010

Huge data leak reveals how the global elite protects its wealth from the taxman

Juliette Garside

The world's biggest businesses, heads of state and global figures in politics, entertainment and sport who have sheltered themselves with in secretive tax havens will be revealed in detail in a massive new investigation into Britain's offshore empire. The details come from a leak of 13.4m files that expose the global environment in which the ultra-wealthy can hide, and the complex and seemingly artificial ways the wealthiest corporations can legally protect their wealth.

Information from two offshore service providers and the company registries of 19 tax havens, was obtained by the German newspaper *Der Spiegel* and is being analysed and shared by the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists with

Paradise Papers
Why are we shining a light on the offshore world again?

After explosive leaks from an offshore firm last year, others in the sector insisted it was a bad apple. Now that claim can be tested

Page 8 →

partners including the Guardian, BBC and New York Times. The project, called the Paradise Papers, reveals:

- A massive leak of data from the Queen's private estate has been invested in a Cayman Islands fund – and some of her money went to a company accused of exploiting poor families and vulnerable people.
- Extensive offshore dealings by Donald Trump's cabinet members, advisers and close associates, including his son-in-law from a firm belonging to Vladimir Putin's son-in-law to the shipping group of the US commerce secretary.
- Twitter and Facebook received hundreds of millions of dollars in investments that can be traced back to Russian state funds and individuals.
- The tax-avoiding Cayman Islands trust managed by the Canadian prime minister Justin Trudeau's chief moneymen.

Continued on page 3 →

For the super wealthy and those who advise them 'tax evasion is becoming an elite sport', says a top economist

Figure 1.1: ‘Queen’s cash invested in controversial retailer accused of exploiting the poor’. (*The Guardian*, 2017) 6th November

Britain and Class Inequalities

Since the global financial crisis in 2007-8, and particularly since the neoliberal ideologies of the consecutive Conservative governments starting with the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition in 2010, wealth inequalities have continued to deepen. According to development charity Oxfam (2018), as of January 2018 the richest 42 people in the world own as much wealth as the poorest 3.7 billion, and in the UK the richest 1,000 people own more wealth than the poorest 40% of households (The Equality Trust, 2017). These growing inequalities have left the poorest in society worse off, as almost 1.5 million people visited a foodbank in 2017 (Bulman, 2018a) and 30% of British children now live in poverty (Bulman, 2018b).

While in the late twentieth century there was a “turn away” from the sociology of class (as described by Skeggs, 1997, 2004, 2015), growing stratifications of wealth inequality have led to sociologists returning to these questions to make sense of economic disadvantage and poverty (Tyler, 2013; Garthwaite, 2016; Cooper and Whyte, 2017; Littler, 2017). In the context of this revival, “elite research” has also experienced a significant resurgence. Mike Savage and Karel Williams’s *Remembering Elites* was amongst the first recent study to call for attention to the ‘glaring invisibility of elites’ in sociological research (2008: 2). This “return” to elite research was popularised by economist Thomas Piketty’s influential volume *Capital in the Twenty First Century* (2014), which concluded that the richest were disproportionately benefitting from neoliberal capitalist regimes. Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett’s *The Spirit Level* (2010) and its sequel *The Inner Level* (2018) demonstrated how outcomes for health and social problems were significantly more unequal in countries with high levels of wealth inequality, while Danny Dorling’s *Inequality and the 1%* (2014) demonstrated how social mobility is stagnating. Other research has explored the mechanisms by which elite wealth is maintained. Andrew Sayer’s *Why We Can’t Afford the Rich* (2015) details how the top 1% exploit wealth produced by others, while Jo Littler argues in *Against Meritocracy* (2017) that discourses of meritocracy legitimate and obscure structural inequalities. Most recently, the British Sociological Association’s 2018 Annual Conference hosted a panel which called for a reinvestigation of methodologies in class-based research concerned with ‘researching upwards’ (Miller et al., 2018).

Much of this research focuses on transnational, meritocratic, neoliberal corporate power and the “new rich”, overlooking older, inherited forms of wealth. Academic scholarship (Cannadine, 1990) and television documentaries (*The Aristocracy: Survival of the Fittest*, 1997; *Posh People: Inside Tatler*, 2014) have focused on the “waning powers” of the aristocracy, with Mike Savage claiming ‘in the early twenty-first century, the old aristocratic, landed upper-class is a thing of the past’ (2015: 307). Yet, this is a historical period in which 71% of senior judges, 50% of the House of Lords, 43% of newspaper columnists, 36% of the Cabinet, and 26% of BBC executives were independently educated and/or attended elite universities (The Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission, 2014). Recent figures show almost one third of UK wealth is inherited (Inequality Briefing, 2014) and a social mobility study of Britain found wealth has remained within a select few families for the last 1,000 years (Clark and Cummins, 2014). Meanwhile, although government land registries have failed to record landownership comprehensively since the original Domesday Book in 1086, journalist Kevin Cahill’s *Who Owns Britain and Ireland* (2002) estimated that 70% of British and Irish land is owned by 0.28% of the population, demonstrating the endurance of a landed elite. Further, UK land law lists the Queen as ‘absolute’ owner of *all* British land (*ibid.*). While this is certainly not to overstate the endurance of the aristocracy – and television documentaries such as BBC’s *Life is Toff* (2014) have documented how aristocrats have been forced to open their homes to tourists in order to maintain crumbling estates – it does demonstrate the persistence of the aristocracy as a privileged class. In light of this, assumptions that aristocratic power is in decline need interrogating. Whilst not disputing that the “new rich” is a vital topic of analysis, this thesis suggests that this research vastly understates the role of *inherited wealth and “old” forms of political and institutional power in reproducing economic and cultural advantage*. In addition, this thesis emphasises the ways in which various forms of elite wealth – for example, ‘the idle rich, the famous, the charitable, the titled and the industrious’ (Biressi and Nunn, 2013: 119; see also Sayer, 2015; Edgerton, 2018) – intersect and converge through ‘blurred cultural and behavioural boundaries’ (Littler, 2017: 128).

One possible explanation for arguments that aristocratic power is in decline is that the aristocracy tends to remain invisible in order to avoid public scrutiny. As David Edgerton argues, ‘they carefully play dead’ (2018: 103). While centuries ago power was typically linked to visibility (Foucault, 1980; Pye, 1990; see Chapter Two), now there are a

range of “gate-keepers” acting as cultural intermediaries to limit access to this demographic. These range from managers of stately homes, National Trust employees, and journalists at “elite” magazines such as *Tatler* and *Country Life*, and aristocratic lifestyles tend to revolve around “exclusive” sporting activities such as polo or shooting, which few “ordinary” people have interest in (Biressi and Nunn, 2013). In an increasingly networked world, the aristocracy’s invisibility in contemporary Britain is incredibly powerful.

An exception to this invisibility is in ‘institutionalised, ceremonial and archaic’ forms of visual spectacle (Biressi and Nunn, 2013: 118), such as the House of Lords (see Russell, 2013) or the British monarchy. Indeed, these visual spectacles are *so visible they disguise the invisibility through theatrical masquerade*. The co-constitutive and codependent relationship between invisibility, visibility and power is one key argument of this thesis. As I will explore, the monarchy fundamentally promises access to aristocratic cultures: the royal event functions as media spectacle (Chapter Four) and the royals are consistently remade as “modern” and “progressive”, for example through gestures of mediated public intimacies (Chapter Seven) and representations of the monarchy as a royal *family* (Chapters Three and Eight). However, this access is limited and carefully stage-managed, so as not to reveal their vast wealth, hidden tax arrangements, corruption, unspoken political influence, labour relations and trans/national relationships (Chapter Three). As Tom Nairn writes, ‘the theatrical “show” of Monarchy and Westminster archaism is not in any sort of contradiction with this real tendency of power. On the contrary, it expresses the genuine, inward nature of elite government’ (1994: 367). It is only by analysing these relations, and placing the monarchy at the centre of class analysis, that its importance to British sociopolitical life is revealed. As Michael Billig states, ‘a public fascination with a family possessing incalculable wealth should itself signify an interesting academic puzzle’ (1992: 14).

The Monarchy and Financial Capitalism

The growing divide between Britain’s rich and poor in the last decade was illustrated in June 2017, when a reported eighty people died in a fire in high-rise building Grenfell Tower in the London Borough of Kensington and Chelsea, an area which embodies ‘gross level[s] of economic inequality’ with both the poorest and the richest living in close proximity (Shildrick, 2018: 784). It was later revealed that the cladding used to

cover the exterior of Grenfell Tower – part of a complex of social housing dwellings – to make it look more appealing to wealthy neighbours was highly flammable, and had been used by the management company instead of fireproof alternatives because it was cheaper (Symonds and Ellison, 2018). As Tracy Shildrick notes, ‘the disaster... epitomises so much that is unfair and divisive with neoliberal capitalism’ (2018: 785).



Figure 1.2: ‘A Tale of Two Leaders’ (*Daily Mirror*, 2017), 17th June

Various members of the royal family visited the Grenfell Tower site in the aftermath. The Queen’s visit resulted in the *Daily Mirror*’s front cover ‘A tale of two leaders’ (Figure 1.2), which juxtaposed a photograph of the Queen talking to residents of Grenfell Tower

with one of Prime Minister Theresa May flanked by a team of police officers to avoid local and national public anger at the role of government in the incident. This commentary presents the Queen as the antithesis of the austerity policies and cuts that many blame as the root cause of the fire, in terms of both the policies of “the state”, and of the “elite power” of global investors gentrifying the London property market. The Queen here represents a form of paternalistic and patronising morality in opposition to the immorality of the “new elites”, embodying values of history, heritage and protection against external threats. If the headline plays on Charles Dickens’s *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859), a novel about the French Revolution, it can perhaps be read as a call to action for readers to dismantle the Conservative government, but retain loyalty to the monarchy. However, it could also be read in terms of how *A Tale of Two Cities* describes extreme levels of inequality in Victorian London. Grenfell Tower is located less than two miles from Kensington Palace, the official London residence of a host of royals including Princes William and Harry, Kate Middleton, and Meghan Markle. This demonstrates a physical proximity between the monarchy, its property portfolio, and the purported casualties of austerity policies and the greed of financial capitalism. Indeed, while Tracy Shildrick describes the visceral visual comparisons between ‘luxury tower blocks and the haunting images of the burnt out shell of the Grenfell Tower’ (2018: 784), the opulence of nearby Kensington Palace provides an even more stark visual contrast.

The left-of-centre *Daily Mirror* fails to identify the Queen as part of the systems of class greed and inequality that facilitated the Grenfell incident. Likewise, many people’s response to the monarchy’s exposure in the Paradise Papers was surprise. Labour MP Margaret Hodge was quoted as being ‘furious’ with the Queen’s advisers for bringing her ‘reputation into disrepute’ (Mortimer, 2017), and said she believed the Queen would be ‘completely shocked’ to learn of the schemes (Cecil, 2017). She continued, the ‘monarchy is one of the most trusted, loved and respected institutions in Britain and it symbolises that integrity of Britain in the world and to see it sullied by these sort of activities it outrageous’ (Mortimer, 2017). These expressions of bewilderment that the monarchy might engage in immoral practices to accumulate wealth are extremely revealing. The monarchy is often positioned as an archaic institution and an anachronism in relation to corporate forms of wealth and power, and therefore irrelevant. Yet, as American politician Bernie Sanders argued, the Paradise Papers are evidence that the world is turning into an ‘international oligarchy’ (Lynch, 2017). In this new order of elites, “old”

and “new” wealth intersect and converge through interest, debt, capital gains, tax schemes and entangled family relationships (Sayer, 2015). Indeed, as David Edgerton contended in his analysis of these intersections, ‘there was no more cosmopolitan capitalism than that of red-blooded British peers of ancient lineage’ (2018: 106).

This understanding opens up ways of considering the connections between neoliberalism as a contemporary capitalist regime, and widening inequalities. Indeed, Imogen Tyler has referred to inequalities as neoliberalism’s ‘engine’ (2018). It is one argument of this thesis that the inequalities inherent to monarchical systems of rule combine with those of financial capital. Further, I will argue that the monarchy is called upon to act as façade, through which the mechanisms of inequalities are *disguised* and *naturalised*. A country that George Orwell famously described as ‘the most class-ridden country under the sun’ (1941) due to a history of aristocratic privilege facilitates a (relatively) easy transition into the equally class-ridden terrains of neoliberal capitalism.

Understanding the monarchy as part of capitalist regimes is antithetical to its representation as “traditional” in public culture, but this thesis figures the monarchy as a corporation: The Firm. As the Paradise Papers demonstrate, the reproduction of monarchical wealth is partly dependent on the ways in which the monarchy is run as a corporate business, exploiting procedural loopholes to maximise profit alongside corporate giants such as Apple, Nike and Facebook, who were also embroiled in the Paradise Papers “scandal”. As Owen Jones has argued, offshore tax avoidance is ‘one of the great scandals of modern capitalism’ (2014: 203), symptomatic of levels of inequality whereby ‘while the law cracks down on the misdemeanors of the poor, it allows, even facilitates, the far more destructive behaviours of the rich’ (2014: 204; see also Bramall, 2018). Indeed, David Whyte and Jörg Wiegert argue that corporate fraud has been “institutionalised as the “new normal” under neoliberal capitalism (2016: 1; see also Klein, 2007). The Firm is simply playing the same games to avoid being captured by the state for taxation.

Understanding The Firm as a corporation opens up new ways of understanding the monarchy’s wealth, assets, operational tactics, and actions. For instance, in 1992 the Queen’s “annus horribilis” – one of the most sustained periods of public criticism in her reign – was partly characterised by anger at “public funds” being used to restore Windsor

Castle after a fire (Pimlott, 2012). The fallout was so dramatic, some royal scholars suggested that it might lead to the end of the monarchical institution (Wilson, 1993; Nairn, 1994).² Instead, 1992 concluded with the monarchy agreeing to pay “voluntary” income tax (Marr, 2011) to assuage public criticism, and the cost of monarchy to the taxpayer has failed to raise substantial public concern since. Indeed, the Republican movement has all but disappeared into fringe campaigning, despite the rising social inequalities outlined above, and despite the exact sum of this “voluntary” income tax, as well as the size of the wealth the income is taxable from, remaining undisclosed (Brown and Brown, 1993).

For the purposes of this thesis, it is interesting to reflect on the parallels between this and the taxation of global corporations such as Starbucks. In 2012, after losing customers due to public anger that it had paid no UK corporation tax for three years, the managing director of Starbucks, Kris Engskov, announced that ‘we will propose to pay a significant amount of corporation tax during 2013 and 2014 regardless of whether our company is profitable during these years’ (Neville and Treanor, 2012). Admitting that ‘the tax authorities were unaware’ of these plans (*ibid.*), Engskov’s announcement essentially boils down to “voluntary corporation tax” because it is not based on official profit calculations. Tax lawyer Conor Delaney said this ‘made a mockery’ of the tax system, because it circumvents the laws and legislations of taxation in the name of good publicity (*ibid.*). We could ask whether the monarchy is doing the same.

The monarchy, then, is a model for the capitalist regime. While Nicholas Shaxson describes tax havens as offering ‘escape routes from the duties that come with living and obtaining benefits from society – tax, responsible financial regulation, criminal laws, inheritance rules and so on’ (2011: 8-9), The Firm has been doing this for centuries by being legally exempt from taxation, while presenting “voluntary” taxation as benevolent giving. Indeed, this thesis will document a set of consistencies in the ways in which the monarchy has historically exploited its legal status to its advantage, and has adapted itself to various periods of capitalism in order to sustain power and accumulate wealth. The relationship between monarchy and capitalism is as old as capitalism itself. To use one example, as Guy Standing (2016) argues, many of the aspects of what he calls ‘rentier

² It is notable that this period coincides with the aforementioned ‘turn away’ from sociological studies on class and stratification (as described by Skeggs, 1997, 2004, 2015), and is perhaps suggestive of wider discourses of meritocracy and equality which started to take shape in the 1990s, particularly in the New Labour government of Tony Blair (see Littler, 2017).

capitalism’ – the monopolisation of property – historically began with the monarchy and its attempt to raise capital through fee extraction, from the patent system and copyright laws, to landlordism and the enclosure of public space. This thesis will demonstrate how The Firm continues to profit from the policies of ‘rentier capitalism’, from wealth, asset and inheritance subsidies (Chapter Three), to exploiting inequalities in housing and landownership (Chapters Five and Six). It will also argue that the history of monarchy is a history of enclosure, extraction and exploitation (Chapters Five and Six). The negative reaction in 1992 to “public funds” being used to restore Windsor Castle was, in itself, absurd, given that *all* monarchical wealth comes from public funds at some point, via different extraction tactics.

A popular mythology of monarchy is that it is apolitical. Constitutionally it is banned from being involved in party politics, and as constitutional scholar Walter Bagehot wrote, ‘The Crown is... the ‘fountain honour’; but the Treasury is the spring of business’ (2001: 11-12). My intervention in this thesis is to counter this mythology, and argue that the monarchy is a deeply political institution which ensures the social, political, cultural and economic order. As Aeron Davis argues, ‘the national media, the City, large corporations, the Whitehall civil service and the major political parties at Westminster’ (2018: 4) converge with the ‘monarchy, aristocracy and landed gentry’ (2018: 11) to make up ‘the Establishment’ (see also Jones, 2014). This thesis will demonstrate that *there is an impenetration of the monarchy and other forms of power*, whereby the monarchy is involved in ‘shoring up an *ancien régime*’ (Nairn, 1994: 102), and as such is central to academic scholarship which aims to understand rising inequalities.

Research Questions

This thesis aims to demonstrate *why monarchy matters*. It considers this by centralising the role of representation, and indeed follows the approach of British Cultural Studies – particularly Stuart Hall – to read the political economy through culture and argue that *media culture is a key site through which class power is exercised and understood* (Hall, 1997; Hall et al., 2013; see also Skeggs, 2015; Tyler, 2015 on culture as a site of class ‘struggle’). If the monarchy is commonly understood as an anachronism in relation to corporate forms of wealth and power, and therefore irrelevant, media representation is the terrain upon which this dominant narrative is established and maintained. This thesis describes how ‘a thick network of allusions to royalty in everyday life’ (Edensor, 2002: 188), or what

Andrezej Olechnowicz has called ‘banal monarchism’ (2007: 33), work alongside spectacular monarchical performances of pomp and ceremony to mean that monarchy is woven into the very fabric of Britain, *simultaneously visible and invisible*. Moreover, it argues that a dominant set of representations depict the monarchy as a royal *family*, following a “middle-class”, nuclear family model set out by Queen Victoria (Chapter Three). This is The Family Firm, and this establishes an affective relationship: we are all part of the *national family* (Billig, 1992).

This thesis proposes that these representations are a prism; a central ideological project designed to distance The Firm from capitalist vulgarity and aristocratic debauchery and produce consent for the monarchy in the public imaginary. I argue that these representations of monarchy constitute the “frontstage” performance, behind which the “backstage” mechanics, technologies and actors of The Firm are disguised. This thesis aims to expose the “backstage”, and in so doing reveals the realities of monarchical power in contemporary Britain. In the most well-known academic work on contemporary monarchy, *Talking of the Royal Family* (1992: vii), Michael Billig argues that ‘to talk about royalty is to talk of many things: privilege, equality, nationality, morality, family and so on’. In this thesis, I develop this work to argue that the principles by which monarchy works are key principles by which the whole system works, and in understanding monarchy we can begin to make sense of the system.

To address these issues, this thesis asks what is the meaning of monarchy in contemporary Britain? How does media culture produce consent for monarchical power? And how do the quotidian construction, mediation and consumption of these representations produce consent for, and reveal something about, various phenomena across British social, political and cultural life? This framing will be addressed further in the following two introductory chapters.

Chapter Two

Researching the British Monarchy: Theories, Methodologies, Data

Introduction

This thesis undertakes a cultural history of the contemporary British monarchy through the representations that constitute it. Focusing specifically on the period since 1953 and the reign of Elizabeth II, it will consider the ways in which the monarchy is represented in media culture, and the cultural meanings and ideologies circulating through monarchical imaginaries. In a chapter entitled 'Royalty and Representation', Judith Williamson argues that 'one can talk about the royal family *as* representation before even moving on to the question of *how* they are represented' (1986: 76; emphasis in original). This notion grounds this thesis, however I refine and develop this to argue that it is not that we '*can*' talk about the royal family as representation, but that we *have to* do this in order to understand how they function. This is, and indeed always has been, *the media monarchy*, constructed and staged in particular ways.

Michel Foucault argues that the forms and functions of royal power have historically shifted. He proposes that in the Middle Ages, 'the king was the central character in the entire Western juridical edifice' (Foucault, 1997: 26) and sovereign power functioned through 'great state apparatuses' (Foucault, 1980: 119, see also 1977). The sovereign controlled the army and police, the law was understood to represent the sovereign's will, the sovereign had the 'right to take life or let live' as punishment (Foucault, 1990: 136), and there were 'signs of loyalty to the feudal lords, rituals, ceremonies, and so forth, and levies in the form of taxes, pillage, hunting, war etc.' (Foucault, 1980: 125). This shifted after the English Civil War in 1642-1651 between Parliamentarians and Royalists, and the Glorious Revolution in 1688 where James II was overthrown and the Bill of Rights was introduced to abolish the absolute power of the monarch (Purkiss, 2007). Foucault argues that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the 'majestic rituals of sovereignty' were replaced by 'hierarchical observation [and] normalizing judgement' (1977: 170), whereby power was exercised through social production and social service' (1980: 125). That is, productive, disciplinary forms of power circulate through the social body, which produces disciplined, docile subjects (Foucault, 1977). But as Angela

McRobbie argues, 'Foucault had little or no sense of the integral role of either media or culture in the field of power' (in Henriques et al., 2017: 55). The legacy of Stuart Hall and British Cultural Studies provides a framework through which to understand how productive and disciplinary forms of power work in relation to media culture.

In a broader historical sense, royal power has also always been representational, articulated through various media. Monarchies have been historically (and, as I will illustrate, can still be) considered as theatrical productions, from court masques as a literal stage production of royal power and courtly entertainment (Orgel, 1975; Olwig, 2002; see Chapter Five), to the royal court as a dramaturgy of ritual, etiquette and hierarchy (Elias, 1983; Keay, 2008; see Chapter Three), and the royal event as spectacular ceremony (Shils and Young, 1953; see Chapter Four). Kevin Sharpe argued that 'Tudor authority was constructed and enhanced by the representation of rule in words, portraits, artifacts, and in rituals and performances' (2010: xiii, see also 2009), while Peter Burke analysed how France's Louis XIV was 'fabricated' through representations like portraits, bronzes, plays and court rituals (1992; see also Montrose, 2006; Schama, 1986). The development of print and electronic media cultures accelerated this further. Queen Victoria's reign was 'disseminated as never before by prints, periodicals and newspapers' (Plunkett, 2003: 5), and inter-war monarchs used radio to speak directly to their subjects (Richards in Olechnowicz, 2007). This thesis aims to draw out both the continuities and differences in media representations of monarchy. Indeed, while the theoretical framework of this thesis could be used for any historical period, and Sharpe and Burke's studies of historical monarchical representations are parallels of this work, the specific arguments developed here are concerned with the particular sociopolitical context of contemporary Britain, as outlined in Chapter One.

The contemporary monarchy is the television and digital culture monarchy, and this thesis draws together a large dataset of material on monarchy since 1953, from newspapers, magazines, books, portraiture and paintings, photographs, films, television productions, radio shows, websites, social media outputs, cartoons, political commentary, fan/anti-monarchy publications, public opinion polls and surveys, government reports, palace documents and legal archives; to more material phenomena such as monarchy memorabilia, tourist sites, and royal places around the UK. To reflect this expansive dataset, this thesis is necessarily an interdisciplinary project, drawing on the corpus of

British Cultural Studies, particularly that of Stuart Hall (1988, 1997; Hall and Jacques, 1989; Hall et al., 2013), as well as feminist theory, sociology, media studies, celebrity studies, television studies, political economy, and history. It employs mixed methodologies to explore what an analysis of media representations reveals about the monarchy's relationship to various cultural social, political, and economic relations in contemporary Britain. This chapter will outline the theories, methodologies and data used in this thesis to research the contemporary British monarchy.

Theoretical Framework: British Cultural Studies

Cultural Studies is a notoriously tricky discipline to define, not least because it does not subscribe to any specific set of practices or body of work (Berlant, 1997a). Indeed, Graeme Turner describes it as 'undisciplined' (2012: 40). It has been defined as a field because of its shared theoretical concerns – that is, an interest in the construction and reproduction of power relations and the articulation of identity politics within culture (Franklin et al., 1991; Couldry, 2000) and the meaning-making practices at the heart of this process (Evans and Hall, 1999). Stuart Hall asserts that it can be considered a particular kind of critical and cultural practice, one that is 'is open-ended' but that is 'political' with 'something *at stake*' (1992: 278; emphasis in original).

In terms of methods, Cultural Studies has borrowed and adapted analytical techniques from other disciplines, such as history, English literature, sociology and politics (Pickering, 2008). As Helen Kara suggests, such an undisciplined and creative approach 'can more accurately reflect the multiplicity of meanings that exist in social contexts' (2015: 8). Kara proposes a 'bricolage' technique for contemporary research: 'drawing on theory from any discipline... using a combination of data-gathering methods and analytic techniques' (2015: 27). Likewise, in *After Method: Mess in Social Science Research*, John Law calls for broader, looser, heterogeneous methodologies which can cope with the changing world, an approach he terms 'method assemblage' (2004: 144).

Lawrence Grossberg describes Cultural Studies as 'concerned with describing and intervening in the ways cultural practices are produced within, inserted into, and operate in the everyday life of human beings and social formations, so as to reproduce, struggle against, and perhaps transform the existing structures of power' (2010: 8). Indeed, Stuart Hall's work is primarily concerned with "cultural politics", that is, opening up critical

dialogues to consider *media culture as a key site through which class power is exercised and understood* (see Brown, 2003 on the "culturalisation of politics"). Beverley Skeggs (2015) and Imogen Tyler (2015) have drawn on the work of British Cultural Studies to describe culture as a site of class struggle. Or, as Caspar Melville puts it, Hall taught us that 'we all live politics through culture' (in Henriques et al., 2017: 155). Although Hall's death in 2014 prompted a series of commentaries on his body of work that hailed him as 'an intellectual giant' (Henriques et al., 2017: 11; see also Brunsdon, 2015; Connell and Hilton, 2016), there arguably remains a lack of critical engagement with the theoretical paradigm that Hall and the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) offered. As commentary on the history/development of Cultural Studies has observed, in recent years there has been a "turn towards" more Foucauldian work on power/knowledge, discourse and governmentality, and affect studies that consider how power disseminates through the social body (Bratich et al., 2003; Downey et al., 2014). This perhaps reflects the depoliticisation of academic thought in an era that is allegedly postmodern, post-ideological, post-feminist and post-marxist.

This "turn away" from Hall's approach risks overlooking his understanding of the entanglement of politics, economics and culture at the level of the state and government. If Foucault 'had little or no sense of the integral role of either media or culture in the field of power' (McRobbie in Henriques et al., 2017: 55), by contrast, Hall's co-written volume *Policing the Crisis* (Hall et al., 2013), first published in 1978, evaluates how the media acts as a crucial 'mechanism of consent' (2013: 207) for particular political reforms and forms of statecraft. *Policing the Crisis* addresses a 1970s "moral panic" about "mugging" as a social phenomenon, which Hall et al. argue was constructed by media culture through representations of the figure of the "mugger", who embodied social anxieties about youth and black communities. The repetition of the mugger figure through news media, courtroom documents, police documents and everyday conversation encouraged public consent for more authoritarian policing, particularly the policing of young black men, who through regimes of representation came to embody the perceived "crisis". In the afterword to the second edition of the book, John Clarke argues that Foucauldian studies of governmentality 'have a tendency to downplay the state or overstate its decline', and instead we need to avoid 'simplifying boundaries' and consider how 'new forms of exercising power are combined in hybrid or compound forms' (in Hall et al., 2013: 398). A set of recent scholarship has reinvigorated Hall's

cultural political framework to analyse relations of inequality, power and mediation (Tyler, 2013; Paton, 2014; Jensen, 2018). This thesis contributes to this reinvigoration, and the development of Hall's intellectual legacies.

As a starting point, I consider Hall's definition of the term "representation". In *Representation* (1997) Hall critiques the notion that media culture works like a mirror to reflect the world back at us "as it really is". Rather, he argues that 'it is social actors who use... representational systems to construct meaning, to make the world meaningful and to communicate about that world meaningfully to others' (1997: 25). Moreover, because representations 'regulate and organise our conduct and practices... help[ing] to set the rules, norms and conventions by which social life is ordered and governed' (Hall, 1997: 4), representation is indivisible from power. As described above, for example, historical scholars of monarchies and elites have documented how the ability to control representations is a form of *representational power*, because they can *structure their meaning* in the public imaginary (Burke, 1992; Montrose, 2006; Sharpe, 2009, 2010). In his analysis of representations of racial inequality, Patrick Wolfe uses the term 'regimes of representation', with the term 'regime' articulating the notion of 'combin[ing] active direction and political dominance with an implication of accompanying contestation and resistance. The structures are not inert. They require constant maintenance and refurbishment' (2016: 18). Regimes of representational power, then, describe the maintenance of power relations through a series of representations that shift according to the specific sociopolitical context, as I argue is the case for the monarchy.

Ideology is a concept taken up by a number of scholars, from Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels on labour's relation to capital, Antonio Gramsci's focus on ideology and hegemony, and Louis Althusser's "ideological state apparatus" (Rehmann, 2013). Stuart Hall defines ideology as:

The mental frameworks – the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation – which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, figure out and render intelligible the way society works (in Morley and Chen, 1996: 26)

Ideologies “work”, Hall suggests, by constructing for their subject (whether individual or collective) positions of identification and knowledge, which allow them to utter ideological truths as if they were the authentic authors (*ibid.*). Thus, beliefs and values are formed based on already-established ideological frameworks, and ‘articulat[ed]’ (Hall, 1988: 9) as discursive strategies. However, this does not mean that the dominators are explicitly attempting to deceive the dominated, and Hall dismisses the appropriation of Marxist ideology as “false consciousness”, which eliminates individuals’ agency in meaning making processes. Rather, Hall suggests what is relevant is not what is false, but what is true: ‘by true I do not mean universally correct as a law of the universe but “makes good sense”, which... is usually quite enough for ideology’ (1987: 46). As Hall describes in his analysis of Thatcherism’s use of various social, cultural, and economic ‘modalities of power’ (1988: 3) and regimes of representation, ideology is key to understanding the construction of power, the relationship between the dominated and the dominator, and the formation of social “reality”.

What makes Hall’s work so innovative is its recognition of the complex role of media culture in shaping practices of state and society. If media culture is one ‘mechanism of consent’ (Hall et al., 2013: 207), it is a vital tool for securing power, and constitutes a key platform for analysis. Indeed, this thesis maintains that sociological studies of elite wealth are largely limited in their scope of *how* inequalities are negotiated in the public imaginary. “Culture” and “society” are not separate, rather British social, political, cultural and economic life is staged in and through, and fought out at the level of, media culture.

Research Methodology

In *Policing the Crisis* (2013: xii), Hall et al. counter the ‘classic methods of ethnography’ such as participant observation and interviewing, by suggesting that ‘any approach that assists the journey towards a detailed empirical knowledge of a particular “social world” can be ethnographic’. They suggest that analysing media texts is one such way of gaining this empirical knowledge, and describe this approach as an ‘ethnographic orientation’ to media texts that ‘move[s] beyond the focus of the here and now of everyday “interactions and practices” by locating them in the histories taking place behind all our backs’ (*ibid.*). This thesis takes the same approach, and analyses the British monarchy through the materials that constitute it. It does this by using a figurative methodology.

This section outlines an existing figurative methodology, before describing how this is adapted in this thesis.

Figurative Methodology

As a methodology with interdisciplinary roots (Castañeda, 2002), figurative methodology offers tools with which media texts can be considered in terms of their relationship with/effect on the material world. The methodology has primarily been developed in feminist work. Donna Haraway established the approach in *Modest_Witness@Second_Millenium.FemaleMan_Meets_OncoMouse* to trace the development of the scientific ideal of objectivity through figures she terms Modest_Witness, FemaleMan and OncoMouse (1997). She describes these figures as 'balls of yarn... they lead out into worlds, you can explode them, you can untangle them, you can somehow loosen them up' (2000: 57). Claudia Castañeda directly develops Haraway's approach to analyse how the figure of the child is brought into being through its representations across a range of cultural sites, and 'the bodies and worlds that this figure generates through a plurality of forms' (2002: 4). The child figure 'accrues power and value across its multiple figurations' (2002: 5). Castañeda describes how figuration can operate multiply as 'a constitutive effect and generative circulation' (2002: 3). That is, 'unpack[ing]' them reveals detail about the figures themselves but also the discourses and phenomena they 'body forth' (ibid.).¹ In an account of the changing representation of working class figures in Britain, Imogen Tyler suggests the figure's repetition across media texts is crucial in determining their affective value, and outlines how figures are not merely representational, but 'constitutive and generative' (2008: 18-19) in shaping the experiences of others (see also Tyler, 2013). Finally, Lucy Suchman has renamed this approach 'configuration' to describe 'the histories and encounters through which things are figured into meaningful existence' (2012: 50), noting the importance of acknowledging how phenomena came into being in order to understand them (see also Ahmed, 2000, 2010, 2014).

What all these approaches have in common is an ambition to explore the constitutive elements and forms of embodiment of a figure, variously termed 'untangl[ing]' (Haraway, 2000: 58), 'unpack[ing]' (Castañeda, 2002: 3), 'zoom[ing] in on' (Tyler, 2008: 19) and

¹ Another way of considering this would be that the monarchy has a metonymic relationship to these discourses and phenomena. That is, to talk about the monarchy is to talk about these phenomena. However, 'metonymic' is more of a linguistic and structuralist conceptualisation. I employ figurative methodology to capture the phenomenological and post-structuralist relationships at play.

‘reanimating’ (Suchman, 2012: 49). If, as Suchman proposes, figuration ‘is an action that holds the material and the semiotic together in ways that become naturalized over time’, then a figurative methodology is ‘both a method through which things are made, and a resource for their analysis and un/remaking’ (*ibid.*). This approach works alongside Cultural Studies’ relationship with History, from Fredric Jameson’s command ‘always historicize!’ (1981: 9) to Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson’s proclamation that it is ‘vital, in any analysis of contemporary phenomena, to think historically’ (in Pickering, 1997: 2) and Lauren Berlant’s description of Cultural Studies as a ‘history of the present’ (1997a: 4; see also Steedman, 1993; Spivak, 2006). A figurative methodology is concerned with how media representations came into being.

My royal figures, however, differ from the mugger, the chav or the child in that these latter examples are “social types” – representative of an assemblage of individuals who are described by one, catch-all name. Royal figures operate more as public figures, that is, well-known, individual people. The similarity comes from exploring the figure through the materials which constitute it. My adaptation of figurative methodology is firstly reflective of Hall’s work on Thatcherism. Hall’s description of Thatcher as a figure (Hall and Jacques, 1983; Hall, 1988), for example, works to denaturalise her public image by unpacking its constitutive elements. He argues that Thatcher’s mediated persona is made up of a set of various, often contradictory, figurations, each designed to appeal to a particular segment of the electorate: the “housewife” managing the nation’s budget; the “iron lady” of militaristic aggression; “Britannia” as symbolic of national identity (see also Stacey, 2011). Thatcher as a figure is representative of the ideology of Thatcherism.

Meanwhile, Celebrity Studies offers further tools to adapt a figurative methodology. Taking inspiration from Roland Barthes’s semiotic analysis of Greta Garbo’s face as representative of beauty norms and cinema’s technical capacity (1957), Richard Dyer’s *Stars* outlined how celebrities can be considered as a vast collection of images, discourses and narratives, that is, ‘a complex configuration of... signs’ (1979: 38). These texts can then be (re)contextualized within their social and material conditions of production. Just as a figurative analysis of Thatcher leads to an analysis of Thatcherism as an ideology, Dyer’s analysis of Marilyn Monroe (1979) is not only about her rise to stardom, but also about the ideological context within which that rise was facilitated. The image produced is a ‘complex totality’: it is temporal, malleable, and open to various readings dependent

on the audience (1979: 72). Dyer's ideas have been variously taken up and adapted within Celebrity Studies to consider the meaning of particular celebrities in particular historical periods (for example, van den Berg and ter Hoeven, 2013; Meeuf, 2016). What this work demonstrates is how unpacking the constitutive elements of a public figure can reveal not only how they "came to be", but also what they might signify and represent.

Ethnographic Fieldwork

Figurative methodology is traditionally used, as I have demonstrated, to think about media and cultural texts. In this thesis, I expand this to include not just an 'ethnographic orientation' to media texts (Hall et al., 2013: xii), but to a more practical ethnography through visits to royal tourist sites. In other words, this thesis thinks about space textually: space as text. This is reflected in the work of Roland Barthes, who argues that 'the city is a discourse', and makes a case for using 'urban semiology' to understand the semantics of physical space (in Leach, 1997: 168). Meaghan Morris suggests tourism is itself a form of Cultural Studies, which involves 'research, interpretation, and prolonged moments of intense attention' (1998: 33). Morris undertakes a quasi-figurative analysis of tourist sites such as the motel, the mall and the beach to understand how space 'is not a prior condition of something else... but an outcome, the product of an activity' (1998: 124), and unpacks each sight's constitutive elements (see also Berlant, 1997b). Likewise, Tony Bennett's book *The Birth of the Museum* (1995) explores the cultural construction of public spaces such as museums, galleries and fairs. He unpacks the ways in which the museum is structured to exhibit artifacts to communicate particular meanings and values, to bring about particular 'power-knowledge relations' (1995: 97), and that institutions are figurations in and of themselves as 'institutional articulations of power... forming a complex of disciplinary power relations' (1995: 59). Meanwhile, his analysis of Blackpool Pleasure Beach demonstrates how its status as a space of "pleasure" is constructed across both publicity materials and the 'names, themes, design and layout of the principal rides and in its architecture' (1995: 229). That is, texts and the physical space constitute the Pleasure Beach's as a 'regime of pleasure' (1995: 230).

For this thesis, I undertook a number of ethnographic fieldwork trips to a variety of monarchical sites of interest: Buckingham Palace, Kensington Palace, the Tower of London, the National Portrait Gallery and Poundbury. I also attended some royal ceremonial events as a spectator, namely the State Visit of the King and Queen of Spain

in July 2017, and the Royal Wedding of Prince Harry and Meghan Markle in May 2018. At each of these fieldwork trips, I employed walking methodology, photography, field note taking and a collection of publicity materials. Walking methodology was used in order to ‘spatio-analyse’ (Jones, 2014: 8); to map the social production of culture through space and appreciate the ‘multiple and dynamic ways in which landscapes came into being, are experienced, valued, imagined and reassembled’ (Macpherson, 2016: 426). It captured royal spaces as representational systems. This approach is an acknowledgment of the necessity of employing a ‘method assemblage’ (Law, 2004: 144) to understand the complexity of the monarchy as a social form and cultural representational system. Indeed, physical space is a key ‘regime of representation’ (Wolfe, 2016: 18) in understandings of The Firm, and observations from this fieldwork are drawn on throughout this thesis.

Royal Figures

I have chosen four key royal figures for analysis in this thesis: the Queen, Prince Charles, Prince Harry and Kate Middleton. Due to the expanse of The Firm, I did not have the space to analyse all of the royal figures, and there are a number of omissions which could have provided interesting analysis. For example, other figures could have included Prince Andrew’s relationships with international oligarchs and corrupt regimes; Prince William’s performance of “new man” masculinity; Sarah Ferguson as a “former royal”; Princesses Beatrice and Eugenie as minor royals; or Diana as the populist princess. Some of these figures appear in this thesis as tools of comparison. The key figures were chosen because they represent various “branches” and generations of the monarchy (the monarch, the heir, younger royals), and are either “under-researched” (for example, I chose not to include Diana because she has been widely studied, although she does feature throughout), or they have been researched by other scholars in ways that this thesis builds on or argues against (for example, the proliferation of material on Kate Middleton as a “postfeminist princess”).

For each of these figures, this thesis asks how and where is this royal figure represented? What work does this figure do? What is the meaning of this figure? This approach aims to denaturalise the royals, and recontextualise them as ‘a complex configuration of... signs’ (Dyer, 1979: 38), that embody the various ways in which The Firm remakes itself as a successful family over time. That includes through national identity/ies, (geo)politics,

sovereignty and landscape (the Queen in Chapter Five), through land acquisition, conservatism, (post-)imperialism and class hierarchy (Charles in Chapter Six), through philanthrocapitalism, masculinities and a relation to military capital (Harry in Chapter Seven), and through the reproduction of conservative, “middle-class”, “family values” (Kate in Chapter Eight). Therefore, an analysis of royal figures is both an exploration of their presentation as individual characters, and of the cultural, political, social and economic relations they ‘body forth’ (Castañeda, 2002: 3). ‘Unpack[ing]’ (Castañeda, 2002: 3) these figures is a complex, multifaceted and historical project, and will demonstrate not only how systems of representation produce consent for the monarchical institution, but also the ways in which the quotidian construction, mediation and consumption of these representations produce consent for, and reveal something about, various phenomena across British social, political and cultural life.

Researching the British Monarchy

In an analysis of the media and the monarchy, Rosalind Brunt argues that it is ‘precisely because [the royal family] matter to us so little at the material level, [that] it’s important to take their popularity seriously at the level of representation’ (1992: 286). While this thesis also emphasises the importance of representation, it aims to counter typical understandings that the monarchy does not matter on a material level, as is proposed by a number of theorists. Regardless of the banality or spectacle of royal representations, this thesis demonstrates how the British monarchy is woven into the very sociopolitical fabric of Britain, and it is the very ambiguity of this in/visibility that is so powerful.

It is therefore surprising that there has been so little critical academic attention paid to the monarchy. Although historical studies of monarchies are common in History (for example, Loades, 1994; Homans, 1998; Montrose, 2006; Sharpe, 2009), work on contemporary monarchy is relatively rare, aside from a small surge of academic literature considering “the Princess Diana phenomenon” (Campbell, 1988; Couldry, 1999; Kear and Steinberg, 1999; Richards et al., 1999; Davies, 2001). This absence is even more the case in Sociology and Cultural Studies. Michael Billig (1992) suggests this dearth of research is perhaps due to the monarchy not being widely regarded as a social problem, and is therefore not something that needs to be urgently “solved”. This thesis argues the opposite, and positions the monarchy as central to the maintenance of social inequalities. To contextualise this study, it is important to briefly outline the scope of the limited

literature on the contemporary monarchy; this work will appear in more detail throughout this thesis. This section outlines literature on the contemporary (post-1953) British monarchy as an *institution*. Literature specific to each of the royal figures, or particular royal events, will be explored in the respective analysis chapters.

In terms of the relationship between media and the monarchy, the contribution most connected to this thesis is *Media, Monarchy and Power* (2003) by Neil Blain and Hugh O'Donnell, which explores the popularisation and commodification of European royals in the media industries in the twentieth century. Blain and O'Donnell describe the impact of the postmodern cultural shift on the construction of contemporary monarchies through phenomena like celebrity culture, and – like this thesis – suggest ‘the ideological realm’ (2003: 37) is central in shaping public understandings of monarchy. However, considering it includes only one chapter specifically addressing the British monarchy, and there have been significant sociopolitical shifts in, for example, levels of inequality, since its publication in 2003, this work is ripe for development.

Another set of Cultural Studies analyses of the monarchy appeared in the edited volume, *British Cultural Studies* (Morley and Robins, 2001). David Chaney’s ‘The Mediated Monarchy’ proposed that ‘the British royals have shifted from symbolizing feudal privilege to become international celebrities’ (in Morley and Robins, 2001: 208); while Nick Couldry’s ‘Everyday Royal Celebrity’ considered the complexities of describing the royals as ‘celebrities’. Both of these chapters follow the approach of this thesis in analysing the media-monarchy relationship, but are (necessarily) limited in their focus on celebrity culture. Feminist Cultural Studies accounts have also been popular. Rosalind Coward’s essay ‘The Royals’ uses narrative theory to argue that the monarchy is comparable to a soap opera; constructed through ‘intimate revelations’ (1984: 163) of ‘family melodrama’ (1984: 164) which democratise and popularise the monarchy in the public imaginary. This can be usefully compared to the framing of monarchy in this thesis as a theatre production, highlighting the role of performance and storylines. Rosalind Brunt (1984, 1992) and Judith Williamson’s (1986) aforementioned work outlines the ways in which the monarchy operates through representational and ideological power: ‘the royal family are neither elected nor replaceable, nor could “we” ever be “them”: they represent us by sheer *analogy*, an *iconic sign*’ (Williamson, 1986: 76).

Perhaps the most renowned accounts of monarchy are Tom Nairn's *The Enchanted Glass* (1994) and Michael Billig's *Talking of the Royal Family* (1992). Nairn's castigating critique draws on Gramscian theory to examine the relation between the monarchy and national identity, and the ways in which the social order is constructed to serve the interests of "the elite". Crucially for this thesis, he emphasises the importance of recognising that 'royalism is visibly *not* passive and mindless' (1994: 53), but rather that popular consent for the institution is sought out at the level of ideology and public participation in making sense of these representations. Billig's account is the most in-depth research on popular attitudes to monarchy, as he interviewed 60 families in the East Midlands to establish the rhetorical strategies the families used to make sense of the monarchy's privileged position. As will be a key theme for this thesis, he found that the monarchy was positioned as simultaneously "ordinary" and "extraordinary", and this contradiction was a constant source of negotiation for his interviewees in making sense of their own relations to royal power. He also found that when these families talked about monarchy, they also talked about many cultural, political and social relations; an idea I develop in this thesis (see Chapter One) Another important contribution is Andrzej Olechnowicz's *The Monarchy and the British Nation, 1780 to the Present* (2007). Olechnowicz explores the social and political function of the British monarchy in a period of deepening social inequalities, arguing, for example, that the monarchy's significance to ideas of national identity overrides and obscures any serious concerns about its social significance.

Other scholarship has explored a broad range of cultures around the monarchy. Philip Ziegler examines public responses to monarchy using surveys in *Crown and People* (1978); Edgar Wilson unpacks *The Myth of British Monarchy* (1989); Frank Prochaska considers the connections between monarchy and royal philanthropy in *Royal Bounty* (1995); Ben Pimlott's 'Monarchy and the Message' considers public opinion of monarchy, but seems to discount the role of media (1998); David McClure's *Royal Legacy* explores royal wealth (2014); Cele C. Otnes and Pauline Maclaran's *Royal Fever* looks at the intersections of the monarchy and consumer culture (2015); edited volume *The Windsor Dynasty: 1910 to the Present* (Glencross et al., 2016) traces the Windsor family dynasty across the twentieth century (see Clancy, 2018 for a full review); and Philip Murphy's *The Empire's New Clothes* examines the Commonwealth (2018, see also 2013). Shorter, but still significant, contributions come from Jo Littler's chapter 'Just like us?: Normcore plutocrats and the popularisation of elitism' (2017), in which she argues that the performance

“ordinariness” by the royals is key to reproducing their privilege. Anita Biressi and Heather Nunn’s *Class and Contemporary British Culture*, meanwhile, makes a comparable argument as part of their assessment of ‘visibility, adaptation and change’ in the upper-classes (2013: 118). The arguments in these texts are all drawn out in this thesis.

Data: The Firm, 1953-2018

To undertake the ‘unpack[ing]’ (Castañeda, 2002: 3) of royal figures, this thesis draws on a dataset of material about The Firm from 1953 (the year of the Queen’s coronation) to 2018. This dataset comprises a range of media representations, from newspapers, magazines, books, portraiture and paintings, photographs, films, television productions, radio shows, websites, social media outputs, cartoons, political commentary, fan/anti-monarchy publications, public opinion polls and surveys, government reports, palace documents and legal archives; to more material phenomena such as monarchy memorabilia, and ethnographic fieldwork at royal tourist sites, events, galleries and museums, and everyday references to the monarchy (indicative list only). This material ranges from “official” representations produced by The Firm, to activist/republican critiques of monarchy, “objective” commentary by journalists or commentators, entertainment texts, fandom materials, and public commentary on social media. This thesis also engages with the academic material on monarchy described above.

This dataset was stored in reference management software Zotero, and over the course of doing this research I have collected over 2,800 individual texts, which demonstrates the overabundance of royal representations. This expanse of material has allowed me to identify the thematic consistencies of these representations, and as such, I have assembled as representative a sample as possible in this thesis. The selection criteria for this sample were varied: the most historically significant representations; the representations that have been written about most or least; ones that represent a consistency with or a contradiction to the dominant themes; where it was published; when it was published; what the response was; who it was produced by; or why it was produced (indicative list only). Some academic work would choose to make analytical distinctions between various media forms – newspapers as different from films as different from social media posts, for example. However, this project will demonstrate how they can be studied in conjunction as part of a shared cultural field of royal representations, with each medium being important in staging the monarchy in the

public imaginary. After isolating significant texts, I employed a range of methods for analysis: close analysis, thematic or stylistic analysis, semiotic analysis and content analysis.

It is vital to note that any dataset is situated as an act of ‘classifying, collecting and storing information’ (Robertson, 2004: 452), and contains a ‘value judgment concerning the worth of the documents or artifacts it contains’ (Freshwater, 2003: 740). My access to much of my dataset was determined by my situatedness within particular networks. To use one example, I have chosen to follow particular monarchy/anti-monarchy Twitter feeds, which exposed me to their materials and sources. In addition, due to the huge volume of material available, I have not been able to collect every representation of The Firm from 1953 to the present day.

There were also various structures of power at play in what material I had access to. Writing about accessing archives, for example, Griselda Pollock argues that archives ‘are not innocent sites of storage [but] already texts shaped according to the interests and needs of certain groups’ (1993: 12; see also Stoler, 2009; Dever, 2017). Likewise, the monarchy’s control over representations is central to my dataset’s form. For example, the documentary *Royal Family* (dir: Cawston, 1969), discussed at various points in this thesis, has been redacted by The Firm and is now unavailable from any archives, meaning I could not analyse this text as a whole. Chapter Three posed particular challenges in these terms. The data used in Table 3.1 to map the Royal Household is my own original research, undertaken from summer 2016 to winter 2018. As I argue, secrecy is key to The Firm’s operations, and much of this information was not readily available. It required bringing together a diverse range of materials in order to identify key information, for example, extensive searching on the internet, and cross-referencing material from less-reliable sources like Wikipedia, blogs or unofficial biographies with “official” sources such as press releases in order to establish its legitimacy. It also required regular updating, as a large staff changeover in 2017 restructured many of the key names. The data in Chapter Three is, therefore, as extensive an account as I have been able to assemble given these limitations.

Thesis Outline

Chapters Three and Four explore the “backstage” and “frontstage” of monarchy, respectively, and the codependence of invisibility and visibility as forms of power. Chapter Three aims to make dominant ideas of monarchy as apolitical and ceremonial strange by reframing it as The Firm: a corporation. It maps out the mechanics, technologies and industries behind the scenes, and describes The Firm’s labour relations, political economies, financial arrangements, inter/national relationships and networks, and the legal status of The Crown and its components, in order to understand *what the monarchy is*. Furthermore, it argues that these corporate relations are disguised by representations that figure the royal family as a “middle-class family”: The Family Firm. Chapter Four focuses on the “frontstage” of monarchy and regimes of visibility. It examines the Queen’s 1953 coronation as media spectacle, to consider how The Firm experiments with new media technologies to initiate “new” industries of media intimacy with royalty. Crucially, it argues that this visibility is subject to careful construction and control, and royal media spectacle is always precisely manufactured and staged to ensure particular meaning.

The subsequent chapters each take as their principal case study a particular royal figure, to unpack their *meaning* and to describe how they ‘body forth’ (Castañeda, 2002: 3) The Firm in various ways. Chapter Five explores the relationship between the monarch and national identity/ies, taking the example of the 2014 Scottish Referendum on Independence. It analyses the *Daily Telegraph*’s headline ‘Queen’s pledge to help reunite the Kingdom’ (Brown, 2014), which was accompanied by a photograph of the Queen in the grounds of her Balmoral Estate in the Scottish Highlands, to consider how the monarch’s body is a symbolic battleground in establishing the referendum’s meaning in the public imaginary. Chapter Six uses an ethnographic analysis of Poundbury in Dorset, which is built on Duchy of Cornwall land and based on designs by Prince Charles, to make an argument about the relationship between monarchy, land and class hierarchy. It argues that in its design, Poundbury seeks to re-establish a pastoral and feudal vision of class and race relations in Britain. Chapter Seven uses Prince Harry’s work with the Invictus Games to consider The Firm’s relation to military capital and ‘philanthrocapitalism’ (Littler, 2015). It uses Harry’s shifting masculinities to develop a reading of the connections between neoliberal capitalism, masculinities, militarism, mental health, disability and charity. Chapter Eight figures Kate Middleton as a fantasy

1950s “happy housewife” (Friedan, 1965) to consider how she embodies patriarchal constructions of nuclear, conservative, heterosexual family “values”. It suggests that The Firm draw on particular “middle class imaginings” of family life to mask its wealth under a guise of accessibility and “ordinariness”, but demonstrates how this intimacy is limited and stage managed in various ways. Chapter Nine concludes this thesis by considering the relationship between The Firm and power. It includes a brief coda about a new royal figure, Meghan Markle, in order to demonstrate how the framework developed in this thesis can be used to make sense of alternative/future royal figures.

A final note should be included about the choice of names in this thesis. I have chosen to largely discount the official titles of royal figures, and instead use their colloquial names: the Queen, Charles, Harry and Kate. This was a purposeful choice, both because many of the full titles are so unwieldy it is impractical to use them throughout, and in order to reflect the construction of the royals in the public imaginary. As Michael Billig writes in his analysis of people talking about the monarchy, much of this talk was structured around a ‘cheeky familiarity’ rather than a ‘hushed reverence’ (1992: 1), and it is the terrains upon which this “ordinariness” is established that this thesis focuses.

Chapter Three

The (Family) Firm: Monarchy and Corporate Power

Introduction

The wedding of Prince William and Kate Middleton is one of the pivotal moments in the history of the contemporary British monarchy. It attracted two billion television viewers in 180 countries, and one million visitors to London (Otnes and Maclaran, 2015). As has become tradition for royal events since Queen Victoria's reign (Timms, 2018), the day culminated in a ritual appearance from the royal family on the balcony of Buckingham Palace in front of cheering crowds, and William and Kate's kiss promptly became a key image in the history of royal representations (Figure 3.1).



Figure 3.1: 'William and Kate balcony kiss', at Buckingham Palace after the Royal Wedding, 30th April 2011 (Press Association, 2011)

Although predominantly unseen, in the days leading up to the wedding a host of Buckingham Palace staff were involved in setting the balcony as a stage: laying out the iconic red velvet drape (Figure 3.2) and vacuuming it to ensure it is pristine (Figure 3.3). It is this *backstage labour*, as opposed to the frontstage performance, with which this chapter is concerned, and it will pull back the curtain to reveal the mechanics,

technologies and actors behind monarchical spectacle, to expose and demystify the structures of the institution.



Figure 3.2: 'Buckingham Palace staff lay the red velvet drape' on the balcony of the Palace, 29th April 2011
(Getty Images, 2016a)



Figure 3.3: 'Buckingham Palace cleaner vacuums the red velvet drape' on the balcony of the Palace, 29th April 2011
(Getty Images, 2016a)

To do this, this chapter figures the monarchy as The Firm. This appellation has a long and debated history, seeming to originate with Prince Albert/George VI. Denis Judd claims that in 1920, when accused of behaving inappropriately for the royal family, Prince Albert replied ‘we are not a family, we are a firm’ (in Judd, 2012: 40), which Judd suggested was demonstrative of disillusionment with his uncaring parents. Similarly, in the film *The King’s Speech* (dir: Hooper, 2010), he says directly to his father George V, ‘Papa, we are not a family, we’re a firm’, to note the lack of familial intimacy. This demonstrates how the language of ‘The Firm’ has entered into accepted myths about the royal family. However, a more widely cited usage suggests a different meaning. During World War II, George VI is quoted as stating ‘we are the Family Firm’ in reference to himself, Queen Elizabeth, and their daughters, Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret (in Brunt, 1992: 292). This usage was a positive one, referring to the royal’s enactment of “ordinary” British family values to inspire stoicism, strength, and more intimate relations between the monarchy and “the people” throughout the war (Pimlott, 2012). This framing has since reportedly been adapted by the Queen and Prince Philip to refer colloquially to the monarchy as ‘the Family Firm’ (Shrimpsley, 2011), and multiple articles, reports, books and documentaries have used the designation uncritically (for example, Junor, 2006; Curtin, 2012).

While ‘the *Family Firm*’ softens and distracts from institutional operations through notions of familial intimacy, this thesis takes the name more literally, and figures the monarchy as a corporation: The Firm. This chapter draws together a large amount of material, which was extremely difficult to access and source (see Chapter Two for an account of this process), from media representations such as newspapers, magazines, books, films, television programmes, documentaries, social media outputs, websites and blogs; statistical data such as surveys; government, constitutional and legal documents; material goods such as merchandise; and critical academic material. In so doing, I attempt to map out and describe the main features of The Firm’s labour relations, political economies, financial arrangements, inter/national relationships and networks, and the legal status of The Crown and its components, within the framework of the material I could access. I demonstrated in Chapter One how the monarchy is a key player

in financial capitalism, but while the Paradise Papers made this visible, on the whole *the very invisibility of The Firm's social and economic power is its power*. If we pull back the curtain on theatre productions, we find a space larger than the stage filled with props, costumes, hair and make up departments, and invariably underpaid and underappreciated backstage staff. As this chapter will demonstrate, pulling back the curtain and describing the arrangements of monarchy reveals the mechanics, technologies and industries behind the scenes.

The Family Firm

As this thesis will demonstrate, representations of the monarchy as an “ordinary” family unit constitute a central ideological framing of constitutional monarchy in contemporary Britain. Michelle Barrett and Mary McIntosh argue, ‘it is not the institution of monarchy that is popular, it is the royal *family*’ (1991: 32; my emphasis), succinctly illustrating the separation of the royal figures from the institution, which, as I will argue, is often undertaken strategically.¹ Director of Royal Communications Sally Osman (see below), for example, said ‘there is a distinction between what we do to articulate the Monarchy, and its purpose and value, and then the role that each of the individuals play within that story’ (Dunne, 2018).

In 1917, a royal proclamation renamed the monarchy the House of Windsor, replacing their hereditary surname Saxe-Coburg and Gotha after concerns about anti-Germanic sentiment following World War I. Otnes and Maclaran called this ‘brand repositioning’ (2015: 10), aiming to re-align the monarchy with British “family values”, which seem to be heteronormative, nuclear, and middle class. Additionally, the BBC and ITV documentary *Royal Family* (dir: Cawston, 1969) was packaged as what would now be recognised as a fly-on-the-wall documentary, and featured footage of Prince Philip barbecuing meat and the Queen preparing salad on a family picnic (see Chapter Four). Many royal biographies (Pearson, 1986; Lacey, 2002) and academic studies (Coward, 1984; Williamson, 1986; Billig, 1992; Brunt, 1992; Biressi and Nunn, 2013; Littler, 2017) have highlighted the importance of a monarchy built on ideologies of quasi-nuclear familialism and “ordinariness”. Michael Billig’s study of ‘common-sense talk’ (1992: 14)

¹ Barrett and McIntosh use ‘popular’ here to indicate positive public feeling. I would extend Barrett and McIntosh’s argument to suggest that in some cases this also works the opposite way round: it is not the royal *family* that is popular, but the institution of monarchy. For example, British national identity is bound up with a sense of the monarchical institution as timeless and representative (see Chapter Five). This works in different ways, in different sociopolitical contexts, and is more complex than Barrett and McIntosh allow.

about the British monarchy found the public simultaneously referenced royal “ordinariness” while retaining a sense of awe and majesty at their “extraordinariness”. Rosalind Coward, meanwhile, declared the monarchy ‘the longest-running soap opera in Britain’ (1984: 163), with royal representations resembling a ‘family melodrama... preoccupied with sexual relations, marriage, the unity... internal conflict... and... disintegration of the family’ (1984: 164). In Chapter Eight, this thesis explores how the Cambridges perform a middle-class, nuclear familialism for the contemporary age: this is the *heteromonarchy*.

A Family Firm, meanwhile, is defined as having ‘a family member [as] chief executive officer... [with] at least two generations of family control’ (Coli and Rose, 1999: 24). It is a particularly British phenomenon, as epitomised in Napoleon’s description – later appropriated by Margaret Thatcher – of ‘a nation of shop-keepers’ (Homans, 1998a: 5). Although Family Firms still exist, their heyday pre-dated corporate capitalism, and they were most widespread in the Victorian age, playing an important role in mediating various forms of capital emerging in this era (Nenadic, 1993). At each shift of capitalism, particular figures emerged as the “vulgar” faces of capitalist wealth, “contaminating” the “natural” economic order of the aristocratic landowner through a series of ‘moralizing oppositions’ (Edgerton, 2018: 103). Nicholas B. Dirks describes how the eighteenth-century dominance of the East India Company led to a moral panic about ‘nabobs’: mercantile elites who returned from India with large fortunes to ‘marry... into the families of the old gentry, buy... their way into Parliament, and destroy... stable patterns of investment and economy’ (2008: 9). Likewise, Stana Nenadic (1993) argues that middle-class commercial business owners in the Victorian era were seen to compromise a social class order grounded in the morality of the family and inherited wealth. To counter this, “the family” became the model for early business organisation (*ibid.*). “The Family Firm” was a way in which to mimic the landed estate ‘which privileged the relationship between the enterprise and the family’ (Nenadic, 1993: 87) as a ‘major source of capital formation’ (Davidoff and Hall, 2002: xxvii), and also to draw on the ‘moral values of the family as the bedrock of social and economic life’ (Nenadic, 1993: 87). As Nenadic summarises, ‘the public integrity of the firm was built on the public integrity of the family’ (*ibid.*).

This led to the exploitation of ‘family mythologies as part of an entrepreneurial strategy’ (ibid.: 88, see also Zellweger et al., 2012). In the 1930/40s, General Motors² advertised themselves as a family organisation, claiming ‘the word corporation is cold, impersonal... ‘Family’ is personal, human, friendly’ (in Bakan, 2004: 18). More recently, a 2014 YouGov survey found ‘managers of big businesses’ and ‘entrepreneurs’ scored a net negative rating on trustworthiness, while ‘managers of small businesses’ received a net positive rating (Shakespeare, 2014), demonstrating the ongoing credibility of “the family” as a source of morality. This also extends to contemporary popular culture, with “family brands” such as the Beckhams and the Kardashians ‘treating the family as a site of commercial productivity’ (Pramaggiore and Negra, 2014: 89). As Maria Pramaggiore and Diana Negra argue, this family branding ‘emblematizes nepotistic and oligarchic industry structures consistent with those developing more generally across the economy’ (2014: 91; see also Kompare, 2009). Associating oneself with the positive moral economy of family, then, was ideologically advantageous for both the aristocracy and the emergent middle classes as a way of making capitalism in its different forms respectable across historical periods.

I argue that the contemporary monarchy draws on a specific model of “the family” propagated by Queen Victoria, and embedded in the rise of the middle classes in the Victorian period. Due to the Industrial Revolution creating new commercial business owners and entrepreneurs, as well as advancements in print culture and transport infrastructure which facilitated links between localities (Kidd and Nicholls, 1998) and expanding education prospects (Gunn, 2005), a new “middle class” emerged which differed from the aristocracy above, and the working classes below (Gunn and Bell, 2002). Steph Lawler argues that middle-class identity differentiated itself through a claim to ‘culture, morality, and modernity’, which ‘solidified into an identity that has come to silently occupy a “normal” ground’ (2011: 56; see also Bourdieu, 1986; Sutcliffe-Braithwaite, 2018). That is, ‘middle-classness [became] the benchmark against which other groups are measured’ (ibid.).

The nuclear, heteronormative family was a key signifier of Victorian respectable “middle-classness”, which arose alongside/in accordance with the development of the “separate spheres” of work and home and the domestic virtuosity of the wife and mother (Harris,

² General Motors is an American corporation that manufactures and distributes vehicles and vehicle parts.

1993; Davidoff and Hall, 2002; Gordon and Nair, 2003; Steedman, 2009). The aristocracy drew on this “ordinary” bourgeoisie sensibility in order to distance themselves from classed associations with greed, profligacy and debauchery (Colley, 1992; Sutcliffe-Braithwaite, 2018); Queen Victoria included. While for earlier monarchs “the court” was the centre stage of political power and the ‘royal “family” didn’t exist as a concept’ except as a sign of dynastic supremacy (Schama, 1986: 155), Victoria’s reign was characterised by portraits of domestic and interior scenes. Developments in the media – particularly video and photographic technologies – meant Victoria’s subjects could experience the illusion of more “intimate” interactions with their monarch (Plunkett, 2003; Merck, 2016), and Victoria performed ‘royal domestic privacy’ as public spectacle (Homans, 1993: 4). Of course, as this chapter will explore for the contemporary royal family, these representations obscured the background labour of nannies, governesses and servants (Thompson, 1990). In his argument about heritage cinema, Cairns Craig (2001) makes a similar observation about how workers are consigned to the background of shots as small, silent, anonymous figures. But representations depicted royal palaces as family homes, and Victoria and Albert as loving parents playing with their children as part of ‘the domestic, bourgeois values of stability, comfort and security’ (Nadel, 1987: 170). This also played out on a wider scale with Victoria depicted as the grandmother of the nation, the Empire and – after most of her children married into European royalty – Europe (Cannadine, 2000; Merck, 2016). This grandmotherly role produces an affective relationship between monarch(y) and citizens, suggesting we are all part of The Family Firm. At the same time, it can be read as a violent gesture of hierarchy, infantilising the citizens because we are her grandchildren as opposed to equal partners. Margaret Homans (1993) suggests these gendered representations were political, seeking to mediate the role of the monarch(y) under nineteenth-century parliamentary democracy. She argues that monarch(y) was modeled on the role of middle-class wives, who were required to act as public symbols of their husband’s values and status, while monarchy acts as a public symbol of the nation’s values and status. Drawing on middle-class values, then, was ‘an effective strategy... for handling... public relations’ at a time when monarchies across Europe were being dismantled (Homans, 1998b: 2).

As this thesis, particularly Chapter Eight, demonstrates, the contemporary monarchy’s performance of Victorian, middle-class, family values is ‘an intensely political project’

(Campbell, 1988: 48; see also Sutcliffe-Braithwaite, 2018). It is a prism, distancing The Firm from wealthy oligarchs and capitalist dynasties such as the Bransons and the Trumps – with whom The Firm actually has a lot more in common than the typical, middle-class family. Indeed, keeping the royal family clean of associations with capitalist vulgarity is a central ideological project to produce consent for the monarchy in the public imaginary. Elsewhere, monarchy and corporation are more visibly conflated and interrelated. The Princely Family of Lichtenstein, for example, own Lichtenstein's biggest financial group, LGT, with Prince Maximilian acting as CEO (Bain, 2016). That family is estimated to be worth \$5 billion (*ibid.*), and LGT's corporate strategy draws on monarchical and familial discourse. It describes itself as a 'family-run company', and the LGT Code of Conduct is embedded in 'rules' established in the seventeenth century by Prince Gundaker (LGT, 2017). Notably, Prince Maximilian and his younger brother Prince Constantin have both previously worked as bankers and/or obtained degrees in finance (Bain, 2016), demonstrating visible connections between monarchy and corporate power. This chapter seeks to make the corporate power of the British monarchy visible, drawing together a wealth of material and data to attempt to map out the relations that "*The Family Firm*" obscures.

Neoliberal Capitalism and the Corporate Firm

Describing the monarchy as a corporation is less of a jump when considering that The Crown is legally a common law corporation. As I demonstrate in Chapter Five, historical distinctions between the monarch's "body natural" and "body politic" reflect the symbolic Crown being vested in the living body of a sovereign. Medieval law used Roman ideas of the body politic as '*universitas*, a corporation of the polity', in order to distinguish between The Crown and the monarch's natural body (Loughlin in Sunkin and Payne, 1999: 53). This means laws made regarding, and assets belonging to, the monarchy will automatically pass to the succeeding monarch upon death (Wade in Sunkin and Payne, 1999).

Although no literature has considered the British monarchy in the precise terms of a corporation, some research has addressed the idea that monarchy functions as a brand. Management scholar John MT Balmer (2009, 2011) applies economic theory and business strategy to design a framework for royal brand management, the 'Royal Branding Mix', and suggests that the monarchy relies on continuity, visibility, strategy,

sensitivity, respectability and empathy to ensure its reproduction. Cele C. Otnes and Pauline Maclaran take a marketing perspective in their development of the 'Royal Family Brand Complex' (2015). They suggest that the monarchy has five brand components, which each contributes 'one or more unique dimensions that enable it to retain its allure' (2015: 30). These are the global brand (how the monarchy is reproduced internationally), the human brand (how monarchical representations connote accessibility and ordinariness), the family brand (the suggestion that the royal figures have individual personalities), the heritage brand (connections to traditional rituals) and the luxury brand (an association with prestige and quality). Brand Finance (2012) – a global brand consultation company – undertook an exercise in which they treated the monarchy as a client to calculate its value in terms of tangible and intangible assets. They concluded that the monarchy is 'one of the UK's most valuable assets' (2012: 5). Finally, although more descriptive than analytical, in *Royalty Inc.: Britain's Best Known Brand* (2015), journalist Stephen Bates develops an account of the mechanisms that facilitate the monarchy's longevity, for instance, the evolution of royal public relations.

Although branding is certainly one aspect of the monarchy's corporatisation, it shifts the conceptual framework slightly. "Brand" can be etymologically traced to Middle English notions of branding (marking) someone/something to signify ownership and domination (Oxford Dictionaries, 2017a), and became associated with marketing in the twentieth century (Bastos and Levy, 2012). Contemporary marketing literature understands branding as 'distinguish[ing] a particular product or service from its competitors' (Kotler et al., 2009:425), which means differentiating a product from other (usually similar) items in the marketplace.

The monarchy has demonstrated its awareness of brand management with the development of brands such as the 'Royal Collection Trust' (manages the Royal Collection and tourism at royal residences), 'Duchy Originals' (Prince Charles's organic food range), 'Highgrove' (Prince Charles's garden tours and home products shop) and the 'Windsor Farm Shop' (organic produce shop) (Otnes and Maclaran, 2015). Prince William, Kate Middleton and Prince Harry have created companies specifically to protect their brand and 'intellectual property rights' (Rayner, 2014b). 'APL Anglesey', 'CE Strathearn' and 'Tsessebe', respectively, remain dormant but are run by William, Kate and Harry's Private Secretaries. Royal brand visibility is ensured through official

merchandise sold at royal tourist sites and other national stores, such as Waitrose and Harrods (Otnes and Maclaran, 2015). Blower's political cartoon (Figure 2.4), published in *The Daily Telegraph* in 2011, illustrates this with a satirical depiction of William and Kate's visit to Canada that year. The commercial brand of monarchy that usually operates quietly is made spectacularly visible, as the couple cash in on their popularity. Royal branding is also not a new venture. In *Selling the Tudor Monarchy* (2009) and *Image Wars* (2010), Kevin Sharpe argues that Tudor monarchies undertook purposeful public relations through the careful crafting of portraiture, coinage and public appearances.



Figure 3.4: 'Blower cartoon: good value monarchy'. Cartoon by Blower of William and Kate's Canada visit (Blower, 2011)

In contrast to the etymology of “brand”, the notion of “the Firm” derives from an autograph or signature, before referring to a “company” in the late eighteenth century (Oxford Dictionaries, 2017c). It is analogous to “corporation”, which refers to a company with distinct legal personhood (Bakan, 2004) and derives from the Latin ‘corporare’, meaning ‘combine in one body’ (Oxford Dictionaries, 2017b). Corporations can, under their own identity, ‘acquire assets, employ workers, pay taxes, and go to court’ (Bakan, 2004: 16).

The development of the Firm/corporation in the UK is complex, and rooted in political struggle. Historically, The Crown used private corporations to manage public services,

such as municipalities, universities or the Corporation of London managing London's financial district (Robins, 2012; see documentary *The Spider's Web*, 2017 for an exploration of the Corporation of London). The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw the establishment of chartered companies, which were complex, multi-national businesses that traded international goods (*ibid.*). The Bubble Act 1720 decreed that these could only be created through Royal Charters – documents issued by The Crown to grant power – and many monarchs benefitted directly from trade deals through custom duties paid to The Crown (Micklethwait and Wooldridge, 2003). Hence, The Crown was central to the development of financial capitalism.

Over the next two centuries the Bubble Act was repealed, and the Companies Act 1862 made limited liability joint-stock companies distinct legal entities, granted the same rights as humans and negating the need for a Royal Charter (Micklethwait and Wooldridge, 2003).³ The Industrial Revolution in the late nineteenth century initiated the development of large-scale corporations, with a separation of ownership and control and multidivisional organisational structures (Bruland and O'Brien, 1998). Finally, the period since the Queen's 1953 coronation has seen significant sociopolitical shifts, from the public funded post-war welfare state through to neoliberal deregulation and privatisation (Meek, 2014). The shift to neoliberal capitalism has seen the power of the state and the power of the free market combine, with state governments 'governing for the market... working tirelessly to unlock impediments to capital, to deregulate resource extraction, and to 'securitize' profits within the new global class of the super-rich' (Tyler, 2013: 6; see also Harvey, 2005).

The following section examines the economist trajectory through Marxist stages of capitalism to explore how The Firm is analogous to a neoliberal corporation.

Working for The Firm

The starting point to this analysis is the infrastructure of staff, which I define as those working directly for The Firm in their palaces. In a chapter entitled 'The Crown and its Employees', Robert Watt describes civil servants, military servants and ministers as employees of The Crown (in Sunkin and Payne, 1999). Although not inaccurate, this

³ Limited liability was highly contentious, with critics suggesting it would benefit wealthy business owners at the expense of workers. The building of British railways prompted a further shift to corporatisation, as approving a Royal Charter for each company wishing to build particular sections of track proved too time-consuming, and was abolished (Barron Baskin and Miranti, Jr., 1997).

approach does not fit the narrative of domestic employment I want to tell here. As Beverley Skeggs (2015: 217) argues, ‘the ability to use the time of others in whatever form is what is significant to making and maintaining... class relation[s]’. The ‘time and energy’ (*ibid.*) labour of the lower classes is used in order to reproduce The Firm’s power.

The Firm currently employs around 1,200 staff⁴ (Stockman, 2014b) across a number of Royal Households, the largest of which is the Household of Elizabeth II.⁵ This is based at Buckingham Palace, which is typically considered the administrative headquarters of The Firm (Barry, 1985; Hoey, 2011). Indeed, borrowing the language of the Victorian family shopkeeper, Prince Philip allegedly refers to life in Buckingham Palace as living ‘over the shop’ (Barry, 1985: 4). The Household of Elizabeth II is overseen by the Lord Chamberlain, and work is departmentalised: the Lord Chamberlain’s Office (ceremonies and public events); the Private Secretary’s Office (constitutional and political duties, communications); The Privy Purse and Treasurer’s Office (finance); The Master of the Household’s Department (catering, hospitality and housekeeping); and the Royal Collection Trust (maintaining the Royal Collection) (Hoey, 2003; Burrell, 2004; British Monarchy, 2016). Full-time staff are supplemented by ceremonial roles vested in performance and “tradition”, which are largely unpaid (see, for instance, Stockman, 2014a), as well as temporary staff employed during ceremonial occasions (Otnes and Maclaran, 2015) and busy tourist periods (Neville et al., 2013). The organisation of personnel reflects the bureaucracy and multidivisional nature of contemporary corporations, with the Queen as Vice President, the Lord Chamberlain equivalent to Chairman, the Queen’s Private Secretary acting as Managing Director or Chief Executive, and each Head of Department as a sector manager.

Accounts from inside the Royal Household suggest a strictly demarcated staff hierarchy across higher- and lower-paid staff, and this hierarchy is usually built around proximity to

⁴ There are conflicting accounts of the exact number of royal staff. Some have estimated 426 (Millard, 2015), some 800 (London, 2014), and others 1,200 (Stockman, 2014b; Brookes, 2015; Otnes and Maclaran, 2015). A report on royal finances by the National Audit Office in 2013 calculated that there were 436 staff currently employed in the Royal Household, but as this report is concerned with the Sovereign Grant, it suggests that this number only refers to those employed by the Queen, as Charles’s staff are paid from the money he receives from the Duchy of Cornwall. I have chosen the 1,200 figure as this is suggested by a number of different reports, and it seems a more likely figure to incorporate staff across all Royal Households and all palaces, as well as temporary and casual workers.

⁵ There are also Households for core members of the royal family: the Household of the Duke of Edinburgh, the Household of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall, the Household of Duke and Duchess of Cambridge and the Duke and Duchess of Sussex, the Household of the Duke of York, the Household of the Duke and Duchess of Wessex, and the Household of the Princess Royal. Lesser royal households also include the Household of the Duke and Duchess of Gloucestershire, the Household of the Duke and Duchess of Kent, the Household of Prince and Princess Michael of Kent, and the Household of Princess Alexandra.

the royals (Barry, 1983). Staff are grouped together in categories, and there is a dramaturgy of ritual and etiquette. Dependent on position, staff are subjected to segregated dining locations/timings, whereby ‘junior members’ (butlers, housekeepers) are given self-service meals on plastic seats and plastic cutlery on the ground floor of Buckingham Palace; ‘officials’ (long-serving members, dressers, chauffeurs) dine on upholstered chairs with silver cutlery; ‘senior officials’ (personal secretaries, press officers) are permitted sherry or wine, and ‘members’ (ladies-in-waiting, Private Secretary) are served by junior staff using china plates and wine from the royal cellars (Burrell, 2004). There are also varying hiring practices and enormous variations in wages and benefits. While the more senior staff groups are typically headhunted and often employed without formal interview (Somerset, 1984; Hoey, 2003; Arbiter, 2014), lower-level staff must complete an application form, undertake a phone interview, and attend an Assessment Day at Buckingham Palace. The Assessment Day includes a formal panel interview as well as a fictional scenario, for example one interviewee had to act as a valet (personal assistant) and correctly lay out uniform for a fictional palace guest (Brookes, 2015). This is interesting in terms of the contemporary shift in Royal Household hiring practices. Historically, almost all positions were hereditary, until the Keeper of the Privy Purse modernised royal finances in 1996 and introduced five-year contracts (Hoey, 2003). Stephen P. Barry’s interview for a valet position in the late 1960s involved being judged ‘entirely on appearance’, for instance if he was tall enough (1983: 21). Now, all staff are expected to have some experience in relevant industries, such as hospitality (see, for instance, The Royal Household, 2015)

Salaries also vary. A Housekeeping Assistant position was advertised in 2015 at £14,513.16 per annum (The Royal Household, 2015), which, presuming a 37.5 hours per week contract (it advertises for ‘five days’), is significantly less than the London living wage.⁶ Pay scales for senior staff are not publically advertised, but biographer Brian Hoey suggested that in 2011 the Queen’s Private Secretary was paid £146,000 and the Keeper of the Privy Purse £180,000 (2011). In 2011-12 the Household allegedly froze pay for all staff earning over £21,000 (National Audit Office, 2013), but reports have suggested some of the top earners saw increases of up to 6.4% regardless (Press Association, 2013). This reflects how UK elite wages continue to rise after the North Atlantic financial crash and austerity economics, despite average UK household income decreasing over this

⁶ Since writing this chapter, the official royal website has removed the salary from many of the job advertisements.

period (Elliott, 2017). Meanwhile, the use of temporary contracts across the Royal Households is increasing. Some cleaners are agency staff typically not paid the living wage (Shakespeare, 2015); footmen are sourced from elite colleges to undertake unpaid “internships” at state banquets (Hoey, 2003); and 350 part-time summer staff were hired on zero hour contracts for Buckingham Palace’s summer opening period in 2013 (Neville et al., 2013). These contracts were organised by The Royal Collection Trust, and stipulated that there are no fixed hours of employment and staff are not allowed to seek additional employment elsewhere without permission. Despite this, Buckingham Palace released a statement refusing to acknowledge them as zero hours contracts, claiming that they are fixed-term and staff are entitled to benefits such as free lunches, holiday pay and uniforms (Neville et al., 2013; Anonymous, 2015). Some staff are members of the Public and Commercial Services Union⁷, and in 2015 they threatened industrial action for the first time over working conditions and pay (Rayner, 2015).

Benefit packages are also offered hierarchically. Junior staff are offered accommodation within Buckingham Palace – typically single rooms with gendered and hierarchical segregation – costing 17.5% of wages in rent (Hoey, 2003, 2011; Burrell, 2004). Meanwhile, many senior staff receive “grace-and-favour” (either reduced rent or free) apartments in other royal buildings, the extent of which remains undisclosed (Verkaik, 2010b).⁸ All staff must sign a confidentiality agreement upon employment, forbidding them from publically acknowledging their work (Hoey, 2003). The consequences of these agreements being broken were revealed in 2003, when *Daily Mirror* journalist Ryan Parry posed as a footman to work at Buckingham Palace for two months, before serialising his experiences in the newspaper. Buckingham Palace sued Parry for breach of contract, and his stories were redacted (Byrne, 2003; Dougherty and Jobson, 2003).

The ‘Revolving Door’

Mapping the current senior members of the Royal Household demonstrates a number of networked labour relations between The Firm and other institutions and corporations. Table 3.1 illustrates current occupiers of key posts within each department, plus additional information about their employment and personal histories. Due to a

⁷ This union predominantly represents workers in UK government departments and other public bodies.

⁸ Prince and Princess Michael of Kent were allegedly renting a luxury apartment in Kensington Palace for £70 a week in 2002. This cost taxpayers around £15 million a year in subsidies (Herald Scotland, 2002).

significant staff changeover in 2017 (see below), this table also includes some previous longstanding holders of these positions.

Table 3.1: ‘The Royal Household’⁹

Household members	More information
<u>Lord Chamberlain</u> William James Robert Peel, 3rd Earl Peel, 2006-	Peer in the House of Lords. Shareholder at JP Morgan Fleming Overseas Investment Trust, ETFS Metal Securities Limited, Moonpig.com PLC, amongst others. Landowner of farms in North Yorkshire. Married to Hon. Charlotte Clementine Soames, granddaughter of Winston Churchill (The Peerage, 2015).
<u>Private Secretary’s Office</u> Edward Young, Private Secretary, 2017- <i>Previous position holder:</i> Christopher Geidt, Private Secretary, 2007-2017	Promoted from Deputy Private Secretary (The Official Website of the British Monarchy, 2017). Former employment: Barclays Bank as Deputy Head of Corporate Public Relations (1997-2000). Advisor to William Hague as Leader of the Opposition (2000-2001). Head of Communications at Granada (2001-2004) (Pascoe-Watson, 2012; LinkedIn Profile, 2016)
Deputy Private Secretary Matthew Magee, Assistant Private Secretary, 2017-	Attended elite prep and boarding schools, owns a 365-acre sheep farm, served in the Scots Guards and as an army intelligence officer, undertook diplomatic roles for the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, rumoured to have worked for MI6 (Kerevan, 2015). Married to daughter of Baron Neill of Bladen (The Peerage, 2014) .
Sally Osman, Director of Royal Communications, 2014-2018	Unknown as of November 2018 due to staff changes, see below. Promoted from Prince Edward’s Private Secretary (Royston, 2018).

⁹ This information is correct to my best knowledge as of November 2018, compiled from information on the internet and in media publications. See Chapter Two for an account of the complexities of bringing this information together.

Steve Kingstone, Media Secretary to the Queen, ¹⁰ 2017-2018	Former BBC Foreign Correspondent (BBC, 2008). Announced his departure in July 2018, at time of writing his replacement is yet to be announced (Ship, 2018).
<i>Previous position holder:</i> James Roscoe, Communications Secretary to the Queen, 2014-2017	Moved to Director for Communications and Stakeholders at the Department for Exiting the European Union in September 2017 (GOV.UK, 2018). Former employment: Media advisor to Gordon Brown, Foreign Office diplomat at the UN (Evening Standard, 2013). Married to BBC Radio 3 presenter Clemency Burton-Hill (Evening Standard, 2017).
Julian Payne, Communications Secretary to Charles and Camilla, 2016-	Former employment: Vice President of PR and Corporate Relations for Burberry, Director of Communications for the BBC following the Jimmy Saville scandal ¹¹ , Senior Publicist for Sky, partner at public relations company Henry's House with clients such as Honda and the Beckhams (Owens, 2014; Proctor, 2016).
Jason Knauf, Communications Secretary to William, Kate, Harry and Meghan, 2015-	Former employment: Director of Corporate Affairs for RBS, press officer at HM Treasury, Advisor to New Zealand's Prime Minister (Rayner, 2014a)
<u>Privy Purse</u>	
Sir Alan Reid, Keeper of the Privy Purse, 2002-2017	Former senior partner with KPMG (Herald Scotland, 2016).
Michael Stevens, Deputy, 2015-2018; Keeper of the Privy Purse, 2018-	Former employment: KPMG (Herald Scotland, 2016).
<u>Lord Chamberlain's Office</u>	
Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Andrew Ford, Comptroller, 2006-	Trained at Sandhurst, served with the Grenadier Guards in the British Army (The London Gazette, 1979).
<u>Master of the Household</u>	
Vice-Admiral Anthony	Member of the Royal Navy, served in Falklands (Merco

¹⁰ The name of this position has changed over the years of the Queen's reign from Press Secretary, to Communications Secretary, and in 2016 it became Media Secretary, demonstrating a shifting relationship between the monarchy and the media industries (@PeterDGPHunt, 2016). Director of Royal Communications Sally Osman said the change from Press Secretary to Communications Secretary was a purposeful decision: 'we are a communications office and we deal with all sorts of media' (Dunne, 2018)

¹¹ This refers to reports which revealed that BBC television presenter Jimmy Saville had committed sexual abuse against hundreds of victims throughout his fifty-year broadcasting career.

Johnstone-Burt, Master of the Household, 2013-	Press, 2006) . Former Chief of Staff at NATO (NATO, 2013).
Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Richards, Deputy Master of the Household, 1999-	Served in the British Armed Forces.
<u>Royal Collection</u>	
Jonathan Marsden, Director, 2010-	Former curator for the National Trust (The Royal Collection, 2009).

The gendered and raced divide here is notable, as white males typically occupy top positions (this is also notable in lower positions, and the first black equerry was only hired in 2017; Pells, 2017).¹² In 2018, figures submitted to the government's gender pay gap reporting service showed that women in the Royal Household are paid 12.39% less than men (Palmer, 2018). There are also distinct accumulations of class privilege, with over-representation from elite schools, landowners and titled families.

For my purposes, Table 3.1 is primarily revealing of cross-institutional relationships. This 'revolving door' (Davis, 2018: 126) between networks is typical of elite corporations and institutions in order to preserve privilege and wealth. As Andrew Sayer writes, 'the plutocracy make use of a dense lattice of relationships between businesses, trade and professional organisations, think-tanks, lobbying firms, politicians, political party researchers and special advisers to politicians' (2015: 245; see also Edgerton, 2018), which reproduces nepotism. Likewise, in an analysis of what she terms 'disaster capitalism' (see Chapter Seven), Naomi Klein suggests that the 'once clear line between the state and the complex' has disappeared, and many politicians 'feel entitled to occupy both worlds simultaneously' (2007: 315) in order to exploit opportunities for profit. This is a blurring of boundaries The Firm has always engaged in. Seamus Milne's analysis of Westminster lobbying (2013) argues that the revolving door demonstrates how 'corporate and financial power have merged into the state', and is evidence of how 'Britain is now an increasingly corrupt country at its highest levels'.

In the Royal Household, there are four key previous and/or future employers: corporations, military, broadcasters and the civil service (see below for an account of the

¹² This is revealing of the gendered and raced norms of the monarchy as a whole, which is a theme explored throughout this thesis. It is also more generally typical of the white, heteropatriarchal structures of neoliberal corporations and governments – see, for instance, President of the United States Donald Trump's cabinet and senate.

new ‘revolving door’ between the Royal Household and the Department for Exiting the European Union). Sir Alan Reid and Michael Stevens have both worked with finance corporation KPMG¹³, and previous Keeper of the Privy Purse, Sir Michael Peat, retained his partnership with KPMG upon joining the Royal Household in 1990 (The Telegraph, 2011). KPMG was also founded by Peat’s great-grandfather (McClure, 2014), demonstrating how the elites employ experts from ‘a handful of firms’ that dominate the sector (Davis, 2018: 127). Corporate banks Barclays and RBS also feature in Table 3.1. These affiliations reveal how corporate businessmen appeal to the strategies of the Royal Household, demonstrating the merging of “new money” and “old money”. Previous Merchant Banker and Lord Chamberlain from 1984-1997, David Airlie, illustrated the value of corporate experience when he implemented 160 changes to the Royal Household to streamline operations (Junor, 2006).

The military recurs throughout Table 3.1, which reflects the interlinked histories of the military and The Firm explored in Chapter Seven. The current Master of the Household (always sourced from the Armed Forces), Anthony Johnstone-Burt, has stated similarities in the aims and organisational structure of the military and the Royal Household, both of which emphasise ‘the pursuit of excellence, and...teamwork’ (Gerbeau, 2016). There are also parallels between the value systems of the two institutions, namely the ideological objective to “serve the Queen”. Indeed, many staff cite this as a key motivation for their roles. Prince Charles’s valet, Stephen Barry, said many staff ‘are natural royalists who work for the monarchy for the same romantic reasons I did’ (1985: 20). This raises interesting questions about people’s investments in reproducing The Firm when they are paid poor wages and granted poor living conditions, with motivations seeming to rest on issues of nationalism, sovereignty, and the reproduction of class hierarchies. Further connections between the Royal Household and the military are evident in the hiring of equerries, who are officers in the Armed Forces seconded to the royal family for a fixed term of three years, and prescribed to senior members of the royal family as a personal attendant. However, their pay continues to be provided by the Armed Forces, costing the military around £500,000 per annum (Ministry of Defence, 2014).

¹³ In a recent scandal, KPMG were implicated in the collapse of management company Carillion in 2018, after they were investigated for approving accounts 10 months before Carillion’s liquidation (Williams, 2018). Carillion were one of the key companies profiting from the outsourcing of public services to private corporations, meaning The Firm has worked with a finance corporation that hid the accounts of an outsourcing corporation.

Finally, there are several connections to broadcasting institutions, particularly in the Communications Office: Granada, Sony, BBC, Channel 5 and British Sky Broadcasting all feature. Multiple observations can be made here. Firstly, these individuals are likely to retain relationships with former colleagues, giving The Firm access to the largest broadcasters in the UK. Secondly, employees will understand how national and corporate news media editorial processes work, suggesting an inherent skill in presenting and packaging royal events in digestible ways for the news cycle. Thirdly, it can be assumed that if transfer to the Royal Household is part of an established career trajectory, this will have influenced decisions made in-post. For example, an executive at the BBC who might desire a job in the Royal Household may make decisions which benefit The Firm.

Court Culture in The Firm

The current structure of Royal Communications is new, having undergone a significant overhaul in 2014 when the Communications Offices of all senior royals merged into one department in Buckingham Palace, headed by Director of Royal Communications Sally Osman, having previously been entirely separate (Rayner, 2014c). This suggests an attempt to streamline public relations and make public engagement more coherent, as well as being a key step in preparing the Royal Household for the succession of King Charles III. As Osman claims, ‘there is now an incredibly good, collaborative operation across all households because we are all working in the interests of the institution’ (Dunne, 2018). However, this restructure seems to have caused significant issues. Sir Christopher Geidt and Sally Osman both left their posts in 2017/18 after what has been described by BBC Royal Correspondent Peter Hunt as a ‘bloodless coup’ by Charles, so he can ‘exercise more control over the monarchy’s direction of travel’ (BBC, 2017). Neither Geidt nor Osman have responded to this claim.

This power struggle reveals the politics of Royal Household management, as various factions clash over appropriate administration. It also reveals the importance of the top courtiers, and the influence these backstage figures have over The Firm’s management. Just as early modern courts were populated by aristocrats and noblemen who formed the centre of government and society (Elias, 1983; Smuts, 1987; Keay, 2008), The Firm’s court remains populated by actors who have significant political and social influence. For example, Sally Osman, James Roscoe and Jason Knauf were all listed in the *Evening Standard’s ‘Progress 1000: London’s most influential people 2017’* in the category of

‘Communicators: Media’ (Evening Standard, 2017). Their inclusion alongside key media figures such as the Chief Executive of News UK Rebekah Brooks, Editor-in-Chief of the *Daily Mail* Paul Dacre, and the BBC’s political editor Laura Kuenssberg, demonstrates the power of the Royal Household in shaping British media culture. Likewise, Sally Osman was named Communications Professional of the Year in 2018 by CorpComms magazine (Dunne, 2018).¹⁴

The Sovereign’s Private Secretary is part of a ‘golden triangle’ of senior royal courtiers and civil servants, alongside the Cabinet Secretary and the Prime Minister’s Private Secretary (Watt, 2014). The Private Secretary is the central channel of communication between the monarch and the government (Bogdanor, 1995), deals with all official correspondence, and organises the Queen’s programme (including writing her speeches). Although officially a neutral liaison figure, Paul H. Emden suggests ‘to prescribe the limits of his activities, to fix once and for all the sphere of his influence, is impossible’ (1934: 14). Despite its importance, the position evolved organically (see Bogdanor, 1995) and it is not elected – indeed many citizens do not know of its existence (Kerevan, 2015).

The Firm’s operations are also strategically managed during secretive meetings of “the Way Ahead Group”, which is chaired by the Queen and consists of senior courtiers and senior royals (Klein, 2011). It was established in 1992, after public approval for monarchy dropped after the “annus horribilis” (see Chapter One; *ibid.*). It convenes twice a year, does not keep minutes of the meetings, and deals with key issues, such as deciding the Queen should pay voluntary income tax (see below; *ibid.*). The secretive nature of these meetings poses key issues of accountability and transparency. The corporate-sounding name is also a striking indication of The Firm’s objectives, suggestive of looking towards the future, modernising the institution, and anticipating problems.

The Economics of The Firm

The second stage of considering the neoliberal Firm is to explore its economics: funding, wealth and value.

¹⁴ CorpComms magazine is a monthly publication aimed at those who work in corporate communication.

Funding

The British government has provided financial support to the monarch since 1688 (Tomkins in Sunkin and Payne, 1999). The arrangement of a fixed payment developed to allow parliament more control over expenditure, where previously the payment fluctuated with the whims of each monarch (ibid.). From 1760 to 2011, this was the Civil List: an annual payment, rising with inflation, in return for all the profits from the Crown Estate (National Audit Office, 2013). The last Civil List payment in March 2011 amounted to £7.9 million (ibid.). This total was then supplemented by grants-in-aid, which funded official engagements, travel (including helicopter use, chartered flights and the royal train), and property maintenance (ibid.). In 2015, royal travel costs amounted to £4 million. One trip on the royal train from Scotland to Yorkshire cost £33,000, and charter plane flights for Charles and Camilla to Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo cost over £94,000 (Herald Scotland, 2016a).

Crucially, only the Queen claimed from the Civil List. Charles, Camilla, William, Harry, Kate and Meghan are all financed by profits from Duchy of Cornwall (The Prince of Wales and the Duchess of Cornwall Royal Household, 2016), and other members receive income from the Privy Purse (Brand Finance Journal, 2012). The Privy Purse comprises surplus income from the Duchy of Lancaster¹⁵, a portfolio of land and property belonging to The Crown, which totaled £16 million in 2015 (Palmer, 2015). The quartet of funding bodies is completed by the Queen’s “personal income” from her “private” portfolio of property and investments (including the Balmoral and Sandringham Estates; ibid.), although the idea of “personal wealth” should be queried given that the history of monarchy is a history of extraction, enclosure and exploitation (see Chapters One, Five and Six).

In October 2011, the government replaced the Civil List and grant-in-aid with the Sovereign Grant (the Privy Purse and “personal funding” remain intact). This is an annual payment calculated from a percentage of the Crown Estate’s net income. This aimed to improve accountability, with the National Audit Office and Public Accounts Committee undertaking regular examinations (National Audit Office, 2013). However, as anti-monarchy campaigners Republic have reported, concerns arising from these

¹⁵ The Crown has possessed the Duchy of Lancaster since 1399, when the Duke of Lancaster Henry Bolingbroke became Henry IV. This estate is administered by the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, which is invested in the Cabinet Office minister. The Duchy of Lancaster comprises over 18,000 hectares of countryside land, plus urban holdings including the Savoy estate in London (Bates, 2015).

examinations have been routinely dismissed by the government (2015). Furthermore, although the *Financial Times* used the language of financial capital to describe the Sovereign Grant as ‘performance-related pay’ (Shrimley, 2011), it does not reflect the actual profits/losses of the Crown Estate. A House of Commons Research Paper stated that using the Crown Estate profits was merely ‘a means of arriving at a figure’, and the profits would still be conceded to the Treasury, who would then pay the monarchy a set percentage (Bowers and Cracknell, 2011). Moreover, at the introduction of the Sovereign Grant, the percentage of the Crown Estate’s net income surplus the monarchy received stood at 15% (National Audit Office, 2013). However, in 2017, the Royal Trustees (the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Keeper of the Privy Purse) agreed that it would now be calculated based on 25% of the net income surplus, as well as an additional 10% used to fund the ‘Reservicing of Buckingham Palace’ project over a period of ten years. This amounted to a total sovereign grant of £76.1 million in 2017-18 (The Royal Household of Queen Elizabeth II, 2018), up from £40 million in 2014-15 (Republic, 2015).

Since 1993, The Firm have published annual finance reports which purport to encourage financial accountability by demonstrating full income and expenditure (The Prince of Wales and the Duchess of Cornwall Royal Household, 2016; The Royal Household of Queen Elizabeth II, 2016). However, the figures in the report are routinely skewed or obscured. For the recent increase in the Sovereign Grant described above, the 2017-18 report listed a ‘core’ Sovereign Grant of £45.7 million, with the additions and changes only mentioned in the next paragraph (The Royal Household of Queen Elizabeth II, 2018). Likewise, the Queen’s report is calculated to only include income from the Sovereign Grant, whilst Republic have estimated the “true” cost to be approximately £345 million due to extra funding (see below; Moore, 2018). In 2018, Republic published a report called ‘Fat Cat Monarchy’, in which it claimed the monarchy had earned the equivalent of the average UK annual salary within the first 43 minutes of 1st January (Moore, 2018). This was a play on ‘Fat Cat Thursday’, research by the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development¹⁶, which claimed that the chief executives of FTSE 100 companies¹⁷ earn the equivalent of the average UK annual salary by 4th January (Neate, 2018). Hence, Republic make explicit connections between monarchy and corporate capital, and demonstrate the extent to which the monarchy surpasses this elite wealth.

¹⁶ The Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development is a professional association for human resource management professionals

¹⁷ The FTSE 100 is an index that measures the shares of the 100 largest companies listed in the London Stock Exchange.

A clause in the Sovereign Grant states funding can never decrease even if profits do, but can increase when profits go up (Republic, 2015; this is especially pertinent when other public institutions, such as the NHS, have experienced punitive austerity cuts in recent years), reflecting a more pervasive neoliberal practice which socialises losses and privatises profits. Discourses of accountability, then, seem merely to assuage public opinion around elite privilege. If this wealth is discursively re-positioned as “earned”, it can be perceived as meritocratic (Littler, 2017).

Finally, the Sovereign Grant does not cover the full operational costs of The Firm. Ceremonial occasions are funded by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport; state visits by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office; equerries and orderlies receive wages from the Ministry of Defence; the Home Office provides security and police support; the Treasury offers annuities to Prince Philip (National Audit Office, 2013); and the Queen’s country estates receive EU-funded farming subsidies of over £1 million through the Common Agricultural Policy (an arrangement which will end upon Britain’s exit from the EU; Riley-Smith, 2016; Moore, 2016). Guy Standing (2016) identified this EU subsidy as a key feature of ‘rentier capitalism’, which protects and supports corporations over individuals. Journalists have also stated that The Firm attempted to claim money to heat Buckingham Palace under an energy-saving scheme designed for families on low incomes (Verkaik, 2010a).

As demonstrated in Chapter One, royal tax payments are controversial. In 1932, the Duchy of Lancaster was made immune from income tax without full consent from parliament (Tomkins in Sunkin and Payne, 1999). Since 1910, The Crown has been gradually exempt from a number of taxes, including on annuities paid to members of the royal family: Princess Margaret and the Queen Mother paid no tax on annuities and Princess Anne has 95% exemption (*ibid.*). By law, The Crown is not liable for taxation, and the Sovereign Grant is exempt from income tax (HM Government, 2013). In 1993, in response to public anger over royal spending, The Firm agreed to pay voluntary income and capital gains tax on all income from the Privy Purse and private investments (Marr, 2011), but only ‘to the extent that the income is not used for official purposes’ (The Royal Household of Queen Elizabeth II, 2016: 6). Prince Charles pays income tax on the Duchy of Cornwall to the same caveat (The Prince of Wales and the Duchess of

Cornwall Royal Household, 2016), but pays no corporation tax (HM Government, 2013). The Crown is also exempt from inheritance tax on ‘sovereign to sovereign bequests’ (Marr, 2011: 295). The Queen does pay council tax on each of her properties, amounting to £1.2 million in 2016 (The Royal Household of Queen Elizabeth II, 2016).

Wealth

Due to skewed and/or omitted figures, The Firm’s wealth is very difficult to calculate. This is demonstrated by substantial disparities in calculations. In terms of the “personal net worth” of the Queen, Bloomberg Billionaire Index¹⁸ suggested £277 million (Anderson, 2016), the Sunday Times Rich List¹⁹ estimated £340 million (ITV, 2016) and The Richest²⁰ \$550 million (approximately £440 million; 2016). Meanwhile, in an analysis of the monarchy as an institution, Reuters²¹ calculated nominal assets of £22.8 billion (Berwick, 2015), and Brand Finance combined tangible and intangible asset values to suggest the monarchy “brand” is worth £44 million (Brand Finance Journal, 2012). David McClure (2014) argues that these disparities are partly down to royal wills being sealed, probate details kept hidden, senior royals being exempt from Freedom of Information requests, and the tax exemption on sovereign to sovereign bequests. These disparities are also perhaps attributable to misunderstood differences between the Queen’s “personal investments” and the property of The Crown. The Queen’s “personal investments” include the assets that are legally hers to maintain, use or sell (Marr, 2011). These include the estates of Balmoral and Sandringham, “personal possessions”²², and “personal investment portfolios”, which are held by blue-chip subsidiary Bank of England Nominees – a dormant company exempt from disclosing its accounts (Bates, 2015). Properties of The Crown, meanwhile, are held in trust for the nation by the Sovereign, and will pass to the new Sovereign on succession. These include the Crown Estate, the Duchy of Lancaster, all artwork in the Royal Collection²³, most palaces and castles, jewellery (including the Crown Jewels), and land. Because the Queen is not entitled to profits from these assets, they are often omitted from “official” wealth

¹⁸ Bloomberg Billionaire Index is a daily ranking of the world’s richest people, ranked by net worth.

¹⁹ The Sunday Times Rich List is a list of the 1,000 wealthiest people in the UK ranked by net wealth, and published annually in *The Sunday Times*.

²⁰ The Richest is a website documenting celebrities’ net worth.

²¹ Reuters is an international news agency based in London.

²² David McClure suggests this includes her selection of race horses, a wine collection, a variety of cars, and a stamp collection worth £100 million (2014). This would also include her collection of jewellery and clothes.

²³ Bates estimates this to be approximately 7,000 paintings, 40,000 watercolours and 150,000 prints (from artists such as Rembrandt and da Vinci), plus a selection of eighteenth century French furniture, statues, tapestries, and the world’s largest collection of Sevres porcelain (2015)

calculations, although Republic (2015) argue that these are national assets and that citizens lose out on the profits accruing from them.

The Crown Estate is a portfolio of land and property belonging to The Crown. On the official Crown Estate website, the portfolio is split into four sections – central London, regional, energy, minerals and infrastructure, and rural and coastal. This incorporates a substantial amount of residential and commercial property across the UK, including the entirety of London's Regent Street, most of St James's Park, some of Regent's Park, Kensington Palace Gardens, Eltham, Richmond, Egham and Hampton; three shopping centres; fourteen retail parks; most of the UK's seabed and foreshore including wind, wave and tidal power, marine aggregates and minerals, cables and pipelines; and 336,000 acres of agricultural land and forestry (The Crown Estate, 2016a; see Figure 3.5).

Described as an 'independent commercial business', the Crown Estate employs around 440 staff (The Crown Estate, 2016b) and is run by Chief Executive Alison Nimmo, who developed the 2012 London Olympic Games (Nimmo, 2015). In 2015, two hundred Crown Estate property tenants were threatened with eviction if they did not purchase their homes at hugely inflated rates, and those who chose not to buy later found the houses were sold to external buyers at significantly lower rates (Sommerlad, 2015). The Crown Estate claims this was to 'enhance performance' (*ibid.*). In 2016, it announced a capital value of £12.9 billion (The Crown Estate, 2016a). The legitimacy of its "independence" from the monarchy can be queried, considering that much of its original portfolio was 'stolen from the Church at the time of the Reformation', and the rest only belongs to the Queen 'by the most fanciful stretch of the imagination' (Duncan, 1970: 194) because it was conquered by monarchs between the eleventh and eighteenth centuries.

Luna Glucksberg and Roger Burrows's research on 'family offices' (2016) can be usefully drawn on to consider the ways in which royal wealth is accumulated. Their project on the super-rich in London unearthed accounts of elite families who employ teams of financial advisors to manage capital and investment opportunities, with the aim of retaining family wealth through generations. The Firm has its own family office – the Royal Household – to ensure its wealth is maintained. But while The Princely Family of Lichtenstein might be open about its corporate strategy to accumulate royal wealth at LGT (see above), The

Firm's family office is populated by figures from the heart of British politics and finance, yet this is kept secret, eroding accountability.

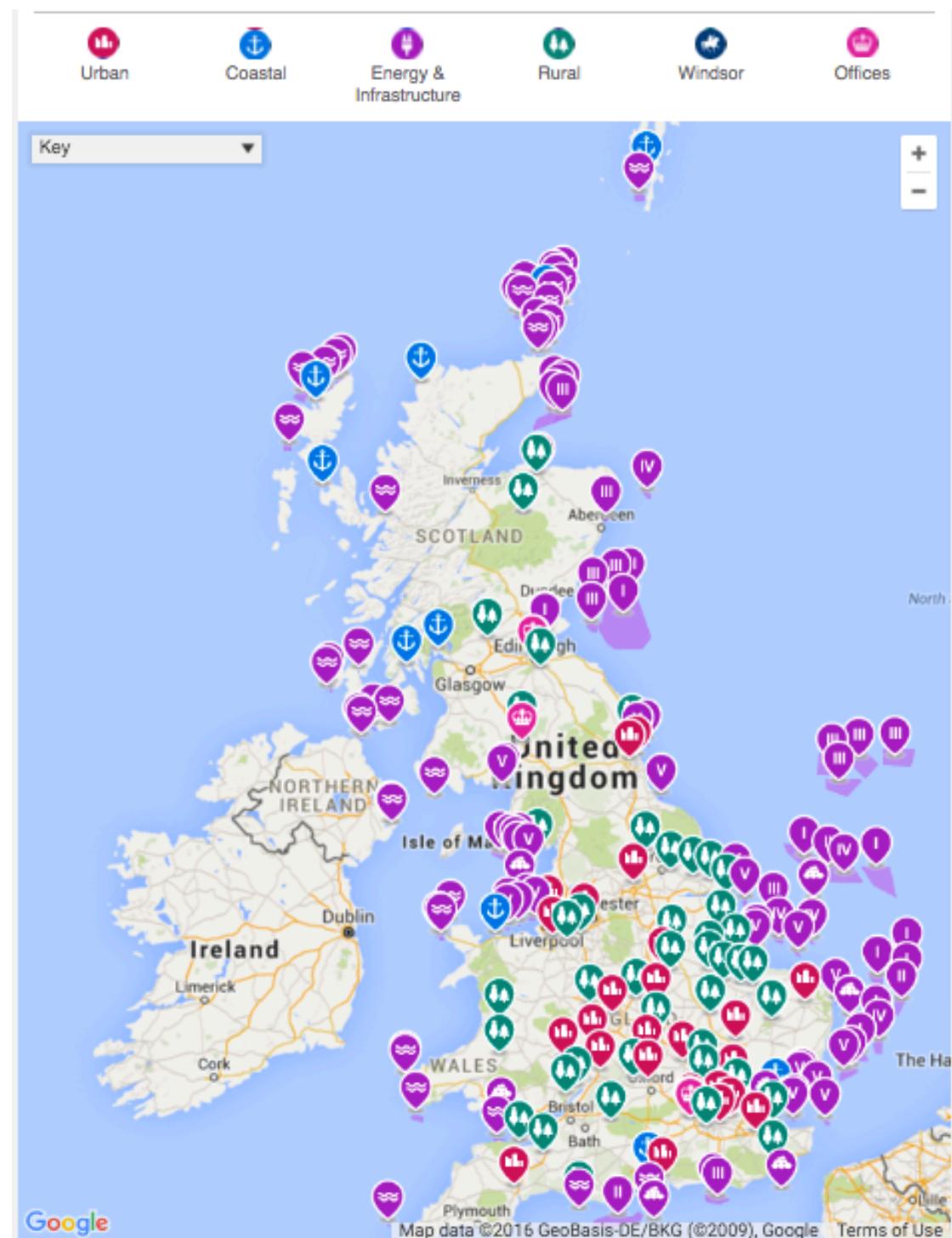


Figure 3.5: 'Crown Estate land ownership' across the UK, as of March 2016 (Google Maps, 2016)

Value

Finally, The Firm can be conceptualised in terms of its generation of broader economic value, which it produces and distributes in a variety of ways. The most widely cited defense of monarchy is its contribution to British heritage tourism, which government website VisitBritain claimed amounts to £500 million of annual revenue from overseas visitors (Gammell, 2010). Republic have rejected this, citing that the precise number of tourists drawn by monarchy is impossible to calculate, because there is no substantial evidence that if the monarchy were abolished, tourism would decrease, and add that buildings currently occupied by royalty are lost tourism opportunities (2015). The representation of 'Royal London' as a key tourist destination makes purposeful connections between the city and The Firm, establishing the monarchy as a tangible entity available for viewing and engagement (Visit London, 2018; see Palmer and Long, 2008 for a full account of royal tourism). The Firm also creates value through the endorsement of goods, practices, or places. This can be considered through three separate royal activities: Royal Warrants, the honours system and visits to regional sites.

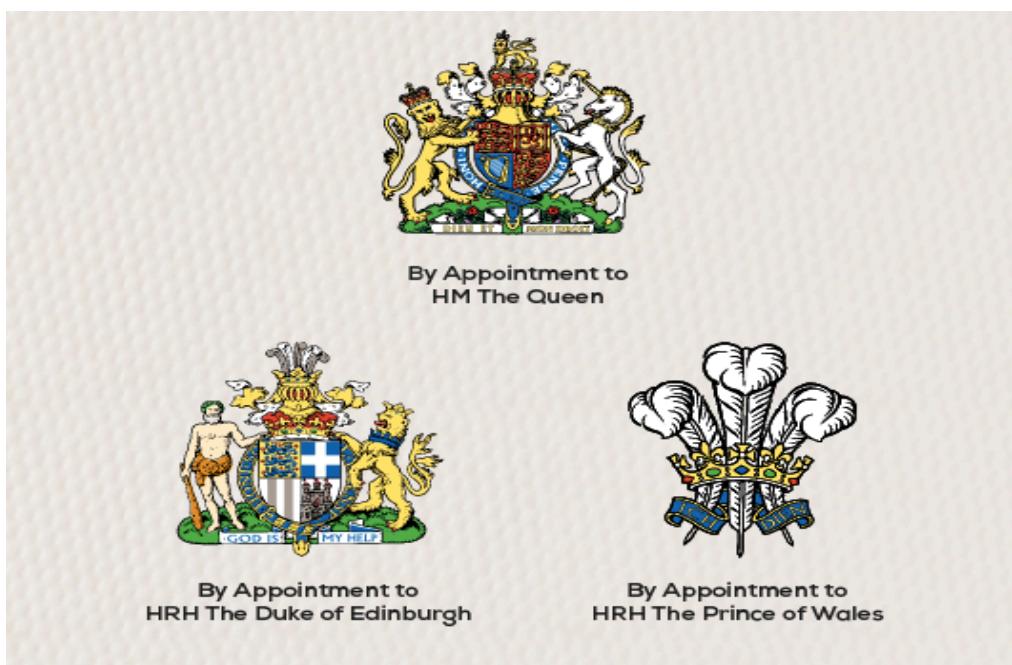


Figure 3.6: 'Royal Arms for the Royal Warrants', depicting each royal figure's Arms. (The Royal Warrants Holders Association, 2017)

Royal Warrants are awards given to traders who provide goods or services to the Queen, Prince Philip and/or Prince Charles (The Royal Warrant Holders Association, 2016). Holders can display a Royal Arms (each royal has their own Arms; see Figure 3.6) on

their product and their premises, which is meant to function as a marker of value, authority, and ‘a commitment to the highest standards of service, quality and excellence’ (ibid.). There are currently around 800 Warrant holders, most of whom are members of the Royal Warrants Association, which promotes networking (ibid.). The award provides both symbolic and economic value, and Otnes and Maclaran (2015) have likened it to celebrity endorsement, which benefits marketing strategy. Qing Wang has found that the Warrants are particularly influential over Chinese consumers, with 57% saying they would buy a Warrant product (2015). Concomitantly, the Warrant system also adds value to The Firm.²⁴ This was demonstrated when cigarette manufacturers Benson and Hedges’ Warrant was revoked in 1999 due to ‘lack of demand in royal households’ (Crace, 2010). Arguably the more likely explanation for this was the increasing concern around the health implications of smoking, and the damage to The Firm of being assimilated with a negative brand. Additionally, the Royal Warrant Holders Association liaises directly with the Royal Household, suggesting The Firm has access to a network of corporate contacts. In 2013, Buckingham Palace hosted the Coronation Festival, where 200 Royal Warrant holders displayed their goods for 60,000 visitors (Whitehouse, 2010; The Royal Warrant Holders Association, 2016). This suggests a mutually beneficial relationship, whereby the holders receive profit from the goods they sell and The Firm receives profit from their visitors.

The British honours system is the awarding of medals, decorations, and/or titles to individuals to recognise achievement or service (GOV.UK, 2016). There are a variety of different “classes” of honours, ranging from knighthoods to the Royal Victorian medal (ibid.), and the system is run by the Cabinet Office Honours and Appointments Secretariat, an independent committee comprised of “experts” in various fields (BBC, 2016). As Tobias Harper (2015) outlines, in 1993 the government announced a major shift in making the voluntary sector the highest priority to receive honours, thus reducing business, the arts and sciences as part of an aspiration to make the honours “classless”. This aspiration failed, however, because of the “classes” of honours, with the lower awards typically going to charitable and community volunteers and the higher going to professional philanthropists and elite executives. This also reflected the revitalisation of a neo-Victorian model of charity and community (Littler, 2015) in The Firm (see Chapter Seven). Moreover, like the Royal Warrants, the honours system benefits both recipient

²⁴ The monarchy does not receive goods for free following the bestowing of a Royal Warrant and continues to pay at the same rate (Crace, 2010) .

and monarchy. The company Awards Intelligence charges up to £20,000 for getting its clients honours nominations, once again demonstrating the importance of social, capital and class-based networks in shaping systems of “reward” (Bagot, 2017). The company’s alleged 60% success rate (*ibid.*) is suggestive of the ease with which the Secretariat can be swayed.

The profile of people receiving honours also raises questions about the kinds of networks The Firm associates with. For example, the knighting of right-wing Conservative strategist Sir Lynton Crosby, who pioneered “dog-whistle” political strategies based on anti-immigration rhetoric, prompted accusations of political cronyism (The Independent, 2015). Meanwhile, the Order of the Merit has only 24 recipients at any one time, and the Queen hosts a gathering of these every five years (Martin, 2006). Described as ‘the story of our country over the last 100 years’ (Martin, 2006: 3), the club gives The Firm a network of the UK’s most important and influential individuals. As of 2013, current recipients range from biophysicist Sir Aaron Klug, architect Lord Norman Foster, investment banker Lord Rothschild, broadcaster Sir David Attenborough, and Sir Tim Berners-Lee, who invented the world wide web (Warwick, 2013).

Finally, royal visits provide value for particular places. Constituting the bulk of royal “duties” (see Chapter Seven), in 2017 the 15 “working” members of The Firm undertook 3,507 official engagements (Palmer, 2017). Meticulously organised by an invisible team of staff, royals visit important sites, open buildings or spaces, and commemorate their visit with a plaque (Figure 3.7). These visits function as symbolic markers of value, connoting it as worthy of visiting, and attracting public interest and knowledge. They often also function as philanthropic gestures, typically focusing on a charity or cause which The Firm “donates” time to. As Andrew Sayer writes, ‘philanthropy offers a different kind of capital from money, but one that legitimises [elite] wealth: *symbolic capital* in the form of a legacy that evokes admiration’ (2015: 287). Indeed, the plaque functions as a literal marker of legacy and value for The Firm, as they reproduce their brand through physical evidence of their attendance (see Chapter Seven for a full account of royal philanthropy). As opposed to a responsive figuring of “royal duties”, these visits can be considered as strategic, timetabled and managed forms of self-presentation. Locations are organised systematically to ensure regularity and fairness, and are typically matched with individual royals’ “interests” in order to maximise audiences (Bates, 2015). This is suggestive of the

need to keep (re)producing the royal brand through geographically diverse dissemination, (re)inscribing royal popularity around the globe.



Figure 3.7: 'Plaque to commemorate royal visit'. This commemorates a visit to Lancaster University in 1969, and is situated in a teaching space on campus. Photograph by author

The organisation of these events comes at time and economic cost. A small team will undertake a reconnaissance tour of the area prior to the visit: in 2015, it cost £12,000 in flights alone to fund one reconnaissance trip to South Africa (Herald Scotland, 2016a; Arbiter, 2014). Host spaces will typically be given a list of alterations and preparations to complete before the visit (Reid, 2007). Flight crews are meticulously vetted and briefed; airplane mechanical spares are placed strategically along the route for safety; and an emergency supply of the royals' blood type is transported on every trip (Hoey, 2003). Key British journalists are invited on the tour, and their travel, accommodation and itinerary is organised by Buckingham Palace (see Chapter Seven for a discussion of this as 'embedded journalism'), with the aim of guaranteeing coverage from key media outlets (Arbiter, 2014). These events have also been increasingly quantified. All royal engagements are recorded in the *Court Circular*, and these are then calculated annually by

royal fan Tim O'Donovan and published in *The Times* (Bannerman, 2017).²⁵ This all suggests that nothing about royal visits is accidental, and they constitute a productive form of symbolic power which is continually (re)asserted through strategic and calculated activity.

The Global Firm

Thus far, this chapter has followed the development of corporate capitalism as set out by Karl Marx and other Marxist scholars. However, that work tended to overlook the politics of gender, race, migration and imperialism in this trajectory, and the ways in which capitalism depends on the subjugation of populations through exploitation and extraction, territorial conquest, displacement, mercantilism, indentured labor and slavery (Williams, 1964; Stoler and Cooper, 1997; Back and Solomos, 1999; Davidoff and Hall, 2002; Federici, 2004; Dirks, 2008; Steedman, 2009; Lowe, 2015). For example, corporations were key to colonisation projects across the British Empire. The East India Company was granted a Royal Charter in 1600 to trade with the East Indies, and by the late seventeenth century had become a monopoly, using its private army to rule millions of citizens (Micklethwait and Wooldridge, 2003). Nick Robins refers to the corporation as 'the administrative agent of empire' (2012: 200), which achieved dominance by 'placing both state and society in a subordinate role, extracting wealth without accountability – the operating styles of empires through the ages' (2012: 205).

Post-Second World War decolonisation saw the formation of international institutions such as the World Bank, the International Money Fund and the World Economic Forum: global elites who represent the interests of major international corporations operating across borders. Guy Standing argues that these organisations 'became the leading institutions fostering capitalism in developing countries in an increasingly ideological way' (2016: 42), forcing mass privatisation, welfare spending cuts and private property rights. Indeed, he suggests that the institutions 'created the conditions for "crony capitalism"' (ibid.). As Nicholas B. Dirks (2008: 35) contends, 'Empire... is transforming itself into new forms of global power that use markets, corporate influence, international banking systems, and law' to achieve domination.

²⁵ The phenomena of "royal fandom" is beyond the scope of this thesis, but would make for valuable future research in terms of understanding how audiences engage with monarchy.

The Firm's global popularity is indicative of how it operates as a global institution, and indeed the post-war development of institutions such as the World Bank maps onto the development of the contemporary Firm since the Queen's coronation in 1953. An analysis of The Firm's global interests, such as the Commonwealth and the British Empire, the Queen's sovereignty in other realms, and its role in international trade and commerce, reveals the ways in which The Firm reshapes itself in response to changes in capital and global governance.

The Commonwealth and the British Empire

The Commonwealth is a transnational organisation of 52 'independent and equal' member states headed by the Queen, promoting core principles of international peace and security, human rights, tolerance, and access to health, education, food and shelter through the Commonwealth Charter (The Commonwealth, 2013). These 'shared values' have proved highly contentious. Philip Murphy describes the Commonwealth Charter as 'so poorly drafted that it leaves the nature of [the nations'] commitment [to particular values] completely unclear' (2018: 156). This is demonstrated in some of the nations' appalling human rights records, such as the continued criminalisation of homosexuality in some nations despite a specific 'discrimination clause' (*ibid.*) in the Charter. The Commonwealth has primarily imperial origins. Many of the 52 member states are former colonies of the British Empire, and controversy about Prince Charles's inheritance of the headship upon the Queen's death have intensified these colonial connections (Clancy, 2015).²⁶ Philip Murphy even titled his book on the Commonwealth *The Empire's New Clothes*, and emphasised the 'haphazard' way in which "Imperial" became "Commonwealth" (2018: 43). The shift from Empire to Commonwealth is rooted in a history of colonial exploitation, and Holly Randell-Moon argues 'the secular autonomy of settler states is buttressed by Crown sovereignty' (2016: 41).

As David Cannadine notes, 'the British Empire was a *royal* empire' (2001: 102). It was unified by the British sovereign – Queen Victoria as the Empress of India, for example – and the collective imperial consciousness was signified through numerous everyday references to royalty, for example coinage, stamps, rituals, and place names. In 1949, the Commonwealth was formally constituted as a way for former colonies to give 'constitutional and symbolic expression to their independence' (Murphy, 2013: 7). While

²⁶ Sir Christopher Geidt allegedly travelled to Australia in 2013 in order to meet privately with the Chair of the Commonwealth and lobby for Charles's succession (Murphy, 2018)

the Commonwealth stresses ‘multiracial(ism) and multicultural(ism)’ (Karatani, 2004: 108), the former dominions’ relationship to the Commonwealth was – and continues to be – promoted and consolidated by royal visits. The first of these took place in 1947, when then-Princess Elizabeth visited Southern Africa and declared she would devote her life to ‘the service of our great imperial family to which we all belong’ (Owens, 2016: 232). Holly Randell-Moon has argued that these visits, where royals are treated as celebrities, ‘simultaneously maintain and displace the white diasporic ties between Commonwealth settler nations’ (2017: 393, see also 2016). That is, ‘the media dynamics of celebrity culture are instrumental in the representational and epistemological transformation of expropriation and theft into a shared endorsement of the divinity of Crown presence’ (2017: 405).

As Head of the Commonwealth, the Queen is supported by intergovernmental agency The Commonwealth Secretariat, and decisions are made at biennial Commonwealth Heads of Government Meetings (The Commonwealth, 2013). The Secretariat represents itself as a kind of ‘civil society’: ‘a body accountable to “the people” of the Commonwealth’ (Murphy, 2018: 51). Yet, as Philip Murphy describes, it relies ‘on an oddly corporatist model’ where ““civil society” consultations’ are dominated by corporate groups (*ibid.*). There are hundreds of Commonwealth-wide non-governmental organisations, such as the Royal Commonwealth Society (a charity aiming to improve the lives of Commonwealth citizens), CPU Media Trust (promoting ethical and free media), and the Commonwealth Forestry Association (encouraging sustainability) (Commonwealth Network, 2017). Perhaps the most notable of these for this thesis is the Commonwealth Enterprise and Investment Council (CWEIC), a non-partisan and not-for-profit organisation which promotes intra-Commonwealth trade and investment between government and private sectors (CWEIC, 2017). Although its remit suggests a focus on small businesses, multinational corporations Tesco and Rolls Royce were attendees at the 2017 CWEIC first trade ministers’ meeting (Sheppard, 2017). Furthermore, reports suggest that the USA has been asked to be an ‘associate member’ of the Commonwealth, which commentators have suggested is part of ‘efforts to develop the Commonwealth as a tool for building [international] relationships’ following Britain’s exit from the European Union (hereafter Brexit²⁷) (Sherlock, 2017). Despite not being a trading bloc (this was thwarted in 1973 when Britain joined the European Economic

²⁷ ‘Brexit’ is an abbreviation for “British exit”, referring to the referendum in June 2016 where UK citizens voted to leave the European Union. At the time of writing, negotiations for this departure are still ongoing.

Community; Bagehot, 2011), the Commonwealth Secretary-General has stated that trade ‘is the lifeblood of the Commonwealth’, and in 2013 intra-Commonwealth trade was calculated at \$592 billion (Commonwealth Trade Review, 2015). But the viability of the Commonwealth as a “replacement EU” has been complicated by the UK government’s commitment to reducing immigration. For example, India’s Prime Minister Narendra Modi emphasised the importance of ‘greater mobility’ for young Indian workers and their participation in global ‘education and research opportunities’ (Ladwa, 2018), which would be limited should the UK curb immigration. Furthermore, despite claims of equality between nations, intra-Commonwealth trade relies on an imperialist framework: 57% of imports to developed countries were sourced from developing countries (Commonwealth Trade Review, 2015).

The Firm’s association with Commonwealth and Empire also raises key issues of British citizenship, national identity and migration. At the height of the British Empire, all newly acquired colonies assumed the status of ‘Subject of the British Crown’ (Karatani, 2004). Thus, in theory, the status of UK citizen belonged to anyone who could afford to travel (Jones, 2016). Upon establishment of the Commonwealth, the Nationality Act 1948 distinguished between ‘Citizens of the UK and Colonies’, ‘British Subjects without Citizenship’, and ‘Citizens of Commonwealth Countries’ (Karatani, 2004). The Nationality Act 1981 has since replaced this (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1982; Tyler, 2013), but what these histories demonstrate is that notions of national belonging and migration have emerged directly from racialised, gendered and classed histories of colonialism. The use of ‘Subject’ in these histories means they are also inseparable from British monarchy. Not until 1983 did British passports alter from ‘British Subject: Citizen of UK and Colonies’ to ‘British Citizen’ (Cohen, 1994), and the category of ‘British Subject’ continues to refer to those who were considered ‘British Subjects without Citizenship’ *before* the Nationality Act 1981 and who are not considered citizens of any other country (GOV.UK, 2015). This means some individuals living in ex-colonies have their official immigration status defined in terms of a foreign monarch(y). Furthermore, as Bridget Byrne (2014) has outlined, royal symbolism is central to British citizenship ceremonies, with citizens pledging allegiance to the Queen and a framed portrait of the monarch taking centre stage. The monarchy plays a key role in both the legalities of, and fantasies about, UK citizenship and national identity (see Chapter Five).

Sovereignty in Other Realms

Although the London Declaration 1949 permitted Commonwealth countries – as ‘free and equal members’ – to adopt republicanism, sixteen have remained constitutional monarchies with Elizabeth II as a legally distinct Head of State (Ritchie and Markwell, 2006). These sixteen global realms range from smaller Caribbean islands like Barbados to African states such as Ghana, but perhaps the most notable in terms of scale are Australia and Canada. The Crown’s relation to these other realms remains remarkably under-researched (Smith, 2013). This section will offer a brief summary of the Queen’s sovereignty in these countries, and the relationship to imperial history.

Both Australia and Canada are former colonies, historically comprising independent states subject to British rule (Estep, 1993). Canada was unified in 1867 and Australia in 1901, when each developed independent Constitutions and acted as self-governing dominions, while retaining loyalty to the British Crown (*ibid.*). The Balfour Report 1926 declared Britain lawfully equal to its dominions, and the Statute of Westminster 1931 limited the ability of British parliament to pass dominion legislation (Boyce, 2008). The Royal Style and Titles Act 1972 permitted the Queen’s realms to erase references to the UK in her overseas titles to highlight their independence, thus making her, for example, ‘Elizabeth the Second, by the Grace of God Queen of Australia and Her Other Realms and Territories, Head of the Commonwealth’ (Winterton, 1993: 4). Finally, Canada’s development of a new Constitution in 1981, and the Australia Act 1986, cemented their position as independent states, but both continue to vest ‘executive power’ in the British Crown (Estep, 1993: 225). Since 1842, each country has nominated a local governor-general to act as the Queen’s representative, each with the power to propose legislation, (dis)prove bills and dissolve parliament (Boyce, 2008). Governor-generals have complicated understanding of the Queen’s sovereignty by masking relations of power and decision-making. Indeed, the 1999 Australian Referendum on republicanism included questions about whether the governor-general should replace the Queen as Head of State (*ibid.*). As Peter Boyce (2008) explains, although the Queen has no “direct” political control over the dominions, her role in appointing and dismissing governor-generals can be interpreted as an ongoing performance of administrative power.

Discussions around dominion status are still ongoing, with various degrees of public consent. Although 1999 saw enough popular disapproval of monarchy in Australia to trigger a referendum on republicanism, 54% of citizens voted to keep the monarchy (Australian Electoral Commission, 2017). Since then, despite enduring republican sentiment, most famously from Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull (2015-2018), republicanism has waned to its lowest level (Kenny, 2014). Meanwhile, Canada has had no mainstream republican debates, and as David Smith has demonstrated, public understanding of the role of monarchy in Canada remains minimal (2013). The Firm has played these relations carefully. There have been specific attempts to use the term 'Sovereign' for the Queen as opposed to 'Head of State', and depersonalise the role by 'stressing the significance of The Crown' (Murphy, 2018: 95), which as Philip Murphy argues allows the Realms to act as 'Crowned Republics' (2018: 96).

Monarchy continues to be celebrated overseas during royal visits and through royal symbolism. As I will demonstrate in Chapter Four, Commonwealth/dominion symbolism played a central part in the Queen's coronation ceremony, and dominion celebrations of royal events demonstrate continued loyalty to The Crown (Boyce, 2008). William, Kate and their children have visited both Australia and Canada, and Harry and Meghan have visited Australia in recent years as part of royal tours. Indeed, The Firm announced Meghan's first pregnancy on the day Harry and Meghan arrived in Sydney in October 2018, prompting a spate of media coverage across the country (for example, Wigglesworth and McGuirk, 2018). The Firm's relationship with these other realms is thus being consolidated and popularised through the younger generation of royals.

International Trade and Commerce

In addition to Commonwealth trade, The Firm has other vested interests in international trade and commerce. In 2016, the Queen's grandson Peter Phillips founded the Patron's Fund charity to arrange Elizabeth II's 90th birthday celebrations, but then transferred the contract for staging the event to his own for-profit company, SEL UK Limited (Warren and Silver, 2016). Companies House accounts revealed that SEL UK were paid a £750,000 fee (Hunt, 2017). A number of other royal charities emphasise supporting young people in business endeavours, from The Queen's Young Leader Award which rewards 'exceptional' young people across the Commonwealth with a 'mentoring and networking package' (The Official Website of the British Monarchy, 2018); The Prince's

Trust 'Youth Can Do It' campaign which helps young people gain skills for employment (The Prince's Trust, 2018); The Duke of Edinburgh Award scheme which encourages young people to undertake self-improvement exercises (Petersen and O'Flynn, 2007); and Prince Andrew's 'Pitch@Palace' initiative, which gives young technology entrepreneurs the opportunity to pitch to investors (Cliff, 2017).

Prince Andrew also "worked" for ten years for the UK government in the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills as the United Kingdom's Special Representative for International Trade and Investment, promoting the UK at international trade fairs and conferences. This role ended in 2011, after reports surfaced about his connections with various corrupt regimes across the Middle East and his personal profiting from trade deals. For instance, he allegedly exploited his personal relationship with Kazakh oligarch Kenges Rakishev to broker a £885 million deal between a Greek and Swiss consortium and the Kazakhstan government, for which he received £4 million commission. In 2007 he sold his country estate Sunninghill Park in Berkshire to Kazakh oligarch Timur Kulibayev for £3 million above the asking price, and in 2011 he allegedly tried to arrange for British bank and wealth manager Coutts to accept Kulibayev as a client (Telegraph Reporters, 2016). Ex-Foreign Office Minister Chris Bryant claimed 'it was very difficult to see in whose interests [Andrew] was acting' (Sawer, 2016).

The Firm also has questionable connections with British arms trader BAE Systems.²⁸ In 2016, Charles's tenth visit to Saudi Arabia at the request of the Foreign Office, where he danced with members of the House of Saud regime²⁹, coincided with the selling of 72 BAE Typhoon fighter jets to the dictatorship. South African MP Andrew Feinstein has further claimed that The Firm was key to persuading South Africa to buy BAE Hawk jets (Margrain, 2017). Spokesman for the Campaign Against the Arms Trade³⁰, Andrew Smith, said 'it is clear that Prince Charles has been used by the UK government and BAE Systems as an arm dealer' (Norton-Taylor, 2014).

Finally, there are a number of striking connections between The Firm and trade deals following Brexit. Left-wing media outlet Novara Media have claimed that a member of

²⁸ BAE Systems is the largest defence contractor in Europe. It operates mostly in the UK and the USA.

²⁹ The House of Saud is the ruling royal family of Saudi Arabia. It has been accused of assassinating prominent critics of its regime, including most recently Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi, who was murdered in the Saudi consulate in Istanbul in October 2018 (Harris et al., 2018).

³⁰ Campaign Against the Arms Trade is a UK non-governmental organisation campaigning for the abolition of the international arms trade.

the UK Civil Service said that the role of the monarchy will be ‘beefed up’ in post-Brexit Britain, as they are increasingly used strategically for trade and investment (Novara Media, 2018). There are a number of shifts that suggest this is the case. The Commonwealth’s aforementioned proposition for the USA to be an ‘associate member’, and the strengthening of ties between Britain and the USA evidenced in Harry and Meghan’s wedding (Meghan is American), demonstrates an attempt to consolidate the “special relationship” between the two countries. The ‘revolving door’ between the Royal Household and the Civil Service seems especially pertinent in the Department for Exiting the European Union (DExEU), which was established in 2016. Communications Secretary to the Queen, James Roscoe, was suddenly appointed to the role of Director for Communications and Stakeholders in DExEU in September 2017 (see Table 3.1). Furthermore, Simon Case from DExEU has recently been appointed as William’s Private Secretary (Furness, 2018). This suggests related goals between The Firm and DExEU. In 2017, Brexit supporter Boris Johnson³¹ began campaigning to build a new Royal Yacht Britannia to be used for trade negotiations with non-EU and Commonwealth countries (Hope, 2017). Modeled on the original Britannia, which transported the monarchy on various overseas visits between 1954 and its decommissioning in 1997, Johnson claimed that the new model Britannia would ‘add greatly to the soft power of this country’ (*ibid.*). These shifts suggest a more prominent role for The Firm as a trade ambassador in post-Brexit Britain, raising questions about its vested capital interests and the democratic legitimacy of employing a hereditary monarchy for trade and commerce.

The Firm and the State

While this chapter has largely described The Firm as a corporation, it is also vital to remember that the monarchy is embedded in the institutions of state. . Indeed, British law does not recognise the concept of state, and Martin Loughlin suggests that if state means ‘an abstract idea of executive government’, then Britain’s closest legal equivalent would be The Crown (in Sunkin and Payne, 1999: 33). The cultures of secrecy surrounding The Firm that this chapter has documented are upheld by a variety of state actors and institutions.

³¹ Boris Johnson is a Conservative MP, former Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth affairs, and a prominent supporter of Brexit.

The Constitution

The monarchy is the guarantor of the British constitution, with an executive political role and acting as a key influencer to policy and law. Along with parliament and the judiciary, the monarchy is a key institution of the British state. In the absence of a written constitution, its exact powers are undefined, however in essence the monarch is Head of State to complement the Prime Minister as Head of Government, and it acts as a power balance which 'help[s] to render the government legitimate' (Bogdanor, 1995: 62). Pro-monarchist historian Vernon Bogdanor has claimed a constitutional monarchy 'serves not to limit democracy but to underpin and indeed to sustain it' (1995: 65), a disputable claim considering the anti-democratic nature of hereditary monarchy. The Head of State has three core functions, which Walter Bagehot termed the 'dignified' elements of the constitution (2001 [1867])³²: constitutional matters, ceremonies of state, and a symbolic role as head of the nation.³³ Everyday constitutional roles are varied, but include the Queen appointing and dismissing Prime Ministers; receiving a daily "red box" of government documents; having a weekly private meeting with the Prime Minister, the contents of which are undisclosed (Hennessy, 1996); and the Queen's signature is the only way Bills can legally take effect (Jennings, 1954). A recent exposure of secret Whitehall papers revealed that the Queen and Prince Charles have refused to sign, and therefore vetoed, a range of laws and policies presented to them by parliament, including the Military Actions Against Iraq Bill in 1999 which sought to transfer the power to authorise military strikes against Iraq from monarch to parliament (Philipson, 2013). This raises serious questions about democratic accountability and the rule of law under constitutional monarchy.

The lack of a codified constitution means that executive powers once invested in The Crown are now exercised by politicians. That is, 'Parliament... came into existence as an emanation of royal power' (Loughlin in Sunkin and Payne, 1999: 47). The transference of royal prerogative to the Prime Minister and government gives them incomparable power (Bogdanor, 1995), and limits the extent to which parliament can scrutinise government (Payne in Sunkin and Payne, 1999). Meanwhile, The Privy Council is the monarch's advisory body, comprising 650 members including all Cabinet Ministers. The Council

³² In the absence of a written constitution, Walter Bagehot's book *The English Constitution* (2001 [1867]) has been used to teach royal family members about the monarchy's political role (Bogdanor, 1995). Despite its authority, Andrezej Olechnowicz (2007) argues that Bagehot essentially invented the "rules" based on convention and his interpretation of correspondence between government and royal sources.

³³ Bagehot's so-called 'efficient' elements of the constitution which deal with policy and law, meanwhile, are controlled by the Prime Minister or the Cabinet (2001).

typically approves government decisions, but it also has the ability to create ‘Orders’ enforceable by law under royal prerogative (Everett, 2016). Critics have suggested that the Privy Council should be considered a central institution of state, alongside monarchy, parliament and judiciary (Rogers, 2015). As explored above, the Private Secretary’s power is also problematic and unaccounted for. These multiple political roles demonstrate how The Firm is inseparable from the constitutional fabric of Britain.

The Aristocracy

The British aristocracy and The Firm have a close relationship, and each is beholden to the other in turn (Campbell in Olechnowicz, 2007). Although some scholars have claimed that aristocratic power has disappeared (Cannadine, 1990), this thesis demonstrates that this class remains central to the sociopolitical stratification of contemporary Britain. The aristocracy relies on The Firm to perform a public role and shore up its hereditary wealth; The Firm relies on the aristocracy to serve it. As Chris Bryant argues in *Entitled* (Bryant, 2017a; see also Biressi and Nunn, 2013; Edgerton, 2018), the secret of the continuation of the aristocracy is its invisibility, and it relies on the monarchy to be its spectacular, public arm.

As illustrated in Table 3.1, a number of the key figures in the Royal Household come from aristocratic families, ex-Private Secretary Sir Christopher Geidt being a key example. There are also some roles that are *always* filled by aristocrats, such as Ladies-in-Waiting. While Women of the Bedchamber can be non-aristocratic (although this remains rare), the higher ranked Ladies of the Bedchamber are always the wife or daughter of a peer, and no one below the rank of Duchess has ever been appointed to the highest rank, Mistress of the Robes (Hoey, 2003). These positions are not advertised and rely on personal contacts, and Ladies-in-Waiting are not paid (aside from travel expenses), are expected to work in a two-weeks-on-four-weeks-off pattern, and stay wherever the Queen stays during their two week shift (Somerset, 1984). With no pay, Ladies-in-Waiting accept the role as a mark of honour (The Royal Post, 2013), and as part of a classed dedication and servitude to the reproduction of royal power. It is also an example of unpaid gendered domestic labour.

Another way in which royal-aristocratic relationships are preserved is through the choosing of godparents. Figure 3.8 below illustrates the godparents of senior royal figures. Blue indicates members of royal families, red indicates aristocrats.

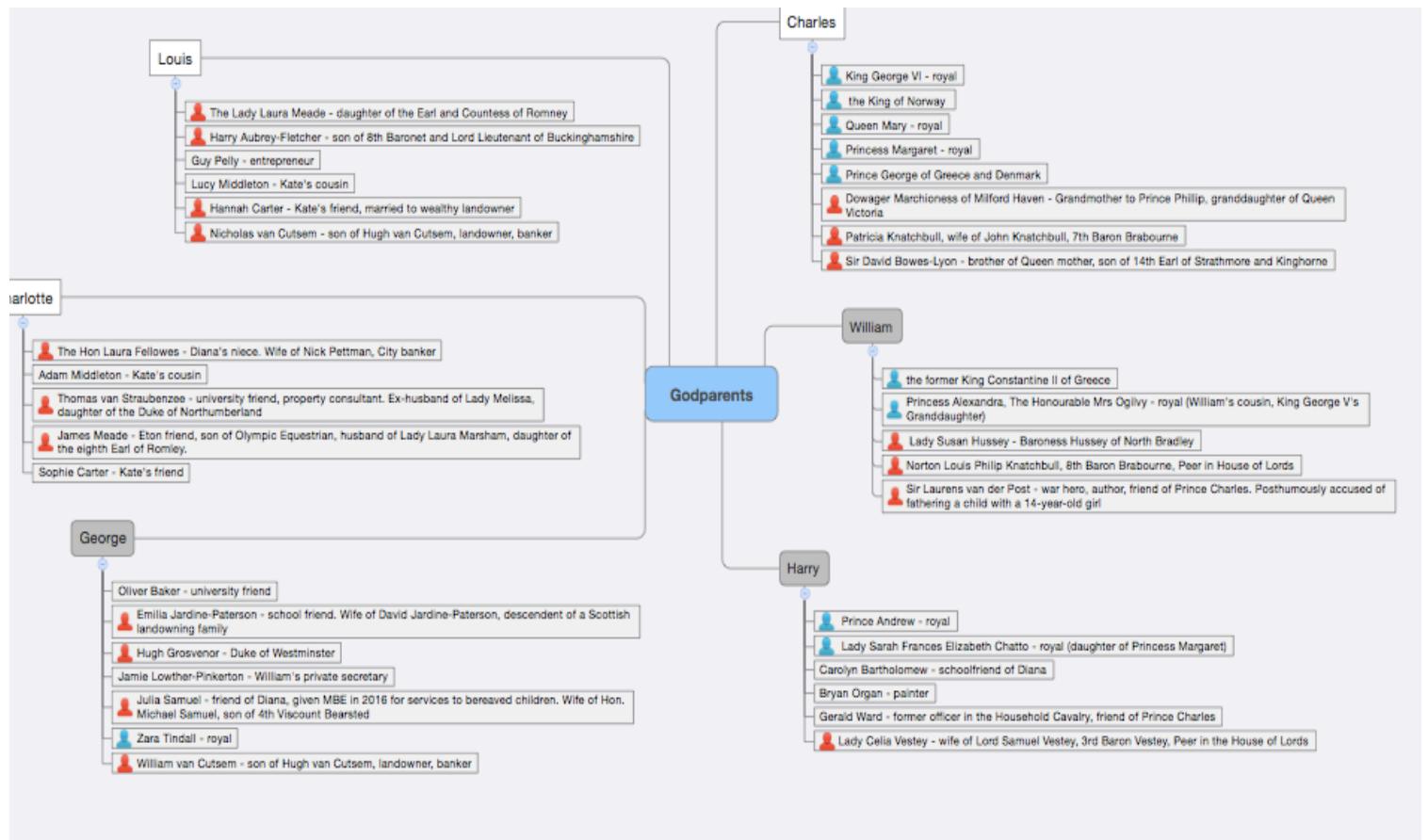


Figure 3.8: 'Royal Godparents', depicting the godparents of key royal figures. Map by author. Blue indicates members of royal families, red indicates aristocrats. Information sources: (Royal Watcher Blog, 2017; Aquino, 2018; Oakley, 2018; Picard, 2018)

The list includes members of royal families from around the world, suggesting attempts to maintain alliances with other monarchies. A number of key aristocratic family names are also repeated throughout this dataset, suggesting sustained loyalties to particular families. The Knatchbulls, who are descended from Prince Philip's uncle Louis Mountbatten (Utton, 2017); the van Cutsems who own a stud farm in Suffolk and a 4,000-acre estate in Norfolk (Telegraph Obituaries, 2013); and the Meades who are descended from the Earl and Countess of Romney (Cliff, 2018). This is also repeated through the generations, with Charles's godparent being Patricia Knatchbull and William's being her son Norton Knatchbull, indicating a commitment to hereditary familial power and the maintenance of particularly useful aristocratic social networks.

These relationships are further nurtured through aristocratic institutions and events, such as the ongoing influence of elite schools (Reeves et al., 2017), and exclusive sporting activities like hunting and polo which attract large groups of aristocratic families at regular social gatherings (Wightman et al., 2002).

Heritage culture and tourism is the final key connection between the aristocracy and the monarchy. As described in Chapter One, many aristocratic estates have been either sold to the National Trust or are opened up to the public in particular months, and stately homes act as key heritage tourism sites with the upper classes acting as the ‘caretakers of national culture’ (Biressi and Nunn, 2013: 127). As David Cannadine argues, the ‘cult of the country house is yet another attempt by what remains of the aristocracy to safeguard its increasingly uncertain and beleaguered future’ (1994: 245). The country house can be interpreted as a distraction from hereditary wealth, because aristocrats are ‘being seen to provide a real service to the public’ (Worsley, 2005: 434). This argument is supported by an analysis of royal tourism, which operates by many of the same rules. Tourists are invited to pay for access to stately homes or palaces, and view the owner’s assets (paintings, sculptures, furniture) from behind a rope, which serves to “protect” the goods from the lower classes (Figure 3.9). Citizens are given access to elite wealth, but this access is controlled in ways which reproduce aristocratic distinction.



Figure 3.9: ‘Viewing ropes at Kensington Palace’ designating where visitors can access. Photograph by author, July 2017

The Firm has also demonstrated practical assistance to failing aristocratic families and estates. When the 7th Marquess of Bute tried to sell Dumfries House in Scotland to the National Trust, and they refused, Charles brought in a consortium to buy the house and its contents for £7 million, rescuing the Marquess from bankruptcy (Bryant, 2017b). This particular incident demonstrates the importance of the aristocrat-royal network, as each can make use of the other's contacts in order to preserve the aristocracy as a class.

Conclusion: Bendini, Lambert, Locke and Windsor

In the film *The Firm* (dir. Pollack, 1993), Tom Cruise plays lawyer Mitch McDeere who works for law firm 'Bendini, Lambert and Locke', which he learns is involved with helping elite clients horde wealth through money-laundering, tax fraud and off-shore tax-avoidance schemes. After two of the firm's associates are murdered in an effort to keep them from disclosing the web of corruption, Mitch works with the FBI in order to expose it by releasing and investigating the firm's files.

This chapter has drawn together a large amount of material, which was extremely difficult to access and source, in order to position the monarchy as The Firm and expose its own web of corruption. From the exploitation of low-paid workers through ideologies of class subservience; the 'revolving door' between the Royal Household and corporations, the military, broadcasters and the civil service; the murky rules of royal financing; the secrecy of royal wealth; the networks of contacts; the relationships to post/colonialism; the exploitation of political relationships for profit; and the abuse of political privileges. By exposing the backstage of monarchy, this chapter has demonstrated how The Firm has adapted itself to various periods of capitalism and is run in part as a *corporate business*, with the aim of accumulating wealth and securing power. This chapter has also documented how various "types" of wealth work together, and is stitched through the constitutional fabric of Britain. From capitalists, rentiers, aristocrats, the famous, the titled, the idle rich (Sayer, 2015; Edgerton, 2018), this chapter has demonstrated how they are entangled with one another, shoring up a highly stratified classed infrastructure.

Furthermore, this chapter has documented the ways in which these relations are disguised. Indeed, it has argued that the invisibility of The Firm's power is its power, and by being invisible The Firm remains unaccountable to public scrutiny, and obscured in

critical accounts of inequality. It argued that the royal family models a particular ideology of “middle-class” family values as propagated by Queen Victoria. These representations work to obscure capitalist relations, and The *Family Firm* is instead aligned with values of heritage, stability and history. Crucially, this provides a framework through which The Firm can reproduce its class power.

The remainder of this thesis will explore the various ways in which The Firm is ‘bod[ied] forth’ (Castañeda, 2002: 3) in the public imaginary. If this chapter was concerned with the “backstage” of monarchy, the next chapter explores the “frontstage”, and the ways in which regimes of in/visibility operate to reproduce monarchical power. This thesis then explores media representations of four royal figures – the Queen, Prince Charles, Prince Harry and Kate Middleton – and reads the political economy through media culture to understand what these representations reveal about how The Firm works as a corporation.

Chapter Four

Restaging the Coronation: Media Industries, Media Spectacle, Media Power

Introduction

‘I have to be seen to be believed’ (Queen Elizabeth II in Bates, 2015)

‘We princes... are set on stages in the sight and view of all the world’ (Queen Elizabeth I in Pye, 1990: 43)

Both Elizabeth I and Elizabeth II articulate here the importance of visibility to the monarch, and the ways in which the British monarchy relies on ‘regimes of representation’ (Wolfe, 2016: 18). As Jonathan Parry argues, ‘monarchy necessarily involves performance; successful sovereigns are icons’ (in Olechnowicz, 2007: 47). The monarch’s body, in particular, has historically been subject to hyper-representation, from their profiles on bank notes, stamps and coins (Jeffery, 2006; Penrose and Cumming, 2011) to the rituals of the Royal Court where ‘the dressing of the king, the service of his meals, the form of his prayers, all follow[ed] a regularized ritual pattern’ and theatrical display (Keay, 2008: 8). The presence of the body of the monarch (see Chapter Five) works to provide something tangible to the myths and fabrications that constitute royal representations.

However, this visibility is carefully balanced with paradoxical but codependent invisibility. The Firm cannot be *too* visible to public scrutiny, or it loses its mystique and its operations are unmasked. Therefore, visibility has to be tightly stage managed and controlled, or, as political constitutionalist Walter Bagehot famously wrote, ‘we must not let in daylight upon magic’ (2001 [1894]: 59). This chapter will address this paradox, and if Chapter Three described “the backstage” of monarchy, this chapter explores “the front stage”. Using the Queen’s coronation on 2nd June 1953 as a case study, this chapter seeks to understand the role of theatre and spectacle in the (re)production and (re)presentation of the contemporary British monarchy. This is not ‘banal monarchism’ (Olechnowicz, 2007: 33). Rather, this chapter argues that pomp and ceremony are among the public faces of The Firm, constituting a key tool through which monarchical power is

reproduced. As Beatrix Campbell writes, ‘the coronation was an emblematic moment in the history of seeing’ (1988: 182). But this *seeing* necessarily involves a process of *masking*: ‘as in a theater, the audience must be powerfully engaged by this visible presence, while at the same time held a certain respectful distance from it’ (Greenblatt in Pye, 1990: 43).

This approach to understanding royal events is not necessarily new (although my analysis is, as I will demonstrate), and studies of royal ceremony are by far the most recurring focuses of (limited) contemporary critical royal literature (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; Cannadine and Price, 1987; Dayan and Katz, 1992; Wardle and West, 2004; Bennett, 2011; Widholm and Becker, 2015). As such, this chapter will undertake a restaging of the coronation through a reading of one important critical text. In 1953, Professor Edward Shils and PhD student Michael Young came together to write ‘The Meaning of the Coronation’ (1953); an article published in *The Sociological Review* later that year. More stylistically accessible than those it was published alongside (for example Stark, 1953), the essay features satire and sarcasm, allowing Shils and Young to break the confines of the political and social registers they typically wrote in to apply a left-wing, post-colonial critique to the monarchical institution. However, the piece has been repeatedly overlooked in the authors’ research biographies (Ben-David and Nichols Clark, 1977; Hodgson, 1995; Fox, 2002). It has also – perhaps due to its satirical style – been subject to a number of misreadings and misinterpretations: Tom Nairn refers to it as a ‘slavering eulogy’ (1994: 116), while Norman Birnbaum’s eighteen-page critique accuses it of ‘sociological generalizations of universal scope’ because it overemphasises the power of contemporary monarchy (1955: 5; see also Barker et al., 2002).¹

In response to this, this chapter argues that Shils and Young’s article is in fact a radical reading of monarchy, taking a critical approach which was (and still is) marginalised in both academic study and the (inter)national press. Drawing on anthropological traditions of “going native” in international cultures, Shils and Young turn the outsider anthropological gaze back onto the centre of Empire itself to consider how it was constructed. This may have been achieved with various degrees of success, however Shils and Young were unique in posing monarchy as a sociological problem about power, class

¹ More recently, the article was recognised as part of *The Sociological Review*’s ‘Past and Present’ series, which revisited significant articles in the journal’s history. Jim McGuigan argued that Shils and Young were ‘espousing a conservative position in social theory’ (McGuigan, 2016).

and meaning. This is a project my own work engages with, and indeed this thesis was influenced by their project in asking ‘what is the meaning of monarchy?’. Shils and Young recognised the significance of the coronation, but over sixty years later, is this significance still figured in the same way? What might an analysis of the coronation reveal?

Using an archive of popular culture materials such as newspapers, magazines, music, documentaries, films, television, fiction books, merchandise, advertisements, and cartoons; statistical data such as the Mass Observation Archive, and academic analysis of the coronation, this chapter undertakes an updated account of ‘the meaning of the coronation’. It will explore the royal event as media spectacle, and more specifically, will investigate how the monarchy and media industries can be considered co-constitutively. It will consider the coronation as the initiator of the contemporary Windsor family, the “new” industry of media intimacy with royalty, and “new” forms of media technologies. The chapter begins by addressing the role of television in mediating the 1953 coronation, before exploring the staging and manufacturing of royal ceremony, and issues of “liveness”, access, exposure and immediacy in terms of how these were crafted through various media industries. It will then figure the coronation as ‘media event’ (Dayan and Katz, 1992) by considering the array of mediations structuring the event’s discursive meanings, as well as the social, political and cultural contexts around it. The chapter will conclude with a brief discussion of the mediated monarchy since 1953, and the ways in which the media/monarchy relationship has continued to develop, an argument extended throughout this thesis.

‘Queen’s Day - TV’s Day’

As *The Daily Express* headline from 3rd June 1953 (Figure 4.1) illustrates, the coronation and television are intimately bound together. It was simultaneously the first royal event broadcast live; the largest production ever undertaken by the BBC (Briggs, 1979); saw UK TV license holders increase from 1.45 million in March 1952 to 3.25 million in 1954 (Kynaston, 2009); was the first time TV audiences (56% of people) overtook radio audiences (32%; Scannell, 1996; Hajkowski, 2010); and was the first outside, live, multiple-language broadcast to be transmitted internationally within hours of its occurrence (Briggs, 1979; Hennessy, 2006). In a press conference on 1st August 1952, Minister of Works David Eccles announced to gathered journalists: ‘for every ten

thousand people who do see the coronation, at least a million will read of it and watch it on the screen' ('Coronation Press Conference', 1952). Henrik Örnebring describes this as an 'extraordinary domestication', whereby the coronation was a 'non-everyday TV' phenomenon (2007: 175), yet on that day 'television [took] the first steps towards domestication' (2007: 178).



Figure 4.1: 'Queen's Day, TV's Day' (*The Daily Express*, 1953), 3rd June

Transmission began at 10.15am with *The Queen's Procession to Westminster Abbey*, followed by *The Coronation Service* at 11.20am, *The State Procession through London* at 2.20pm, and *The Queen's appearance on the Balcony of the Palace* at 5pm (Radio Times, 1953). Visual production of the event was a mutual project between BBC executives and the Coronation Executive Committee (CEC), comprised of royal household, government, and religious

officials (including Prince Philip; Ziegler, 1978; Strong, 2005). Television was the most contentious planning issue, with a number of officials (including, allegedly, the Queen herself) arguing against transmitting the ceremony (Pimlott, 2012). Prime Minister Winston Churchill allegedly claimed that 'modern mechanical arrangements' would damage the coronation's magic, and 'religious and spiritual aspects should [not] be presented as if it were a theatrical performance' (Easton, 2013), fundamentally misunderstanding the spectacle of royal ceremony. *The Daily Express* and the BBC lobbied to reverse the CEC's ban on cameras within the Abbey, with the BBC claiming televising the ceremony would invest it with a 'new kind of legitimacy' (Scannell, 1996: 81). After intense debate, the ban was overturned, but not without compromise. 'Memo between CEC and Buckingham Palace' (Figure 4.2) reveals cameras were restricted to designated positions within the Abbey, west of the screen that separates the congregation from the ecclesial. It also demonstrates, through hasty pencil-marks, that 'close-up shots' were heavily debated. Eventually, CEC agreed to mid- and long-shots, with zoom permitted to capture 'very special' moments (Clark, 2015; Scannell, 1996).

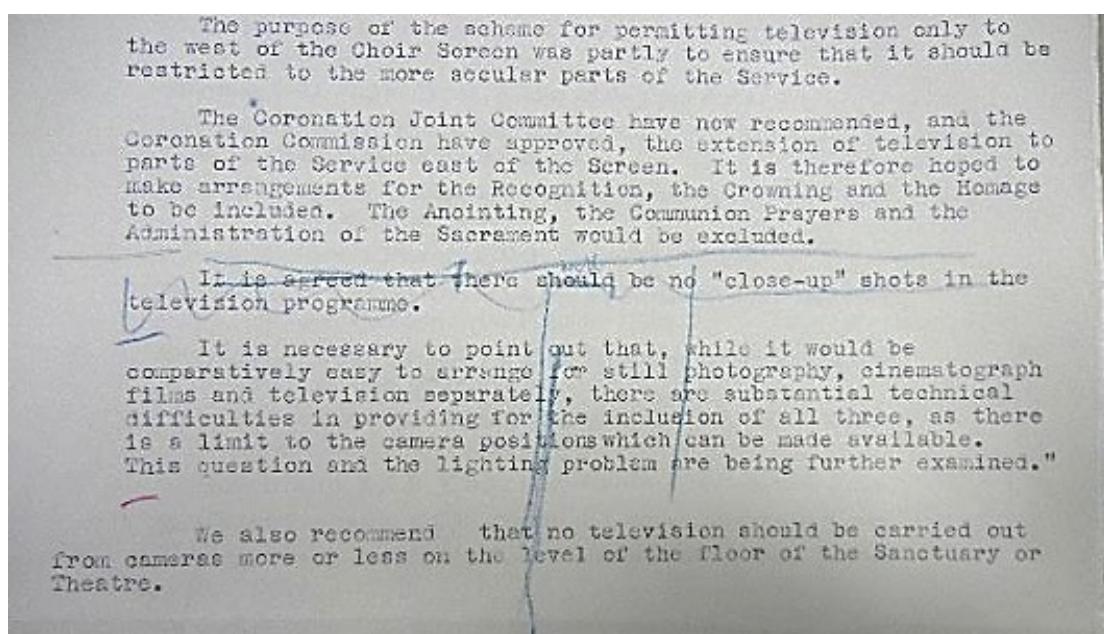


Figure 4.2: 'Memo between CEC and Buckingham Palace' for preparing the coronation, as reproduced by Clark (2015)

'Very special' moments did not mean, however, the most religiously significant parts of the ceremony. Rather, they included a shot of young Prince Charles viewing it (Clark, 2015). Indeed, there remained a complete ban on shots of the anointing (rubbing with religious oil), the communion service, and anyone kneeling in worship. Symbolic shots of

the Abbey's architectural features were broadcast during these times (Scannell, 1996). The rhetoric of this ban reflects Shils and Young's (1953) central thesis of the Durkheimian sacred. In *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1971), Emile Durkheim deploys religious concepts of the 'sacred' and 'profane' to explore the uniting of individuals in society under a single moral law. Australian Native Tribes, for example, worshipped 'totems' (usually plants or animals) attributed with sacred force as 'collective sentiments' symbolic of group membership (1971: 427). Everything outside of the sacred, meanwhile, is profane, and maintaining societal organisation relies on policing this. Shils and Young employ these terms to understand the coronation as a force of social cohesion, as it worked to 'renew [the moral values] potency' (1953: 67). Durkheim's religious terminology can be directly applied to the policing of the *literally* religious during the coronation ceremony, such as banning cameras close to the ecclesial, or cameramen shut in boxed cubicles (Ward, 1985). But more relevant is how the monarch(y) is positioned as "sacred" in relation to the "profane" mechanics of television and the audience beyond. The anxiety about close-ups of the Queen's face, in particular, demonstrate a concern with what Jennifer Clark (2015) calls the 'particular fantasies of disembodied, monarchical divinity' in 'the relationship between materiality and representation' (see Chapter Five for further discussion of this in terms of the Queen's "two bodies").² That is, materiality might dispel the fantasy of mystique. It also reflects the balance between visibility and invisibility in royal representations: on the one hand, television supports greater publicity, on the other, it perhaps engenders too much access and intimacy.

In addition, I suggest that cameras themselves are incorporated into the process of manufacturing spectacle. Upon anointing, the Queen symbolically becomes 'something more and greater than the human being [she was]' (Shils and Young, 1953: 69). The transmission blackout can be interpreted as making this transformation more tangible: the very act of banning the images *made them* sacred, and the Queen instantaneously became divine in the public imaginary. The blackout suggested the Queen became so sacred, the audience would contaminate it with their profane gaze. Thus, the status and hierarchy between monarchy and audience was re-established – by showing a black screen that signifies "nothing".

² In an analysis which chimes with my own in Chapter Five, Clark (2015) suggests these anxieties are specifically about her gender, as live television would 'reveal the queen's female embodiment and the gendered flesh of the monarch', which may fracture public belief in her ability to execute the duties and powers of monarch(y).

The “profanity” of the new media technologies was not a new debate for royal events: the Electrophone³ was banned from the Abbey at the 1902 coronation (Strong, 2005), and television cameras were forbidden from Princess Elizabeth and Prince Philip’s wedding in 1947 (Owens, 2016). The overturning of the ban in 1953, then, reveals the recognition of the benefits of television for royal events. What Shils and Young identify about the coronation, and critics like Birnbaum do not, is the power of the collective participatory event. Like a theatre production, royal events *need* an audience to function. It is the audience that invests the events with meaning, whether physically present or viewing virtually, and this is an extremely important form of representational and ideological power. Birnbaum’s claim that ‘the constitutional monarchy in Britain is singularly free from responsibilities and power, terrible or otherwise’ (1955: 17) fundamentally misinterprets the various dynamics of power at play. Having power, being *powerful*, exercising power, institutional power, productive power, ideological power, symbolic power, corporate power or representational power, all of which – as this thesis contends – the monarchy embodies.

Shils and Young’s religious terminology could also be interpreted differently. By referring to the coronation not just as ‘an act of national communion’ (1953: 67) but also a ‘communal occasion’ (1953: 72), they could be articulating a commonality: common people coming together as a commons under a common sentiment. This interpretation is supported by their suggestion that discourses of unity at the coronation were articulated through affective familial symbolism, and conflation of ‘the Royal Family, the millions of British families, and the nation as a whole, as though they are one’ (1953: 78). Rather than the coronation affirming some mystical, already-existing moral values (the part of Shils and Young’s argument so widely disparaged), the notion of commonality suggests that moral value is ascribed by *the very participation itself*, as the event acts as the trigger bringing “the commons” together. As Nick Couldry states in his own analysis of Durkheimian theory, ‘media events are... *constructions*, not expressions, of the ‘social order’ (2003: 54).

Shils and Young’s understanding of the role of media culture in forming this “commons” prefigures much twentieth-century media studies scholarship. Their account chimes with

³ The Electrophone was a distributed audio system, which operated between approximately 1895-1925. It relayed live theatre and music hall shows to subscribers who listened over special headsets.

Benedict Anderson's 'imagined communities', where members of a nation come together through 'the image of their communion' (2006: 6). It can also be compared to, and developed by, social theorist Michael Warner's work on 'publics' (2002, 2005): mass media texts addressing a fictional, collective "we" and thus constituting groups through engagement. Warner's use of the plural 'publics' captures the plurality and diversity of coronation viewers. 'Publics' also more effectively describes the participatory nature of royal events than the passive 'audience' does, as publics are 'potent' (2005: 8) discursive spaces which 'exist... by virtue of being addressed' (2002: 50), and are (re)produced through connected and concentrated acts of representation. For Shils and Young, this active production is undertaken through 'radio, television and press' (1953: 70), and I demonstrate below how retrospective analysis reveals a whole host of media texts constituting the coronation. Retrospective analysis also reveals the importance of "liveness" to the construction of coronation publics. Paddy Scannell asserts live television has a '*presencing*[]: the] re-presenting of a present occasion to an absent audience, [which] can powerfully produce the effect of being there' (1996: 84; see also Marriott, 2007). One interviewee in 'Media and Memory in Wales' (2012), a study which archived oral testimony about experiences of television in the twentieth century, spoke directly to notions of time/space transcendence, stating that the coronation 'gave an opportunity for people who lived way out in the country... to enter into the spirit of it all'. New television technologies afforded the connection of various publics through feelings of immediacy and responsiveness.

"National commons" and "publics" more precisely describe the kinds of active and emotional participation on display at the coronation. Anne Rowbottom, who undertook ethnographic research with 'royalists' who travel the UK to attend multiple royal events, describes their commitment as a kind of 'civil religion' (1998). Royalists who arrive with gifts for the royals, for example, are not receiving the monarchy passively. Rather, they are 'actively negotiating the messages, investing them with personal meaning and significance' (1998: 86) by inviting individual interactions with royal figures.⁴ The makeup of coronation audiences differs from film audiences. Whatever their individual feelings towards monarchy, citizens are compelled to participate and perform patriotism to someone who *is* the national communion, for example many television viewers

⁴ Rowbottom's work could be considered an early contribution to fandom studies, and is one of the only critical pieces of work on royal fandom. In terms of this chapter, Warner's work on publics has been used in fandom studies to describe active, participatory media audiences (for example, McNicholas Smith, forthcoming)

participated by hosting street parties (see Broady, 1956). A letter from the Governor of H.M Prison Nottingham reveals 200 prisoners were permitted to watch the television coverage in the morning, with dinnertime postponed so as not to interrupt the ceremony, and in the afternoon they played cricket against prison staff (Governor, H.M Prison Nottingham, 1953). As the Governor wrote, ‘Coronation Day was just not just an ordinary working day. The routine of the prison was adjusted’ (*ibid.*). Shils and Young’s description of people’s ‘inability... to say why they thought important the occasion they were honouring’ (1953: 63) is suggestive of a deep and mystical attachment to royalty. These findings were echoed by Claire Wardle and Emily West (2004) in their analysis of participation in the Queen’s 2002 Golden Jubilee. Furthermore, ‘Media and Memory in Wales’ (2012) found that the coronation played a formative role in memories of television, whereby even non-ardent monarchists could give an intimate account of how they became part of the national collective on the day. There are complicated, emotional and historical connections at play, where citizens map their intimate lives onto royal events. One participant in Mass Observation recounted: ‘I thought I was immune, but I awoke this morning with the feeling that this day was different, like Christmas or one’s birthday’ (Mass Observation Survey, 1953). This is not to suggest everyone felt similarly about the coronation (see below), and indeed if the monarchy represents a national family, this is, just like many families, a dysfunctional and tumultuous relationship: some of us love them, some hate them, some are indifferent. However, each member of the national family was still part of the ‘publics’, and each opinion is important in reproducing monarchical power.

This can further be interpreted in terms of ritual (Becker, 1995; Couldry, 2003; Cottle, 2006; Widholm and Becker, 2015), where royal events engender the enactment and reproduction of individual subjectivities in relation to social and political structures. Andreas Widholm and Karin Becker suggest that royalty acts as ‘an imaginary discursive space onto which people could project senses of identity and belonging, [and] intense emotional engagements’ (2015: 15; see also Hayden, 1987). Rather than Birnbaum’s claim for an entertainment monarchy, then, royal ceremony is key to ‘the political establishment of the nation’ (Glencross et al., 2016: 15), through which questions of who “we” are as a national “commons” can be mediated. The conscious invocations of iconographies of “Britishness” at these events, such as Union Jack flags (Figure 4.3), can be extremely powerful in consolidating public imaginaries of national identity, national

belonging, and also narratives of exclusion (see below for an account of multi-cultural inclusion/exclusion).



Figure 4.3: 'Union jack flags' on display outside houses in Windsor, UK, at the wedding of Prince Harry and Meghan Markle in May 2018. Photograph by author.

Although analytically useful, this account of the “national commons” and the democratisation of royal events raises questions about what this contradictory formulation might mean. As a hereditary institution, the monarchy *is not* democratised, and indeed one of the key concerns in planning the coronation was fitting the event around the horse racing calendar for aristocratic sport fans (Campbell, 1988). The tagline in *The Daily Express* (Figure 4.1) reads ‘millions shared Royal smiles hidden from the peers’, suggesting the cameras permitted new terrains of media intimacy whereby the “ordinary viewing public” triumphed over invited aristocracy and royalty.⁵ While this is in some ways accurate, I argue that intimacy is a staged illusion (see Chapter Eight). The coronation was not a “people’s revolution”, rather hierarchies are reproduced through the active production of consent, which plays out through audience participation.

⁵This also, crucially, figures a particular ideological framing of the monarchy as ordinary through their proximity to the “ordinary public”, and the assumption that the monarchy privileged the home viewers over the invited guests.

Therefore, in many ways, Shils and Young's "national communion" merely instigates the (re)production of inequalities.

Staging Spectacle

Concerns about televising the coronation were articulated through anxieties about the loss of control, as the CEC claimed that the potential live transmission of mistakes would detract from the coronation's majesty (Scannell, 1996). As David Chaney argues, these debates indicate 'a deeper conviction that public ceremonies are primarily dramatic forms requiring careful staging and management' (1983: 131). By considering the processes of production in staging the coronation, I develop Shils and Young's account, which lacks attention to precisely *how* the event was constructed. If the coronation is, as I have intimated, a theatrical and spectacular performance, then analysing how this performance was manufactured and staged in particular ways helps us to understand how the spectacle of monarchy operates.

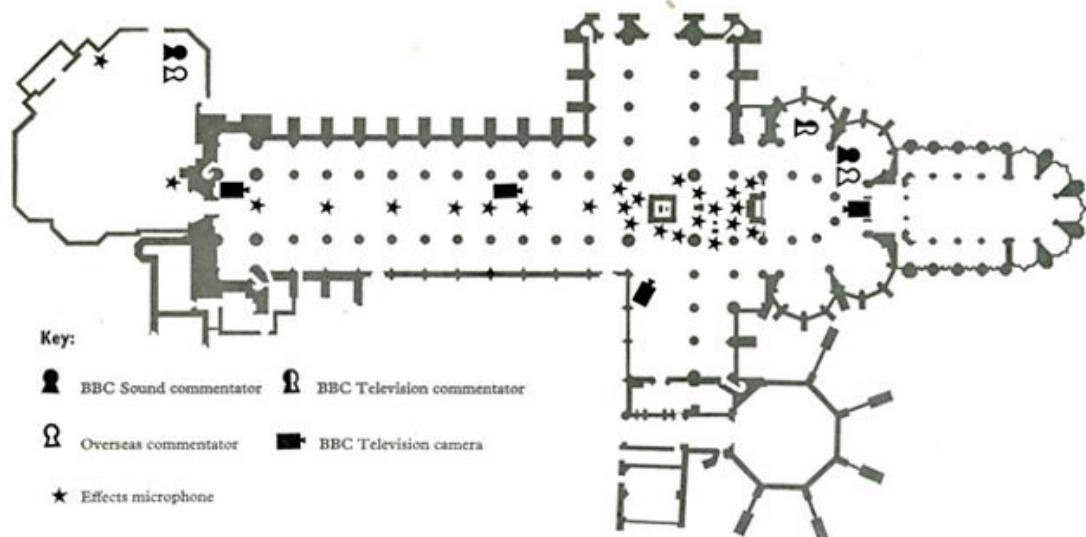


Figure 4.4: 'Map of the positioning of cameras in Westminster Abbey' at the coronation. As reproduced by Verrill (2013)

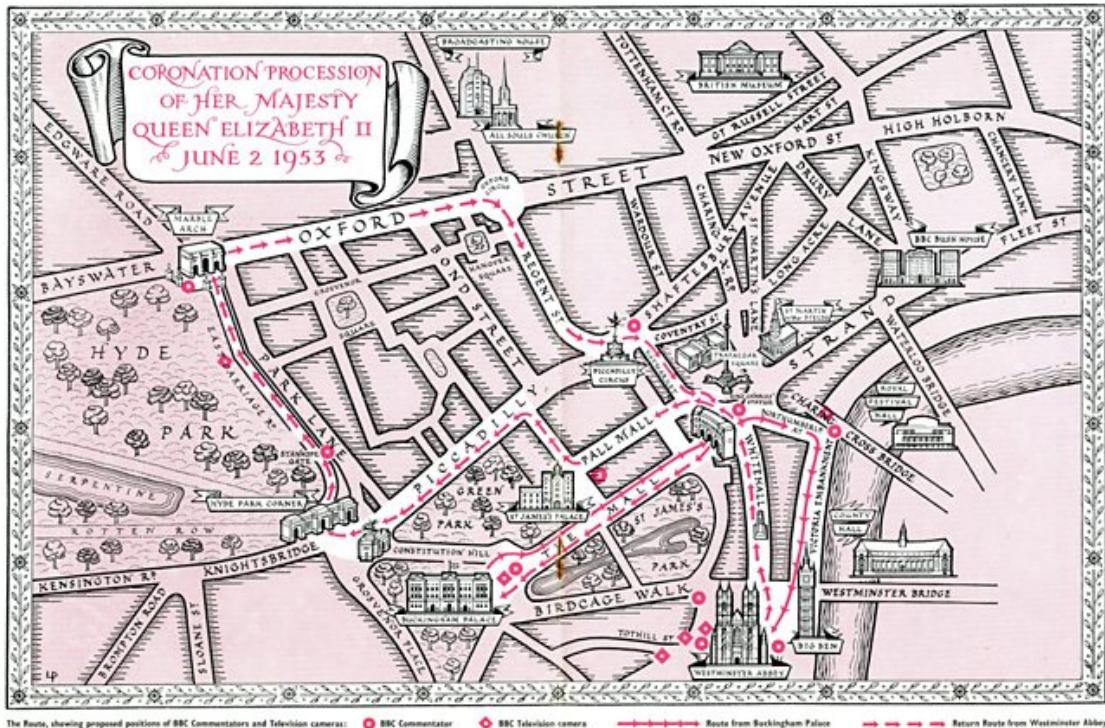


Figure 4.5: 'Map of cameras on the procession route' at the coronation, made available in advance so members of the public could choose their viewing spots. As reproduced by Verrill (2013)

The positioning of cameras within Westminster Abbey (Figure 4.4) and on the procession route (Figure 4.5) required careful planning. Five cameras were permitted inside the Abbey, all of which were invisible to audiences except one among the orchestra, operated by the smallest cameraman (Briggs, 1979). This was complemented by twenty-nine microphones (Verrill, 2013). On the procession route, twenty-one cameras were positioned at five different sites, and eleven different commentary positions, each with a control room, were set up to cater for 100 commentators (*ibid.*). Loudspeakers were positioned along the route to broadcast the service to the crowds, and Westminster City Council spent £70,000 on decorations (Ziegler, 1978). Disseminating the footage to (inter)national audiences was a feat of technological and infrastructural capacity. Three new transmitters were constructed in the UK to provide coverage to areas previously not served by signal, Pontop Pike, Glencairn, and Truleigh Hill (Verrill, 2013). To broadcast internationally, telefilm recording was flown across the Atlantic by the RAF and edited in-flight to air on NBC and ABC in the United States, and CBS in Canada (*ibid.*) on the same day, which cost each institution around \$1 million (Clark, 2015).

The unprecedented scale of the event meant recording equipment had to be borrowed (Briggs, 1979), and, in an odd manifestation of the filmic spectacle of royalty, horse-drawn carriages were loaned from an Elstree film studio (Strong, 2005). Historian Roy Strong estimated the total cost of the coronation to be around £912,000⁶ (2005), and the BBC alone spent £40,000 to deal with broadcasting complexities (Ward, 1985). Chiming with my analysis of the hidden infrastructure of labour relations (re)producing the British monarchy (Chapter Three), the BBC employed 120 workers for the production (Strong, 2005), while the CEC planned the day itself. A shortage of professional coachmen meant elite businessmen and aristocrats volunteered (BBC, n.d.); an interesting class incongruity considering their typically privileged status and that of a Buckingham Palace servant. Meanwhile Jennifer Clark (2015) uncovered the *Record of Procedure*: a book compiled by the Minister of Works logging everyone who worked at the coronation.

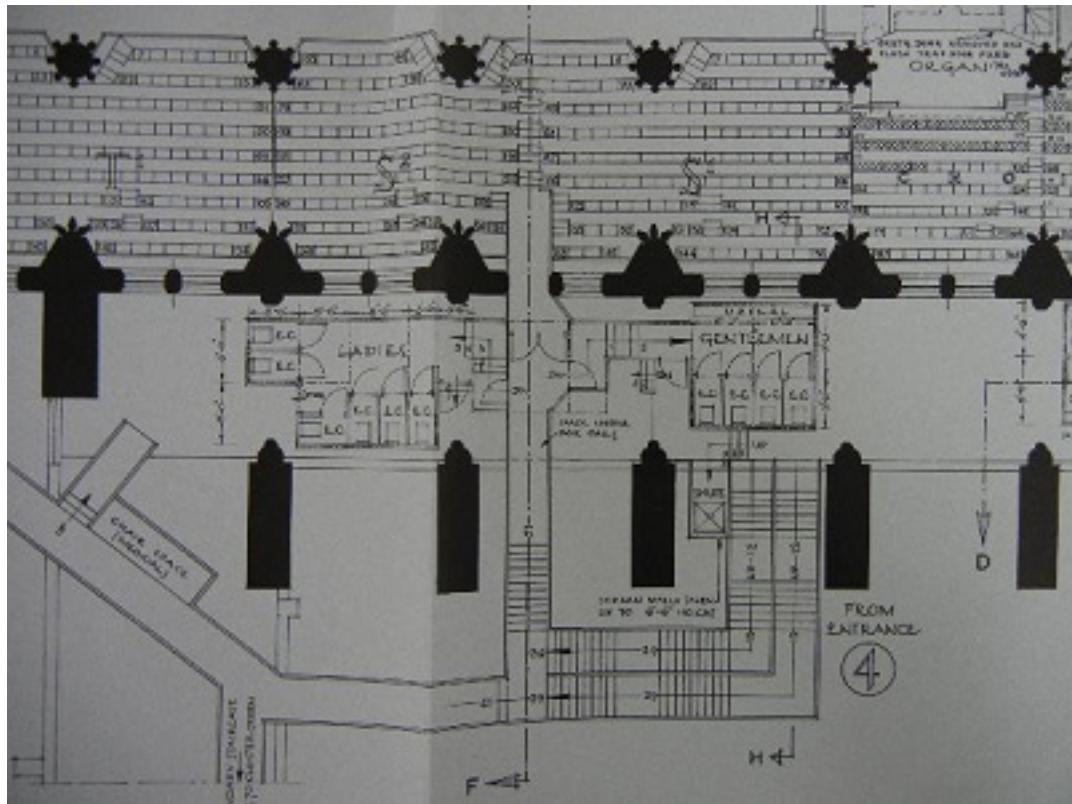


Figure 4.6: 'Map of Westminster Abbey Toilets', taken from the *Record of Procedure*, as reproduced by Clark (2015)

Primarily exploring female workers such as embroiderers, secretaries and cleaners, Clark suggests that their labour was ignored because it 'threatened to disrupt prevailing

⁶ Previous coronations cost around £193,000 in 1902, £185,000 in 1911, and £454,000 in 1937 (Strong, 2005).

mythologies of disembodied, eternal, and sacred events' (2015). However the event's success was dependent upon their 'banal, material support' (*ibid.*). For example, the 'Map of Westminster Abbey Toilets' (Figure 4.6), included in the *Record of Procedure*, demonstrates how these domestic practicalities were planned with equal precision to the destinations of cameras. The labour involved in the production is illustrated in BBC documentary series *Days That Shook the World* (2003), told from the perspective of BBC producer Peter Dimmock. Dramatising him in the control room verbally directing the cameras, the documentary exposes the filmic values and technological processes behind the coronation spectacle. Indeed, in January 1953, Dimmock attended the inauguration of US President Eisenhower as inspiration of how to film and transmit an (inter)national spectacle (Briggs, 1979).

In *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger argue that many societal traditions are 'invented'. That is, they 'seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition' (1983: 1), and are given meaning through reference to historical continuity and a rhetoric of national belonging. David Cannadine (in Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983) tracks this process for royal ceremony between 1820-1983, and argues that new royal rituals have been consistently invented to respond to the social, political, cultural and economic contexts. The "tradition" of royals appearing on Buckingham Palace balcony following ceremonies, for example (see Chapter Three), was only established by Queen Victoria in the 1850s to make the monarchy more visible as symbols of national identity (Parry in Olechnowicz, 2007). Cannadine (in Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983) interprets this as a concerted attempt to manufacture more positive responses to royal ceremony. Staging royal ceremony in order to craft particular meaning, then, is not a phenomenon unique to television.

The Coronation as Media Event

Thus far, this chapter has primarily focused on television's mediation of the coronation ceremony, and has suggested the two are interrelated. Indeed, 'Regentone TV Advert' (Figure 4.7) encapsulates this argument, as the coronation is actively employed to encourage the consumption of television sets. However, although television was arguably the most important medium for the coronation, other media texts also contributed to the meaning of the event in the public imaginary. Shils and Young began to consider this (with radio and cartoons, for example), but undertaking this analysis retrospectively

reveals more about the constitution of the coronation as a “media event”. I borrow this term from Daniel Dayan and Elihu Katz’s classic text (1992), however they limit their account to consider the ritualistic impact of live television broadcasts. I, like others (Örnebring, 2004), find this definition limiting, and extend “media events” to include all media texts produced about, or in reference to, the coronation. This account is by no means exhaustive, however I have chosen a selection of representations that go some way towards representing the variety available.



Figure 4.7: 'Regentone TV advert', released in the lead up to the coronation to sell TV sets. As reproduced by Moran (2013)

Film has been used for royal representations since Queen Victoria’s reign (Merck, 2016), and cinema networks Rank and Associated British produced feature-length colour documentaries (television broadcasts were black and white) *A Queen is Crowned* (1953) and *Elizabeth is Queen* (1953) respectively, both released on 8th June 1953. *A Queen is Crowned* became 1953’s most popular box office film (Richards in Olechnowicz, 2007), and its iconography draws on the customs and traditions of “Englishness”, as opposed to “Britishness” or identification with Empire (see Chapters Five and Six for an exploration of this distinction). It opens with a recital of “This is England”, a speech from Shakespeare’s *Richard III*⁷, played over pastoral scenes of countryside, churches and

⁷ *Richard III* is a historical play written by William Shakespeare, depicting the short reign of Richard III of England.

castles, reflecting a pre-industrial version of Britishness/Englishness (see Chapter Six).



Figure 4.8: '*A Queen is Crowned* promotional poster', 1953. As reproduced by Parker (2012)

Jeffrey Richards describes *A Queen is Crowned* as 'the ultimate heritage film' (2004: 73), while James Chapman positions it as part of post-World War II 'cultural propaganda' which reassured Britons that society was 'still underpinned by traditional and historic British values' (in Monk and Sargeant, 2002: 87, 88). Despite national values, the film was popular worldwide, for example New York's Guild Theatre featured nine daily showings (Chapman in Monk and Sargeant, 2002). Meanwhile, '*A Queen is Crowned* promotional poster' (Figure 4.8) features both British iconography through the state coaches and the guardsmen, and signifiers of Hollywood through the red theatre curtain and the glamorous depiction of the Queen. This amalgamation of the national and the international is best epitomised in the choice of Lawrence Olivier as narrator. Olivier is an actor associated with both national identity through Shakespeare productions, and as a Hollywood "heart-throb" who was then the most famous British actor in the world. This reflects the global production of entertainment spectacle, where the coronation retains

value outside of the reverential context of British productions. Indeed, it is associated with media industries around the world.

In 2009, an unseen, seventeen-minute, colour, 3D newsreel of the coronation was re-discovered in the archives of the British Film Institute (Pierce, 2009). Thought to be the first 3D colour film in the world, two cameramen spent £3,000 to capture the footage by using two cameras simultaneously at different angles, before splicing the footage together (ibid.). The film was never shown in cinemas, a decision which *The Telegraph*'s Andrew Pierce attributes to the 'explosion in popularity in television' that overshadowed it, the irony being that the first time the film *was* shown to audiences was on Channel 4 during their 3D Week in 2009 (ibid.). This further illustrates the codependence between monarchy and media, as the coronation initiated the development of new 3D technology, which would not become popular until later in the twentieth century. The film's production also demonstrates the scale of the coronation as a technological spectacle in terms of mass distribution: it was a multi-platform vision. As I describe below, this technological prowess has been narrated as indicative of the 'new Elizabethan age' and Britain's post-war prestige.



Figure 4.9: 'Woolworths coronation display' in the front window of the stores in 1953. (Seaton, no date)

Coronation merchandise was sold across the UK. Analysis in *The Economist* reported national retail sales in June 1953 were 6% above those in June 1952, with café trade up 25%, sweet sales up 65%, and sales of ‘miscellaneous fancy goods’ in London up 30% (The Economist, 1953). ‘Woolworths coronation display’ (Figure 4.9) illustrates the front windows of the chain store Woolworths, entirely dominated by coronation-themed decorations and collectibles. Described as a tactical economic ploy to define itself as ‘*the* Coronation store, and secure... its reputation with a new generation’ (Seaton, 2017), the longevity of “Woolies”⁸ as a British retail phenomenon plays on the longevity of the monarchy through iconographies of “Britishness”. Other themed goods included children’s comics – *Collins Magazine for Girl and Boys* even changed its name to *The Young Elizabethans* in celebration – novels, ballets, theatre productions (Phillips in Morra and Gossedge, 2016), and a free commemorative mug for every British child (Hennessy, 2006). In Chapter Three, I suggested that the monarchy attributes and receives value through association with other brands, and the range of commodities using coronation iconography demonstrates it’s economic potential.

Responses to the coronation were not universally positive, and criticism of the monarchy can be considered a key part of the theatrical spectacle as a pantomime of “scandal”, criticism and resolution (see Chapters Seven and Eight). Alternative anti-monarchy responses can be described as ‘counterpublics’ (Warner, 2005): publics defining themselves in opposition to dominant discourses. Henrik Örnebring (2007: 178) provides a detailed analysis of Mass Observation Survey respondents who ‘opted out’ of the coronation, choosing to avoid media representations or stage anti-monarchy protests. The satirical cartoon described by Shils and Young, ‘The Morning After’ (Figure 4.10), appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* on 3rd June 1953, and depicts party litter (bunting, champagne bottles), the text ‘£100,000,000 spree’ scrawled across the floor, and coronation audiences infantilised as babies. The cartoon promptly instigated 600 letters of criticism for being in ‘bad taste’ (Kennedy, 2012). Shils and Young identify the cartoon as illustrating the “sacred” versus the “profane”, where economic criticism clashed with the ‘devoted gravity of the popular attitude’ (1953: 71). However, they do not consider the classed antagonisms depicted, whereby class hierarchies between the Queen and the viewing public are maintained through appeals to morality. The “ordinary viewers” are characterised as drunken and irresponsible, while the ‘Fairy Princess’ and

⁸ “Woolies” was the affectionate nickname given to Woolworths by British consumers and media outlets. Woolworths entered administration in 2009.

‘Snow White’ books strewn across the floor signify a desire to emulate the Queen through fairytale narratives of class mobility.

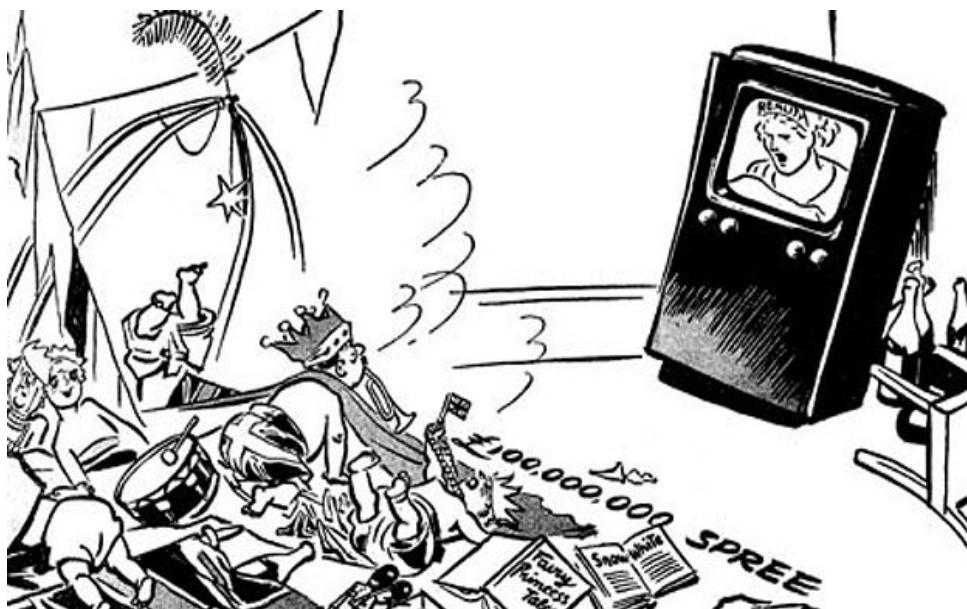


Figure 4.10: ‘The Morning After’, satirical cartoon by David Low printed in the *Manchester Guardian* on 3rd June 1953 (Low, 1953)

‘The Communist Party Pamphlet’ (Figure 4.11) more directly confronts class. The cartoon depicts plutocrats, financers and monopoly capitalists gathered as coronation organisers, described inside as ‘the Court circle... full of the greatest and the richest’ who run the country ‘in their own interests’ (1953: 6). Moreover, reflecting the argument of this thesis, it suggests ‘the monarchy is utilised merely as a screen behind which the wealthiest of the land maintain their exploitation’ (*ibid.*). The coronation, then, is directly beneficial to these elites, who can organise the event in line with their own interest and values. Although the coronation guests have been explored in terms of their social class (Olechnowicz, 2007), their contribution to – and benefit from – the staging of royal ceremony has been overlooked in academic scholarship.

More widespread production of anti-monarchy texts occurred in Scotland, where the title ‘Elizabeth II’ caused controversy because Elizabeth I had ruled prior to the 1707 Act of Union, hence had never ruled over Scotland (de Luca in Morra and Gossedge, 2016; see Chapter Five). Oppositional acts ranged from posters offering a £2,000 award for ‘information leading to the identification of Elizabeth I of Scotland, dead or alive’; memorabilia celebrating the 1953 coronation of Elizabeth I; and Edinburgh postboxes bearing the signifier ‘II’ were either painted over or blown up (*ibid.*: 55). Nationalist

ideology hence played a part both in the predominant popularity of the coronation across England and Wales, and the unpopularity of it in Scotland (in Chapter Five I explore the complexities of national identity in more detail).



Figure 4.11: 'The Communist Party Pamphlet' released for the coronation, 1953 (The Communist Party of Great Britain, 1953)

Finally, restagings of the coronation for novels, films and television in the years since the event implicate its meanings. Archive footage of the coronation features regularly in royal documentaries, particularly those focusing on the Queen as a way of establishing a narrative of longevity and continuity, for example *Elizabeth at 90: A Family Tribute* (dir: Bridcut, 2016). The coronation has also been the theme of a number of exhibitions, usually around anniversaries or jubilees. For the coronation's sixtieth anniversary in 2013, for instance, Buckingham Palace displayed an array of coronation clothing, objects and art (Royal Collection Trust, 2013). Fictional reconstructions of the coronation in novels include Kate Atkinson's *Behind the Scenes at the Museum* (1996) and A.S. Byatt's *The Virgin in the Garden* (1994), which both focus on fictional families celebrating the day, and R.F.

Delderfield's trilogy *A Horseman Riding By* (1966), which takes a (rare) critical approach by suggesting Elizabeth II's reign will oversee the collapse of Britain.

On television, the aforementioned BBC documentary *Days That Shook the World* (2003) dramatised the behind-the-scenes staging, but only used archive footage of the coronation itself. Netflix drama *The Crown*⁹ (dir: Morgan, 2016) mixes archive footage with fully dramatised reconstructions featuring actor Claire Foy as the Queen. Although primarily a reverential recount of the coronation as a moment of national unity, the series does pose some interesting points for analysis, mostly around staging. The coronation episode's title 'Smoke and Mirrors', for example, is suggestive of the inherent illusion of monarchical productions, and most of the episode focuses on the preparation. from CEC meetings, to construction work in the Abbey (including the installation of cameras) and debates about televising the ceremony. These debates culminate in Prince Philip – played by Matt Smith – "persuading" the Queen to embrace the new medium to 'democratise [the coronation, and] make [the public] feel as though they share in it, understand it'. Most of the recreated coronation service is staged from the perspective of the Duke of Windsor¹⁰, who watches the service on television and commentates to his friends about the 'magic' of monarchy, and how coronation pageantry turns 'the ordinary young woman of modest ability' into a 'goddess'. *The Crown* also displays an interesting paradox, first showing archive footage from the moment the cameras panned away during the anointing, and then a reconstruction of the anointing featuring Claire Foy in extreme close-up (Figure 4.12). Although broadcasting this in 1953 was not permitted, the recreation of this moment perhaps demonstrates the shifting attitudes towards monarchy, religion and television in 2016.

⁹ *The Crown* is a television series that dramatises the Queen's life from the 1940s to the present day.

¹⁰ The Duke of Windsor is the former King Edward VIII, who abdicated in 1936.



Figure 4.12: 'Claire Foy as the Queen in *The Crown*', reconstructing the moment of anointing (Morgan, 2016)

Most recently, the 65th anniversary of the coronation in 2018 prompted a spate of commentary and celebration. Royal fansite¹¹ 'Royal Central' spent the day 'real-time tweeting' the events on Twitter as if it were coronation day, announcing the arrival of key guests, the moment of crowning and the stages of the procession (Royal Central, 2018), blending the historical event with a new technology. The BBC, meanwhile, produced the hour-long documentary *The Coronation* (dir: Lilley, 2018). Alongside typical archive footage, the documentary featured the Queen's first televised interview of her reign, as she watched and commentated on coronation footage with presenter Alastair Bruce. The production reflects the contemporary values of The Firm, as it seeks to approximate itself with mediated intimacies and a more informal approach to public relations (see Chapters Seven and Eight). Indeed, the Queen's blunt commentary on the archive footage, and her roughly grabbing the Crown Jewels and tapping the metal after assistants had brought it to her wearing white gloves, immediately became a Twitter sensation, with viewers exclaiming she 'act[ed] like a normal human being' and celebrating her 'down to earth' nature (Ling, 2018). The Queen's deconstruction of the coronation rewrote the event for a new audience, giving them new insight: a deconstructed spectacle for the postmodern age.

¹¹ A fansite is a website produced by a fan about a celebrity or a cultural phenomenon.

The New Elizabethan Age

Thus far, this chapter has demonstrated how developments in media technologies enabled more of the population to participate in the coronation ritual. Using the work of Shils and Young (1953), it has argued that this participation inspired a commonality where moral values were (re)produced. This section will extend this to consider the role of national and/or imperial identities in this commonality. If this chapter aims to consider what an analysis of the coronation can reveal, this cannot be undertaken without situating it in its economic, social, cultural and political context.

The coronation took place eight years after British victory in World War II, and in the context of a gradual recovery from wartime austerity and rationing. Clement Atlee's Labour government continued the work begun during the war, initiating widespread nationalisation, strong labour unions, mass construction of social houses, and a new welfare state, including the establishment of the NHS (Lloyd, 1993; Lowe, 2005). Labour were displaced in the 1951 election by the Conservatives headed by Winston Churchill, and his particular brand of imperial patriotism epitomised in his figuring as an English bulldog (Ward, 2004). The Festival of Britain in 1951¹² demonstrated an attempt to blend narratives of modernity and imperial power, providing an opportunity for Britain to exhibit its technological prowess on a grand scale but 'defined by an established cultural tradition' (Morra in Morra and Gossedge, 2016: 29; see also Littler, 2006). This was a symbolism mirrored in the values of the coronation two years later. Indeed, a strong sense of imperialist national identity was consolidated on coronation morning, when the British public learned that Edmund Hillary and Nepalese Tenzing Norgay had become the first known individuals to climb Mount Everest. News of the conquest was actively redacted by government officials overnight in order to construct a connection between conquest and coronation (Ward, 2004). This is illustrated in *News Chronicle*'s headline 'The Crowning Glory' (see Figure 4.13), and the *Daily Mail*'s claim that 'the last untopped piece of earth.... [was] laid at Her Majesty's feet' (in Webster, 2005: 95).

¹² The Festival of Britain in 1951 was a national exhibition and fair, designed to celebrate British science, technology, industrial design, architecture and the arts.



Figure 4.13: 'The Crowning Glory' (*News Chronicle*, 1953), 2nd June

The coronation initiated suggestions of a “new Elizabethan age”, simultaneously evoking a symbolic historical continuity from Elizabeth I and an anticipative glimpse into an innovative and exploratory future. For example, Irene Morra and Rob Gossedge (2016) found a renewed interest in Shakespeare adaptations and Elizabethan dramas during the coronation period. If Elizabeth I’s reign is characterised as a period of colonial expansion, conquest and domination, this is an interesting comparison considering Elizabeth II’s reign is characterised by decolonisation and the loss of Empire. When associated with the rhetoric of the Everest ascent, these comparisons suggest an attempt at Elizabeth II’s coronation to create a controlling link with newly independent colonies, by defining “Britishness” in relation to political imaginaries of global domination and importance. This construction was perhaps more subtle than Queen Victoria’s figuring as the Empress of India at her Golden Jubilee in 1887, and indeed the language of

colonialism and Empire was gradually filtered out throughout the 1950s (Webster, 2005). Instead, imperialism was predominantly articulated through celebrations of the Commonwealth. Having been formally constituted in 1949, the Commonwealth's relative novelty was figured through the new Queen's youth: 'A Young Queen for a Young Commonwealth', according to the *Daily Mail* in 1953 (Webster, 2005). Deemed 'a Commonwealth affair' by the BBC's Director of Outside Broadcasts (Hajkowski, 2010: 102), organisers ensured the Commonwealth's presence at the coronation. Two commentators were permitted inside Westminster Abbey so one could speak English and one French for the French-Canadian viewers, and the commentary team outside included representatives from Australia and Canada (revealingly referred to as the 'colonial commentators'; *ibid.*). Commonwealth imagery also featured throughout. Representatives of all Commonwealth countries were invited, celebratory television programming such as *The Commonwealth Gala* and *The Queen's Commonwealth* punctuated the schedules, and the Queen's dress featured the floral emblems of eleven Commonwealth countries (Strong, 2005; Hajkowski, 2010; Murphy, 2013).¹³ Shils and Young describe the Commonwealth-Britain relationship as a 'family of nations' (1953: 79).

Media representations emphasised the extent of celebrations across the Commonwealth (Webster, 2005). For example, the song 'I Was There (at the Coronation)' by Trinidadian-born Calypso¹⁴ singer 'Young Tiger' included the lyrics:

I took up my position at Marble Arch
From the night before, just to see the march
The night wind was blowing, freezing and cold
But I held my ground like a young Creole
I was there (at the coronation)
I was there (at the coronation)

(*Young Tiger - I Was There (At the Coronation)*, 2012)

The song celebrated the event as spectacle, but also highlighted 'Young Tiger's' pride at having participated, demonstrating the commonality of participation across ethnic and cultural boundaries. However, this idealisation is fractured when considering the racial

¹³ This is illustrative of the Queen's body as a symbolic battleground, see Chapter Five.

¹⁴ Calypso is a style of Afro-Caribbean music that originated in Trinidad and Tobago.

politics of the early 1950s, from ongoing racial tensions (particularly the demonising of black masculinity; Webster, 1998), tensions around migration from former colonies, and the ongoing politics of decolonisation. Despite lauding decolonialisation as the end of British rule, ‘external alterations concealed inner continuities’ (Darwin, 1988: 7). The Gold Coast, a British colony on the Gulf of Guinea in West Africa, for instance, saw Britain introduce a new constitution in 1946 on the proviso it would be more representative of local opinion. In reality, this merely meant British colonialists were able to define the timeline for decolonisation, and they subsequently installed wealthy lawyer J.B. Danquah as leader under the (mistaken) belief that he would promote a moderate revolution where Britain would retain power (Mbembe, 2001). Celebrations hailing the Commonwealth as equal partners, therefore, mask the ongoing installations of crony capitalist regimes (*ibid.*). After the coronation itself, celebrations of Commonwealth were further consolidated by the Queen and Prince Philip’s six-month Commonwealth tour, which included the Queen’s Christmas Day broadcast from New Zealand, hence reaffirming ‘the “Britishness” of the Commonwealth’ (Murphy, 2013: 61).



Figure 4.14: ‘Princess Elizabeth in the Auxiliary Territorial Service’, 1945. (The International Museum of World War II, 1945)

Finally, the coronation must be contextualised in relation to representations of the Queen. Multiple biographers have narrated the popularity of Princess Elizabeth as a child and young woman (Lacey, 1977, 2002; Pearson, 1986; Pimlott, 2012). This is figured most perceptibly through representations of “The Yorks”¹⁵ as moral figures, as in Annie Ring’s popular biography *The Story of Princess Elizabeth* (1932). The subsequent use of images of Elizabeth and her sister Margaret as ‘government propaganda’ (Pimlott, 2012: 57) to encourage wartime stoicism, her involvement in the Auxiliary Territorial Service to promote the participation of women in the labour market (see Figure 4.14), and her wedding to Philip Mountbatten in 1947 wearing a wedding dress paid for with rationing coupons (Fraser, 2011; Owens, 2016), all constructed her as an ‘emblematic heroine’ for war-time austerity (Pimlott, 2012: 74). The celebratory tone of the coronation, then, draws upon the connection of the Queen in the popular imagination with wartime nationalism, commonality, and stoicism.

The Media Monarchy

This chapter has used the coronation to explore the relationship between the monarchy and the media. While television afforded the monarchy greater regimes of intimacy and access, the monarchy’s longevity gave then-new media technologies such as television a popular appeal and sense of legitimacy. The BBC, in particular, built their reputation as a national institution through establishing exclusive rights to broadcast royal events (see Hajkowski, 2010; Hewlett, 2015). As one coronation viewer suggested, ‘photographs and printed matter... could never convey the majesty and significance of the service, like the TV camera did’ (Gilson, 1953).

It must be noted that this relationship was not “new”, and indeed as I described in Chapter Two, the monarchy-media relationship spans hundreds of years (Montrose, 2006; Sharpe, 2009, 2010). But the mass mediation of the coronation does evidence the changing cultural form of monarchy in relation to shifting social, political, cultural and economic contexts, changes which David Cannadine suggested demonstrate the continued ‘invention of tradition’ in royal productions (in Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). The coronation also illustrates the ways in which The Firm is dependent on commercial and state communication media, and therefore what is at stake is the struggle for control over these representations.

¹⁵ The Queen’s mother and father were Duke and Duchess of York until they were crowned King George VI and Queen Elizabeth in 1936.

This is most tangibly demonstrated in the 1969 BBC-ITV documentary *Royal Family* (dir: Cawston, 1969), directed by Richard Cawston and commissioned by Buckingham Palace for Prince Charles's investiture as Prince of Wales. In direct contrast to the precisely positioned cameras at the coronation, Cawston used new techniques of 'cinema verite', using hand-held 16 milimetre cameras with synchronized sound recording' (Pearson, 1986: 181) to follow the royal family for one year. The result was the 'first fly-on-the-wall royal reality-TV programme' (Crew, 2012: 23), offering intimate glimpses of domestic scenes, such as a family mealtime (Figure 4.15). This formed a key part of then-Press Secretary William Heseltine's project to modernise public perception of monarchy (Nairn, 1994). Despite its popularity, and Alan Rosenthal (1971) claims it is the most widely seen documentary ever made, the film was plagued with controversy. Although intended to democratise the monarchy, many were concerned the voyeurism inherent to "reality TV productions" fractured the mystique of monarchy too far. Using language mirroring that in Shils and Young's account of the "sacred", then-BBC controller David Attenborough argued:

the whole institution depends on mystique and the tribal chief in his hut... If any member of the tribe ever sees inside the hut, then the whole system of the tribal chiefdom is damaged and the tribe eventually disintegrates (Thornton, 2014)

Seemingly agreeing with this analysis, Buckingham Palace redacted the 90-minute documentary and the 43-hours of unused footage (Thornton, 2014), and has forbidden all airings except a 90-second clip used in 'The Queen: Art And Image' exhibition (and subsequently uploaded to YouTube: *'Royal Family' Documentary 1969*, 2011). The documentary has since become a mythological watershed in the history of royal representations. Its redaction illustrates the strategy behind manufacturing public intimacies with the royals, whereby the line between visibility and invisibility is carefully towed. Additionally, it encapsulates ongoing attempts to figure the royal family as simultaneously ordinary and extraordinary (Billig, 1992), and the importance of maintaining this ideological balance in the public imaginary.



Figure 4.15: ‘Scene from the *Royal Family* documentary’ (dir: Cawston 1969)

‘London Bridge is Down’

In 2017, *The Guardian* released secret plans held by Buckingham Palace, the BBC and the government relating to the death of the Queen (Knight, 2017). Journalist Sam Knight interviewed broadcasters, government officials, and palace staff to compile the information, and his interviewees all insisted on complete anonymity, demonstrating the general secrecy around the labour undertaken “backstage” in The Firm. But despite this secrecy, one television director told Knight ‘I have got in front of me an instruction book a couple of inches thick... everything in there is planned’.

Code names will be used for the monarch’s private secretary to convey news of the death to the Prime Minister to prevent interception. The Queen’s code name is ‘London Bridge’, and the Private Secretary will tell the Prime Minister ‘London Bridge is down’. For many years, the BBC was informed of royal deaths first. But now, after the Queen’s other realms and the Commonwealth nations are told, an announcement will be released to the Press Association and international media. At exactly the same moment, a footman will display a black-edged notice on the gates of Buckingham Palace, while the official royal website will be altered to a single page displaying the same notice, demonstrating the merging of old and new traditions in the contemporary media monarchy.

All of Britain's commercial radio stations have a network of lights which flash in the event of a national disaster, and these will immediately be lit for the death of a 'category one' royal. A pre-prepared selection of appropriately morose songs will play until the breaking news announcement is ready. Meanwhile, news organisations will choose from a selection of pre-prepared news pieces and obituaries to immediately release online. Regular programming on BBC 1, 2 and 4 will cease immediately and merge to display one newsreader, who will announce the death before the national anthem is played. The television schedules will be altered for the next nine days, with no satirical comedy being aired on BBC for the duration. There are pre-arranged sites for news crews to gather outside Buckingham Palace, and in the UK's biggest cities television screens will be erected in public spaces so people can watch the latest news. Royal tourist sites will be closed. The funeral itself is planned in its entirety, from the position of cameras down to the number of seconds the cortege will take to travel between locations. When the coffin reaches Westminster Abbey at exactly 11am, the country will observe a collective silence: train stations will stop announcements and buses will remain stationary. The ceremony will be televised in its entirety, followed by the cortege procession to Windsor Castle, cutting at the moment the cloister gates close. There will be no footage from inside the royal vault as the coffin is lowered, but the commentator will describe the event to viewers.

The minute detail of these plans encapsulates the precision of manufacturing spectacular royal events. It is designed to take place without incident, and at a moment's notice. Media outlets have their content prepared and their commentators pre-contracted, so they can be among the first to announce the news. These plans also demonstrate intent to inspire collective public feeling. Just as new television technologies facilitated various publics through feelings of immediacy and responsiveness at the coronation, publics will be constructed in the days following the Queen's death, as normal television and radio scheduling is interrupted, and public spaces are transformed into places of mourning.

These plans also demonstrate an effort to contain any potential attempts to prompt constitutional revolution. The Queen's death will instigate significant sociopolitical change in Britain and across the world. The campaign group Republic, for example, have already announced plans to call for a referendum on the abolition of the monarchy upon the Queen's death, claiming that 'support for the monarchy is bound up with support for

the Queen' and her death poses a key 'opportunity to campaign' (Weaver, 2016). The funeral ceremony constitutes a key moment for The Firm to contain and dampen these narratives of descent. Plans ensure the news is not released accidentally, particularly important in the age of social media and citizen journalism. The death is already constructed to be breaking news on the scale of an (inter)national disaster, and it will saturate media channels so as not to be upstaged. The event will be narrated in a particular way to be appropriately mournful, formal and respectful.

This is not to claim that the staging of royal deaths is a new phenomenon, and indeed George V's physician injected a dose of morphine to prompt the king's death after a long illness so that it coincided with the print deadline for the next morning's papers, 'so that the announcement could be made in the respectable morning titles as opposed to the down-market evening ones' (McClure, 2014: 72). But 'London Bridge is down' reveals the complexities of this staging in a digital age, and the extent of manufacturing and planning that goes into contemporary royal ceremony.

Conclusion: Theatres of In/Visibility

This chapter has argued that the 1953 coronation initiated a shift in royal representations, whereby new media cultures offered a platform for increased public intimacy, access, and visibility during royal ceremony. I have further outlined how the co-constitutive monarchy/media relationship can be evidenced up until the present day. Indeed, the differences between 'London Bridge is down' and the staging of the coronation are minor, and the key point here is about the importance of representation and visibility in reproducing monarchical power.

The work of Shils and Young (1953) has been used in this chapter to consider the role of publics (Warner, 2005), arguing that acts of public participation in the coronation ceremony initiated commonalities and the production of moral values – functions which were consolidated by new mass media technologies. Concurrently, it has suggested that the coronation (and other royal ceremony) functions as a key 'mechanism of consent' (Hall et al., 2013: 207) for the reproduction of royal power. This, then, suggests that royal ceremony simultaneously reinforces commonality *and* hierarchy, where the monarch(y) becomes representative of the "commons". My analysis has demonstrated that media culture is key to the success of this representation, and indeed the monarchy has

consistently made use of developing media technologies to consolidate its power in the public imaginary.

This chapter has also maintained that *this visibility necessarily involves invisibility* for, as Walter Bagehot has argued, ‘we must not let in daylight upon magic’ (2001 [1894]: 59). By detailing archival evidence of the controversies of televising the coronation, and the precision with which it was planned, I have demonstrated the importance of theatrical scripting in producing monarchical spectacle for new media cultures. The Queen may ‘have to be seen to be believed’ (Queen Elizabeth II in Bates, 2015), but this *seeing* is subject to careful construction and control to ensure it retains distance and mystique.

The remainder of this thesis will explore other ways in which monarchical power is (re)produced. If Chapter Three explored the invisible economies of monarchy, and this chapter the hyper-visible, the subsequent case study chapters consider the quotidian reproduction of monarchy through the bodies of four royal figures. Producing consent for monarchy is an ongoing project.

Chapter Five

The Queen's Monstrous Body: The Monarch and National Identity

On 20th September 2014, in the wake of the Scottish Independence Referendum, British broadsheet *The Daily Telegraph*'s front page was dominated by a photograph of Queen Elizabeth II in the grounds of her Balmoral Estate in the Scottish Highlands (Figure 5.1), under the headline 'Queen's pledge to help reunite the Kingdom'. The photograph is entitled 'Queen of Scots, Sovereign of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle and the Chief of Chiefs' (hereafter 'Queen of Scots'), and was taken as an official portrait of the monarch by Julian Calder. It is given context in *The Daily Telegraph* by its caption, which highlights the role of Scottish culture in its composition: 'The Queen wears the robes of The Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle, beside Gelder Burn on her Balmoral Estate, for a portrait in 2010'. Although 'Queen of Scots' is not mentioned elsewhere in the article, the caption indicates the editor's recognition of its cultural symbolism.

The accompanying story by journalist Mick Brown narrates the referendum and its aftermath, including voting statistics and reaction from political leaders. The tagline, 'we have in common an enduring love of Scotland, which is one of the things that helps to unite us all', is excerpted from the Queen's post-referendum press release, a longer version of which opens the article:

As we move forward, we should remember that... we have in common an enduring love of Scotland, which is one of the things that helps unite us all. Knowing the people of Scotland as I do, I have no doubt that Scots, like others throughout the United Kingdom, are able to express strongly-held opinions before coming together again. My family and I will do all we can to help and support you in this important task (Brown, 2014)

In the press release, the Queen continually asserts the importance of 'coming together' and (re)uniting, referencing the 'strongly-held opinions' of pro-independence campaigners before suggesting these can now be revoked and the status quo can resume,

supported by herself and 'her family'. As an emblem of British national identity, the Queen's statement is a key moment in the rhetoric of the Independence debate, and her tangible delight at the "no" result produces consent for it in the public imaginary.

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Queen's pledge to help reunite the Kingdom

'We have in common an enduring love of Scotland, which is one of the things that helps to unite us all'



Mick Brown

SHE shall remain united after all. Having come to the brink of a divided Kingdom, Scotland has voted to remain in the United Kingdom which has held fast for 307 years, and averted the biggest constitutional crisis in the nation's history. After polls through the week had suggested a narrow victory for remaining, and a rising rock and roll, Scotland voted to remain in the Union with a resounding 55.3 per cent (2,001,920) voted No, to 44.7 per cent (1,672,880) voting Yes.

The turnout of 84.8 per cent was the highest for any election held in the United Kingdom since the introduction of universal suffrage in 1918.

There was none of the delirium in victory which we would have assumed after the 2010 election. The quarters of Scotland had the rottograve for independence – no cries of joy, no dancing in the streets, no flag-waving yesterday in large areas of Scotland, across the rest of Britain, and probably in the rest of the Commonwealth was one of relief, tempered with a deep uncertainty and foreboding about what the future holds.

The Prime Minister, David Cameron, and that for Scotland over independence had been "united for a generation. There can be no division now". We have heard the settled will of the Scottish people.

As Mr Cameron and Ed Miliband, the leader of the Labour Party, offered alternative visions of the future shape of Britain, the Queen spoke of her hope for all in the United Kingdom to "live together in a spirit of mutual respect and support, to work constructively for the future of Scotland and indeed all parts of this country".

Given the scale of the vote – 55 per cent of us throughout the United Kingdom will respect, Her Majesty will be right to hope that, and elsewhere today, there will be strong feelings and contrasting emotions, but also a sense of unity and neighbourly. That, of course, is the nature of the nation democratic institutions and the country. But I have no doubt that these emotions will be tempered by an understanding of the wider picture.

"So, as we move forward, we should remember that despite the range of views that have been expressed, there are common aims: reducing loss of Scotland, which is one of the things that help to unite us all."

"Knowing the people of Scotland, and I do, I am not so daunted by the results, like those in the United Kingdom, as to express strongly-held opinions or continue to argue with my family and friends. The long and often acrimonious campaigns, in which political reputations have been lost, fallute,



The Queen wears the robes of The Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle, beside Glendarroch on her Balmoral estate, for a portrait in 2010

has cast Alba Sottenam, who had initially rejected Mr Cameron's proposals to secure England-only votes on tax, spending and welfare, he said, would make Scotland a "smaller, more equal and more peaceful" part of the UK.

A Labour source said: "We are not against the Barnett formula, but we have to have a more equal relationship to the rest of the UK." Instead, Ed Miliband called for a series of changes to the way the different areas of the UK on how power could be distributed from Westminster – in Finance, Cities, Infrastructure in Britain, including England, now deserve the chance to shape their own destiny, and not be left to a "dissolution settlement", he said.

Only now that the Barnett formula appears to involve a prolonged, difficult and heated debate, should the proposal be put forward, he said. The proposal had been put forward by appointed Lord Smith of Kelvin, who was responsible for Glasgow's City Deal, and had been part of the process towards greater devolution commitments to Scotland. The proposal, which had tax, spending and welfare to be agreed by Scotland, with devolution to be published in January.

Mr Cameron added: "Just as the people of Scotland will have more power over their affairs, so it follows that the people of England will have a bigger say over theirs. It is absolutely right that a new and fair settlement is agreed to by the two countries." Significantly, that the cross-party consensus to fight the Yes vote had instantly crumbled, and that now

attention had turned to Labour's proposals to secure England-only votes on tax, spending and welfare, he said, would make Scotland a "smaller, more equal and more peaceful" part of the UK.

Acknowledging that the West Lothian question required "a range of answers", Mr Cameron said that just as Scotland will vote separately in the Scottish Parliament and Westminster, so too will Wales and Northern Ireland should be allowed to do the same. He said that he had appointed Williams Hart to "draw up those plans".

Another proposal to change the future of the Barnett formula, which would see Scotland receive around £1,000 more per head than the rest of the Union, and which the Conservative party has this week promised to introduce.

Boris Johnson accused Mr Cameron of "a lack of leadership of making a 'credible promise' to maintain current levels of funding for Scotland, and of failing to back the reworking of the Barnett formula, saying the "whole point" was that "underpinning the strong and stable economy of the UK, which we all depend on".

Speaking on LBC Radio, Mr Cameron said: "I am in favour of a Barnett formula which does justice to Scotland with one T (Barnett in north London)." The proposal to

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Figure 5.1: 'Queen of Scots' (*The Daily Telegraph*, 2014a), 20th September

Introduction

This chapter explores *the meaning of the Queen*, using media representations of her as a means through which to explore the relationship between the monarch(y) and national identity/ies. More specifically, it analyses *The Daily Telegraph*'s use of 'Queen of Scots' to explore how the Queen's *body* becomes a site of symbolic struggle over particular discourses of national identity/ies and citizenship during the Scottish Independence Referendum, embodying complex interrelations of "Britishness", "Englishness" and "Scottishness". Feminist theorists such as Margrit Shildrick have emphasised that the body is a social phenomena, 'materialised through a set of discursive practices... [it is] a locus of production, the site of contested meaning' (2002: 10). Michel Foucault describes it as an 'inscribed surface of events' (1977: 148) to be read. As such, this chapter aims to expose the historical context of 'Queen of Scots', in order to reveal the monstrosity of monarchical power.

The Queen is the most represented person in British history (Moorhouse and Cannadine, 2012). Indeed, given that she has only given a handful of interviews in her lifetime, representations of her body are the dominant ways in which she is made to mean in the public imaginary. One cannot make a cash purchase without encountering her image, and the banality of this reproduction demonstrates how the monarchy is woven into the fabric of Britain. In an echo of Michael Billig's 'banal nationalism' (1995), Andrezej Olechnowicz describes this as 'banal monarchism' (2007: 33), ubiquitous in people's lives.

Dominant representations of the Queen in media culture depict her as moral, respectable, and "ordinary": an ordinary elderly woman clutching a handbag; an ordinary (grand)mother; an ordinary British citizen; an ordinary working woman (Smith, 2017). Even representations of her undertaking spectacular processions of state rely on motifs of tradition and convention (see Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983), as the same activities are undertaken each year alongside the rest of The Firm as an "ordinary" family unit. The importance of this familial narrative was exposed in the aftermath of Princess Diana's death. The Queen was perceived as responding "inappropriately" to the tragedy to such an extent that she reached a crisis point of legitimisation, in which her alleged emotional coldness was seen to demonstrate her inability to represent "the people" (Figure 5.2).¹

¹ This is dramatised in the film *The Queen* (dir: Frears, 2006).

The speech she eventually responded with mitigated her silence by emphasising her role as a grandmother, ‘helping’ William and Harry through their grief (*Queen Broadcasts Live to Nation*, 1997). More recently, official photographs taken by Annie Leibovitz² for the Queen’s 90th birthday chose to depict the monarch as a (great-)grandmother as opposed to Head of State. She sat in a domestic setting surrounded by her youngest grandchildren and great-grandchildren, with Mia Tindall³ clutching her iconic handbag (Figure 5.3; Hartley-Parkinson, 2016). This models the portraits of Queen Victoria with her family, and the “middle class” family values she propagated in order to contain royal privilege (see Chapters Three and Eight).



Figure 5.2: ‘Show us you care’. (*The Express*, 1997), 4th September

² Annie Leibovitz is an American portrait photographer.

³ Mia Tindall is the daughter of Zara Phillips, who is Princess Anne’s daughter.



Figure 5.3: ‘Annie Leibovitz’s portrait for the Queen’s 90th birthday’ depicting the Queen, her grandchildren and her great-grandchildren in 2016 (Leibovitz, 2016)

To describe the Queen as “monstrous”, then, is to directly subvert typical understandings of her as a figure of constitutional monarchy (see Chapter One), and is typically employed as a satirical tool and/or to communicate republican sentiments. The cover for Sex Pistols⁴ republican punk anthem ‘God Save the Queen’ famously used Cecil Beaton’s portrait of her but superimposed swastikas on her eyes, a safety pin through her lips, and the name of the band and song displayed as a ransom letter across her face (Figure 5.4; Back, 2002). Artist and left-wing political campaigner ‘Artist Taxi Driver’ refers to the monarch as a ‘hairy goat-legged Queen’ in his YouTube videos (*Kate just a vessel: for the hairy goat legged Queen*, 2013). To describe the public and media reaction to Prince George’s birth, he presented the Queen galloping around hospital corridors as Kate Middleton, ‘the vessel’, gives birth to the next ‘spawn’ of the Windsor dynasty (*ibid.*). In *The Biggest Secret: The Book That Will Change the World* (1999), conspiracy theorist David Icke claims that the royal family are shape-shifting reptilian aliens, part of a secret society of global Establishment elites called the Babylonian Brotherhood who control

⁴ Sex Pistols were an English punk rock band.

media, science, religion, the internet, and global governments. Both of these latter examples evoke images of monstrous human-animal hybrids which, as Margrit Shildrick describes, signals ‘the corruption of the human form’ (2002: 16). This “monstrous” imagery was also historically gendered, as Scottish clergyman John Knox argued in *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (in Knox, 1995) that female monarchs were monstrous and unnatural, and should be prohibited.



Figure 5.4: ‘Sex Pistols – God Save the Queen’. Artwork by Jamie Reid to promote the single, 1977 (Reid, 1977)

This chapter analyses ‘Queen of Scots’ in order to expose it as an image which, in less obvious ways than those detailed above, depict the Queen as monstrous. Despite typical representations of the moral and traditional Queen described in Chapter One, The Firm stems from a violent, autocratic, and authoritative history, and this chapter will explore *when* this history becomes visible, and in *what form* this visibility takes. This chapter presents the use of ‘Queen of Scots’ by *The Daily Telegraph* as one such moment, where British hegemony is temporarily fractured by the independence vote, and representations of the Queen shift from banal to purposeful, regulated symbols of authority and historical legitimacy. ‘Queen of Scots’ reveals something about power, (geo)politics, symbolism, sovereignty, national identity/ies, landscape, and British history.

This chapter begins by providing some context to the Scottish Independence Referendum, before outlining key academic scholarship on national identity/ies. The

next section details the origin of the ‘Queen of Scots’ photograph, describing how, why and by whom it was produced. Following this, the historical context of the photograph will be unpacked to consider the union of Scotland and England, the concept of the body politic, the figure of Leviathan, and the relationship between the monarchy and the Highlands, in order to expose the meaning this gives to its specific use in *The Daily Telegraph*.

The Scottish Independence Referendum

On 18th September 2014, Scotland’s electorate voted on independence from the United Kingdom, a parliamentary union spanning 307 years following the Union of Parliaments in 1707, whereby the majority of laws and policies were decided by Westminster.⁵ 55% of the electorate voted against independence, resulting in a “no” vote. Despite this, the referendum captured the (inter)national imagination. 84.6% of Scots voted (McEwen, 2014), and it led to the monumental rise of the Scottish National Party (SNP) who became the third-largest political party in Britain in the 2015 General Election (Oliver, 2015).

Like *The Daily Telegraph*, UK newspapers (and media culture in general) were overwhelmingly supportive of the ‘Better Together’ (pro-union) movement, and only *The Sunday Herald* (a Scottish publication) argued for independence (Hutchinson, 2014). Although relatively low-impact in terms of circulation figures (in 2015, *The Daily Telegraph* ranked 7th in circulation figures for daily national newspapers; Turvill, 2015), *The Daily Telegraph* has certain historical legitimacy through its traditional Gothic logo. Indeed, all newspaper headlines act as a way of ‘pulling readers in’ (Economou, 2008) and shaping collective memory. The paper voiced pro-union sentiment throughout September 2014 by constructing a “national crisis”, in a series of headlines which drew on official statements from then-Prime Minister David Cameron, sensationalist stories about economic disaster, querying the integrity of Scottish First Minister Alex Salmond, and quotes from the Queen (Figure 5.5), concluding with ‘Queen of Scots’. This comprises a powerful nationalist rhetoric, presenting a set of images and narratives to represent the nation: capitalism, national sport, the royal family, and London Fashion Week, all of which centralise white, middle-/upper-class bodies.

⁵ A Scottish devolution referendum was held in 1997, where Scots voted to support the creation of a Scottish Parliament with devolved powers. The Scotland Act 1998 was passed to establish a Scottish Parliament for the first time since 1707. However, the Act specifies the continued power of the UK Parliament to legislate for Scotland, giving Westminster absolute Parliamentary sovereignty (Mitchell et al., 1998; Hassan and Warhurst, 2002).



Figure 5.5: *The Daily Telegraph* front pages'. Selection of headlines from September 2014 (From left-right from top: *The Daily Telegraph*, 2014b; *The Daily Telegraph*, 2014c, *The Daily Telegraph*, 2014d; *The Daily Telegraph*, 2014e; *The Daily Telegraph*, 2014f; *The Daily Telegraph*, 2014g; *The Daily Telegraph*, 2014h; *The Daily Telegraph*, 2014i)

Although media representations like these framed the referendum as a nationalist issue, after the referendum SNP MP Mhairi Black stated:

The SNP did not triumph on a wave of nationalism; in fact nationalism has nothing to do with what's happened in Scotland. We triumphed on a wave of hope. Hope that there was something different, something better, than the Thatcherite neoliberal policies that are produced in this Chamber [of the Houses of Parliament]. Hope that representatives could truly give a voice to those who don't have one (*Mhairi Black: SNP MP's maiden speech in full*, 2015)

In this narrative, the referendum was an opportunity for Scots to voice dissatisfaction with UK neoliberal and austerity politics, the UK Conservative government (who at this

time, had no Scottish MPs), constitutional policy, democracy, and social justice (APS Group Scotland, 2013). These competing narratives suggest that one way of understanding the “crisis” of the referendum was the struggle over the *meaning* of the referendum and its representation in the British media. As Stuart Hall (1996) argues, ideology is not always coherent. As opposed to a crisis of the nation, the referendum could be considered a double ‘crisis of representation’ (Jensen, 2015): *political* representation through electoral geographies and the subjugation of Scotland to a Westminster government; and *cultural* representation, when more than one fifth of Scots have said they feel unfairly portrayed in the UK media (Jackson, 2015; see also Monbiot, 2014).

The Daily Telegraph’s (re)framing of the debates as nationalist is perhaps unsurprising given its editorial demographic and history. It is owned by David and Frederick Barclay, the sixteenth richest people in the world (BBC News, 2014); nicknamed *The Torygraph* (Curtis, 2006) due to its right-wing leanings; and censored unfavourable stories about HSBC during the financial crisis so as not to threaten its advertising deal with the bank (Oborne, 2015). A week before the vote, the philosopher AC Grayling referred to nationalism as a ‘ghastly, divisive and false ideology... It is about building walls’ (in Keena, 2014). The ‘Better Together’ campaign – dubbed “Project Fear” by its critics (Jeffrey, 2014) – used nationalist ideologies in specific and strategic ways, ‘Queen of Scots’ being one key example.

“British”, “English”, “Scottish”: National Identity/ies

Representations of the Scottish Independence Referendum demonstrated negotiations with, and tensions about, ideas of national identity in the assemblage of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, to which the monarchy is key.

While the ‘state’ is a ‘legal and political organisation’ (Seton-Watson, 1977: 1), a ‘nation’ is a ‘socio-cultural and geographical construct’ (Mac Laughlin, 2001: 2) which entails substantial ideological labour in struggles over its meaning. Anthony D. Smith then differentiates between a ‘diffuse feeling of national belonging’ or identity, and ‘an organized ideological movement of nationalism’ (2010: 6; my emphasis) which suggests active participation in a social movement. But as Ernest Gellner notes, there is no “original”: national identity and nationalism ‘invent... nations where they do not exist’

(in Anderson, 2006: 6) through ‘a set of meanings’ (McCrone, 1992: 32) or a ‘system of cultural representation’ (Hall, 1992: 292) that make it possible to “think” the nation’ (Anderson, 2006: 22). These could be communicated through spectacular ceremonial traditions or mythologies (see Chapter Four), or what Michael Billig describes as systems of ‘banal nationalism’, ‘a whole complex of beliefs, assumptions, habits, representations and practices’ (1995: 6) which permeate everyday life and become ‘common sense’ (1995: 4). The monarchy incorporates both of these tactics.

National identity and media culture are closely interrelated. Benedict Anderson’s concept of ‘imagined community’ (2006) describes how – after a specific historical period of industrialisation, liberal democracy, and citizenship, where “hard power” gave way to “soft power” – national discourses were disseminated through media culture, and citizens were bounded through national mindscapes that facilitated ideas of their communion (see also Edensor, 2002). In work on US national identity, Lauren Berlant argues that neoliberalism has engendered ‘a rhetorical shift from state-based and thus political identification with nationality to a culture-based concept of the nation as a site of integrated social membership’ (1997: 3). Berlant analyses representations of the figure of the foetus or child, which she suggests acts as ‘a *stand-in* for a complicated and contradictory set of anxieties and desires about national identity... Condensed into the image/hieroglyph of the innocent of incipient American’ (1997: 6; emphasis in original). In this chapter, I argue that the figure of the Queen is one ‘image/hieroglyph’ onto which anxieties, desires and struggles about British national identities are condensed.

These struggles are also simplified, and Ernest Gellner describes the impulse to make national ‘culture and polity congruent’ (1983: 43). But if nationalism did play a part in the Scottish Referendum, this is actually a complex assemblage of multiple nationalisms. The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (hereafter the UK) is merely the ‘official umbrella designation’ (Colley, 1992: 6) for an assemblage of previously-independent countries, England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. The unification of England and Scotland occurred firstly under the union of the English and Scottish Crowns in 1603, upon the succession of James VI of Scotland who also became James I of England after Elizabeth I died childless, and he was the next heir as the progeny of intermarried Scottish and English kings. The Act of Union 1707 then merged Scotland and England into a single state of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, and created a

single Parliament at Westminster (Colley, 2014).⁶ The UK is, hence, a ‘bundle of islands... acquired at different times by the English crown’ (Marquand in McCrone, 2001: 99).

This complex history means that ideas about ‘Britishness’ have been ‘superimposed over an array of internal differences’ (Colley, 1992: 6). In this formulation, other state-nations are positioned as ‘sub-nationalist’ (Nairn, 2003: 156; see also Hall, 1992; Aughey, 2007), as evidenced in the centrality of Westminster party politics. Some of these ‘sub-nations’ have held onto local ideas of national identity through a strong sense of cultural identity and a ‘rich myth-history’ (McCrone, 1992: 19), such as the appropriation of the kilts and tartan of the Highlanders as a Scottish ancient tradition and cultural symbol (Trevor-Roper in Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). This demonstrates how national identities are forged through ‘liaisons with other boundary-marking constructs’ (Lerner in Ringrose and Lerner, 1993: 3), and are subject to constant struggle. If a nation is primarily a set of meanings, ‘much depends on whose meaning wins out’ (McCrone, 1992: 32), as demonstrated by the fracturing of national identities in the Independence Referendum.

In the UK, it is a national identity symbolised by the British monarchy that often ‘wins out’. Indeed, it is the United *Kingdom*. As described above and in Chapter Three, the monarchy and the nation are associated through political and geographical structures, and historical legal definitions of citizenship. There are also a ‘thick network of allusions to royalty in everyday life and popular culture’ (Edensor, 2002: 188). For example, Michael Billig’s interview respondents claimed, ‘if you’ve not got the royal family there, then you’ll not have the British Isles as we know it, we’ll perhaps be another state of America or something like that’ (1992: 34). The monarchy ‘somehow embodies national identity [in a way that is] more or less ubiquitous... self-evident, unproblematic and ‘eternal’’ (Olechnowicz, 2007: 34).

Tom Nairn describes how this ubiquity is purposefully employed:

⁶ England became a single kingdom in the tenth century following years of conquest and division by different monarchs. Northern Ireland joined the assemblage in 1922. Ireland formally joined the UK in 1801 (as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland), but seceded in 1922 to become a sovereign republic, apart from six counties in the north, which became Northern Ireland. Wales is a constituent unit of the United Kingdom, and joined the kingdom of England in 1536. The Welsh Assembly was created in 1997 to take decision-making authority for local politics (Colley, 1992, 2014).

[a] personalized and totemic symbolism was needed to maintain the a-national nationalism of a multi-national (and for long imperial) entity; and the Crown could effectively translate identity on to that “higher plane” required by a country (heartland England) which has since the 17th century existed out of itself as much as in [itself] (1994: 11)

Nairn describes how the various national identities experienced by each of the UK’s “sub-nations” required conflating, and this was achieved through the ‘personalized and totemic symbol’ of the monarchy, which acts as a ‘national spirit essence’ that Nairn terms ‘Ukania’ (1994: 92). ‘Ukania’ suggests that national identity can be defined by Crown loyalism, acting as a transcendent entity and forming a ‘metaphorical family unity’ (1994: 90), encouraging citizens to assimilate through the affective image of the royal *family*.

This is exemplified in *The Daily Telegraph*’s deployment of ‘Queen of Scots’, which feeds on a sense of national fear to mobilise the Queen as symbolic of ‘Ukania’, in order to (re)unite the UK. As Vernon Bogdanor notes, ‘the Queen, afterall, may be the only person in Britain who is neither English, Scottish, Welsh or Northern Irish, but all and none of them’ (Briefings, 2016). In order to consider the specific ways in which ‘Queen of Scots’ is *made to mean*, the next section will detail the photograph’s composition and origin.

Keepers: The Ancient Offices of Britain

‘Queen of Scots’ was taken in 2010 by photographer Julian Calder, as part of the book *Keepers: The Ancient Offices of Britain* (hereafter *Keepers*; Bruce et al., 2013), commissioned for the Queen’s Diamond Jubilee. Written by royal commentator Alistair Bruce, *Keepers* explores the ‘collection of odd appointments, names, and titles that were established hundreds of years ago’ (Bruce et al., 2013: 10). These titles range from the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the senior Bishop of the Church of England; to the Bearer of the Dog Whipper’s Rod, who was employed in the Middle Ages to clear cathedrals of wild dogs during church services, and is now a ceremonial role. The book states aim to celebrate Britain’s heritage, claiming that the titles illustrate ‘the story of *our* past’, which were designed to ‘make a better life for *all*’ (2013: 2; my emphasis) and must be ‘preserved’ (2013: 10). However, the heritage commemorated here is exclusively

aristocratic: all of the titles are hereditary, and most are tied to family estates and assets. The name 'Keepers' presents the titled as "wardens" of British national culture(s), suggesting that Britain is "kept" under hierarchical class systems as opposed to shared between the citizenry. The inclusion of the Queen in this book demonstrates the monarchy's attempts to "keep" power and privilege, or as Calder and Bruce's dedication to her suggests, how she 'keeps' her Kingdom (2013: 9).

'Queen of Scots' features on the front cover of *Keepers* and as a two-page spread within. This is complemented by two other photographs of the Queen. Accompanying Calder and Bruce's dedication is a photograph of her at her desk at Balmoral, the countryside visible through the window and photographs of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert hanging on the wall. In the other, she sits in The Throne Room at Buckingham Palace, surrounded by symbols of sovereignty. The text accompanying this image narrates a history of the monarchy from the Roman Empire to the present day, focusing particularly on the Union of Kingdoms in 1603, the Act of Union in 1707, and the complications these caused to deciding the monarch's titles. The text accompanying 'Queen of Scots' recounts a version of the monarchy's history with Scotland, from the King of Picts in the eighth century, through the Act of Union in 1707, Queen Victoria's purchase of Balmoral in the seventeenth century, and the Queen's embracement of Scotland in the present day.

Scotland is a clear touchstone in the composition of 'Queen of Scots', then, and indeed Julian Calder has described ('Countryfile,' 2018) how the photograph was carefully constructed to reflect the three titles attributed to the Queen in *Keepers*: 'Queen of Scots', 'Sovereign of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle', and 'Chief of Chiefs'. This chapter now explores each of these titles in turn to unpack their meaning, their history, their effect on the composition of contemporary monarchy, and the implications of these symbols when used by *The Daily Telegraph* as pro-union propaganda.

'Queen of Scots'

'Queen of Scots' is perhaps the most perplexing title of the trio, given it officially ceased to exist in 1603 upon the Union of Crowns. *Keepers* (Bruce et al., 2013) suggests that the Queen has been referred to as 'Queen of Scots' more often in recent years, such as during the Presiding Officer's speech at the 2004 Opening of Scottish Parliament. Bruce

et al. write, 'it was an emotional moment for a country that has pursued a long political path to recover an element of self-government, which was lost in 1707' (2013: 154), hence aligning Scotland's growing political independence with the re-establishment of a monarch. My research has found no evidence to suggest that this is an official title, rather it appears to be an affectionate nickname bestowed by Scottish royalists. But it means that Scotland embraces her as their *personal* monarch, as the other realms she is sovereign in have done (see Chapter Three), as opposed to her official title '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' which amalgamates all of her realms. 'Queen of Scots' also distances the Queen from the title 'Elizabeth II', which has been controversial for Scots since the coronation (see Chapter Four). The prominence of 'Queen of Scots' in *Keepers* suggests this is a nickname approved by The Firm.

Such a visual claim to sovereignty has historical context. The Union of Crowns 1603 was a source of contempt for the monarch James I, who faced widespread disapproval over his crowning, and he sought (and failed) throughout his reign to consolidate the union and form a single state. This was partly attempted through visual representations, such as 'James I by John de Critz the Elder' (Figure 5.6), which aimed to legitimate his claim over both thrones through his symbolic body. Painted in 1606, James I wears a fur cape alongside the appurtenances of the Order of the Garter, the highest order of chivalry in England (Rae and Burnstock, 2014). His hat displays a Crown jewel named 'Mirror of Great Britain', designed in 1604 specifically to commemorate the union by 'dismembering' (Strong, 1966: 351) other royal jewels, such as Elizabethan diamonds and a gem from the Crown of Scotland. In so doing, English and Scottish history is materially pieced together. Like 'Queen of Scots', 'James I by John de Critz the Elder' appears at a moment of political crisis, and the monarchs display the amalgamation of England and Scotland on their symbolic bodies: they *are* the United Kingdom.



Figure 5.6: 'James I by John de Critz the Elder', portrait from 1606. (John de Critz the Elder, 1606)

This conceptualisation of the monarch as symbolic of the nation has a complex history, one version of which is the theory of the 'body politic'. This can be etymologised in two 'related but distinct' (Axton, 1977: 12) ways: as the monarch's 'two bodies', and as the

body of the citizens of the state. The former has roots in political theology. Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz (1957) quotes legal discussions in the sixteenth century, as courtiers and lawyers debated 13-year-old Edward VI's inheritance of the Duchy of Lancaster. Lawyer Edward Plowden stated:

[T]he King has two bodies, the one whereof is a Body natural... and this is subject to Passions and Death as other Men are; the other is a Body Politic, and the Members thereof are his Subjects, and he and his Subjects together compose the Corporation... and he is incorporated with them, and they with him, and he is the Head, and they are the Members, and he has the sole Government of them; and this Body is *not* subject to Passions as the other is, nor to death, for as to this Body the King never dies... [rather] there is a Separation of the two Bodies (Kantorowicz, 1957: 7-13)

In this framing, the monarch has two bodies: the body natural (a mortal body), and the body politic (constituted by the totality of his subjects). As a mortal body natural, the monarch may die. But they will never truly die, rather there is a 'Separation of the two Bodies', and 'the Body politic is transferred and conveyed over from the Body natural now dead... to another Body natural. So that it signifies a Removal of the Body politic of the King of this realm from one Body natural to another' (ibid.). Thus the *symbolic function* (body politic) of the monarch as Head of State is considered separate from their *human state* (body natural).

The second understanding of the body politic is more commonly used, and refers to the collective citizenry as a metaphorical human body (Oxford University Press, 2015). The *Head* of State, the sovereign, is considered both the literal and figurative "head" of the citizens, who constitute the body. This analogy implies order and hierarchy, with some body parts more important than others through the mind/body dichotomy (Grosz, 1994), namely 'the conscious will of the mind (represented by the head) ensured that the actions of the body were "rational"' (Herzogenrath, 2010: 3). The origin of this metaphor is difficult to trace. Plato and Aristotle believed the state could be considered an organism, with each citizen playing a role in its structure (Herzogenrath, 2010). Fifteenth-century lawyer Sir John Fortescue suggested that the nation is 'regulated by one head, so

the kingdom issues from the people, and exists as a body mystical, governed by one man's head' (in Harvey, 2007: 19).



Figure 5.7: 'Leviathan frontispiece'. Front cover of Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan*. (Hobbes, 1651)

It was Thomas Hobbes's account in his book *Leviathan* (1651), however, that has perhaps the most traction, and he became one of the fundamental figures of European liberal thought (Newey, 2008). A believer in the absolute power of the sovereign, Hobbes observed from political exile in France⁷ as the English Civil War broke out in 1642; Charles I was beheaded for treason in 1649; and the republican Commonwealth of England was established the same year (Newey, 2008). In response to these events, Hobbes published *Leviathan*, a dystopian doctrine of political breakdown where life without a ruler (which Hobbes calls the 'state of nature') leads to anarchy (1651). His solution is an absolute ruler in the form of either a single sovereign or a government assembly, who has absolute authority but is legitimated through public consent. Hobbes believed that the 'state of nature' was so terrible, people would consent to political authority to gain security and protection. Therefore, 'the right of sovereignty... is acquired in the people's submission, by which they contract with the victor, promising obedience for life and liberty' (1651: 470). Hobbes's sovereign would act on behalf of the people as their representative, with the citizenry being compounded into a single, corporate identity under their subordination to the ruler: they are the body politic. The sovereign thus becomes an 'artificial person', the Leviathan, representing not themselves but the 'words and actions of another' (1651: 106). In some ways, this reflects the methodological approach of this thesis in presenting the royals as 'figures', who embody wider social, cultural and political phenomena.

The monstrous figure of Leviathan – who Hobbes explains is 'the state' (1651: 7) – is depicted through iconographical visual metaphor on the cover of Hobbes's book (Figure 5.7). Considered one of the most famous images in modern political philosophy (Malcolm, 1998), the etching is difficult to attribute to a single artist. Some suggest the engraver is unknown (Newey, 2008), some name Bohemian Baroque artist Wenceslaus Hollar (Brown, 1978; Malcolm, 1998), and some (perhaps most convincingly) designate the work to Parisian engraver Abraham Bosse (Corbett and Lightbown, 1979; Springborg, 2007; Chiquet, 2013). Leviathan emerges from the landscape of his realm, his body composed of his subjects who, in this case literally, comprise the body politic. These subjects act as an 'integral part of the king's body proper and serve... to conceal and protect it' as a 'coat of mail' (Pye, 1984: 101), and are mostly upper-class men, suggesting a classed and gendered hierarchy in Hobbes's vision of social order. Although

⁷ Hobbes went into self-imposed exile in France after the outbreak of the Civil War, fearing for his life after publishing a political treatise in response to the conflicts between Charles I and parliament: *The Elements of Law, Natural and Politic* (1999 [1640])

the subjects are faceless, they all peer upwards towards the penetrating gaze of their ruler. As Herzogenrath writes:

[the body] visualizes the strengthening armor of scales as the united multiplicity of the consenting individuals, which creates the *person* of the state, the identity of the Body|Politic, the unity of which is achieved only *in/by* representation (2010: 7; emphasis in original)

The consenting subjects come together for their own protection, and in so doing they ‘strengthen the armour’ of the sovereign. In a complex visual depiction of representative politics, the people’s subjection feeds the power of the ruler, and he is strengthened by their obedience.

Likewise, in ‘Queen of Scots’ the Queen is presented as the unifying Head of State. The notion of the sovereign and/or government as representative of the collective citizenry is now a commonsense way of conceptualising modern day rule, particularly within democratic government assemblies (see Lowndes, 2013). In ‘Queen of Scots’, the Queen represents the apparent desire (according to *The Daily Telegraph*) of the UK body politic to remain united. This is signified in the tagline accompanying the photograph, a quote from the Queen’s message following the referendum result: ‘we have in common an enduring love of Scotland, which is one of the things that helps unite us all’. The use of the collective pronoun “we” presents her statement as speaking on behalf of the nation. *The Daily Telegraph* readers are called upon to recognise themselves as part of that “we” and, thus, part of the (re)United Kingdom. As Leviathan’s subjects gathered in humble obedience of their ruler, ‘Queen of Scots’ calls for the obedience of the British public in (re)affirming their allegiance to the British monarch(y). Whether Scottish people voted for or against independence, in this image they now pledge allegiance to the unity the Queen represents.

James I also used the body politic metaphor during his first speech to English parliament in 1604, combining it with the metaphor of marriage in order to stake claim in his right to rule:

I am the Husband, and all the whole Isle is my lawful Wife; I am the Head, and it is my Body... I hope therefore that no man will be so unreasonable as to thinke that I that am Christian King under the Gospel, should be a Polygamist and husband to two wives; that I being the Head, should have a divided and monstrous Body (in Ellis and Maginn, 2013: 290)

This statement can be interpreted as the separation of England and Scotland also dividing him as monarch, leaving him with a ‘monstrous Body’ split in two. A political metaphor based on marriage was commonplace in medieval times⁸, reflecting the intermarriages of monarchs that led to the political union of two realms (McLaren, 2004). In Christian marriages at that time, husband and wife became ‘one flesh’, and marriages were indissoluble except by Act of Parliament or annulment (McLaren, 2004: 451). By presenting himself as husband to ‘the whole isle’, James I unites the two nations under a marital contract and, considering divorce was unattainable, attempts to ensure the impossibility of its disintegration. He references polygamy, forbidden under Christian law, to symbolise the difficulty of ruling over two separate kingdoms. The ‘monstrous Body’ of the second wife lies in contrast to the comparatively divine, virginal first, symbolising the purity of the united realm versus the monstrosity of separation.

This statement is also specifically gendered. The concept of a monarch being “wed” to their realm was not unusual, having been used particularly during the reigns of Mary I of England and Elizabeth I of England.⁹ This is arguably a reflection of their gender, and political attempts to make the historically “weaker” sex appear strong (Richards, 2002). On the other hand, during this time marriage emphasised wifely subordination, as women were subjugated to their husbands as “property” (McLaren, 2004). This patriarchal language gives James I political authority and ownership.

The body politic metaphor has been historically problematic when the monarch is female (Clark, 2015; Bronfen and Strauman Merck, 2016). As described in Chapter Four, the organisers of Elizabeth II’s coronation banned close-up television shots of the Queen’s face because it would draw attention to her femininity, and trouble the (re)making of the

⁸ A marriage metaphor is also being used in contemporary politics to describe the ‘divorce deal’ between Britain and the European Union.

⁹ From her coronation to her death, Elizabeth I wore a ring on her ring finger, referencing her symbolic marriage to, and commitment to, the realm (Schulte, 2006).

monarch as “divine” upon crowning. Meanwhile, Elizabeth I’s famous line, ‘I know I have the bodie, but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and Stomach of a King, and a King of England too’ (in Montrose, 2006: 149), contrasts her marked “feeble” feminine body natural with her “innate” masculine strength, passed down through a genealogical lineage of powerful male kings. Said in the context of the impending invasion of the Spanish Armada¹⁰, this metaphor is used to describe the country itself, as the Armada are warned that Elizabeth/the country may appear weak, but her/its body politic is as strong as ever (see also Schulte, 2006). Indeed, Marina Warner suggests that the ‘conflat[ion]’ of Queen and country, as opposed to the ‘interdependence’ of King and country, is symptomatic of the ‘language of female representation’ (1985: 43). Warner draws on *The Sun*’s cartoon depicting Conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher as the goddess Britannia¹¹ (Figure 5.8), which the paper used to endorse her for a second term in office. She argues that in this image the female body becomes an ‘allegory of the nation’ (1985: 39), connoting strength and power. Like ‘Queen of Scots’, in this cartoon Thatcher wears symbols of the UK on her body, and becomes the Head to the citizen’s Body. In so doing, *The Sun* stages their belief in her right to rule over the nation state.



Figure 5.8: ‘Vote for Maggie’. (*The Sun*, 1983), 8th June

¹⁰ The Spanish Armada was a fleet of Spanish ships, which escorted the Spanish army to invade England in 1588.

¹¹ Britannia originally referred to Roman Britain. In the 2nd century, Roman Britannia was personified as a goddess, armed with a trident and shield. Britannia is now often used as a term to describe the UK (Warner, 1985).

‘Sovereign of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle’

The second title refers to the Scottish equivalent of England’s Order of the Garter, the highest order of chivalry from the monarch to recognise excellence (Bruce et al., 2013). James II established the Order in the seventeenth century as a statutory foundation to reward loyalty in Scotland during a period of political unrest (The Official Website of the British Monarchy, 2015). In ‘Queen of Scots’, the Queen’s connection to the Order of the Thistle is signified by the mantle, which is the insignia worn by members of the Order at ceremonial occasions. Her shoulders are draped in the Collar of the Order, from which hangs the Jewel depicting Scotland’s patron saint, Saint Andrew, and the saltire cross, upon which he is said to have been martyred. The Collar is a chain comprised of golden thistles and rue sprigs, which originate in the Scottish Highlands.

This symbolic detail can be compared to the Leviathan frontispiece, which is intricately composed to reflect Hobbes’s argument. The Leviathan figure grasps a sword in his right hand, and a bishop’s crozier in his left. The sword depicts the sovereign’s temporal power, ‘which in the last resort he must use ‘for the preserving of Peace and Security, by prevention of Discord at home, and Hostility from abroad” (Corbett and Lightbown, 1979: 224). The crozier symbolises Leviathan’s ecclesiastical power and rule over everything within the realm, including the church (*ibid.*). The compartments in the bottom section of the etching relate to the sword and the crozier, with those under the sword depicting temporal power through war (e.g. the canon), and those under the crozier symbolising ecclesiastical power through religion (e.g. excommunication in the lightning bolt) (Corbett and Lightbown, 1979). The cathedral’s dominating presence illustrates the importance Hobbes places on a single public religion, headed by the all-powerful Leviathan (Newey, 2008). Leviathan’s supremacy culminates in the imperial crown atop his head, ‘the symbol of supreme earthly dignity’ (Corbett and Lightbown, 1979: 224). A Latin inscription from the *Book of Job*¹² frames the top of the etching, reading ‘there is no power on earth which can be compared to him’ (Corbett and Lightbown, 1979: 219). Indeed, the name ‘Leviathan’ originates in the *Book of Job*, denoting ‘a mighty and terrific beast, usually thought of as a monstrous sea-dweller such as a sea-dragon or serpent’ (Newey, 2008: 34), and used in the text to demonstrate God’s forceful rule over Job. Hobbes’s use of this term for his ‘mortal God’ (1651: 114)

¹² *The Book of Job* is a book in the Hebrew bible. Job is the central figure of the book, and the text explores God’s relationship to human suffering and teaches the importance of faith in the face of adversity.

highlights the monstrosity of the sovereign, as he towers over the nation like an omnipotent giant, his sword and crozier extending beyond the edge of the etching because his torso and head fill the entire panorama. This ‘terrifying, awesome, masked embodiment’ of the state (Olwig, 2002: 87) demonstrates Hobbes’s own strange positionality somewhere between liberal democracy and absolute monarchy. Leviathan is theoretically representative of “the people”, yet the etching clearly advocates his indissoluble power. The monstrosity of monarchy is visible in his allegorical form.¹³

In both Leviathan and ‘Queen of Scots’, then, we see the head of the sovereign adorned with a crown to symbolise monarchical rule. While Leviathan’s body is constituted by his subjects, the Queen’s body is adorned with Scottish cultural markers, connoting Scottish national identity. Both figures are situated in the landscape of their realm. Leviathan physically emerges from the land as though grown from it, the “natural” leader. Meanwhile, the Queen stands upon the 50,000 acre Balmoral Estate that her family privately owns. She too appears to be emerging from the land itself. The thistle and sprig collar around her neck and the rich green of her robe melt into the rich green of the Scottish countryside, and the curve of the stream blends into the curve of her robe. Like Leviathan, her presence in/on the Scottish land reaffirms her power and authority over the territory, and this power is naturalised through the depiction of her “at one” with the landscape.

W.J.T Mitchell argues that landscape is not a fixed object, but ‘a process by which social and subjective identities are formed... a cultural practice’ (in Matless, 2001: 12) that can structure the formation of national identities (see Chapter Six for an account of the pastoral, and its association with ‘Englishness’ and ‘Britishness’; see also Daniels, 1994; Taylor, 1994). In *Landscape, Nature and the Body Politic* (2002), Kenneth Robert Olwig uses the Leviathan frontispiece to demonstrate how the now-commonsense relationship between a country, the body politic and landscape scenery is actually a historical development rooted in the rule of James I. His request for the political union of Scotland and England was refused by parliament because:

¹³ In 2005, Lucila Munoz-Sanchez and Monika Sniegs redesigned the etching for the book *Transformations of the State*, which discusses the multi-dimensional role of the state in the modern world. Their changes include some of the subjects within Leviathan’s body politic climbing into a hot air balloon, where they will relocate within the EU or the UN, a political campaigner on the roof of the cathedral brandishing a banner reading “save the whales”, and Leviathan’s crozier inscribed with the words ‘liberté, égalité, fraternité’ (Leibfried and Zürn, 2005).

the country of England... was manifested as a polity through its representation by parliament... Parliament would not have the same legitimacy with regard to the amalgamated body politic of Britain since there was no precedent by which the English parliament could claim a customary right to represent a country such as Scotland (2002: 44)

James I countered this refusal by invoking cultural representations of "Great Britain" (which was a figment of his imagination) 'as a country not in terms of its historical customs, but in terms of the landscape scenery of its geographical body' (2002: 62). That is, he used court masques to represent the united landscape of his imaginary country. James I's enactments of the new nation brought it into being in the public imaginary, and this facilitated the now-commonsense understanding of the British state as a body politic *within* a body geographic, organised by a central state and united despite borders.

Likewise, in 'Queen of Scots', the Queen's body represents what it means to be part of the UK. The body politic of the UK is united under a shared body geographic, in this case the recognisable countryside landscape surrounding her. The body politic is 'bound by mystical bonds of soil and blood' (Olwig, 2002: 219), as the landscape becomes symbolic of a mutual 'love' - as the headline suggests - of shared national history. Moreover, the Queen's authority transcends her physical body, and like Leviathan 'is made tangible in the landscape scene that [she] surveys and controls' (Olwig, 2002: 90). The monarch's power is *in* the UK, and the break up of this is symbolically damaging to the monarchy.

'Queen of Scots' demonstrates how fears about separation are used as sensationalist myth-making about the role of monarchy in an independent Scotland. As the Scottish Government's White Paper on an independent Scotland explicitly states, the Union of Crowns in 1603 means that the Queen would remain Queen unless a separate referendum on republicanism was held (APS Group Scotland, 2013). Hence, threatening the loss of the Queen merely produces fear among pro-monarchy electorates, dissuading them from voting for independence. Furthermore, it distorts the constitutional organisation of the UK, whereby the Queen's sovereignty in Scotland comes to be dependent on geopolitics as opposed to dynastic power and constitutional law.

'Chief of Chiefs'

While we are invited to read 'Queen of Scots' through a 'tourist gaze' (Urry, 1990) as a natural landscape reflecting the beauty of the region, this "naturalness" is worth investigating. 'Queen of Scots' draws upon some of the key 'stock scenes, symbols and themes' of visual representations of the Scottish Highlands, namely heather, mountains, water and rich foliage (MacLeod, 2006: 1). In a special edition of BBC's *Countryfile*¹⁴, photographer Julian Calder describes the labourious process of choosing the precise framing for the shot ('Countryfile,' 2018), and reveals that it was eventually chosen because it had 'all the ingredients' for an aesthetically pleasing composition (Hastings, 2013). Indeed, a behind-the-scenes photograph of the photoshoot reveals the surrounding landscape to be very different: punctuated by large boulders, no luscious purple heather, a host of other people disrupting the quiet and powerful solitude, and a man-made wooden track for easy vehicle access (Figure 5.9).



Figure 5.9: 'Behind the scenes of Queen of Scots', photograph taken of the photoshoot at Balmoral (Calder, 2013)

¹⁴ *Countryfile* is a weekly British BBC television programme, which reports on rural, agricultural, and environmental issues in the United Kingdom.

Additionally, when placed in historical context, the Queen's presence in the landscape stems from the Highlands as a site of political terror during the Highland Clearances. As Ben Pitcher states, 'nationalized landscapes have an astonishing capacity to absorb ongoing histories of conflict and struggle over access and ownership' (2016). In the eighteenth century, the Highlands were inhabited mostly by crofters: farmers who lived in communal working communities, whereby each crofter tenured small, individual arable crofts for small-scale food production, while poorer-quality hill ground was shared as common grazing land for animals (Devine, 1994). By the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century, the Scottish and English aristocracy had discovered the crofters' land, and wanted to import mass agricultural production into the region for commercialisation (*ibid.*). They instigated the destruction and mass displacement of crofting communities, where some were forced to emigrate while many others died after their townships were set on fire (Richards, 2012). By 1802, most of the Highlands were 'under sheep' (Devine, 1994: 34). The "natural" landscape of 'Queen of Scots', then, has been shaped by the grazing habits of the sheep introduced by wealthy landlords for profit, and by the terror wreaked on democratic, sustainable crofting communities. According to this narrative, 'Queen of Scots' is actually an industrial landscape; a commercial space subject to the extraction of marketable resources.

The title 'Chief of Chiefs' stems from a parallel history, referring to ancient Scottish clan systems: extended networks of Highlanders from the same region who adopted the same surname (Prebble, 1961). Clan Chiefs were the regional leaders (*ibid.*). In the eighteenth century, many Clan Chiefs supported the Jacobite movement to restore the exiled Stuart king James II to the British throne, with a Highland army marching as far as the Midlands before their attack on the monarchy was thwarted (*ibid.*).¹⁵ The rebellion resulted in the prohibition of traditional dress (predominantly tartan) and Gaelic speech, the confiscation of many Clan Chief estates – which led to the eventual abolishment of the clan system (*ibid.*) – and the composition of an extra verse of the British national anthem 'God Save the Queen' to generate English patriotic fervor. Specifically, this encouraged British army officer Marshal Wade to "crush" and colonise the "Rebellious Scots" (Batty, 2007):

¹⁵ James II was exiled after his son-in-law William of Orange invaded England in 1688, in order to deposition the catholic James II and re-establish the throne as Protestant.

Lord grant that Marshal Wade
May by thy mighty aid
Victory bring.

May he sedition hush,
And lie a torrent rush,
Rebellious Scots to crush.

God save the Queen!

While it is debated if this verse was ever popularly sung (McConnachie, 2013), it is illustrative of the Scottish struggle for cultural representation that was later highlighted in the Independence Referendum (see above). There have been debates whether the British national anthem should be entirely replaced (Batty, 2007; BBC News, 2007; Cleland, 2007), and at the 2012 Olympic Games, some Scottish members of Team Great Britain refused to sing 'God Save the Queen' (Faulkner and Madeley, 2012).

The composition of 'Queen of Scots' can be compared to portraits of Clan Chiefs, such as eighteenth-/nineteenth-century artist Sir Henry Raeburn's¹⁶ portrait 'The MacNab' (Figure 5.10; Baribeau, 2014), and indeed 'Queen of Scots' is displayed in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery alongside Raeburn's work (Unknown, 2013). Painted in 1810, 'The MacNab' depicts the elderly Francis MacNab, chief of Clan MacNab. Standing in 'quasi-military fashion', MacNab wears a military green coat over a red and green tartan kilt, and carries 'a dirk, broadsword and two pistols' to connote power (Nicholson, 2005: 163). This dominating stance, and the implicit suggestion of MacNab's wealth given that portraiture was costly and limited to the wealthy (Schama, 2015), is contradicted by his real lifestyle. Curator Robin Nicholson describes MacNab as tarnished by 'unmanageable debt', and his estates were sold after his death in 1816 (2005: 164). Furthermore, the wild Highland landscape background is, in fact, merely a stage set in Raeburn's studio (*ibid.*). As such, Nicholson refers to MacNab's outfit as a costume, a 'fancy dress... a façade of prestige and authority' (*ibid.*).

¹⁶ Sir Henry Raeburn was also Portrait Painter to King George IV (Greig, 1911).



Figure 5.10: 'The MacNab', portrait by Sir Henry Raeburn, 1810 (Raeburn, 1810)

Likewise, ‘Queen of Scots’ appropriates Scottish cultural symbols to establish a nationalist ideology. Comparing it to Raeburn’s work exposes the monstrosity of the Queen, robed in her own ‘fancy dress’ costume to perform these symbols for her own ends. Photographer Julian Calder describes how the Queen’s upward gaze is meant to reflect her ‘looking up at the clans who have amassed on the hillside to come to see her’ as their leader (‘Countryfile,’ 2018). Given the blooded history of the clan systems, it is remarkable that the Queen is referred to as ‘Chief of Chiefs’ when the British monarchy is one of the institutions that destroyed their legacy in the Highland Clearances. The use of the title, which I have found no other official record of in my research other than with regards to the Highland Games (see below), appears merely an attempt to affiliate the Queen with Scottish history. The curatorial decision to place ‘Queen of Scots’ alongside Raeburn’s portraits depoliticises the violent history between the monarchy and Scottish clans. When the Queen stakes out her ownership of Scottish land, she symbolically erases the crofters and clans, and – through her hereditary ownership of Balmoral – aligns herself with the aristocrats who initiated the clearances. Indeed, Balmoral was originally owned by the Chief of the Farquharson Clan before Prince Albert persuaded the Laird to sell it to Queen Victoria in 1847 (Clan Farquharson, 2015), and the estate was demolished and rebuilt as property of the British monarchy (Butler, 2008). As journalist George Monbiot suggests, ‘this balmorality is equivalent to Marie Antoinette dressing up as a milkmaid while the people of France starved’ (2015; see Chapter Six). As Highlanders were being cleared, Victoria and Albert were appropriating their dress and customs as costumes, and expounding on their emotional attachments to the region in journals (Queen Victoria, 1868). ‘Queen of Scots’ could only come to fruition at Balmoral because of the destruction of indigenous¹⁷ Scottish communities and the imposition of aristocratic power.

Victoria’s ownership of Balmoral was one of between 130-150 sporting estates covering 2.5 million acres of land in the Highlands in the late nineteenth century (Higgins et al., 1997). The Highlands rapidly became a playground for aristocratic wealth, with shooting and riding popular forms of ‘recreational capitalism’, as they remain today (Higgins et al., 1997: 35). Whilst roaming in exclusive private playgrounds, many landowning elites designed tartans for their families and staff ‘in an attempt to appropriate the traditions of

¹⁷ The Scottish Crofting Foundation has been campaigning to have crofters recognised as an indigenous population (Scottish Crofting Foundation, 2008)

clan chiefs' (Wightman et al., 2002: 55). 'Balmorality' (*ibid.*) or 'Highland landlordism' (Cameron, 1994: 28) had taken over, lead by the royal family, who have become so affiliated with the region that the area surrounding Balmoral has been colloquially renamed 'Royal Deeside', shaping the area as a key tourist destination (Butler, 2008). Other pastiches include Highland Games events, which were key events in the aristocratic social calendar by the end of the nineteenth century, with the monarch acting as patron of the Braemar event as the 'Chief of Chiefs' (Jarvie and Reid, 1999; Butler, 2008). The royal family's attendance at (and patronage of) the Braemar Highland Games continues today (Agency, 2015).

In commemoration of her attachment to the region, Victoria commissioned painter Sir Edwin Henry Landseer – famous in particular for the lion sculptures in Trafalgar Square, London – to engrave a portrait. The result, 'Royal Sports on Hill and Loch' (Figure 5.11), depicts Victoria greeting Albert after a Highland hunt, dead stags laid by the Queen's feet as trophies. The engraving was intended to 'identify the royal family with the spirit of the Highlands and the ennobling pursuit of hunting' (Pringle, 1988: 187), hence naturalising their position in Scotland and their relationship with the landscape. But the couple is both *part of* the landscape and, through the dead animals at their feet, *dominating* it. The engraving has 'the symbolic connotation of the Queen landing and conquering Scotland' (Pringle, 1988: 188), as she disembarks the boat onto the land littered with dead prey. As P. Higgins et al. demonstrate, representations of royalty in this style 'helped to bury the past... [and] marginalise[d] certain aspects of Highland popular struggles' (1997: 38). 'Queen of Scots' works similarly, naturalising both the Queen's "love" of the Highlands and her rule over the whole United Kingdom. Both 'Queen of Scots' and 'Royal Sports on Hill and Loch' can be read as attempts to mask a difficult history *and* a difficult present, disguising political discord under the unifying symbol of the "historically legitimate" monarch. If the monarchy's ownership of Balmoral and affiliation with the region has served to strengthen the relationship between the Scottish citizens and the Crown, 'Queen of Scots' serves as a reminder of this historical connection.



Figure 5.11: 'Royal Sports on Hill and Loch'. Portrait by Sir Edwin Henry Landseer, 1850 (Landseer, 1850)

Conclusion: 'Queen Backs Brexit'

In 'Queen of Scots', *The Daily Telegraph* celebrates the culmination of a long-drawn battle for union, using the symbolic body of the monarch as representative of the United Kingdom. If, as I have argued, the Independence Referendum was concerned with political and cultural representation, the comparison between 'Queen of Scots' and 'Leviathan' is extremely ironic. In response to a cry for independence, *The Daily Telegraph* presents Scots with a figuration of Hobbes's treatise on absolute monarchy. In many ways, the period of the referendum is comparable to Hobbes's 'state of nature' (1651), where Scots attempted to reject political rulers. The "no" vote is the solution, and the Queen represents the "stable state" that the British government wants to provide. The pro-independence campaigners are comparable to Leviathan's subjects, trapped in the British body politic and forced to "look up" at the monstrous figure of the Queen, as she simultaneously erases and appropriates Scottish cultural motifs, history, ancestry and land. Hobbes's theory may emphasise political representation and public consent, but

pro-independence Scots have not consented to this particular vision of the United Kingdom. Indeed, in 2017 it was reported that 44% of 169 Scots surveyed agreed with the statement ‘the monarchy is a meaningless institution’, a percentage which was significantly higher than any other UK region (30% of 96 people in Wales, an average of 28% across nine English regions) (Endersby, 2017). ‘Queen of Scots’, then, does not represent Scots.

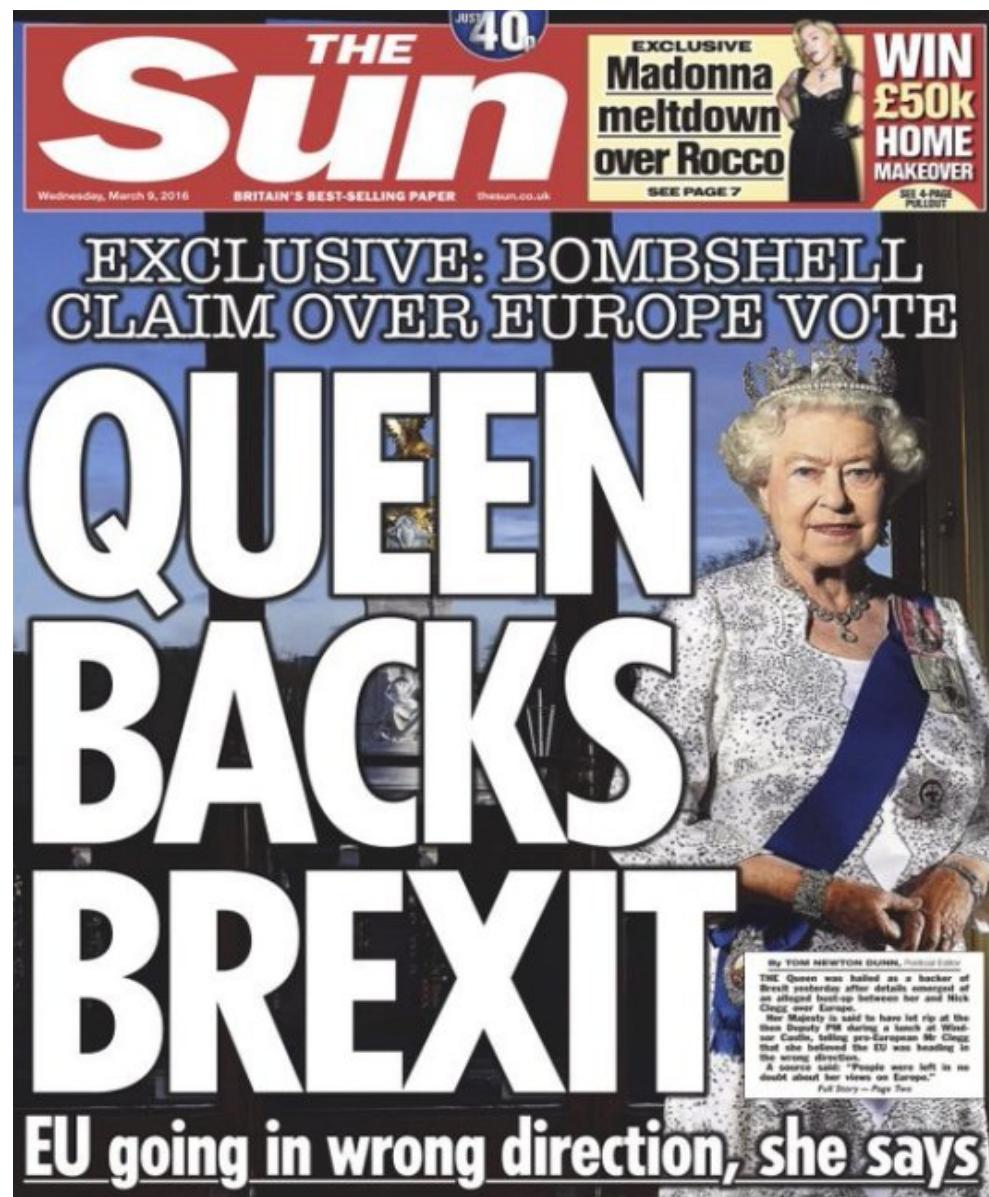


Figure 5.12: 'Queen Backs Brexit'. (*The Sun*, 2016), 9th March

For this thesis, ‘Queen of Scots’ demonstrates the *meaning* of representations of the monarch’s body, and how the monarch’s monstrous body remains a powerful ‘mechanism of consent’ (Hall et al., 2013: 207) for political and national ideologies. The political and constitutional uncertainties of the referendum meant that the Queen operated as a symbol of authority and historical legitimacy to contain narratives of crisis. As I argued in Chapter Three, there have been clear attempts to repeat this iconography to contain the crisis of Brexit, as royal figures are deployed on international diplomacy visits. Meanwhile, the Queen’s body has once again been used as a symbolic battleground for both pro-Brexit and anti-Brexit campaigns. In March 2016, three months prior to the Brexit Referendum, *The Sun* claimed that the Queen had asked Liberal Democrat politician Nick Clegg to ‘give me three good reasons to stay in Europe’, and in doing so had hailed herself a ‘backer of Brexit’ (Newton Dunn, 2016). Whether this story is true or not is irrelevant, rather it is the symbolism that is evoked here that is interesting. To accompany the story, *The Sun* chose the Queen’s official Diamond Jubilee portrait, taken in the Centre Room of Buckingham Palace overlooking The Victoria Memorial Statue (Figure 5.12). Given that Victoria’s reign encompassed the peak of the British Empire, *The Sun*’s cover can be read as symbolic of an understanding of Brexit as ‘postcolonial melancholia’ (Gilroy, 2004), celebrating and depoliticising the legacy of colonialism and imperialism (Virdee and McGeever, 2017). Hence, the Queen’s monstrous body continues to offer a symbolic battleground on which to wage concerns and desires about issues of national identity/ies, citizenship and belonging.

Chapter Six

Charles's Model Village: Poundbury and Pastoral Visions

In his book on British architecture, *A Vision of Britain* (The Prince of Wales, 1989: 86-87), Prince Charles included enclosure as one of his 'Ten Principles' for the built environment, claiming it engenders 'privacy, beauty, and a feeling of total safety' and 'creates a recognisable community of neighbours'. *A Vision of Britain* is entirely figured around Charles's positioning of himself as an advocate of history, and his rejection of modernist urban architectural style. Yet, this section on enclosure demonstrates that he knows very little about the history of, for example, British agricultural life and the devastating impact of the enclosure system, which removed rights to the commons and drove people from their homes (Federici, 2018), often into slum dwellings in towns and cities. In fact, Charles's suggestion that enclosure creates 'a feeling of total safety' (1989: 87) entirely erases the symbolic and physical violence which constituted the reality of the enclosure movement for the majority of country dwellers, and Charles's sentiment reflects the depoliticisation of landed history described in the previous chapter.

Charles's appreciation of enclosure is revealing of the specificities of his *vision* of Britain. That is, it is an aristocratic version of the pastoral emphasising class hierarchy and land ownership, contextualised in his own position as England's largest private landowner through the Duchy of Cornwall (Shrubsole, 2017). For the aristocracy, the destruction of rural communities through enclosure meant benefitting economically from processes of privatisation: making profit from renting land back to the lower classes, farming arable lands, and erasing the surplus population who were forced into towns and cities (Thompson, 1968). Although *A Vision of Britain* is positioned as a commentary on architecture, implicit in Charles's *vision* is a return to the class hierarchy of aristocratic landowner, farm managers and peasant workers.

Introduction

From Georgian to Victorian, architectural styles have traditionally been named after their respective monarchs. As I explored in Chapter Four, the Queen's reign is framed in the aftermath of the 1951 Festival of Britain, a national celebration of post-war regeneration,

and contextualised in new national infrastructure constituting the welfare state: social housing, hospitals, schools and universities all built in the modernist style using glass, steel and concrete (Banham and Hillier, 1976; Conekin, 2003). The 'Elizabethan' architectural legacy, then, is perhaps modernism and its various successors brutalism, postmodernism or neo-modernism.

Three decades later, in the midst of Margaret Thatcher's neoliberal attack on the Keynesian post-war contract and the public infrastructure of the welfare state, which was to be progressively privatised, Luxembourgish architect Léon Krier produced Poundbury's masterplan. Poundbury is a 400-acre urban extension to the town of Dorchester in Dorset, England, built on Duchy of Cornwall land using the architectural principles set out by Charles in his book *A Vision of Britain* (The Prince of Wales, 1989). It was named after nearby Poundbury Hill which hosts a hill fort, the site of a Middle Bronze Age enclosure (Farwell and Molleson, 1993). Charles's *vision* fundamentally rejects the modernism characterising his mother's reign, and Poundbury regenerates a conservative and neoclassical blend of 'familiar, traditional, well-tried and beautiful' (The Prince of Wales, 1989: 12) architectural styles. This anti-modernist, traditionalist *vision* has proved controversial. Poundbury has been routinely described as a 'toytown' (Townsend, 2004), and in 2013 the Poundbury road sign was vandalised to read 'Ugly Buildings' (Figure 6.1).



Figure 6.1: 'Ugly buildings'. A vandalised road sign directed towards Poundbury (INS, 2013)

Charles appears to envisage himself as a social, cultural, and/or political commentator, and uses his public role to broadcast his concerns about the state of architecture, as well as agriculture, science, healthcare, ecology, religion and horticulture. His interventions can be evidenced in cultural texts such as his Duchy Originals organic food range, a Ladybird book¹ on climate change (HRH The Prince of Wales et al., 2017), or the infamous “black spider” memos, lobbying letters to government ministers and politicians on his pet themes. The memos, in particular, have led to Charles’s reputation as “meddling”. Many have criticised him for threatening the constitutional convention for monarch’s to be politically neutral (Cohen, 2015; Maltby, 2015), a concern inspiring the BBC drama *King Charles III* (dir: Goold, 2017), which depicted constitutional breakdown upon Charles’s succession. This perhaps contributes to Ipsos Mori polling (2013) which has consistently found a high proportion of the British public surveyed would prefer William to be crowned in Charles’s place.

Charles’s interest in town planning is distinctly politicised, and he brazenly links architectural trends to social and cultural figurations. Indeed, as this chapter will demonstrate, his *vision* of Britain is concerned not only with the technicalities of architecture, but also with the management of the citizens populating it. This is reflected in the description of Poundbury as a ‘model village’ (The Prince of Wales, 1989: 140), which can be defined in two ways. Firstly, it describes the miniature villages displayed as tourist attractions, which usually include model people in fantasy scenarios. This interpretation evokes an image of Charles “playing” with the Poundbury community, using real people to simulate a fantasy society. The second definition of “model village” describes self-contained communities built by landowners and industrialists from the eighteenth-century onwards to house their workers. This began with model cottages built by landlords of large estates, through to more famous examples of liberal industrialists, such as Saltaire built by woolen manufacturer Titus Salt, Port Sunlight built by soap-maker William Lever, and Bournville built by chocolate proprietor George Cadbury. These philanthropic developments aimed to improve working-class living standards, but also re-established class hierarchies between owner and worker, and gave wealthy elites unrivalled control over their workers’ lifestyles (Corden, 1977; Burnett, 1986). Similarly,

¹ Ladybird is a London-based publishing company. It specialises in mini-hardback books for children, and has expanded into recreating these for an adult market.

Poundbury is a political statement against prevailing architectural trends, government policy and sociopolitical norms in (post-)modernist Britain; urbanisation, in particular.

Poundbury can also be read as an experimental place where all of Charles's concerns and attempted interventions play out in material form. Although his multiple interventions appear as distinct statements, actually their discursive structures reflect a shared yearning for a past lost to urban modernity, best summarised in a grandiose speech he made in 2002:

I have come to realize that my entire life has been so far motivated by a desire to heal—to heal the dismembered landscape and the poisoned soul; the cruelly shattered townscape, where harmony has been replaced by cacophony..., so that the temple of our humanity can once again be lit by a sacred flame (in Whittam Smith, 2004)

Firstly, Charles's appropriation of religious discourse reignites a sacrosanct understanding of royalty through the “royal touch”, in which the monarch was positioned as “God’s agent on earth” by healing illness and disease (Dossey, 2013). There is also an assumption that there is *something* to be healed by a return to a pastoral past, and that he has been granted the role of shepherding this process of return. Charles wants to – as he wrote in 1993, and in a foreshadowing of US President Donald Trump’s controversial campaign slogan ‘make America great again’ – ‘put the ‘Great’ back into Great Britain’ (in Bedell-Smith, 2017: 273). Moreover, as Frank Prochaska argues, Charles assumes ‘that the commercial and charitable sectors are essential motors in the drive for social betterment’ (1995: 268); he wants to *give something back*. In a more recent book, *Harmony: A New Way of Looking at the World* (The Prince of Wales et al., 2010), Charles describes the harmony of nature versus the chaos of man-made industry, claiming the ancient world had a ‘grammar’ matching the patterns of nature, and modern advancements have lost this synchrony (2010: 9). Only by re-establishing man’s relationship with nature can ‘harmony’ be restored, and Charles maintains that classical architecture, organic farming, alternative medicine and spirituality (amongst others) are the ways to achieve this.

This *vision* reveals Charles as a thoroughly reactionary figure with conservative/Conservative political inflections. As Emily Robinson (2012) argues, like Charles the Conservative party has also drawn on rhetoric of heritage and tradition in

order to promulgate values of continuity and conservation. Many of Charles's ideologies reflect a traditionalist, neo-feudalist High Toryism (or Traditionalist conservatism), concerned with maintaining a traditional, landed society by privileging lower taxation, social hierarchies, environmental concerns, agrarianism, ruralism, localism and strong community ties (Bale, 2016). Political commentator George Walden (2010) has revealingly referred to contemporary permutations of High Toryism from Conservative politicians such as Zac Goldsmith or Jacob Rees-Mogg as 'Poundbury Toryism'. Simultaneously, Poundbury troubles aspects of the Thatcherite politics which contextualised the town's conception in 1987. Thatcherism arguably opposed High Toryism and old school pastoral conservatism with a new free market Toryism, concerned with global ideologies (Bale, 2016), and epitomised by Thatcher's (in)famous statement 'there's no such thing as society' (in Keay, 1987). In fact, Poundbury intersects with conservatism in interesting ways, and this chapter will read Poundbury in conversation with Conservative politics to consider these multiple connections.

Finally, this chapter reads Poundbury as a material site in which monarchy is staged. In *A Vision of Britain* (1989), Charles situates the "destruction" of social harmony in the post-war period because of modernist rebuilding projects. However, if read in socio-political context, this periodisation cannot be circumvented from post-war economic migration into Britain from former colonies, the decline of Empire, and the crafting of the welfare state. Indeed, this chapter will suggest that Charles's *vision* is less concerned with the architectural impact of the 1950s/60s, and more concerned with the social, cultural, political and economic changes which saw traditional class hierarchies being dismantled. In relation to this thesis, Poundbury can be read as a riposte to the contemporary television and digital culture monarchy, which began to emerge at the Queen's coronation (see Chapter Four) and is continued in the younger generation of royals (see Chapters Seven and Eight). Rather, Poundbury stages a conservative, traditional understanding of monarchy based on relations of feudalism, imperialism, pre-industrialisation, anti-urbanisation, and classed, raced, and gendered hierarchies. Simultaneously, Poundbury demonstrates the ways in which The Firm engages with capitalist wealth creation, as 'investments in rents on land [and] property', and the improvement of this land through development, infrastructure and processes of gentrification, acts as 'a fundamental aspect of the reproduction of capitalism' (Harvey, 2010: 181).

This chapter explores *the meaning of Charles* through an analysis of Poundbury. It begins with an account of the methodology informing the collection of data on Poundbury, before providing a historical background of the Duchy of Cornwall, Charles's architectural interventions, and the construction of Poundbury. Following this, it analyses Poundbury spatially and visually, considering and critiquing the ideological project underpinning its construction. This analysis will be then be situated in relation to Charles's commentary on architecture in *A Vision of Britain*, and Poundbury will be analysed in conversation with pastoralism, feudalism, heritage culture, the country house, royal power, class hierarchies, social housing, and (post-)imperialism. The chapter will conclude by considering what Poundbury might reveal about contemporary Britain.

Methodology

As established in Chapter Two, this chapter offers an extension of the methodology in this thesis, in that it also incorporates field-based research methods. This reiterates the necessity of employing a range of methods to understand the complexity of the monarchy as a social form and representational system. I visited Poundbury on 11th July 2017, and employed walking methodology, photography, field note-taking, and collection of publicity materials as described in Chapter Two. I took the train from London to Dorchester, before taking a 20-minute bus ride from Dorchester to Poundbury's Mansell Square. My walk commenced in "Phase One" of the development through Pummery Square, before travelling the perimeter of "Phase Two" via Middle Farm Way to Queen Mother's Square, then exploring the "central" streets of Phase Two. Poundbury's purposefully chaotic road design made it difficult to achieve this methodically, and I frequently got lost, but this contributed to the authenticity of experiencing the space dynamically. I then completed my walk in Mansell Square.

I documented this walk through field notes, which were then thematically coded. My notes describe an initial feeling of conspicuousness due to Poundbury's quietness, although the heavy rain may have impacted this. Many of the shops were empty, which made them feel uncomfortable to enter. I did visit Poundbury Village Stores, Mayfair Estate Agents, Waitrose and Poundbury Garden Centre, and collected any publicity materials they offered. The estate agents had free Poundbury maps (Figure 6.2) and the garden centre sold *Celebrating Poundbury* magazine (Figure 6.3). I also documented this

visit with photography, the results of which illustrate this chapter and attempt to capture Poundbury as a ‘regime of representation’ (Wolfe, 2016: 16).

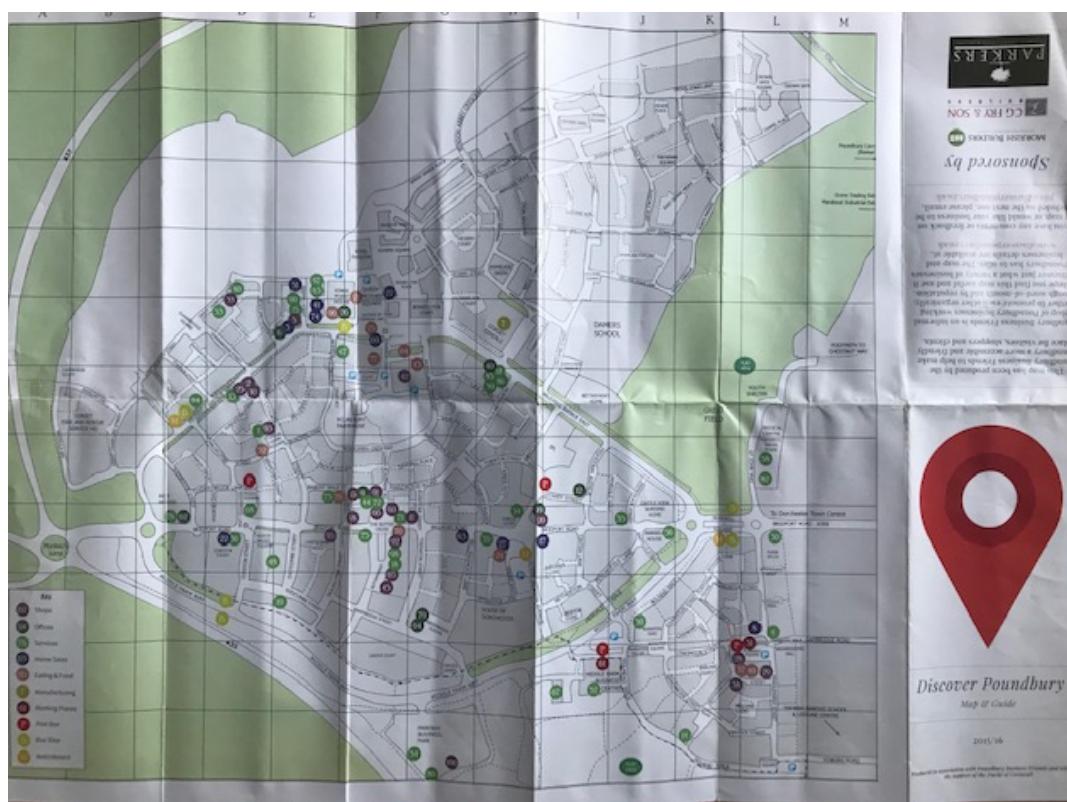


Figure 6.2: ‘Discover Poundbury: Map and Guide’, handed out for free to visitors (Poundbury Business Friends, 2015/16)



Figure 6.3: ‘Celebrating Poundbury magazine’, Spring/summer 2017, Issue 4

Constructing Poundbury

The Duchy of Cornwall (hereafter the Duchy) owns around 135,000 acres of land across 23 counties, making Prince Charles – the Duke of Cornwall – England’s largest private landowner (Shrubsole, 2017; see Figure 6.4). In 2016-17, the Duchy’s total income was £37.9 million, with assets totaling £913 million (The Duchy of Cornwall, 2017b). Created by Edward III in 1337 for his son, the Black Prince, the Duchy is hereditarily owned by male heirs to the throne² as Dukes of Cornwall, and they are entitled to the annual net revenue surplus of the Duchy to fund their private and public duties. In 2016-17, Charles received £20.7 million (The Duchy of Cornwall, 2017b).



Figure 6.4: 'Duchy of Cornwall Holdings' as of 2006 (National Geographic Magazine, 2006)

² Should there be a female heir, the Duchy reverts to the monarch (The Duchy of Cornwall, 2017a).

Like The Firm itself, the Duchy's organisation is extremely complex, incorporating aspects of private, public, and commercial management. This has led to accusations of unique and unfair commercial advantage over its competitors (Syal, 2013). The Duchy describes itself as a 'well-managed private estate' (The Duchy of Cornwall, 2017a), a careful use of the word "private" which allows the Duchy to circumvent requests for information made under the Freedom of Information Act 2000. However, legal scholar John Kirkhope (2016) argues that the Duchy was created by statute, has its accounts scrutinised by parliament, uses its income for public purposes, and is subject to statute control over management decisions. Hence, it is *a public company*. As described in Chapter Three, the Duchy also enjoys unique privileges vested in Crown exemption. It is not legally liable to pay capital gains tax, corporation tax, inheritance tax or income tax (*ibid.*), although Charles "voluntarily" pays income tax on his personal expenses (The Prince of Wales and the Duchess of Cornwall Royal Household, 2016). The Duchy also operates with bureaucratic corporate governance. The Prince's Council, chaired by Charles and populated by a range of property experts, make key managerial decisions; executive responsibility is delegated to five committees (finance and audit, commercial and development, rural, remuneration and executive); and 150 staff are employed across seven offices (The Duchy of Cornwall, 2017b). Although Poundbury is its most famous project, the Duchy manages various development schemes, including Tregunnel Hill in Newquay, a mixed-use neighbourhood of 174 homes; a sustainable commercial development called Truro Eastern District Centre (The Duchy of Cornwall, 2017c); and Highgrove Estate in Gloucestershire, on which Charles built organic farming system Duchy Home Farm to showcase his agricultural and horticultural beliefs (Severson, 2007).

Charles launched his attack on modernist architecture in 1984. While presenting an award at the Royal Institution of British Architects, he unexpectedly and (in)famously criticised the proposed modernist extension to London's National Gallery as a 'monstrous carbuncle', claiming to be airing the views of 'ordinary people' whose opposition to modernist style is consistently ignored (Glancey, 2004). This initiated an often-contradictory positioning of Charles as architectural critic, who has both disassociated himself from the expertise of planners and architects as a spokesperson for the masses, but has also made claims to expert knowledge by suggesting his intimate

familiarity of architectural theory (see The Prince of Wales, 1989, for example). Regardless, it is clear that Charles's royal position is central to the power he holds. His intervention in the redevelopment of London's Paternoster Square, for instance, inspired the employment of classicist architect John Simpson, leading critics to suggest that Charles 'exercis[es] benevolent totalitarianism over the mini-kingdom of architecture' (Goldberger, 1989). In 1986, Charles ventured beyond verbal interventions to establish The Prince of Wales's Institute of Architecture (now The Prince's Foundation for Building Community), an educational charity to teach urban design principles (Prince's Foundation, 2017). This work was continued in 1988 with BBC documentary *HRH The Prince of Wales: A Vision of Britain* (Rossiter, 1988), the partner book *A Vision of Britain* (The Prince of Wales, 1989), and an accompanying exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum, all of which evoked historical landscape painting to demonstrate the "harmony" of historical architecture versus the "chaos" of modernist architecture.

Charles's interventions were (and are) controversial, sparking what Dick Hebdige (1989) has called 'the Great Architectural Debate'. In November 1989, architects attended a sold-out event to debate the pressure that Charles's critiques were putting on the profession (Goldberger, 1989). Many ripostes or defences of Charles's views were aired in publications such as the *Architectural Review* (see Glazer, 1990), and then-President of the Royal Institution of British Architects Maxwell Hutchinson published *The Prince of Wales: Right or Wrong?* (1989), in which he argued that Charles had abused his position and falsely vilified architects as concerned with profit over people.

Poundbury was first conceived in 1987, when 400-acres of Duchy land to the west of Dorchester was selected by local government for urban expansion following an affordable housing crisis. The Duchy released the land on the proviso Charles could manage the design (Neal, 2003), and Charles promptly hired architect Léon Krier to design Poundbury based on "New Urbanist" principles. In his book, *The Architecture of Community* (2009), Krier outlines "New Urbanist" principles as favouring, amongst others: mixed-use buildings, limitations to car access and the expansion of public transport, traditional street patterns, local building materials, distinctive civil buildings, and no zoning or segregation. These features reflect Charles's 'Ten Principles' for approaches to town planning outlined in *A Vision of Britain*: respecting the landscape, hierarchy of buildings, scale of buildings, aesthetic harmony, community enclosure, use

of local materials, use of decoration, contribution of artists, limiting signs and street lights, and facilitating community spirit. All of these come to fruition, with varying success, in Poundbury.

When I visited in July 2017, Poundbury was just over halfway to completion. “Phase One” spanned 1993-2001, “Phase Two” commenced in 1999 and was due completion in 2017, and “Phases Three and Four” were in early-/middle-stages of completion. As ‘Poundbury Building Phases’ (Figure 6.5) illustrates, these phases map onto the four distinct urban quarters. Each of these incorporate around 800 households (upon completion in 2025 Poundbury will house 5,000 people), as well as community and commercial buildings in high-density, mixed-use street patterns (Hardy, 2006). The quarters are designed to facilitate walking between home, shopping and work: Phase One centres around Pummery Square where Poundbury Village Stores, The Poet Laureate pub and the Brownsword Hall are situated. Phases Two, Three and Four take Queen Mother’s Square as their centre, which includes a Waitrose, and Damer’s First School is in Phase Three. Car use is further discouraged through disordered road designs that slow traffic without signs (*ibid.*), which Charles and Krier find aesthetically displeasing.



Figure 6.5: ‘Poundbury Building Phases’, depicting both the progress of building work and the distinct urban quarters (Poundbury, 2009)

Following Krier's design of the Poundbury masterplan, a variety of other actors have constructed and managed Poundbury. CG Fry and Sons Ltd., Morrish Builders of Poole and Westbury Homes Plc undertake construction; social houses are rented through The Guinness Trust (see below); architects such as Ben Pentreath, Ken Morgan and Andy Kunz have designed individual buildings/streets; Zero C Holdings and Woodpecker Properties develop commercial buildings; Duchy employee Ben Murphy acts as Estate Director; Simon Conibear is Development Consultant; and Peter James the Project Manager (Hardy, 2006; Duchy of Cornwall, 2016; Conibear, 2017). Daily management is undertaken by multiple bodies: the Duchy of Cornwall, Dorset County Council, West Dorset District Council, Dorchester Town Council, the Poundbury Resident's Association (see below), and Manco 1 and Manco 2 (see below; *ibid.*). Residents have complained this dispersed management makes organisation and communication difficult (Hardy, 2006). Multiple contracts also ensure the implementation of Krier's design principles: the Poundbury Building Code offers detailed guidance on matters such as building materials and roof heights; the Building Agreement controls the design of buildings; and all residents receive a Poundbury Design Guidance to manage alterations and must sign The Poundbury Code upon moving in (see below; Hardy, 2006). This reflects the extent to which the Poundbury community is controlled and manufactured, as will now be explored.

#lovepoundbury

#lovepoundbury is a hashtag³ and group on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram.⁴ The Instagram feed (Figure 6.6) consists primarily of lifestyle images from Poundbury businesses, for example antiques shop Romans VIII and artisan pizzas from The Engine Room. The Facebook group (Figure 6.7) shares local news, events, and facilitates participation through discussion and comment. #lovepoundbury is the result of a promotional campaign by the Poundbury Resident's Association – a committee of residents representing the Poundbury community – in order to facilitate a specific “Poundbury identity”. This identity is characterised by the overwhelmingly white, middle-aged members of the committee (Poundbury Resident's Association, 2017), described as ‘uptight, hysterically middle class, [and] ruthlessly conservative’

³ A hashtag is a metadata tag used on social media sites, which groups posts on the same topic together.

⁴ Facebook is a social media site where users create a “profile” and add other users as “friends”. Twitter is a social media site where users interact with posts and messages known as “tweets”. Instagram is a photo and video-sharing social networking website.

(Poundburyology, 2015), and nicknamed 'the local mafia' (Mitchell, 2012) for constantly observing residents.

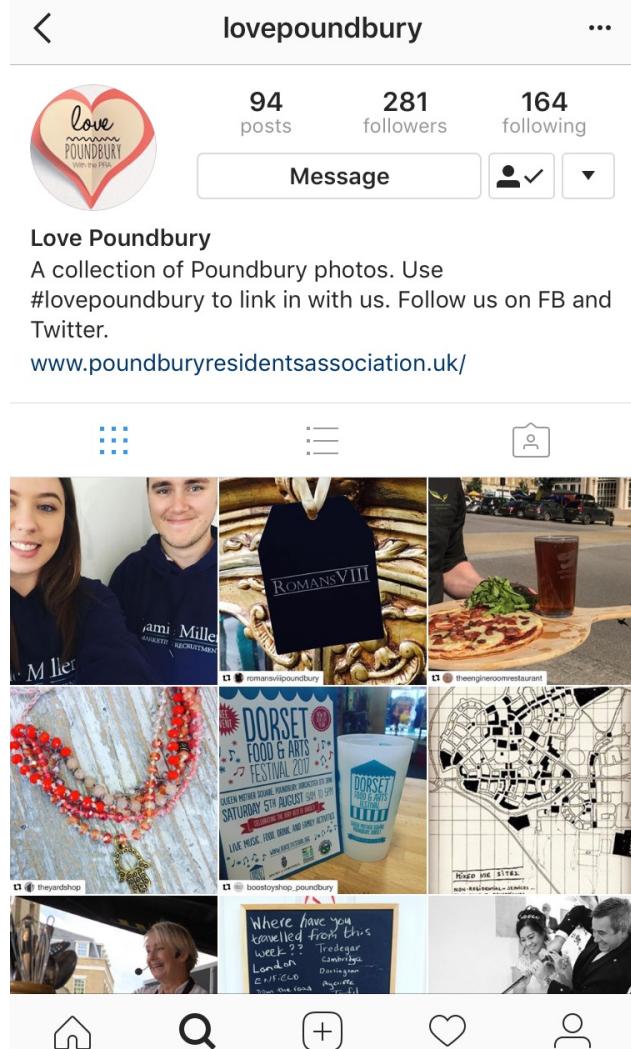


Figure 6.6: 'lovepoundbury Instagram page' Screenshot taken 17th August 2017. (Instagram, 2017)

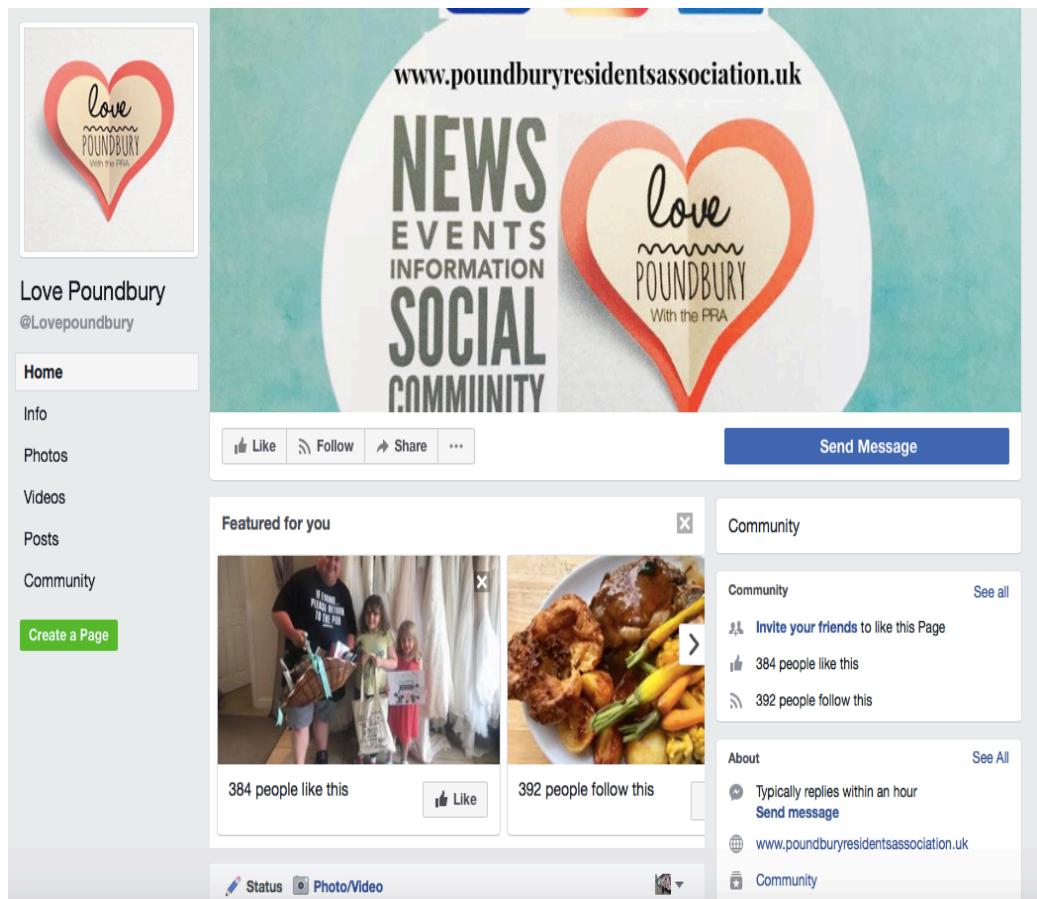


Figure 6.7: 'Love Poundbury Facebook page'. Screenshot taken 17th August 2017. (Facebook, 2017)

#lovepoundbury reflects the ways in which Charles's *vision* is not merely architectural, but concerned also with manufacturing the citizenry. As Frank Schaffer (1970: 1) describes, social engineering was central to nineteenth-century model villages such as Bournville and Port Sunlight, as their wealthy philanthropist creators 'condemned the living conditions of their time and... described the society of their dreams – the perfect state, the perfect city, the perfect... government'. This "perfect" society was cultivated by Cadbury and Lever's 'stifling paternalism', including Cadbury's imposition of a physical fitness regime on his residents (Darley, 1978: 13). In Poundbury, social engineering is exercised through The Poundbury Code, covenants and stipulations issued to all residents which regulate their use of the built environment (Poundbury Manco 1, 2017). This demands no exterior alterations to properties, no caravan parking, no visible repairing of motor vehicles, no removing pre-planted shrubbery, no displaying of advertisements/placards, and no visible television aerials, clothes driers, or dustbins.⁵ All commercial buildings are subject to strict guidelines on style and size of shop signage,

⁵ It also stipulates that homeowners must 'permit His Royal Highness... to have access to and enter upon the Property on notice', meaning all Poundbury residents must consent to Charles's unobstructed access.

and commercial branding is banned, meaning all commercial buildings have a uniform appearance (Hardy, 2006; Figure 6.8).



Figure 6.8: 'Dorchester Sports Centre' depicting the style of the shop and business signage which all Poundbury businesses use. Photograph by author, July 2017

Social engineering can also be evidenced structurally through design decisions that privilege older/middle-aged, upper-/middle-class residents. Almost all of the shops are independent boutiques rather than chainstores, which has proved useful in fostering the idea of a unique community (see Figure 6.9), but arguably works to compound class relations whereby those requiring cheaper, own-brand goods are neglected. Equally, the only supermarket is Waitrose, an upmarket food store which is in receipt of two Royal Warrants (see Chapter Three for a description of these). My field notes also remark on multiple wealth management offices⁶ (Figure 6.10), suggesting clientele of at least moderate wealth. Age is also a pertinent issue. My field notes observed that retirees and young families were facilitated for with appropriate shops and events (Figure 6.11) while older children, teenagers and young adults were entirely absent. In fact, a "youth shelter"

⁶ Wealth management offices provide financial services to individuals, small-business and families.

named The Belvedere *has* been constructed in a field on the southern perimeter (Figure 6.12), but the stone pavilion was so underwhelming I did not recognise its use, and residents have reported it is rarely used (Poundbury, 2009a). Michelle Thompson-Fawcett's (2003) Poundbury resident observation survey found the lack of child-friendly facilities an ongoing complaint. This lack of attention is particularly ironic considering the youth work Charles undertakes with The Prince's Trust is among his most prized initiatives.



Figure 6.9: 'Celebrating Business' magazine'. Spring/summer 2017, Issue 4



Figure 6.10: 'Wealth Management Office' in Poundbury, one of many examples. Photograph by author, July 2017



Figure 6.11: 'Shops and events for young and old customers'. Clockwise from top left: *Active Mobility* shop for older customers; a summary of events in Poundbury including a presentation about antiques and quiz nights; and *Magpie*, a shop selling baby goods. Photograph by author, July 2017



Figure 6.12: 'The Belvedere'. The "youth shelter" is depicted in the far distance across the field. Photograph by author, July 2017



Figure 6.13: 'Safety Notice', displayed on the door to a Poundbury business. Photograph by author, July 2017

These management and design decisions evidence how pre-industrial aesthetics are frequently prioritised over creating a livable, modern, functional environment, and many features are entirely impractical. Walkways lined with gravel obstruct prams and wheelchairs (Morris and Booth, 2009), parks do not provide dog waste bins, the lack of road markings mean parked cars clog the streets, and the decorative pillars outside buildings have allegedly caused accidents (Figure 6.13). The rejection of zoning in exchange for mixed-use neighbourhoods is meant to prioritise walkability between home, school and work, but car use is actually higher than average (Thompson-Fawcett, 2003). Stipulations on shop signage have displeased companies, with the owner of the gift shop complaining that ‘he relies on custom from visitors to survive, but with the ban on signs people often fail to find him’ (Finn, 2008). Indeed, many businesses erect signs “illegally” and remove them when Charles visits (*ibid.*).

Façade is central to Poundbury, and the appearance of historical simplicity often merely masks messier realities. For example, the nostalgic peristyle of Poundbury Village Stores actually houses a branch of foodstore chain Budgens (Figure 6.14); the pillars on the rear of Strathmore House are painted on (Wainwright, 2016), gas pipes and ventilation are concealed with gargoyles or intricate designs (Figure 6.15), and an electricity substation is inexplicably disguised as a Greek temple (Figure 6.16). History is simulated through Roman numeral construction dates on buildings, which translate as ‘2015’ (Figure 6.17). Charles’s insistence on high quality, sustainable, local materials is countered by cheap brickwork, which has caused efflorescence (Figure 6.18). This reflects the clash between Poundbury as a ‘representation of space’ and ‘space of representation’ (Jones, 2014: 47), whereby architectural decisions are subject to appropriation and adaptation by users.



Figure 6.14: 'Poundbury Village Stores'. The nostalgic peristyle of the exterior (left) and the chainstore *Budgens* interior. Photograph by author, July 2017



Figure 6.15: 'Concealed gas and installation pipes', on the exterior wall of a Poundbury building. Photograph by author, July 2017



Figure 6.16: 'An electricity substation disguised as a Greek Temple' in Poundbury. Photograph by author, July 2017



Figure 6.17: 'Roman numerals on Poundbury buildings'. 'MMXV' translates as '2015'. Photograph by author, July 2017



Figure 6.18: 'Efflorescence on the exterior of Poundbury buildings' which suggests cheap building materials. Photograph by author, July 2017

The imitative quality of Poundbury has led to its comparison to 'Disneyland' (Wainwright, 2016): a faux theme-park simulating history. Indeed, it mirrors the neo-urbanist Celebration in Florida, a "futuristic" model town built by Walt Disney that actually recreates the past (Figure 6.19). If Poundbury is a simulation of history, it can also be compared to a film set which commands aesthetics over functionality. The Universal Studio backlot in Hollywood is a useful visual comparison (Figure 6.20), and this analysis also reflects the framing in this thesis of The Firm as a theatre production. This theatrical association played out in March 2017, when Poundbury was used as the setting of an alternative reality for sci-fi television drama *Electric Dreams* (Cook, 2017).⁷ Poundbury's New Urbanist influence, the town of Seaside in Florida, was also used as the setting for the simulated world in sci-fi film *The Truman Show* (1998).⁸ New Urbanism itself (also called neo-classicism) also reflects a kind of Disneyland fantasy through its

⁷ *Electric Dreams* is a science fiction television series which aired on Channel 4 in 2017.

⁸ *The Truman Show* (1998) is an American science fiction film directed by Peter Weir. The film features Truman Burbank, who has been adopted and raised by a corporation inside a simulated television show revolving around his life.

connection to Nazi architect Albert Speer, whose neo-classical designs would have turned Berlin into ideological exhibit ‘Germania’ had Hitler won World War II. Indeed, Poundbury architect Léon Krier authored a controversial book (1985) calling for the disconnection of Speer’s problematic political inflections from his “great” architecture.



Figure 6.19: ‘Celebration in Florida’, a neo-urbanist model town built by Walt Disney
(Celebration, Florida, no date)



Figure 6.20: ‘Universal studios backlot, Hollywood’. A stage set, used to depict London, which has echoes of Poundbury’s architectural style (Universal Studios Lot, 2017)

People's distaste for Poundbury played out in the satirical Channel 4 sitcom *The Windsors* (dir: Jeffrie and Tyler-Moore, 2016), in which key royal figures (minus the Queen and Philip) are caricatured by actors (see Clancy, forthcoming, for an analysis of the show). In one episode, Poundbury is depicted as a fake, backwards looking, hierarchically classed 'vanity project' for Charles's ego. Camilla, William and Kate visit the town, where Charles is unveiling the eighth statue of himself that Poundbury residents are forced to pay weekly homage to as part of 'Prince Charles Day'. The scene opens with a grainy 1990s promotional video, with Charles's voiceover claiming 'here, the old world mixes with the new', as a nineteenth-century weaver sits in a sports car (Figure 6.21). This is followed by a series of scenarios satirising Poundbury. Kate visits 'Downtown Poundbury' which resembles a Victorian slum (Figure 6.22); Charles surveys a construction model for "Phase Two" in which 'little mud huts are centered around a Little Waitrose', before later evincing horror about a resident installing a boiler, asking 'what's wrong with a bit of elbow grease and a mangle?'; and lampposts and other features are made from polystyrene.



Figure 6.21: 'Screenshot of *The Windsors*', showing a fictional 1990s promotional video of Poundbury where a nineteenth century weaver drives a sports car. (dir: Jeffrie and Tyler-Moore, 2016)



Figure 6.22: ‘Screenshot of *The Windsors 2*’, “Kate Middleton” visiting ‘Downtown Poundbury, which resembles a Victorian slum. (dir: Jeffrie and Tyler-Moore, 2016)

One final comparison can be made between Poundbury and historical royal attempts to imitate “ordinary” life. Marie Antoinette’s *Hameau* at the Palace of Versailles is a rustic model village of ‘picturesquely dilapidated’ cottages, a mill and an ornamental dairy (Martin, 2011: 160; Figure 6.23). She populated this spectacle with workers, whom she would occasionally join to simulate peasant life before returning to the palace. Similarly, George IV commissioned the 1812 construction of Royal Lodge at Windsor Castle as an imitation rustic country cottage (Watkin, 1982). Just as Poundbury simulates history while masking the affordances of modernism, the interiors of the *Hameau* were luxurious for Marie Antoinette’s comfort (Martin, 2011), and Royal Lodge was carefully designed to conceal its palatial size (Watkin, 1982). In Poundbury, royal imitation plays out each time they visit: Charles donning a hard hat on the construction site (Figure 6.24), Camilla pulling a pint in her namesake pub (Figure 6.25) or the Queen visiting Waitrose (Figure 6.26).



Figure 6.23: 'Marie Antoinette's *Hameau* at the Palace of Versailles, France'. A cottage used by Marie Antoinette to simulate peasant life. Photograph by author, April 2017



Figure 6.24: 'Prince Charles wearing a hard hat in Poundbury, 2005', alongside Gordon Brown and other construction workers and managers (Shepherd, 2005)



Figure 6.25: 'Camilla serves Charles a pint' in the Duchess of Cornwall pub, Poundbury, in 2016 as part of an official visit (Getty Images, 2016b)



Figure 6.26: 'The Queen visits Waitrose, Poundbury' as part of an official visit in 2016' (Daily Mail, 2016)

Similarly, a 1795 political cartoon ‘Affability’ by James Gillray (Figure 6.27) illustrates George III talking to a farmer. Gillray satirises George III’s nickname “Farmer George”, which was an informal referent stemming from his agricultural interests, ‘simple domestic life’, and paternal-style of rule (Fisher, 2017). Gillray represents the farmer as bemused by the monarch’s incessant interrogation about his life, of which “Farmer George” apparently has little concept, in order to critique the ironies of George’s supposed “ordinariness”. The representational codes of “Farmer George” were drawn on in 2018 in photographs taken by Chris Jackson of Getty Images, and commissioned by Clarence House for Charles’s 70th birthday (Figure 6.28). Jackson captured Charles feeding the chickens in the grounds of Highgrove House, dressed in similar informal boots and trousers to “Farmer George”. This was part of a set of photographs, including Charles playing with his grandchildren and reading in the garden, and seemed to demonstrate shifting representations of Charles for his birthday in that he was represented as “ordinary”: “Grandpa Charles” and “Farmer Charles”. This can be read as part of the preparations for Charles to become king, and the need to shift *the meaning of Charles* in the public imaginary given his general unpopularity.

As this analysis demonstrates, Poundbury is Charles’s utopia: a perfect community untainted by the “horrors” of modernism. Rather than considering utopia as a future potentiality, however, Charles ‘abolish[es] the future in simulation of a fantasy past’ (Hatherley, 2009: 20). That is, Poundbury (re)creates his version of a past which misrepresents the reality of experiences structured by classed, gendered, or raced inequalities. Indeed, his utopia reflects his own privilege in that he never had to suffer the ‘gruel, death and cellars’ which were the catalyst for the ‘diverse cheap foodstuffs, antibiotics, and good modern housing’ he opposes (Hatherley, 2013). The subsequent sections of this chapter will explore what Charles’s “fantasy past” resembles, and how this is simulated in Poundbury, using the architectural principles set out in *A Vision of Britain* (1989) as a point of analysis.



Figure 6.27: 'Affability, political cartoon by James Gillray in 1795' depicting 'Farmer George' talking to a real farmer. (Gillray, 1795)



Figure 6.28: 'Farmer Charles', a 70th birthday portrait by Chris Jackson of Charles in 2018 feeding chickens at Highgrove House (Jackson, 2018)

‘Our own heritage of regional styles and individual characteristics has been eaten away by this creeping cancer’

(The Prince of Wales, 1989: 77)

At the centre of Charles’s *vision* is an intense disapproval of the ‘creeping cancer’ of modernist architecture. This diagnosis relies on a historical and reactionary understanding of “Britishness” (or, more accurately, “Englishness”) rooted in pastoral nostalgia of the ‘green and pleasant land’ (Berberich, 2006). Charles’s analysis in *A Vision of Britain* commences with a full-page aerial landscape of the British countryside (Figure 6.29), featuring characteristic rolling country lanes and lush green fields bordered by hedges and trees. It is contrasted, two pages later, with an industrial London dominated by cranes and scaffolding (Figure 6.30), its implied drabness consolidated by the grainy, black-and-white focus. This comparison idealises pastoral Britain as picturesque in order to reject the “negative effects” of modernisation. This is a common representational technique. Leah S. Marcus (1993) demonstrates how early Stuart monarchs fetishised country house iconography to encourage the gentry to abandon court interests in London and return to the countryside. Raymond Williams (1973) describes how nineteenth-century nostalgia for pre-industrial life figured the pastoral as the innocent partner to the greed and corruption of the city. Finally, Jan Marsh (1982) identifies the 1960s-70s “hippy movement”, which emphasised a back-to-the-land mentality through clothing, craft work and vegetarianism



Figure 6.29: ‘Aerial landscape of British countryside’, source unknown, reproduced in *A Vision of Britain* (The Prince of Wales, 1989)



Figure 6.30: 'Industrialised London with cranes and scaffolding'. Source unknown, reproduced in *A Vision of Britain* (The Prince of Wales, 1989).

Although Charles came of age during the latter example, and has been described as "a hippy" for his alternative ecological and horticultural practices (Severson, 2007), his version of the pastoral picturesque does not draw on the "free love" iconography of the 1960s. Rather, *A Vision of Britain* makes reference to nineteenth-century pastoral poets John Ruskin and William Wordsworth, who although radical in their day are now evoked as indicative of a more conservative promulgation of rurality. This is further consolidated in Charles's association with nineteenth-century institutions the National Trust⁹ and *Country Life* magazine¹⁰ (Figure 6.31). Both of these call for environmental sustainability through protecting country estates and encouraging heritage tourism, and both privilege aristocratic pastimes of shooting and hunting. Notably, Poundbury was originally conceived in the 1980s at the peak of what has been called the "British heritage industry". A proliferation of heritage films (Monk and Sargeant, 2002) and heritage tourism (Timothy and Boyd, 2003) accompanied Thatcherism's version of national

⁹ The National Trust was founded in 1895 as a charitable organisation dedicated to preserving the cultural heritage of England, Wales and Northern Ireland.

¹⁰ *Country Life* is a weekly UK magazine focusing on the British countryside and rural life.

identity, which evoked nostalgia through a fetishisation of the country estate and Victorian social values (Trimm, 2005), as part of the Conservative party's negotiation with narratives of history, heritage and tradition (Robinson, 2012). In aligning the country estate with environmental sustainability, heritage culture works to overlook disastrous environmental effects wrought by landownership. For example, enclosures destroyed common land, and the aristocratic pastime of hunting depletes wildlife. Furthermore, both the National Trust and *Country Life* demonstrate the relationship between the pastoral and the national. Despite Britain's position as "the first industrial nation", pastoralism and rurality have a particular place at the heart of "Britishness" and Britons' self-image. Patrick Wright's term 'Deep England' to describe the rural, for example, suggests that there is something inherent and obligatory to the countryside's connection to national identity (2009). In this conception, the pastoral is representative of "true" England, while industrial urbanisation is a manmade veneer.

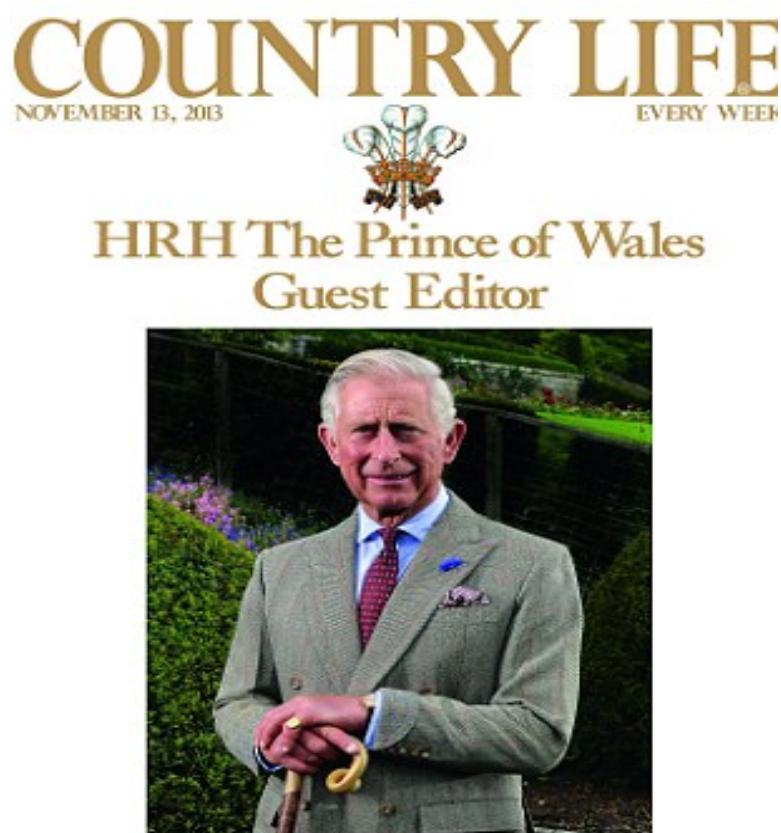


Figure 6.31: 'Country Life' front cover' featuring Charles as guest editor, (*Country Life*, 2013) 13th November.

Charles's idealisation of the pastoral is not only pre-industrial, but varies between a feudalist and an agrarian capitalist understanding. For example, in *A Vision of Britain* (1989: 69) he uses N.M Lund's painting 'Heart of Empire' (see below for more detail) to illustrate how the Lord Mayor's Mansion House is given 'the appropriate prominence' in relation to its neighbours. This draws on the feudalist manorial system of landownership and class stratification, as well as suggesting Charles considers the Lord Mayor an important enough political figure to *warrant* prominence in a supposed democracy. Additionally, his privileging of localism and philanthropy, visualised in Poundbury's distinct community, reflects a historical village ethos of interiority. The enclosure he celebrates (as described in the opening of this chapter) was a key consequence of agrarian capitalism and the 'formal declaration' of land as a physical commodity as opposed to the open field system (Williams, 1973: 107; see Chapter Five). Enclosure is also endemic to contemporary capitalism/neoliberalism, and the reshaping of public spaces 'by commercial interests to maximise rental income' (Standing, 2016: 184). It contradicts community spirit by privatising commons for private interest, as illustrated in Poundbury's 'No ball games sign' (Figure 6.32).



Figure 6.32: 'No ball games in roads or courtyards', sign on an exterior wall in Poundbury.
Photograph by author, July 2017

The intended meaning of the comparison between ‘Aerial landscape of the British countryside’ (Figure 6.29) and ‘Industrial London’ (Figure 6.30) is that the countryside is in some way more “natural” than the city. This is suggested in Charles’s text, which describes the first image as ‘part of an extraordinarily rich tradition which we’ve inherited from our forebears’, and the second as part of the ‘terrible damage [we have]… inflicted on parts of this country’s unique landscape’ (1989: 17, 21). In fact, there is little difference between the two, and both images are indicative of the exploitation of the natural world for economic profit. Charles did not choose wild moorlands as illustrative of the countryside, for example, and the hedgerows and fences in the countryside image are the result of enclosures which imposed upon the countryside ‘capitalist property-definitions’, and undermined (wo)man’s common access to agrarian means of production (Thompson, 1968: 238). As such, these manmade sectors of arable farming land are factories of production in the same way as the industrial buildings in the second image. Additionally, as Howard Newby argues, this type of countryside landscape is the result of the cultivation and rearrangement of the countryside by aristocratic landowners, who constructed hedges and fence to create a ‘picturesque order’ upon the working countryside for their aesthetic pleasure (Newby, 1979: 16). The countryside of the twentieth century is shaped by centuries of classed exploitation: the authority of the owner and the dependence of the worker. The key points here, then, are that Charles’s *vision* of pastoralism does not entirely sit outside of the capitalism he claims to oppose, nor conform to the natural “harmony” he promotes. In fact, it can be interpreted as what Andrew Higson has referred to as a ‘flat, depthless pastiche’ in heritage culture’s reproduction of the past, whereby context and reality are ‘displaced by decoration and display’ (in Trimm, 2005: 2).

How can we interpret Charles’s aversion to modernist urban architectural style? Modernism is the physical embodiment of everything that counters hereditary, hierarchical privilege. It evokes a socialist sensibility, expressing ‘the industrial means of its production’ (Stewart, 2013: 10). This means making visible relations of production: no hidden vestibules or staircases for servants, as popular in Victorian architecture, for example (Summerson, 1971), or gargoyles covering gas flutes as popular in Poundbury. Making architectural features visible also embraces the societal developments they initiated, for example gas installation made domestic labour undertaken by the working classes (particularly women) much easier. This threatens Charles’s investment in the

maintenance of a traditional class system or, as Herbert Muschamp (1989) suggests, reflecting the conceptual framework in this thesis of The Firm as a stage set:

he's like someone... who has grown up in the midst of an elaborate stage set, and he's furious that there's been a tear in the backdrop, that you can see the pulleys, that the stagehands have walked off the job

If modernist architecture makes relations of production visible, Poundbury is an attempt to re-erect the stage set, props and actors of the “upstairs, downstairs” theatre of eighteenth-century class hierarchies.

Charles positions modernist architecture as a post-war phenomenon, in line with his supposition that the 1950s/60s is when ‘something went wrong’ (The Prince of Wales, 1989: 21) This is not quite accurate, and modernism has been used since at least the early twentieth century (Tietz, 1999). It is true, however, that post-war housing regeneration triggered a spate of modernist building projects, and this is inextricable from the post-war welfare state. In *Concretopia* (2013), John Grindrod argues against the demonisation of the concrete tower blocks characterising this period, to argue that for many people they symbolised an escape from the damp and dysentery of inner-city slums. Brutalism, an architectural movement descending from modernism, was an architectural project led by the working classes, for the working classes. This is epitomised in the Robin Hood Gardens estate in London, whose name implies taking from the rich to help the poor (Hatherley, 2009).

Likewise, the suburban zoning that Charles so despises was central to the establishment of the inter-war and post-war middle classes. As Simon Gunn and Rachel Bell write, suburban and industrial estates ‘represented an irruption of the “middle” in a rural social world that had previously revolved around a traditional binary conception of “upper” and “lower”’ (2002: 60; see Chapter Eight for an account of the middle classes in Britain). A new, property-owning class emerged, characterised by professional occupations and benefitting from the construction of affordable housing within commuting distance to work. Charles’s rejection of suburbia in favour of mixed-use neighbourhoods also rejects this middle-class model, arguably because it threatened the landlord/serf model of pastoralism.

As Nathan Glazer suggests, there is an irony in architecture that was concerned with social progress being ‘condemned, fifty years later, as soulless, bureaucratic and inhuman’ (1990: 508). This reflects Charles’s fundamental (and perhaps willful) misunderstanding of the political symbolism of post-war architecture. He entirely overlooks the working or middle classes actually welcoming modernism, and his anti-modernist regeneration is presented as philanthropic development without ever consulting the inhabitants. Poundbury could, then, be considered a gentrification project in its willful erasure of working and middle class history and its contribution to ‘the Disneyfication of Britain’ (Hatherley, 2009: 61), which uses architectural styles to impose social, cultural, political and economic ideals on citizens.

‘We raise to heaven that which is valuable to us: emblems of faith, enlightenment or government’

(The Prince of Wales, 1989: 83)

One of *A Vision of Britain*’s principal concerns is the hierarchical relation of buildings in terms of height and embellishment. For Charles this is not merely symbolic, rather architecture is the physical representation of ‘our values as well as our social organisations’ (1989: 81). As the quote above attests, he frames hierarchy using vernacular language that positions religion and state at society’s centre.

Taking a simple interpretation of height delineating importance, Charles is happy for churches (particularly St Paul’s Cathedral, see below) and the Tower of London to dominate the skyline, but disapproves of high-rise social housing, office blocks or corporate skyscrapers. This positions secular, aristocratic or royal figures as class dominators, while the working-classes or capitalist elites are ‘out-of-scale obelisk[s]’ (The Prince of Wales, 1989: 55) because their importance is “overstated”. Martin Parker (2015) has argued that “tall buildings” signify corporate ego and metaphorical domination over rivals. If the skyscraper is representative of the capitalist white male ego, then, Charles’s concerns about the dwarfing of the church, the Tower of London and government buildings can be interpreted as insecurities about the destruction of his own royal/aristocratic ego under modernism.

This insecurity is visualised in Poundbury's Queen Mother's Square, which is dominated by references to past and present royals (Figure 6.33), particularly symbolic considering it is the primary centre of Poundbury with the largest buildings. Kingspoint House is the largest building in Poundbury, and houses a Waitrose (Figure 6.34), a classed statement due to Waitrose's luxury status. This sits next to the Royal Pavilion, which will comprise luxury apartments when completed, and the tower on top dominates the surrounding skyline (Figure 6.35). Strathmore House – more luxury flats and named after the Queen Mother's father, the Earl of Strathmore – is the most visually imposing building in the square, modeled on Buckingham Palace (Figure 6.36). My field notes describe the yellow panels, grand pillars and lookalike-balcony as appearing extremely out of place in rural Dorset. Next is The Duchess of Cornwall Inn, modeled on London's luxurious Ritz Hotel (Figure 6.37), and the square is completed with a statue of the Queen Mother (Figure 6.38).



Figure 6.33: 'Queen Mother's Square, Poundbury'. Kingspoint House is just visible on the far left; Royal Pavilion still under construction in the left-centre, Strathmore House is right-centre; The Duchess of Cornwall Inn is just visible on the right; the Queen Mother's statue is out of shot to the right. Photograph by author, July 2017



Figure 6.34: 'Kingspoint House, Poundbury', hosting a branch of Waitrose. Photograph by author, July 2017



Figure 6.35: "Tower atop the Royal Pavillion, Poundbury", dominating the skyline in the streets surrounding it.. Photograph by author, July 2017



Figure 6.36: 'Strathmore House, Poundbury', modeled on Buckingham Palace with pillars in the centre.
Photograph by author, July 2017



Figure 6.37: 'The Duchess of Cornwall Inn, Poundbury', modeled on London's Ritz Hotel.
Photograph by author, July 2017



Figure 6.38: 'Queen Mother Statue, Poundbury'. The statue is used as an unofficial roundabout to enter the Square, as seen by the arrow signpost. Photograph by author, July 2017

As I demonstrated in Chapter Three, these kind of spatial referents to past and present royal figures is commonplace, but their meanings become more obvious in the context of Poundbury. If architecture is symbolic of wider social values, royalty's position at the epicentre of Poundbury can be interpreted as Charles considering royalty as the epicentre of Britain. The Square is also revealing of class relations considering all of the housing is luxury apartments, with those in Strathmore House selling for £750,000 (Wainwright, 2016). The Royal Pavilion website (2017) suggests that the development will 'bring... to Dorchester design standards normally associated with Knightsbridge in London', but this fails to account for the demographic disparity between rural Dorchester and metropolitan London. While London houses a disproportionate percentage of the world's super-rich (Atkinson et al., 2017), suggesting luxury developments are in

demand¹¹, Poundbury was originally commissioned to address the shortage of affordable housing in Dorchester (Neal, 2003).

This is a problem Poundbury has failed to address, and Dorchester's affordable housing crisis is ongoing (Peace, 2016). Social housing is one of the most striking, and contradictory, features in Poundbury, a place which has been stereotyped as the 'posh' part of Dorchester (Strani-Potts, 2011). Charles advocates 'pepper-potting': the dispersal of social housing throughout developments rather than segregating them in outer estates, which he claims creates 'ghettos of crime and deprivation' (The Prince of Wales et al., 2010: 172). He again pinpoints the post-war period, which saw the mass production of state-funded, local-authority-run housing estates (Jones and Murie, 2002) as the moment this segregation "problem" began, ignoring the freedom and safety that these housing estates originally afforded the working classes. In contrast, he claims pepper-potting facilitates more 'inclusive' living (Hardy, 2006: 98) and a 'sense of genuine civic life' (Wainwright, 2016), because the social housing is, in theory, visually indistinguishable from its neighbours.



Figure 6.39: 'Prince Albert's model houses', built by the Society for Improving the Conditions of the Labouring Classes'. Originally built in Hyde Park, London for display at the 1851 Great Exhibition, the cottage was dismantled and rebuilt in Kennington Park, London. Photograph by author, July 2017

¹¹ This is not to suggest *only* luxury properties are required, and indeed research demonstrates ongoing chronic shortages of affordable housing in London (see Watt, 2013).

Pepper-potting does not, however, equate to a classless society, and it is revealing that Charles's utopia does not entail *the erasure of class inequalities* but rather their rewriting in an early twentieth-century hierarchical model of the pastoral, where everyone "knew their place". This was also evidenced in Prince Albert's financing of model houses built by the Society for Improving the Conditions of the Labouring Classes, which showcased durable, sanitary, spacious and private living at affordable prices, but failed to address the structural inequalities of housing (Figure 6.39). More recently, Lynsey Hanley has argued against pepper-potting because social housing can still 'become cut off from mainstream housing if its difference – it's socialness – is emphasised' (2007: 216). 'Social housing in Poundbury' (Figure 6.40) reflects some of these emphases. Although smart in appearance, the houses are not as intricately detailed as others, and lack the architectural "quirks" characteristic of other Poundbury properties, such as 'Stone dog statues' (Figure 6.41). Many social houses are in less desirable vistas, such as on the main highway, and Dennis Hardy (2006) found the lack of decoration in the gardens drew attention to the occupants' lack of disposable income. Repeated references to social housing as a key feature of Poundbury, such as an article in *Celebrating Poundbury* magazine on 'affordable housing' (Collins, 2017), also highlights its presence. Michelle Thompson-Fawcett's Poundbury resident observation survey found class divisions were an ongoing concern. Residents claimed that 'private dwellings do not care for us mere mortals who have to rent our properties' and that 'people living in... social housing, do not interact wholeheartedly within the community' (2003: 7), suggesting resentment fostering on both sides of the class divide.



Figure 6.40: 'Social housing in Poundbury', The houses in the left image are situated on the main highway into Poundbury, near Mansell Square, the ones on the right are in the centre of Phase Two. They are smart, yet not as distinct as their private neighbours. Photograph by author, July 2017



Figure 6.41: 'Stone dog statues', some of the decorative details in Poundbury, embellishing a privately-owned house in Phase One. Photograph by author, July 2017

There is also a lack of attention to how Poundbury's pepper-potting scheme works in relation to neighbouring social housing estates that pre-date the development, particularly Cambridge Road. This is directly joined to Poundbury via Cambridge Walk, to the east of Poundbury Village Stores, however rather than a through-road to encourage multi-community cohesion, bollards have been erected to limit access (Figure 6.42). This creates a tangible class hierarchy between Poundbury and nearby communities.



Figure 6.42: 'Bollards separating Poundbury from Cambridge Road'. The bollards restrict car access between the two housing estates, creating a clear sense of separate communities. They also emphasise the architectural difference between the two areas. Photograph by author, July 2017

Reading this in conversation with Conservative politics, like much else in Poundbury its social housing incorporates aspects of both High Toryism and Thatcherism. In theory, Poundbury rejects neoliberal individualism to advocate a sense of community, although this community spirit does not extend beyond the Poundbury boundaries. But Charles's demonisation of the post-war welfare state model of housing speaks more to Thatcherism's flagship policy 'Right to Buy', which gave social housing tenants the opportunity to purchase their properties at reduced rates (Madden and Marcuse, 2016).

Poundbury advocates the transfer of social housing stock to independent housing associations (Jones and Murie, 2002). 250 Poundbury homes are owned by the Guinness Partnership¹², one of the largest housing associations in England which Charles has been a Patron of since 1997 (The Guinness Partnership, 2015). In 2015, the Guinness Partnership were accused of social cleansing after displacing many of its tenants on Loughborough Park estate in London as part of a £100 million regeneration project (Tran, 2015; Urban, 2015), demonstrating their continued motivation for capitalist profit.

This is also motivation for the Duchy, who alongside the other largest UK landowners – the Duchy of Lancaster, the Crown Estate, the Church and the Duke of Westminster – have consistently failed to meet affordable housing targets (Mathiason and Fitzgibbon, 2014). Nick Mathiason (2014) argues that royal landholders, ‘under no immediate pressure to make short term gains to satisfy shareholders’ and meant to act for the benefit of the nation, *should* have a moral obligation to be social landlords. But Poundbury has clearly always figured as a commercial venture. 400-acre plots were originally sold to developers for £40,000 but are now worth twelve times that, and *The Guardian* unearthed a unique arrangement whereby the Duchy is extracting 10% of the profits from the Poet Laureate pub (Townsend, 2004). Like The Firm itself, capitalist profit is clearly central to Charles’s *vision*, even if it contradicts many of his principles.

‘London used to be one of the architectural wonders of the world, a city built on the water like the centre of another great trading empire, Venice’
(The Prince of Wales, 1989: 58)

The centrepiece to *A Vision of Britain* is a striking double-page reproduction of eighteenth-century Italian artist Canaletto’s painting ‘The Thames from the Terrace of Somerset House’ (Figure 6.43). Here, Venetian iconography is used to depict the importance of maritime trade in imperial London, while St Paul’s Cathedral dominates the skyline. The book overlays this painting with a contemporary photograph of London from the same position, where the busy shipyards have disappeared and St Paul’s Cathedral is dwarfed by City office blocks and industrial cranes. Charles uses this visual comparison to illustrate the ‘destruction’ (1989: 59) of the ‘beautiful’ (1989: 58) imperial City vista.

¹² Interestingly for this chapter, the Guinness Trust was created in 1890 by a philanthropic donation from Sir Edward Cecil Guinness, heir of the Irish Guinness empire (The Guinness Partnership, 2017).



Figure 6.43: 'The Thames from the Terrace of Somerset House by Canaletto'. In its reproduction in *A Vision of Britain*, the painting is overlaid by a photograph of London from the same viewpoint (Canaletto, 1750)

A nostalgic appraisal of London as a mercantile centre is a recurring theme in *A Vision of Britain*. Although Charles's *vision* of Britain is primarily rural, much of the book is concerned with London 're-visioned as landscape' (Daniels, 1993: 11), primarily through reproductions of eighteenth-/nineteenth-century oil paintings. The picturesque typically emphasises pictorial vision over lived experience (Macarthur, 2007), and *A Vision of Britain* embodies this aesthetic sensibility by failing to reflect on the potential historical inaccuracy, artistic license or situated viewpoint of the paintings it reproduces. Rather, they operate as de-facto illustrations of London "as it was", which for Charles was a harmonious centre untouched by the chaos of modernity. In this, Charles recreates what Rob Nixon has called the 'postimperial picturesque' (in Baucom, 1999: 175). Charles's claim that 'we should have architecture that celebrates London's mercantile success, and then *humanises* it' (1989: 63), for instance, clearly demonstrates imperial amnesia in erasing the violence and exploitation of Empire, and particularly the slave trade on which London was built (Olusoga, 2016).



Figure 6.44: 'Heart of Empire' by N.M. Lund', reproduced in *A Vision of Britain* to illustrate the domination of St Paul's Cathedral (Lund, 1904)

St Paul's Cathedral operates as a key motif in *A Vision of Britain* through which 'the harmony and scale' (1989: 69) of London is articulated. Hence, the unobstructed view of St Paul's in Canaletto's imperial vista has been described as being obliterated by a 'jostling scrum of skyscrapers' (1989: 58). Similarly, the book reproduces N.M Lund's 'Heart of Empire' (1904; Figure 6.44) to illustrate St Paul's as the hub of empire, while city traders bustle in its shadows. As Stephen Daniels describes, the centrality of trade demonstrates that Charles is not opposed to enterprise, rather he 'seeks to consolidate commerce in a monumental landscape of civic virtue' (1993: 13). Hence, the subordination of St Paul's can be interpreted as symbolic of the displacing of the imperial trading empire by corporate commerce. St Paul's also operates as a patriotic symbol, which 'took on the Crown-Imperial image of the mother country' (Daniels, 1993: 29) as the central location for Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. Charles's concern about the domination of surrounding skyscrapers, then, also reflects his insecurities about decreasing royal power. Finally, Ian Baucom (1999) describes St Paul's importance to the modernist architecture debate. The painting 'Heart of Empire' was hanging on the wall of the Corporation of London's Public Inquiry Room during debates between conservationists and Peter Palumbo, who had purchased the triangle buildings in the

painting and wanted to replace them with office blocks. Although not physically present, Charles supported the conservationists, and their argument used the language of ‘the imperial, the local and the picturesque’ to oppose the demolition (1999: 174); language which is reflected in *A Vision of Britain*.

Imperialist iconography is also central to the pastoralism that Charles celebrates. As Raymond Williams (1973) argues, the British gentry and the colonisers were not disparate groups, and in fact many country houses were built on profits from imperialism and the slave trade. The country house, therefore, is a key symbol of the violence of imperial expansion. Additionally, the global expansion of Empire throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries occurred alongside a reappraisal of pastoral scenery such as country cottages. ‘Inside Great Britain lurked Little England’, writes Stephen Daniels (1993: 6), where ‘Little England’ is conflated with the rural iconographies of Wright’s ‘Deep England’ (2009). This cultural celebration of the pastoral picturesque worked to establish a sense of *national* identity as separate from the *Empire* across the seas, and British pastoralism was interpreted as demonstrating why Britain was culturally superior. The traditional architecture and localism of Poundbury is the embodiment of ‘Little England’ ideology, as the globalist vision of urban modernism is rejected in favour of small community ties.

‘Little England’ and ‘Deep England’ also reflect a racialised *vision* that privileges whiteness and rejects multiculturalism. Indeed, as Divya Praful Tolia-Kelly argues, thinking about identity ecologically allows us to consider how the subject comes to being ‘*in situ*, within landscape politics’ (2010: 9). For the purposes of this thesis, pastoral landscape typically conceals something about how ‘British heritage is the heritage of a nation of nations, shaped through waves of migration and diaspora, wide-ranging imperial histories and contemporary glows of globalisation’ (Littler in Littler and Naidoo, 2005: 1). The evocation of a supposed “inherent” Englishness embodied in the term ‘Deep England’, for example, is figured around invisible whiteness as symbolic of identity and belonging. Sarah Neal identified this as a common trend, referencing the ‘collapsing of rurality into whiteness’ in media texts such as *Country Living* magazine (2002: 443). This whitewashing of the countryside conceals complex histories of multiculturalism. In *Black and British* (2016), for instance, David Olusoga uncovers the history of racial diversity in Britain to argue that the people of Africa and the Caribbean

have had central roles in shaping the British landscape, from the Roman period to the more recent history of the post-war Windrush.¹³ This can also be situated within the pastoral, and Olusoga's archive of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century oil paintings demonstrates that many aristocratic families kept black children as slaves. 'Third Duke of Richmond out Shooting with his Servant' (Unknown, 1765; Figure 6.45), for example, illustrates the Duke striding with rifle in hand through a typical British countryside landscape with his black child slave attending to him, situating the colonial body within the "white" pastoral landscape. The overlooking of these relations reflects not only Britons' imperial amnesia around the violence and exploitation of Empire, but, as Ben Pitcher writes, 'the imagined whiteness of the countryside consolidates racially exclusive ideas about identity and belonging' (2016: 3), which works to reproduce white people's apparent claim over Britain as (one of) their places of origin.¹⁴



Figure 6.45: 'Third Duke of Richmond out Shooting with his Servant, 1765'. Painter unknown. (Unknown, 1765)

¹³ Empire Windrush was a passenger liner in the early twentieth century. It has since become used as shorthand for the arrival of thousands of West Indian immigrants to London in 1948 on that ship to fill post-war labor shortages, who are described as the "Windrush generation".

¹⁴ This argument could be further extended to Chapter Five, and the ways in which the institutional whiteness of monarchy feeds into the imagined whiteness of the countryside through the Queen's symbolic body.

Charles's imperialist *vision* raises questions about which racial demographics might actually want to live in Poundbury, and to whom its 'Little England' ideology might appeal. Michelle Fawcett-Thompson's (2003) demographic survey in 2003 found 97% of Poundbury residents were white. The exclusively white members of the Poundbury Residents Committee in 2017 suggest this figure has not changed substantially in the intervening years. If Poundbury recreates historical pastoral life, and this historical pastoral life is figured as exclusively and homogenously white, it is not a space that is inclusive towards racialised minorities. Rather, Charles's *vision* is arguably a rejection of multicultural politics and postcolonial globalisation.

Conclusion: 'Londoner of the Decade'

I have spent most of my life trying to propose and initiate things that very few people could see the point of or, frankly, thought were plain bonkers at the time, perhaps some of them are now beginning to recognise a spot of pioneering in all this apparent madness (Prince Charles accepting the award for 'Londoner of the Decade', in Jobson, 2016)

In September 2016, the local newspaper *London Evening Standard* named Charles 'Londoner of the Decade' (Figure 6.46), an award Charles seemingly interpreted as validation of his beliefs. In his acceptance speech, he contrasted critical tabloid headlines with views from "the public" to demonstrate his apparent understanding of "their values", a sentiment echoing his self-imposed role in *A Vision of Britain* as public spokesman.

The award raises a number of questions. Its aim to recognise the 'most influential people' seems to endorse Charles's "meddling" reputation, and directly opposes the monarchy's purported political "neutrality". The award was also part of 'the Progress 1000', which honours London's innovators, a title Charles demonstrated his appreciation of in his self-description as 'pioneering' (in Jobson, 2016). This is particularly ironic when all of Charles's views are underpinned by a reactionary, conservative privileging of the pastoral. Poundbury may be framed as an eco-town of the future (Finn, 2008), but the reality is anything but. It is, as this chapter has demonstrated, a 'simulation of a fantasy past' (Hatherley, 2009: 20).



Figure 6.46: 'Londoner of the Decade: Charles'. (*London Evening Standard*, 2016), 7th September

Simulation and pastiche have been recurring themes of this chapter, and the description of Poundbury as 'Disneyland' (Wainwright, 2016) is perhaps the most analytically poignant. Poundbury is a space in which feudalist, imperialist, hierarchical, C/conservative, nostalgic conceptions of 'Little England' play out in picturesque setting. It is a space where Charles is permitted to "play" with residents, manufacturing communities who live out his ideologies. It is Charles's imaginary utopia brought to life, purely by fortune of his royal privilege and wealth. Charles is no "pioneer" who has

come to public prominence due to his radical innovations, rather he has consistently utilised his hereditary power to make ideological ramblings into lived experience.

If Poundbury is a space in which monarchy is staged, it is a riposte to the contemporary television and digital culture monarchy. It is surely no coincidence that it is the post-war period, which as Chapter Four demonstrated has seen substantial shifts in the ways that The Firm engages with media texts, that Charles demonises, and he privileges an explicitly more traditional version of monarchy. The design of Queen Mother's Square is a microcosm of Charles's *vision*, whereby monarchy acts as the epicentre tying distinct areas together (an ideology also reflected in the representational meaning of the Queen's body in Chapter Five as symbolic of national identity/ies). Poundbury takes the naturalisation of royal power to nature itself. In addition, Charles's rejection of suburban housing estates, which were central to the rise and composition of the middle classes throughout the twentieth century (Gunn and Bell, 2002), suggests a concomitant rejection of the middle classes *as a class*, as they countered the landlord/serf model of class hierarchy that he appears to champion. Indeed, in Chapter Eight, I discuss claims that Charles refused to engage with the "middle-class" Middleton family when they were publicly embraced by The Firm as a way of modernising the monarchical institution in the public imaginary. In turn, this suggests that Charles might also reject The Firm's model of "middle-class family values" described throughout this thesis.

This is not to say Charles is entirely unaware of contemporary cultures, and he has perhaps demonstrated more perceptibly than any other royal figure attempts to manipulate media representations. The BBC documentary *Reinventing the Royals* (dir: Hewlett, 2015) analysed Buckingham Palace's attempts to sanitise negative public reaction to Charles following Princess Diana's death by hiring public relations executive Mark Bolland as Charles's Deputy Private Secretary. Meanwhile, in 2015, *The Independent* uncovered a fifteen-page contract that obligated journalists to ask only pre-agreed questions when interviewing Charles. This was believed to be a breech of Ofcom rules of independence and transparency (Burrell, 2015). Most recently, his 70th birthday photographs, including "Farmer Charles" (Figure 6.28), were very carefully constructed representations of a future king.

This summarises one interpretation of *the meaning of Charles* as a royal figure: he is contradictory. Content with accepting an award for 'Londoner of the Decade' yet despises contemporary London; resolutely ideologically anti-modernist yet partakes in capitalist wealth creation; espouses equality in housing yet facilitates class hierarchies and misses affordable housing targets; privileges environmentalism yet builds homes on pastured land (Bennett, 2014); promotes sustainable futures yet only wants to recreate the past. Indeed, Charles can be interpreted as the living embodiment of *the meaning of monarchy* told in this thesis: an anachronistic institution utilising contemporary media technologies and sociopolitical shifts, yet not willing to forego historical privileges.

Chapter Seven

‘I am Invictus’: Prince Harry and ‘Philanthrocapitalism’

After returning from his second tour of duty serving with the Army Air Corps in Afghanistan in late 2012 as part of the “War on Terror”, in March 2014 Prince Harry launched the Invictus Games: an annual, international, multi-sport event featuring wounded armed services veterans. Pitched as demonstrating ‘the power of sport to inspire recovery, support rehabilitation and demonstrate life beyond disability’ (Invictus Games Foundation, 2018), the Invictus Games promotes competitive spirit as a way to deal with the physical and mental injuries of contemporary warfare. Competing under the motto ‘I am Invictus’, which is Latin for ‘unconquered, unsubdued, invincible’, the veterans are encouraged to “rise above” injury in an individualistic framing which configures the rehabilitation process as a solo sporting pursuit of “mind over body”. This self-determining ethos reflects not only the abdication of state responsibility for injured soldiers, but also the neoliberalisation and financialisation of warfare in recent “corporate wars” in the Middle East, fought for capital rather than nationhood.

Key to the representational regime of the Invictus Games is images of Harry visiting competitors at training events. These are apparently intimate and informal, from Harry taking part in training exercises to giving hugs and personal encouragement, hence supporting the representations of Harry as an “ordinary”, relatable, accessible and liberal royal figure. His affable persona and philanthropic work acts not only as redemption for the so-called “transgressions” of his past, but also reveals something about the attempt to produce consent for the “War on Terror” in the public imaginary. As Callie Batts and David L. Andrews write, ‘the disabled body of the Paralympic soldier/athlete holds the potential for *nationalistic representation* and political manipulation’ (Batts and Andrews, 2011: 555; emphasis added). That is, the soldier’s incorporation into a “national sporting team” (re)transforms them into representatives of the nation. As a royal figure with a function in two key national institutions – the monarchy and the army – Harry plays a particularly important role in transforming soldiers’ bodies into national imaginaries through his own redemptive philanthropic and therapeutic military masculinity, as

illustrated in his hugs as a visible, corporeal and physical example of this work (Figure 7.1).



Figure 7.1: 'Prince Harry hugs an Invictus Games competitor' after the wheelchair basketball at the Invictus Games in Orlando, Florida, on 12th May 2016 (Getty Images, 2016c)

Introduction

This chapter reads the Invictus Games (hereafter Invictus) to consider the relationship between The Firm and 'philanthrocapitalism'. More specifically, it argues that representations of Harry articulate narratives of redemption *through* philanthropy, both in terms of the redemptive masculinities of him as a royal figure, and in terms of the redemption of the "good soldier" from a "bad war" in producing consent for the "War on Terror". This chapter will demonstrate how Invictus, which is largely anchored to representations of Harry's philanthropic and liberal persona, condenses and disguises a set of contradictions around recent global conflicts, ambiguities in ideas around State responsibility and accountability, and the role of corporate capital in these wars. The redemptive transformation of Harry as a royal figure, from "playboy prince" to "philanthropic prince" via "soldier prince", maps onto the development of the military-

industrial complex, the production of consent for the “War on Terror” at home, the role of philanthropy in mitigating the effects of warfare, and shifting contemporary masculinities. This chapter will unpack these complex relations to reveal *the meaning of Harry*.

Britain’s role in the “War on Terror” has faced widespread public opposition. The 2012 British Social Attitudes survey (Park et al., 2012) revealed that 48% of people opposed sending the Armed Forces to Afghanistan (and 58% opposed Iraq). On 6th July 2016, a public inquiry established that the UK’s legal basis for declaring war on Iraq was ‘far from satisfactory’, and the conflict was ‘unnecessary’ (Committee of Privy Counsellors, 2016). The British government, then, seemed to face an ongoing crisis in producing public consent for a war that was later deemed illegitimate. However, in contrast, the 2012 British Social Attitudes survey further found that regardless of low approval rates for military deployment, 91% of Britons still supported Army personnel serving in Afghanistan (94% for Iraq), with respect for army personnel’s work even appearing to increase post-Afghanistan/Iraq (Park et al., 2012).¹ These statistics demonstrate ‘a degree of disconnection’ (Tidy, 2015: 223) between military operations and military personnel, with the soldier figure appearing to operate outside of the framework of unpopular deployments.

This suggests that the figure of the soldier has the potential to be used for ‘the rehabilitation of the military in the aftermath of the Iraq war’ (Jenkins et al., 2012: 361; see also Woodward and Winter, 2007; Adams, 2008; Cooper and Hurcombe, 2009; Woodward et al., 2009; McCartney, 2011) This is evidenced in representations focusing on the personal narratives and ‘the individualization and domestication’ (Tidy, 2015: 223) of “the soldier”. These include charities *Help for Heroes* (2007) which raises money for injured troops and *Tickets for Troops* (2009) which gifts soldiers free tickets to cultural events; songs from the *X Factor*² contestants who released ‘Hero’ in 2010, and *The Choir: Military Wives*³ who released successive singles in 2011, 2012 and 2016; the inauguration of an array of charity food brands such as Forces Sauces (Tidy, 2015); the increasing

¹ In this chapter I often conflate Afghanistan/Iraq in line with the public imaginary, where the two have been indelibly linked. It is important to note, however, that these are two separate conflicts, although their aims were interlinked, and Prince Harry served only in Afghanistan.

² *X Factor* (2004-) is a British reality television music competition airing on ITV, where members of the public audition for celebrity judges.

³ This is a choir made up of wives and girlfriends of serving military personnel. They formed for the BBC television series *The Choir* (2011).

mediatisation of military remembrance ceremonies (Andrews, 2011; Jenkings et al., 2012) and the launch of the Invictus Games.

Invictus was launched in March 2014 in London, before events in Florida in 2016 Toronto in 2017, and Sydney in 2018. Injured veterans from 18 countries around the world, including the USA, Canada, New Zealand, Poland and Afghanistan, compete in sports such as wheelchair basketball, indoor rowing and sitting volleyball to receive gold, silver and bronze medals. The concept was inspired by the US Warrior Games: a multi-sport event for US veterans organised by the United States Department of Defense. Helen McCartney describes how ‘the US is... held up as a model for British civil-military relations’, whereby ‘the Americans [are seen to] have got it right’ by nationally celebrating army veterans (2010: 426). Indeed, one of Invictus’ stated objectives is to ‘generate a wider understanding and respect for those who serve their country’ (Invictus Games Foundation, 2014). £1 million was provided by the Royal Foundation to launch Invictus, while Jaguar Land Rover provides further sponsorship (Invictus Games Foundation, 2018). Harry is Patron of the Invictus Foundation, while the Chairman is Sir Keith Mills, a multi-millionaire businessman and deputy chairman of the London Olympic and Paralympic Games (*ibid.*).

Harry’s involvement in Invictus stems from a long historical relationship between the monarchy and philanthropy, and I argued in Chapter Six that Charles’s construction of Poundbury is figured as a type of royal “gifting”. This long history is mapped by Frank Prochaska in *Royal Bounty: The Making of a Welfare Monarchy* (1995). He argues that while a monarch such as Henry VIII would not have donated to charity because it was assumed that he ruled by divine right, after the English Civil War it was generally believed that ‘privilege entailed responsibility to the less fortunate’ (1995: 8), and monarchs had to demonstrate ‘sensitiv[ity] to social needs’ (*ibid.*). By the Victorian age, the monarchy’s performance of “middle-class” family values (see Chapters Three and Eight) extended to support of the voluntary institutions that were a mainstay of Victorian society to compensate for lacking state provisions. Indeed, Queen Victoria ‘assumed leadership of the philanthropic movement’ during her reign in order to enact values of social responsibility (1995: 100). This proved a reciprocal relationship, giving the monarchy a ‘respectability and visibility’ in the public imaginary, but also giving charities ‘a priceless, highly polished [promotional] tool’ in the monarchy (1995: 35).

This continued until World War II, after which state intervention and the welfare state displaced the philanthropic and voluntarism model of civil society. The monarchy developed a new approach, where it ‘continue[d] to promote voluntary services’ but also began to support ‘the welfare institutions of government itself’ (1995: 231). NHS hospitals were the particular focus of royal visits throughout the mid-twentieth century. Thatcher’s privatisation of the welfare state in the 1980s, and her advocacy of a return to Victorian values, saw the re-establishment of civil society, or a ‘half-way house between state and society’ (1995: 261). This worked in the monarchy’s favour, and indeed Prochaska argues that since the 1992 “annus horribilis”, ‘the monarchy now needs the voluntary sector more than the voluntary sector needs the monarchy’ (1995: 275). Jo Littler’s reference to contemporary celebrities who undertake charitable initiatives as ‘the new Victorians’ (2015) demonstrates the ways in which the Victorian model of civil society has been re-popularised under neoliberalism. This chapter will map Harry’s work with Invictus onto this shift in the history of monarchy-philanthropy relations, and the positioning of the monarchy as socially responsible. The aim of this chapter is not to present soldiers as victims, nor to simplify the positive work Invictus *does* do in helping veterans to recover. Rather, it aims to draw attention to the corporate function of contemporary warfare, and Harry’s role in transforming and disguising these functions through media representations.

The Playboy Prince

Harry is a particularly interesting royal figure, whose representational framing has shifted substantially over the years. As this chapter will show, a common thread in this framing is Harry’s construction as an “ordinary”, relatable, and liberal royal figure, who transgresses royal “tradition”, conservatism and class boundaries. Indeed, Harry’s tension with his role almost figures him as anti-monarchy (see below). Despite this, recent Ipsos Mori research has found that him and his brother William are ‘the most liked royals since records began’, with journalists attributing this to ‘a triumph for the modern approach’ to monarchy after they both ‘swept away stuffy manners to bare their emotions in public’ (Murphy, 2018). In fact, I argue it is primarily *because* of his controversial figuration that Harry retains popularity, because it facilitates a framing of him as “ordinary”. The BBC3 documentary *Prince Harry: Frontline Afghanistan* (Grange, 2013), which chronicled Harry’s final tour of duty in Afghanistan, features a number of his comrades asserting his

“ordinariness”: “he’s been round to our house... it’s easy to put aside the fact he’s third⁴ in line to the throne... he’s a normal guy”. It is the various permutations of this “ordinariness” through redemptive masculinities, from “ordinary lad” to a more liberal, emotionally literate masculinity, which this chapter maps.



Figure 7.2: ‘Harry the Nazi’ (*The Sun*, 2005) 14th January

Harry’s figuration as a “playboy” party animal played out across the popular press throughout the early 2000s. In 2002 he admitted smoking cannabis (Alderson, 2002), in 2004 he hit a paparazzi photographer in a nightclub (The Scotsman, 2004), in 2005 *The Sun* published photographs of him in fancy dress as a Nazi (Figure 7.2), in 2006 he was recorded calling an Asian army colleague a ‘paki’ (Seward and Morton, 2012), and in 2012 American celebrity gossip website *TMZ* photographed him drunk and playing strip poker in a Las Vegas hotel room (Finneman and Thomas, 2014). These representations have led to the popular construction of him as a “lad”. Emerging in the 1990s, the “new lad” figure refers to a particular kind of white, working-class, youthful masculinity organised around loutish, hedonistic pleasures such as beer, football and sex (Gill, 2003). This

⁴ At the time of filming, Harry was third in line to the throne. Since the birth of Prince William and Kate Middleton’s children, Harry has moved down the line of succession behind them.

pivots, primarily, on a culture of sexism repackaged as ironic postfeminist “banter”⁵ (Whelehan, 2000), a tendency linked to the nostalgic ideologies of the 1990s “Cool Britannia” movement (Jones, 2013). Harry’s interactions with his comrades in the documentary *Prince Harry: Frontline Afghanistan* clearly draw on “lad” conventions. They mock each other throughout a game of FIFA, and Harry announces that whoever loses each game ‘becomes the brew bitch’ and must make hot drinks. Upon introducing his comrades to the camera, Harry refers to them as his ‘friends’ in a mocking, sarcastic voice, mimicking a well-known scene from the apex of lad culture, the television sitcom *The Inbetweeners*.⁶

Lad culture also speaks to a complex classed genealogy and exploitation of classed signifiers, which is condensed into Harry’s “transgressive” cross-class identity. The “new lad” debuted in men’s lifestyle magazines *GQ* and *Loaded* in the early 1990s as a direct subversion of the “new man” of the 1980s: a liberal, middle-class figure performing a masculinity typically associated with aristocratic Englishness (Nixon, 2001). As John Beynon (2004) describes, while the middle-class “new man” reflects the conspicuous consumption of the 1980s, the “new lad” maps onto the de-industrialisation and collapse of the manufacturing industry engendered by Thatcherism. Thus, while “new man” masculinity was based upon work roles, “new lad” masculine divisions were based on appearance and performances of “authentic”, jocular, anti-aspirational working-class masculinity (Gill, 2003). But both *GQ* (standing for *Gentleman’s Quarterly*) and *Loaded* are firmly entrenched in the middle-class market, making their construction of lad culture a ‘fetishized appropriation of working-class identity’ (Jones, 2013: 5). Thus, when figures such as Prince William dress as a “chav”⁷ for a party at military training centre Sandhurst (Harris, 2006), it not only reflects the contemporary aversion to working-class culture (Tyler, 2013) and the foreclosure of mediated working-class representations (Friedman et al., 2016), but also a symbolic classed violence through cultural appropriation.

⁵ “Banter” is the playful and friendly exchange of teasing remarks. It has often been associated with “lad culture”, as sexist remarks are refigured as “banter” and therefore outside critique.

⁶ *The Inbetweeners* (2008-2010) is a British sitcom about four teenage boys in a British high school, mainly focusing on their failed sexual encounters and “laddish” jokes. The scene referred to in the main text is perhaps one of the most famous, where two of the boys, Simon and Neil, continually mock Jay for making new friends outside of their group, repeating the word ‘friends’ in an increasingly high-pitched tone to annoy him. Like Harry’s complex class identity, the characters of *The Inbetweeners* live a comfortable, middle-class, suburban life, yet appropriate the signifiers of working-class masculinities.

⁷ “Chav” is a pejorative nickname in Britain for working-class people stereotyped by anti-social behaviour, “cheap” branded sportswear and particular informal speech patterns (see Tyler, 2008).

Some of the key iconography of lad culture can also be seen in the so-called Old Boys Networks of public schools, the foundation for a conservative, old-fashioned masculinity also figured by Harry. All-male drinking societies, such as the Bullingdon Club at Oxford University (famous for its depiction in British film *The Riot Club* (2014)) are known for encouraging excessive drinking, uninhibited heterosex and casual misogyny among their members (Tatler, 2014). The recent resurgence of Eton College graduates among those in power, particularly within parliament (Beckett, 2012), or the popularisation of figures such as Bear Grylls, demonstrates the currency of this version of masculinity. Grylls, an ex-Etonian, plays on working-class versions of soldiering, survivalism, and adventuring in performances of the ‘primitive ideal’ masculinity (Ferrari, 2014: 219). Indeed, Harry’s performance of these ideals through his soldiering, his treks across the South Pole for charity (Davies, 2013), and his conservation work in Africa (leading to the appellation ‘Harry the Lionheart’, see Jones, 2015) have further tapped into these outdoor, reactionary masculine values. In embodying these contradictions, Harry appears to have transgressed class boundaries, where he is somehow every class – aristocrat, middle class and working class – figured into one body.

Although it is somewhat useful for reinforcing the idea of a family with a difficult, unruly child, representations of Harry’s “laddish” antics have been described as ‘highly embarrassing for the royal family’ (Barnett, 2002), and his behaviour is constructed as countering typical representations of the “moral and respectable” Family Firm (see Chapter Eight for an account of how the pantomime of “scandal”, criticism, and resolution is a recurring trope of royal representations). For example, after being caught smoking cannabis, one national tabloid columnist branded Harry a ‘thoroughly horrible young man’ and a ‘national disgrace’ (Junor, 2017). Royal biographer Andrew Morton suggests that Prince Charles’s then-Communications Director, Paddy Harverson, hastily designed a public relations plan for redemption: refigure him as a soldier, and play on the historical idea of military service as royal civic duty (Seward and Morton, 2012).

The Soldier (Prince) and Military Masculinity

The institutions of monarchy and army have a relationship that spans thousands of years, from the middle ages when the warrior king ruled and armies belonged to the monarch,

to today's symbolic relationship in the Trooping the Colour⁸ ceremonies and the Queen's Guard⁹ (Carlton, 2003; Mallinson, 2009). Members of the royal family also often don military uniforms for ceremonial events (Rayner, 2015), and Prince Philip, the Queen, Prince Charles, Prince Andrew, Prince Edward and Prince William have all trained, commissioned or served for various military services. As history scholar Charles Carlton comments, the Armed Forces 'were convenient places to park an heir as he waited to become king, and acceptable occupations for younger sons with little expectation of inheriting the throne' (2003: 127). It was, in sum, an acceptable form of "royal work", and the Armed Forces can be understood as another institution operating "backstage" to support The Firm.

After graduating from the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst – the two-hundred-year-old army officer training centre – in 2005, Harry joined the Household Cavalry regiment as a Second Lieutenant (Prince Henry of Wales, 2016). On 7th January 2008, Australian magazine *New Idea*¹⁰ revealed Harry had been 'secretly' serving in Afghanistan for ten weeks as a Forward Air Controller, breaking a media blackout imposed by the Ministry of Defence (MoD) for Harry's safety, and prompting his immediate withdrawal from Afghanistan due to security concerns (Gammell, 2008). Harry's second tour of Afghanistan commenced on 7th September 2012 and lasted four months, this time with Harry acting as "Captain Wales", an Apache Pilot with the Army Air Corps (Prince Henry of Wales, 2016).

British news and entertainment media accounts of Harry's deployment were overwhelmingly positive. These texts typically overlooked the politics and function of warfare itself, focusing instead on the personal narrative of Harry as a heroic figure serving his country. For example, *The Daily Express* refers to 'Hero Harry' (Figure 8.3) in a story which seems to describe him as a hero both for the 'dangerous missions' he undertakes, and for sleeping 'in a shipping container' in the army camp (Palmer, 2012). It further describes Harry's farewells with William and Charles, who it claims is 'immensely

⁸ Trooping the Colour was established as a royal tradition in 1805 for George III's birthday, although its actual formation may be much earlier. If historically a regiment's "colours", or flags, were used as rallying points for soldiers in battle, they would need to be recognisable. Hence, ensigns were tasked with marching the colours between the soldiers' ranks (Carlton, 2003). Since 1805 it has been merely ceremonial, and regiments march their "colours" past the Queen. Monarchs traditionally ride into the ceremony on horseback to symbolise their historical role leading troops into battle (*ibid*).

⁹ The Queen's Guard, well-known for their red uniform and bearskin caps, are soldiers who protect the UK's official royal residences. Although they are working soldiers, they have become tourist attractions at Buckingham Palace due to the Changing of the Guard ceremony, where they parade the Buckingham Palace forecourt (Baring, 2007).

¹⁰ *New Idea* is a weekly Australian magazine aimed at women.

proud of his son' (ibid.). Narratives of heroism evoke representations of "the soldier" figure, who as I described above, is typically depoliticised and distanced from the legality of war. Among public opinion, a YouGov poll found that an overwhelming 82% of Britons approved of Harry's posting (MacLeod, 2013). Similarly, Terri Toles Patkin's analysis of public opinion on a BBC forum following Harry's removal from Afghanistan in 2008 found that only 4% exhibited anti-Harry sentiment, with 7% complimenting Harry's commitment and bravery and 8% saying their opinion of Harry had improved following his deployment (2009).



Figure 7.3: 'Hero Harry's back in Afghanistan' (*The Daily Express*, 2012), 8th September



Figure 7.4: 'After Vegas, Harry's back in Afghanistan' (*The Times*, 2012), 8th September

Among the typical representations of Harry's deployment was an associative link between his "laddish" playboy figuration and the soldier figure, which reflects Paddy Harverson's plans for redemption. *The Times*, for example, ran the headline 'After Vegas, Harry's back in Afghanistan' (Figure 7.4), explicitly evoking Harry's "transgressions" in narratives of his deployment to establish a linear timeline (or, perhaps, a cause and effect). The associations between masculinity and war have a long history. 92% of British army personnel are male (Woodward and Winter, 2007), and hegemonic masculine values are carefully constructed through deliberate social practice. For example, disciplining and honing soldier bodies into identical military uniforms to 'absorb individualities into a generalized and timeless masculinity' (Morgan in Brod and Kaufman, 1994: 166), and systematic training in values of aggression, courage, rationality, self-control and physical endurance (values also seen in competitive sport like *Invictus*, see below). Kimberly Hutchings argues that masculinity is 'crucial to the ways in which war gains its meaning and legitimacy in social life', because the two are 'mutually constitutive and mutually reinforcing, with masculinity acting as an enabling condition of war, and vice versa' (2008: 390-1). As Bruce Bennett (2015) describes, "martial masculinity" is a consistent feature in representations of the "War on Terror", from the reckless bomb-disposal technician in *The Hurt Locker* to the captured US soldier in *Homeland*, and patriarchal, heteronormative patriotism continues to underpin the "War on Terror" as an ideology (Stabile, 2005; Nayak, 2006; Puar, 2007).

"Laddism" is further conflated with a 'squaddie' subculture (Hockey, 2006), which refers to lower-ranked soldiers and their embodiment of crass, brash masculinity dependent on humour, aggression and lewd fraternal ritual (Agostino, 1997; Higate, 2012), as seen in the documentary *Prince Harry: Frontline Afghanistan*. Photographs released of Harry's first tour in Afghanistan, and reproduced in the news and entertainment media, saw Harry riding a motorbike, playing football topless to display a muscular torso, reading *Zoo* magazine¹¹, carrying a machine gun, and wearing an unofficial US Army Special Forces baseball cap reading 'we do bad things to bad people' (Figure 7.5), once again producing the representation of the "good" soldier fighting a "bad" enemy. These representations overlook the fact that Harry is not a "squaddie" but a more senior officer, therefore they seem to attempt to distance Harry from hierarchical privilege. This illustrates his "transgressive" class identity, and suggests both an effort to make him appear "ordinary",

¹¹ *Zoo* (2004-2015) was a "lads" magazine published weekly in the UK. It consisted of a mix between comedy, entertainment news, sports, and photographs of glamour models, and was aimed at young men.

and to transform his “laddish” behaviour through war culture. As Rachel Woodward et al. state, ‘the photograph of the soldier is never just a photograph of a soldier’ (2009: 222). Rather, it is a symbolic site upon which cultural and political meanings are inscribed, and these meanings are mediated through the affable and “ordinary” figure of Harry.



Figure 7.5: ‘We do bad things to bad people’, Harry wearing an unofficial US Army Special Forces baseball cap (Press Association, 2008)

‘War on Terror, Inc.’

The chapter has read representations of ‘hero Harry’ and his “laddish” masculinity as attempts to produce consent for the “War on Terror”, whereby the “good” British/American national soldier is fighting a “bad” enemy. This is evidenced in coverage in *The Sun*, which described Harry as ‘one of our boys’ (Figure 7.6), gave out readers a ‘poster’ of “hero Harry” to celebrate, and employed a celebratory tone to describe the ‘30 Taliban’ – who act as a shorthand for “bad people” – he had killed. This traditional image of the soldier figure suggests that the “War on Terror” is a conventional war, waged by nations and with clear strategic aims. This is given further bolstering through the figure of Harry: the monarchy acts as a powerful symbolic tool in terms of

national identity, and the name ‘Harry’ is loaded with historical associations with Shakespeare’s *Henry V*¹² and the warrior king.



Figure 7.6: ‘One of our boys’ (*The Sun*, 2008), 28th February

Historically, national armies developed alongside the rise of nation states to replace ‘the patchwork of feudal forces and mercenaries’ (Hughes, 2007: 96). Following the Glorious Revolution in 1688, the government established the Bill of Rights 1698 and the Act of Settlement 1701 to prevent subsequent monarchs from being able to mobilise the army for personal use. Thus, it took ‘de facto control’ and ownership of the army, but permitted the Crown ‘government and command’ (Mallinson, 2009: 40). This is a symbolic hierarchy still in use today, where soldiers swear allegiance to the Queen as their

¹² *Henry V* is a play by William Shakespeare, written in around 1599. It tells the story of King Henry V of England, particularly focusing on his role in the Hundred Years’ War.

Commander-in-Chief (Knight, 2008). These national soldiers are ‘driven by a patriotic ethos... closely linked to the rise of national self-determination, and in turn to the rise of democracy’ (*ibid.*).

However, in order to understand *the meaning of Harry*, the following sections of this chapter will expose the social and political realities of contemporary warfare. It will argue that representations of Harry act as dissimulations, key to the ideological battlefield of the “War on Terror” by disguising the violence of corporate war, and distancing the “good soldier” from a “bad war”. The “War on Terror” was not a democratic war, having been subject to queries of legitimacy from its outset. Indeed, it cannot even be claimed that the war was being waged against a common enemy, given that “terror” is not tangible, and so it cannot be represented as a “just war” fought for “king and country” like the First and Second World Wars. Critics of the war have suggested “terror” is merely an excuse for the US government to pursue long-standing military objectives, and impose upon civil liberties and human rights (Hughes, 2007).

Furthermore, as multiple scholars and activists have demonstrated (Hughes, 2007; Singer, 2007; Der Derian, 2009), the “War on Terror” is primarily a corporate war, fought for private enterprise and profit across a range of sectors both domestically and internationally. Critics such as Philippe Le Billon (2005) have argued that the “War on Terror” was primarily a resource war, waged as a colonial acquisition of oil and land. As Solomon Hughes argues, this was more than individuals capitalising on military policy: ‘the private sector was so integrated into the new campaigns that it influenced the direction and continuation of the central policies of the US and British governments’ (2007: 3), as corporations lobbied for intensified militarism and authoritarianism. Furthermore, the “War on Terror” saw a ‘fundamental shift between the powers of the state and those of the private sector’ (Hughes, 2007: 6), whereby private corporations had permission to use force and violence to control populations. Naomi Klein (2007) describes this as an example of ‘disaster capitalism’: the extension of capital accumulation into global warfare and catastrophe. This is the military-industrial complex, or what Hughes has named ‘War on Terror, Inc.’ (2007).

In comparison to representations of the national soldier, many of the soldiers in Afghanistan/Iraq were actually outsourced from private military and security companies (PMSCs; Hughes, 2007; Singer, 2007; Scahill, 2008). While the government’s Strategic

Defence and Security Review in 2010 recommended 20,000 army personnel be cut (Atkinson, 2015), companies such as G4S and Aegis Defence Services make hundreds of millions of pounds each year by signing contracts with the UK¹³ government to deploy contractors to undertake security operations, train and equip Iraqi security forces, all for higher wages than those soldiers employed by the national Armed Forces (Raphael, 2016). Moreover, PMSCs operate in a ‘legal vacuum’: they self-regulate under a voluntary code of conduct and are not subject to military codes and honour, the risks of which were demonstrated when US corporation Blackwater’s employees killed 17 Iraqi civilians in 2007 (Scahill, 2008). These companies abdicate nation states’ responsibility for human rights violations, war profiteering, or any other crimes. Harry is thus engaged with a project of refusal of responsibility, while at the same time presenting himself as increasingly socially responsible through philanthropy.

The arms trade was one of the first military privatisations, and by the 1980s private corporations were providing transport, bombs, guns and bullets to the Armed Forces (Hughes, 2007). The USA and the UK dominate the global arms market, with the biggest arms corporations including Lockheed Martin and Boeing in the US, and BAE Systems in the UK (Al Jazeera, 2017), which as demonstrated in Chapter Three has a murky relationship with the British monarchy through Charles and Andrew. However, Gideon Burrows describes how ‘the arms trade has never really been about one arms company in one country selling a single weapons system to another country’s government’, rather it is a complex international web where ‘fixers and firms will gratuitously exploit loopholes in pursuit of a fast profit’ (2002: 22), such as abusing licensing production laws across border zones. The irony of these policies is that the US and the UK are selling arms to the very countries they are declaring war on, undertaking what Mark Phythian has called a ‘politics of delusion’, in trying to ‘reconcile two conflicting demands... trade and security’ (2000: 317). In addition, the “War on Terror” has seen the privatisation of prisons, detention centres, soldier housing and military bases; new privatised surveillance methods to wage more authoritarian policing domestically (such as identity cards in the USA); and corporatised intelligence gathering (Hughes, 2007). Naomi Klein (2007) further describes how corporations were behind the launch of a whole new Iraqi

¹³ This practice is also common in the USA, with a report in 2013 estimating there was around 110,000 private contractors operating in Afghanistan, compared to only 66,000 US troops (Bloomfield, 2013)

economy, with McDonalds¹⁴ and HSBC¹⁵ opening across the country and Shell¹⁶ and BP¹⁷ receiving a share of Iraq's oil profits.

Public relations companies – or what Hughes calls ‘privatized propaganda’ (2007: 112) – are also central in the military-industrial complex. The media was a key site for the government and the MoD to produce public consent, and indeed the military appear to have increasingly recognised the importance of positive media coverage by creating a PR department. Although news reporting during wartime is not new – the Crimean War in the nineteenth century was the first to be reported in real time using the electric telegraph (Mallinson, 2009) – the exponential expansion of media platforms since means that the “War on Terror” has been a conflict dominated by images (Der Derian, 2009). From 24/7 live news reports of the conflict (Robinson, 2003) to the vast array of productions of the war as an entertainment spectacle on television, film and video games (Bennett, 2010; Freedman and Thussu, 2012), contemporary warfare can be described as ‘militainment’: ‘state violence translated into an object of pleasurable consumption’ (Stahl, 2010: 6). Or, as sociologist Jean Baudrillard terms it, ‘war porn’ (2006).

Harry's deployment can be read as ‘militainment’ or ‘privatized propaganda’. On his second tour of duty, as opposed to enforcing another media blackout on reporting, the MoD requested the media ‘act responsibly’ and ask their permission before publishing stories about Harry (Hopkins, 2013), effectively giving the MoD de-facto control over all coverage. In return, reporters from the Press Association were allowed direct access to Harry during his tour. This model follows the “embedded journalism” agreement established during the Vietnam War, where Western journalism remained largely critical of the conflict, and some officials worried that the subsequent loss of public support would influence the outcome of the war (Tumber and Palmer, 2004). The phenomenon of “embedded journalism” is a direct attempt by the MoD to manage media output, with reporters attached to a military unit and deployed to war zones alongside this unit (*ibid.*). This has led to many ethical issues, largely around the impartiality and objectivity of war reporting (Butler, 2005). As Paul Rutherford describes, the intensely mediated “War on Terror” became:

¹⁴ McDonalds is a global fast food chain.

¹⁵ HSBC is a global bank.

¹⁶ Shell is a British-Dutch oil and gas company.

¹⁷ BP is a British multinational oil and gas company.

a branded war, a co-production of the Pentagon and of newsrooms, processed and cleansed so that it could appeal to the well-established tastes of people who were veteran consumers of popular culture (2004: 4)

While media accounts of Harry's deployment were largely positive, those that were critical predominantly focused on this "propaganda" angle. *The Independent* published an online story upon Harry's return which referred to him as 'a propaganda tool' who is putting 'Afghanistan's future, and the lives of British soldiers at risk' (Latchem, 2013). A *Guardian* opinion piece, meanwhile, claimed Harry was the MoD's 'chief asset' and is 'gold dust in PR terms' (2013). These critiques fracture the dominant narrative of "hero Harry", and instead figure him as a useful tool for representing the military and (re)framing the meaning of a controversial war in the public imaginary.

There is a symbiosis here in the idea of war as a staged photo opportunity and the control with which royal representations are constructed. While warzones are very carefully managed, it does not wholly differ from the other stages Harry moves between. While he "performs" as a soldier, he also "performs" as a prince. Moreover, the "embedded journalism" agreement for war is replicated in the reporters who accompany the royals on international tours (see Chapter Three) and staged photograph opportunities of royal figures (see Chapter Eight). Both the MoD and the monarchy have an investment in producing carefully managed media representations, and both raise questions about democracy and impartiality.

'I am the Master of my Fate': the Neoliberal Veteran and 'Philanthrocapitalism'

In the First and Second World Wars, the monarchy was central to the representation of the war "at home". Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret were "evacuated" to a secret location in the country, before, when she was older, Princess Elizabeth joined the Auxiliary Territorial Service (see Chapter Four), Queen Mary visited evacuees, and King George VI and Queen Elizabeth visited bomb sites and essentially 'turned Buckingham Palace into a war office' (Prochaska, 1995: 221). While this acted as 'government propaganda' to encourage people to remain stoic (Pimlott, 2012: 57), it was also positive PR for the monarchy itself. The royals were seen to be "doing their duty" as part of "the people", and as Prochaska describes, when bombs hit Buckingham Palace in 1940 it 'gave the monarchy its greatest propaganda coup' to retaliate to 'complaints by East

Enders that “it is always the poor that get it” (Prochaska, 1995: 222). Indeed, forty journalists were sent to the site to report on the damage (*ibid.*), and it made headline news (Figure 7.7).



Figure 7.7: 'King and Queen in Palace, Bombed', (*Daily Mirror*, 1940), 14th September

While Harry's soldiering worked in part to produce consent for the war taking place “out there”, as well as reworking his “laddism” into an acceptable version of hegemonic soldier masculinity, upon his return home this required an alternative framing. Communications Secretary Paddy Harverson had another plan: philanthropy (Seward and Morton, 2012). As described above, philanthropy has been a key part of “royal duties” for hundreds of years, and functions as the mainstay of royal public appearances. Likewise, framing the “War on Terror” as a humanitarian mission has been one way through which it is ‘moralize[d] and justif[ied]’ in the public imaginary (Hunt, 2006: 52), such as the popularised narratives that it will “liberate” the citizens of Afghanistan and Iraq, and the USA’s co-option of feminist rhetoric about the oppression of Afghan and Iraqi women (Puar, 2007). Furthermore, this philanthropic framing constitutes another pillar of the military-industrial complex, as privatised humanitarian projects abdicate the state of responsibility for recovery schemes both domestically and internationally.



Figure 7.8: 'Invictus Games Foundation Logo', with 'I Am' highlighted (Invictus Games Foundation, no date)

Harry's involvement in Invictus can be read as part of these concomitant histories, and illustrates the contradictions inherent in him as a royal figure in that while he is ostensibly presenting himself as socially responsible by taking care of veterans, he is also engaging in a project of producing consent for the state refusing responsibility for these soldiers. The aim of Invictus is to 'generate a wider understanding and respect for those who serve their country' (Invictus Games Foundation, 2014), and, as described above, the figure of the soldier has the potential to be used for 'the rehabilitation of the military in the aftermath of the Iraq war' (Jenkins et al., 2012: 361) by focusing on the soldier's 'individualization and domestication' (Tidy, 2015: 223). Invictus makes connections between the value systems of military and sport, where both are figured as predominantly masculine spaces focused upon the training, disciplining and measuring of the productive and docile body (Brohm, 1978). This is specifically illustrated in Invictus's claim of 'the power of sport to inspire recovery, support rehabilitation and demonstrate life beyond disability' (Invictus Games Foundation, 2018), promulgating an individualistic solution to the physical and mental injuries of warfare by (re)training the body into a different discipline. A key motif of Invictus is its namesake poem 'Invictus' by William Ernest Henley. An amputee himself, the poem narrates Henley's battle with illness through suggesting an unrelenting human spirit, unbeaten despite the challenges life throws at him. The poem ends with the two lines used in Invictus imagery and promotional material: 'I am the master of my fate: I am the captain of my soul'. The repetition of 'I am', in particular, is highlighted in the Invictus logo through coloured highlighting

(Figure 7.8). Henley's poem has historically been associated with injured veterans, and in the 1920s the poem was the emblem of the Star and Garter Home for Ex-Sailors and Soldiers, where around 850 veterans of World War I were separated from their families and society in private care homes (Cohen, 2001).

By positioning the rehabilitation process as a solo sporting pursuit of "mind over body", Invictus distances the injured veteran from both the specificity (and legality) of particular conflicts, and more broadly from the social and political meaning of warfare in a global context. Of course, in some ways this works positively: individual soldiers did not make the decision to declare war, nor did they necessarily design combat strategy. However, these representations obscure the responsibility of the state for sending the soldiers to war in the first place, as well as abdicating the state's accountability for providing adequate professional healthcare for those injured in the process. Instead, the soldiers are figured as 'the masters of their own fates' buttressed by private philanthropic schemes.

This can be read as 'philanthrocapitalism': 'a novel way of doing philanthropy, one that emulates the way business is done in the for-profit world' (McGoey, 2015: 7). As Jo Littler describes, this is a phenomenon situated in neoliberalism because it 'dismantle[es] the forms of collective provision fundamental to the welfare state' (Littler, 2015: 479; see also King, 2006). Littler argues that contemporary 'philanthrocapitalism' mirrors that of nineteenth-century star philanthropy because, in periods of welfare decline, it does the job of the state, and is 'naturalis[ed] as "beneficial" to society (2015: 472). For instance, the work of Invictus in rehabilitating veterans is contextualised in recent reports which suggested around 400 serving soldiers committed suicide between 1995-2014¹⁸ after mental health conditions were routinely overlooked and untreated (Warburton, 2016).

Likewise, mental health issues resulting from warfare are separated from the social and cultural. As Joanna Tidy describes, through competitive sport, the invisible, unruly, damaged soldier body is made visible only once 'they have completed their transformatory "becoming" and conquered their injuries (2015: 226), thus transforming their plight into a personal struggle (Achter, 2010). This can be read in conjunction with contemporary 'supercrip' figurations, defined by Ronald J. Berger as those 'whose inspirational stories of courage, dedication, and hard work prove that it can be done, that

¹⁸ These figures do not include those who have left the Armed Forces, only those currently serving, and therefore are likely to be much higher.

one can defy the odds and accomplish the impossible' (2008: 648). Although in theory these are positive representations, P. David Howe (2011) queries whether these narratives are actually empowering to disabled athletes, given their tendency to dehumanise and glorify disabled bodies by celebrating the technology that aided them. Similarly, we could ask whether *Invictus* is *always* empowering to veterans, given its tendency to erase the state's accountability for their injuries.

Moreover, as Jo Littler argues, contemporary celebrity charity initiatives like *Invictus* tend to promulgate the 'fantasy that these things are *not* connected' (2008: 247). That is, they ignore the fact that it is the very existence of social elites and corporate greed 'that greatly exacerbate the same social and economic inequalities that philanthropists purport to remedy' (McGoey, 2015: 9). As Andrew Sayer writes, philanthropy by the rich differs from charity because 'philanthropists generally want their name or company brand all over their gifts' (2015: 287), and indeed the key sponsor of *Invictus* is Jaguar Land Rover. This manifested itself not only in advertisements around the games complex and Land Rovers branded with the *Invictus* logo at the 2017 Games in Toronto, but on the opening day as part of the sporting events themselves when *Invictus* competitors competed in a driving race around Toronto's Distillery District in Land Rovers (*Invictus Games Foundation*, 2017). In so doing, the Jaguar Land Rover brand was incorporated into the pursuit of sport as rehabilitation from warfare. This is especially ironic given that Land Rovers are manufactured as military vehicles for armies around the world, including for the "War on Terror". In associating with *Invictus*, Land Rover could be enacting its *own* redemption narrative by trading in military violence for philanthropic recovery.

Writing about the mental health charity 'Heads Together', a multi-charity initiative fronted by Harry, William and Kate, Imogen Tyler and Tom Slater write that it is 'bankrolled by some of the very corporate and financial organisations whom are the beneficiaries of neoliberal economic policies... [which] are exacerbating mental distress among the... most vulnerable' (2018: 727). Likewise, as a brand associated with luxury and elitism, Jaguar Land Rover has benefited from a culture predicated on neoliberal inequalities. For instance, Jaguar Land Rover documented record sales for the 2017 financial year and a tripling of sales since 2009 (BBC, 2018), which coincides with the huge increase in wealth inequalities across industrialised countries between the 1980s and

the present day (Dorling, 2014). By aligning itself with Invictus, Jaguar Land Rover ‘build[s] the reputation of [the] brand, develop[s] employee loyalty to the company, and add[s] to their reputation as good corporate citizens’ (King, 2006: 9).

If Invictus contributes towards the ‘supercrip’ narrative, the monarchy’s role in this through Harry is crucial in making this a *national* schema of representation. Writing on the United States Paralympic Military Program, Callie Batts and David L. Andrews draw on Lauren Berlant’s work on ‘national fantasy’ to argue that:

the limbs and bodily capacities sacrificed in warfare on behalf of the nation become literal ‘anatomies of national fantasy’ tied directly to a contemporary political imaginary that denies the devastating effects of war by emphasizing the obligation of sacrifice... Framed as the epitome of national service and sacrifice, the body of the disabled soldier/athlete thus holds immense political and cultural meaning for the nation (2011: 556)

The injured soldier thus becomes symbolic of the nation because of the (bodily) sacrifices they have made for the nation’s protection. Just as representations of the Queen’s body became a site of symbolic struggle over particular discourses of national identities in the Scottish Independence Referendum (see Chapter Five), the soldier’s incorporation into a “national sporting team” (re-)establishes them as representative of the nation. As a monarchical symbol of national identity, Harry’s role in establishing this narrative is key, and through his support the soldiers are incorporated back into national ideology.

The hugs he bestows on veterans described in the opening of this chapter (Figure 7.1) are a visible example of this work, and they play on Harry’s more recent performance of a more liberal, therapeutic, emotionally literate masculinity. Invictus is about the *damaged* soldier body, both physically and mentally, and Harry has consistently been represented as an emotionally *damaged* figure, dealing with the problems of his past and taking social responsibility to help others to do the same. His remaking as the “philanthropic prince” is the second part of Paddy Harverson’s plan for Harry’s redemption and shifting masculinities, drawing on his mother’s popular, and populist, ‘humanitarian legacy’ and emotional literacy (Seward and Morton, 2012).

Kensington Palace and the Spectre of Diana

After the “new lad” of the 2000s, in more recent years a set of media representations has challenged these reactionary masculinities. Grayson Perry’s *The Descent of Man* (2017) and Robert Webb’s *How Not to be a Boy* (2017) both use biographical memoir to narrate the ways in which the pressures of hegemonic masculinities limit their ways of being and experiencing maleness. Contemporary paternity, from the ‘Instagram Dad’ (Gunn, 2016) to ‘celebrity postfeminist fatherhood’ (Hamad, 2010), has also emphasised “softer” masculine traits and “hands on” fathering – a trait performed by Prince William. Toby Miller situates this shift in the 1980s/90s, as an increase in global advertising initiated ‘the commodification of the male subject’ (in Berlant and Duggan, 2001: 121) and the increased feminisation of figures such as Bill Clinton through ‘his weight problems, his teariness, his physical affection, his interest in feelings, his linkage of intellectual power and emotional bravado’ (in Berlant and Duggan, 2001: 122). Meanwhile, Andrea Cornwall et al. (2016) point towards increasing economic precarity and participatory media cultures as reformulating perceptions and experiences of gender in the neoliberal age.

Barack Obama is a particularly interesting figure for this shift, and in many ways reflects Harry’s move from “soldier prince” to “philanthropic prince”. While many (leftist) critiques position Obama as “better” than his predecessor George Bush, Obama still pursued neocolonial and capitalist wars in Afghanistan and Iraq (Timm, 2016). However, as John Landreau (2011) argues, ‘in comparison to Bush’s “muscular” rhetoric... Obama seems to articulate a gentler, more reasoned approach to national security and terrorism’ that revolves around “soft power” and a liberal, emotionally literate masculinity (see also Johnson, 2013). Indeed, Harry and Obama are routinely represented across news media as friends, with their friendship depicted as a form of male bonding or ‘bromance’ (Furness, 2017a): an ‘interpersonal intimacy in heterosexual relationships’ (DeAngelis, 2014: 2). In a series of exchanges on Twitter, the Kensington Palace account engaged in “banter” with the Obamas over whether Team UK or Team USA would win more medals at Invictus. After the Obamas taunted Harry in a viral video, Kensington Palace posted a Tweet signed off by Harry reading ‘you can dish it out, but can you take it?’ (Figure 7.9). Following this, Kensington Palace uploaded a response video of Harry and the Queen watching the Obama video on “Harry’s iPhone”. In response, the Queen

scoffs ‘oh really’, and Harry looks to camera and says ‘boom’, while making a “mic drop” gesture¹⁹ (Roberts, 2016). Jo Littler argues that it ‘builds its comedy by juxtaposing a degree of American black cool with uptight white aristocratic chintz-laden tradition’ (2017: 126), and in the process it remakes this ‘chintz-laden tradition’ as equally cool through its proximity to the Obamas’ culturally-accepted scripts of popularity, and its suggestion that the royals have a “sense of humour”.



Kensington Palace 
@KensingtonRoyal

Wow @FLOTUS and @POTUS, some @weareinvictus fighting talk there! You can dish it out, but can you take it? - H.

2:25 PM - Apr 29, 2016

3,705 1,069 people are talking about this

Figure 7.9: ‘Kensington Palace Tweet to The Obamas’, signed from Harry, 29th April 2016 (@KensingtonRoyal, 2016)

For Harry, his shifting masculinities are figured through his philanthropic initiatives and a new mediated intimacy in which he undertakes emotional labour, such as supporting Invictus competitors or being open about mental health issues. For example, on 24th July 2017, ITV aired *Diana, Our Mother: Her Life and Legacy* (dir: Gething, 2017) as part of the tributes to Princess Diana on the twentieth anniversary of her death. The documentary featured William and Harry speaking candidly for the first time about their grief, describing their last conversation with Diana, their reactions when informed of her death, and how they coped subsequently. In various interviews during Mental Health Awareness Week in Britain, Harry elaborated further on the mental health issues this triggered, describing the ‘total chaos’ which led him ‘very close to a complete breakdown’ (Furness, 2017b). He received help from counseling and therapy, which allowed him to open up following having previously ‘shut down all his emotions’ in order to deal with his grief (*ibid.*), which perhaps also acts as an explanatory tool for the “harder” masculinities he performed earlier in life.

¹⁹ The ‘mic drop’ is the gesture of intentionally dropping a microphone at the end of a performance to suggest triumph.

Harry's disclosures have been applauded by mental health professionals for contributing towards ending the stigma of mental illness (Wiseman, 2017), and indeed a public figure speaking openly about mental health is a rare and valuable intervention, especially from one typically associated with "laddish" military masculinity. This ethos is further promoted in Heads Together, which encourages 'chang[ing] the conversation' around mental illness to remove negative associations and stigma, and instead allow people to receive 'the help they need' by feeling able to voice their concerns (Heads Together, 2018). As Imogen Tyler and Tom Slater write (2018: 723), "shattering stigma" is certainly one step in meeting th[e] challenge' of unresolved mental illnesses and social discrimination. Heads Together's key campaigns focus on raising awareness of mental illness through "talking", providing a number of social media platforms through which these conversations can take place, demonstrating the positive work this philanthropy *can* do. This emphasis on "talking" as a cure, and the importance of recognising, embracing and monitoring emotions, is a relatively new phenomenon, rising in the 1980s when counseling industries expanded, self-help books gained popularity (McQueen, 2017), and 'therapeutic language and practices... expanded into everyday life' (Furedi, 2004: 1). This can be contextualised in neoliberalism's emphasis on the managed, reflexive self (Harvey, 2005), or, as what Eva Illouz refers to as 'emotional capitalism', whereby 'emotions have become entities to be evaluated, inspected, discussed, bargained, quantified, and commodified' (2007: 109; see also Hochschild, 2012). Emotional labour operates in and through contemporary societies as moralising judgments: discerning the "good" citizens who enact self-care and the "bad" who do not (Illouz, 2008). In taking responsibility for his emotions, Harry acts a model for 'emotional capitalism'.

Emotional labour is also central to celebrity cultures, in order to manufacture what Imogen Tyler and Rosalind Gill have called 'mediated intimacies': the ways in which mass media use an 'intimate gaze' to create proximity between the subject and the audience (2013: 80). This is particularly prevalent in reality television (Skeggs and Wood, 2009, 2012; Wood et al., 2009). Tabloid talk shows such as *The Oprah Winfrey Show* (1986-2011) illustrate the 'pervasive discursive therapeutic and confessional strategy' (Skeggs and Wood, 2012: 220) of television, through their use of "the confessional": 'the revelation of "true" emotions' where participants expose something deeply personal to reveal their "authentic" selves (Aslama and Pantti, 2006: 168). However, as Barry King writes, 'confessions on television are staged for entertainment' (in Redmond, 2011: 12),

and often the participants will ‘gain prestige and pride from being exposed’ (ibid.: 13). Moreover, this is a classed and moralised phenomenon, dependent on one’s access to psychological and emotional capital (Skeggs and Wood, 2009). While the lower classes are ‘pathologised’ and ‘shown to be in need of transformation’ (Skeggs and Wood, 2009: 639), the confessions of the wealthy and/or famous are ‘invested with great ritual weight’ (King in Redmond, 2011: 13). For Harry, his confessions of mental health trauma are central to his redemption as the “philanthropic prince”, prompting a narrative that justifies the “scandals” of his past. In an article about Harry’s mental health, for example, *The Sun* used a set of photographs to narrate a story of damage and recovery: from Harry as a young boy with his mother in the 1980s, his solemn face at her funeral in the 1990s, him falling over outside a nightclub in the 2000s, and finally a recent official promotional photograph for Heads Together where he smiles alongside William and Kate in branded headbands (Royston, 2017; Figure 7.10).



Figure 7.10: ‘Official promotional photograph for Heads Together, 2016’, featuring Harry, Prince William and Kate Middleton (Getty Images, 2016d)

Princess Diana acts as a key representational resource in Harry’s remaking, and she was both an important and controversial figure for The Firm (Braidiotti, 1997; Couldry, 1999; Turnock, 2000; Davies, 2001). Julie Burchill has described her as ‘the first royal icon raised on and sustained by pop culture’ (in Richards et al., 1999: 30), and she demonstrated a new economy of engagement for the royals, distancing herself from

institutional formality, and embodying values of compassion, approachability, and love for her children. Her own emotional openness is well-documented, and indeed the documentary *Diana, Our Mother: Her Life and Legacy* (2017) was in many ways reminiscent of another (in)famous royal documentary over twenty years earlier: Diana's *Panorama* interview (1995). In November 1995, three years after separating from Prince Charles, Diana broke royal protocol by being interviewed by Martin Bashir for the BBC's *Panorama* programme²⁰, where she openly criticised the treatment she had received at the hands of the monarchy. As described in Chapter Five, Diana's death prompted widespread criticism of The Firm – and particularly the Queen – as cold and inhuman because they did not demonstrate appropriate emotional distress. While The Firm faced public disapproval, Diana's popularity was illustrated in the strength of public feeling towards her, as an unprecedented 'mass hysteria' of grief and sorrow fractured the stereotype of the British "stiff upper lip" (Blackman and Walkerdine, 2001).

If one of the biggest constitutional crises in recent history was because the royals did not display appropriate emotion, this is now being reclaimed and resolved through Diana's son(s) and their ambivalent, shape-shifting masculinity. In many ways, Harry and William (and to different extents Kate and Meghan, see Chapters Eight and Nine) are represented in ways that stage a break from the generation(s) above them. It is interesting that 22 years after *Panorama*, a similar representation featuring Diana's sons would be used as part of the carefully constructed tributes to her death, this time sanctioned by Buckingham Palace. *Diana, Our Mother: Her Life and Legacy*, then, can be read as the harnessing of emotional labour, mediated intimacies and therapeutic cultures by The Firm, influenced by the popularity of Diana (see Hunt, 2011), whose life and death provide the scripts through which the younger royals perform "modern" monarchy and stage an alternative royal lineage through her (although these representations are considerably more controlled than Diana's, see Chapter Eight). The two documentaries are filmed using similar camera angles, close-up shots, and both Diana (Figure 7.11) and Harry (Figure 7.12) look slightly past the camera to an interviewer, which draws on the codes of the confessional television genre.

²⁰ *Panorama* is an investigative current affairs documentary programme on the BBC.



Figure 7.11: 'Screenshot from Diana's *Panorama* interview, 1995' (The *Panorama* Interview, 1995)



Figure 7.12: 'Screenshot from *Diana, Our Mother: Her Life and Legacy*, 2017' (Gething, 2017)

It is particularly notable that Kensington Palace, the household of the younger royals, is most famous for being Diana's home, and was the key site of public mourning and memorial after her death. As well as functioning as the physical bases of these figures, the different palaces have become part of the royal "brand". The social media accounts for William, Kate, Harry and Meghan, for example, are named 'Kensington Palace' (see Chapter Eight), making clear associations between them and this space. As a tourist attraction, Kensington Palace continues to emphasise its historical connection to Diana. When I visited in July 2017, it was hosting the 'Diana: Her Fashion Story' exhibition to display her clothes (Figure 7.13), as well as The White Garden, a floral memorial featuring white roses in the palace grounds. Plans are also currently underway to erect a statue of her (Press Association, 2017). Media representations depict Kensington Palace as operating more "informally" than the strict hierarchy of Buckingham Palace, with American news website *The Daily Beast* claiming that 'first names are insisted on' and Harry 'pops out to Starbucks... to get lattes for the staff' (Sykes, 2016). When the younger royals are figured in this way, The Firm is able to appropriate and co-opt the significant popularity of Diana for its own gains. Rather than erasing Diana from its history, the "scandals" she caused are managed and re-used as part of a continuing narrative of "scandal" and redemption, the royal pantomime that ensures The Firm's reproduction in the public imaginary (see Chapter Eight).



Figure 7.13: 'Diana: Her Fashion Story' exhibition at Kensington Palace, July 2017. A member of the public views a display of Diana's dresses. Photograph by author.

Diana's brand of royal populism acts as a valuable script for the younger royals to perform a discursive ascendency of ordinariness, through which The Firm is democratised in the public imaginary (Couldry in Morley and Robins, 2001). As described above, representations of Harry seem to suggest he has crossed class boundaries where he is somehow every class all at once, which allows him the space to perform "ordinariness" through an affable and relatable persona, such as showing his sense of humour in "banter" with the Obamas. But Harry's "ordinariness" also plays out in his apparent attitude towards the monarchy, with which he – like Diana – often positions himself in tension with. As Arvind Rajagopal writes (1999: 130), Diana's 'willingness to reveal her battles with herself (e.g. her eating disorders)... made her a role model of a different sort, a celebrity who was situated within the establishment... but one who was marginal too'. Likewise, Harry is positioned as simultaneously inside and outside The Firm. In *Diana, Our Mother: Her Life and Legacy*, Harry outright criticises the decision to make him march behind his mother's coffin in the funeral procession, aged 12, in front of millions of worldwide television viewers, saying 'no child should be asked to do that under any circumstances'. Later, in 2017, Harry told *Newsweek* magazine:

We are involved in modernising the British monarchy. We are not doing this for ourselves but for the greater good of the people... Is there any one of the royal family who wants to be king or queen? I don't think so, but we will carry out our duties at the right time (Levin, 2017)

Harry describes the monarchy as something undesirable, something that he "must" do as his own duty and burden, again positioning himself as socially responsible. Throughout the interview he claims he wants to be 'something other than Prince Harry' (*ibid.*; my emphasis), suggesting not only his discomfort with his position and the pre-destiny of his fate, but also objectifying "Prince Harry" as a "thing" rather than a "person", reflecting the framing in this thesis of the royals as figures. In so doing, Harry narrates himself as an alienated subject, undertaking "duties" through which to modernise The Firm and ensure their longevity for future generations. Hence, although explicitly positioning himself in tension with the institution, he also makes clear he is never going to dismantle it. Rather, he is going to continue taking responsibility for his 'duties' for the sake of 'the greater good of the people', for whom the monarchy is positioned as a valuable symbol.

In speaking of economies of royal duty, Harry is describing the monarchy as “work”, as labour which must be undertaken. This is not necessarily a new conceptualisation: in 1966 Princess Alice (the last surviving granddaughter of Queen Victoria) described the monarchy in her book *Reminiscences* as:

an arduous profession whose members are seldom granted an opportunity of opting in or out of their predestined fate... The royal motto “Ich Dien” is no empty phrase. It means what it says – I serve (in Prochaska, 1995: 261-2)

This almost directly reflects Harry’s rhetoric. Alice bemoans her ‘predestined fate’, refers to her royal role as a ‘profession’, and suggests that the royals ‘serve’ – presumably referring to “the people”. Likewise, in the *Panorama* interview (1995) Diana asserts her ‘unique role’ in being able to help people ‘in distress’ because of her public position, despite her clear discomfort with the attention this public role engenders. By positioning the royal role as work, then, these royal figures make clear that they consider themselves *hard working*: active participants in society, ‘salaried or income generating’ (Biressi and Nunn, 2013: 130) taking part in the ‘morality of work’ (Billig, 1992: 111), and doing “good” for “the people” (see Parry in Olechnowicz, 2007). Furthermore, Michael Billig argues that the notion of royal work ‘invites demystification for it implies that an ordinary human being stands behind the extraordinary role’ (1992: 69). Hence, Harry constructs a “real” him, who exists in tension with his “job” as a royal. As this chapter has illustrated, the “work” these figures undertake is primarily philanthropy, which produces consent for the monarchy through ideas of social responsibility and a respectable visibility.

Conclusion: ‘Prince Marry’

On 27th November 2017, Kensington Palace announced that Prince Harry was engaged to Meghan Markle, a mixed-race, self-proclaimed feminist, American actor (see Chapter Nine for more on Meghan as a royal figure). The event consolidated Harry’s shifting masculinities, as his “playboy prince” past was resolved through the “fairytale ending” of heteronormative marriage. As *The Courier-Mail*, a local paper in Brisbane, Australia, proclaimed in its headline about the engagement, this is ‘Prince Marry’ (Whinnett, 2017). Since the engagement, Kensington Palace has released a number of official images of the couple, and in one photograph they are seen embracing in extreme close-up, their

downturned gazes and the black and white colouring emphasising their intimate relationship (Figure 7.13). This is an extremely stark shift from the “playboy” dressed as a Nazi (Figure 7.2).



Figure 7.14: ‘Harry and Meghan’s engagement photoshoot, 2017’, photograph taken by Alexi Lubomirski and released by Kensington Palace (Lubomirski, 2017)

This chapter has sought to understand *the meaning of Harry* by mapping the shifts in representations of him as a royal figure and the masculinities these representations evoke, from “playboy prince” to “philanthropic prince” via “soldier prince” (and now ‘Prince Marry’). It has used the Invictus Games to argue that Harry has undergone a process of redemption through philanthropy, whereby his past “transgressions” have been resolved through a liberal, “ordinary”, emotionally literate masculinity articulated through the rehabilitation of the damaged soldier body. Princess Diana is a key representational resource for this remaking, and Harry’s mediated intimacies are staged in and through

her memory. By positioning his royal life as “work”, and charity as part of his emotional labour, for example, Harry produces consent for the monarchy through ideas of social and civic responsibility.

However, this chapter has fractured these representations by demonstrating the coming together of the “war arm” of The Firm and the “charity arm” of The Firm, primarily through Harry’s involvement in *Invictus*. It has argued that Harry’s role in *Invictus* condenses and disguises a set of contradictions around recent global conflicts, ambiguities in ideas around state responsibility and accountability, and the role of corporate capital in the “War on Terror”. Representations of Harry are key to the remaking of the “War on Terror” as a national war, where ‘our boys’ (Figure 7.6) are fighting a “bad enemy” for the “greater good”. As such, it has argued that these representations are central to the redemption of a “good soldier” from a “bad war”, and thus to producing consent for the “War on Terror”.

In the scheme of this thesis, this chapter demonstrates a gesture towards the “opening up” of monarchy in the contemporary age, where the royal family *appear* to present themselves as “ordinary” and accessible. Harry’s therapeutic persona suggests the monarchy is embracing new forms of mediated intimacies. In fact, like warfare itself, these intimacies are very precisely staged, and as this chapter has demonstrated they are strategic tools in the (re)making of the monarchy in the public imaginary, and the redemption of Harry as a royal figure. In the following chapter about Kate Middleton, I extend this argument to think about the ways in which access to the royals is actually tightly restricted and strategic. In this way, these two chapters are in dialogue with each other in terms of thinking about the contradictory politics of royal representations. They also in many ways illustrate the argument set out in Chapter Four about balancing the visibility and invisibility of royal representations. If Harry is ostensibly “open”, Kate is very much “closed”, but these are equally important in reproducing monarchical power. Therefore, Harry’s shifting masculinities condense and disguise a set of contradictions around recent global conflicts and the privatisation of the state, as well as condensing and disguising a set of contradictions around access, intimacy and staging in The Firm.

Chapter Eight

The Happy Housewife: Kate Middleton and the Heteromonarchy¹

Since the birth of Prince George in 2013, followed by Princess Charlotte in 2015 and Prince Louis in 2018, the Cambridge children's childhood has been regularly documented through a set of official portraits. These are released on the Kensington Palace Instagram account – which as of 2018 has a huge 6.4 million followers – on notable occasions, such as birthdays or their first days at school. These photographs *appear* natural, impromptu and informal, and the Instagram account is framed as though it is “the Cambridge family photo album”, allowing “intimate glimpses” into Cambridge family life, such as the first family holiday (Figure 8.1). Indeed, the account makes explicit that Kate takes many of the photographs herself as opposed to an official photographer (Figure 8.2), enhancing their connotations of intimacy.

However, as with every official monarchical press release, these photographs are precisely choreographed to foreground a particular meaning. In comparison to portraiture of historical monarchies depicting royal children as inheritors of political dynasty (Sharpe, 2009, 2010), these images are composed to present the Cambridges as a nuclear, heteronormative and (upper-)middle class family. As Patricia Holland writes, family photo albums ensure the ‘happy’ middle-class family ‘remains a centre of fantasy’ by coding it as aspirational and desirable (in Spence and Holland, 1991: 5). But, given that traditional family photo albums have been displaced in digital culture, this evocation on Instagram is bound up with nostalgia for a particularly traditional version of family values. It is an appeal to “middle classness” when class identifications in Britain are becoming more complex, and, indeed, when the Cambridges are anything but middle class. While “the Cambridge family photo album” connotes openness and intimacy, it can in fact be read as an attempt by The Firm to seize back control of representations and turn their back on news and entertainment media, reflecting a complex historical relationship between the monarchy and the tabloid press. If Kate takes some of the photographs and these are released on official social media accounts for the wider news

¹ Thanks to Lula Męcińska for the inspiration for this title. Thanks also to Ruth Patrick for valuable feedback on this chapter.

media to use, The Firm does not have to let anyone from “the outside” in, and can maintain at least some control over the dominant narrative.



Figure 8.1: ‘The Cambridges on a family holiday’, photograph posted on Kensington Palace Instagram account, 7th March 2016 (kensingtonroyal, 2016)



Figure 8.2: ‘Princess Charlotte holds newborn Prince Louis’, photograph posted on Kensington Palace Instagram account, 6th May 2018 (kensingtonroyal, 2018)

Introduction

In Chapter Three, this thesis argued that the royal family performs and embodies a particular set of middle-class family values as initially modeled by Queen Victoria to disguise its capitalist and corporate relations, producing itself as The Family Firm. I proposed that, after the middle classes became ‘the benchmark against which other groups are measured’ (Lawler, 2011: 56; see also Sutcliffe-Braithwaite, 2018) in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the aristocracy and royalty embraced “middle-classness” as a way to distance themselves from associations with greed, profligacy and moral “lack”.

Following the exposure of The Firm’s corporatism in previous chapters, this chapter returns to Chapter Three’s analysis to consider what kind of middle-class family The Firm simulates. It does this through an exploration of the figure of Kate Middleton. Kate is primarily figured through ‘a normative middle-class identity’ (Lawler, 2011: 61) due to her non-aristocratic background, and the news and entertainment media have crafted a “rags to riches” story of aspirational classed mobility (Reay, 2013) playing on the recognisable tropes of classic fairytales. This is most clearly illustrated in the reference to her as “Kate Middleton”, a middle-class stage name, as opposed to the aristocratic “Catherine, Duchess of Cambridge”. In fact, Kate occupies an interesting class position in that her family could be classified as middle class when she was born (her mother and father were a flight attendant and a flight dispatcher, respectively), but rose to the upper/upper-middle classes after starting their own “family firm”, the party supplies business Party Pieces, in 1987, which now has an estimated worth of £30 million (Knox, 2017). This chapter will suggest that the foregrounding of her “middle classness” is a strategic move for The Firm to mask its hereditary privilege, and *appear* to open aristocratic cultures to the middle classes. However, I will argue that this is part of a strategically contradictory project of shape shifting, in that this openness is merely a gesture. In fact, representations of Kate and the Cambridges illustrate how The Firm is becoming even more remote through Kate’s indeterminate persona, staged photoshoots, and complex relations between The Firm and the tabloid press.

This chapter also asks what kind of sexual politics and gender roles are being (re)produced in this middle-class performance? Like Princess Diana before her (and Meghan Markle after her), Kate has been the focus of sustained media coverage from

popular celebrity publications, frequently topping ‘best celebrity role model’ opinion polls (Morgan, 2015), and voted a ‘fashion icon’ (Graafland, 2016). Perhaps due to the scholarly interest in Diana, Kate is also the royal figure subject to the most sustained focus from academic analysis, most of which has focused on her as a key figure of “postfeminism” and postfeminist motherhood (Allen et al., 2015; Repo and Yrjölä, 2015; Mendick et al., 2018).²

In contrast, I argue that this postfeminist figuration of personal and political autonomy is being developed under new forms of authoritarian neoliberalism, dynastic wealth and patrimonial forms of capitalism, which facilitate more conservative gender roles. I propose the figure of the “happy housewife” is the mediated embodiment of this re-emergence, a term I draw primarily from classic second-wave feminist work (Friedan, 1965), to describe the ways in which women are encouraged to embrace traditional femininities and undertake “dynasty making” practices to reproduce elite family’s wealth and privilege. Beatrix Campbell uses the term ‘neoliberal neopatriarchy’ to demonstrate how gendered divisions are not just a byproduct of neoliberalism, rather it is ‘cause and effect’ (2014; see also Fraser, 2009; Phipps, 2014). That is, neoliberalism operates through ‘a neopatriarchal… matrix’ (Campbell, 2013: 91) and a ‘new sexual contract’ (Campbell, 2014) in which women (alongside non-whites and the lower classes) are structurally disadvantaged and bear the brunt of neoliberal inequalities and systemic misogyny.

Representations of Kate evoke this “happy housewife” figure. Whilst this thesis has argued that The Firm is reproduced through media cultures, this chapter extends this to consider the ways in which The Firm is also dependent upon the *biological reproduction* of an heir. That is, in order to maintain its power, privilege and wealth, the monarchy must reproduce both its lineage, *and* reproduce itself in the public imaginary. For the Victorian middle classes, and for Queen Victoria herself, the nuclear, heteronormative family was a key signifier of middle-class respectability, characterised by the “separate spheres” of work and home, and the domestic virtuousness of the wife and mother (see Chapter Three). Kate is a contemporary figuration of the ways in which nostalgic heteronormativity and traditional gender roles are central to the reproduction of monarchical power, and indeed heterosexual reproduction is key to its “front stage”. This is *the heteromonarchy*.

² There are interesting questions to ask here about why this is the case. Is it a gendered interest? A focus on celebrity cultures? Connected to her shifting social class?

To begin, this chapter will outline the sexual and gendered politics that Kate as a figure operates within, and the ways in which this relates to *the heteromonarchy*. I argue that *the meaning of Kate* is not only how she reproduces monarchical power, but also how representations of her reveal the gendered and sexual politics of contemporary Britain.

‘The Happy Housewife’: a Genealogy

The figure of the happy housewife has experienced a long and contested life in feminist scholarship. It arose first as an object of scrutiny in second-wave critiques of domesticity and motherhood (Greer, 1971; Oakley, 1974; de Beauvoir, 1997 [1949]), the best known of which is Betty Friedan’s *The Feminine Mystique* (1965). Although specifically describing the USA, which constitutes different classed, gendered and racialised histories than the UK, Friedan’s work provides a useful framework. Describing “the happy housewife myth”, Friedan claimed that there was a shift in propaganda efforts through representations of US women before, during and after World War II. After actively encouraging women to partake in factory work during the war, post-war propaganda attempted to remove women from the labour market by re-establishing the public and the private as separate spheres, supported by legislation (Gillis and Hollows, 2011). This project took the shape of the happy housewife heroine: a young, attractive, middle-class woman seemingly content with her “enjoyable and fulfilling” domestic roles. Women were socialised into restrictive notions of femininity through ‘the pretty lie of the feminine mystique’ (Friedan, 1965: 89), which made domesticity appear attractive. As Sara Ahmed writes, ‘the happy housewife is a fantasy figure that erases the signs of labour under the sign of happiness... How better to justify an unequal distribution of labour than to say such labour makes people happy?’ (2010: 50).

Marxist-feminist work criticised this myth to emphasise women’s invisible labor in capital accumulation and the problematic divide between the private and the public in the middle classes (Eisenstein, 1979; Mies, 1986; Barrett and McIntosh, 1991; Federici, 2012). Maria Mies contends that the induction of men into middle-class professions was accompanied by ‘a process of housewifization of women’ (1986: 69), and this was institutionalised through the nuclear family, the state, religion, law and medicine. As Michèle Barrett and Mary McIntosh argue, the nuclear, middle class, heteronormative family appeared ‘as socially and morally desirable... imbued with a unique social and moral force’ (1991: 26-27). The happy housewife figure, then, can be read as a direct

product of the middle classes. While the Victorian middle-class wife had been largely responsible for managing servants, post-war families typically no longer employed them, meaning middle-class housewives were tasked with domestic family labour (Johnson and Lloyd, 2004). As such, women were increasingly targeted by consumerism and advertisements for, for example, labour-saving devices in the home, which meant ‘instead of simply a wife, she was constructed as a professional in the home’, albeit unsalaried (Gunn and Bell, 2002: 63; see also Wood, 2015). This led to the promotion of a ‘conservative femininity’ associated with ‘a specifically suburban ideal of modernity’ (*ibid.*). Additionally, as Richard Scase argues, being able to support a family on a single income from a male breadwinner was a key source of capital for the mid-twentieth century middle classes (in Gunn and Bell, 2002). The proposition of women’s happiness in the home was key to the success of this process.

Postfeminism and ‘Neoliberal Neopatriarchy’

The figure of the housewife has recently re-emerged in scholarship about contemporary austerity cultures, and again this figure takes on a moral imperative whereby ‘the return of an ideology of “traditional” femininity’ means ‘domestic practices [are positioned as] solutions to austerity’ and a source of capital (Bramall, 2013: 112; see also Allen et al., 2015; Jensen, 2018). This work makes specific reference to the context of postfeminism and neoliberalism. A key yet contested term in feminist theory, postfeminism has been perhaps best described by Rosalind Gill as a neoliberal ‘sensibility’ (2007), which variously incorporates a ‘repudiation’ of feminist politics (McRobbie, 2004: 256); an emphasis on individualism, choice and agency (McRobbie, 2008, 2015; Gill and Orgad, 2016); an intensification of the surveillance and disciplining of women’s bodies in popular culture (Gill and Scharff, 2013); and the re-establishment of an ideal, ‘married heterosexual monogamy’ (Gill and Herdieckerhoff, 2006: 500). Diane Negra identifies the prevalence of a ‘retreatist’ narrative: ‘over and over again the postfeminist subject is represented as having lost herself but then (re)achieving stability through romance... by giving up paid work, or by “coming home”’ (2009: 5). As Angela McRobbie contends, these texts present feminism as having ‘robbed women of their most treasured pleasures’ of marriage and motherhood (2008: 21), which they can now “choose” to reclaim.

Simultaneously, media culture has increasingly focused on the reproductive female body as a site of aspiration. Jo Littler’s work on the “yummy mummy”, for example, identified ‘a type of mother who is sexually attractive and well-groomed’ (2013: 227), (re)modeling

the pre-maternal aesthetic self (see also Tyler, 2013). This is, crucially, a classed figure. The “yummy mummy” describes a ‘group of thirtysomething middle-class career women who delayed having babies’ (2013: 232), and the “yummy mummy” lifestyle revolves around conspicuous consumption and leisure practices. Meanwhile, in an analysis of neoliberal feminism, Angela McRobbie argues that a new ‘mediated maternalism’ has been claimed by the political right to ‘re-state new norms of middle-class hegemony’ (2013: 136), and denigrate the working-class mother reliant on state benefits as symptoms and/or causes of Britain’s “broken society” (Allen and Taylor, 2012; Jensen, 2018). McRobbie argues that media representations have ‘champion[ed]… a style of affluent feminine maternity’ (2013: 120), whereby ‘the now old-fashioned “family values” vocabularies associated with social conservatism’ are updated for the neoliberal regime (2013: 121). In ‘mediated maternalism’, the family is ‘managed along the lines of a small business or enterprise’ whereby mothering is ‘a mode of investment in the human capital of infants and children’ (2013: 130). It is, in sum, a *family firm*, tasked with reproducing middle-class family values and capital as ‘popular conservative fantasy’ (Littler, 2013: 233). This is not unlike the 1950s middle-class housewife, and indeed Richard Scase has argued that ‘in the community [the housewife] would be the symbol of the husband’s success… reinforcing the respectability of the family units’ (in Gunn and Bell, 2002: 156).

Crucially, however, the “yummy mummy” and the mothers of “mediated maternalism” continue to work outside the home, while the key to the “happy housewife” is that she remains in the domestic sphere. While McRobbie claims that nuclear and conservative “family values” are ‘old-fashioned’ (2013: 121), this chapter argues that they have been re-popularised under a more reactionary re-traditionalisation of gender politics under authoritarian neoliberalism (Bruff, 2014; Jensen, 2018), ‘libertarian authoritarianism’ (Brown and Littler, 2018: 15) and/or neoconservatism (Phipps, 2014) as contemporary political ideologies. Here, the postfeminist mantra of “having it all” is being eroded and social reproduction remains central to capital accumulation.

These values are perhaps best visualised within the “new elites”, where oligarchic and patriarchal families such as the Trumps openly use nepotism to reproduce dynastic power. In their study of “family offices”, Luna Glucksberg and Roger Burrows found that ‘although we were talking about money, the link between kinship, property rights

and wealth was key. It was about the social reproduction of a particular group' through privileging human capital (2016: 16). Elsewhere, Melinda Cooper's book *Family Values: Between Neoliberalism and the New Social Conservatism* (2017) found that ideologies of "family values" united the neoliberals and the social neo-conservatives in the USA, with both groups 'intent on actively rekindling the family as a moral institution based on the unpaid labour of love' (2017: 69). Moreover, 'the reassertion of the private family as a critical economic institution and a portal to social legitimacy... [makes it] the essential vector for the distribution of wealth and status' (2017: 123), whereby the middle-class, heteronormative and nuclear family are central to the organisation of society (see also Duggan, 2002, 2003 on the framing of queer families through 'homonormativity').

It is in this context that the figure of Kate Middleton emerges. While Kate embodies *some* characteristics of the "yummy mummy" and "mediated maternalism", this chapter will argue that Kate can productively be read as a figure that invites a return to the 1950s, patriarchal, nuclear, heteronormative family, drawing on the themes of middle-class, white, respectable femininity to produce a *Family Firm* for the contemporary age.

'What Would Kate Do?'

The most popular Kate fansite, 'What Would Kate Do?' (2018), is run by two American and Canadian Kate fans, and the website is dedicated entirely to documenting Kate's fashion choices. The name draws on the popular slogan 'What Would Jesus Do', which has now become a political parody but was originally used seriously by Christian teenagers as a reminder of the moral imperatives of their religion (BBC, 2011). The irony is that 'What Would Kate Do?' suggests that what Kate "would do" is put on clothes, with no further elaboration on moral values. For the purposes of this chapter, the fansite illustrates the central role of clothing in *the meaning of Kate*, and the ways in which she moves between costumes to present different figurations.



Figure 8.3: ‘The Cambridges arrive at Princess Charlotte’s christening’. Photograph posted on Kensington Palace Instagram account, 5th July 2015. (kensingtonroyal, 2015)

In July 2015, newborn Princess Charlotte’s christening was held at the Sandringham Estate. Arriving at the church, the Cambridge family displayed their most clear embodiment of traditional 1950s style (Figure 8.3), drawing on signifiers of royal moments past. George was dressed in an embroidered smock top with formal red shorts and traditional buckle shoes, an almost exact copy of an outfit his father had worn as a toddler in 1984 (Rayner, 2015). Kate wore a demure white coattress, complete with intricate fascinator and low-heeled court shoes. Charlotte was wrapped in the traditional royal christening gown, the history of which was documented on the Kensington Palace Twitter account (Figure 8.4), and was pushed to the ceremony in an antique pram used at Prince Charles’s christening in 1948 (Tweedy, 2015). The image of Kate pushing the pram, in particular, is an astonishingly retrogressive representation of contemporary conservative femininity. She is perfectly coiffed yet demonstrably unsexy, fashionable yet twee, and firmly upper/upper-middle class. Indeed, the pram, dress and shoe style reflects a 1950s advert for Pedigree Prams (Figure 8.5), which idealises the happy housewife figure and ‘glorif[ies] her ‘role’ as homemaker (Friedan, 1965: 186). Kate’s smiling face in this image, and those throughout this chapter, does much the same work for the contemporary age.

 **Kensington Palace** 
 @KensingtonRoyal

Following

The original Victorian lace and satin gown, worn at Royal christenings since 1841, has now been preserved.



4:00 AM - 5 Jul 2015

495 Retweets 1,484 Likes



16 495 1.5K



Figure 8.4: 'The history of the royal Christening gown', Kensington Palace Twitter account, 5th July 2015 (@KensingtonRoyal, 2015)



Figure 8.5: '1950s advertisement for Pedigree prams' (Pedigree Prams, 1955)

As a starting point, this image (and those in the “Cambridge family photo album”) exemplifies the visual coding of the *heteromonarchy*. Christenings have become one of the key events in the royal calendar, demonstrating how it ‘now consists as much of the calendar of domestic life as the more formal ceremonies of state’ (Schama, 1986: 183). This is the royal *family*. Moreover, christenings can be read as part of broader systems of patriarchy that are made up of social rituals, such as weddings, bar/bat mitzvah, or baby showers. This is further emphasised through the idealisation of the Cambridges as a heterosexual, married, white, conventionally attractive couple with their healthy children, which I argue naturalises norms of marriage and reproduction. As Chrys Ingraham writes on the ritual of marriage, these norms can be considered part of the ‘*heterosexual* imaginary’: a ‘way of thinking that conceals the operation of heterosexuality in structuring gender’ (2008: 16) and institutionalises it in the public imaginary. This is particularly evoked through representations of white femininity, which ‘becomes a site of national control, for it is through women that the nation reproduces its morality, citizenry, familial relations, and domesticity’ (Shome, 2014: 22).

As demonstrated above, this heteronormativity is particularly notable under authoritarian neoliberalism. Indeed, representations of William and Kate strengthen the boundaries of heterosexual culture by presenting heteronormativity as aspirational. The christening photographs resonate with Sara Ahmed’s description of heterosexuality as an ‘affective repertoire of happiness’ (2010: 90). Ahmed describes “happiness” as a moral imperative, through which people are encouraged to make particular life choices. In public and media culture, she argues, ‘heterosexual love becomes about the possibility of a happy ending; about what life is aimed toward, as being what gives life direction or purpose’ (*ibid.*). The Cambridge’s broad smiles present their nuclear family unit as fulfilling and gratifying. Moreover, the comments on the Instagram christening post demonstrate its affective power, and it becomes a point of aspiration. For example, user robertoalexavillegas comments to a fellow user ‘Babe omfg goals!!!!!!’, suggesting that the Cambridges are their life ‘goal’, albeit, perhaps, with ironic overstatement (Figure 8.3).³ In *Cruel Optimism* (2011: 2), Lauren Berlant argues that people develop ‘affective... optimistic attachment[s]’ to fantasies of happiness and fulfillment, or ‘the good life’, which they treat as aspirational imaginaries of “something better”. The *cruel* comes into

³ This ironic overstatement reflects the styles of writing on social media, which are often performative and exaggerated.

play when these fantasies are unachievable or unsustainable. For user robertoalexavillegas, the Cambridge family fantasy is actually unattainable: the monarchy is a hereditary institution, and audiences are extremely unlikely to marry into it despite the myths of meritocracy that Kate as a royal figure consolidates (see below). Rather, what representations of the Cambridges do is normalise heterosexuality and particularly conservative versions of femininity and family life.

The construction of the Cambridges as aspirational is further exemplified through consumer culture, and representations of Kate reflect a particular performance of upper-middle/middle-class leisure practices and luxury consumption. While the happy housewife was the target of specific post-war advertisements for domestic goods (Friedan, 1965; see Figure 8.5), the contemporary mother is ‘bombard[ed with] images showing super-wealthy mothers enjoying their luxury lifestyles [which] introduces new forms of consumer hedonism into the hard work of motherhood’ (McRobbie, 2013: 136). Indeed, as McRobbie continues, this ‘middle-class hegemony’ of motherhood involves ‘routines of play dates, coffee shops, and jogging buggies’ (*ibid.*) that distance contemporary mothers from the outside workforce. For one of George’s first public appearances on an official tour of Australia in 2014, Buckingham Palace chose to send Kate and George to a local playgroup, where Kate was photographed chatting with fellow parents and playing with George, all with perfectly coiffed hair and makeup and wearing a Tory Burch designer dress (Figure 8.6). This kind of leisure practice signifies an embracement of middle-class, traditional femininities, as Kate is “able” to spend time at home with her children because her husband has a “good job” (as well as presenting Kate as a liberal, “hands on” parent). As Jo Littler writes of the “yummy mummy”, this leads to the ‘fetishization of the maternal’ because it ‘elides[s]… social conditions by reducing mothering to an individualized matter of… ‘personal choice’… occluding the questions of money and privilege’ (2013: 233).



Figure 8.6: 'Kate and George at playgroup', as an activity organised during an official tour of Australia, 9th April 2014. (Unknown, 2014)

Likewise, Diane Negra has described a 'culture of aspirational elitism', whereby luxury commodities are figured 'as transformative, renewing and life-affirming' to the middle classes (2009: 125). The fansite 'What Would Kate Do?' includes a section called 'repliKate', a play on 'replicate', which details Kate's style and then advises readers on where they can buy "lookalike" pieces in order to copy her choices (2017). Likewise, many news and entertainment media publications speculated on the consumer goods Kate would use for each of her babies. The *Daily Mail's Femail* section for example, which Angela McRobbie describes as 'particularly forceful in its championing of a style of affluent, feminine maternity' (2013: 120), published an article two days after Kate announced her pregnancy with George entitled 'Queen of the Yummy Mummies and her tiny trendsetter' (Figure 8.7), already setting Kate and George up as sources of aspiration.

In so doing, Kate is presented as reinscribing middle-class norms, as ‘what was in the Victorian era a moral high ground of maternal citizenship is now re-cast as a no-less-moralistic playground of lifestyle and consumer culture’ (McRobbie, 2013: 136). But, crucially, it is figured as reproducible by the public: by spending money in the right way and having appropriate taste, Kate’s lifestyle can apparently be reproduced, or ‘repliKated’.



Figure 8.7: ‘Queen of the Yummy Mummies’, article about Kate Middleton’s pregnancy. *Daily Mail*, 5th December 2012 (Ostler, 2012)

While Kate is described as a “yummy mummy” in some contexts, representations of her do not fit Jo Littler’s description of the “yummy mummy” as ‘a type of mother who is sexually attractive’ (2013: 227). Indeed, she is never publicly sexually objectified.⁴ Her potential faux pas at university, wearing a sheer dress for a charity catwalk, has been co-opted by the news and entertainment media as part of a transformation narrative after William fell in love with her, thus lending the occasion a level of respectability because her (temporary) sexualisation led to heterosexual monogamous love (Figure 8.8). Before her marriage, some tabloid newspapers and popular magazines dubbed her ‘waity Katie’ (Nicholl, 2008) because it took William nine years to propose; suggesting both that Kate was desperate to get married, and that she was committed to a monogamous relationship during this period. At her wedding, any sexual attention was redirected towards her sister, Pippa Middleton, whose bum became the focus of media commentary in a figure-hugging gown (McCabe, 2011). Paparazzi images that capture Kate’s unclothed body – when her skirt blew up or in a bikini, for example – have been quickly concealed by the British press, despite the fact that they have been widely discussed, and despite tabloid

⁴ This plays out differently in representations of Meghan Markle, and her past relationships have been serialised in the *Daily Mail* (Blott, 2018; Kay, 2018). This could reflect how sexualisation typically operates through racialised scripts that construct white femininity as “innocent” and “virginal” (Kate) and black femininity as hyper-sexual (Meghan) (Gill, 2012).

newspaper's usual readiness to reproduce such photographs of other female celebrities. Indeed, when the French edition of celebrity magazine *Closer* published long-lens photographs of Kate sunbathing topless on private property, Kensington Palace sought an injunction, and eventually won €100,000 in damages (Willsher, 2017; see Finneman and Thomas, 2014). Later images of Kate wearing a bikini while pregnant with George were equally controversial despite being taken on a public beach, with most British media outlets refusing to print them (Robinson, 2013; see below for an account of the control of royal representations). This is an interesting development given the fetishisation of the celebrity baby bump in the popular press, where 'the pregnancy photo shoot [has been] reconfigured into a sexy bodily performance' (Tyler, 2013: 24). While Kate's *covered* baby bump is always fetishised as a key part of her subjectivity, her bare bump is described as 'a violation' (Robinson, 2013).

From student on the catwalk to riding pillion with her Prince



Figure 8.8: 'From student on the catwalk to riding pillion with her Prince'. UK women's gossip magazine article, released to celebrate the 2011 Royal Wedding (Unknown, 2011)

Likewise, if Kate is a “fashion icon”, it is a particularly conservative version of contemporary fashion trends, usually incorporating mid-length skirts, high necklines and – more often than not – long sleeves. This suggests a kind of classed and gendered respectability, which Bev Skeggs argues is associated with ‘restraint, repression, reasonableness, modesty and denial’ (2004: 99). While some scholars have read Kate’s performance of this as an expression of ‘austerity’s aesthetic sensibilities’ as an ‘exemplar for recessionary times’ (Allen et al., 2015: 911), in fact this chapter argues that many of these representations evoke wealth and privilege. Indeed, Kate’s costumes exemplify the fusing of celebrity, middle-English, heritage, and aristocratic cultures. At informal occasions, her style evokes countryside rurality and a contemporary gesture to heritage cultures – Barbour⁵ jackets, quasi-riding boots, and tweed jackets. But as opposed to the tweedy, Sloane-esque traditionalism of Diana, Kate combines this aesthetic with “celebrity style” long blow-dried hair, neat eye make up and manicured nails. This is alongside a middle-English embracement of high street stores, which the news and entertainment media use to narrate her “ordinariness”. *Cosmopolitan* magazine, for example, published a news article entitled ‘Kate Middleton just wore a £40 Zara⁶ summer dress to the polo’ (Malbon, 2018), overlooking that she accessorised with a £500 designer handbag.

This fusion of costumes and cultures is best exemplified in her 2016 front cover for *Vogue*.⁷ Posing in a Norfolk field, Kate combines a Burberry⁸ suede coat (a brand which has itself been subject to shifting classed connotations) with a high street Beyond Retro⁹ fedora and trademark long, wavy hair (Figure 8.9). Inside the magazine, she poses in a Breton-style top leaning against a gatepost; stroking her dog Lupo in a long denim jumpsuit; and pushing an antique bicycle. The blurring of classed cultures is further signified in the photograph’s display in the National Portrait Gallery to celebrate *Vogue*’s centenary issue, connoting it with artistic and historic value. If portraiture is historically important in constructing the meaning of monarchs in the public imaginary, the description of Kate’s *Vogue* cover as a ‘photographic portrait’ by Kensington Palace (Kensington Palace Instagram, 2016), constructs her “meaning” as a style guide.

⁵ J. Barbour and Sons Ltd. is a British heritage and lifestyle brand, known in particular for waxed cotton jackets.

⁶ Zara is a mid-range Spanish clothing brand.

⁷ Vogue is a monthly women’s fashion and lifestyle magazine.

⁸ Burberry is a luxury fashion brand.

⁹ Beyond Retro is a vintage clothing retailer.



Figure 8.9: 'Kate on the front cover of *Vogue*, June 2016' (Vogue, 2016)

Art historians have often used clothing to unearth the details and significance of portraiture, and Hilary Mantel drew on this work to describe Kate as 'a jointed doll on which certain rags are hung... she was a shop-window mannequin... entirely defined by what she wore' (2013). Indeed, Kate's image is multiple as she moves between costumes to present different figurations – the celebrity, the middle-Englander, the aristocrat. This highlights the importance of "dressing up" for royal figures, and indeed reflects the argument of this thesis that royal figures can be read as performers. In his discussion of the notion of "royal work" (see Chapter Seven), Michael Billig argues that this can be interpreted as royals playing a role, and makes a comparison to 'police, airline pilots, professional beauticians – who hang up their uniforms' at the end of the day (1992: 67). Costumes and uniforms alter the meaning of Kate in the public imaginary.

The ‘Middletonization’ of the Royal Family

In addition to those that more overtly reflect a retrogressive 1950s aesthetic (Figure 8.3), “the Cambridge family photo album” also documents more subtle representations of nostalgia through an appeal to traditional “middle classness”. This section will foreground the construction of Kate as middle class in the news and entertainment media, and the ways in which this is drawn upon by The Firm in order to (re)brand itself through the perceived “middle classness” of the Middleton family, undertaking what journalist Tom Sykes (2015) has termed the ‘Middletonization’ of the royal family. Or, the production of the royals as what Jo Littler has called ‘normcore aristocrats’ (2017: 115). For example, the first official photograph of George in 2013, which pre-dates the Kensington Palace Instagram but reflects similar sensibilities, was taken by Kate’s father Michael Middleton in the garden of the Middleton family home (Figure 8.10). It features Kate, William, George and their dog Lupo relaxing on the grass in casual (yet conservative) clothing, described by Jo Littler as ‘Boden-esque’¹⁰ (2017: 124) after the upper-middle-class clothing brand.



Figure 8.10: ‘William, Kate, George and Lupo’ posing on the grass in the Middleton family garden, August 2013. Photograph taken by Michael Middleton and released to celebrate Prince George’s birth (Middleton, 2013)

¹⁰ Boden is a UK-based clothing company that figures a traditional idea of “Britishness”.

This photograph reflects both the variations and consistencies in representations of the *heteromonarchy* over time. As demonstrated in Chapter Three, Queen Victoria performed ‘royal domestic privacy’ as public spectacle (Homans, 1993: 4), posing in intimate, interior scenes with her husband, Prince Albert, and their children, to draw on the morality of Victorian middle-class family values (Figure 8.11). When Elizabeth II ascended to the throne in 1952 as a young mother, a 1950s domestic styling was reproduced in photographs of the family picnicking in the grounds of Balmoral (Figure 8.12), in order to emphasise the vitality and futurity of the “new Elizabethan age” (see Chapter Four). “The Cambridge family photo album” draws on similar themes to produce the *heteromonarchy*, yet there are significant changes. While Victoria poses in an opulent interior, and the grandiose Balmoral Castle towers behind Elizabeth II, the Cambridges sit in the Middleton family garden, distanced from signifiers of aristocratic privilege. In an account of languages of class across the twentieth century, Florence Sutcliffe-Braithwaite argues that ‘the boundary between middle and upper-class blurred’ (2018: 6) due to a cross-class claim to “ordinariness”, which was a ‘contested and shifting’ term (2018: 7). This chapter defines The Firm’s brand of “ordinariness” partly as a ‘Middletonization’.



Figure 8.11: ‘Family of Queen Victoria’, portrait by Franz Xaver Winterhalter, 1846 (Winterhalter, 1846)



Figure 8.12: 'Queen Elizabeth II and Family'. Young Queen Elizabeth with Philip, Charles, Anne, Andrew and a corgi' at Balmoral (Press Association, 1960)

Kate's supposed middle-class background is a key focus of media representations. The ITV documentary *When Kate Met William: A Tale of Two Lives* (dir: Ramsay, 2011), for example, narrates her 'humble beginnings' in contrast to William, and visualises this through symbols of classed hierarchy. Footage of Kensington Palace is spliced directly into a shot of a suburban house, while the voiceover narrates, 'while Prince William grew up in the grandeur of Kensington Palace, Kate's childhood home was this Victorian semi¹¹... bought for £35,000'. Commentators elsewhere, such as writers in *The Daily Mail*, have documented alternative royal dynasties, using genealogies of Kate's family tree to give "scientific" purchase to her 'dirt-poor family past' and descent from coal miners (Wilson, 2006). These narratives of perceived upward social mobility were illustrated on the front page of the *Daily Telegraph* on her wedding day, in the headline 'Kate waves farewell to her life as a commoner' (Figure 8.13).

¹¹ Referring to a semi-detached house.



Figure 8.13: 'Kate waves farewell to her life as a commoner', (*The Daily Telegraph*, 2011), 29th April

These representations raise a number of complex questions around class hierarchy, the myth of meritocracy, and the characteristics of the middle classes in contemporary Britain. On the one hand, the marriage of a “middle-class” woman into the monarchy is, indeed, a significant shift. The Royal Marriages Act 1772, which dictated that the first six people in the line of succession need permission from the monarch to marry, was written as a result of George III’s anger that his brother Prince Henry had wed the “commoner” Anne Horton in 1771, with the aim of preventing future marriages deemed inappropriate to the legitimacy of the dynasty (Nix, 2017). Prince William would also have needed such permission to marry Kate, and the Queen’s approval suggests an embracement of opening up aristocratic culture to the lower classes. In so doing, The Firm draws on the ‘myth of meritocracy’ to position itself as part of ‘a ladder system of social mobility’, which ‘conveniently ignor[es] systematic inequality’ (Littler, 2017: 3). Despite the hereditary privilege of monarchy, headlines like ‘Kate waves farewell to her life as a commoner’ (Figure 8.13) work in one sense to make the institution appear attainable, accessible and aspirational. On the other hand, it also reasserts a distinction between “us” and “them”: Kate’s is ‘waving farewell’ to her “ordinary” life because she is moving into something decidedly *extraordinary*. Michael Billig argues that this contradiction is a negotiation strategy, whereby audiences position the royals as ‘down-to-earth’ (1992: 75)

yet simultaneously extraordinary in this ordinariness, because it was not expected of their privileged role. In doing this, Billig argues, audiences make sense of their own lives in relation to royalty because there are both differences and similarities between them.

Representations of the Cambridges also evoke a nostalgic version of the British middle classes, which proposes continuity between today's middle classes and those of the Victorian age. For example, the narration in *When Kate Met William: A Tale of Two Lives* (2011) that situates the Middletons in their 'Victorian semi' and the royals in Kensington Palace, seems to suggest that there is nothing between the two extremities. In fact, the categories of working, middle, and upper class that emerged during the Industrial Revolution (see Chapter Three) have all but disappeared, and widening inequalities are polarising the bottom and top of the class hierarchy. In *Social Class in the 21st Century*, Mike Savage argues that this polarisation sandwiches 'a number of groups in the middle ranges' (2015: 392), and these groups are subject to constant upward and downward social mobility due to precarious employment, stagnating wages, rising property prices, public service cuts and increasing automation. The middle classes as the Victorians knew them – as a stable, respectable, bourgeois unit defined by the "separate spheres" of work and home – is a retrogressive and anachronistic notion of social organisation. As Rosalía Baena and Christa Byker argue in an analysis of the reflexive nostalgia in period drama *Downton Abbey*¹², 'collective nostalgia can promote a feeling of community that works to downplay or deflect potentially divisive social differences (class, race, gender and so on)' (2015: 261). The Cambridges nostalgic performance of this, then, erases the complexities and precarities of class hierarchy in contemporary Britain. If Kate's "meritocracy" is romanticised, any potential threat to royal privilege is dampened.

Kate's "middle classness" can further be read as a strategic antidote to the damaging royal representations of the 1990s. In Chapter One, I argued that the Queen's "annus horribilis" in 1992 was partly characterised by anger at public funds being used to restore Windsor Castle after a fire (Pimlott, 2012). It was also partly characterised by a set of publicised "sexual transgressions" by the (then-)younger generation of royals, after intimate disputes, "sexual scandals" and divorce were repeatedly documented by the news and entertainment media and shook 'the patriarchal foundations of the monarchy' (Campbell, 1988: 7; see also Billig, 1992). 1992 saw Prince Andrew separate from Sarah

¹² Downton Abbey (2010-2015) is a British historical period drama television series, created by Julian Fellowes and airing on ITV.

Ferguson, Princess Anne divorce Captain Mark Phillips, Charles separate from Diana, Diana publish the tell-all book *Diana: Her True Story* (Morton, 1992), Sarah Ferguson photographed having her toes sucked by American financial manager John Bryan (Figure 8.14), and recordings of Diana's intimate conversations with James Gilbey leaked to the media (Campbell, 1988).



Figure 8.14: 'Fergie toe-job'. (*The Sun*, 1992), 29th August

Such publicised “scandals” were historically commonplace among aristocrats and royalty, and Anna Clark (2004) argues that they often arose because the reproduction of monarchical power requires the procreation of a legitimate heir, and challenging this legitimacy by constructing a transgression could challenge power. For example, in the sixteenth century, James II's Catholic heir was rumoured to be an imposter, smuggled into the birthing room in a warming pan (*ibid.*); and Henry VIII is best known for his multiple marriages in search of a legitimate heir (Loades, 1994). “Marrying for love” was uncommon, and Stephanie Coontz (2005) details how the upper classes typically married strategically to foster alliances with powerful inter/national families, and then had

extramarital sexual relations. Indeed, she uses Charles's marriage to Diana as an example, as he was ordered to marry 'a much younger woman with good bloodlines, good looks and good health' (Coontz, 2005: 88) instead of Camilla Parker-Bowles, with whom he continued an affair.

Jemima Repo and Riina Yrjölä analysed UK tabloid newspaper coverage of Kate between 2010 and 2012, and found that Kate's 'stable and ordinary family life' was often contrasted with Diana's and the royals' 'turbulent and maladjusted aristocratic childhood[s]' (2015: 8), drawing on the cultural tropes of the respectable, nuclear middle-class family and the dysfunctional aristocrats. William's attachment to the Middleton family was interpreted by the newspapers as a 'positive and healing influence' (*ibid.*) on his wellbeing, resolving the historical narratives of broken royal marriages through a proximity to middle-class respectability. This is further exemplified in the construction of William and Kate marrying "for love", as opposed to an arranged and/or strategic aristocratic marriage. Various newspaper articles emphasised how they were 'unmistakably in love' and – compared to Diana the 'child bride' – were 'a marriage of equals' (in Repo and Yrjölä, 2015: 7). I suggest, however, that it is extremely unlikely William and Kate's marriage was a happenstance "love match". Rather, like everything else in *The Firm*, it can be read as a strategic move to reinvent royal marriages for the contemporary age, and in that way *is itself "arranged"*.

While royal "scandals" are typically represented as problematic and damaging to the monarchy, they can in fact be interpreted as key to the project of producing consent for monarchical power. The pantomime of "scandal", criticism, and resolution is a recurring trope of royal representations, as I demonstrated for the redemption of Prince Harry in Chapter Seven. If *The Family Firm* is a family "just like us", failure is central to this "ordinariness". As Michael Billig argues, 'ordinary people fail to achieve standards of perfection – they get depressed, speak out of turn, fall in love messily and so on. 'We' can recognise 'ourselves' in such failures' (1992: 96). Therefore, the Cambridges do not *erase* past "sexual transgressions", rather representations of the past are incorporated, developed and resolved. For example, the "spectre of Diana" (see Chapter Seven) appears again as Kate wears Diana's engagement ring, an object that Margaret Schwartz identifies as a 'fetish object... for an imagined body that has been lost... [incorporating Diana] into the new narrative of a reformed monarchy' (2015: 161). This is also

evidenced more recently in William and Kate's restaging of Diana's (in)famous Taj Mahal photographs. Considering the Taj Mahal's symbolic meaning as the monument of love and its evocations of imperial nostalgia, the photograph of Diana taken in 1992 (Figure 8.15) was used repeatedly by the news and entertainment media to capture her isolation in the midst of her and Charles's impending separation. During their trip to India in 2016, William and Kate posed in the same spot with identical framing, but presented a united image of happy domesticity, both smiling widely with Kate's body pointing towards William (Figure 8.16). This reclaims a space often represented as controversial for the royals, and resolves Charles and Diana's difficult divorce through the figures of the respectable, in-love, liberal Cambridges and their heteronormative, nuclear, middle-class family values.



Figure 8.15: 'Diana at the Taj Mahal, 1992'. Diana poses without Charles during an official visit to India (Graham, 1992)



Figure 8.16: 'William and Kate at the Taj Mahal, 2016'. The couple pose during an official visit to India (Sharma, 2016)

However, representations of the middle-class Cambridges are troubled by William and Kate's class privilege. The representation of William and Kate as hands-on parents, for example, who take their children on holidays and to playgroup, is elided by the reality of life in Kensington Palace, which houses a host of domestic staff (see Chapter Three). This includes a succession of Norland Nannies – graduates from the prestigious Norland College which has historically provided nannies for British aristocrats and royals (Prendergast, 2016). The couple also had a second kitchen installed in Kensington Palace: one for the cooks, and one for 'cosy family dinners' (Johnson, 2014). The Cambridges's reproduction of middle-class family values is a façade, erasing the labour of the lower classes.

The description of Kate as a "commoner" also takes extreme liberties with her privileged, bourgeois background. Although the Middletons have been considered middle class when Kate was born, Party Pieces is now a multi-million pound enterprise, Kate attended two private boarding schools, and, far from a suburban semi, the Middleton family home is now the 18-acre Bucklebury Manor (Knox, 2017). As their own family firm, the Middletons went from middle class to successful "new money",

which allowed them to move in upper-middle-class and even aristocratic circles and gave them access to institutions of class privilege (in this case, the elite University of St Andrews). However, it is important that the Middletons's wealth is largely self-made, aligning them with respectable narratives of meritocracy and neoliberal "hard work". Kate's brother James, for example, retaliated to claims he had played on his royal connections for publicity by claiming 'nothing is handed to anyone on a plate. There are possibilities for everyone' (Cooper, 2012). The Middletons offer a suitable permutation of "new money" as a respectable, close-knit, family firm in the hospitality industry, 'characterised in terms of hard work, thrift, stable and "normal" family life, [and] the production of "good" children' (Lawler, 2011: 64).

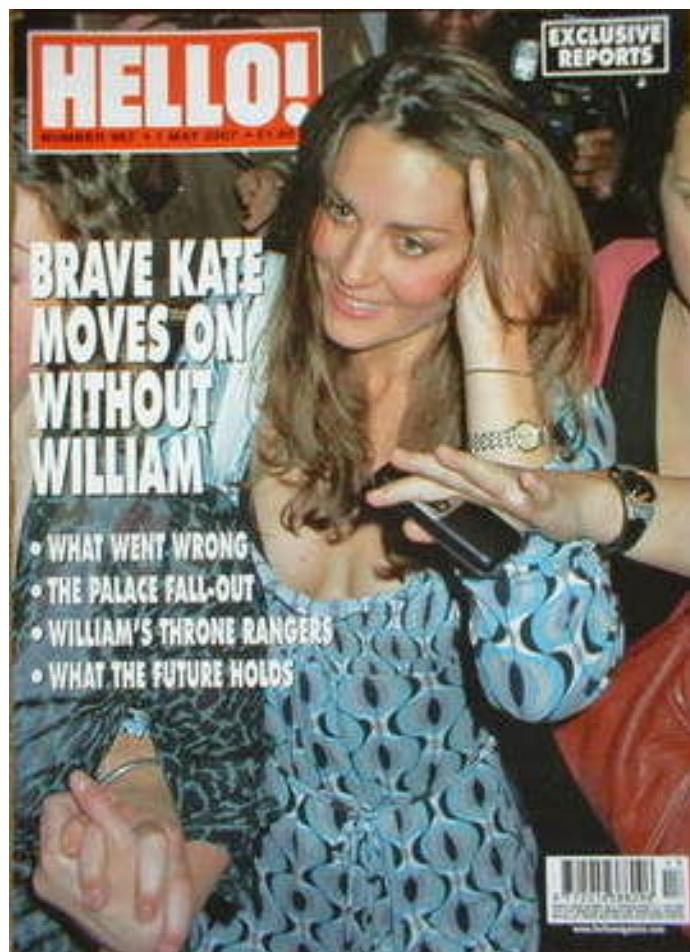


Figure 8.17: 'Brave Kate moves on without William'. Coverage of Kate and William's split. (*Hello!*, 2007), 1st May

There also remains the constant threat of the Middletons' respectability rupturing, and indeed some news and entertainment media have constructed Kate's mother Carole as part of the "grasping" middle class. Steph Lawler's (2011: 62) analysis of media representations of Kate and William's brief split in 2008 found the unsuitability of Kate's

family was repeatedly referenced as a deciding factor, as they were ‘simply too déclassé for one of their members to marry into the Royal Family’. *Hello!*¹³ magazine’s report of their split, for example, references ‘the palace fall-out’ and ‘William’s throne rangers’¹⁴ (Figure 8.17) as explanations for the separation, as Kate is constructed in contrast to William’s circle. Accusations of class snobbery and antipathy have plagued Kate and William’s relationship: from Pippa Middleton marrying the brother of *Made in Chelsea*¹⁵ star Spencer Matthews (Bagwell, 2016); royal aides muttering “doors to manual” behind Kate’s back in reference to Carole Middleton’s previous job as a Flight Attendant (Lawler, 2011); and Carole Middleton being photographed chewing gum at William’s graduating parade from Sandhurst (*ibid.*), the potential unsuitability of Kate’s class continually reappears.

There also appears to be in-house disagreement about this process of “Middletonization”, suggesting differing opinions on opening up aristocratic culture to the middle classes. Tom Bower’s biography of Charles, *Rebel Prince* (2018), for example, claimed that Charles attempted to destroy the Middleton-Windsor alliance because he believed he was being ‘usurped’ (Perring, 2018), and authorised class-based ‘snubs’ of Carole Middleton at social occasions to discredit her. In response, the Queen allegedly attempted to strengthen the family ties by staging photographs of herself and Carole Middleton driving around Balmoral. This debate illustrates one of the themes of this thesis, in that representing the monarchy as simultaneously “ordinary” and “extraordinary” is key to maintaining its popularity, and that this is a continual process of negotiation to ensure the balance does not tip. Kate’s “middle class” background is used by both the news and entertainment media and official monarchical representations, but only in so far as it is useful in the process of generating public consent for The Firm.

‘The Kate Effect’

In the 1910s, Soviet film-maker Lev Kuleshov demonstrated ‘the Kuleshov effect’, a film editing effect in which viewers appear to receive more meaning from the sequential editing of shots than from each shot in isolation. Kuleshov created a short film, in which shots of the expressionless face of actor Ivan Mosjoukine were interspersed with various other shots (a girl in a coffin, a bowl of soup). He found that audiences believed the

¹³ *Hello!* is a weekly magazine in the UK, predominantly publishing celebrity news.

¹⁴ This is a play on ‘Sloane Rangers’, a term for the stereotype of young upper-class typically living in Kensington and Chelsea in London, UK.

¹⁵ *Made in Chelsea* is a UK reality television series broadcast by E4, documenting the lives of elite young people in West London.

expression on Mosjoukine's face changed each time he appeared, depending on which object he seemed to be "looking at" (grief or hunger, respectively). To Kuleshov, this demonstrated 'the necessity to consider montage as the basic means of cinema art' (in Russell, 2005: 3), and the experiment has since been used by film theorists to demonstrate that the meaning of cinema 'exists in the mind of the spectator rather than on the celluloid itself' (Russell, 2005: 6). Mosjoukine's expressionless face was the receptacle onto which audiences could project meaning.

Taking inspiration from this, this section argues that representations of Kate demonstrate 'the Kate effect'. As described above, the costumes she wears influence her meaning in the public imaginary, and she regularly shifts between celebrity, middle-Englander, heritage, and aristocratic cultures. Moreover, her unchanging smiling face ("the *happy* housewife") in all of the representations in this chapter can be read in conjunction with Mosjoukine's expressionless one: it relies on the context of Kate's surroundings to give it meaning. As Hilary Mantel describes, Kate 'appears to have been designed by a committee and built by craftsmen, with a perfect plastic smile and the spindles of her limbs hand-turned and gloss-varnished... without quirks, without oddities, without the risk of the emergence of character' (2013). Indeed, unlike other royal figures described in this thesis such as Charles and Harry, where the public see (whether positively or negatively, "real" or not) individual personalities, very little is known about Kate and she gives few public speeches. The few times her voice *has* been heard are typically tied to either key moments of heterosexual family life (an interview for her and William's engagement), or feminised charitable interests (children's and mother's mental health issues; Luckell, 2017). On the official royal website, the "featured quote" from Kate on her biography page, designed to document the "individual interests" of royal figures, reads 'it is our duty, as parents and as teachers, to give all children the space to build their emotional strength and provide a strong foundation for their future' (The Official Website of the British Monarchy, 2018), erasing herself except as "a parent". In many ways, then, like Mosjoukine, Kate is a non-specific sign: open for meaning to be projected onto her. This could partly explain her shifting classed identities. If she is indeterminate, she could be middle class when her stage set is the Middleton family garden, or upper class at the royal christening, and variations in between.

Kate also prompts questions around accessibility or impenetrability in The Firm. While in Chapter Seven I argued how Harry partly resolves his past “transgressions” through mediated intimacies and emotional openness, in contrast Kate appears to close this access, a contradiction reflecting the balance of in/visibility in royal representations described in Chapter Four. Representations like those in “the Cambridge family photo album” may connote openness in that they appear to reveal intimate family moments, yet as this chapter has argued they are actually precisely choreographed to foreground particular meanings (nostalgic family values and gender politics, or “middle classness”, to take two examples).

Furthermore, these staged photographs (some taken by Kate) posted on the Kensington Palace Instagram can be read as a strategic move by The Firm to seize back control of media representations, particularly those produced by the tabloid press, which as this chapter has described, it partly lost control over in the 1990s. Indeed, the Director of Royal Communications, Sally Osman, said in 2018 that digital media ‘enables us to tell a story in a way that mainstream media just would not’ (Dunne, 2018). This control is part of a shift in the tabloid-monarchy relationship in the years since Diana’s death and debates over the extent of the paparazzi’s involvement with it, as described by the Royal Editor of the *London Evening Standard*, Robert Jobson:

For the media [Diana’s death] certainly changed the way reporting would be done around the royal family... It’s certainly less free than when I started doing the job in the early ’90s, when really it was the media that saw the story, wrote the story, ran the agenda, and really were not controlled in any way (in Hewlett, 2015)

Jobson’s referral to an increasing curtailing of freedoms in UK reporting of the monarchy reflects the changing codes of conduct of paparazzi since Diana’s death, as well as unspoken yet taken-for-granted norms about royal privacy and access that have developed in discussions between the Buckingham Palace Communications Office and UK media outlets. In the weeks following Diana’s death, The Newspaper Society¹⁶ held a meeting of newspaper editors to address reporting and privacy, the results of which meant ‘the rules of press engagement were rewritten’ (Hewlett, 2015). This included changes in the journalist Code of Conduct which extended the definition of privacy to

¹⁶ This has now been rebranded as the News Media Association, and is the trade body for UK newspapers.

spaces ‘where people might have a reasonable expectation of privacy’, addressed privacy for young people and children, and introduced the notion of ‘persistent pursuit’ for paparazzi (ibid.). Palace attempts to protect the privacy of Diana’s then-young sons also introduced new rules of engagement specifically for the royals, and new agreements developed which reflect the ‘embedded journalism’ agreement for war reporters described in Chapter Seven. Known as ‘the pressure cooker agreement’, Palace officials negotiated a deal with the tabloids whereby the paparazzi would leave William and Harry alone during their education, in return for intermittent occasions when ‘the valve would be released’ and they would be invited to staged photograph opportunities – for William’s eighteenth birthday at Eton College, for example (ibid.).

This agreement proved contentious for some newspaper editors, who protested the restrictions opposed upon them when they often *knew* news stories about the young princes but were dissuaded from publishing them. In November 1998, for example, *The Mirror*, then under the editorship of Piers Morgan, published the headline ‘Harry’s had an accident: but we’re not allowed to tell you’ (Figure 8.18), with the story claiming that ‘St James’s Palace last night banned all newspapers from revealing what happened to Harry’ during an accident at school (Voice of The Mirror, 1998). The newspaper was subsequently asked by the Palace to apologise, to which they responded with another front-page headline entitled ‘we’re unable to apologise for a story we didn’t publish’ (Kerr, 1998). In so doing, *The Mirror* made a spectacle of the curtailing of press freedoms enacted by the ban on publishing news stories. It also engaged in rare self-reflexive critical commentary on the vacuousness of royal representations, alluding to how royal figures are often represented with little substance (for example, as a “fashion icon” in Kate’s case) because access to such substance is controlled. Making such commentary is perhaps the biggest taboo of all, far more “scandalous” than publishing naked paparazzi photographs, because *The Mirror* is drawing attention to the politics of royal representations.



Figure 8.18: 'Harry's had an accident: but we're not allowed to tell you'. (*The Mirror*, 1998) 19th November

For Kate and the Cambridges, control over tabloid representations only seems to have extended and developed. In July 2018, the *Daily Express* Royal Editor Richard Palmer tweeted about Meghan Markle, complaining that 'royal rota journalists are being kept further away from her than we were before the wedding... So, just as with Kate, that inevitably leaves you with little else to write about except what she wore and looked like' (Palmer, 2018). Like *The Mirror*, Palmer draws attention to the ways in which The Firm's strategy seems to involve transforming royal individuals into images or signs, *performing* monarchy without substance. The Cambridges typically use similar tactics to the 'pressure cooker agreement', releasing photographs on important occasions in return for privacy elsewhere. An anonymous Fleet Street reporter has also claimed that the monarchy has 'tried to create a new law of privacy around Kate and squashed pictures of her that have been taken quite legitimately' such as playing in public parks with the children (*ibid.*), or indeed, as described above, of her skirt being blown up in the wind during a public engagement. In 2007, before William and Kate's engagement, News International¹⁷ imposed a voluntary ban across all of its titles on paparazzi photographs of Kate due to a threat from Kate's solicitors Harbottle and Lewis (who also happen to be the Queen's solicitors) that they would go to the Press Complaints Commission

¹⁷ News International, now called News UK, is a British newspaper publisher owned by American mass media conglomerate News Corp. It publishes titles such as *The Times* and *The Sun*.

(Brook, 2007).¹⁸ The Palace has since logged a number of official complaints with the Independent Press Standards Organisation¹⁹ for breaching the family's privacy (Greenslade, 2016) and written an open letter to the paparazzi regarding 'dangerous' tactics used to photograph George (Knauff, 2015). In 2015, repeated complaints from Palace officials led to Transport Secretary Patrick McLoughlin imposing a permanent no-fly zone over the Cambridge's Norfolk country home, Amner Hall (Burrell, 2016).

While not discounting the importance of protecting children's safety, nor of the exploitation involved in photographing a woman's skirt blowing up, these examples do raise important questions about press freedom and authorship. As a public institution, the monarchy should be held accountable for its actions, and this appears to be increasingly difficult. However, most interesting is that very few *laws* exist that dictate what the news and entertainment media can and cannot report. Rather, this seems to be organised via unofficial discussions between the Palace and media editors. In the open letter to paparazzi, Jason Knauff praised British publications for 'refus[ing] to fuel the market for such photos. This is an important and laudable stance for which The Duke and Duchess of Cambridge are hugely grateful' (Knauff, 2015), hence suggesting that *international* publications were largely to blame. This raises the question of whether British publications are following royal rules of engagement out of deference to the monarchical institution.²⁰ On the other hand, as Steve Hewlett asks in his documentary analysis of the media-monarchy relationship, *Reinventing the Royals* (2015), are British publications scared of the outcomes of "breaking the rules" of royal reporting – in this case, a potential ban from attending royal events – when such events initiate massive readership figures? Either way, the large-scale acceptance of these rules, particularly in more recent years, are potentially problematic for journalistic integrity and public democracy in a country of supposed press freedoms.

As a royal figure, then, Kate suggests there is a need for skepticism about the accessibility of contemporary monarchy. There remains a constant contradiction, in that Kate connotes openness through apparently "intimate" photographs, yet these representations

¹⁸ The Press Complaints Commission was a voluntary regulatory body for the British printed press.

¹⁹ This has now replaced the Press Complaints Commission.

²⁰ This theory is perhaps given more credence given the role of the Royal Correspondent as an important figure in media-monarchy relations. In the UK, most mainstream news and entertainment media outlets employ a Royal Correspondent, tasked with reporting royal news. No critical academic work has investigated this role, and this is a research gap ripe for attention in order to consider the impartiality and objectivity of royal reporting, and the legitimacy given to the Royal Correspondent role considering it is pitted alongside other roles such as the Foreign Correspondent.

are precisely choreographed. Although the “Cambridge family photo album” stages royal domesticity, for example, it does not do so in the same way as the 1969 *Royal Family* fly-on-the-wall documentary (Cawston, 1969; see Chapter Four). If The Firm was still modeled on this documentary, each royal figure might have a personal Instagram or Twitter account, and be undertaking a celebrity version of mediated intimacy and “ordinariness”. Rather, The Firm appears to be tightly restricting and managing access, in a way that is unusual in contemporary celebrity culture. Kate is a PR coup for a Firm recovering from “scandals” that threatened to erode the brand: a nice, middle-class woman from a respectable, nuclear, heteronormative family. If she is respectable, paparazzi cannot take photographs of her naked; if she is middle-class, she takes photographs of her own children. And so royal representations are closed down.

Conclusion: ‘The Great Kate Wait’

On 22nd July 2013, hundreds of journalists gathered outside the private maternity Lindo Wing of St Mary’s Hospital, London, to await the birth of Prince George (Figure 8.19). The frantic media attention – which included BBC News regularly cutting to royal correspondent Peter Hunt, who reported ‘no news’, and Sky News’s Kay Burley asking how many centimetres Kate was dilated, to be told by palace officials it’s ‘not the kind of information they give out’ (Deacon, 2013) – has been dubiously dubbed ‘the Great Kate Wait’.

This obsessive media interest in Kate’s womb is typical of the attention she has received since marrying William in 2011, when the news and entertainment media immediately began speculating about a potential pregnancy (Addley, 2012). But while this forensic scrutiny of women’s bodies is typical of postfeminist culture (McRobbie, 2008; Gill and Scharff, 2013), as a member of the monarchy, for Kate it takes on a new imperative. Like other royal wives before her, Kate is largely given meaning through her ability to give birth and reproduce the dynasty (Mantel, 2013). Indeed, ‘the Great Kate Wait’ illustrates how the British monarchy acts as the ultimate ‘institutional matrix’ (Berlant and Warner, 1998: 562) of heteronormativity: the *heteromonarchy*, which performs heterosexuality and nuclear familialism as its “front stage”. As I have described, this is contextualised and given further meaning under authoritarian neoliberalism, which propagates a set of conservative sexual politics with ‘the family as a moral institution based on the unpaid labour of love’ (Cooper, 2017: 69). Women become the “standard bearers” for the

neoliberal family unit, tasked with (re)producing familial wealth while their husbands work. This chapter has argued that Kate produces consent for these retrogressive and reactionary gender politics through her evocation of the “happy housewife” figure, making domesticity appear aspirational through consumer-cultural and middle-/upper-middle-class leisure practices. As Diane Roberts writes about Diana, ‘we use princesses to produce femininity and race, marking boundaries, high and low’ (2005: 34; see also Shome, 2014).



Figure 8.19: Journalists gather outside the Lindo Wing for the Great Kate Wait'. Kate, William and George pose outside the hospital after George's birth, 22nd July 2013 (Press Association, 2013)

Furthermore, the continued centrality of heteronormativity in the *heteromonarchy* demonstrates that the sexual politics of monarchy have never changed. Despite the publicised “sexual scandals” throughout the 1990s, the real “scandal” would be a senior royal figure defying heteronormativity, and having a royal baby out of wedlock or coming out as homosexual. In 2018, the Queen’s cousin Lord Ivar Mountbatten marrying his partner James Coyle made headlines for being the first same-sex royal wedding (Ritschel,

2018); yet Mountbatten remains a distant relative to the monarchy *and* it took until 2018 for this marriage to take place. Royal homosexuality would also be a “scandal” because of the multiple meanings of “reproduction” described in this chapter. The Firm is dependent upon both biological reproduction *and* its reproduction in the public imaginary in order to maintain its power, privilege and wealth across historical periods. However “unusual” Kate’s non-aristocratic marriage into the monarchy might be, her traditional sexuality merely reproduces royal gender politics, and the publicised royal “transgressions” are limited in scope as part of the royal pantomime of “scandal”, criticism, and resolution.

The meaning of Kate, then, is not that she really is (or is not) “middle class” or “ordinary”, rather there is a lack of specificity about her, and she can be read in particular, but also self-contradictory, ways – a princess, a celebrity, a commoner – depending on what clothes she is wearing or where the photograph is staged. William and Kate develop the rich narrative of the 1990s by resolving it through heteronormative family values, incorporating and co-opting particular historical narratives, such as Kate wearing Diana’s engagement ring. Likewise, the ‘Middletonization’ middle-class masquerade is drawn upon when useful to disguise The Firm’s corporate activities. The fact that there is constant contradiction in these narratives demonstrates the role of performance and representation: there does not appear to be a single, ideological project in The Firm. Rather, it is constantly responding to public opinion in order to reproduce its power.

Chapter Nine

Conclusion: The Meaning of Monarchy



Figure 9.1: 'HRH the Queen 80th'. Cartoon by Andy Davey, produced as a satirical comment on the Queen's 80th birthday celebrations, 2006 (Davey, 2006)

Corporate (adj.)

"united in one body, constituted as a legal corporation," as a number of individuals empowered to do business as an individual... from Latin *corporatus*, past participle of *corporare* "make or fashion into a body, furnish with a body," (Online Etymology Dictionary, 2018a)

Incorporate (v.)

late 14c., "to put (something) into the body or substance of (something else), blend; absorb, eat," from Late Latin *incorporatus*, past participle of *incorporare* "unite into one body, embody, include" (Online Etymology Dictionary, 2018b)

In ‘HRH the Queen 80th’ (Figure 9.1), political cartoonist Andy Davey, who has published cartoons in national newspapers such as *The Guardian* and *The Spectator*, presents the Queen in allegorical form. Created in 2006 for the Queen’s 80th birthday and published on his personal website, Davey describes the cartoon as a critical commentary on her birthday celebrations as ‘the circus in the usual bread-and-circuses solution to our ills’, where the celebrations were contextualised in growing poverty levels, Islamophobic demonstrations, and ‘the loss of parliamentary power and the rise of international money’ (Personal Correspondence, 2018).¹ Davey describes how some commentators misread the cartoon as a ‘homage to the Queen rising above a tawdry besmirched country’, but argues he intended her ‘grubby robe’ to be interpreted ‘as a carapace covering a divided, hierarchical, pyramidal country’ (*ibid.*).

Chapter Five began with ‘Queen of Scots’ (Figure 5.1) as a carefully constructed and stage-managed representation of the monarch, which I then fractured by using the figure of Leviathan (Figure 5.7) to read ‘Queen of Scots’ as a monstrous image of royal power. Comparing ‘Queen of Scots’ to my reading of ‘HRH the Queen 80th’ follows the journey of this thesis in exposing the realities of monarchical power. Indeed, ‘HRH the Queen 80th’ can be read to encapsulate many of the key arguments of this thesis about the interrelations of power and wealth in contemporary Britain. Like ‘Leviathan’, ‘HRH the Queen 80th’ uses grotesque imagery to capture social and political relations. Indeed, in his use of the word ‘carapace’, Davey dehumanises the Queen in the spirit of the ‘hairy goat-legged Queen’ or the royal reptilian aliens described in Chapter Five. The Queen is represented in ‘HRH the Queen 80th’ as a monster, towering above central London and, like ‘Leviathan’, appearing to emerge from the landscape. The Houses of Parliament and Big Ben on the left signify political and state power, while the Gherkin and City of London skyscrapers on the right represent corporate power, and the Queen matches all of them in height, bolted into the power of this assemblage. Like ‘Leviathan’, her body politic is made up of a chaotic set of iconographical motifs of British power structures, which, taking the understanding established in Chapter Five of the body as a system of stratification, could be interpreted as a hierarchy. At the top, a ceremonial Yeoman of the Guard and a parade of the Queen’s Guard sit alongside a policeman and a sign for ‘The Royal Courts of Justice’ to signify historical and contemporary forms of state power. Below this, the logos for Starbucks and Adidas denote ‘the ingress of global money into

¹ Taken from email correspondence, 27th November 2018. Reproduced here with permission.

our life, and the lack of responsibility [taken] and tax paid' by global conglomerates (Davey, personal correspondence, 2018), which can be compared to recent developments in the monarchy's tax avoidance schemes (see Chapter One). The bottom layer, and in this case the bottom of the hierarchy, features a sea of faceless citizens brandishing unreadable placards, with their apparent displeasure obscured and overlooked in the larger structures of power that press down upon them.

In a reading of 'Leviathan', Norman Jacobson argued that the sovereign appears to have 'devoured his subjects, has incorporated them into his own being' (1998: 1). Using the framework set out in this thesis, 'HRH the Queen 80th' can be read likewise. This is an image of incorporation, an entity that sucks up and devours everything in her path, like Godzilla.² The Queen clasps her hands over her distended stomach: bloated by the sheer volume of her body politic and the power contained therein, which is enclosed by her 'grubby robe' and kept for herself.

I began this thesis by asking what is the meaning of the monarchy in contemporary Britain? This reading of 'HRH the Queen 80th', which illustrates the arguments made in this thesis, provides an answer to this question: the principles by which monarchy works are key principles by which the whole system works, and in understanding monarchy we can begin to make sense of the system.

The Thesis: Class and Corporate Power

In the opening of this thesis, I argued that rather than being considered an anachronism to corporate forms of wealth and power and therefore irrelevant, instead the inequalities inherent to monarchical systems of rule combine with those of financial capital. I suggested that there is an impenetration of the monarchy and other forms of power, whereby the monarchy is involved in 'shoring up an *ancien régime*' (Nairn, 1994: 102).

Davey's description of the Queen's robe as a 'carapace' describes how it conceals and protects the real structure underneath. If read in light of this thesis, this can be interpreted as a theatrical spectacle of frontstage and backstage: the robe is the stage curtain that, when drawn back, reveals the back of the stage. This thesis has endeavoured to, metaphorically speaking, draw back the stage curtain of The Firm to reveal the

² Godzilla is a fictional monster, originating from a series of Japanese films with the same name and reproduced across novels, video games, television shows, films and comic books.

realities concealed behind. In Chapter Three, I exposed the mechanics and technologies involved in the reproduction of The Firm. I described a web of capital relations: the exploitation of low-paid workers through ideologies of class subservience; the “revolving door” between the Royal Household and corporations, the military, broadcasters and the civil service; the murky rules of royal financing; the secrecy of royal wealth; the networks of contacts; the relationships to post/colonialism; the exploitation of political relationships for profit; and the abuse of political privileges. In so doing, I subverted typical understandings of monarchy and figured it instead as a corporation, engaged with the project of accumulating wealth and securing power. I argued that while the ‘Paradise Papers’ described in Chapter One were an anomaly in terms of royal representations, they were not an anomaly in terms of the underlying structures of monarchical power. Rather, they rendered temporarily visible the historical tendency of The Firm adapting to various periods of capitalism.

Chapter Three also described the actors involved in reproducing The Firm. By outlining the infrastructure of staff, and identifying key individuals, I exposed the labour undertaken “backstage” in order to represent the spectacle of monarchy. Indeed, the metaphor of theatrical spectacle could be extended further, and the staff pictured setting the Buckingham Palace balcony as a stage in Chapter Three (Figures 3.2 and 3.3) by laying out and vacuuming the red velvet drape could, in fact, be preparing the Queen’s robe in ‘HRH the Queen 80th’. It is their backstage labour that maintains the front stage performance of monarchy.

In making this argument, this thesis contributes to and extends contemporary debates on economic inequalities, (class) power, and social stratification. While much of the contemporary research on these topics discounts the role of inherited wealth and “old” forms of political and institutional power (Pickett and Wilkinson, 2010; Dorling, 2014; Piketty, 2014; Savage, 2015), I have emphasised the persistence of the aristocracy as a privileged class. I have contributed to literature arguing that various “types” of wealth work together, and are stitched through the constitutional fabric of Britain (Biressi and Nunn, 2013; Sayer, 2015; Davis, 2018; Edgerton, 2018). From capitalists, rentiers, aristocrats, the famous, the titled, the idle rich, this thesis has demonstrated how the monarchy is bolted into this infrastructure. I have argued that the monarchy is called

upon to act as a façade, through which the mechanisms of inequalities are *disguised* and *naturalised* through carefully constructed media representations.

The Thesis: Class and Media Power

This thesis has foregrounded the role of media representations in constructing the meaning of monarchy, and has contributed to Stuart Hall's intellectual legacies by suggesting that *media culture is a key site through which class power is exercised and understood*. This thesis has asked, how does media culture produce consent for monarchical power? I addressed this by drawing together various objects of study, and the answer is complex and multifaceted.

In an analysis of the coronation (Chapter Four), I argued that manufactured and staged engagements with new media technologies work to initiate “new” industries of media intimacy with royalty. I also argued that this spectacular visibility is codependent on regimes of invisibility, and monarchical power is concealed through careful stage management. This includes media representations of the monarchy as the royal *family*, modeled on the Victorian “middle-class” values first propagated by Queen Victoria. It is The Family Firm (Chapter Three). This establishes an affective relationship between the monarchy and the citizenry: we are all part of the *national family* (Billig, 1992). I have argued that The Family Firm is constituted by a set of royal figures, each of which ‘body forth’ (Castañeda, 2002: 3), or *corporare*, The Firm as a successful family. I ‘unpack[ed]’ (ibid.) these figures in case studies of the Queen (Chapter Five), Prince Charles (Chapter Six), Prince Harry (Chapter Seven) and Kate Middleton (Chapter Eight), to ask how and where is this royal figure represented? What work does this figure do? In so doing, I exposed the complex meaning of these figures in reproducing monarchical power through reference to various social, political and cultural phenomena.

Building on this, this thesis also asked, how do the quotidian construction, mediation and consumption of these representations produce consent for, and reveal something about, various phenomena across British social, political and cultural life? Crucially, my analysis revealed that the royal figures are not just individuals. Just as Davey exposes the Queen as an entity that sucks up, devours and incorporates everything in her path, I argued that each of the royal figures incorporate various phenomena across British social, political and cultural life. These included national identity/ies, (geo)politics, sovereignty and

landscape (Chapter Five), land acquisition, conservatism, (post-)imperialism and class hierarchy (Chapter Six), philanthrocapitalism, masculinities and a relation to military capital (Chapter Seven), and conservative, “middle-class”, “family values” (Chapter Eight), to use a few key examples. Each royal figure “brings” what they have incorporated into The Firm’s whole. Moreover, the respective work of each of these figures is not only as ‘mechanisms of consent’ (Hall et al., 2013: 207) for monarchical power, but also as ‘mechanisms of consent’ for these various phenomena. Indeed, I argued that the principles by which monarchy works are key principles by which the whole system works, and in understanding monarchy we can begin to make sense of the system.

The examples and arguments developed in this thesis illustrate why a British Cultural Studies framework is crucial in order to understand the ways in which the political economy is reproduced through culture, which is central to making sense of growing inequalities in contemporary Britain.

The Meaning of Monarchy

It is 12th October 2018, and Princess Eugenie has married Jack Brooksbank at Windsor Castle, funded by the Sovereign Grant. The ceremony aired live on ITV but to significantly less fanfare than other recent royal weddings, such as those of Prince William and Kate Middleton, and Prince Harry and Meghan Markle. I overhear a conversation at the gym: ‘I hate it when people moan about how much money royal weddings cost – this country has more important problems to worry about’.

This is a sentiment I have battled throughout the writing of this thesis, and I have been regularly asked why the monarchy is important and worthy of study. It is my hope that this thesis has demonstrated *why monarchy matters*, and indeed how the ‘more important problems’ described by this anonymous gym-goer are not detached from the institution of monarchy. In fact, I suggest that it is not that we *might* talk about the monarchy when we talk about growing inequalities in Britain, but that we *have to* in order to understand how inequality works. I would go further to argue that *we cannot talk about inequalities in Britain without talking about the monarchy*. Perhaps more so than anything else, the *meaning of monarchy* is inequality.

One of the key conclusions of this thesis is that *the very invisibility of The Firm's social and economic power is its power*, and invisibility, visibility and power are closely linked. As Walter Bagehot argued, 'we must not let in daylight upon magic' (2001 [1894]: 59). Or, we must not draw back the stage curtains of the Queen's robe (Figure 9.1). The relations of corporate, economic and state power described in this thesis are not widely known among the British public, despite the fact that most people recognise most of the individual royal figures; the image of the Queen is the most reproduced in the world (Moorhouse and Cannadine, 2012). Spectacular royal events provide a theatrical masquerade, whereby they are so visible they disguise what is invisible (Chapter Four). Moreover, while this thesis has illustrated how media representations of the British monarchy are extensive, these representations are largely ubiquitous, woven into the very fabric of Britain and seem for the most part to be taken for granted. If the monarchy represents a national family, it is, just like many families, a dysfunctional and tumultuous relationship: some of us love them, some hate them, some are indifferent, but each opinion is important in reproducing monarchical power. In drawing out the cultural, social, political and economic functions of monarchy in relation to these representations, this thesis has contributed to an area that has not been examined in the limited critical academic work on contemporary British monarchy.

Further work is required to expand the implications of these findings. As indicated in Chapter Two, it was not feasible to explore every royal representation and every royal figure in this thesis. My research could be extended to analyse a new set of royal figures that produce consent for monarchical power and wider relations in different ways. It is also a limitation of this thesis that it does not capture people's responses to monarchical representations. This would make for valuable future research, for example, to what extent does the monarchy feature in the everyday lives of British people? To what extent do people recognise the monarchy's power? How do anti-monarchs interpret royal representations? Further significant research could also develop the scope of this thesis to explore the media institutions and actors involved in the reproduction of monarchical power: the BBC or the Royal Correspondent, for example.

This thesis aimed to draw out both the continuities and differences in media representations of monarchy in order to understand how its power is maintained over time. One conclusion that can be drawn from this research is that The Firm is adept at

improvising and adapting, continually devising a new face and a new style. For example, Harry's problematic "laddism" can be adapted into "soldier masculinity" and later an emotionally literate masculinity (Chapter Seven), or Kate's "middle-classness" can be used to connote meritocracy and access (Chapter Eight). In sum, *The Firm is always changing in order to stay the same*. That is, across historical periods it puts on a new costume or erects a new stage set in order to continue with its capitalist project of wealth and power accumulation. The Firm excels at incorporating new representations into its monstrous corporate body, and the royal *family* continually absorbs new figures in order to take on new shapes.

This is not to suggest that there is any great planned royal narrative, and indeed the analysis in this thesis has seemed to demonstrate that each new shape is merely reactive: a response to crisis, or to a shift in sociopolitical context. Often, this shape shifting is achieved to various degrees of success. The fly-on-the-wall documentary *Royal Family* (dir: Cawston, 1969), for example, proved a step too far in royal visibility, and was quickly redacted (Chapter Four). Other shapes have been more successful, for example representations of the Queen as a "concerned grandmother" following criticism of her reaction to Diana's death quickly resolved public tensions (Chapter Five). This responsive shape shifting partly explains why representations of The Firm are so contradictory, and indeed I would argue that *the contradictions of royal representations are as revealing as the repetitions*. The figure of Harry might be represented as having a troubled relationship with monarchy, yet he is not going to dismantle the institution. Kensington Palace might use its Instagram account as a "family photo album", yet the intimacy of royal representations is closely monitored. The Queen might be represented as an elderly grandmother, yet her position upholds the British constitution. It is the act of exposing the contradictions that reveals the power held therein.

Coda: Meghan Markle and Diversity Capitalism

As this research comes to an end, new royal figures and royal representations continue to emerge. On 19th May 2018, Prince Harry married Meghan Markle, a black³, divorced, self-proclaimed feminist, American actor with a working-class background. The wedding constitutes a pivotal moment in the contemporary history of The Firm, and consolidates, as well as extends, a number of the key arguments of this thesis. If The Firm engages in

³ Meghan self-identifies as 'bi-racial' (Kashner, 2017).

responsive shape shifting, Meghan Markle signifies a particularly notable moment in this project, and a particularly notable manifestation of how The Firm is always changing in order to stay the same. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to provide a comprehensive analysis of *the meaning of Meghan Markle*, and indeed this would perhaps be the most valuable avenue of future research, and one I aim to engage with (for example, Clancy and Yelin, 2018). But in presenting a brief set of initial observations about Meghan, I draw out the ways in which the findings of this thesis might offer a framework for understanding alternate or future royal figures, their role in reproducing The Firm's power, and their relationship to various cultural, social and political phenomena in Britain. If we want to understand contemporary Britain, we need to understand the royal figure of Meghan.

International media commentary of Harry and Meghan has primarily focused on Meghan's "modernising" influence on the monarchy, and seems to position the wedding as a feminist, post-racial, meritocratic utopia. For example, *The Sun*'s headline read 'Kisstory: Harry and Meg's historic change for monarchy' (Andrews, 2018) and *The Daily Mail* proclaimed 'Meghan's manifesto: 'proud feminist' the Duchess of Sussex will take the royals in striking new direction' (English, 2018). *The New York Times* published a comment piece arguing 'as Prince Harry and Meghan Markle wed, a new era dawns' (Barry, 2018), while *The Economist*'s magazine *1843* asked 'can Meghan Markle modernise the monarchy?' (Duncan and Low, 2018). American civil rights activist Al Sharpton was quoted in *New York Daily News* claiming that the royal wedding showed white supremacy 'is on its last breath' (Bitette and Alcorn, 2018). The BBC coverage of the wedding ceremony repeatedly made reference to Meghan as indicative of a progressive future, as presenter Richard Bacon claimed, 'this marriage is going to change the world' (Scott, 2018).

While this is certainly not to dispute that the wedding was an important *symbolic* and *iconographical* moment in the history of British race and gender relations, it does raise questions about ongoing inequalities. Meghan's introduction to The Firm's cast does not erase the fact that the monarchy is built on a history of slavery, indentured labor, colonialism and imperialism, as evidenced in this thesis. Meghan also fails to challenge the heterosexual and traditionally feminine norms of the *heteromonarchy*, as most clearly demonstrated in her pregnancy announcement just five months after the wedding.

Furthermore, while journalist Amie Gordon claimed in the *Daily Mail* that the wedding was Britain’s ‘Obama moment’ (2018), this seems to misunderstand the functions of constitutional democracy and the role of hereditary monarchy in Britain. Barack Obama’s election as US president was a watershed moment in US race relations because Obama was *elected* by the majority of the electorate, but British people had no influence over Prince Harry’s bride. Indeed, what questions are posed if we read the wedding in the sociopolitical context of Britain, such as increasing numbers of racially-motivated hate crimes after the Brexit vote⁴ (Weaver, 2018), and the wrongful deportation of “Windrush generation” immigrants by the UK Home Office as part of the ‘hostile environment’⁵ (Tyler, forthcoming)? What does the wedding reveal about how race, diversity and immigration are understood?

If this thesis has argued that The Firm can be considered a theatrical spectacle with royal figures as actors, in Meghan this comes full circle: she became famous in 2011 for her acting role as lawyer Rachel Zane in American cable TV drama *Suits* (dir: Korsch, 2011-). Although Meghan announced she was ‘giving up’ acting upon her engagement to Harry (Griffiths, 2017), the findings of this thesis suggest that, in fact, Meghan has taken on a new acting role. From Rachel Zane to the Duchess of Sussex, Meghan has been cast in a new part, with a new stage set and new costume. What does this reveal about The Firm’s relationship to celebrity cultures? In her previous celebrity role, Meghan hosted personal social media accounts and a blog, but since joining The Firm these have been deleted (Patel-Carstairs, 2018). How does this correspond to the arguments in this thesis about a concomitant and co-dependent visibility and invisibility?

The Firm appears to have embraced representations of Meghan’s “progressive” influence, and they are used as part of Meghan’s figuration. Her biography page on the official royal website displays her featured quote as ‘I am proud to be a woman and a feminist’ (The Official Website of the British Monarchy, 2018), which is in direct contrast to Kate’s featured quote about childcare (see Chapter Eight). Elsewhere, the biography links to an online opinion piece Meghan wrote for *Time* magazine about the stigmatisation of menstruation and period poverty (*ibid.*). It can be argued that Meghan’s

⁴ This increase in violence has been linked to the Leave campaign’s focus on curbing immigration as a reason for leaving the EU (see Virdee and McGeever, 2017).

⁵ This refers to a 2018 British political scandal where people of the “Windrush generation” were wrongly detained and threatened with deportation due to errors in their citizenship status. Commentators have linked this to the ‘hostile environment policy’, which refers to measures designed by ex-Home Office Secretary Theresa May to make staying in the UK as difficult as possible in an attempt to curb immigration.

identity has been co-opted by The Firm as a narrative through which to negotiate its ongoing shape shifting (see Clancy and Yelin, 2018).

Meghan illustrates how The Firm incorporates new royal figures into its monstrous corporate body in order to take on new shapes. One respondent in Michael Billig's study in the late 1980s claimed that 'Prince Charles would not have been free to marry a black girl' (2004: 65), to which other participants responded with affirmative laughter. In this claim, the Britain that the royal family "represents" is coded as white (see Chapter Six). Meghan, then, reveals how royal representations are often reactive; in this case, reshaping the monarchy as diverse, multicultural and cosmopolitan, despite the sociopolitical and historical contradictions.

Using the framework set out in this thesis, one way of interpreting Meghan is as a form of diversity capitalism, used to extend and diversify The Firm's markets. Celia Lury (2000), Henry Giroux (1993) and Les Back and Vibeke Quaade (1993) have analysed global clothing retailer Benetton's campaign 'The United Colours of Benetton', which comprised advertisements featuring 'young people, sometimes waving national flags, or bedecked with national emblems such as stars and stripes, hammers and sickles, with accentuated, racially coded physical characteristics, parad[ing] in colourful clothes' (Lury, 2000: 261) in order to promote the diversity of both the products and the customers. These analyses drew attention to the ways in which Benetton tried to 'redefine its corporate image' as a 'company concerned with social change' (Giroux, 1993: 10), producing a politics of difference and inclusivity as a means to 'lay a proprietary claim to goodness' (Lury, 2000: 147; see also Skeggs, 2004). Racial politics were used in order to expand Benetton's markets, yet in the process were depoliticised of social and cultural realities, and the inherent whiteness of institutional power remained. Sara Ahmed argues that diversity and power are related, whereby 'diversity is *incorporated* by institutions: "diversity management" becomes a way of managing or containing conflict or dissent' (2012: 13; my emphasis). One reading of Meghan could be the incorporation of the language of diversity into The Firm's monstrous body as part of its theatrical spectacle, as another 'mechanism of consent' (Hall et al., 2013: 207) for monarchical power and wider politics of race and diversity.

Why does monarchy matter? It matters because it continually poses new questions, and it invites us to think about wider issues of class, power, inequality, wealth, capital(ism), media culture, ideology, democracy, warfare, national identity, gender, race, and (post)imperialism, to name but a few examples.

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