FOREWORD

2023 will see the coronation of King Charles III. For anyone under 70, this will be the first British coronation they have seen. For them, Queen Elizabeth II personified the monarchy. Her death has consequently sparked much interest in the institution and its role in modern Britain.

Because of this, UK in a Changing Europe and the Constitution Unit have come together to try to explain the role of the modern monarchy. This report attempts to explain what the monarchy does, how it does it, and to place it in its historical and comparative context. We have solicited contributions not only from those who study the monarchy but also from those studying wider UK politics and society, who have looked at the institution from their own unique perspectives. My appreciation to all of them for their efficiency and patience in dealing with numerous rounds of questions, suggestions, and edits.

Without the input of Robert Hazell, this report would not have seen the light of day. I'd like to express my gratitude to him as well as to Catherine Barnard, who first came up with the idea for it. Special thanks to our collaborators at the Constitution Unit – particularly Robert Hazell and Bob Morris – who have done much of the heavy lifting on the writing.

Dr Joelle Grogan deserves special mention for coordinating the whole enterprise and editing all the various contributions. Finally, (n)Tj1 0a- p

INTRODUCTION

Anand Menon and Robert Hazell

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Robert Morris

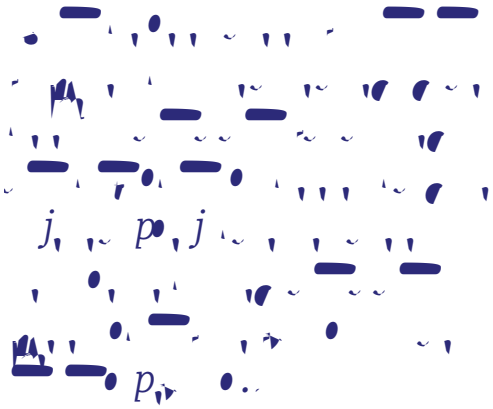
WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO BE A 'CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY'?

The monarch also plays an important ceremonial role – such as at the state opening of Parliament – and the UK has retained elements of ceremony that have

The coronation takes place on 6 May 2023 at Westminster Abbey in London, the same location where it has occurred for the last 900 years. The Archbishop of Canterbury will preside over the event.

The UK is now the only European monarchy that retains a coronation. Some monarchies – the Belgian, Dutch, Luxembourger and, since unification in the fi eenth century, Spanish – have never had them. In Scandinavia, discontinuation has been associated with the end of absolute rule (Denmark from 1849), expense (Sweden a er 1873) and by change to the law (Norway a er 1905).

The coronation is a highly symbolic event, intended to convey that the state and the church are connected in a joint project of national governance and that the monarch is answerable to a higher power. (See Pepinster on monarchy and religion in the UK, and Cranmer on monarchy and religion in Europe) This is illustrated visually by the use not only of the St Edward Crown but also by the sceptres held by the monarch - one signifying kingly power and justice and the other equity and mercy. The anointing – the most sacred part of the coronation – takes place with holy oil from the eagle-shaped ampulla vessel - the spoon, one of the oldest surviving items from the regalia of the late twel h century. Golden Armills (bracelets) of sincerity and wisdom are presented, as are spurs, sword and ring. Another symbolic element is the Orb surmounted by a cross which signifies 'the subjection of the whole world to the power and empire of Christ'.



During the ceremony, which takes place on the Cosmati pavement, the monarch takes the oath required under the Coronation Oath Act 1688 - passed before the Union with Scotland. The oath has changed a li le over the centuries, mostly to accommodate constitutional changes such as the composition of the Union and the recital of those independent Commonwealth countries which have elected to retain the UK monarch as formal head of state. Some further slight alterations may be expected.

Queen Elizabeth II swore to rule according to law, to exercise justice with mercy and to maintain the Church of England in her coronation oath. Many Anglicans feel the la er part is inappropriate in more ecumenical times, li le seems set to change for King Charles, though some explanation of his religious role may be presented.

Once the monarch has taken the oath, he is then 'anointed, blessed, and consecrated' by the Archbishop of Canterbury, whilst the monarch is seated in St Edward's Chair. The chair dates from 1300 and has been in use at the coronation since 1308. Beneath the chair sits the Stone of Scone, or the Stone of Destiny, which was used for the coronation of Sco ish Kings.

The monarch receives the orb and sceptres, and the archbishop will then place St Edward's crown on his head. Camilla will be crowned Queen alongside her husband, Charles III. This follows the normal practice that the wives of kings are crowned and take the title Queen while the husbands of queens are not, and do not, become King. Hence, Prince Philip was not crowned alongside Elizabeth II, but the late Queen's mother was alongside George VI.

At the coronation, representatives of both Houses of Parliament, as well as of church and state, a end. Prime ministers and other key figures from the Commonwealth and representatives of other countries will also a end. Numbers will be smaller than at Elizabeth's coronation, and the service is expected to be shorter.

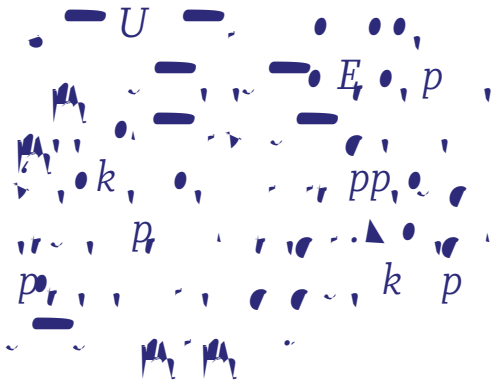
THE ROYAL FAMILY

Robert Hazell

The UK has a larger royal family than other European monarchies, with a dozen 'working royals' supported out of public funds. And the UK Royal Family is not alone in facing criticism about its size: that there are too many 'hangers-on', who enjoy privileged lives in palaces, paid for out of public funds, with li le obvious public benefit.

Other European monarchies (encouraged by governments and legislatures) have kept the core team as small as possible. It can be just four people. In Norway and Spain it is the King and Queen, the Crown Prince or Princess and their spouse. Periodic pruning is needed to keep the team small. In 2019, the King of Sweden removed five grandchildren from the royal house, under parliamentary pressure to reduce its size and its cost. In 2022, Queen Margrethe of Denmark followed suit, stripping four grandchildren (the children of her younger son, Prince Joachim) of their royal titles.

The UK is following suit in slimming down the monarchy, partly by accident, partly by design.



It is for the monarch to decide who are the working members of the Royal Family. Prince Harry and Meghan found this out when Queen Elizabeth ruled that they could not be half in and half out, as did Prince Andrew when he was obliged to 'step back' following intense scrutiny of his historic relationship with convicted sex tra cker Je rey Epstein.

Before their respective departures, there were 15 working royals. There are now 11 recorded in the Court Circular as carrying out royal duties. Seven are full time working royals: Charles III (aged 74) and Camilla (75); William Duke of Cambridge (40) and Kate (41); Edward Duke of Edinburgh (59) and his wife Sophie (58); and Princess Anne (72). Additionally, there are four older royals who contribute part time: the Duke of Kent (87); Princess Alexandra (86); and the Duke (78) and Duchess (76) of Gloucester.

The reason for recording ages is to note how elderly they are; two are in their

80s, five in their 70s, with only four under the age of 60. King Charles is said to want a smaller, streamlined monarchy, of perhaps just half a dozen people (King Charles and his wife Camilla, Prince William and his wife Catherine, Princess

FUNDING THE MONARCHY

Robert Hazell

In 2012, the arrangements for funding the monarchy were fundamentally changed by the Sovereign Grant Act 2011. The new system was designed to represent a more permanent arrangement than the old Civil List, which was reign-specific.

Funding for the Sovereign Grant comes from a percentage of the profits of the Crown Estate, initially set at 15%. Since 2017-18, the percentage has been increased to 25% to pay for the ten-year refurbishment of Buckingham Palace, costing £370m. The grant is reviewed every five years by the Royal Trustees (the Prime Minister, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Keeper of the Privy Purse). The latest (2021-22) review will take e ect in 2023.

The Sovereign Grant for 2022-23 is £86.3 million – equivalent to £2.40 per taxpayer in the UK. It meets the central sta costs and running expenses of the royal household, which employed an average of 491 sta (full-time equivalent) in 2021-22. It also covers maintenance of the Royal Palaces in England, and the cost of travel to carry out royal engagements.

Separately, the new King will benefit from the profits (currently £20m a year) from the Duchy of Lancaster (another portfolio of land, property and assets – which are fed into the Privy Purse for the support of the monarchy. At accession, upport of the mocJ18

sovereign. The o cial residences, the Royal Archives, the Royal Collection of paintings and similar assets fall into this category. The Treasury Memorandum of Understanding also provides that inheritance tax will not be paid on gi s or bequests from one sovereign to the next. The reasons given are that:

> *Private assets such as Sandringham and Balmoral have official as well as private use, and the monarchy as an institution needs sufficient private resources to enable it to continue to perform its traditional role in national life, and to have a degree of financial independence from the Government of the day.*

The reason the monarch enjoyed exemption from income tax from 1910 (60 0 0 unstith131(v10(yBaln

THE POLITICAL, CEREMONIAL, AND DIPLOMATIC ROLES OF THE MONARCH

Robert Hazell and Bob Morris

Although the monarchy no longer has political power, the monarch is still centrally involved in the business of government as head of state. (S)he also performs a number of ceremonial roles as head of nation. The head of state roles are political, ceremonial, diplomatic and constitutional, ranging from receiving ambassadors to giving the King's speech at the annual state opening of Parliament. As the head of nation, the monarch a ends events such as the annual Remembrance Day ceremony and speaks to and for the nation at times of celebration and crisis.

POLITICAL ROLES OF THE MONARCH

The day-to-day political functions of the monarch involve regular meetings with the Prime Minister, other ministers, and senior o cers of state; presiding at meetings of the Privy Council; giving audiences to incoming and outgoing ambassadors; and appointing ministers, judges and other senior o cials.

WEEKLY MEETINGS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER

The King is kept informed of the business of government through daily boxes of papers to read and sign. He receives all the Cabinet papers and minutes, diplomatic telegrams, and other government papers, especially about appointments. In addition, he hosts frequent lunches and dinners for politicians, and others in public life.

When Parliament is si ing, the King has a weekly audience with the Prime Minister, held on Wednesday evenings. The Private Secretaries in 10 Downing

The King also has audiences with senior officials from the military, the diplomatic and security services, the judiciary, and with officials from other countries, in particular the 14 Commonwealth countries where he is also head of state (the realms). The King receives newly appointed ambassadors and High Commissioners, and their families. With over 170 foreign missions in London, this is a frequent part of the weekly routine. Although ambassadors are accredited to the Court of St James's, their audiences normally take place in Buckingham Palace.

STATE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT

At the State Opening of Parliament, the King delivers a speech written by the government which sets out its legislative programme for the next annual session. (See Young on the constitutional role of the monarch). Since Charles I's failed attempt to arrest five MPs in 1642, the monarch has traditionally never entered the House of Commons. So the annual speech takes place in the House of Lords, with peers arrayed in their full robes, and the Commons assembled at the bar of the House. In 2022, Prince Charles delivered the speech on behalf of the ailing Queen, accompanied by Prince William. The speech is followed by a five-day debate on the government's programme, led by the Prime Minister.

MEETINGS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL

The Privy Council is the equivalent of the Council of State in other countries. It normally meets once a month, in Buckingham Palace. Its main business is to approve Orders in Council, a form of delegated legislation. The business is purely a formality as the Orders will have been agreed beforehand by ministers. Usually only three or four ministers attend; the meetings are brief, and the King and the members remain standing. The dissolution, summoning, and prorogation of Parliament are brought about by royal proclamations in Council.

INFORMAL INFLUENCE

It is hard to judge how much influence the monarch has on the business of the government. Successive Prime Ministers have commented on the value of their weekly audiences, and on Queen Elizabeth's unrivalled experience thanks to her very long reign. These reflections in their memoirs from Ted Heath and Jim Callaghan give a sense of the role these meetings can play:

> *I looked forward to these for a variety of reasons. It was always a relief to be able to discuss everything with someone, knowing full well that there was not the slightest danger of any information leaking. I could*

confide in Her Majesty absolutely, not only about political matters, but also about the personal affairs of those involved, both at home and abroad.

(Heath, The Course of my Life, 1998: p 317)

[There was] no doubt of the keenness with which she followed Commonwealth affairs and of her genuine concern for its well-being. Her very perceptive understanding comes not only from her many years spent reading Foreign Office documents, but also from numerous meetings with successive Commonwealth leaders and her regular overseas tours. These have given her a knowledge of Commonwealth politicians and politics unequalled by any member of the Diplomatic Service or any British politician.

(Callaghan, Time and Chance, 2006: p 380)

The Queen was regarded as a model of political neutrality. Insofar as she wielded political influence, her ministers were too discreet to admit it. Before his accession, it was thought that King Charles might seek to be more interventionist, following the pa ern of his frequent le ers to ministers when he was Prince of Wales. If that were to happen, the Prime Minister would remind the King that a constitutional monarch must remain above politics. In doing so, the Prime Minister could draw on the 1912 memorandum wri en by Prime Minister Asquith for the new King George V, where Asquith firmly stated:

We have now a well-established tradition of 200 years that in the last resort, the occupant of the Throne accepts and acts upon the advice of his ministers. The Sovereign may have lost something of his personal power and authority, but the Crown has thereby been removed from the storms and vicissitudes of party politics...

(Roy Jenkins, Asquith, 1964: pp 543-4)

Two early tests of King Charles's willingness to follow ministerial advice have been COP27, and the Windsor Framework agreement on Northern Ireland. In 2021, Charles had addressed the opening session of COP26, the UN Climate Change Conference in Glasgow, with a passionate plea to save the planet; but in October 2022 he was obliged to accept the Prime Minister's advice not to a end COP27. In February 2023, he agreed to meet the President of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen, when she came to Windsor to announce the new post-Brexit agreement on Northern Ireland. He was criticised for doing so; but on both occasions was following ministerial advice.

CEREMONIAL ROLES OF THE MONARCH

There are other more mundane aspects to the monarch's diplomatic role. Every incoming Ambassador or High Commissioner has to present their credentials –

At that time, of the senior members of the Royal Family, Prince Charles had the lowest international favourability rating – at only 24% compared to the then Queen's 42%, suggesting he may be less of a diplomatic asset. And, based on most people saying they were favourable to the British monarchy because of 'tradition' the pollsters concluded: 'there might be a danger that it promotes a traditional rather than modern image of Britain, although it increases associations of Britain as powerful and self-confident too.'

THE CONSTITUTIONAL ROLE OF THE MONARCH

Alison Young

The monarch plays a key role in the UK constitution. However, there are restrictions on the powers exercised by the monarch. Only a constitutional crisis would be likely to usher in a change in the way these are exercised.

ELECTIONS AND PROROGATION

Before 2011, the monarch had a prerogative power (a historical power that is not granted by an Act of Parliament) to summon and dissolve Parliament. The Fixed-term Parliaments Act 2011 changed this. It set dates for a general election every five years, with an earlier one only possible following a two-thirds vote of MPs, or a failure to form an alternative government a er a no confidence vote.

This changed again in 2022, when the Dissolution and Calling of Parliament Act 2022 revived the power of the monarch to summon and dissolve Parliament. This restores the role in the UK constitution that was held by Queen Elizabeth II until 2011. However, constitutional conventions limit this power (see Saunders in this collection on the Lascelles Principles). The monarch will only dissolve Parliament when requested to do so by the Prime Minister and only summons a new Parliament a er a general election.

Constitutional conventions cannot be enforced by the courts. Nevertheless, if the King were to act in breach of a convention, this may lead to questioning, and potentially limiting, of the King's constitutional role. Hence the power to call an election has really returned to the Prime Minister, not the monarch.

Parliamentary sessions open with the King's Speech, se ing out the legislative programme of the current government. They end with the prorogation of Parliament. The monarch has the power to prorogue Parliament. However, this power is also limited by convention. The monarch is advised by the government as to when to prorogue Parliament and normally follows this advice.

The prerogative power of prorogation now has legally enforceable limits. In the 2019 case, the UK's Supreme Court quashed an unlawful prorogation of Parliament. (See Saunders in this volume on the monarchy and constitutional crisis). The Court found that prorogations of Parliament cannot unduly restrict parliamentary sovereignty and parliamentary accountability without justification.

APPOINTMENT OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTERS

The monarch also appoints the Prime Minister. However, by convention, the monarch's power is limited as set out in the Cabinet Manual, the document which sets out the internal rules and procedures under which the UK government operates. A monarch usually appoints a Prime Minister following a general election and will normally appoint the leader of the political party which has won the most seats – the person most likely to be able to form a government that commands confidence of the House of Commons. When no one party has a clear majority, the monarch will wait for political parties to negotiate the formation of a coalition government, or a minority government that can nevertheless command the confidence of the House. The monarch will then appoint the leader of this coalition or political party as Prime Minister.

In 2022, the UK had three Prime Ministers, but no general election as successive Prime Ministers resigned as leader of their party. It is then for the governing political party to use its own procedures to determine the next leader of the party. By convention, the monarch will then appoint this new leader as Prime Minister.

Although the monarch appoints ministers to the UK government, according to the Ministerial Code, the Prime Minister is responsible for the organisation of the government. By convention, the monarch acts on the advice of the Prime Minister.

Weekly meetings between the Prime Minister and the monarch facilitate the right of the monarch to be consulted, to encourage, and to warn the Prime Minister. We do not know how the late Queen performed this role over her long reign, and we do not know whether King Charles will do it any di erently.

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THE MONARCHY AND CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS

Robert Saunders

For much of British history, it was hard to imagine a constitutional crisis without the monarch at its core. From the Barons at Runnymede imposing Magna Carta on King John to the expulsion of James II in 1688, the English (and, later, British) constitution was forged in the collision between Crown and Parliament. As late as the nineteenth century, suspicion of royal power pulsed through progressive politics. Victorians may have revered 'Her Li le Majesty', but they also celebrated a 'Glorious Revolution' against royal tyranny and erected a statue of Cromwell outside Westminster.

With the decline of constitutional politics in the twentieth century, the political functions of the Crown slipped from public debate. Yet recent controversies have redirected a ention to the role of the monarch at times of constitutional crisis. More specifically, they have reopened a question that deserves greater public discussion: who wields the historic powers of the Crown once the monarch is no longer politically active? Should there be any limit on their use by a Prime Minister?

AN EMERGENCY BRAKE

Some of the highest powers of the British state still technically reside with the Crown, including the right to declare war, conclude treaties and suspend Parliament. By convention, those powers are exercised 'on the advice of the Prime Minister'. But they do not , , to the Prime Minister, and might, in theory, be withheld.

In 1950, the King's Private Secretary, Alan 'Tommy' Lascelles, published a le er in , , identifying three circumstances in which a monarch might refuse a request to dissolve Parliament (a 'prerogative power' before and a er the 2011-2022 Fixed-Term Parliaments Act). The 'Lascelles Principles' suggested that the monarch might reject a Prime Minister's advice if the existing Parliament was still viable; if an election would be detrimental to the economy; or if an alternative Prime Minister could secure a 'working majority' without an election.

It is not di cult to envisage other circumstances in which a monarch might prevent an abusive dissolution: for example, when the Opposition was engaged in a leadership contest; when it was intended to frustrate parliamentary scrutiny; or when electoral fraud was suspected.

Underpinning all this was a new idea of the monarch's role, which established the Crown as the 'emergency brake' of the constitution. A monarch could not exercise the prerogative powers him or herself but could deny their use to a Prime Minister. The Crown would act as a safety lock on the 'nuclear weapons' of the constitution, such as the power to declare war or suspend Parliament.

That brake was never wholly satisfactory. It relied on one person, with no democratic authority, who might be inept, corrupt or Prince Andrew. As Britain evolved from a 'constitutional' to a 'ceremonial' monarchy, it grew ever less likely

Those notes did acknowledge that, 'in certain exceptional circumstances, the Sovereign could refuse to grant a dissolution'. Yet what those circumstances might be remained wholly unclear. That question became urgent in the summer of 2022, when it appeared that a Prime Minister might request a punitive dissolution, ending the parliamentary session and triggering a general election, in the face of rebellion from his cabinet and parliamentary party.

What might have happened in that scenario remains opaque, though it was rumoured that the Queen would have been temporarily 'unavailable'. Constitutional lawyers could only speculate on Twi er – not just about what a 96-year-old woman might do, but about the principles on which she would reach her decision. That leaves the constitution unprotected, and risks miring the monarch in political controversy.

'Back again?'

In a democracy, the monarchy can only survive if it stands outside political contention. Yet that makes it a broken reed when it is the constitution itself that is in crisis.

The logic of this situation is not that the monarch should be more politically active, but that we cannot rely on a ceremonial monarchy to protect the constitution from a ack. For that, other instruments will be needed.

In their absence, both the constitution and the monarchy will su er: one from the lack of e ective protections; the other from political pressures that it lacks the democratic authority to navigate.

COMPARING THE BRITISH MONARCHY WITH OTHER EUROPEAN MONARCHIES

Robert Hazell

The UK is one of eight constitutional monarchies in Europe: the others being Belgium, Denmark, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, and Sweden. On the whole, the similarities between them are much greater than the di erences. The role of a constitutional monarch is identical in all these countries, now that they have lost all political power. The main di erence is one of scale: the British monarchy has the largest Royal Family, serving the biggest country (population 69 million), and it is an international monarchy, providing the head of state for 14 other countries around the world.

In all these countries the continuation of the monarchy depends on continuing popular support. It is a brave monarch who goes against the wishes of the government or the people. Monarchy has survived by gradually ceding power to the elected government: a development which happened first in Britain, in the seventeenth century, followed by the other European monarchies during the nineteenth. Monarchical power is still being reduced: most dramatically in Sweden, where the monarch lost all formal power in 1974. Other countries have seen further reductions over the last two decades. Since 2008, the Grand Duke in Luxembourg has lost the power to assent to the laws made by the parliament; now his role is merely to promulgate them. In the Netherlands the monarch is no longer involved in the process of government formation: that role

Examples are Queen Juliana of the Netherlands' opposition to the death penalty (1952), the Belgian King Baudouin's objection to legalising abortion (1990), and Grand Duke Henri of Luxembourg's opposition to euthanasia (2008). These were all motivated by personal conscience, not constitutional values. In Luxembourg the outcome was dramatic, with an immediate constitutional amendment removing the requirement for royal assent, and subsequent proposals for further reductions in the Grand Duke's powers.

The proposals in Luxembourg included making the monarch more accountable and giving power to the parliament to require the monarch to abdicate. What the episode shows is that the monarch may formally be the guardian of the constitution; but ultimately, the exercise of the monarch's reserve powers depends upon popular support.

None of the constitutions of the other European monarchies, save one, contain a specific power of the kind proposed in Luxembourg. The exception is the Netherlands, where Article 35

MONARCHY AND THE COURTS

Catherine Barnard

consider the scope of the (royal) prerogative powers, now mainly exercised by ministers not the Crown. Take, for example, _____ where the Supreme Court examined whether the decision to start the Article 50 process for the UK to

MONARCHY AND THE MULTI-NATIONAL STATE

Dan Wincott

Queen Elizabeth II's death brought the UK's multi-national character into sharp focus. The protocols and ceremonies that marked the change of head of state – both the proclamation of King Charles III and mourning period for the Queen – were meticulously organised on a 'four-nations' basis. Journalists and commentators pored over the details of operations code-named 'Unicorn', 'London Bridge' and 'Spring Tide'.

Richly detailed and long-established, the 'four-nations' plan marked a significant change from the ceremonies when Queen Elizabeth II took the throne. Designed to appeal to diverse national sentiments across the UK, the plan's implementation further underscored the new monarch's multi-national vision. At least in the short term, the monarchy's emollience may smooth some edges from the UK government's more abrasive approach to politics relating to the devolved nations (territorial politics). However, it could prove challenging for the head of state and his ministers in Whitehall to operate with sharply contrasting territorial visions of the UK over the longer term.

King Charles III's formal proclamation at St James's Palace on 10 September was followed by an unprecedented multi-national pa ern of ceremonies in the devolved capitals. Later that day a proclamation was read at Cardi Castle in English and Welsh. The following day the King was proclaimed in Northern Ireland and Scotland. A proclamation was read at Stornoway in Gaelic (and English) on 12 September.

The Queen's own proclamation some 70 years earlier had a municipal feel, at least outside London. Its emphasis was on the 'local custom' of towns and cities across the realm: the Mayor of York toasted the Queen with a solid gold cup. In 1952, only the oath for the security of the Church of Scotland spoke to the state's multinational character.

The Queen's death at Balmoral meant that Sco ish aspects of the mourning period were strengthened. It brought distinctive protocols for Scotland into play. The Queen's co n travelled from Balmoral to Edinburgh on 11 September. It was then placed in the Throne Room at Holyroodhouse, the o cial residence of the British monarch in Scotland. The co n was carried up the Royal Mile to St

Giles' Cathedral, part of Scotland's Presbyterian national church, on the following day. The Crown of Scotland was placed on it. A er a service of thanksgiving, the Queen lay at rest in St Giles' for 24 hours. Members of the public queued to pay their respects. Some commentators speculated that the Queen chose to end her days in Scotland. One or two even suggested she did so to bolster the Union. (See McMillan and Henderson on monarchy and Sco ish independence).

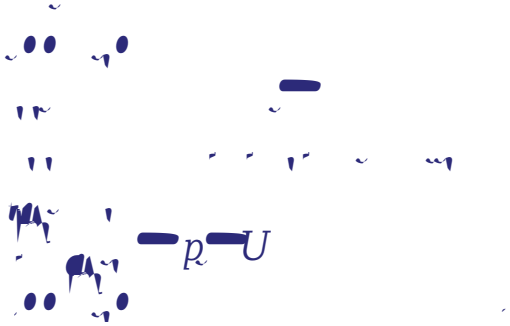
From Edinburgh, the co n was moved to London 13 September. The Queen lay-in-state in public view at Westminster Hall from 14 September until 6.30 am on 19 September. Her state funeral at Westminster Abbey was later that day.

The four-nations plan included ceremonies in Belfast and Cardi . Services of remembrance at St Anne's Cathedral, (13 September) and Llanda Cathedral (16 September) extended the formal mourning process to Northern Ireland and Wales. Both disestablished, St Anne's and Llanda are Episcopalian (or 'Anglican') Cathedrals.

The devolved services were all ecumenical. They nodded towards multi-culturalism. More or less prominently, all reflected distinct , . ,, traditions. A psalm was sung in Gaelic at St Giles. Representatives of Jewish and Muslim communities spoke at Llanda , where the service was conducted in a mix of Welsh and English. The Welsh National Anthem 'Hen Wlad Fy Nhadau' was sung (in Welsh) immediately before 'God Save the King'.

The First Ministers of Scotland and Wales gave readings at St Giles and Llanda respectively. In Belfast, Alex Maskey speaking in remembrance of the Queen at Anglican St. Anne's presented a particularly striking image. Originally elected on a Sinn Féin ticket, Maskey was participating as Speaker of Northern Ireland's Assembly. Sinn Féin had not a ended the King's proclamation in Northern Ireland. The Belfast service was also a ended by the Irish President and Taoiseach.

The monarch's careful cultivation of these leaders brings us back to territorial politics and the contrast with the threadbare and abrasive world of UK devolution. Political leaders have handled the 'four-nations' ceremonies with di erent degrees of skill. For example, when Liz Truss was Prime Minister, she a ended the services for the Queen in Edinburgh, Belfast and Cardi . Although initial reports suggested she was 'accompanying' King Charles on his 'four-nations' tour, No 10 issued a clarification that Truss was simply a ending the three services with no formal role in them. Despite her generally low profile, an apparently 'icy stare' directed at Nicola Sturgeon garnered some media a ention.



At a Service of Reflection for Queen Elizabeth II at St Anne's Cathedral in Belfast, Sinn's Féin's Michelle O'Neill seemed to catch the Prime Minister o - guard when she leant across the pews at St Anne's to greet her. O'Neill's 'hello' at this service was not the only adroit move made by politicians with Sinn Féin links. Alex Maskey welcomed the King at Hillsborough in Irish and then introduced him to First Minister-designate O'Neill. Charles III seemed singularly at ease with these Irish republican politicians, commenting on their 'skill and ingenuity'.

Compared to these ceremonies, where di erences can be temporarily suspended, the day-to-day realities of UK politics is rather more competitive. Each Prime Minister since 2016 has extolled the 'precious union' (or 'awesome foursome'), without adding much flesh to the bones of these Unionist slogans. The UK government has taken some steps to improve the machinery of intergovernmental relations. On becoming Prime Minister, Rishi Sunak reversed Liz Truss's policy of not communicating with devolved leaders. But the UK government still appears to be constrained by a domestic territorial logic of 'take back control' Conservatism. The UK government now seems minded to make assertive interventions in devolved policy fields. Doing so against the grain of devolved priorities has generated confusion, contradiction and ine ciency in public policies.

UK politics has a history of muddling through di cult and otherwise intractable problems. At a moment when territorial politics were notably tense, the monarchy's sensitivity to multi-national diversity seemed to help the UK territorial state carry on. Unusual moments of high ceremony aside, though, it is governments not the monarchy that set the agenda of UK territorial politics. If its governments remain unable to agree how devolution work, the September 2022 ceremonies may come to be seen as a high-water mark for the 'four-nations' vision of the UK.

MONARCHY AND SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE

Fraser McMillan and Ailsa Henderson

The British monarchy occupies a contradictory position within Scotland's political culture. Support for the institution has long been lower than that in England and Wales. However, the Royal Family, particularly the late Queen Elizabeth II, have spent a lot of time in Scotland in recent decades. Following her

While such positions could be perceived as a strategic necessity to avoid alienating middle Scotland, rather than reflecting intrinsic support for the institution, it is still maintained by senior nationalist figures. As then-First Minister Nicola Sturgeon stated shortly a er Elizabeth II's passing, "We knew how important Scotland was to the Queen and... have been reminded just how much Her Majesty meant to the people of Scotland".

INDEPENDENCE ATTITUDES AND SUPPORT FOR THE MONARCHY

A itudes to the monarchy are very strongly associated with support for or dislike of independence. Just under half of decided Yes backers (47%) are strongly in favour of a republic, while just over half of pro-union supporters (51%) are strongly in favour of retaining the monarchy.

There is some asymmetry here. Yes supporters are less pro-republic than No voters are pro-monarchy. Just 17% of pro-union supporters would prefer the UK to become a republic, while 29% of pro-independence Scots are broadly in favour of the monarchy. Those undecided on independence lean very slightly in favour of the monarchy.

Retaining the monarchy is one aspect of the constitutional status quo that commands plurality support, in part because it a racts residual sympathy among supporters of Sco ish independence. This reflects the Sco ish government's public support for the institution and the absence of anti-monarchist messages from political leaders before the new First Minister.

The SES also asked respondents for their views on a series of statements about the monarchy using a five-point scale from 'Strongly disagree' to 'Strongly agree'. Responding to questions on the importance of tradition versus modernisation, whether the Crown should hspn ssue Cb-169s on independencee22 arr-12(te)5(of W)2(tlliam)]TJ0e

While Scots are divided on the Royal Family, opinion is nuanced. Independence supporters are more republican than supporters of the union, but to the extent that the Sco ish electorate supports the monarchy as a whole it is because of residual support among those who want to end the Union. Majority support for the monarchy in Scotland relies on support not just from commi ed unionists, but also independence supporters. However, that does not suggest independence supporters would like a monarchy in an independent Scotland.

Should Scotland gain independence, there are a number of challenges for maintaining support for the monarchy in Scotland. Asked if the monarchy should remain for Britain, half of Scots agree with this statement. However, when asked if the same should be true in an independent Scotland, support then

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That link was clearly apparent in September 2022, when the Accession Council met, and the proclamations of Charles as King took place. Several times that day he was pronounced Defender of the Faith – the title that all our Anglican monarchs since Henry VIII have held, despite it being first given to him, pre-Reformation, by a Pope Leo X for Henry's refutation of Martin Luther.

While Defender of the Faith means being an advocate of at least Anglicanism if not Christianity as a whole, the King's other religious title, Supreme Governor of the Church of England is about supervising its running by the bishops. That special relationship between the monarch and the established Church of England – founded by Henry VIII when he broke with the Roman Catholic Church – is emphasised at the coronation through its oaths and by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Primate of the Church of England, crowning the King, assisted by the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of London and Durham. It is a moment of mutual endorsement.

There are now fewer than a million people in the UK who a end Anglican Sunday services. Despite this, the Church of England remains the established church, with its special privileges. These include having 26 bishops involved in law-making through membership of the House of Lords, and several special duties, such as o ering to bury anyone - for all Britons are nominal members of that Church. However, the Church does not have the influence it once did.

The 2021 Census showed that only 46.2% of people identified themselves as Christian – a drop of 13% in ten years. This raises questions over the right of the Church of England to retain responsibility for the Coronation of the monarch and over the special relationship between the Church and the Crown.

With just weeks to go before the coronation, it is evident that the Church of England is not relinquishing its hold on the ceremony. Discussions are apparently going to the wire about how other Christian denominations and other faiths might participate. Involving denominations is relatively easy, with their clerics involved in readings, or blessings, although inviting the Roman Catholic Cardinal Archbishop of

and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Justin Welby, has hard-line members of the Anglican Communion watching his every move, may prove trickier still.

The King though, like his mother, Elizabeth II, has found more room for manoeuvre outside the coronation ceremony itself. In 2012, at the time of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee, she made a landmark speech at Lambeth Palace, highlighting the role of the Church of England in enabling all faiths to prosper, and was keen for the Commonwealth Day service to involve not only other Christian denominations but other faiths. Charles III held an unprecedented reception for faith leaders just days a er his mother's death in which he emphasised he was a commi ed Anglican but also promised to ensure other faiths thrived.

MONARCHY AND RELIGION IN EUROPE

Frank Cranmer

In addition to the United Kingdom, there are 11 other monarchies across Europe, with varying constitutional arrangements when it comes to religion: Andorra, Belgium, Denmark, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Monaco, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden – and, of course, the Vatican City, where the Pope is head of state. In Andorra, the Bishop of Urgell and the President of France are co-Princes and the constitution gives special recognition to the Roman Catholic Church. Under the constitution of Liechtenstein, the Roman Catholic Church is the 'National Church', while the constitution of Monaco declares Roman Catholicism 'the religion of the state'.

Under the terms of the Act of Se lement 1700, the monarch of the United Kingdom may not be a Roman Catholic, and the relationship between church and state means, in e ect, that he or she must be a member of the Church of England as established by law. Uniquely in Europe, the British monarch is also the Supreme Governor of the Church: a title that goes back to the Act of Supremacy 1559, when the Protestant Elizabeth I succeeded the Catholic Mary. Henry VIII had declared himself the 'Supreme Head in earth' of

Constitution maintains the establishment of the Evangelical Lutheran Church and Article 6 requires that the monarch shall be a member of the Church.

In contrast, when France conquered the Netherlands in 1795 and established the Batavian Republic, church and state were separated – and have remained so to this day. Article 20 of the Constitution of Belgium – described by a Council of Europe body as 'the prototype of the constitutional monarchy, transposing the British customary constitution into a wri en text' – guarantees both freedom of religion and freedom from religion. The Belgian monarch's religion is therefore a private ma er and the first King, Leopold I, was a Lutheran in a largely Roman Catholic country. So when in 1990 King Baudouin, a Roman Catholic, could not in conscience sign a law permi ing abortion, the Cabinet suspended him from governing, assumed his powers, promulgated the abortion law and recalled Parliament for a special session – and King Baudouin resumed office on the following day.

The United Kingdom is also the last country in Europe that crowns its new King or Queen. Elizabeth II was anointed and crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury in Westminster Abbey in 1953 in a tradition dating back centuries, and the present Archbishop will both crown Charles III and anoint him with oil consecrated by the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Anglican Archbishop in Jerusalem.

Belgium and Luxembourg do not have royal regalia but have swearing-in ceremonies for their monarchs in the legislature. Even those countries that once crowned their monarchs no longer do so – the last coronation in Denmark, for example, was of Christian VIII in 1840. In the Netherlands, under Article 32 of the Constitution a new monarch is sworn in at a joint session of the two Houses of the States General. They are invested, rather than crowned, at the Nieuwe Kerk, with the crown and the other regalia simply on display. In Spain, the new monarch takes a formal oath before the Parliament to uphold the Constitution: again, the crown is displayed but there is no coronation. Perhaps surprisingly, not even the Vatican continues the custom: no Pope since Paul VI has been crowned with the Papal Tiara.

Somewhat ironically, Pope Leo X conferred on Henry VIII the title Fidei Defensor in 1521, a er Henry had published Assertio Septem Sacramentorum: a defence of traditional sacramental theology against the teachings of Martin Luther – and the King or Queen still uses that title, traditionally rendered as 'Defender of the Faith'. However, the relationship between monarchy and religion has become more

complex as Europe has become both increasingly multi-faith and increasingly secular, and in recognition of those changes, King Charles announced on his 60th birthday, while still Prince of Wales, that on his accession he would prefer to be

MONARCHY AND CHARITIES

Franklyn Prochaska

Prince William opened an address to the Charity Commission in 2018 by saying

or societies with active or regular royal engagements. Indeed, many societies founded by the monarchy would not have existed without royal intervention and financial assistance.

Members of the royal family have long been financial supporters of charity. While it is impossible to compare overall levels of royal donations over time, owing to a lack of detailed evidence, it is clear that members of the Victorian royal family were prominent in their financial support of charity. Queen Victoria alone donated upwards of £650,000 to charitable causes during her reign - the equivalent of roughly £100 million in today's money. Judging from the available patronage books, Queen Adelaide, the consort of William IV, gave away as much as 40% of her income each year, making her one of the most generous contributors to charity in the history of the royal family.

According to the Privy Purse Charitable Trust, Queen Elizabeth was giving away over £200,000 a year across a range of local and national causes in the early 1990s, a figure that rose to over £600,000 in recent years. This is clearly a considerable sum, albeit on the surface, lower than that donated by some of her predecessors, and only a very small proportion of the Queen's personal wealth which was estimated by [illegible] at £277 million in 2022.
(See Hazel on funding the monarchy).

The monarchy, Queen Elizabeth II notably said, needs to be seen to be believed, a view reinforced by the criticism of Queen Victoria's seclusion a er the death of Prince Albert and the growth of a republican movement in the UK before she returned to royal duties. The monarchy also needs visibility to enhance its reputation, which charitable events provide. The advances in transport over the years have played a major part in increasing royal visibility. King George V and Queen Mary, for example, used the motor car very e ectively to reach once inaccessible parts of the country on their charitable rounds.

A Mass Observation survey carried out on the monarchy in 1964 concluded that the public was three times more likely to see a member of the royal family in a 'welfare' context than in any other. The size of the 'working' royal family – larger than any other in Europe – enables it to carry out far more charitable engagements.

When a member of the royal family dies, every e ort is made to redistribute his or her patronages - a process now underway in regard to Queen Elizabeth's charities.

When the Queen Mother died in 2002, all her 300 or so institutions were taken

DRESSING THE CONSTITUTION: MONARCHY AND FASHION

Jean Seaton

Dress ma ers. Projecting power, legitimacy, authority, and communicating clear messages has always been intertwined with what people wear. Putin's western suits and Zelensky's combat fatigues are carefully choreographed representations of power. The rich, who dress to display taste and wealth, usually do so to a secluded club of other rich people. In Iran, the brave and wild abandonment of the hijab is about accumulating opposition and assembling power. What women wear is at the centre of revolt.

Monarchs, in comparison to heads of state, have a wider canvas of action and dress. But that dress ma ers even more important for them, since they do not wear clothes quite as themselves but as what they represent: the nation and the constitution. In the sixteenth century Elizabeth I used splendid dresses along

The key elements of dress for a constitutional monarch are to wear the right thing, that expresses the right feeling, to the right event, with courtesy, respect and wit. Dress is interactive, it a ects the wearer and the viewer – and viewer's reaction reflects back to the wearer. So, in this sense what the monarch wears (like much of monarchical power) is both mysterious and personal. It enables them to be themselves while acting in public. Visual judgements are swi and very hard to reverse as well.

In the time of social media, when instant opinions are forged, image-making and the visual are important politically and commercially. It is no coincidence that in the Conservative leadership race in 2022 it was the most prolific users of Instagram, Rishi Sunak and Liz Truss, who led the pack. Rishi Sunak and that parody of dressing up that was Liz Truss had cultivated their images for years.

The British monarchy know they have to adapt to this environment. Josephine Ross, from Vogue magazine, said royal dress "is not about looking sexy, not about looking fashionable, not about themselves exactly". It amplifies a ention and interest in what it does and what it represents.

Securing and holding a place in the imagination of the citizenry of the nation and the world is now a brutal ba lefield. Catching public focus on [illegible] is bewilderingly hard when a ention is so monetised, when there is so much to see and do. How do you leverage a ention? The ba les over and for royal dresses are like, but not the same as, the ba les for control of image that are waged by celebrities and politicians. The Victorian chronicler of the British constitution, Walter Bagehot, said 'a Constitutional monarchy has a comprehensible element for the vacant many, as well as complex laws and notions for the inquiring few.' This is a wide range, and so the monarch catching our a ention is also recruiting – perhaps sympathy in the face of hostility – but at least a ention from a wider group of the population. It may sometimes be flippant, but the monarchy is a glue that holds the nation together. Whether this survives in the future is an increasingly tough question to answer.

In this way dress is a vital reserve power. The capacity to do other things depends on winning the dressing game. The roles that the monarch and the now smaller Royal Family around him fulfil are wide: to encourage charities and help

THE WORK AND INFLUENCE OF COURTIERS

Valentine Low

Courtiers is a catch-all term which covers the advisers and o cials who help to run the monarchy. At Buckingham Palace they include the keeper of the privy purse, who looks a er the money; the comptroller, who is in charge of ceremonial; the communications secretary; and the master of the household, who was described by one Palace insider as the equivalent of the hotel manager, in charge of the service sta , catering and entertaining. The late Queen Elizabeth also had ladies-in-waiting, one of whom was always on duty and whose duties included assisting on public engagements, a ending formal functions, and helping with

The question as to what extent courtiers exert real power – or are just there to fawn and carry out their principal's will – is a complex one. There is a telling passage in Prince Harry's 2022 book 'Spare', in which he recounts a conversation with Prince William on the eve of his wedding to Meghan Markle about whether the brothers were going out to meet the crowds gathered outside. William said that Harry did not have to do it just because the press o ce told him to. "Since when?" replied Harry. Two years later, when Harry and Meghan were planning to step back from royal duties, Harry phoned the Queen from Canada to arrange a meeting with her at Sandringham to discuss the issue. They put a date in the diary, but just before he flew back, he was told that she was not available a er all. He was in no doubt that her private secretary had got to her and advised her not to see him on her own. The incident fuelled his mistrust of courtiers.

In 1994 Prince Charles made his famous admission in a television interview with Jonathan Dimbleby that he had been unfaithful to Diana, but only a er the marriage had "irretrievably broken down". His confession of adultery was much criticised, with Charles's private secretary Richard Aylard held to blame. At a dinner party Charles, when quizzed by a friend as to why he had confessed, pointed across the table at Aylard and said: "He made me do it."

Courtiers can exert considerable influence but are only able to do so successfully if they are in sympathy with their principal. Richard Aylard was, for a while, one of Charles's more e ective private secretaries, because he believed in the prince's green agenda. By contrast, his predecessor Major General Christopher Airy lasted only a short time in the job, because he was unfamiliar with the charitable and environmental world in which Charles was moving. As one contemporary put it: "Christopher would not have known one end of a biodiversity strategy from another."

Courtiers used to be drawn from a narrow social circle. Martin Charteris, who served the late Queen as private secretary, had one grandfather who was a duke and another who was an earl. Even if they were not aristocrats, more o en than not they had gone to Eton or served in one of the more elite regiments. A er criticism in the late 1950s that the Queen was surrounded by an insular, tweedy clique of 'second-raters', that began to change, albeit slowly.

More courtiers were recruited from government, especially the Foreign O ce. From the 1990s, the palace began to hire from the commercial world, oelin61AD

would be “a comprehensive-educated, le -of-centre person”. At one stage Prince William’s private secretary was the son of a Post O ce clerk.

Other changes have been slower to implement. One internal critic called the Palace “a misogynistic, pale, male, stale environment”. There are few senior figures from ethnic minorities. At the time of writing, King Charles has over his lifetime had ten principal private secretaries, and Prince William five: not one has been a woman.

The sovereign’s private secretary has a close relationship with the Cabinet Secretary and the Prime Minister’s Principal Private Secretary, o en talking to the la er on a daily basis. In 2014, in the run-up to the referendum on Sco ish independence, the Prime Minister David Cameron began to worry that Scotland might vote to leave the Union and approached the Palace for help – as he put it, nothing unconstitutional, but just ‘a raising of the eyebrow’ on the part of the Queen. That raising of the eyebrow was plo ed by the Queen’s private secretary, Sir Christopher (now Lord) Geidt and the Cabinet Secretary, Sir Jeremy Heywood. In a carefully arranged encounter outside the local church near Balmoral, the Queen replied to a question about the vote from a member of the public by saying: “Well, I hope people will think very carefully about the future.”

Courtiers also have to grapple with the dilemma of whether they serve the individual or the monarchy. For those who worked for the late Queen, this was rarely if ever a problem. However, with other members of the Royal Family it can lead to di culties. One former private secretary described how on more than one occasion they had to go against the wishes of their principal in the interests of the institution. As they le work at the end of the day, they told a colleague: “I probably won’t be here tomorrow.” Somehow, they survived.

The more skilful courtiers are adept at persuading their principals to accept unpalatable advice. Yet however much influence they wield, decisions – especially the big ones – are ultimately made by the royals themselves. This was evident during the negotiations over the Duke and Duchess of Sussex’s decision to stand down as working members of the Royal Family. They wanted to have a compromise whereby they spent part of the year abroad, and part carrying out royal duties: it was the late Queen who stood firm and said that a half-in, half-

For all that, the Queen was regarded by her former advisers as an easy boss to work for, even if she was capable of rejecting advice. In the 1980s her private secretary, Sir William Heseltine, wrote an internal paper suggesting it was time for the Queen to start paying tax. However, the idea would not be taken up until 1992 during the Queen's

MONARCHY AND THE MEDIA

Roger Mosey

In a message in February 2022 to mark her 70th anniversary on the throne, Queen Elizabeth II noted that it was her "sincere wish" that the former Mrs Camilla Parker-Bowles would become known as Queen Consort when her son Charles acceded to the throne. The media reaction to what could have been a controversial move showed the deferential and unquestioning tone that characterises much media reporting of royal ma ers. 'Camilla WILL become Queen,' proclaimed the _____, calling it a 'surprise announcement' that would see 'the former royal mistress' become the woman who constitutionally represents the nation. It was a surprise because the Palace had previously said that this would not happen; Camilla would be known, they had said, as Princess Consort.

This significant change to the role of the King and his Queen was overwhelmingly treated by most of the media as a pleasing family touch by Elizabeth on a special occasion for her, and it even took [illegible] many paragraphs before they got to a commentator describing the announcement as 'extraordinary'. Debates on broadcast media were vanishingly few, though Jack Royston – royal correspondent for Newsweek – said on ITV's Good Morning Britain that "the public don't want it. The numbers are really clear." The programme's presenter said that their audience response supported that.

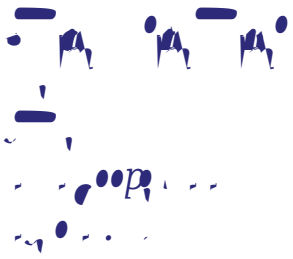
The long-term goal of Charles and his courtiers to secure acceptance for Camilla is a perfectly understandable human wish, but it has not been achieved by an open debate facilitated by the media about the monarchy. In October 2022, [illegible] reported that even the word 'consort' was, as they put it, 'to be quietly dropped' from Camilla's title. Yet the instinct of many journalists is to present this as the latest twist in a high-quality soap opera rather than about the way we as citizens – or maybe 'subjects' – are governed. There are some exceptions to the royal conformists: a [illegible] journalist fought a lengthy ba le to uncover Charles's interventionist memos to ministers, and [illegible] exposed bags of cash being handed over by questionable donors.

However, it is overwhelmingly what we might call 'The Crown' narrative that wins out. The real-life drama of the Windsors delivered some of its most compelling episodes when the Duke and Duchess of Sussex le the United Kingdom for their new life in North America, via Oprah Winfrey and Netflix.

There were high viewing figures in the UK and record book sales. This points to the greatest a raction of the Royal Family for newspapers, radio, television and the rest: they are box o ce. Most of us avidly consume the gossip. The late Queen is reported to have said "I have to be seen to be believed" and now that can be achieved by internet clickbait more e ectively than by a royal visit to Barrow. This can of course be hurtful to the humans at the centre of the story: Harry and Meghan seem to o er an example of not being able to live with – or without – it.

It would be a mistake to see the Royal Family as neutral players here. They, naturally, want to preserve the institution. To support that, they have a large team of professional media advisers and have used high-profile consultants on the trickiest assignments. Indeed, Prince Harry's central allegation is that he was sacrificed by 'the machine' to bolster others. When a significant death occurs, there is a media plan. The tributes are filtered out: first from the then Prince of Wales, and a day later the Princess Royal's words about her late father the Duke of Edinburgh were posted by the Palace on Instagram. Princess Eugenie brought up the rear.

The Royal household can be vigorous in defending its interests. The BBC lost its exclusive production rights on the Queen's Christmas broadcast when it was thought to have displeased the Royal Family in the 1990s. I was editor of the Today programme on Radio 4 between 1993 and 1996, when the chairman of the BBC was Marmaduke Hussey – spouse of Lady Susan Hussey, who was a lady-in-waiting. By whatever route, the displeasure of the Palace at two of our royal items – I was told that Hussey wanted action taken against me personally – was made known. Happily, the management ignored the chairman. A few years later, as head of television news, I had a lovely, civilised drink with a courtier who asked me to replace one of the journalists assigned to a royal visit because of the dislike for them "at the very top". We did not comply.



The broadcaster David Dimbleby summed up the continuing tension in comments at the Henley Literary Festival in October 2022. He told how the Palace sought to control every aspect of the televised funeral of the Queen: "There was this complete list of things that no broadcaster could show because the copyright belongs to Buckingham Palace. I think that's wrong, just wrong. It's just interesting how tightly controlled monarchy is." He went on to list items that most journalists rarely challenge, such as the royal ability to change tax legislation or avoid capital gains tax on the Duchy of Cornwall. A er the

This picture changed li le over the subsequent twenty years. In eleven readings taken between 1995 and 2008, on average 31% told BSA it was 'very important' to have a monarchy, while 65% said it was 'very' or 'quite important'. Similarly, in 20 polls it conducted between 1994 and 2006, on average Ipsos found that 72% wanted to keep the monarchy, while 18% stated that Britain should become a republic.

However, the popularity of the monarchy has oscillated over the last decade – in both directions. In 2011 and 2012 the Queen made much lauded trips to Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic, symbolically healing divisions on both sides of the border – most notably by shaking the hand of the former IRA commander Martin McGuinness. (See Hazell and Morris on roles of the monarchy). In both years, three-quarters (75%) told BSA it was important to have a monarchy. Meanwhile, in three polls conducted in 2012, also the year of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee, on average 79% advised Ipsos that they preferred a monarchy, while support for a republic slipped to 15%.

However, this purple patch did not last. Cracks in the image of a stable 'Royal Family' appeared once again. In 2019 Prince Andrew was forced to withdraw from public life following a disastrous television interview and subsequent out of court se lement in respect of allegations about improper sexual behaviour. In early 2020 King Charles' younger son, Harry, and his wife, Meghan, opted to pursue a private life in the US following a well-publicised and continuing falling out with other members of the family.

In the wake of these developments, King Charles has found himself inheriting the crown at a time when support for the monarchy appears as low as ever. A YouGov poll in October 2022 reported that only 55% believe the monarchy is good(o)23(y)3(o)23(D[s)23(D[s)021d tOct1(y)5oc1r 1the m

In any event, the future of the monarchy under King Charles and his heirs will rest on their ability to persuade new generations of the value of the crown. Yet there is a big age di erence in a itudes. According to BSA just 14% of those aged under 35 say that it is 'very important' to keep the monarchy, whereas 44% of those aged 55 and over express that view. Similarly, in their most recent poll

In this way, on behalf of the nation, the monarchy seeks to represent widely held values. These include the concept of voluntary and community service, diversity, and religious expression. This can manifest itself through the variety of engagements that the Royal Family undertake across the country. Especially through the honours system, the monarchy can recognise the ideals of excellence and service.

In this space, the monarchy can draw a ention to issues in a manner that supplements rather than supplants party politics. For example, the Royal Foundation Centre for Early Childhood, established by the Princess of Wales, commissions research and encourages collaboration from experts on how the challenges someone faces in their early years can impact them for the rest of their lives. Yet, the need to be politically impartial means that such activity must always be several steps away from engaging in specific policy problems or making policy proposals for the government to consider.

None of this is exclusive to monarchies. Most presidents undertake duties which could be classed as acting as Head of Nation. The di erence with the monarchy, based on the hereditary principle, is that these activities take place beyond the electoral cycle, which some argue means monarchy can withstand even the most turbulent politics.

The core argument for republicans is to take these points and make them the core weakness of monarchy and the greatest strength of a republic. Fundamentally, the republican argument is based on the principle that all political power should, in some way, flow from a democratic mandate. A directly elected president would be accountable to the electorate, and an indirectly elected president would be accountable to Parliament.

This accountability would enable both a directly or indirectly elected president to provide a constitutional check on the government of the day. A president might be more inclined to reject an inappropriate request to dissolve or prorogue Parliament. By contrast, the King cannot get involved and must act on the advice of the government. At moments of acute political crisis, this creates a risk that the King becomes a mere pawn in a broader game of political chess. By contrast, a president would be expected to be an independent player in the political process. For example, in October 2022, Italian President Sergio Ma arella facilitated the formation of a new government by meeting the leaders of the political parties.

A president would also be more active politically. This may not be a bad thing. In June 2022, Irish President Michael D Higgins, described housing as "our great, great, great failure" and a "disaster". Despite his actions as Prince of Wales, it is

inconceivable that the King would make such a political intervention. In this way, a president can provide an outlet at moments when ordinary party politics has, for some reason, failed or been reluctant to confront a policy problem.

A series of presidents, elected over time, can represent di erent aspects of the nation in ways that a hereditary monarchy is simply unable to achieve. In principle, those becoming president could be of any gender, race or sexuality, drawn from anywhere in the country, have di erent political backgrounds, or perhaps none at all. They would bring their background to the role of President, representing the nation as it is today.