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### **THEME**

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# **THE NEED TO MAINTAIN THE MONARCHY IN TODAY'S MODERN DEMOCRATIC BRITAIN**

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# *Dedication*

- To my dear parents: Messikh Ali & Karmouz Saliha.
- To my beloved daughter: Chieb Lodjeine.
- To my husband Chieb Yassine.
- To my brothers and sisters.
- To all students who may find this humble work useful later on.

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# *Abstract*

The British Monarchy is the eldest institution in Britain. This institution witnessed many historical developments including civil wars, World Wars, fall of the British Empire, rise of democracy, decolonization, economic crises, but still it exists today even though not as strong as it was. This institution had been at once very powerful, with its kings strongly believing in the Divine Right of kings. Gradually, it was stripped of most of its powers, as people no longer believed in the sacrosanctity of their kings. Indeed, people started to rebel against their kings and call for limiting their absolute powers to safeguard their own rights and liberties. Such rebellions marked the end of Absolute Monarchy and gave the birth of Constitutional British Monarchy with only symbolic roles to play which do not justify its existence, leading many to call for its abolition. It is really surprising that the British Monarchy still exists now in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, but before rushing into calling for its abolition, one must think deeply and rise questions like: What is the rationality of keeping this institution with its apparent symbolic roles in politics, the arena in which everything is carefully accounted for? In this humble work, we try to find possible “hidden roles” played by the British Monarch that might be important and truly justify its existence.

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## List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

<b>BM</b>	British Monarchy.
<b>UK</b>	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.
<b>GB</b>	Great Britain.
<b>PM</b>	Prime Minister.
<b>MPs</b>	Members of Parliament.
<b>Ecoeff</b>	Economic Effectiveness.
<b>Ecoleg</b>	Economic Legitimacy.
<b>Poleff</b>	Political Effectiveness.
<b>Poleg</b>	Political Legitimacy.
<b>Seceff</b>	Security Effectiveness.
<b>Secleg</b>	Security Legitimacy.
<b>Soclef</b>	Social Legitimacy.
<b>NOPC</b>	Oil Production or Consumption.
<b>GDP</b>	Gross Domestic Product.
<b>Lab</b>	Labour Party.
<b>Lib Dem</b>	Liberal Democratic Party.
<b>Con</b>	Conservative Party.
<b>NI</b>	Northern Ireland.
<b>BNI</b>	British National Identity.
<b>EU</b>	European Union.
<b>CW</b>	Commonwealth of Nations.
<b>UN</b>	United Nations.
<b>NISRA</b>	Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency.
<b>BSA</b>	British Social Attitudes.
<b>BBC</b>	British Broadcasting Channel.
<b>SNP</b>	Scottish National Party.

<b>CHOGM</b>	Commonwealth Heads of Governments Meeting.
<b>FDI</b>	Foreign Domestic Investment.
<b>WWI</b>	World War One.
<b>WWII</b>	World War Two.
<b>SSP</b>	Scottish Social Party.
<b>NISRA</b>	Northern Ireland Social Research Agency.
<b>UNGA</b>	United Nations General Assembly.
<b>UNSC</b>	United Nations Security Council.

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# Introduction

## Background of the Study

The British Monarchy is not only the oldest monarchy in Europe; it is also the eldest European institution of any kind except for the papacy. This institution succeeded the test of time *par excellence*, with its existence remaining unshaken even after many changes had taken place in the United Kingdom. Indeed, the country had passed through civil wars, revolutions, and World Wars, after which the monarchy had been weakened but not abolished.

Probably the most important event which weakened the monarchy and marked its transition from Absolute Monarchy to Constitutional Monarchy is the Glorious Revolution. Before this event, British Monarchs used to enjoy wide range of powers based on the belief of divine rights of kings. These rights suggest that the monarchy is divinely chosen institution and kings are representatives of God on earth. As such, their powers are unlimited and unquestioned, for they are accountable to no earthly accountability and God alone can judge them. Consequently, people had to passively obey their kings, showing no resistance at all to their tyrannical rule.

With the passage of time and the enlightenment of people's mind, the British learned how to rebel against their kings to claim their own rights which were only guaranteed through limiting royal powers. By each rebellion, the institution of the British Monarchy was stripped of some of its prerogatives gradually. The first rebellion was the Barons Wars in 1215 in which Barons raised against the continuous exploitation of feudal rights by which Norman kings used to distribute their kingdom's land through granting some territories to barons on the condition that they provided military support during wartimes. But the problem was with the high frequency of wartimes which left most barons bankrupt. King John, for example, engaged himself in many wars and lost many territories of the kingdom to the extent that he was given the nickname of "John Lackland". In addition to exploiting the feudal system, Norman kings exploited the awardship system too. This made orphans awards to the king who saw himself as a guardian to their possession until they reached adulthood, but usually by that time most minors found

everything sold off, and in some cases they found themselves forced into marriage as well. Barons were upset with all these exploitations and decided to put an end to all these by forcing King John to sign Magna Carta to limit royal powers and safeguard their own rights. They even established a council of 25 barons to see if the king acted within the frame of the charter. They also gave themselves the right to rebel against the king if he chose to ignore the charter through seizing his castles and all his possessions. (Drew, 2004)

The Barons War was the first recorded rebellion to limit royal powers with an official document. Its importance stems from the fact of being the first attempt to challenge a king who was seen by the divine rights of kings as representative of god. Its importance stems also from the document which was introduced by that time. It is regarded by modern critics as the cornerstone of democracy in Britain for being one of the rare constitutional documents in British history.

After the Baron Wars, royal powers were challenged again in the English Civil War with King Charles I who chose to rule eleven years without parliament to re-establish the powers and prestige of monarchy. To avoid parliament, King Charles I relied on his friends for advice and money, but continuous troubles in Scotland compelled the king to open parliament to finance him, only to find himself in a bigger trouble with parliamentarians who sought to take revenge of their long disregard and neglect by the king. A civil war of seven years broke down between parliamentarians, from one side, who made establishing parliamentary sovereignty their sacred question, and Royalist, from the other side, who were the few remaining supporters of the king who still believed in the divine rights of kings and wanted to keep the monarchy.

The civil war ended by the victory of parliamentarians who abolished the monarchy and House of Lords, and made Britain a republic instead of a kingdom. This event further weakened the British Monarchy. It was almost a shock at that time to the world because a king was tried and executed by his subjects. (Cressy, 2006)

Perhaps, the last fatal event that was a blow to the few remaining prestige of monarchy is the Glorious Revolution for it made the British Monarchy a constitutional monarchy whose powers should strictly abide by the uncodified constitution of the United Kingdom.

Theoretically speaking, the uncodified constitution of Britain gives the monarchy some jurisdictions as royal prerogatives, including the appointment of the Prime Minister, dissolution of parliament, giving Royal Assents to bills, declaring and ending wars, making treaties, regulating diplomatic relations, regulating civil service, being the Chief- of the armed forces and other titles. These royal prerogatives make the British Monarchy appear as incredibly powerful institution, but practically speaking, the British Monarch cannot use these powers. According to the prominent constitutional theorist Walter Baghot in his reference book *The English Constitution* upon which many researchers and academics base their studies, the British Monarch has in fact no more than three powers which are: the right to be consulted, the right to encourage, the right to warn” (2001, p. 60). Indeed, the monarch is in reality a weak constitution. For example, the monarch cannot appoint any one to be the Prime Minister, because the person who should occupy this office is the leader of the party which commands majority in House of Commons. The monarch cannot also dissolve parliament at any time and call an early election as stated in royal prerogatives, except in a very rare case in which the opinion of parliament goes against the wishes of electors and the possibility of causing serious crises within the country. Giving Royal Assent to bills cannot be considered as a real power, for in reality it was not refused since 1707. From that time on, any bill accepted by both houses becomes an act of parliament. Thus, Royal Assent now is almost a mere certificate which acknowledges that the bill has successfully passed by legal stages to reach the Crown. Concerning highly serious issues like declaring wars and ending them, ratifying treaties and regulating diplomatic relations, these are just done in the name of the monarch who can never decide by his/her own, rather s/he has to turn to the final word of the parliament. To conclude, the royal prerogatives grants for the monarch powers that s/he can never enjoy them in reality. This end was the fruit of a long history of

conflict between the institution of parliament and monarchy which ended by asserting the supremacy of parliament to usher in a new age in which power was given to people to govern themselves, based on wide-spread standards of democracy, freedom, and equality. These, and similar values that became idolized and appreciated everywhere revolutionized the world, and some changes seemed to be necessary: Many countries got independence; empires were an old tale of history, kingdoms turned into democracies, and.., and.....etc. Among all these changes, the institution of British monarchy remained intact, though the British view to it has changed.

According to statistics held by YouGov and British Social Attitudes (defined into details in the appendix), a considerable number of people in the United Kingdom feel embarrassed of the outdated institution of monarchy which is according to them is associated with aristocracy, hierarchy, and old order. It reminds some of them of the people who were slaughtered and exploited in the name of the crown and empire. Many see it as an undemocratic institution which goes against the universally accepted principle to hold any office which is merit and aspiration because monarchs hold their offices for lifetime without working hard to get these offices. Not only this, Monarchy deprives them of electing their Head of State as most countries do in the world. This is aside from the fact that the institution holds no real power and it is a mere figurehead. These arguments and many others fully explored throughout the thesis push many British, some of them led by political parties like the Scottish National Party, Plaid Cymru, to call for abolishing the monarchy.

### **Research Questions and Statement of the Problem**

It is really surprising that the institution of the British Monarchy still exists now in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, though it plays only symbolic roles. Anything in this world exists to play a particular role that justifies its existence. How is it possible that the British Monarchy survived all these centuries if it is only ceremonial and holds no real powers? Such a contradiction between the unimportance of the institution and its existence leads any sensible person to ask the following questions: why does it still exist then? Is it possible that its existence is an innocent mistake? Is it

possible that this mistake is made in politics, the arena in which everything is carefully accounted for? or is it planned for to stay because it still serves the country in one way or another? In short what might be the logical reasons for keeping the British Monarchy nowadays?

### **Hypothesis**

We hypothesize throughout this work that the British Monarchy is still kept despite its symbolic roles for it is good for Britain's well-being. In other word, we hypothesize that the institution of monarchy is playing some important roles which may convincingly justify its existence in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. These roles seem to be not included within the uncoded constitution of the United Kingdom because logically speaking if these roles were clearly mentioned in the constitution everybody will be aware of the importance of the institution and no one will dare to call for abolishing the monarchy which is not the case in Britain, or maybe there is another possibility. It is judged to be better to keep the real important roles of the institution secretive for the general good of the country. Our main hypothesis is supported by three minor hypotheses which may help us see if the main hypothesis is true or not.

Before mentioning these three hypotheses, it might be useful to know where they are deduced from.

Because the British Monarchy exists today, the possible important role that it might be playing needs to suit the necessities of Britain nowadays. It can be, for example, a kind of overcoming some problems that the country is suffering from now. According to many indicators adopted by internationally recognized research agencies like British Social Attitudes, Northern Ireland Social Research Agency and others, Britain is suffering from two main problems that are interrelated and may cause together highly serious consequences on the very existence of Britain. The first is a crisis of identity which is resulting from the fact that the kingdom is made up of four countries in which some people have more loyalty to their local nationalisms rather than to British national identity, in addition to other minor factors like policies of multiculturalism, immigration, and the effect of globalization. The second problem, which many political scientists like Pr. Curtice

argue that is a consequence of the first, is call for independence in the four countries which make the kingdom. This call is stronger within countries whose people feel strong local identity like the case of Scotland.

Based on these readings, we suggest that the ceremonial and symbolic nature of the British monarchy enables it to do something about these two problems. Our first minor hypothesis is that the British Monarchy may help in maintaining the British national identity through symbolizing all that is British. The second is that the British Monarchy may help in keeping the kingdom united because the four countries are constitutionally linked by acknowledging the British Monarch as a Head of State.

The third minor hypothesis is a follow up to the second one. We hypothesize that the British Monarchy, through helping in keeping the kingdom united, may help also in promoting a better economic and political performance of Britain in the international arena because a kingdom which includes four countries, with their large population and rich natural recourses is far better than the performance of four possible separate countries. This role is further supported by the institution of monarchy through heading the organization of Commonwealth of Nations which cannot not possibly exist without the monarchy, and which helps Britain economically and politically especially after leaving the European Union.

These three minor hypotheses may help us support our main hypothesis that there is still a need to keep the institution of monarchy for playing some important roles that may justify existence.

### **Objective of the Study**

The main objective of the study is to demonstrate that there are reasons beyond the existence of the monarchy which truly justify the existence of this institution. The royal prerogatives make the British Monarchy appear as an important part of political process in the country, but in reality the monarch cannot exercise any powers and his job is limited to purely ceremonial roles. Nevertheless, the institution is still kept though it receives harsh criticism for its unimportance

and contradiction with sets of values and principles like democracy. In other words, this thesis attempts to reveal that the institution of monarchy in Britain is meant for to stay to serve highly serious issues like keeping the kingdom united and promoting the economic and political position of UK in the world. Thus, this thesis stresses the need to keep the British Monarchy in the current debate about the importance of its existence.

### **Significance**

If we can prove that our main hypothesis is true at the end of this work, this thesis may contribute to enrich the ongoing debate on the British Monarchy through suggesting that there is still a need to maintain the institution in today's modern democratic Britain. This need stems from the important roles that the institution may play. Not only this, the nature of the roles that are suggested by this thesis helps to overcome highly serious problems in Britain. For example, the problem of identity crisis that the country has been suffering from, since forming the union in 1707 and until now, can be at least be minimized through suggesting the British Monarchy to be a unifier symbolic icon of British identity that appeals to people's feelings and emotions to remind them of all that is British. This solution, as simple as it may appear, can help a lot in maintaining the British identity which is deteriorating because of the rise of local nationalisms, and some policies of immigration and multiculturalism in UK. After all identity is a link that is felt among the same citizens of a nation who consider themselves different from other people because of a set of characteristics that may include a common history, origin, language, traditions...etc.

In addition to contributing to solve the problem of identity, this thesis suggests the British Monarchy to help considerably in facing the rising calls of independence in Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland, and with a less degree in England. We suggest that because of the fact that these four countries are constitutionally linked through acknowledging the British Monarch as the Head of State for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, abolishing the monarchy may lead to separating the four regions; especially if there have already been claims for independence. Thus, we suggest that keeping the monarchy is a good solution that may

overcome independence tendencies in the four regions of the country. The best way to see this role is imagining UK without the institution of the monarchy. This may give some strong political parties like the Scottish National Party a chance to apply their agenda through calling for an independent republic in Scotland, or a unified republic in Ireland as claimed by the Irish Republican Party. As a result, there might be no united kingdom at all, and instead, four separate countries.

If we find at the end of the study that our hypothesis is not true, this thesis may help to guide other researchers to find real reasons beyond the existence of the British Monarchy through avoiding the reasons and roles that are suggested by this thesis. Or, it may add another voice to those calling for abolishing the institution of British Monarchy for finding no significant roles played by it.

### **Thesis Structure**

This thesis is divided into five chapters. The first chapter is entitled: “Towards a Constitutional Monarchy”, the second chapter is under the title of: “The Rise of Democracy and Shift of Power from Monarchy to Parliament”, the third chapter has the title of: “Republicanism in the United Kingdom and Call for Abolishing the Monarchy”, the title of the fourth chapter is: “The Role of the British Monarchy in Maintaining the British National Identity and Keeping the Kingdom United”, and the last chapter is entitled: “The Role of the British Monarchy in Promoting United Kingdom’s Economic and Political Position through Commonwealth of Nations”.

Chapter one is devoted to provide us with necessary information to start the research on clear and strong basis. This includes definitions of terms like “Monarchy”, “Divine Rights of Kings”, and interrelated terms. As its title suggests, the first chapter, in its core, covers the transition of British monarchy from being an absolute monarchy as was the case with Anglo Saxons and Normans, thanks to the strong belief in the Divine Rights of Kings, to a constitutional monarchy which is the result of three rebellions against the theory of Divine Rights of Kings. This

includes: Firstly, the Barons Wars which ended by enforcing the first official document in Britain to limit royal powers which is Magna Carta. Secondly, The English Civil War which was fatal to the theory of Divine Rights of Kings after King Charles I was held into trial and executed by his subjects. Thirdly, the Glorious Revolution which changed the line of succession to satisfy a growing Protestant society who could not possibly accept to be ruled by a Catholic. This last event introduced the term of Constitutional Monarchy which shaped today's monarchy by forcing it to act by and within constitution.

The second chapter which is entitled: "The Rise of Democracy and Shift of Power from Monarchy to Parliament" is almost a follow-up to the first chapter. After royal powers were limited and the British Monarchy became a constitutional monarchy, parliament emerged and developed to be the first decision-making body in the country. This allowed democracy to flourish in Britain, though this was not an easy process, because despite the fact that the obstacle of having an absolute monarchy was removed, parliament was still dominated by rich landowners who were interested only in serving themselves. Middle class and working class were marginalized and not represented at all in parliament, besides women, Catholics, and many ethnic groups. This chapter covers how democracy raised in Britain, starting by defining the controversial notion of democracy, brief history of its roots with Athenian democracy, main factors which spread ideas of democracy in the world like the French Revolution, the American War of Independence, and industrialization, then moving to Britain in which the rise of democracy went along with struggle to enfranchise more and more citizens through reform acts which were introduced only as a final compulsory measurement to save the country from possible internal crises after exercising high pressure on parliament. This includes First Reform Act 1832, Second Reform Act 1867, Secret Ballot Act 1872, Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act 1883, Third Reform Act 1884, Redistribution of Seat Act 1885, Representation of the People Act 1911 and 1918, and Equal Franchise Act 1928. This chapter studies also today's democracy in Britain and attempts to answer the question whether Britain now is a democratic country or not.

This helps us in our thesis because we are interested in studying the role of the monarchy in today's modern Britain and democracy is an interrelated important issue that may help us understand things better. To answer whether Britain is democratic or not, the chapter studies the classification of the United Kingdom by three international dominant organizations that measure democracy around the world. The first is Freedom House with its map of democracy and ranking of countries, the second is Center for Systematic Peace with its own map and ranking too, and the third is The Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index with its statistics and ranking as well.

Having a historical background about the rise of democracy and answering the question whether Britain is democratic or not help us both in our thesis. First, because knowing about history may help us understand today's opposition and even hatred for the institution of monarchy on the ground that it was a hindrance in the past to the rise of democracy and stood in front of people's freedom and basic rights. Second, studying whether Britain is democratic or not helps us to see if the existence of monarchy today goes against being a democratic country as opponents of the institution keep claiming. All these give us a larger view to see our subject better and plan the next step carefully.

Chapter three is under the title of "Republicanism in the United Kingdom and the Debate on the Monarchy". It starts from the point by which we ended chapter two. The rise of democracy in Britain which culminated in being an excellent model democratic country as asserted by international organizations to measure democracy in the world push some people to call for the last step to be what they think truly democratic country. This step is abolishing what they consider outdated and non-democratic institution of monarchy and to establish a republic (Yougov, 2012). As the title of the third chapter suggests, this chapter is divided into two parts. The first part is Republicanism in the United Kingdom. It covers a historical background about the rise of republicanism in Britain after defining the notion of republicanism. This includes republicanism during the English Civil War, the Cromwellian Commonwealth, and the restoration

of monarchy. The second part covers the debate on the monarchy. To be objective, this part covers the two sides: arguments against the institution of monarchy, and arguments in favour. Arguments against the institution include: contradicting democracy, being the enemy of merit and aspiration, being expensive, being gender-discriminative, being outdated, lacking accountability, calling for anarchism, hindering the development of the country, and representing Protestant Christianity alone. While arguments in favor include first refuting main arguments against the institution; then, our three minor hypotheses which usher in the start of the practical side of the work.

Chapter Four which is entitled: “The Role of the British Monarchy in Maintaining the British National Identity and Keeping the Kingdom United” can be considered as an extension to arguments in favor of keeping the institution monarchy. As the title suggests, this chapter is divided into two parts. The first part is about the role of the British Monarchy in maintaining the British national identity, and the second part is about the role of the British Monarchy in keeping the kingdom united. These two parts are joined in one chapter because they are interrelated on the basis that there is an interesting theory linking national identity and call for independence. It states that the more people feel loyalty to local identity rather than national identity, the more likely they call for independence from the big country.

Each section in this chapter is divided into two parts; a theoretical part and a practical part. The first section which is about the role of the British Monarchy in maintaining the British national identity consists of a theoretical part that covers the problem of identity in Britain, including a definition of identity and its importance for the existence of any nation, and the rising crisis of identity in Britain due to challenging local nationalisms, policies of multiculturalism, immigration, and globalization. The practical part includes what the British Monarchy can do to minimize the problem of identity in UK. The second section of this chapter which is about the role of the British Monarchy in keeping the kingdom united is divided into two parts as well. The first is a theoretical side which covers calls for independence in the four countries of the

United Kingdom with a spotlight on the relation between identity and tendency to claim independence. The second part is a practical side which stresses the important role that the institution of monarchy plays in keeping the kingdom united through imagining the country without the monarchy.

The last chapter is entitled: “The Role of the British Monarchy in Promoting United Kingdom’s Economic and Political Positions through Commonwealth of Nations”. It attempts to demonstrate how the institution of monarchy helps UK to promote its economic and political positions in the world through the organization of the Commonwealth of Nations. The chapter is divided into four main sections: The first section is an overview about the organization of Commonwealth of Nations, including a definition, a brief history and a nutshell about its principles and functioning. The second section is about the role of the Commonwealth in promoting the economic interests of UK through encouraging trade between UK and Commonwealth countries especially after leaving the European Union. The third section covers the role of the Commonwealth of Nations in promoting the political interests of UK in the United Nations. The fourth section links the Commonwealth of Nations and its significant achievement to the existence of the British Monarchy through imagining the Commonwealth of Nations without the British Monarchy.

### **Originality of the Study**

The debate on the British Monarchy looks like an old hat, but it is a contested field of study which has been experiencing many changes and dimensions over time. This thesis differs in the approach it deals with when studying the debate on the British Monarchy. We can see this through having a comparison between the way the debate on the BM was studied and how this thesis covers the same theme.

Through having a quick historical overview about republicanism in UK, we find that the question of keeping the institution of monarchy or not was first raised in the 1640s during the English Civil War with Parliamentarians who sought parliamentary sovereignty and the abolition

of monarchy because of the tyrannical rule of King Charles I. The latter tried to escape his duties to observe Magna Carta that was enforced earlier to limit royal powers. King Charles I simply chose to ignore it and ruled eleven years without parliament. And instead of parliament, he relied on his friends for advice and money, in addition to forced borrowing from rich aristocrats, but the time came when all pockets run out and King Charles I had to turn to parliament to ask for money. This was an excellent opportunity for Parliamentarians to address their grievance with the King's Personal Rule. A war broke out between Parliamentarians and the king's supporters who were called Royalists. The war ended seven years after with the victory of Parliamentarians who raised the question of whether to keep the institution during the trial that was held to punish Charles I and the Royalists. The trial ended by executing King Charles I and abolishing the office of monarch for being: "unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the people". (Adams and Stephens, 1901, p. 398).

The debate on the BM and hatred toward the monarchy reached its peak during that period. This ended by abolishing the institution of monarchy along with the House of Commons. The main arguments were that both were associated with aristocracy and old tyrannical order that were blamed for a number of inequalities in the society. Whereas the House of Commons remained for it represented the true voice of people. Parliamentarians thought that by abolishing the institution of monarchy, Britain would enter a new era of Democracy in which equality, justice, fairness and all the virtues dreamed of would prevail in a new balance of power that would elevate the oppressed poor and leave the arrogant aristocrat behind, but in reality, nothing of these pinky dreams was achieved. The commonwealth was headed by Oliver Cromwell, a military man whose obvious puritan orientation to clean the society from the alleged sinful deeds suited no body. He thought that by changing people's behavior the nation would prosper. As a result, the British were fined for drinking, gambling, swearing, entering theaters and inns, riding horses, chatting and having entertainment, even Christmas celebrations were banned for being too

ceremonial, because all these were by the puritan teachings sins which hold back people from devoting their precious time to worship god, and stood in front of promoting the country's economy by doing something meaningful. Oliver Cromwell was very harsh with opposition as well; he executed all who showed disagreement with his absolute rule, including early resistance by Royalists, Levellers who campaigned for representation for ordinary people, and Catholics who were zealously persecuted in Ireland and everywhere. Above all, Oliver Cromwell ruled without parliament or constitution. Ironically, he was offered the monarchy to limit his powers, because as a sovereign, he has to act within the Magna Carta. (Wilinkson, 2006)

The experience of republic in the United Kingdom was bad, and support for the rule of Oliver Cromwell decreased dramatically. When he died in 1659, people refused to recognize his son Richard as the next protector and instead called Charles II from his exile to restore the monarchy and to crown him as a king.

Though royal powers were incredibly limited after the reign of Charles II, there have been several movements throughout the kingdom whose objective was to abolish the monarchy and replace it by a republican government especially in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and early 19<sup>th</sup> century with the rise of radicalism and fervent supporters like the minister Joseph Fawcett (White, 2006). Calls for abolishing the institution of monarchy rose during the last years of Queen Victoria's reign when she decided to withdraw from public life after the death of her husband. The institution was open to fierce criticism for playing no role domestically or abroad, but soon these criticisms vanished as the queen decided finally to come out of her mourning and return to public life again. During the American War of Independence and the French Revolution, the call to abolish the institution revived by politicians like Charles Dilk (Costa, 1996), Charles Bradlaugh, and George Reynolds (Olechnowicz, 2007), in addition to some members of the Labour Party who campaigned openly in their annual conference of 1923 for abolishing the Royal Family and

the principle of hereditary right, claiming that the royal family is no longer a necessary part of the British constitution and that the hereditary principle in the British Constitution should be abolished, but these two motions were defeated, and the Labour Party moved away from advocating any republican views ever since, especially after the passage of the Treason Felony Act in 1848 which punished republican advocacy by transportation to Australia, then, it was amended to be life imprisonment, though the House of Lords stated in 2003 that advocates of peaceful abolition of monarchy were not to come under the act. In fact, the main three political parties are not officially adopting this in their political agenda. This includes the Conservative Party, the Liberal Democratic Party, and the Labour Party. (Barnett, 2013)

Support for republicanism can be found in minor political parties like The Green Party of England and Wales, the Scottish Green party, and Sinn Féin, the Irish Republican Party. In addition to Lobby groups. The most influential group is Republic; a campaign group that was founded in 1983. This lobby group grew in membership since the wedding of Prince Charles and Camillia Parker Bowles. In June 2006, it handed a petition calling for a serious national debate about whether to keep the monarchy in the United Kingdom. Though the group has been repeatedly lobbying against the institution, no changes took place, but it is still active, and it has been invited to parliament as a witness on issues related to misconduct of the Royal Family. There are also a number of well-known newspapers advocating the abolition of the monarchy. This includes The Guardian, Observer, and Independent. All these continue to raise the question of whether to keep the monarchy in Britain.

This thesis raises the same question, but it differs in the way it approaches the question of whether to keep the institution of British Monarchy. Unlike the traditional method which simply goes directly to the uncodified constitution of the United Kingdom to discuss the importance or the insignificance of the institution, exemplifying with a number of historical incidents and

scrutinizing the royal family behavior in public to attack the expensive cost of their ceremonies or their misconduct, this thesis goes beyond the constitution and royal prerogatives that remarkably give the monarch incredible powers that s/he can never use in reality. This thesis seeks to find what we consider real reasons for keeping the institution of monarchy today. The thesis tries also to link the debate on the BM to current issues like calls for independence in the four regions of the kingdom, British national identity crisis, immigration, multiculturalism, globalization, the role organizations like Commonwealth of Nations and the United Nations.

All these issues which look as separate and unrelated are brilliantly linked to the topic of the British Monarchy. Recent issues like local nationalisms in UK, immigration, multiculturalism, and globalization are studied and linked together as factors leading to creating a crisis of national identity in Britain. The crisis of identity in Britain, in return, is linked to the debate on the BM through hypothesizing that the institution may play a role in minimizing this problem. The problem of national identity crisis, in return, is linked to another problem which is independence tendencies within the kingdom through using previous theories that link feelings of identity and attitudes towards independence. The latter is linked to the thesis as well through hypothesizing that the British Monarchy may play a role in keeping the Kingdom United as well. Not only this, the thesis even passes to cover organizations like the Commonwealth of Nations and the United Nations in which we hypothesize that the British Monarchy may help in promoting the economic position of Britain through heading the organization of Commonwealth of Nations and encouraging trade with its member states, in addition to building a bloc of power with Commonwealth nations for a better political performance in the United Nations. By the end of the thesis, we find ourselves covering wide range of current issues which may appear by the first sight not related, but an interesting relation is made between them to help us prove our main hypothesis that there is a need to maintain the British Monarchy in today's modern democratic

Britain. By doing so, the thesis suggests some interesting ideas to overcome a number of crises in Britain including the crisis of identity, calls for independence, in addition to promoting economic and political interests of the country through simply suggesting to maintain the institution of monarchy.

### **Scope and Limitations**

The only limitation to this study is the difficulty of covering a wide range of issues within this relatively short thesis. Indeed, each role that is suggested in this thesis for the British monarchy can be a separate theme for research which deserves a whole thesis alone. For example, the role of the British monarchy in maintaining the British national identity can be an interesting field of research in which we can write hundreds of pages. In fact, even the British identity crisis that is studied within this role can be a thesis alone in which we suggest each time a reason for the deterioration of British identity. This means that policies of immigration and multiculturalism as a reason behind British identity crisis can be a thesis, and the rise of local nationalisms in Britain as a reason behind British identity crisis can be a thesis, the same thing for other reasons like globalization, and previous membership in the European Union. The second role that is suggested in this thesis which is the role of the British Monarchy in keeping the kingdom united can be a thesis alone as well, and the same thing can be said for the relationship between weak national identity and tendency towards independence which is at the core of this role. Even the last role that is suggested which is the role of the British monarchy in promoting the economic and political position of UK through the Commonwealth of Nations, can be deduced from many researchable themes like: building British bloc of power as a reason behind establishing the Commonwealth of Nations, or supporting UK's trade as a motive behind establishing the Commonwealth of Nations. To conclude, this thesis which is devoted to find reasons beyond the existence of the British monarchy may cover many possible researchable themes and the thesis might extend to thousands of pages with the need to make gigantic efforts and to have large historical and political backgrounds, in addition to high analysis skills. But in fact, it is

overcoming this challenge in particular that may make this work extinct and special. To this end, we will try carefully to achieve coherence and unity throughout the thesis through linking these separate issues to our topic which is the British monarchy to help us prove our main thesis that there is a need for keeping the monarchy. In doing so, we try to limit our study when covering issues like immigration, multiculturalism, Commonwealth of Nations...etc to providing only the necessary information which may help us progress in our research and to focus on the relation between the BM and these issues.

## **Methodology**

In this thesis two methods are used to suit the requirement of each part in the thesis. The first method is the historical analytical method, and the second is the descriptive method. The first method is used in the first, second, third, and the fifth chapters. The historical analytical method is judged to be more suitable in the first chapter to cover events like the Barons Wars 1215, the English Civil War 1642, and the Glorious Revolution 1689. It is judged to be suitable also in the second chapter to cover the rise of democracy in Britain with the introduction of Reform Acts to expand franchise. In the third chapter the historical analytical method is used to cover history of republicanism in UK and the current debate on the monarchy. This method allows us to analyse primary sources like *Magna Carta* which was the first official document in Britain's history to limit royal powers especially Clause 61 of it, in addition to analyzing some rare parliament acts which were issued by Oliver Cromwell's parliament to justify the abolition of the institution of monarchy along with house of lords, and the execution of King Charles I. *Bills of Rights* is also analyzed as an important document which was introduced after the Glorious Revolution to mark the transition of the monarchy from absolute monarchy to constitutional monarchy, in addition to analyzing some reform acts that gave birth to democracy in Britain afterwards. This includes: *First Reform Act 1832*, *Second Reform Act 1867*, *Secret Ballot Act 1872*, *Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act 1883*, *Third Reform Act 1884*, *Redistribution of Seat Act 1885*, *Representation of the People Act 1911 and 1918*, and *Equal Franchise Act 1928*. Cartoons are

also used to demonstrate the coarse road of democracy in Britain like *Leap in the Dark*. The thesis makes use also of primary sources released by international organizations and agencies too to measure democracy in the world. This includes *Freedom House World Map*, *Freedom House Ranking of Countries*, *Democracy Index's World Map*, and *The Economist Intelligence Unit's Ranking* besides the *Charter of the Commonwealth of Nations*, and the *Charter of the United Nations* which are all quoted to reveal particular points in the thesis.

Secondary sources are used too. This includes almost two hundreds of reference books, journals, magazines, diaries, and biographies written by prominent historians, philosophers, constitutional theorists and scholars like Walter Baghot in *The English Constitution* (2001), Aristotle in *Politics* (1999), Barnett in *Constitutional and Administrative Law* (2009), Beck in *A Companion to Ancient Greek Government* (2013), Betram in *Routledge Philosophy Guide Book to Rousseau and the Social Contract* (2004), Cobett et al in *Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803* (1817), and many others.

The descriptive method is used mainly in chapter four, and partly in chapter three to cover issues of identity, immigration, multiculturalism and others. Many data gathering tools are used, including surveys, questionnaires, censuses, and referendums conducted by governmental units and organs like British Social Attitudes (BSA), the Scottish Social Attitudes (SSA), the Wales Life and Times (WLT), Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (NISRA), and the Northern Ireland Life Times (NILT), others are prepared for House of Commons to discuss particular issues like Hawkins's *Asylum Statistics* (2016) and *Migration Statistics* (2016), others are held by institutes and non-profit agencies and organizations which are acknowledged universally, in addition to statistics that are released by intergovernmental organizations like the Commonwealth of Nations and the United Nations.

The surveys, questionnaires, censuses, and referendums used in this thesis question wide range of topics related to the theme. This includes British social attitudes towards keeping the monarchy, the cost of the monarchy, the future of monarchy, democracy and the institution of

monarchy, modernizing the monarchy, royal powers, being embarrassed or not of the monarchy, and other similar surveys which are held by Yougov that allows to compare respondents vote through classifying them into groups according to age, sex, social class, and political party belonging. This allows us not only to identify supporters and opponents of the institution of monarchy, but also to make future predictions about the existence of this institution. The thesis includes also surveys to study feelings of identity throughout the United Kingdom by asking the Monero Questions which ask respondents to choose the best identity that define them. Respondents are offered five choices: being British only, X only, more British than X, more X than British, or equally British and X. X here refers to the local identity according to the place. For example in Scotland it means Scottish, in Wales it means Welsh and so on. These five options allow us to compare national identity with local identity. The Monero Questions is held mainly by British Social Attitudes (BSA), the Wales Life and Times, Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, and the Northern Ireland Life Times. In addition to the Monero Question, immigrants who came to the United Kingdom are asked to choose their identity. This includes British identity and many other choices like being: Asian, European, White, Muslim, and others. British Social Attitudes allow comparing the country of birth and the choice of identity in the survey. Besides surveys on identity, BSA conduct also surveys on constitutional preferences in the four countries which make the UK. This includes preferring to be ruled by the Westminster Parliament, to be ruled by local assemblies, or to be ruled by a local parliament. In fact, the choices differ according to the specification of each country. BSA allows us also to make a relation between identity and constitutional preferences because the same respondent is supposed to choose his identity, then to move to constitutional preference within the same questionnaire. Some of survey results are presented in tables, or transformed into pie charts to study percentages, or into line graphs to study progress, and sometimes into bar graphs to compare results.

The descriptive method is used also in the practical side of the first part of chapter three to describe how the Queen helps in minimizing identity crisis in Britain through being a symbolic

icon of all that is British, including history, origins, and even moral principles. This is done through describing the charm and popularity of royal ceremonies and the effect of Christmas speeches on the British by the Queen, or public sympathy with the Queen during family crises.

Though in this thesis both of the historical analytical method and the descriptive method are used, it is undeniable that the historical analytical method dominate the research. For this reason we chose the APA referencing style which suits most researches in history and politics. This referencing style is used by the majority of historians, politicians or any scholars in the field of history or politics.

## Chapter I

### Towards a Constitutional Monarchy

#### Introduction

Before studying the present roles of the British monarchy which is the core of this research, one might ask questions like: What is monarchy? What is the role of the British Monarchy? What is the difference between past and present British kings? How was the debate on the monarchy raised? To answer such questions and others, leaving no room for ambiguity, and to start the research on clear and strong basis, it is most useful to pass by some steps first. This chapter is devoted to be a kind of introduction which provides the research with all the information necessary to make any significant move towards answering our research question. The chapter includes two sections: First, a definition of monarchy and interrelated terms. Second, a historical background about the transition of British Monarchy from absolute monarchy to constitutional monarchy. This includes an overview about early English kings who were absolute in their rule, and notable events which made the birth of constitutional monarchy in Britain possible.

#### 1. Monarchy and Interrelated Notions

##### 1.1 Monarchy

The word Monarchy derives from the Greek word “Monàrcha”, it means single or absolute ruler. In recent usage, it refers generally to a traditional system of hereditary rule. Monarchy is a very ancient system of government; indeed, Aristotle in his writings about 350 BC discussed the Monarchy system. He considered it as one of the three basics of a good government along with democracy and aristocracy. It is ruled by an individual who belongs to the apex in an aristocratic pyramid of honor and authority. (Robertson, 2004)

In his source book *Politics*, Aristotle recognizes the legacy of Monarchy arguing in the following rational way: Mankind are by nature political animals; they require one another's help.

Thus, they are brought together by their common interests to form a state. Any state needs a government, and government itself is not something uncanny or new. We find it at our homes between master and his slave, man and his wife, and man and his children. The same thing for the state: a government between a ruler and his subjects. (Aristotle, 1999).

If we have an in-depth analysis of the nature of government in the previous examples; the master is the ruler in the government of Master\_ Slave, because he is superior to the slave who lacks self control; the man is the ruler in the government of Man \_ wife, because the woman lacks some qualifications like courage; and in the government of Man\_ children, the man is the ruler because the children lacks maturity. All these governments are based on the fitness of the ruler and his superiority over the others who need his help. Or in better words, these governments are based on *Social Darwinism* (i.e. only the best adapted, those already well-off survive the natural conflict between social groups). Again, the same thing can be said about the ruler in the state; he is superior to the rest because he has distinguished virtues that enable him to be a ruler and help his needy subjects. This conclusion about the superiority of the ruler and his duty to look after the interests of his needy subjects is the core principle on which the monarchy is based.

Aristotle praises the monarchy several times in his book. He argues that the power is better in the hands of the few; he said in his own words: “One man or few may excel in virtue, but as the number increases, it becomes more difficult for them to attain perfection in every virtue” (Aristotle, 1999, p.61). He also applauds the role of the king for relieving citizens of the heavy burden of ruling themselves, so that they can devote themselves for other things (Miller, 1995), stressing the point that the common good of the governed must be given priority over the good of the governor. He describes the governments which regard only the interests of its rulers as “defective, perverted forms, for they are despotic” (Ibid, p. 60).

Unlike Aristotle who focuses on the fitness of the ruler and his duty to look after the interests of his citizens, recent definitions of *Monarchy* focus on its being hereditary. Other definitions of the term merely contrast it with *Parliamentarism* in which the executive power is controlled by assemblies of free citizens elected, as opposed to monarchy in which a person from the dynastic succession rules.

Tracing the successive dynasties which took thrones led historians to suggest theories about how the Monarchy started, while some argue that it grew out of tribal kingship and royal priesthood, others argue that it was a consequence of violent invasion of local communities, the leader of this invasion establishes himself as a Monarch, as the case of England, in which Early Saxon invaders practiced local control over the Britons, gradually, they made kingdoms and claimed unlimited, sometimes, divine powers. (Yorke, 1990)

## **1.2 Definition of “Divine Rights of Kings”**

To understand the transition of the British Monarchy from being a strong institution into a weak one, it is necessary to study the theory of the Divine Rights of Kings which continued to sustain early British Monarchs with unlimited royal powers for hundreds of centuries to come. We will see later on that these powers shrunk only when the theory vanished as the British no longer believed in it.

The Divine Right of Kings, also called Divine Right of Kingship, is a both political and religious doctrine, it affirms that the monarch derives his right to rule directly from the will of god, thus, the king is not subject to the will of people and they cannot judge him even if he is unjust, who dares to do so will be damned. (Figgis, 1914)

Figgis, in his source book *Divine Right of Kings*, upon which other historians based their works like Kern Fritz in *The Monarchical Principle*, and Francis Oakley in *Kingship and the*

*Politics of Enchantment*, formulated the complete theory of Divine Right of Kings to include four elements:

- “1. Monarchy is divinely ordained institution.
2. Hereditary right is indefeasible.
3. Kings are accountable to god alone.
4. Non resistance and passive obedience are enjoined by God.” (pp. 5-6)

Figgis provided his four elements with supportive detailed explanations which can be summarized as follows: The first element and the most important one asserts that the king derives his right to rule directly from God. The second argues that the hereditary right cannot be denied in any way even after a long act of usurpation. In the third, Figgis affirms that the king is not subject to any earthy authority and any attempt to limit the powers of monarchy is a contradiction to the Divine Right. The last element considers resistance to kings as a sin which ensures damnation; instead, it calls people to passively obey the king.

Passive obedience was a religious duty in Middle Ages, strengthened especially after the introduction of Christianity which affirmed that “obedience was a divined command” (Ibid, p. 18). In churches, people were taught that resistance is damnable sin and cursing the king even in thoughts was prohibited (Figgis, 1914). Influential men of religion played the most important role to call people for obeying the king, like S. Paul who said: “The powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. And they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation” (Ibid, p. 8).

These teachings were learnt by heart, no one could dare to insult the king, instead he was praised publicly for being ordained by God; the address of Cambridge University to King Charles in 1681 is a good example to give us an image about how kings were thought of by the British and why they were so strong. The address is quoted by Figgis in the same book:

We still believe and maintain, that our Kings derive not their Titles, from people, but from God; that to him only they are accountable, that it belongs not to Subjects, either to create or censure, but to honor and obey their Sovereign, who comes to be so by fundamental hereditary right of succession, which no Religion no Law, no Fault or Forfeiture can alter or diminish.

(Ibid, p.6)

The emergence of this theory is a controversial matter between historians. While some think that the idea of Divine Right of Kings is found in ancient cultures including Aryan, Egyptian and even in early Pagan societies, others believe that the introduction of this theory is a result of a conflict between the Roman Emperor and the Pope. The latter claimed Papal supremacy, by which he was given unlimited universal powers, making all earthy governments subordinate to the Roman Catholic Church, and prone to be overturned at any time by reason of being *Vicar of Christ*. Thus, he was responsible to look after the whole humanity who is subject to God's law. The Roman Emperor considered such allegations which apparently look religious as political claims for a universal empire which may start by replacing the Roman Emperor by a priest. Swiftly, the emperor used the same controversial method and claimed Divine right of Kings. (Figgis, 1914)

Considering the fact that Divine Right of Kings was an anticlerical reply to the Pope's claim to sovereignty, Figgis (1914) argues that the reason behind the introduction of the theory was to free political societies from subjection to any ecclesiastical organization; thus, making a significant move towards cutting off ties between politics and theology. The same explanation was given to abandoning the theory with the passage of time. The theory succeeded in making the church give up all attempts to control the state, and politics was no longer a branch of theology. So, there was no need for this theory any more.

Other historians like Robertson (2004), when defining Divine Right of Kings, links the notion with the need for a spiritual force to lead people. Robertson considers this as the real reason

behind adopting it by monarchical dynasties in European forces to achieve a better leadership, but gradually, the theory lost its validity and popularity especially after the assassination of Henry III and Henry IV of France which stripped kings of their alleged sacrosanctity, followed by the trial and execution of King Charles I which made the idea of strong British Kings like the Anglo Saxons an old story of the past (Oakley 2006)

## **2. Towards Constitutional Monarchy**

In this section we try to provide a historical background about the transition of the British monarchy from absolute monarchy to constitutional monarchy. This covers a brief overview about the early English kings who were absolute in their rule, and main rebellions against monarchs which paved the way for the birth of constitutional monarchy in Britain.

### **2.1 Early English Kings**

The study of early English kings includes the Anglo Saxon kings and Norman kings.

#### **2.1.1 Anglo Saxon kings**

Studying all the Anglo Saxon kings is almost impossible; indeed, there were so many kingdoms, and each kingdom was ruled by many kings during the long Saxon conquest which lasted from 446 to 1066 (Yorke, 1990). This makes the number of Anglo Saxon kings far beyond being studied in this relatively short thesis. To avoid the difficult task of studying all Anglo Saxon kings, It is better to choose a representative sample to work on. Among all the Anglo Saxon kings, one of them did well as a strong king and played an important role. It was King Alfred the Great, who was discussed and admired by so many historians like Philip Wilkinson, Barbara York, and David Pratt. He was regarded as one of the greatest kings of Anglo Saxon era. Alfred here is our unique window on the world of Anglo Saxon; his character reflects the preoccupations of all the kings of the period and their view on who was the King? What was he expected to do? what can a king do? But before dealing with King Alfred, it is

useful to give an overview about the characteristics of Anglo Saxon kings in general, proceeded by a brief history of Britain at that time to guide us.

After Romans had left Britain, and Pope Honorius declared that from now on, Britons were left to govern themselves, Britain was chattered into over 30 self governing units many of them were controlled by kings (Yorke, 1990). In the meantime, people from mainland of northern Europe launched a series of invasions. Historians recorded that these people were mainly: Saxons from Northern Germany, Angles from south Danish peninsula and Jutes from Jutland. These three together were called Saxons (Wilkinson, 2006). The number of Saxons, many of whom had their forefathers brought to Britain in the past to provide military protection for Romano-British, increased dramatically in Britain. They started to exercise purely local control over the Britons due to their military strength (Yorke, 1990). With the passage of time, Saxons made sure to enlarge their influence in Britain, using every mean possible to achieve this: military and political alliances, direct conquests, and intermarriage among leading families. By mid Seventh century, Saxons could grow into large kingdoms in Britain. (Panton, 2011)

Anglo Saxon kings owed their positions to their abilities at war leadership (Yorke, 1990); they entered Britain and seized power thanks to having military force at their disposal. They could manage it well enough to crash any resistance and establish strong kingdoms. As Kings, they played many roles. The most important roles can be set out as follows: The first was to defend their kingdoms against attacks and this was so often the case during that era; indeed, the king had always to be ready for a battle at any time to confront any who had a greedy eye on his kingdom. The second role which was typical to the Anglo Saxon kings was to enlarge their kingdoms. Kings were hotly contesting for dominance over the whole Britain because in their mentality “Extra territory brought extra power, respect, and wealth” (Wilkinson, 2006, p.42). Finally, it was important that the successive kings would be chosen from their family. For this sake, the king

assembled with notable clergymen and nobles, and made them promise to accept the person he chose to be their next king.

In addition to these three key roles, kings had also to play minor, but significant roles. This includes enforcing the payment of taxes necessary to keep the army fed, watered and armed, and also to make compensations for any injured party who had joined battles on the side of the king at his request (Yorke, 1990). As a minor role also, kings made great feasts in which their warriors and allies were invited and generously rewarded. This was important to reinforce bonds between the king and his fighting men as depicted in *Beowulf*. A good king was a generous ruler who through his wealth won the support necessary to keep his kingdom supreme over the others. Kings were also heads of churches, this meant that they appointed bishops and made the important decisions in the church. (Yorke, 1990)

All the Anglo Saxon kings claimed to be descended from one of the pagan gods, most of time the god was Woden god of battle (Yorke, 1990). By such claims, Anglo Saxon kings raised themselves above all their followers. But to govern the whole kingdom, it was necessary to abdicate some powers to their subjects; indeed, each kingdom was divided into small units called *Shires*, each was held by a nobleman appointed by the king called Ealdorman which means a senior man. This was a simple way to spread royal power throughout the kingdom. (Wilkinson, 2006)

After providing a theoretical overview about the early Anglo Saxon kings in general including: their major and minor roles, characteristics, and nature of their governance, it is useful now to have practical knowledge about early Anglo Saxon kings. In the following paragraphs, we will be dealing with King Alfred the Great, taking him as a sample for the following reasons:

The first reason is availability of references. Despite the fact that only few is known about the Anglo Saxon era particularly because the kings were known as warriors who were interested

mainly in war's matters with complete disregard of literacy and education that was seen as unnecessary and waste of time. This explains the scarcity of resources describing the period. But King Alfred could manage well to care about education and culture as well. He built schools and monasteries in which reading and writing flourished during his reign. As a result many books were published and until now historians are studying them. This explains the abundance of books about King Alfred including: David Pratt's *The Political Thought of King Alfred the Great*, Walter Beasant's *The Story of King Alfred the Great*, Richard Abels' *Alfred the Great: War, Kingship and Culture in Anglo Saxon England* , David Horspool's *King Alfred: Burnt Cakes and Other Legends...etc*

The second reason is the fact that King Alfred aimed at uniting the chattered kingdoms of the Anglo Saxons who were made separate by loads of cultural differences between them. King Alfred tried to unite them through two ways: the first was to bring these kingdoms together using his military power; in fact he was so powerful that some kingdoms decided to offer themselves peacefully to ask for his military protection from the threats of the Vikings and the Danes. The second was to unit the culturally different people under one language and one religion. This was through emphasizing the importance of literacy and religion using Latin as an official language and Christianity as an official religion. History seemed to repeat itself nowadays with Britain facing the problem of differences and crisis of identity with the king playing a cultural role to keep the kingdom united. So, studying King Alfred in particular will help us later on to deal with the multi-identities within Britain and the role of the king to keep the kingdom united.

Another reason is that any sample should be representative and king Alfred as a sample reflects the same thoughts and preoccupations of all the Anglo Saxon Kings who shared the same belief of being descendent of *Woden* the god of war in pagan societies as a way to accompany their military governance with spiritual leadership. As kings, they were mainly interested in two

points: Defending the kingdom against alien invaders and expanding its geographical territories which brought glory and due respect to the king.

In our study of a sample of an early Saxon King we aim to find a strong king to analyze the cause of his strength that made the institution of the monarchy in the past very important. Undoubtedly, King Alfred was the strongest king with the testimony of many historians (Besant, 1901; Pratt, 2006). The simple fact that he was given titles like: “King Alfred the Great”, “King of all the Saxons” and others gives us an image about how powerful he was because titles were considered as an important criterion in the past to reflect the personality and the political position of kings. This study will be used later on in the coming sections to draw a comparison between the Monarchy in the past and the present. This will help us also to understand the shift from being a strong and important institution into a weak one.

David Pratt (2006), in the introduction of his book *Political Thought of King Alfred*, has gathered what historians think of King Alfred. He said that they acknowledge him as: “founder of the English constitution”, “symbol of ancient freedom and nationhood”, and “possible founder of the English and political administrative unity”(1). He was also praised in two poems of the twelfth century: *The Owl*, and *The Nightingale*.

Alfred’s kingship was so successful because he could achieve the aims he set ahead. In *The Story of King Alfred the Great*, Besant (1901) intelligently set out these aims. I quote this at length for being beneficial and so expressive. This gives us an image about the roles of kings at that time:

The dominant aims of Alfred as a king might be arranged in the following order: First, security from the Dane, throughout his reign the only enemy of Wessex. For this purpose everything must be sacrificed security was necessary for all what might follow. Next; in all societies there is one common basis: the society must be fed. For this purpose, there must be security of

cultivation; the farm and the farmer must be protected; the people must be fed. The third aim was the cohesion of all the people one with another. Without the powers of acting together, and the instinct of acting together as if nothing was impossible, there was no stability of order and security; the country would fall back to its former condition of separate tribal communities, in which there might be courage but not strength. (pp. 113-114)

To achieve these aims, Alfred argues that the king can function properly only if given the means to do so. He said in the digression in his translation of *Consolation of Philosophy* by Boethius as quoted by York: “In the case of the king, the resources and tools with which to rule are that he has his land fully manned he must have praying men, fighting men, and working men”. (1990, p. 165)

Alfred used these royal resources to achieve the first and the most urgent task he had to deal with. It is as Besant (1901) mentioned: “Security from the Danes”. In 860’s, most British kingdoms were under the control of the Vikings with Northumbria falling in 867, East Anglia in 869 and Mercia in 877, only Wessex survived the campaign (Pratt, 2006). Alfred preferred to make treaty with them to buy some time to organize his unprepared army. The Viking army withdrew in 871, and occupied other parts of England. Not long after the negotiated treaty, the Viking assembled a large fleet of 120 ships to attack Wessex, but due to a storm that left them in disarray, they were forced to negotiate another treaty “Treaty of Exeter” in which a truce was made between them during winter. With their long history of treason, the Viking suddenly attacked Wessex in 878, seizing the opportunity that Alfred sent his military leaders and soldiers home to spend winter with their families. King Alfred, without an army to confront the attack, had to run and find a secure place to hide at. For months, the runaway king remained in his shelter waiting for the right time to come back. In spring, some Ealdermen started to show

opposition to the Viking, Alfred realized that it was time for him to fight again; he gathered his army and heavily defeated the Vikings in the famous battle of Ethandun. (Wilkinson, 2006)

After driving the Danes out of the way, Alfred wanted to make sure that they would not dare to attack his kingdom again. To achieve this, he introduced three measures which were designed to rob the Viking of their major strategic advantages: surprise, mobility and supremacy on sea. The first measure was *The Burghal system*. It was a network of fortresses or *burhs*, stretching for approximately thirty kilometers; it was very effective because it cut the Viking communications making it even far more risky for invaders. The second measure was the creation of a mobile horsed force or *fyrð* which was divided into two contingents, one of which would be made to fight at any time, and the other was always in the field ready to relieve the first one. The last measure was the building of a strong navy; Alfred ordered the building of ships twice the size of the Viking warships, swifter and steadier. This measure was important to fight the Vikings who had always enjoyed supremacy on the sea. The Burghal system, the reconstituted *fyrð*, and the building of a strong navy had seriously strengthened the rule of King Alfred whose ambitions did not stop here. (Wilkinson, 2006)

Alfred took advantage of the might of his military force, and as any previous Anglo Saxon king, wanted to extend his kingship. He annexed Mercia, in addition to many Welsh kingdoms, most of which offered themselves to Alfred in return for protection. By the 880's, King Alfred "the Great, or "King of all the Anglo Saxon" as he became to be known, was the ruler of most parts of Britain.

Another task "The King of all the Anglo Saxon" assigned to himself was as Besant mentioned in the previous quotation "the cohesion of all the people one with another". The Anglo Saxon had always been separate tribal communities without the essential unity to make them a real

strong nation. Alfred the Great put forward his vision of an England united by a common language and religion.

King Alfred strongly believed in the saying of Isidore that “Nations grew out of language and not language out of nations” (Karkov, 2007, p. 49). He fully realized that a country without at least a common language to unite its people is not likely to survive, he was also acutely aware of the miserable situation of his illiterate people who lacked basic knowledge of History or Geography. He lamented their embarrassing situation in the preface to his translation to Gregory’s *Pastoral Care*.

In fact, priests and monks were usually the only who can read and write, even kings were illiterate and they employed *scribes* who were educated at the monasteries to draw up treaties and charters for the kingdom (Wilkinson, 2006). However, Alfred whose love for learning and wisdom was praised by his biographer Asser in *Vita Alfredi*, was determined to change this situation; he recruited scholars from Mercia, Wales and abroad. He built schools in which his children and sons of the nobles learned to read, write, studied their own language, poetry, Latin and what they called liberal sciences like music. The ordinary people were encouraged to learn at the monasteries in which writing and learning flourished before the building of schools or universities (Besant, 1901).

Not only this, but Alfred ordered the translation of books from Latin to English. In the ninth century Latin was the only language of scholarship in Europe and few people except the monks could understand it. King Alfred himself translated some books into English. This includes: Gregory the Great’s *Pastoral Care*, Boethius’s *Consolation of Philosophy*, St Augustin’s *Soliloquies*, the first fifty psalms of the *Psalter* and Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*.

The books to be translated from Latin into English was not selected on a random basis; Alfred ordered the translation of these books not merely to promote learning, but to unite his shattered people under one language and one religion. With a close look at the books he selected, we see that they are all about Christianity. The *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* for example, was written by Monk Bede, it is about the history of the English church starting from the Roman invasion up to 731; *Consolation of Philosophy* was written by Pope Gregory I who throughout his book condemned the corrupt tyrannical system of the world and called people to come back to their abandoned religion and old civilization as a solution to all their problems; *The Pastoral Care* was written by Pope Gregory who in turn presented his religious points of view. The decision on these religious books in particular affirm the point of Catherine Karkov in her book *The Ruler Portrait of Anglo-Saxon England* that unity layes in religion "... political unity arises from natural unity of the English people who are united by their faith in Christ and hence by the English church"(2007, p. 41). Besant (1901) also in *The Story of King Alfred the Great* admits that Alfred wanted to provide his people with a religious leadership.

King Alfred's intention to unite his people by religion is also revealed in his law code *Domboc*. All the laws in the *Domboc* were brought into connection with the church; for example there were frequent holidays during holy days; committing offences in these days were twice punished, treachery to God was unforgivable and obeying the secular lord or king was a sacred bond. Again this was to unite his people by religion.

Alfred as any previous Anglo Saxon king believed that he was divinely chosen by God and he gave himself absolute powers as Besant argues:

He was the king who ruled; his will ruled the land; he had his Parliament, his Meeting of the wise, but his will ruled them; he appointed his earls or aldermen, his will ruled them, he had his bishops, his will ruled them...no law existed then to limit the king's

prerogative. The king was the emperor, commander in the army, and every man in the country was his soldier. (1901, pp. 132-133)

Even in the Common Law of England in his Law Code it is stated: “Do not love other strange gods before me” (Lee, 2000). This strengthens the idea that the monarchy of the past was strong because the theory of the Divine Right of Kings was deeply anchored in the pagan societies.

Undoubtedly, King Alfred the Great was hugely a powerful king. His name, as Kenneth O, Morgan said in *The Oxford History of Britain*, “was to become the greatest in Anglo Saxon history” (1993, p. 93). Studying King Alfred the Great gives us an image about what is meant to be a strong king in the eyes of people in the past? What roles he was expected to play? And why he was given such unlimited powers? The study reveals that he was acknowledged as a great king because of the great contributions he brought. He achieved a lot for his country during his 28 years reign; he bravely defended the kingdom against the Viking, extended its territories, and most importantly, united his shattered people under one language and one religion as we have seen earlier. His achievements are summarized in the plaque of his statue in the grounds of St. James Palace which was sculpted by Count Greichen the nephew of Queen Victoria:

Alfred found learning dead  
and he restored it,  
education neglected  
and he revived it,  
the laws powerless  
and he gave them force  
the church debase  
and he raised it,  
the land ravaged by a fearful enemy

from which he delivered it.

Alfred's name shall live as long as

mankind shall respect the past.

(Abels, 1998, p. 4)

But, he was able to do so only because people around him accepted to give their king absolute powers to act by his own as they believed that he descend from pagan gods.

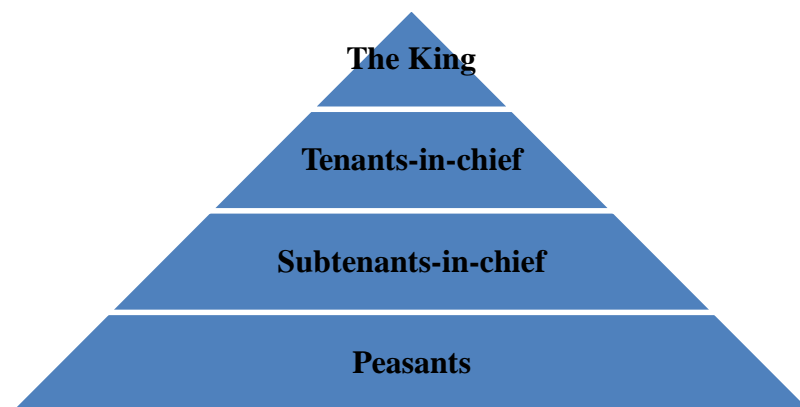
King Alfred the Great was succeeded by kings who breathe the very spirit of the Saxons: they bravely fought against the greedy invaders, acquisitively looked for expanding the kingdom, firmly controlled the country and strongly believed in the Divine Rights of Kings. This was the shape of the English Monarchy until the invasion of the Normans in 1066.

### **2.1.2 Norman Kings**

In 1066, new ruling family came to the English throne: The Normans, hence the name, they came from Normandy and they had Viking ancestors. This happened after William of Normandy conquered England and became William I; he justified his invasion by the promise king Edward the Confessor made to him that he should take over England after his death. This invasion was described by Kenneth O, Morgan in *The Oxford History of Britain* as “the greatest disaster in English history” (1993, p. 123), because a new ruling family means new language and a new culture. This explains the rising against the Norman rule between 1067 and 1070 in many parts of England. (Wilkinson, 2006)

During the Norman Conquest, the royal power increased dramatically, as John Figgis claims in *The Divine Right of Kings*: “with the Norman conquest, the royal power received a vast accession of strength” (1914, p. 21). This was especially true for King William I; he embarked on a ruthless campaign against rebels in Northumbria, destroying villages and killing any one in his way, some argue that he killed 100,000 men to put up this rebellion. (Wilkinson, 2006)

In addition to being ruthless with opposition, the formidable power Norman kings gave to themselves can be seen in the feudal system that they developed in order to spread their power across the kingdom. This system worked as follows: The Monarch was on the top of the hierarchy society, as such, he owned all lands in England. To firmly and intelligently rule the kingdom, Norman kings decided to keep some lands for themselves and allocate most to their loyal nobles or tenant-in-chiefs as they were called, in turn for providing men for fight in times of war. These tenant-in-chiefs could also allocate some of their lands to subtenants-in-chief provided that they contribute to the preparation of the army. The lowest class in this pyramid was the peasants who farmed the land and gave a portion of its goods to their lords as rent; the lords also built castles which could become military stronghold in wartimes (Wilkinson 2006).



**Figure 1: The Norman feudal system**

This intelligent system enabled Norman Kings, on one hand to spread their power across the country by giving some of their land to loyal friends who were supposed to represent the king and maintain order at the land; but to make sure that these tenant-in-chiefs would not get too powerful and challenge royal powers, kings made sure that these lords were given scattered portion of lands to hinder them from building big local power bases, by which they could fight the king. On the other hand, this system enables Norman kings to get their army ready in wartimes as those

tenant-in-chiefs agreed to supply fighting men with food and arms during wars in exchange for the land they were given.

This feudal system in its essence was based on the unchallenged assumption that all the land of the kingdom was owned by the king; he had the right to give it to whom he saw deserved it, and should be obeyed without questions. This assumption of giving the king the right to own the whole kingdom, demand for passively obedience and the non resistance to his rule is at the heart of the Divine Right of Kings.

The feudal system was not the only area in which Norman kings manifested their strong belief in the Divine Rights; the system of wardship was also used by Norman kings to increase their sacred royal powers. This system was based on considering children and young people who were left orphans as *wards* to the king. In such cases, the king was the guardian of their property until they become adult. (Wilkinson, 2006)

Norman kings exploited these systems to squeeze more and more money out of the English in the name of kingship. King William I for example, left many of his *royal wards* broke with their assets sold off when they came to age; young heiresses suffered even worse as they were forcefully married off to one of William's cronies. Even the church was not aloof from the exploitation of the kings; according to the Norman law, the crown can take the income of any vacant church post, the kings took advantage of this opportunity and did their best to keep the church posts vacant. (Wilkinson, 2006)

People were growing aggrieved at the kings' exploitation in the name of their sacred position. The barons particularly were indignant at the kings' relentless demand for money under the feudal system; indeed, the monarchs were always in urgent need for money to wage wars either against an heir claiming the English throne, or against Muslims in the crusades. The discontented barons along with the churchmen wanted to put an end to kings' exploitation. For

the first time, they decided to limit the royal powers which had always gone unchallenged, thus weakening the monarchy as we will see in the following subsection.

## **1.2 Notable Events Leading up to Weakening The British Monarchy**

This includes three events: the Barons' Wars, the English Civil War, and the Glorious Revolution.

### **2.2.1 The Barons' Wars**

Norman kings continued to exploit the feudal rights, along with the rights of awardship. In the reign of King John, this exploitation reached its peak leading the barons to unite against the royal power. They forced the king to sign Magna Carta, or the Great Charter in 1215 to stop the abuses of the crown and safeguard their rights.

This was an unprecedented and courageous step to challenge the king who had always been regarded as the representative of God on earth to whom people should be passive obedient subjects.

#### **2.2.1.1. Historical Account**

George C. Kihn in his *Dictionary of Historical Documents Documents* described this event as: "the irate barons vowing to end John's despotism" (2003, p. 266). William S. Mckecline in *Magna Carta: A commentary on the Great Charter of King John*, blamed the King's arrogance and cruelty which united all classes and interests against him (1914). He also affirmed that if the king did not lose the friendship of the church, he might have been able to defeat the baronial opposition:

It is probable that the baronial party, if they had acted in isolation would have failed in 1215... If the crown had the active sympathy of the church, common people, the King might have successfully defied the baronage. (Ibid, p. 50)

This quotation suggests that the barons were not alone to rebel against the king; they were supported by both the church and the people. In another word, the quotation highlights three reasons for the revolt.

The first is embodied in the grievances of the barons who were not satisfied with the continuous exploitation of the feudal system. Under this system, the king gave them some lands on the condition that they provided military support for him in wartimes, but the problem was in the high frequency of wartimes during king John's reign which ended most of time by a heavy lost and abdication of large territories of the kingdom to the enemy. King John was even given the nickname of "John the Lackland" and this reveals how unpopular his battles were among the barons.

The second reason includes the grievances of the common people who suffered a lot from the king's harsh rule which can be reflected mainly through the wardship system. Under this system, orphans were considered as wards of the king and he was the guardian of their property until they come to age; but by then, most of minors found their possessions already sold off or heavily exploited and damaged. King John even forced some children into marriage to fully exploit their estates. For adult orphans, they were required to pay a relief to the king in order to retain the ownership of the property and King John increased the fees several times.

The third reason behind the rebellion is the conflict between the king and the church as stresses Katherine F .Drew in *Magna Carta*. She spoke of a rising tension between "the king as a leader and the Pope as a ruler" (2004, p.1). This mounting tension happened as follows: During John's reign, Innocent III was the pope. He was dissatisfied with the king's interference in the business of the church, especially the appointment of archbishops; he refused several times the candidates named by the king. The latter reacted by squeezing more taxes and fines out of the church in addition to seizing the Pope's possessions. The tension between the king and the pope was too

high that the Pope excommunicated John (i.e. John was placed out of the Christian community) and even planned with King Philip IV of France to invade England; King John found himself forced to give up to the church and submitted England to the Papacy (Drew, 2004). This conflict with the Pope raised an ecclesiastical opposition which united with the already existing baronage opposition to limit the royal power.

Catherine Drew in the same book highlighted another reason behind the baron's revolt: it is the catastrophic continuous defeats of the King in his wars; he lost Normandy by France, then he lost Maine, Anjou, Tourain and he was still preparing for a coalition against King Philip IV and wars overseas (Drew, 2004). All these wars cost a lot of money which was all the time extracted from the barons under the Feudal system. Because of "the increase frequency of warlike expeditions" (Mckechine, 1914, p. 67), they had now to pay more and more. This led them to decide putting an end to the King's abuses, limiting his powers by Magna Carta.

#### **2.2.1.2. Magna Carta and Weakening the British Monarchy**

Magna Carta consists of sixty three clauses. If we approach closely this primary source, we see that the first clause is devoted to address the grievances of the church: "We granted and confirmed by the charter the freedom of the church's elections- a right reckoned to be the greatest necessity and importance to it." (Linebaugh, 2008, p. 282)

This suggests that churchmen were the most influential party in the rebellion against King John. This confirms also some historians' view that the barons could do nothing without the support of the church and that King John was forced to sign the charter only after seeing the church backing up the revolt. This also gives us an image about how strong the position of the church was at that time.

It is evident from the above discussion that King John had signed the document under pressure to calm down the rebels and to get time to bribe the archbishops and the religious leaders.

Clauses 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 deal with the wardship system and the party addressed here is the barons. These clauses safeguarded the rights of heirs of feudal estates and protected them from the exploitation of their guardians especially if they were under age as clearly stated in clause 4 of the charter: “The guardianship of the land of an heir who is under age shall take from it only reasonable revenues, customary dues and feudal services. He shall do this without destruction or damage to men or property”. (Linebaugh, 2008, p. 283)

The guardian would not only return the land to its heir when the latter came of age, but he would also provide him the means necessary to farm his land as stated in Clause 5 “When the heir comes of age, he shall restore the whole land to him, stocked with plough teams and such implements of husbandry as the season demands and the revenues from the land can necessary bear.” (Linebaugh, 2008, p. 284)

The charter even protected heirs from being forced by guardians into marriage as stated in Clause 6: “Heirs may be given in marriage, but not to someone of lower social standing. Before a marriage takes a place, it shall be made known to the heir’s next-of-kin”. (Linebaugh, 2008, p. 184)

Clause 2 of the charter specifies the amount of relief that should be paid by an heir of feudal estates to claim its ownership, thus cutting the way for King John to increase the fees the way he wanted:

If any earl, baron, or other person that holds directly of the crown, for military service, shall die and at his death his heir shall be of full age and owe a “relief”. That is to say, the heir or heirs of an earl shall pay £ 100 for the entire earl’s barony, the heir or heirs of a knight 100s at most for the entire knight’s fee, and any man that owes less shall pay less in accordance with the ancient usage of “fees”. (Linebaugh, 2008, p. 283)

While clause 3 exempt minors from paying any reliefs to their guardians because they would had use of the estate before the heirs came age. As a result, they would have already benefited financially: “But f the heir of such a person is under age and award when he comes of age he shall have his inheritance without relief or fine”. (Linebaugh, 2008, p. 282)

Starting from clause 6 to Clause 60, the charter addresses the common people, including everyday life issues. Clause 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16 impose some limitations on the king’s extraction of relief, scutage and aid. While Clause 18 until Clause 39 grant free men’s right to justice including court and lawsuits regulation, issues of debt, witnesses...etc In this part, the charter even covers the smallest faults made by the king or any royal official with the common people and disallows them like taking by force people’s money, horses, woods or any other goods. Clauses from 40 to 60 deal with a range of economic and property rights. These laws address everyday life trade and it gives the Great Charter an enduring place among the laws of England.

If the king refused to observe these rights, the barons gave themselves the right to: “distrain upon and assail us [the barons] in every way possible, with the support of the whole community of the land, by seizing castles, lands, possessions, or anything else” (Linebaugh, 2008, p. 294). The daring of the barons to threaten the king with rebellion in case he failed to observe these rights reveals in fact that they no longer believe in the Divine Rights of Kings and that the Monarchy is weak.

The most significant part of the Great Charter was as Steven Batchelor (2010) argues in *Medieval History for Dummies*, establishing a council of barons to ensure that the actions of the charter were forced. This council was described in clause 61 of Magna Carta: “The barons shall elect twenty-five of their number to keep; and cause to be observed with all their might, the peace and liberties granted and confirmed to them by this charter”. (Linebaugh, 2008, p. 294).

This fatal clause almost disempowered the king and humiliated him as he accepted to be supervised by his subjects. It was an attempt to force the king to acknowledge that his power was not absolute; it is controlled by law. The king by now was subject to accountability and even punishment as any human being who commits mistakes. W. Guthrie in *The Magna Carta and Other Adresses* summarizes what the barons had achieved in: establishing the right “to compel the king of England to obey a body of fixed laws outside and beyond his will” (1917, p. 25). Now, people realized that they could get back their rights even from the king and that no one is above the law of the nation.

### **2.2.1.3. The Reaction of King John and the Future of Magna Carta**

King John wanted to re-establish his will. He agreed to meet with the barons only after postponed meetings; unable to bear the heavy blow of his prestige and loss of face each time he met the barons, he convinced Pope Innocent III to release him from his oath to observe the Magna Carta and all the barons who showed opposition to the will of the king were to be excommunicated (Drew, 2004). The barons were displeased with this and started planning for another rebellion; only the sudden death of King John in 1216 stopped a civil war from happening.

After the King’s death, his son Henry III became a king, but he was only a child of three years. The barons saw this as an excellent opportunity to enforce Magna Carta (Batchelor, 2010). In 1227, Henry III reached adulthood and his personal rule started. He tried several times to enforce his authority, but by then the barons could establish and grow into a by the stiff opposition with the leadership of Simon de Montfort who played an important role in organizing baronial meeting with king. These meetings became to be called Parliament and played an

important role in the development of this institution. Henry found himself forced to rule as “little more than a puppet king” (Ibid, p. 248).

To get out of this, Henry III with the backing of the Pope refuted Magna Carta in 1262 and declared that from now on he had no duty to follow it. This was a direct cause for The Second Baron War under the leadership of De Montfort who asked the king to submit to the demands of his barons, but he received this letter from King Henry III as quoted from *The Medieval History for Dummies* by Stephen Batchelor:

Since from the war and general confusion existing in our kingdom which has all been caused by you and by conflagration and other lawless mischiefs, it is distinctly visible that you do not preserve the fidelity which you owe to us and that you have no respect or any regard for the safety of our person since you have wickedly attacked our nobles and other our faithful subjects who have constantly preserved their fidelity to us. Witness my hand at Lewes on the twelfth day of May in the forty-eighth year of our reign. (2010, p. 248)

But the king lost the battle of Lewes, and he was taken a prisoner. The monarchy was abolished and De Montfort with his barons ruled through parliament.

De Montfort baronial government was not successful. In 1265, his barons split in reaction against his policies. Henry's eldest son Edward seized upon the opportunity; he escaped from the prison and raised an army by which he defeated the few supporters of De Montfort and killed him. (Batchelor, 2010)

King Edward, as his father King Henry III and his grandfather King John, tried to enforce his authority. He produced much legislation to restore some powers to the crown, but he was unable to face the growing power of the Barons. The weakness of the monarchy and the strength of parliament can be seen each time King Edward I summoned with his model parliament to ask

for money. In 1295, the king needed money to cover his wars in Wales, Scotland, and to prepare for his war with France; the parliament accepted his request, but the amount was not as high as he wished. He was forced to assemble with a small influential group of barons and he convinced them to grant further money and imposed more taxes, then he sailed to Flanders (Drew, 2004). In his absence, the barons refused to pay taxes unless the King reconfirmed the Magna Carta of 1297, focusing on the following article. King Edward I could but submit to the parliament, partly because he needed money during the Hundred Years War with France (1337-1453).

The relation between King I and parliament was repeated almost with all the following kings who believed in the Divine Rights and wanted to re-enforce their authority. The parliament took advantage of the only power they had in their hands: imposing taxes and raising money. They used this as a winning card to force kings to bow and ask for money from parliament that was always given in turn for abdicating some royal powers. To avoid this embarrassing situation, kings preferred to find other ways to raise money rather than begging it from parliament. For example, Tudor and Stuart kings relied on custom duties and other taxes which did not need parliament consent, but this led to many conflicts with the parliament which culminated during the reign of Charles I in The English Civil War.

## **2.2.2. The English Civil War**

### **2.2.2.1 Historical Account**

The English Civil War was described by William Burns as: “the greatest disaster ever to befall the British Monarchy” (2010, p.108). This is true regarding its momentous consequences; it led to a deteriorating relation between the crown and parliament beyond repair and cleared the way for the birth of a Constitutional Monarchy.

The English Civil War lasted from 1642 to 1649, It was a series of armed conflicts between Parliamentarians (i.e. supporters of parliament who wanted to restrict royal powers), and

Royalists (i.e. supporters of the crown). It ended by: the trial and execution of King Charles I, the exile of his son Charles II and the replacement of the English Monarchy with a republic under the personal rule of Oliver Cromwell.

In *The Early Stuart Kings*, Graham Seel and David Smith argue that the birth of the English Civil War was the consequence of a “crisis of multiple kingdoms” (2001, p.89). In other words, the collapse of the monarchy was a result of previous rebellions in the three kingdoms: Scotland, Ireland and England to show their fury over the rule of Charles I. In Scotland, the Parliament legislated for a *Kirk* (i.e. National Presbyterian Church of Scotland), but Charles I in order to have one uniform church throughout Britain, enforced Anglican practices and imposed the *Book of Common Prayer* in all the Scottish churches without consulting any local body. The Scottish refused the book and riots broke out in churches when bishops and archbishops read it. Riots in churches developed in Edinburgh and the king raised an army to suppress the rebellion called the Bishop War 1639. Tensions had also begun to amount in Ireland; the repeated confiscation of Catholics’ land to grant them to protestant English colonists, along with the growing Irish distrust of both Scots and English party dominant in the London parliament in which they openly expressed their anti-Catholicism. This was culminated in a rebellion in 1641.

In a report written by Sir Thomas Wiseman to Sir John Pennington, a senior commander in Charles I’s navy about a rebellion in Ireland in 1641, he stated that the rebellion spread quickly throughout the north of Ireland in which more than 10,000 Catholics were up in arms. They took over some castles and strongholds and threatened not to leave a Protestant alive. The rebels said that it was the example set by the Scots which drove them to the rebellion, in addition to the harsh rule of the Lord Strafford who would be executed later on Tower Hill for treachery against the English nation. (Nicolson, 2008)

In England, the situation was not better; people were enraged at the heavy military expenditures, taxations and the total disregard of parliament by the king as we can see through a petition from citizens of London in September 1640. The petition respectfully presents eight complaints:

**(point 1)** The demanding and unusual taxes upon goods, importing and exporting, and the taking of ship money [a type of tax], despite merchants' ships and goods having been taken and destroyed by Turkish and other pirates.

**(point 2)** The many monopolies, patents and warrants, causing trade in the city and other parts of the kingdom to decline. [Monopolies, patents and warrants were types of permission from the king granting the holder some kind of right that gave them a business advantage over others.]

**(point 3)** The many changes in matters of religion.

**(point 4)** The recent changes in church rules which mean people may be deprived of their ministers.

**(point 5)** The great crowd of Catholics living in London and the suburbs, where they have more means and opportunity of plotting against the established religion.

**(point 6)** The seldom calling and sudden ending of Parliaments, without sorting out the king subjects' complaints.

**(point 7)** The imprisonment of various citizens for non-payment of ship money and taxes, and the prosecution of many others in the Star Chamber for not following the rules regulating trade.

**(point 8)** The great danger the king is exposed to in the present war, and the various fears that they and their families have because of the war, have led to such a drop in trade that people cannot buy, sell, receive or pay as before. This tends to the utter ruin of the people living in the city, the decline of shipping and cloth making, and the products of this kingdom. (Rushworth, 1703)

William Burns (2010) claims that the major reason of the English Civil War was the personality of Charles I himself; he strongly believed in the Divine Right of kings and wanted to enforce his authorities as a king. He preferred to find always other ways to raise money instead of putting himself in the embarrassing situation of begging it from parliament; he also relied on his friends for advice to avoid consulting parliament. This caused a great resentment among his opponents.

Charles I even decided to rule without parliament for eleven years, this period was called Charles Personal Rule. Parliamentarians grew more hostile to this absolute king; Graham Seel and David Smith (2001) claim that hostility to Charles was so great that the English opponents wished that the Scots invaded England and demanded financial reparation from the king, this would force him to summon parliament to ask for money. This is exactly what happened; King Charles failed in his attempt to suppress the Bishop War and the Scots invaded Northern England threatening to burn all towns and cities in case the king did not pay a subsidy. Charles was compelled to call parliament to ask for money

In a letter of King Charles to the parliament on 10 June 1646, he expressed his worries that the multiple crisis in the three kingdoms may lead to separating them. He showed his readiness to comply with the parliament in everything to maintain peace and order in the nation in a letter that Cobbett, Wright, and Hansard entitle in *Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803. "Ending of Hostilities"*. (Cobett et al, 1817, p. 486) I quote the passage of this letter which shows the deep worries of the king and his helplessness that drove him to ask for the help of parliament.

His Majesty, looking with grief of heart upon the sad sufferings of his people in his three kingdoms for some years past, and being affected with their distresses and unquie condition through the distractions about religion, the keeping of forces on foot in the field and

garrisons, the not satisfying of public debts, and the fears of the further effusion of blood by the continuance of a n u n - n a t u r a l w a r in any of these kingdoms, or b y rending and dividing these Kingdoms, so happily united...Having resolved to comply with the de s i r e s of Our Pa r l i a m e n t in eve rything whi ch may be f or the good of Our subjects, and leave no means un-essayed for removing all differences amongst us, therefore We have thought fit, the more to evidence the reality of Our intentions of settling an happy and firm peace, to require you, upon honourable terms, to quit those towns, castles, and forts entrusted to you. (Cobbett et al, 1803, pp. 486-487)

But his opponents in the parliament took this good opportunity to redress their grievance with the monarch's personal rule, laying down limits on his royal powers. (Seel and Smith, 2001)

The gap between the king and parliament reached an explosive point in The Five Members Crisis; Charles entered parliament to arrest five of its members in charge of treason that was defined during his reign as either a crime against the country or the king. The King acknowledged that he shouldn't have entered the House of Commons because that was their privilege, but in case of treason nobody had a privilege. He said that he was expecting the five MPs to be brought to him instead of searching them. The King looked around at the members of the House and said that all the birds had flown. When the King asked the Speaker of the House about them, he answered that he had neither eyes nor tongue to speak but as the House directed him whose servant he considered himself to be. This rather impolite answer with the Speaker considering himself a servant of Parliament and not of the king reveals the deep antagonism between the monarch and the rebellious parliament which reached its peak in the Civil War of 1642. (Thomas, 1992)

After seven years of an armed conflict, the war ended by a victory of Parliamentarians over the Royalist. Historians like Robert Thomas refers the success of the New Model Army under the

military command of Oliver Cromwell not to any puritan zeal or political commitment, but to the fact that parliamentarians used the revenues of Parliament in London to pay the soldiers with a regularity that the Royalists were unable to match (1992). King Charles was handed to parliament for a trial that lasted from 20 to 27 in front of 50 of its members. King Charles I who preserved his pride and dignity until the very end saying: "I am the martyr of people" (Wedgewood, 1964, p.192), refused to recognize the legacy of the trial which was opened "in the name of the good people of Britain" (ibid). On 30<sup>th</sup> January and to near universal astonishment, the king was beheaded (Cressy, 2006). He was executed for being "a tyrant, traitor, and public enemy to the commonwealth" (Cheyney, 1908, p. 488).

Many historians tried to explain the ailing situation that King Charles I put himself in. While some blame his inability to govern the three kingdoms with Scotland in rebellion, Ireland in religious revolt and constitutional changes in England including ruling without parliament for a decade, imposing "new unheard taxes" and forced loans (Nicolson, 2008, p. 231), imprisoning people wrongfully, steering the church from the purity of its protestant reformation (Cressy, 2006), other historians like Robert Thomas in his: *Civil Society and the English Civil War* see that the King could have succeeded to pass over the turmoil in the kingdom if he had managed well to turn the parliament into his side because in a kingdom where the king lacked military force and where money came only through parliament, a successful king could only rule with the consent of the commons. But King Charles was too proud to allow himself to cooperate with his subjects. He preferred to sink into his strong belief in the Divine Rights. He turned to parliament only when all pockets run out of money and in a period when it was too late for him to gain any support or sympathy from the MPs after his complete disregard of them. The Commons united in one single word calling for his execution leaving the stage for the most radical voices to lead and take actions.

### **2.2.2.2 The Execution of King Charles I and Weakening the British Monarchy**

The execution of King Charles was followed by the Act Abolishing the Office of King in 17 March 1649: “Be it therefore enacted and ordained by this present Parliament, and by authority of the same, that the office of a king in this nation shall not henceforth reside in or be exercised by any single person.” (Adams and Stephens, 1901, p. 398)

This decision was justified in the previous paragraph of the same act:

And whereas it is and has been found by experience that the office of a king in this nation and Ireland, and to have the power thereof in any single person, is unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the people, and that for the most part, use has been made of the regal power and prerogative to oppress and impoverish and enslave the subject; and that usually any one person in such power makes it his interest to encroach upon the just freedom and liberty of the people, and to promote the setting up of their own will and power above the Laws, that so they might enslave these kingdoms to their own lust. (Adams and Stephens 1901, p398)

Here, the office of King was described as the source of all evil, each person holding it tries to aggrandize his power at the expense of people’s liberties and rights. They decided to abolish it and declared a commonwealth instead:

Be it declared and enacted by this present Parliament, and by the authority of the same, that the people of England, and of all the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, are and shall be and are hereby constituted, made, established and confirmed to be a Commonwealth and Free States...and that without any King or House of Lord. (Adams and Stephens, 1901, p. 400)

The commonwealth (1649-53), then the Protectorate (1653-59) were under the personal rule of Oliver Cromwell whose prevailing Puritan restrictions did not suit most of people. The problem

was that he saw himself “in a position very similar to that of Moses leading the Israelites to the Promised Land” (Morgan, 1993, p. 375). He believed that he had God’s providence to achieve better future for the nation and thought that the first step was to reform man’s behaviour within society. To achieve this, people were fined for drunkenness, gambling, swearing, even for playing sports, theaters and inns were closed. All these activities were considered as a waste of time which distracts from worship and working hard to promote the economy of the country in the puritan teachings. Above all, Cromwell did not rule by parliament. Ironically, his opponents proposed him the crown they waged a war to abolish, in order to limit his absolutism. (Wilkinson, 2006)

The harsh rule of Oliver Cromwell can be seen through the parliamentary acts he issued to define high treason which assured death sentence. The following is a passage of a parliamentary act made on 17<sup>th</sup> July 1650.

Be it enacted by this present Parliament , and by the authority of the same, that any person shall maliciously or advisedly publish, by writing, printing, or openly declaring, that the said government is tyrannical, usurped, or unlawful; or that the Commons in Parliament assembled are not the supreme authority of this nation; or shall plot, contrive, or endeavour to stir up, or raise force against the present government, or for the subversion or alteration of the same, and shall declare the same by any open deed, that then every such offence shall be taken, deemed, and adjudged by authority of this Parliament to be high treason. (Adams and Stephens, 1901, p. 400)

This parliamentary act considers speaking up against the republic as a high treason. The same act sees stirring up mutiny in the army, counterfeiting the money of the Commonwealth or even bringing false money to the nation as a high treason as well.

Oliver Cromwell went further as he issued a parliamentary act to deprive the royal family from carrying weapons to defend themselves against rebels or to bring sequestered people as schoolmasters for their children as we can see in the parliamentary act of 4<sup>th</sup>

October 1655:

His Highness the Lord Protector, upon advice with his council, finding it necessary for the reasons and upon the grounds expressed in his late declaration...from and after 1 December 1655 (any member of the royal family cannot) buy, use, or keep in his or their house, or houses, or elsewhere, any arms, offensive or defensive...keep in their houses and families as chaplains or schoolmasters, for the education of their children, any sequestered or ejected minister, fellow of any college or schoolmaster

(Park, 1810, pp. 268-269)

People were growing upset with the new republic. When Cromwell died in 1568, his son Richard succeeded him, but after few months, the army removed him, deciding to abolish the republic and to restore the monarchy.

These complex developments starting from the trial and execution of King Charles I, the abolition of the English Monarchy, the declaration of the Republic, then the restoration of the monarchy mean one thing: the Parliament was very powerful to the extent that it could draw the picture of Britain's politics the way it wanted, even the monarchy now did not make any challenge to it and they dare restoring it. In fact, the intentional restoration of the monarchy denotes that it would be severely weakened in the future, and this is what really happened during the Glorious Revolution.

## 2.2.3 The Glorious Revolution

### 2.2.3.1 Historical Account

The Glorious Revolution is a term used to describe the peaceful way in which the Catholic King James II was overthrown and replaced by his Protestant daughter Mary II and her husband William III of Orange the ruler of Netherlands in 1689. Because the passage of the throne was relatively without battle or bloodshed, it became to be called “glorious”. Whereas the word revolution was used figuratively to describe the transition imposed on the institution of the monarchy from being an Absolute Monarchy to a Constitutional Monarchy by the terms of Bill of Rights. (Wilkinson, 2006)

For a better understanding of the Glorious Revolution, it is useful to have knowledge about the growing Anti-Catholicism in Britain, especially after the restoration of the monarchy.

By 1680’s, most Protestants were Anti Catholic; this did not necessarily spring from religious belief, it came from generations of a propaganda depicting Catholics as a threat to English freedom, partly because it was embodied in the two old enemies of England: France and Spain (Barton, 2006). This intense hatred was reflected in a number of acts passed during the reign of Charles II to impose Anglican practices, thus suffocating the Catholics as listed by Barton (2006):

*The Corporation Act of 1661:* Non-Anglicans could not vote or be members of corporations.

*The Act of Uniformity of 1662:* Clergy who did not accept the Anglican Prayer Book were deprived of their livings.

*The Conventicle Act of 1664:* Forbade the attendance of non- Anglican religious meetings.

*The Five Mile Acts of 1665:* Non-Anglican clergy and school teachers were not to come within 5 miles of any city.

*Test Act of 1673*: prohibiting Non-Anglicans from holding any civil or military office, in addition to other acts restricting the freedom of the Catholics to the extent that they were forced to hide their identity if they were to live peacefully in England.

Catholics were also blamed for a number of incidents in Britain. For example, they were accused of being behind The Great Plague and Fire of London in 1665 causing the death of a quarter of London's population, they were also thought to be behind the Popish Plot of 1678 to murder the king and reimpose Catholicism. (Burns, 2010).

Charles II died in 1685 childless; he was succeeded by his Catholic brother James II according to the order of succession. King James II's conduct during his short reign was so poor that premature senility has been suggested. He inherited a stable throne, good revenue, a large and strong army, a loyal parliament, but within three years was in exile. A recent and sympathetic biographer described him as: "utterly humourless, lacking the intellect to use above the minutiae of government...so egocentric that he was incapable of understanding the views of others" (Cannon and Hargreaves, 2009, p. 299).

When James II was crowned, the parliament was overwhelmingly loyal to him. The Commons voted him for life the same revenues that his brother Charles II had enjoyed, and even decided to vote for additional grants. They helped him to crush army raised by Monmouth; the illegitimate son of Charles II supported by some Protestants who feared the catholic rule of the new king, but the parliament's favour did not last for long as it was apparent for them that the main objective of the king was to promote and impose Catholicism throughout the kingdom. (House of Commons Information Office, 2010)

In a collusive law act, judges ruled that the king could dispense with the Test Acts which deprived Non-Anglicans from holding public offices. The judges ruled that he could do so without the consent of parliament when it comes to individual cases. King James began to

introduce Roman Catholics and Dissenters to the parliament, privy council, army, navy, universities, supreme command posts in Scotland and Ireland, and even within the Anglican Church. (Cannon and Hargreaves, 2009)

King James even went further in his attempt to impose his religious views in the kingdom. He issued the Declaration of Indulgence 1687 with a complete disregard to parliamentary opposition to it. The King was recorded to say in this declaration which suspended all the religious penal laws against Catholics:

We cannot but heartily wish, as it will easily be believed, that all the people of our Dominions were members of the Catholic Church, yet we humbly thank Almighty God that it is ... our opinion that conscience ought not to be constrained nor people forced in matters of mere religion. (House of Commons Information Office, 2010, p. 3)

The King replied to the parliament's stiff opposition to this declaration that it was the king's prerogative to dispense and suspend laws. To further crush any opposition voice against his policies, he established an Ecclesiastical Commission on June 15<sup>th</sup> to deprive clergy of their functions if they spoke up against Catholicism like what happened with Henry Compton, Bishop of London because he refused to suspend a clergyman who preached against Roman Catholicism. (House of Commons, 2010)

King James continuous interference in the business of the church caused a rising tension which reached its peak in the Seven Bishops Crisis. James ordered Anglican clergy to read and preach the Declaration of Indulgence from the pulpit on two consecutive Sundays. The archbishop of Canterbury and other six bishops refused to read it and petitioned against the order on the grounds that the declaration was illegal because it lacked parliamentary consent. The Seven Bishops were arrested and sent for trial for *Seditious Libel* (i.e. inciting people to overthrow the government). Two days later and with poor timing, the queen gave birth to a son who was baptized according to

the Roman Catholic rite and a prospect of an unending Catholic dynasty came to the view. Few days after, the seven bishops were acquitted by the jury among huge cheers and crows in the street burning pictures of the Pope and attacking some Catholic establishments. (House of Commons Information Office , 2010)

Acquitting the seven bishops was in fact the first step of rebellion against the king. Some days after the jury announced its ruling, A letter of invitation was sign up by seven prominent politicians (Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Danby, Lumley, the Bishop of London, Henry Sidney and Edward Russell) to invite Mary II the Protestant daughter of King James II and her husband William III to be joint monarchs in order to save both state and church from papacy. On October 1<sup>st</sup>, William III issued a manifesto in which he said:

...Therefore it is that we have thought fit to go over to England, and to carry with us a force sufficient, by the blessing of God, to defend us from the violence of those evil councillors ; and we, being desirous that our intention in this way may be rightly understood, have prepared this Declaration... (House of Commons Information Office, 2010, p. 3)

William III, the most powerful opponent of the military Catholic King of France Louis XIV, heartily welcomed the invitation with the hope of using England's strength against France. When William III landed at Torbay in Devon with his armada, a war did not break out as Louis XIV expected; instead he was enthusiastically cheered up by the English who showed their support by violent uprisings against James II, attacking Catholic chapels, schools, printing shops, houses of James' government officials, tax collectors and Protestant Dissenters allies. Even some soldiers in James' army joint William III's side. (House of Commons Information Office, 2010)

William III was supported by political parties as well. The Whig party was from the beginning a fervent voice calling and plotting for overthrowing the king and replacing him by his

son-in-law. To the surprise of the political arena, the Tories joined the Whigs in their support for William III. Their conservative beliefs in royal authority, right of succession, divine rights suggest them to be on the side of James II, but his pro-Catholic policies changed sides as the Tories were enthusiastic advocates of the Protestant Anglican Church. (House of Commons, 2010)

James II, seeing the wide support William III was surrounded by, and fearing the same fate of his beheaded father Charles I, escaped to France. In spring 1689 supported by Louis XIV, he went to Ireland to stage a comeback and restore his stolen throne, but he was easily crushed by William's army. To put an end to James' claim for the English throne by the hereditary rights of the divine rights, the parliament issued Act of Settlement in which it is stated that anyone who shall be a catholic, shall be excluded and be unable to possess or inherit the crown, and before being offered the English crown, Mary II and William III were forced to sign the Bill of Rights which heavily restricted royal powers and condemned the abuse of regal prerogatives as listed below as quoted from the original Declaration of Rights of 13<sup>th</sup> February 1689 :

Whereas the late King James the Second, by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, judges, and ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion and the laws and liberties of the kingdom.

1. By assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending of laws, and the execution of laws, without the consent of parliament.
2. By committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates for humbly petitioning to be excused concurring to the said assumed power.
3. By issuing and causing to be executed a commission under the Great Seal for erecting a court called the Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes.
4. By levying money for and to the use of the Crown by pretence of prerogative, for

other time and in other manner than the same was granted by parliament.

5. By raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace without the consent of parliament and quartering soldiers contrary to the law.

6. By causing several good subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed at the same time when papists were both armed and employed contrary to the law.

7. By violating the freedom of election by members to serve in parliament.

8. By prosecutions in the Court of King's Bench for matters and causes cognizable only in parliament; and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courses.

9. And whereas of late years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons have been returned and served on juries in trials, and particularly divers jurors in trials for high treason, which were not freeholders.

10. Excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases, to elude the benefit of laws made for the liberty of the subjects.

11. And excessive fines have been imposed; and illegal and cruel punishments inflicted.

12. And several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures, before any conviction or judgment against the persons, upon whom the same were to be levied. All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes and freedom of this realm.

(House of Commons Information Office, 2010, p. 6)

For these dissatisfactions with the king, they decided to replace him by William III of Orange as stated in the same declaration:

And whereas the said late King James the Second having abdicated the government and the throne being thereby vacant, his Highness the Prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, and

divers principal persons of the Commons) cause letters to be written to the lords spiritual and temporal, being Protestants; and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs, and Cinque Ports, for the choosing of such persons to represent them. (House of Commons Information Office, 2010, p.6)

As we can see through the extract, William III was chosen for “being protestant” for the sake of “delivering the kingdom from popery and arbitrary power”.

### **2.2.3.2 Bills of Rights and Weakening the British Monarchy**

Accepting the crown was conditioned by accepting the following limitation of royal powers as quoted and explained one by one.

#### **Article 1**

“That the pretended power of suspending laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of parliament is illegal”. (House of Commons, 2010, p.7)

In this article suspending a law meant to temporarily nullify it but not to repeal it.

#### **Article 2**

“That the pretended power of dispensing with the laws, or the execution of law by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal”. (House of Commons, 2010, p.7)

Dispensing a law did not mean to get rid of it entirely, but rather to make an exemption to it by allowing a particular group or individuals to disobey the law. Suspending and dispensing laws were used by King James II to gain tolerance for Catholics and protestant Dissenters.

#### **Article 3**

“That the commission for erecting the late court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious.” (House of Commons Information Office, 2010, p7)

This was a direct attack on the Ecclesiastical Commission that King James II established to dismiss clergy who showed opposition to Catholicism.

#### **Article 4**

“That levying money for or to the use of the crown by pretense of prerogative, without grant of parliament, for longer time or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal”. (House of Commons, 2010, p. 7)

This re-affirms an old principle going back to the Magna Carta that people should not be taxed without their consent. For centuries, monarchs relied on “indirect taxes” to raise money like custom duties or “force borrowing” from wealthy subjects which did not need parliamentary consent. This article made it clear that all kinds of taxes should be authorized by the parliament.

#### **Article 5**

“That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal”. (House of Commons, 2010, p.7)

This article gives the Englishmen the right to show opposition and express worries and claims to their king without fear for being protected by law. This was a reply to the incident of “the Seven Bishops” who were arrested and sent for trial during James II’s reign for refusing to read his Declaration of Indulgence.

#### **Article 6**

“That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law”. (House of Commons, 2010, p. 7)

A standing army is a group of professional soldiers trained like those in France and were kept “standing” even in peacetime. During James II’s rule, people feared being attacked by his standing army which was created without parliamentary consent, thus it was supposed to be more loyal to the king not the parliament.

### **Article 7**

“That the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defense suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law”. (House of Commons Information Office, 2010, p. 7)

This article reflects a fear of Catholics and standing armies which were filled by Catholics and Protestant Dissenters. The best protection against them was a well-armed Protestants.

### **Article 8**

“That election of members of parliament ought to be free”. (House of Commons , Information Office 2010, p.7)

“Free” here means free from the interference and pressure of the monarch.

### **Article 9**

“That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament.” (House of Commons Information Office, 2010, p.7)

This asserts that no one should be punished for what he said in Parliament. This article is a reply to the incident of “the Five Member Crisis” in which King James II entered Parliament to arrest five of its MPs for speaking out against the king.

### **Article 10**

“That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.” (House of Commons Information Office, 2010, p. 7)

This article prohibits judges from abusing their discretionary power by issuing unusual or inhuman punishments that were not bound by law. The article prevents judges also from setting too high bails that made paying it impossible; the same thing for fines which may ruin some people financially.

## **Article 11**

“That jurors ought to be duly impaneled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders.” (House of Commons Information Office, 2010, p. 7)

The introduction of this article aims at reducing corruption in the judiciary by making jurors eligible for judgments only freeholders (i.e. owners of property who can sell at their will). It was generally believed that freeholders made better jurors than leaseholders (i.e. renters) who were generally poor; thus they were more prone to be bribed.

## **Article 12**

“That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction are illegal and void”. (House of Commons Information Office, 2010, p. 7)

After a person was convicted of treason, his property could be confiscated by the king and be given to him as a gift. He may give it to whom he chose from his loyal friends and allies. It became common that kings promised these “fines and forfeitures” before even the conviction was made. To increase the possibility of taking over someone’s property, judges were bribed to declare conviction.

## **Article 13**

“And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, parliament ought to be held frequently.” (House of Commons Information Office, 2010, p. 7)

Normally kings have the right to summon and dissolve Parliament as they wished, but some kings abused this power as they chose to rule without parliament for several years. After the glorious Revolution, Parliament was to be held at least once a year.

Owing their throne to Parliament, the joint monarchs had but to sign the enforced Bill of Rights which severely limit royal powers as we seen above. The Bill ushered in the birth of a

Constitutional Monarchy (i.e. Monarchy limited by constitution or in other words the monarch here does not have absolute powers; he is limited by the law) and clearly defined the relation of King and Parliament in Great Britain. This relation is best describes by the concept: “king in parliament” according to which the king was expected to act in and through parliament.

If we analyze the rapidly grown development starting from the exclusion of king James II to the introduction of the Bill of Rights beyond the alleged anomaly of governing a growing Protestant nation by a Catholic, Parliament had in fact established the right to intervene in the hereditary right of succession; this was a heavy blow to the status of the English Monarchy based on the theory of Divine Rights of Kings which considers hereditary right indefeasible (see Figgis’s four elements of the theory in the section of Divine Right of Kings). Parliament was by then far superior to the institution of Monarchy.

## **Conclusion**

Monarchy is one of the most ancient institutions in the world that is closely associated with the theory of Divine Rights of Kings. In Britain, the first kings strongly believed in these rights; the Anglo Saxon kings saw themselves as vicars of God and acted accordingly; the Norman kings were even stronger, crushing any resistance and asking people to passively obey them. The strength of these kings is owed to the firm belief in this theory by the English and kings themselves. But with the passage of time, people no longer believed in the sacrosanctity of their kings, they were getting angry with all powers in the hand of the Monarch at the expense of their rights and liberties. For the first time they decided to limit the kings' prerogatives and challenge the institution of the Monarchy which had always gone unchallenged, as we have seen in Magna Carta. The kings tried to ignore it and insisted to enlarge their royal powers; this led to the English Civil War which culminated in the execution of King Charles I, followed by the Glorious Revolution whose effects continue to shape today's British Monarchy. All these events allow democracy to rise and flourish in Britain as people were no longer threatened by absolute sovereigns as we are going to see in the next chapter.

## **Chapter Two**

### **The Rise of Democracy in Britain**

#### **Introduction**

We have seen in the first chapter how the institution of the British monarchy was gradually stripped of its power thanks to events like the Barons' War, the English Civil War and the Glorious Revolution. All these events contributed to the transformation of the British Monarchy from being an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy, but still by that time Britain was far from being called a "democratic country" in the academic and modern sense of the notion. Indeed, limiting royal powers was undeniably an important achievement in the road towards democracy but a lot of work was still waiting.

By 17<sup>th</sup> century, parliament was dominated by rich landowners who saw that it was their god-given right to rule without what they considered unqualified ignorant masses. A point that seemed to repeat the same old story of the early British kings with the allegedly "Divine Rights of Kings". For almost two centuries, the masses had to fight to change the balance of powers. They knew that their journey was long, difficult and risky. They knew also that it should start by changing their miserable economic conditions which in turns change their social conditions to allow them to have a say in the political arena and shape Britain's democracy. In addition to overcoming a number of obstacles that were deliberately made by the upper class to marginalize and deprive the poor from entering politics. In the second chapter, we will cover how democracy evolved in Britain through eliminating these obstacles and we will smoothly link democracy with the institution of monarchy.

Discussing the rise of democracy in Britain is highly important for our thesis because it raises at the end the question of the importance of keeping the monarchy that is associated with old order and aristocracy in an ideal democratic country as indicated by many international indices

like Freedom House, the Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index, and the Systematic Center for Peace.

## **1. Defining Democracy**

Democracy has always being a contested field of study regarding the limitless literature on this theme. Indeed, democracy has been defined in various ways by different thinkers, philosophers, historians and researchers. Democracy for them is an ongoing, lively debate which remained hot with the new contemporary constituents that were added each time to its formula. On this point says Laza Kekik in *The Economist Intelligence Unit's Index of Democracy*: "There is an abundant literature relating to democracy theory, with countless definitions of what democracy should be and what democracy is" (Kerik, 2007, p. 1)

Buhlmann, Merkel, Wessels stress the same point in *The Quality of Democracy: Democracy Barometer for Established Democracies* when they speak of "a pluralism of different theories and models" when defining democracy (Buhlmann, Wolfgang, & Bernhard, 2008, p. 5). Indeed, most researchers in the field ended up after their in depth studies by confessing that defining democracy is a problematic issue that cannot be defined easily as confirmed by Robert A. Dahl, the past president of the American Political Science Association: "One of the difficulties one must face at the outset is that there is no democracy theory \_ there are only democratic theories". (Dahl, 2006, P. 1)

In our attempt to define the notion, we try to gather what most prominent academic researchers agree on, using three ways to define it: Considering the etymology of the word, contrasting the term, and analysing some extracts from reliable political dictionaries.

### **1.1 Etymology of Democracy**

Democracy combines two Greek words: *demos*, and *kratos*; *demos* means the common people, whereas *kratos* means the rule. Thus, democracy means in origin the rule of the common

people. Although experts agree that the meaning of democracy is “the rule of people”, they disagree about how to achieve it or what makes a regime a democratic one. A way to understand its meaning fully is to ask the following questions: When was the term coined? and for what purpose? (Raaflaub, Ober, & Wallace, 2007)

The word democracy was found first in the writings of Herodotus or “The Father of History” as he is referred to by modern historians (Thorley, 2004). He identifies democracy as one of the main two forms of democracy along with absolute monarchy or tyranny. Sometimes democracy appears in negative light, other times it appears in a positive light. Though he does not state it explicitly, Herodotus points out that the mob or demos do not have the wisdom to rule and this makes democracy a dangerous form of government. But when he compares democracy with tyranny of which he clearly has a negative connotation, Herodotus prefers democracy because the government under it is stronger, and people are not oppressed by any tyrant as were Athenians under the tyrant Peisistratos rule. Above all, Herodotus praises freedom and equality and considers Sparta as a typical city state for adopting these morals despite the fact that it was not democratic and lacked a constitution. (Saxonhouse, 1996)

The famous Geek historian Raphael Sealey represents a school of thought which argues that democracy was coined in the mid-fifth century by opponents of the rising Athenian democracy to criticize what they saw as an arbitrary mob rule that was architected by the lower-class citizens. So, the true meaning of democracy is “mob domination” (Sealey, 1987, p. 182). Ober J agrees with Sealey in *the Invention of Political Science* that democracy is a term of abuse which means “the empowered people rather than the power of people” (Ober, 2006, pp. 131-159).

## **1.2 Contrast of Democracy**

One way to define notion is to see its opposite because as Hegel teaches us in *Phenomenology of Spirit*, we can only fully grasp a concept by seeing its contrast for only when the darkness

exists and felt of, we can deeply understand and sense the true meaning of light because light involves directly an opposite in our minds just like evil is the antithesis of good. A man can really be good only after being acquainted with the contrary. This is why light does not exist without darkness (Hegel, 1998). The same thing for democracy; we need to find its contrary to understand it.

We have seen that democracy in principle means “the rule of the common people” or as some argue “the empowered people”. In both, we have the notion of the general people coming to rule; on this ground, democracy can be contrasted with “the rule of the elite or the few”. The last expression refers to two antonyms: aristocracy and oligarchy, though the two words are not synonyms as distinguished by Aristotle.

Aristotle considers virtue as the title to power in aristocracy, whereas in oligarchy it is wealth which is the title to power. In both, the rule is for the interest of general people, but for the interest of the few (Scruton, 2006). Unlike oligarchy and aristocracy in which powers are in the hands of the few, dictatorship and tyranny reside powers in the hands of one single person. Academics like Popper consider dictatorship and tyranny as the true contrast of democracy. In dictatorship, one person, office, party or faction is made powerful enough to dictate all political actions and condemn to all citizens to passively obey this newly authority. Dictatorship has its roots in Roman republic in which the dictator was a magistrate chosen by a consul with the support of the senate to lead the country in times of civil wars and crises (Scruton, 2006). Tyranny is to a certain degree similar to dictatorship with some few exceptions. The word tyranny derives from a Greek word *turannos* which means an absolute ruler. Aristotle, and after him Cicero and Aquinos define a tyrant as the one who rules to serve his own interest only with no distinction between the objective and the subjective. Today the meaning of the term has changed a bit; it is used to denote a form of government that is cruel, oppressive and without any

laws. Moreover, powers are concentrated in the hands of one single person, organization or a party that is capable to crush any resistance. (Scruton, 2006).

Grounded on the same criterion that made democracy opposite to dictatorship and tyranny (i.e. a single person rules rather than common people or their representatives), democracy can be contrasted with absolute monarchy too. In the latter, an heir from the royal family is crowned to be a king or queen, and he is given unlimited powers by which he becomes the source of all laws with the final word in all decisions related to his kingdom or his subjects. Absolute monarchy was made possible in the past thanks to the theory of the Divine Rights of Kings that was taught well by men of religion who exploited the sacred position of the church to please the king and fool the naïve and ignorant people of the Dark Age. The theory spread fear among people that disobeying the king or showing resistance to his will is like showing resistance to God, a sin that assures damnation and stops God's mercy from falling over his subjects because the king is subject to no earthly authority. (Figgis, 1914)

### **1.3 Democracy in Political Dictionaries**

In *Dictionary of Politics and Government*, democracy is defined as follows: “A theory or system of government by the people or by the elected representatives of the people” (Collin, 2004, p. 67). This definition distinguishes democracy as a theory from being a form of government. As a theory the definition alludes to a set of principles and thoughts which attempt to figure out how to achieve democracy and what make a regime democratic. This covers mainly the works of hundreds of agencies and organizations around the world with different schools of thoughts trying to measure democracy and applying their own academic views of democracy. This includes House of Freedom which stresses the importance of freedom as a core principle of democracy along with equality and control of government (Freedom House, 2015); Democracy Index considers sixty (60) indicators grouped in five categories: pluralism, civil liberties, political

culture, political participation and functioning of government (The Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy, 2015); Polity Project VI has its own concept of democracy as well, it emphasizes the ability of the government to win the loyalty of its own people and makes the satisfaction of citizens as a key principle in the two criteria that are designed to measure democracy: effectiveness and legitimacy. (Mashall and Cole, 2014)

As a form of government, the previous definition refers to the political making of countries which involve their people in ruling. The extract differentiates between two types of democracy: democracy in which people rule directly, and democracy in which people choose their representatives; or in another word between "direct democracy" and "representative democracy" as distinguished by Roger Scruton as well in *The Palgrave*

*Macmillan Dictionary of Political Thought*:

The first distinction to be made is between "direct and representative democracy", in the first all citizens participate in decision making, say by voting and accepting a majority verdict. In the second case, the people choose (say by voting) who are then answerable to them, but at the same time directly involved, and usually without further consultation in the practice of government. (Scruton, 2007, p. 169)

Scruton admits that nowadays Direct Democracy is unworkable as the population rises, only Representative Democracy is attainable; in this case, a state is democratic if major political decisions serve the general interest of the common people because in one way people take part in making these decisions and normally they are taken with their own consent. (2007)

Sorado M.J in *Comparative Politics* adds that citizens' rights and freedoms should be protected by imposing legal limits on the government's authority. Pioneer claimers for this are the Founding Fathers of the American constitution who feared too centralized government that

may crash people's rights and liberties. Nowadays, civil rights and liberties are so much praised and are considered as important components of democracy. (Sorado, 2004)

## **2. Brief History of Democracy**

As we have seen in the etymology of the term democracy, it derives from a Greek word which means the empowered people, with Athens as the first recognized democratic regime around the fifth century. In the following, we will cover the development of democracy focusing on the Athenian democracy because it is the origin from which today's principles stem. No wonder that Athenian democracy has always been a subject of hot debates and extended studies among scholars; this justifies the abundance of historical documents and references about Athens and its political making. The story of the rise of democracy in Athens enables us to answer crucial questions in our attempt to understand deeply democracy as a concept like: How democracy started in Athens? Why Athens in particular? What was Athenians' view of democracy? What was the legacy of the Athenian democracy? In fact, each question can be a research question worthy of a whole thesis alone. For example how Athenian democracy started and why Athens in particular enable us to reveal the causes and circumstances that made democracy possible and that may make it possible today as well and may be discovering these circumstances helps the birth of other bright ideas of the same weight of democracy for the principle of inevitability dictates that the same causes lead always to the same results, and how rich of causes is our history! ; studying Athenians' view of democracy gives us a glimpse about the era's culture and state of mind and helps us search the evolution and growth of democracy starting from its origin. Of course studying all these in depth exceeds this relatively short thesis, we will try to limit our study so that we can accumulate enough historical information to understand well democracy as a concept and as a theory as well. Then, briefly we will stop at major historical stations which left their touches

on the development of democracy as the French Revolution, The American War of Independence, World War I and World War II.

## **2.1 Athenian Democracy**

### **2.1.1 Why Athenian Democracy?**

The history of democracy starts in the fifth century BC in Athens. Athenian democracy is considered to be the first case of democracy in the world and studying it is of a particular interest because it is the origin that we can refer to without which modern democracy as we know it today would not have existed at all as argues Mogens Herman Hanser in *The Tradition of Ancient Greek: Democracy and Its Importance for Modern Democracy*. (Hansen, 2005). It is no wonder that John Adams, the second president of the United States devoted twenty pages to describe the Athenian democracy in his long defense of the new constitution. (Hanser, 2005)

Athenian democracy was modeled by many other Greek cities and countries in distinct eras, but no one is sufficiently documented as Athens; this includes priceless historical and political remnants like *The Aristotelian Constitution of Athens*, *Solonic Poems*, in addition to references by Herodotus and Thucydides. In the following we will cover the story of the emergence of democracy in Athens starting by the factors which paved the way for establishing the direct democracy there.

Studying the causes that led to the rise of democracy in Athens was a magnetic point that attracted many historians and researchers. Paul Barry Clarcke and Joe Forueraker in *Encyclopedia of Democratic Thought* consider as a major cause “the social, economic and military transformations” (2001, p. 194) that took place during the Archaic Age (i.e. a period in which the shattered communities of the Greek peninsula and the Aegean islands established their sovereignty over small geographical areas). In fact what Clarke and Foweraker mentioned is a

crucial point, even the order of the transformation that places social before economic, then military means a lot. Any important transformation starts by ideas somewhere within people who want a change of the actual situation in the society. John Thorley supports this idea in *Athenian Democracy*; Athens was ruled by archons (i.e. chief magistrates) most of which were *Eupatuds* which literary means “well-born”, they belonged to the aristocratic class and they did their best to serve their own interests at the expense of the common people and they established power over everybody else. (Thorley, 2004). They were so much hated by the rest of the population for their selfishness and carelessness for the miseries of the lower class. This was mixed with contempt and loathing for the poor. By the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, the majority of people were enslaved to the rich; they called Plato’s ancestor Solon who was premier archon at the time to stop the feuding of the aristocracy. Solon was invited by the archons as well to solve the economic crisis that plagued the city at that time. (Clarcke and Forueraker, 2001).

### **2.1.2 Solonian Reforms**

Solon who was described as “the father of Athenian democracy” (Hansen, 2005, p. 11) was a wise man with an ambitious vision. He was acutely aware that elevating the poor to rule means changing the balance of power to be in favor of common people and challenging the upper class and classical traditions that were inherited from generation to generation. He also knew that balance could be shaken only economically. He was also acquainted with the fact that such a courageous radical step cannot be achieved overnight; it had to be a gradual process. For this sake, he launched a series of steady economic reforms that ended with “social homogeneity and harmony” as described by Gynthia Farrar in *The Origins of Democratic Thinking: The Invention of Politics in Classical Athens* (1988, p. 21). Solon considered reducing the tension between the *agathoi* and the *kakoi*, or between the wealthy and the poor inevitable. He started his reforms by

liberating the enslaved poor who were forced to sell their bodies as an accomplishment of their heavy debts and he freed Athenians who had become slaves in such a way. Not only this, Solon cancelled also the debts of small farmers who lost their lands to the wealthy for not being able to pay debts, and gave them back their lands even if poverty forced them into exile; he also made taking over creditor's lands as an alternative for unpaid debts illegal. Thus, ownership of farms became safe without fear of dispossession. (Clarcke & Forueraker 2001)

To engage the common people in politics, Solon made the "publicity of laws" (Clarke and Forueraker, 2001). Beforehand, knowledge of laws was the privilege of some elite political rulers. Now, the publicity of laws opened the door for criticism and created influence over the making of law. Moreover, it enforced the principle of accountability that was created at once but was totally ignored after that by the archons. Athens was administered by nine archons who were appointed or elected by the *Areopagus* (former archons) on the basis of wealth and noble birth. They ceremonially took the oath in a place called *agora* and declared their readiness to submit a golden status in case they violated laws, but there was no means an archon was called to account. Athenians subjected them into impeachment and removal from office if they were found violating laws; and even before leaving office, their performance was reviewed and they were liable to severe penalties in case of abusing their offices. Not only this, any office holder became suddenly accountable if they did not perform according to law. (Clarcke and Forueraker, 2001)

### **2.1.2 Athenian Political Bodies**

The Athenian political making includes three bodies: The Boule, The Ecclesia, and the court.

### 2.1.2.1 The Athenian Boule

The notable contribution of Solon was probably the creation of the council of four hundreds or *The Boule*. It gathered a hundred representatives from each of the four Athenian tribes, they were chosen by allotment. The use of a lottery was regarded as the most democratic means because elections generally favor the noble, rich, or eloquent. It also prevented purchasing votes that went along elections and gave all citizens equal chances; thus, selecting members was based on citizenship and not on merit and aspiration. As such, the ordinariness of people was given much importance than any other criterion (Bech, 2013). This emphasizes the importance of political equality in democracy but it also raises the question of whether this arbitrary assignment of responsibility can really serve the general interest in the long term? In fact, the system included some features designed to overcome such problems. It subjected the selected candidates to a test in order to see if they were qualified for the job or not; it subjected office holders to impeachment and penalties that included even death if they performed inadequately during and after leaving office; in addition to these measures, the system made people work within teams in an atmosphere that allowed some to give outlet to their suppressed distinguished abilities. Thus, one of the group would know the right way to do things and others will simply follow and learn. Under Cleisthenes, further measures were taken, accentuating both experience and property classes by limiting membership only to citizens over thirty from the top three property classes: *Pentacosionnedimni*, (literally 500 measure men), *Hippeis* (horsemen, probably men who owned a horse) and *Zeugitae* (yorkmen, men who owned a pair of oxen), but not the *Thetes* (menials, it means poor and ordinary people) (Beck 2013). The last measure protected office holders from being vulnerable to bribery or any kind of pressure related to money. Members were meant to be well-to-do because too poor office holders might be easily bribed or affected by outside pressures,

even if they were discovered to violate laws or public funds, this can be extracted from their personal property. (Beck 2013)

The system emphasized rotation as well by limiting membership to one year to eliminate domination of power. It also made it illegal to serve in the Boule for two consecutive years or to be a member more than twice in a life time (Thorley, 2004). Everyday members gathered in the Boule to discuss issues such as the state's finances, cavalry, navy, building, sacred matters, the care of invalids and orphans, scrutinizing public officials' performance both before and after leaving office and hearing some cases of impeachments for mismanagement and high crimes. Each day one of the members was chosen by lot as a chairman to preside over the meeting of the Boule and any other meeting of similar political bodies. This stresses the importance of equality in the Athenians' concept of democracy (Thorley, 2004)

#### **2.1.2.2 The Athenian Ecclesia**

The Boule is not the only body in which democracy is manifested. Some historians argue that the *ecclesia* or the assembly represents the central events of Athenian democracy. The role of the *ecclesia* can be summarized in four main functions: legislating laws, trying political crimes, electing major officials, and making chief executive pronouncements such as deciding to go on war, military strategies, alliance and friendship, issuing condemnation, granting citizenships and honors, ...etc. The assembly was highly authoritative and its authority stems from its legislative role that is intensively studied by scholars. It debated, nullified, amended, and drafted bills as well (Beck, 2013). It also set up commissions to revise fundamental laws. In the *ecclesia* major orators addressed the people and every one, however modest, was invited to speak and vote. It is recorded that voting in the assembly was by simple show of hands though sometimes colored stones were used; white for yes and dark for no, they were put in a clay jar for open counting.

Any member can demand a recount especially when it was too dark to observe properly. (Thorley, 2004). Though, at the time there were no political parties, no government or opposition. According to *The Athenian Constitution*, all citizens were allowed to participate at the assembly regardless of class. (Stanton, 1990). Attendance at the ecclesia was voluntary, but Athenians were encouraged to be present there by introducing payment for assembly attendance in 403 B.C in which only the first 600 to arrive were admitted and paid; this was known as the ecclesiastic pay and the same thing for going to theatres or taking part in state's festivals (Beck, 2013) Sometimes, force was used to oblige citizens to attend by stoning Athenians who refused to attend the meeting to punish them afterwards. This stresses the importance of participation in exercising democracy; after all the ancient Athens is considered to be highly participatory. (Beck, 2013)

### **2.1.2.3 Athenian Courts**

Courts were the third political body after the boule and the ecclesia which could gather citizens running into hundreds or thousands in a wonderful manifestation of democracy. They were open to all citizens over the age of thirty, no matter how poor they were. As in the assembly and the council, equality, rotation and participation were key features in the system. Juries consisted of several hundred men all chosen by lottery to assure equal chance for all. The system made it illegal to serve as a magistrate for two consecutive years or to hold the same magistracy more than one. This went along with the aspect of rotation that shaped Athenian democracy to guarantee that all citizens were involved in the political making. (Beck, 2013)

In *The Law in Classical Athens* (1978), Macdowell describes Athenian courts as having two types of suits; private suit known as *dike*, and public suit known as *graphē*. For the *dike*, the minimum size of the jury was 2000, whereas for the *graphē* the size ranged from 1000 to 1500.

In one single case, all the 6000 members of the jury staff may attend including the jurors and magistrates. The latter fell into five major categories: financial officials, religious officials, officials of the assembly, army and navy commanders, and inspectors of markets, building, roads and countryside (Beck 2013). In Athens, Justice was very rapid; a case had to be “completed by sunset” (Bertock, 1971, p. 1013). At the time, there were no lawyers; as such litigants had to defend themselves in an exchange of speeches timed by the *Clepsydra* or the Greek water clock. In a public suit each litigant had three hours to speak, whereas in private suits this depended on the amount of wealth at stake. In an attempt to make the Athenian judicial branch more transparent and honest, the system made jurors and magistrates swear oath to the gods to be impartial and respect laws, but few limits were placed to check or call the lawbreakers into account. (Beck, 2013)

### **2.1.3 Old and Modern Critics of Athenian Democracy**

The Athenian political system with its Boule, Ecclesia, and courts represents the corner stone of democracy though it was still at its cradle. Surprisingly, the Greek democracy was fiercely criticized by well-known old thinkers as: Thucydides, the ancient historian; Aristophane, the prominent playwright; Plato, the pupil of Socrates; Aristotle, the pupil of Plato; and old Oligarch. Their main protest goes against giving the right to rule for people who lacked enough experience or necessary knowledge to legislate or to try crimes because the main focus of Athenian democracy was as we have seen not merit and aspiration, but participation even if this does not serve the state at the long term; this justifies its numerous failures, misdeeds and mistakes as argued by Samons in *What's Wrong With Democracy? From Athenian Practice to American Worship* (2004), The Athenian democracy has also been refer to as the tyranny of the poor because the well-off who were busy running their business had no time to attend the daily

meetings of the ecclesia and the Boule. Thus, it was the poor who ruled and the wealthy who was marginalized (Samon, 2004). Therefore, the Athenian democracy was considered by Aristotle as an “extreme democracy” (Beck, 2013, p. 33) which was regarded as “undisciplined, lawless, despotic, vulgar, hostile to the upper class and likely to be unstable” (Beck, 2013, p. 33). Plato, in turns, blamed Athenian democracy for killing Socrates, his teacher, for the system dictates that if the assembly or the boule made a mistake, those who misled it should be punished and sometimes killed if the mistake is serious. Plato devoted much of his writing to find an alternative to democracy as in his *Republic* and *The Statesman and Laws*. It is no wonder that democracy in origin means the rule of the mob because it was coined by its numerous opponents. (Hansen, 2005)

While old critics focus on the dominance of the poor, modern critics emphasize the absence of many important components such as a chief executive represented in a president or prime minister, or the lack of stability because of the rare concentration of power in the hands of Athenians whom the system obliged to serve no more than a year in offices. In addition to the fact that the society was divided into property classes and made some offices accessible only to particular classes. Furthermore, to vote, one had to be an adult male citizen. This excluded the majority of Athenians. Thorley in his *Athenian democracy* stated that the number of those who were eligible to vote ranged from 30,000 and 50,000 out of 250, 000 to 300,000. This means that only a fifth could vote (Thorley, 2004). It is claimed also that the poor with his lack of knowledge was most of time influenced by generals and orators who dominated the assembly’s debates and exercised a great influence on the people. Moreover, The Athenian models placed no limits of powers, no political parties, and no government or government opposition. (Thorley, 2004)

### **2.1.4 The Legacy of Athenian Democracy**

Nevertheless, Athenian democracy was admired for the morals it carries. It functioned on the principle of equality which puts all citizens on the same level and gives them equal opportunities (Clarcke and Foweraker, 2001). Athenian democracy also draws attention to the importance of participation when exercising democracy; we have seen that Athenians were sometimes encouraged to attend political meeting and festivals by offering money for attendance, and other times they were punished for refusing to be present. The principle of rotation is worthy of all admiration as well; by making it illegal to hold office for two consecutive years, the system ensures that power is never accumulated in the same hands, or influenced by particular political parts (Thorley, 2004). The simple act of developing a mechanism to break away from the old aristocratic system that was associated with unfairness and inequalities is quite significant for scholars for it gave the birth of democracy. It is true that democracy as a newborn in Athens was not perfect, but it grew with the passage of time due to different historical factors.

### **2.2 What Happened to Democracy from Antiquity to Enlightenment?**

From antiquity (i.e. period before Middle Ages) and until the Enlightenment (i.e. period in western intellectual history that lasted from the late 17<sup>th</sup> to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century), democracy was as Hansen describes in *Democracy and its Importance for Modern Democracy* (2005).

Sleeping beauty, with two major differences. She did not sleep for a hundred years only, but for almost two thousand, and she did not wake up by...a loving prince. When she was roused from her sleep, she was feared by princes, detested by philosophers and found impossible by statesmen. (2005, p. 7)

This quotation summarizes the state of democracy in the world for almost two thousand years after the Athenian democracy was established. It was considered as a form of government that should be avoided as many thinkers and philosophers advised for it gave power to the illiterate, inexperienced, unwise poor to destroy the country by his ignorance and lack of knowledge. During all this period, politics was the prestige of few aristocratic elite groups until significant historical events took place in which the long-marginalized poor decided to speak out against ruling classes to ask for his liberty and civil rights as a citizen who should be represented in the government. Two notable events marked the revival of democratic values: they are the French Revolution and the American War of Independence. (Hansen, 2005)

### **2.3 Democracy and the American War of Independence (1763-1783)**

The American Revolution was an important station in the history of democracy during which new political, social and economic philosophy was added to the concept of democracy in such a daring way that challenged pre-existing views and left a lasting impact on what democracy really is. It is true that the revolution started as a movement protesting against the alleged British tyranny under the slogan of: “No Taxation without Representation” (Manning and Wyatt, 2011, p. 108), but soon it stretched to be a war claiming for independence from the old traditional form of authority to usher in a new era based on modern new principles of freedom, liberty, and equality that made the United States until today, the embodiment and the guardian of a revolutionary transformation whose echo was heard everywhere as wonderfully described by Jameson in *The American Revolution Considered as a social Movement*, I quote it at length for being so expressive:

The stream of revolution, once started, could not be confined within narrow banks, but

spread abroad upon the land. Many economic desires, many social aspiration were set free by the political struggle, many aspects of colonial society profoundly altered by the forces thus let loose. The relations of social classes to each other, the institution of slavery, the system of land, holding the course of business, the forms and spirit of the intellectual and religious life, all felt the transforming hand of revolution, all emerged from under it in shapes advanced many degrees to those we know. (Jameson, 1926, p. 3)

The American Revolution changed the views that many hold about the philosophy, nature, and structure of government. It inaugurated a democratic era that gave the oppressed and exploited everywhere hope for a better future, for no one expected the humble thirteen English North American colonies to be able to stand in front of a colonial power like Great Britain in order to secure independence and establish a government that implemented revolutionary ideals by asserting the sovereignty of people and establishing a republic that protected their civil rights, enlarged the suffrage, broadened economic opportunities, and abolished many aspects of aristocratic rule. (Jameson, 1926)

Significantly important is the constitution that the Founding Fathers drew up to protect American citizens from a possible arbitrary despotic national government that may enlarge its central powers at the expense of people's freedom and civil rights. The American experience was so much admired by the world that the newly established self-governing republic of the United States was soon modeled around the world. After the official creation of a national government in 1781; new fourteen republics were established around the world, all holding the same spirit of the American revolutionaries. (Jameson, 1926)

## 2.4. Democracy and the French Revolution (1789-1799)

The French revolution was also an influential historical event that helped giving democracy its modern concept. The importance of the revolution stems from the fact that it could overthrow the tyrannical absolute French monarchy and replaced it by a republic that was based on “Liberté, égalité, fraternité”. (Thomsett, M. C & Thomsett, J. F, 1997, p. 135). These principles became the claim of many upheavals in modern history in which revolutionaries looked back at this revolution as a predecessor and inspiration to better their conditions, thus, helping all the people as Tilly stated in *Modern France. A Companion to French Studies*: “The French revolution differed from other revolutions in being not merely natural for it aimed at benefiting all the humanity” (1922, p. 115). Aulard summarized the main achievements of the revolution in : abolishing the feudal system and privileges of noble birth and establishing a society based on equality and the simplification of life. (Tilly, 1922)

The French revolution is regarded by historians as one of the most important events in human history because it triggered the decline of absolute monarchies everywhere to prepare for replacing them by republics, in addition that it spread its principles to Western Europe and beyond; Scholars also consider the French revolution as a motive force that caused global conflicts which stretched from the Caribbean to the Middle East as argued by Linda Frey and Marsha Frey in *The French Revolution* (2004). They added that the revolution was considered as “the down of modern era, the divide between the ancient regime and the contemporary world. The revolutionaries shared that perception because they saw the revolution as a decisive break with the past” (Frey, L & Frey, M, 2004, p. xiii). Peter Jones agrees with Linda Frey and Marsh Frey on the same point in his *1848 Revolutions*. He claimed that the French revolution speeded up the rise of republic and democracies and became the focal point of many political ideologies

which led to the spread of movement like radicalism, liberalism, socialism and others. (Jones, 2013)

## **2.5 Modern Democracy**

About modern democracy, Huntington speaks of three historical waves of democracy. The first started in the first half of the nineteenth century with the passage of male franchise in United States. This wave reached its peak in 1920s, and then it retreated during the inter-war period (1918-1939) with the collapse of some new European democracies. The second wave started after World War II and lasted until 1960s during which the world had seen a series of decolonization and decline of empires. The third wave started with the end of Cold War until our recent age (Huntington, 1997), although McFaul speaks of a fourth wave addressing problems to democracy in post-communism in his writing entitled: *The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Non-Cooperative Transitions in the Post-Communist World*. (McFaul, 2002)

## **3. The Rise of Democracy in Britain**

The growth of democracy in Britain was a slow gradual process that lasted for almost two centuries to deal with problems within the old parliamentary system and exercise pressure on governments to make electoral reforms that widen franchise to include the large population of middle and working class.

### **3.1 Problems with Old Parliamentary System**

Undoubtedly, the royal powers of monarchy had been critically weakened thanks to events like the Barons War which placed limits on royal prerogatives by introducing the Magna Carta, The English Civil War which put an end to the Divine Rights of Kings by executing King Charles I, and The Glorious Revolution which established parliamentary superiority over the institution of

monarchy by forcing the Bills of Rights. But, still many obstacles stood in front of Britain's democracy. Indeed, all indicators denoted that a lot of work was still waiting if Britain to be called a democratic country; parliament was overwhelmingly dominated by rich land owners whom the system made the only class worthy to legislate and vote along with the aristocratic class, because ruling was a sensitive decisive position which cannot be let for the unaware ignorant working class to run, but in fact the system was designed to keep the poor always out of the political arena as his ailing economic situations compelled him to be preoccupied only by striving hard to sustain himself and his family; thus making him choose to marginalize himself. In addition to the fact that Members of Parliaments (MPs) were not paid; so, to be an MP, one had to be well-off. This was another reason for the poor not to get involved in politics.

In 1800, voting was still a privilege not a right, and only 4% of the population could vote, this excluded women, Catholics and slaves. Furthermore, the 4% of the population that were allowed to vote were badly chosen because of unequal distribution of seats which created the so called "rotten boroughs" and "pocket boroughs". (Purdy, 2016)

The term "rotten" was used in the eighteenth century to mean that the borough had a small electorate. The word rotten has the connotation of corruption and decline. The problem was that rotten boroughs worked well in the beginning when cities flourished, but its boundaries were not updated when they had become depopulated or even deserted. Old Sarum is an excellent example as illustrated by Porritt, E., & Porritt A in *The Reformed House of Commons* (2014). It used to be a busy city as the Old Sarum Cathedral was established there under the control of Pitt family, but when the Salisbury Cathedral or the New Sarum was established, the city became deserted as its workers and merchants built a new town around it. Despite all these changes, the borough still sent two MPs even if it had virtually no population. "Dunwich" was another example which

revealed the unequal distribution of seats. The boroughs fell into the sea due to coastal erosion, but still it retained two MPs from 1798 to 1832. (Porritt, E., & Porritt A, 2014)

While the rotten borough has the connotation of corruption, pocket borough has the connotation of money and wealth. It was controlled by owners who possess at least half of the town. A wealthy patron, for example, would simply buy as many houses as possible and install in them his own loyal tenants to vote for the man they agreed on. This was made easy because there was no secret ballot which meant that those who refused to vote for the man agreed on were simply dismissed from their jobs or forced out of the rented houses. In addition to a combination of bribery and intimidation which were almost an accepted part of the system. (Jennings, 1960)

Neither the Whig nor the Tories were enthusiastic to make any reforms because the illiterate lower class was not qualified enough to understand the complexities of politics. In addition to the fact that any attempt to initiate a bill would surely be aborted if not by Tories who dominated the Commons, then by the House of Lords who could veto any bill. This was the state of British parliamentary system before some historical events took place to alter the situation.

### **3.2 Motive Forces for Change**

Historians Robert D. Pearce and Roger Stearn in *their Government and Reforms: Britain 1815-1918*, identify Three major factors that brought change to the British parliamentary system: pressures, principles and politicians, or the 3 Ps as they are called. (Pearce & Stern, 2000)

#### **3.2.1 Pressure**

Britain was obliged to make reforms to its parliamentary system because of the heavy pressure placed on its government that was about to drag the nation into serious internal conflicts that may culminate in civil wars. This includes the American and the French Revolutions, The Industrial

Revolution, the consequent emergence of the middle class, and finally the introduction of the harsh Corn Laws.

### **3.2.1.1 The American War of Independence and the French Revolution**

The American War of Independence and the French Revolution were key factors in the evolution of democracy. Both played a pivotal role in expanding radical ideas and principles such as liberty, freedom, equality, and fraternity. Moreover, in the American Revolution, expelling a prevailing colonial power like Britain from the thirteenth colonies gave hope and power for the suppressed in Britain and everywhere else; the same thing for the French Revolution, in which overthrowing Louis XVI and replacing him by an elected assembly inspired and encouraged the British lower class to speak out against the profiteer aristocracy and pushed them to fight for their rights. This shook the British aristocracy to its very core because the French aristocrats were blamed for the miseries of the poor in France and they were mercilessly punished. This made British aristocrats think that the same thing would happen to them in Britain if the lower class rebelled against the system. All in All, both of the French Revolution and The American War of Independence played an important role in the rise of democracy in Britain because they encouraged the oppressed working class to claim their rights. (Hansen, 2005)

### **3.2.1.2 Industrialization and the Emergence of the Middle Class**

In addition to the American and the French Revolutions which gave push for working class to claim for suffrage. The process of industrialization had its impact on Britain's democracy as well, for it gave the birth of a new middle class that challenged the aristocratic class and put an end to its monopoly of power being it economic or political. The industrial revolution gave the ambitious young people an excellent opportunity to better their economic conditions and have an outlet to their long-kept aspiration and potential energies after being at last employed to push the

wheel of economy and assert themselves in the society. This was true for a number of businessmen, industrialists, entrepreneurs and others who can be grouped into different categories according to their profession. Peter Jones in *1848 Revolutions*, divides the newly dynamic middle class into three major groups. First, the upper middle class, this includes the most wealthy industrialists, mine owners, senior state officials, bankers and merchants. The second group incorporates professional men as physicians, surgeons, architects, university teachers and journalists. The third group contains small traders, shopkeepers, elementary school teachers and small employers. (Jones, 2013)

Certainly, the middle class was contributing to the British economy and the political awareness they acquired through trade unions, newspapers, and the improved education enabled them to get involved in politics. Thus, they made an extra pressure on government to initiate parliamentary reforms.

### **3.2.1.3 Corn Laws 1815**

Nowhere had the British government felt the urgent necessity to introduce parliamentary reforms as in the social upheaval immediately caused after enforcing Corn Laws in 1815. The working class and the newly emerged middle class, together with Whig industrialist, thinkers and intellectuals united to express their deep resentment of Corn Laws which were meant to keep bread prices high during the Napoleonic wars to protect the domestic products and prevent imported supplies from reaching the hands of people by placing highly expensive custom duties and tariffs on imported grains. This was done at the time the British were starving while the government could simply facilitate importing bread to answer the needs of its people. The reaction of the government revealed to many how out of touch was their parliament whose MPs were too selfish to serve other interests rather than theirs. For many, the Westminster did not

represent them because it was dominated by rich land owners who never cared about the poor's suffering. In the eyes of people, MPs were always "feathering their own nests" (Evans, 1994, p. 30); they never shared the agony and deprivation of the poor. The apathy of parliament led to the emergence of movements like Radicalism, Chartism, and the anti-Corn Law league which campaigned for extending the franchise to incorporate middle and working class. The government, being tremendously fearful of radicalism, reacted by violence in an attempt to eradicate radical ideas which may lead to unknown ends. This resulted in the famous Peterloo Massacre (a name coined in ironic reference to Waterloo Battle in which the British made a glorious victory over the Napoleonic army and ushered in a long-lasting peace in Europe); in this massacre, eleven people who came to protest against the Corn Laws in ST Peter's Fields were killed by the local yeomanry cavalry who came to dispel the crowds, in addition to hundreds injured (Royle, 2014). The eleven martyrs nationalized temper against the unreformed parliamentary system as nothing before. Riots and manifestation broke throughout the kingdom to form a heavy pressure on the Westminster parliament. (Evans, 1994, p. 31)

### **3.2.2 Principles**

As any social and political change, political reform acts in Britain were supported by ideas and principles embodied mainly in two prominent political movements. They are Chartism and Radicalism.

#### **3.2.2.1 Chartism**

Chartism was a working class movement that campaigned for political reform acts in Britain from 1838 until 1858. Its name is taken from the 1838 people's charter. It was a wide national protest movement which owned strongholds in South Wales Valleys, Northern England, East Midlands and the Staffordshire Potteries. The movement reached its peak in 1839, 1842, and

1849. It attracted more support than the radical group for adopting peaceful constitutional means to call for its six reforms that in the chartist's view make the British political system perfectly democratic. These six reforms are:

1. Giving the right to vote for every man aged twenty-one years old with full mental capacities and no judicial precedents.
2. Making the ballot secret.
3. Abolishing property qualifications for MPs.
4. Payment for MPs
5. Equal distribution of constituencies.
6. Holding parliament elections annually. (Royle, 2014)

According to Chartism, these six reforms treat the main problems existing within the British parliamentary system and answer the needs of people. The first reform gives suffrage to all male citizens regardless of their class, provided that they are mentally able and have no judicial precedents crimes; the aim of this reform is to enable working class to get involved in politics. The second reform claims for secret ballot to protect tenants and small farmers from intimidation, dismissal or expulsion from their houses by their landowners in case they chose not to vote for the candidate that the landlord suggested. This was the case especially in pocket boroughs. So, this reform gives oppressed tenants freedom to choose. The third and the fourth reforms were designed to enable the poor to reach the Westminster parliament through abolishing property qualification for MPs candidature and introducing payment for the members because the working class would prefer holding their humble jobs and staying out of politics instead of being non-paid MPs, because unlike the aristocratic class, they had no other income to sustain them. The fifth and the sixth reforms were an attempt to end Pocket and Rotten Boroughs and close the door for

rich aristocrats to use bribery and corruption to win posts by updating constituencies to the new distribution of population and making parliamentary elections annual to stop buying constituencies which took place each seven years. (Royle, 2014)

### **3.2.2. 2 Political Radicalism**

Political radicalism means changing social structures and value systems in fundamental ways through revolutionary means. The word radicalism derived from the Latin word *radix* which means root. The first political use of radical was by the British Whig parliamentarian Charles James Fox, who proposed to make radical reforms to provide universal manhood suffrage. Then the term was generally applied to call all supporters for parliamentary reforms (Newman & Brown, 1997). The movement flourished in the period of Peterloo, it provoked government crackdowns when people throughout the kingdom supported it in sympathy for the eleven martyrs. The government used spies, provocateurs, informers and sometimes violence and arrest besides using legislation to curb the movements' activities by introducing the Six Acts in 1819. Although the movement was repressed by the government, divided internally because of disagreement among its members, and even mistrusted by politicians, it won significant victories. After the passage of the first reform act in 1832, men openly called themselves radicals entered parliament. The movement gained respect thanks to the "philosophic radicals" (ibid, p. 586) such as the prominent philosopher Jeremy Bentham, a highly learnt intellectual who was respected internationally. He gave extra significant weight to the movement especially with his radical publications in Westminster Review in which he directed new economic ideas about free trade and political economy. He brilliantly managed debates about political reforms and he attracted more and more middle class intellectuals. In the Hanoverian age, the movement grew largely in number, though it was later on plagued by serious division within its members after the

passage of the First Reform Act of 1832 which served only the middle class. Many workers chose to abandon the movement to find their destination at a movement which fully represented them. This was embodied in Chartism. (Newman & Brown, 1997)

### **3.2.3 Politicians**

Reform acts were carried out by fervent advocate politicians who used their influence to widen franchise such as Lord John Russel, Earl Grey, William Gladstone, Joseph Chamberlain, Benyamin Disraeli, and others.

#### **3.2.3.1 Lord John Russel**

According to Paul Scherer's *Lord John Russell: A Biography*, the man embraced the cause of parliamentary reform acts, and he led the Whigs throughout the 1820s in the Westminster parliament, a position he maintained until the rest of the decade. He became the principle leader of the struggle for the Reform Act 1832, earning the nickname Finalty Jack, for he tried to convince MPs that the reform should inevitably be passed as a final measure to absorb people's anger. He was instrumental in passing the 1832 reform act, and he largely supported the 1866 reform bill. He became later on Home Secretary, then Prime Minister. In both positions, he devoted his position to widen franchise, expand liberty and religious freedom, in addition to democratizing the Government of British cities. (Scherer, 1999)

#### **3.2.3.2 William Gladstone**

He had a reputation of being a brilliant debater. He became a Tory member of parliament in 1832 and held several governmental posts. He became liberal, and then he was appointed as Chancellor of the exchequer in 1866. He proposed the second reform act, arguing that there was no reason why mentally able men could not vote. Gladstone was brilliant enough to expect that

only pressure from outraged working class could make the bill passed, though his expectations pleased neither Queen Victoria nor Palmerstone who considered this as an incitement to agitation. Not very long, the bill was passed in 1867, and more far-reaching than Gladstone himself hoped for. In 1870, he won the General Election as a leader of liberals and served as Prime Minister for four terms, during which he passed many reform bills. He died in 1898 after serving 60 years as an MP. (Matthew, 1995)

### **3.2.3.3 Joseph Chamberlain**

He was young and dynamic when he became a leading figure of parliamentary reforms. He presided over the Secret Ballot act, and Corrupt and Illegal Practices Act. He did a lot to develop democracy in Britain; he introduced a new democratic system for the election of local government, he drew up a program to reduce taxes on the poor, he also proposed a bill to give the vote to more people in counties and boroughs. The bill was passed later on along with the Redistribution of Seats Act. Despite never becoming Prime Minister, he was considered as one of the most prominent politicians of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century as claimed by Keith Layborn in *Fifty Key Figures in Twentieth Century British Politics*. (Layborn, 2002)

## **4. Reform Acts**

To establish true representative democracy, the United Kingdom had to pass a series of legislation to reform its electoral system, though this was not done at once. In this section, we will deal with reform acts that widened franchise to include larger population, starting by The First Reform Act 1832; then, the Second Reform Act 1867; the Secret Ballot Act 1872; Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act 1883, the Third Reform Act 1884; Redistribution of Seats Act 1885; Representation of the People Act 1911; Representation of the People Act 1918; and finally Equal Franchise Act.

#### **4.1 First Reform Act 1832**

Formally known as The Representation of the People Act 1832. According to its preamble, it was designed to correct some mistakes in the old parliamentary system especially those related to the choice of members to serve in the parliament. Here, it is revealed that the act was created to address the issue of rotten and pocket boroughs and mainly pocket boroughs in which corruption and bribery prevailed. (May, 1863)

In pocket borough, the small electorates were under the control of one or many rich land owners. It was called pocket borough because it was in the pocket of its powerful patron who used his wealth, local influence, prestige, and sometimes intimidation and threatening to sway voters; for example, Charles Howard, Duke of Norfolk was recorded to control eleven boroughs, while the Earl of Lonsdale controlled nine. It was recorded also that out of 514 representative members from Wales and England, about 370 were dominated by patrons. Electors were bribed in almost all constituencies, sometimes individually and other times collectively. In 1771, it was revealed that 81 voters in New Shoreham formed an organization called Christian Club to sell borough for the patron who paid more. (May, 1863)

The 1832 reform act, which was passed under difficult circumstances, abolished 143 borough seats in England and created new 130 new seats in England and Wales. This was done in accord with Parliamentary Boundaries Act 1832 which redefined constituencies' boundaries according to the population intensity. The act abolished 56 boroughs, divided further 26 English counties. It created also new 65 county seats and new 65 new borough seats in England and Wales. These changes made English members fall by 17% and Welsh members increase by 4%. The act did not affect any constituency in Scotland and Ireland, but reforms took place after the introduction of the Scottish Reform Act and the Irish Reform Act by which Scotland received eight additional

seats, and Ireland received five. The reform act addressed the extension of the franchise as well to absorb people's increasing pressure. It is estimated that after the passage of the act the number of electorate in England rose from 400, 000 to 650,000, an increase of more than 60%. Nevertheless, voting was still based on property qualification; to vote, the British had to possess property worth £ 10, a huge sum at that time. Moreover, the extension of the franchise covered mainly tenants paying an annual rent of £50; bribery was still the case as Thomas Erskine May observed: "it was too soon evident, that as more votes had been created, more votes were to be sold" (May, 1863, p. 253). This strengthened the position of the landed gentry who controlled pocket. This might explain why the Tory Party won the 1835 and 1837 elections. (May, 1863)

The working class who was struggling all the time to get the voting right was not addressed at all. This split the alliance with the middle class and gave rise to the chartist movement which demanded universal suffrage for men, though the Tories were united against further reforms and worried that in the future they would be compelled to pass any bill just by royal threatening to create new peers in the House of Lords if necessary as was the case with the First Reform Act. The Duke Wellington was recorded to say as quoted by May in the same book: "If such projects can be carried into execution by a minister of the Crown with impunity, there is no doubt that the execution of the House, and this country, is at an end. (May, 1863, p. 253).

Several historians like G.M Trevelyan in *British History in the Nineteenth Century and After (1782-1901)* credit the Reform Act of 1832 with establishing modern democracy in Britain in which the sovereignty of people was established even if they were not meant by the First Reform Act, but its enforced passage to satisfy the irate people has a great significance (Trevelyan, 1922). Eric J. Evans admires the First Reform Act as well for simply being the first step which opened the door for further reforms and launched the start of true representative democracy in Britain

(Evans, 1996). Sir Erskine May praises the new liberal vigorous parliament which was more susceptible to public opinion and could secure the confidence of people who were finally given hope to better their condition as they saw that their word was heard, though many defects were evident (May, 1863).

Other historians did not quite approve of the First Reform Act. Gash Norman, for example; in *Politics in the Age of Peel: A Study in the Technique of Parliamentary Representation, 1830-1850* argues that democracy in Britain started only with the Second Reform Act of 1867, because people retains no gains and aristocrats were still dominating the political scene (Gash, 1952). The same point is stressed by Smith in *Reform or Revolution? A Diary of Reform in England, 1830-1832*. He noted that the political landscape remained the same as before the passage of the act. (Smith, 1992)

Many attempts were made to introduce new bills to correct the defects of the first act, but in vein. No proposal was successful until 1867, when parliament adopted the Second Reform Act.

#### **4.2 Second Reform Act 1867**

In 1866, Prime Minister Russel introduced a Reform Bill to enfranchise respectable working men with a property qualification of £7 in England and Wales. The proposed bill lowered the 1832 county franchise qualification from £50 to £14, it suggested giving votes to £50 savings bank depositors and £10 lodgers. Altogether, this added about 400,000 new voters (Cowling, 1967). The bill was cautious not to include *the residuum*, or the unskilled working men who had a long reputation of being reckless and criminal poor among MPs. When it came to vote, the bill faced a stiff opposition by the Tories and the *Adullamites*, a newly party which was split from Liberal Whigs. Thus, the bill was defeated and the Liberal government of Earl Russel resigned, leaving the stage for Lord Derby to revive conservatism and form his own government. This

exploded public agitation throughout the kingdom in marches, meetings and monster demonstrations denouncing the Adullamite treachery and demanding replacement of Lord Derby. In February 1867, Disraeli proposed a reform bill though he was a Tory, but he disapproved his party's stance which in his point of view lost touch with people for ignoring the plague of the poor. According to him, the bill was an inevitable step to absorb people's anger and discontent over the bad harvest of 1865, the Irish potato famine, and the economic slump which caused mass unemployment and forced people into riots in Hyde Park on May 6<sup>th</sup>, 1867. This tolled the bell of revolution and gave movements like The Reform League and The Reform Union a trusted place among working men. The two groups were influential in ganging the people against the government. The Reform League was a working class movement in London which campaigned for manhood suffrage and secret ballot, whereas the Reform Union was a middle class movement which called for household suffrage, secret ballot, and redistribution of seats. Both campaign pressure groups cooperated to organize so huge demonstrations that the government did not dare to attack, forcing The Home Secretary Spencer Walpole to resign. (Walton, 2008)

Disraeli convinced some fellows who shared him the idea that it was rather unwise not to listen to the growing voices of a possible revolution, but for many, he was leading the country into unknown place as illustrated by this Punch cartoon which is quoted by Kinser in *The American Civil War and the Shaping of the British Democracy*



A LEAP IN THE DARK.

Figure 2: A Leap in the dark.

(Source: Kinser, 2011, p. 49)

The cartoon shows Britain represented in a woman riding a horse. The use of a woman conveys the meaning of weakness and inexperience. This idea is further strengthened by making the woman hiding her face as the horse jumps into the unknown reform. The woman fears what is coming, though she expects the worse to happen as she has already worn a war helmet. This reflects the rising Conservative worries of a possible revolution that may have been ignited by the Hyde Park Riots, and supported by pro-reform movements. The horse has the face of Disraeli who proposed the bill as a solution to public pressure. He himself called the bill “a Leap in the Dark” (Kinser, 2011, p. 49). Behind the horse, three men are caught by surprise and astonishment at making this risky jump; they are the main personal opponents of Disraeli: John Bright, Gladstone and Lord Derby.

Faced with the possibility of public uprising, the risky jump was made successful and the bill was finally passed after sparkling debates between Gladstone and Disraeli. The bill redistributed seats and enfranchised most men in urban areas, doubling the number of electorate in England and Wales from one million to two millions out of seven million adult males, including all who paid rents in person and those with £ 50 savings. This gave the vote to all householders, covering mainly the working class which was fighting all along to gain the suffrage. This unprecedented extension of franchise compelled MPs to change legislative programs to accommodate and please the large electorate if they sought re-election; it also decreased the level of bribery and corruption in the electoral system; thus, putting the landed gentry in a weak position. It is no wonder that the Second Reform Act is still discussed with fascination and concern in fierce debates among historians about the nature of its long-term consequences and the significance of its timing, especially that the secret ballot followed hard on its heels. (Kinser, 2011)

### 4.3 Secret Ballot Act 1872

Its official title is *An Act to Amend the Law Relating to Procedure at Parliamentary and Municipal Election*. It was an act which was introduced to make parliamentary and local government elections in the United Kingdom held by secret ballot and it helped in reducing corruption, bribery and Tory intimidation in the British electoral system at that time. (Urbinati, 2002)

Due to the Representation of the People Act 1867, the skilled working class were enfranchised, but they were still vulnerable to bribery, intimidation, and even blackmail by their employers or land owners who either came in person or sent spies to check on the votes as they were being cast. Radicals had long campaigned for secret ballot including the Chartist movement, the Reform League, the Reform Union, and prominent figures like John Bright; all saw the importance of introducing the secret ballot to eradicate aristocratic influence and boost the number of ordinary people; as such, making the House of Commons more independent and sovereign. But for many, including Lord Russel himself, the secret ballot was associated with cowardice, hypocrisy, weakness and it sounded like the Catholic feminine confessional. Whereas open ballot was associated with honesty, courage, and frankness (Urbinati, 2002). Russel referred to the secret ballot as “silent sap of the ballot”, a “clandestine”, “national disgrace”, and “un-English practice” (Kinser, 2011, p. 49).

Radicals chose to delay the secret ballot because it was a more achievable means if compared with the far-reaching objective of making male suffrage universal. After working class could better their economic condition, they started claiming for the voting right as did the middle class earlier, for they were acutely aware that the system identified reform acts with economic achievements. When the Second Reform Act was finally introduced, it was high time to move to

the next objective in the list: the secret ballot. Support for it came mainly from three groups; Chartists, liberal reformers MPs, and radicals. After five years of exercising pressure on the government to pass the legislation, the bill was finally enacted in 1872. The following is a rare document quoted from Hanham’s *The Nineteenth Century Constitution 1814-1914 Documents and Commentaries*. It presents the first secret ballot paper.

**Form of Ballot Paper**

**Form of Front of Ballot Paper**

Counterfoil No.  
 Note:  
*The counterfoil is to have a number to correspond with that on the back of the Ballot Paper.*

<b>1</b>	<b>BROWN</b> (John Brown, of 52 George St., Bristol, merchant.)
<b>2</b>	<b>JONES</b> (William David Jones, of High Elms, Wilts, Esq.)
<b>3</b>	<b>MERTON</b> (Hon. George Travis, commonly called Viscount Merton, of Swanworth, Berks.)
<b>4</b>	<b>SMITH</b> (Henry Sydney Smith, of 72 High Street, Bath, attorney.)

**Form of Back of Ballot Paper**

**Figure 3:** Form of ballot paper. (Source: Hanham, 1969, p. 279)

On the front side of the paper, there was a list of numbered candidates with a brief description. On the back side, voters had simply to put the number corresponding to the candidate they wanted.

The secret ballot was effectively instrumental in stopping Tory intimidation, though the ultimate triumph was the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act 1883.

#### **4.4 Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act 1883**

It was a continuation of policy aimed at limiting corruption and intimidation of politicians and landowners by criminalizing attempts to bribe voters and limit the amount that could be spent on political campaigns; there were eight groups of constituencies, each with its own maximum spending as organized by R. J. Johnson in Money and Votes:

##### **English, Scottish and Welsh Boroughs**

- With less than 2000 voters\_£350.
- With 2000 or more voters\_£380 plus £30 for extra 1000.

##### **English, Scottish and Welsh Counties**

- With less than 2000 votes\_£650.
- With 2000 or more voters\_£710 plus £60 for each extra 1000.

##### **Irish Boroughs**

- With less than 500 voters\_£200.
- With 500-1000 voters\_£250.
- With 1000 or more voters\_£275 plus £30 for each extra 1000.

##### **Irish Counties**

- With less than 2000 voters\_£500.

- With 2000 or more voters\_£540 plus 40 for each extra 1000. (Johnson, 1987, p. 16)

For people who exceeded these limits or convicted for illegal practices, the system introduced clear penalties including an exclusion from voting rights and any public or judicial offices for five years, in addition to a fine of £100. (Johnson, 1987)

#### **4.5 The Third Reform Act 1884**

Formerly known as the Representation of the People Act 1884. This act extended the same voting qualifications that existed in towns by the terms of the Second Reform Act of 1867 to cover the countryside as well. The introduction of the act was necessary to bring the electoral system with the new change of economy and population at the time, especially that literacy was no longer a barrier as it spread into rural areas. According to statistics recorded by Pilkington in *The politics Today Companion to the British Constitution*, the act rouse the number of British electorate to 5,500,000, but still all women and almost 40% of adult males were not enfranchised (Pilkington, 1999). In *The Routledge Companion to Britain in the Nineteenth Century*, Cook records that male suffrage varied in the kingdom; in England and Wales, 2/3 adult males had the vote; in Scotland, 3/5 did; and in Ireland only 1/ 2 did. (Cook, 2005)

#### **4.6 Redistribution of Seats Act 1885**

It was a piece of the electoral reform legislation aimed at redistributing seats in the House of Commons. It introduced the concept of equally populated constituencies. The act increased the number of seats in Commons from 652 to 670. The act stated that all parliamentary boroughs with a population of 15,000 or less should be emerged into a division of the closest parliamentary county; whereas boroughs with a population between 15,000 and 50,000 had to reduce its representation from two MPs to one MP, this affected 36 boroughs. For boroughs with a

population more than 50,000, they could continue holding two MPs. In *The Extension of the Franchise 1832-1931*, Bob Whitefield argues that the act had immediate consequences, as well as far-reaching consequences. As a short term consequence, the act established “single-member constituencies” (Whitfield, 2001, p. 247), they are constituencies whose representation was reduced from three or two MPs into only one MP. In the past, the Radicals of the Whig Party shared with Liberals the seats, but as the number was reduced, the Liberals were more likely to win the seat as most constituencies affected by the act were dominated by Liberals from the middle class. As a result, the Whigs broke with Liberals and suffered a serious damage, and Liberals who saw the ball in their own court, grew more radical. The Conservative Party made some gains from the act because of the so-called “Villa Toryism” (Whitfield, 2001, p. 247), which is a term used to describe the tendency of some suburban middle classes to vote for Conservatives. In the long-term effects of the legislation, the act gave push to the Labour Party after the Whigs had broken with Liberals, the party gained support especially in working-class dominated constituencies. As a long-term effect too, we can also talk about the decline of the landed gentry resulting from the dominion of industrialists over the House of Commons. This also untied the aristocratic fist over the working class who now preferred to work in industry rather than crop fields. (Whitfield, 2001)

But still a lot of work was still waiting as many obstacles stood in front of introducing further bills, especially the continuous opposition of the House of Lords which could veto any bill. The House was dominated by Tories who were determined to block any bill which may expand voting rights to working class, because the new voters were expected to vote for the Liberal Party; thus, diminishing Conservative chances to win the following general elections. Each time, refusing bills by the House of Lords created constitutional crises which entailed the intervention of the

monarch to solve the problem. For many, introducing further reform acts rested on getting rid of the House of Lords obstacle first.

#### **4.7 Representation of the People Act 1911**

It is formerly known as: *An Act to make provision with respect to the powers of the House of Lords in relation to those of the House of Commons, and to limit the duration of Parliament.* According to its preamble, the act was intended to constitute the second chamber on popular rather than on hereditary basis. In addition to limiting the lifetime of parliament to five years only, the act established the supremacy of the Lower House over the Upper House for the latter caused many crises through repeatedly vetoing bills which did not go along with the interest of the majority Tories who dominated it. The act set new conventions on how the powers of the House of Lords would be used, starting by the inability of the Upper House to delay a money bill (i.e. a bill which deals solely with taxation or government spending) for more than a month. The Parliament act of 1911 stated also that public bills could not be vetoed anymore by the Upper House, it could only be delayed for two years as a maximum. This meant that any bill would be enacted automatically after this period even if it was introduced in the fourth or the fifth year of the parliament. All these meant that the use of veto by the Lords was only temporary to check the legislation. (Bradley, 2007)

After getting shot of the first obstacle in front of reformist, which is the House of Lords, the doors were finally open to further significant electoral reforms like the Representation of the People Act of 1918.

#### 4.8. Representation of the People Act 1918

Its long title is An Act to Amend the Law with Respect to Parliamentary and Local Government Franchises, and the Registration of Parliamentary and Local Government Electors, and the Conduct of Elections, and to Provide for the Redistribution of Seats at Parliamentary Elections, and for other Purposes Connected therewith. It is sometimes referred to as The Fourth Reform Act. The act widened suffrage by abolishing property qualification to men, and enfranchising women over thirty years old with minimum property qualifications. The act was a triumph for women whose contribution to World War I was recognized by introducing this act, though they were not yet considered politically equal to men who could vote at the age of twenty-one years old. The argument went that women were not as politically aware as men to be allowed to vote at the same age. The act immediately tripled the size of electorate from 7.7 million to 21.4 million, with women accounting for about 43% of the electorate. In addition to the female suffrage, the act instituted that general elections should be held on one single day and not gradually over a period of weeks; this was another accomplishment of both Liberal party and Labour party, but the heavy achievement is giving the right to vote for women who proved that they were more than baby-making machine as they showed off dazzling capacities that were not any less than men's. In *The Women's Suffrage Movement in Britain 1866-1928*, Sophia A. van Wingerdun argues that it was the new industrial and professional status of women, along their recognized active, self-sacrificing spirit which gave the right to vote for women, most of whom were humble ladies of middle and working class (Van Wingerdun, 1999). In fact, the act gave franchise mainly to working class who by then prevailed the British electorate and supported largely the Labour Party. This meant that the United Kingdom was more than halfway near full representative democracy. (Whitfield, 2001)

#### **4.9. Equal Franchise Act 1928**

It is formerly known as An Act to Assimilate the Franchise for Men and Women in Respect of Parliamentary and Local Government Elections; and for Purposes Consequential thereon. The act widened suffrage by giving the vote to women over twenty-one years old; thus, it established electoral equality between men and women. The act was supported by the main three political parties including the Conservative Party who expected women either to be conservative in their views or simply to obey their views. The act was the fruit of long years of struggle by women through many campaign groups such as the Women's Freedom League, The National Union of Societies of Equal Enfranchisement, The Women Citizens Association, Six Points Group, and The Open Door Council. (Rodriguez & Rubio-Marin, 2012)

It is undeniable that the process of democratization was a slow process; indeed, it was almost a century since the first reform act 1832 was introduced as a first step towards representative democracy, but universal suffrage was achieved only in 1928 after exercising each time a heavy pressure on the government to reform the electoral system. The road towards democracy in Britain crossed its way only because the government was left only with little choices as refusing to introduce reform acts meant simply rebellion and possible civil wars throughout the kingdom if they chose not to listen to the growing enraged people in the streets, especially the working class which suffered a lot during this long struggle to get the vote, but the fruit was really worthy. It was thanks to this struggle that true representative democracy in Britain was established with a lasting impact on its social making in which morals of gender equality and freedom continue to frame today's the British state of mind and makes the United Kingdom an ideal democratic country as many indices indicate. (Rodriguez & Rubio-Marin, 2012)

## **5. Measurement of Democracy**

We have seen in the beginning of this chapter that democracy has been defined in various ways, and so is measuring it which differs according to the definition proposed for the concept. There are around the world countless agencies, organizations, societies, foundations, and groups which try to measure democracy, each has its own school of thought to identify what democracy is and how to achieve it, designing a particular methodology and criteria to measure democracy. In the following section, we will deal with three main international indices of democracy: Freedom House, Systematic Center for Peace or Polity VI Data Series as it is called as well, and The Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index. Each will be dealt with separately starting by defining each index, and covering its methodology and latest global report, then we move to the status of democracy in Britain as it is measured according to that index.

### **5.1 Freedom House**

#### **5.1.1 What is Freedom House?**

##### **5.1.2 5.1.1.1 Definition**

It was established in 1941 in the United States as a non profit, non partisan organization. In its mission statement, the organization stresses that Freedom House is an independent nongovernmental organization which supports the expansion of freedom in the world. The organization emphasizes the importance of freedom in measuring democracy because in its perspective democracy is manifested not in the performance of governments, but in “the real-world rights and freedom enjoyed by individuals” (Freedom House, 2015, p. 2). Every year, the organization publishes Freedom in the World report which is highly considered as a key measurement of freedom in the world and a reliable indicator of democracy whose statistics and analysis are a reference for scholars, experts and politicians in their ongoing debates and studies.

The House of Freedom adopts an acknowledged methodology that is derived from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and it is applied to all countries and territories regardless of its geographical locations, religion, ethnic groups, or level of economic development. (Freedom House, 2015)

### **5.1.1.2 Methodology**

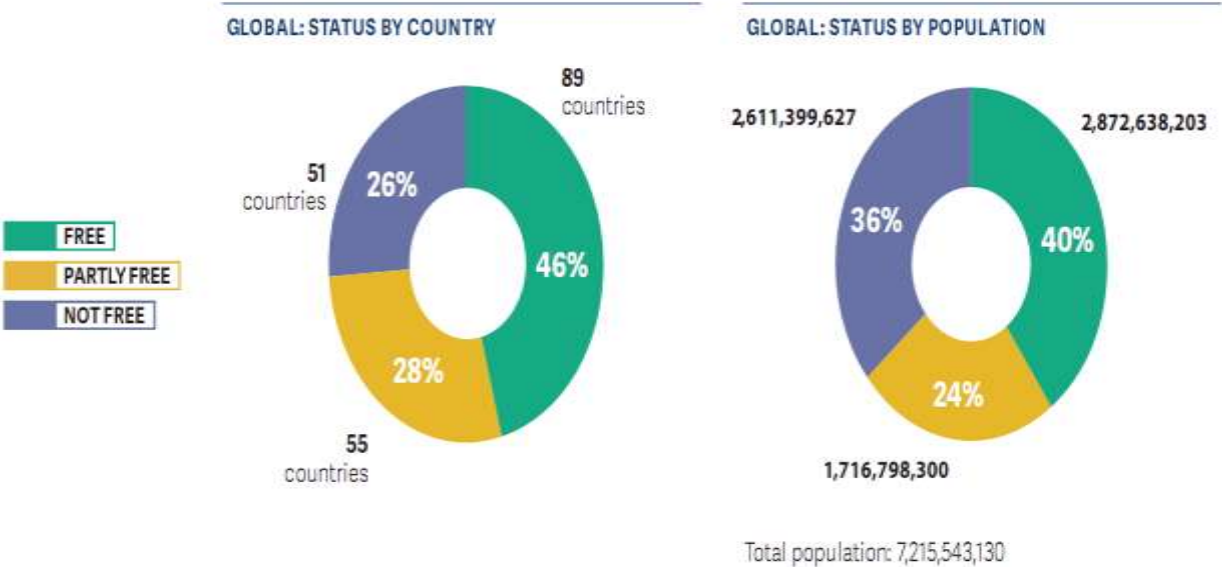
Freedom in the World 2015 evaluates the state of freedom throughout 195 territories during the year 2014. It has two criteria to determine whether a country is Free, Partly Free, or Not Free. The first is *Political Rights* (PR) which includes these sub-categories: electoral process, political pluralism and participation, functioning of government; and the second measure is *Civil Liberties* (CL) which consists of: freedom of expression and belief, associational and organizational rights, rule of law, personal autonomy and individual rights. These two measures are presented in a scale of 7 points as follows:

- 1.00 to 2.50 = Free.
- 3.00 to 5.00 = Partly Free.
- 5.50 to 7.00 = Not free. (Freedom House, 2015)

### **5.1.2. Global Statistics 2015**

According to the 2015 report, eighty-nine (89) countries are classified as free, this means that over 2,8 billion people or 40% of the global population is qualified as free; whereas fifty-five (55) countries are partly free, this is equivalent to 24% of the global population which represents 1,7 billion people around the world; the remaining fifty-one (51) countries are classified as not free, this includes more than 2,7 billion people who make up 36% of the global population,

though it is worth noting that half of this number live in China alone. (House of Freedom, 2015), as shown by the following quoted diagram.

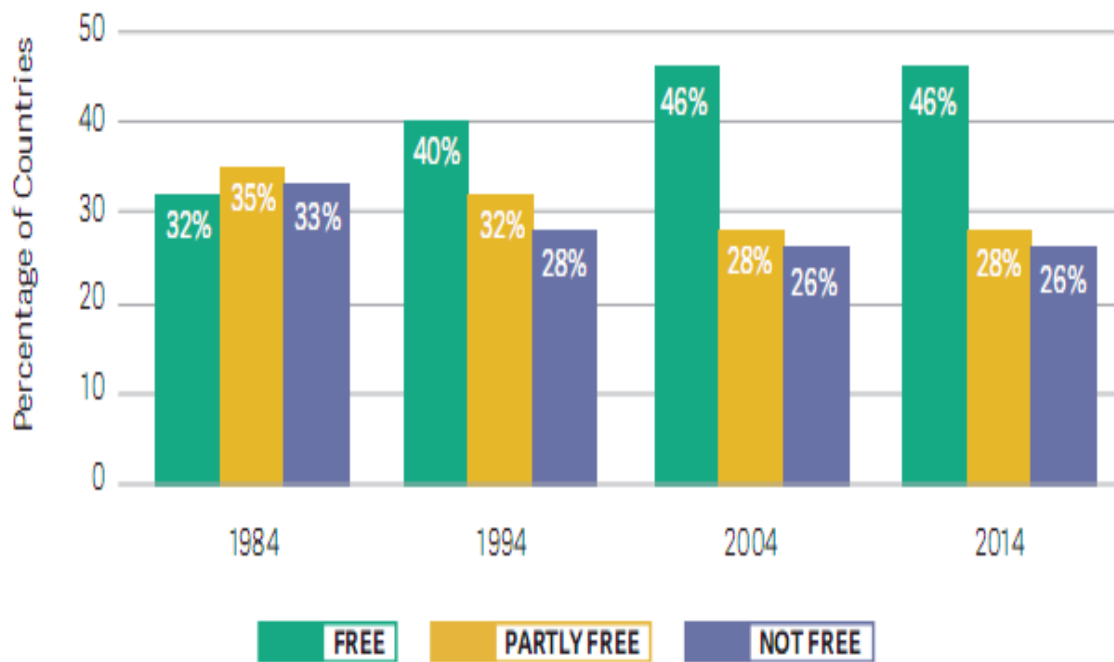


**Figure 4:** Freedom global world statistics, 2015. (Source: Freedom House, 2015, p. 8)

The Freedom House report compares the 2015 statistics with those of earliest decades; the diagram shows that while freedom increased in the world during 1994-2004, it stood unchanged throughout the following decade. The report suggests that conflicts in the Middle East, North Africa, Eurasia, Sub-Saharan Africa, Europe, the Americas, and split in Asia-Pacific stood in front of promoting freedom in the world. (Freedom House, 2015)

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## WHILE OVERALL FREEDOM HAS INCREASED SINCE 1984, IT HAS RECENTLY PLATEAUED



**Figure 5:** Freedom global world statistics 1984-2014. (Source: Freedom House, 2015, p. 8).

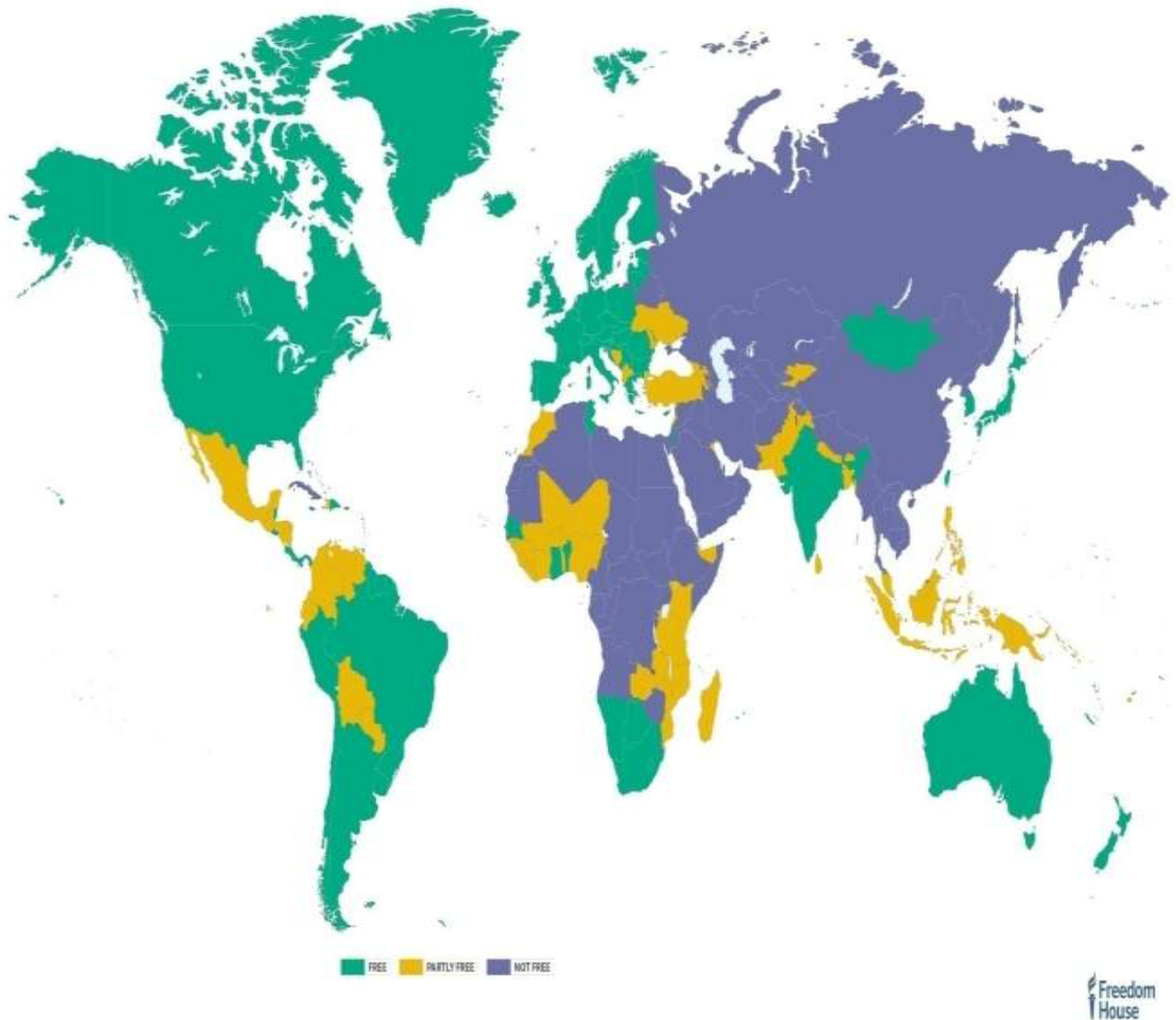
The organization concludes that though the promise of freedom survives, the global scene is dominated by corruption, internal conflicts and terrorism especially in Africa; and even in countries like the United States, issues of racism and oppression prevail daily headlines. (Freedom House, 2015)

### 5.1.3. The Measurement of Democracy in the United Kingdom

#### 5.1.3.1. The United Kingdom in the Freedom in the World Map 2015

If we have a close look into the House of Freedom Map 2015, we find that the country is colored in green; this means that the United Kingdom is considered as a free country by the scale of this organization.

## FREEDOM IN THE WORLD 2015



**Figure 6:** Freedom in the world map 2015. (Source: Freedom House, 2015, pp. 14-15).

### 5.1.3.2 The United Kingdom in the Freedom House Ranking of 2015

The same thing if we see the ranking, the United Kingdom got 1 for Political Rights (PR) and 1 for Civil Liberties (CL). This means that the country is ranked within the freest countries in the world. We observe that in the table, the country is marked by a star (\*), this indicates the country's status as having electoral democracy; while it is marked by no trend arrow; this means

that Britain has neither positive nor negative changes which may affect its political rights or civil liberties.

Country	Freedom Status	PR	CV	Trend Arrow
United Arab Emirates	Not Free	6	6	
United Kingdom*	Free	1	1	
United States*	Free	1	1	
Uruguay*	Free	1	1	
Uzbekistan	Not Free	7	7	

**Table 1:** Freedom House ranking 2015. (Source: Freedom House, 2015, p. 26).

**5.2 Center for Systematic Peace**

**5.2.1 What is Center for Systematic Peace?**

**5.2.1.1 Definition**

It is a registered non-profit corporation in the United States of America which is exempted from taxes by the United States Internal Revenue Service as a public charity. It publishes Polity IV Data Series, in which it measured democracy around the world according to its own methodology. (Marshall and Cole, 2014)

**5.2.1.2 Methodology**

Unlike Freedom House which emphasizes civil liberties and political rights enjoyed by citizens to measure democracy, Polity IV Data Series stress the performance of governments which represent people according to capacity to determine whether a country is democratic or not, because the ability of any country to win the loyalty of its people depends on its performance

in different fields. Furthermore, Polity IV has two criteria in its scale of democracy: *Effectiveness* and *Legitimacy* in the government's performance of its tasks; effectiveness here means the government's ability to achieve stability in different areas, whereas legitimacy deals with the citizens' perception of their government's performance, being satisfied or unsatisfied. Thus Polity IV focuses on state fragility or in other word, it measures to what extend a regime is solid including two criteria: the performance of governments and its relationship with its own people. This helps to expect whether a regime can stand for long, or if any internal conflict is possible. The idea of Polity IV was the fruit of the university of Maryland's IRIS center researches which were conducted at the request of the United States Agency for International Development For this sake a Polity Score is introduced ; it ranges from (-10) to (+10), as follows:

Country Status	Minimum Value	Maximum Value
Full Democracy	8	10
Democracy	6	9
Open Anocracy	1	5
Closed Anocracy	-5	0
Autocracy	-10	-6

**Table 2:** Systematic Center for Peace's scale. (Source: Marshall and Cole, 2014).

The Polity Data Series is widely used in political science. The latest version Polity 2014 covers all independent states with a total population of more than 500,000

5.2.2 The Measurement of Democracy in the United Kingdom

5.2.2.1 The United Kingdom in Polity VI World Map of Democracy 2014

In the most recent democracy world map published by the Center for Systematic Peace, Britain appears in dark blue which stands for Full Democracy, as we can see in the following figure:

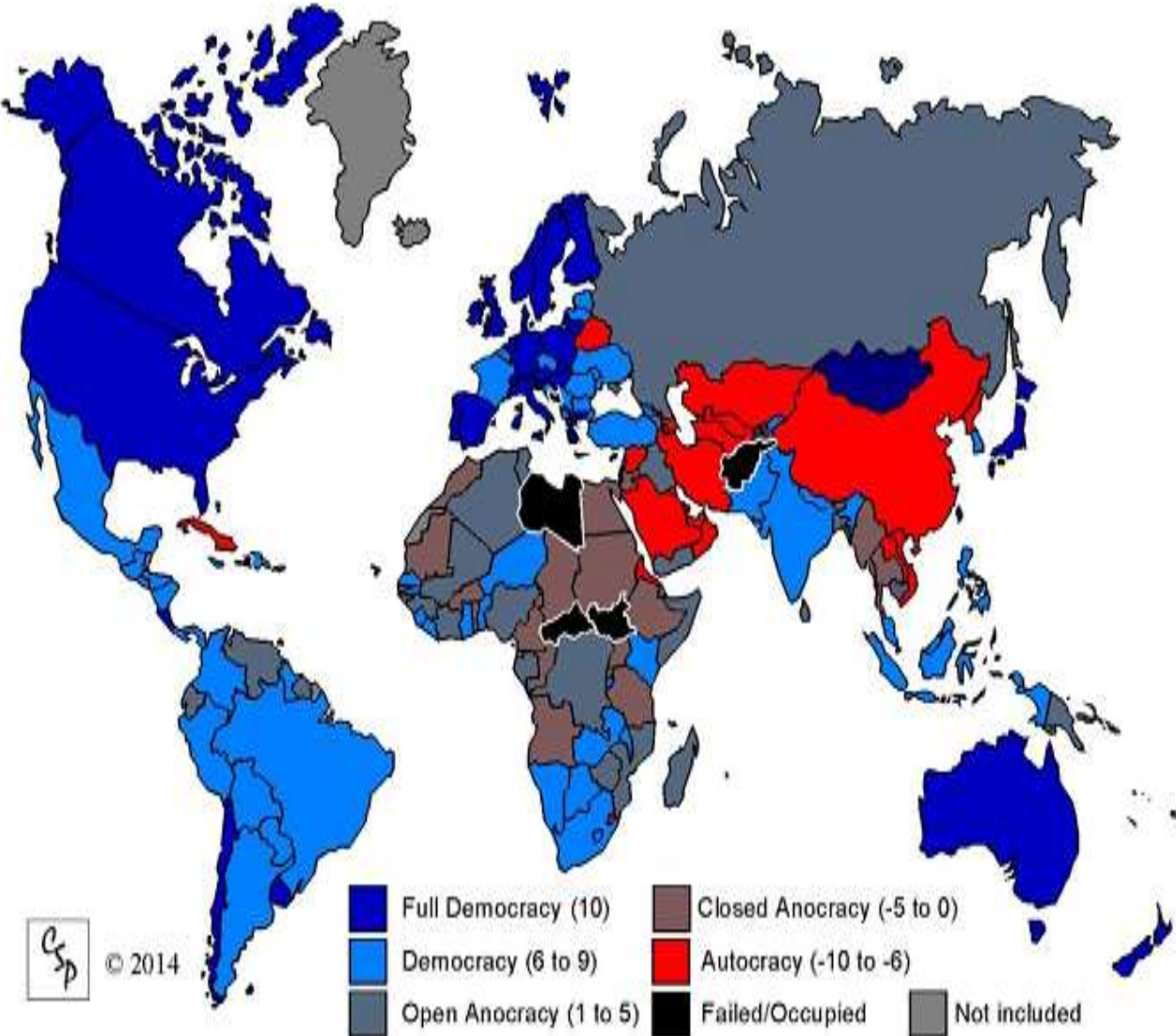


Figure 7: Polity VI world map of democracy 2014. (Source: Marshall and Cole, 2014, p. 27).

### 5.2.2.2 The United Kingdom in Polity VI Ranking of 2014

We can learn more about the democracy status of the United Kingdom from the State Fragility Index and Matrix 2013 which covers 167 countries. It scores the effectiveness and legitimacy of each country in four performance dimensions: security, political, economic, and social. These dimensions are rated on a four scale:

- 0 = No fragility.
- 1 = Low fragility.
- 2 = Medium fragility.
- 3 = High fragility. (Marshall and Cole, 2014)

The fragility indices are calculated as follows:

State Fragility Index = Effectiveness Score + Legitimacy Score.

Effectiveness Score = Security Effectiveness + Political Effectiveness + Economic Effectiveness + Social Effectiveness.

Legitimacy Score = Security Legitimacy + Political Legitimacy + Economic Legitimacy + Social Legitimacy. (Marshall and Cole 2014, P. 51)

The table shows that the United Kingdom got zero (0) in Fragility Index, Effectiveness Score, and Legitimacy Score, with green icons in all indices; this stands for no fragility in the country in all fields.

	Fragility Index	Effectiveness Score	Legitimacy Score	Security Effectiveness	Security Legitimacy	Armed Conflict Indicator	Political Effectiveness	Political Legitimacy	Regime Type	Economic Effectiveness	Economic Legitimacy	Net Oil Production or Consumption	Social Effectiveness	Social Legitimacy	Regional Effects
Sweden	0	0	0	■	■		■	■	DEM	■	■	X	■	■	
Taiwan	0	0	0	■	■		■	■	DEM	■	■	X	■	■	
United Kingdom	0	0	0	■	■	*	■	■	DEM	■	■	+	■	■	

**Table 3:** Polity VI ranking 2014. (Source: Marshall and Cole, 2014, p. 51).

#### 5.2.2.2.1 Security Indicators

In security Effectiveness (seceff) or the Total Residual War as it is called as well, the green icon means that Britain is not vulnerable to any political violence and it can recover quickly from any residual effects resultant from short or serious wars. In Security Legitimacy (secleg), we see that the icon is green too, this stands for no state repression of its citizens; whereas we see a light shaded star in the Armed Conflict Indicator, this means that the country has been involved directly in one or more major armed conflict during the past twenty years, but has not experienced any armed conflict at least for the previous five years.

In political indicators, the United Kingdom scored well too. In Political Effectiveness (poleff) or Governance Stability, the green icon means that the central power is not in the hand of the same people and that the country has a minimum number of coup events including the successful, attempted, alleged and forced resignations. In Political Legitimacy (polleg), the green icon means

that the country scores zero in the five indicators which are used to calculate the Political Legitimacy: factionalism, Ethnic group political discrimination against 5% or more of the population, political salience of elite ethnicity, polity fragmentation, and exclusionary of ruling elite. In regime type, an upper case “DEM” is written to indicate an institutionalized democracy in the country.

#### **5.2.2.2.2 Economic Indicators**

The economic indicators reveal that the United Kingdom has no economic fragility. The green icon of the Economic Effectiveness (ecoeff) indicator means that the country scored zero which is equivalent to a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) greater than or equal to £7500. The Economic Legitimacy (ecoleg) is green as well; this indicates that the country has a high percentage of manufactured goods which minimize the reliance on foreign exchange. The Net Oil Production or Consumption (NOPC) indicator provides information on countries’ petroleum energy profile. It is calculated by subtracting the country’s daily consumption from its daily production figure, multiplied by 365 to have an annual figure, then, the result is divided by the country’s total population. The United Kingdom got a plus sign “+” which indicates that the country is a moderate net petroleum consuming country. (Marshall and Cole, 2014)

#### **5.2.2.2.3 Social Indicators**

Social indicators reflect no social fragility in the United Kingdom. In Social Legitimacy (socleg) that is based on the infant mortality rate under one year of age, compared to its Gross Domestic Product or its income level, the United Kingdom recorded zero which means that infant mortality is less or equal to 20,000, and it provides a good human capital care as these findings are compared to its income level. (Marshall and Cole, 2014)

To conclude, the United Kingdom is considered as an ideal democratic country as the Polity IV data series reveal. It has no political, not economic or social fragilities and its government's performance in these fields is perfect.

### **5.3 The Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index**

#### **5.3.1 What is Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index?**

##### **5.3.1.1. Definition**

Democracy Index is an index that is coined by The Economist Intelligence Unit which is an independent business unit founded in 1946 in London. It is owned by the Economist Group which conduct economic and political researches and analyses. The Democracy Index measures democracy in 165 countries around the world with a particular methodology that emphasizes the importance of five criteria to indicate the state of democracy, as we are going to see into details in the next sub-section. (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2015)

##### **5.3.1.2 Methodology**

It measures democracy in 165 independent states and two territories. This covers almost the entire world population. It designed a 10 points scale which covers the rating of 60 indicators grouped in 5 categories is based on five categories:

- *Electoral process and pluralism.*
- *Civil Liberties.*
- *The functioning of government.*
- *Political participation.*
- *Political culture.*

(The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2015)

These five categories are inter-related, and together they form the Democracy Index's coherent concept of what democracy is? And how to achieve it? Democracy Index suggests that the first point that should be accentuated in democracy is holding fair and free competitive elections in which *Civil Liberties* are respected. This includes the basic human rights agreed on by the terms of the Helsinki Final Act and the United Nations Charter: freedom of speech, freedom of expression and press, freedom of religion, freedom of assembly and association, and rights related to judicial processes. Achieving all these entails the third requirement which is a minimum quality of *Functioning of Government*, where democratic decisions are implemented. In addition to *Political Culture*, because the electoral process divides people into winners and losers. A successful political culture implies that the losing party respect the choice of the majority and allow the winners to establish their word. Participation is also considered as an important component of democracy, because without it political powers would accumulate in the hands of small groups and democracy can never flourish as citizens stay apathetic about electing their representatives, or joining political parties, or even becoming aware about their political surroundings. (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2015)

Based on the score in these five important components of democracy, each country is classified within one of the four regime types, as summarizes the following table:

<b>Regime Types</b>	<b>Minimum and maximum scores</b>
Full Democracy	8-10
Flawed Democracy	6-7.9
Hybrid Regime	4-5.9
Authoritarian Regime	Below 4

**Table 4:** Democracy Index's scale 2014 (Source: Economist Intelligence Unit, 2015).

**5.3.2 Economist Intelligence Unit’s Global Statistics**

The latest version of the Economist Intelligence Unit’s Democracy Index classification provides these statistics about regime types of the covered countries:

Democracy Index 2014, by regime type

	No. of countries	% of countries	% of world population
Full democracies	24	14.4	12.5
Flawed democracies	52	31.1	35.5
Hybrid regimes	39	23.4	14.4
Authoritarian regimes	52	31.1	37.6

**Table 5:** Democracy Index’s global statistics. (Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2015, p. 2).

The table shows that only 24 countries are considered as full democracies; whereas 52 are classified as flawed countries, this means that though these countries hold free fair elections and respect basic civil rights, there are some problems in governance, low level of participation, or a weak political culture within their citizens. The table reveals also that 39 countries are hybrid regimes; this indicates that no free and fair elections are held in these countries, with governments exercising a great pressure on opposition parties and candidates. In addition to more prevalent weaknesses with civil societies, enforcement of law, independence of judiciary and journalism. The data shows that 52 countries are seen as authoritarian regimes. This means that political pluralism is almost absent or harshly oppressed, though some formal democratic institutions may exist, but they are not really independent or free; and concerning civil liberties they are not respected, even media is state-ownership, or it may be controlled by groups related to the ruling class.

### 5.3.3 Measurement of Democracy in the United Kingdom

If we have a close look into Democracy Index's ranking, we see that the United Kingdom is classified within the twenty-four full democracies in the world. This means that the country holds highly free and fair elections and not only respect political freedoms and civil liberties, but also promotes a political culture among its citizens. The functioning of government is satisfactory, media is independent and not controlled by the state, the judiciary is independent as well and even its decisions are enforced. The only problems which may exist are in the functioning of democracies.

	Rank	Overall score	Electoral process and pluralism	Functioning of government	Political participation	Political culture	Civil liberties
Switzerland	6	9.09	9.58	9.29	7.78	9.38	9.41
Canada	7	9.08	9.58	9.29	7.78	8.75	10.00
Finland	8	9.03	10.00	8.93	7.78	8.75	9.71
Australia	9	9.01	9.58	8.93	7.78	8.75	10.00
Netherlands	10	8.92	9.58	8.57	8.89	8.13	9.41
Luxembourg	11	8.88	10.00	9.29	6.67	8.75	9.71
Ireland	12	8.72	9.58	7.50	7.78	8.75	10.00
Germany	13	8.64	9.58	8.57	7.78	8.13	9.12
Austria	14	8.54	9.58	7.86	8.33	7.50	9.41
Malta	15	8.39	9.17	8.21	6.11	8.75	9.71
UK	16	8.31	9.58	7.14	6.67	8.75	9.41
Uruguay	=17	8.17	10.00	8.93	4.44	7.50	10.00
Mauritius	=17	8.17	9.17	8.21	5.00	8.75	9.71
US	19	8.11	9.17	7.50	7.22	8.13	8.53
Japan	20	8.08	9.17	8.21	6.11	7.50	9.41
South Korea	21	8.06	9.17	7.86	7.22	7.50	8.53

**Table 6:** Democracy Index's ranking 2014. (Source: The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2015, p. 5).

The United Kingdom has the sixteenth class in the Democracy Index’s ranking of 165 countries with an overall score of 8.31 out of ten. In Electoral Process and Pluralism, and Civil Liberties, the country scored very well; it got almost ten in both. This means that there are many active political parties which represent an effective opposition in the country and basic civil rights are greatly respected. The scores reveal also that citizens are highly tolerant and passive when it comes to Political Culture, but they tend not to participate a lot or care about politics as the lowest score being in *Political Participation*. (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2015)

This point is further accentuated by YouGov, which is a market research agency which is a pioneer of online market research with 2.5 million people working for it worldwide. It is also the most quoted market research agency in the United Kingdom. The following is an extract of a questionnaire showing that the British do not care a lot about general elections:

Percentage who agree that:	
It doesn't make much difference to my daily life who wins general elections these days - there's very little real difference between the main political parties	58%

**Table 7:** Yougov’ British attitudes towards general elections. (Source: Kellnsr, 2012, p. 9).

The questionnaire shows that more than the half of the sample (58%) which includes 5160 adults throughout the United Kingdom of Great Britain do not care about who wins general elections, particularly because they see no real difference between the three political parties.

In another questionnaire conducted by the same agency, it is revealed that many British do not know their local MPs (37%). The results show also they about the half of sample do not know if their local MPs are doing good or bad (48%)

Q. Do you happen to know the name of your local MP?		
	Gallup 1954	YouGov 2012
Yes	67%	63%
No	33%	37%
Q. On the whole, would you say that he or she is doing a good job or a bad job as your MP?		
Good	38%	15%
Bad	5%	13%
Average	10%	37%
Don't know	47%	35%

**Table 8:** Yougov' British acquaintance with their Local MPs. (Source: Kellner, 2012, p. 6).

These statistics go along with the Economist Intelligence findings that there is a lack of motivation to participate in politics, and mainly in general elections among the British people.

## 6. Monarchy and the Rise of Democracy in Britain

We have seen that the United Kingdom is considered as an ideal democratic country in the world with the testimony of international reference indices like Freedom House Organization, Center for Systematic Peace, and the Economist Intelligence Unit's democracy Index. These indices confirm that the United Kingdom is exceptionally a free democratic country with a perfect governance and performance in maintaining security, promoting politics and economics, and in enhancing human capital care within the society. This makes the country far away from being fragile according to academic statistics. According to recent studies, a high percentage of the British consider their country democratic, as revealed by the following table:.

Would you describe Britain as a democratic country or not?		
	Gallup 1969	YouGov 2012
Yes	68	67
No	20	17
Don't know	12	17

**Table 9:** Public Attitudes towards democracy in Britain. (Source: Kellner, 2012, p.19).

YouGov conducted an online questionnaire which asked 5160 adults throughout the kingdom if they consider their country democratic or not. The results reveal that 67% of them answered “yes”, though the percentage decreased by 1% if compared to the Gallup survey which was held in 1969, while 17% answered “No”, and 17% did not know.

In a different survey conducted by YouGov as well in 2012 which covered 1743 British of different voting intentions for the coming election at that time: Conservative Party (Con), Labour Party (Lab), Liberal Democratic (Lib Dem). The sample includes 847 men and 896 women of different ages; they are classified within three groups to compare their results: 18-24, 25-39, 40-56, and above 60. These people are classified further within two social grades: ABC1, and C2DE. The participants live in different parts of the kingdom, including: London, Rest of the South, Midlands, North, and Scotland.

	Voting intention			2010 Vote			Gender		Age				Social grade		Region					
	Total	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Male	Female	18-24	25-39	40-59	60+	ABC1	C2DE	London	Rest of South	Midlands / Wales	North	Scotland
Weighted Sample	1743	432	575	104	584	436	376	847	896	211	444	596	492	994	749	223	566	373	429	152

The Monarchy is an important part of Britain's democratic system

Strongly agree	26	38	22	18	37	26	19	25	26	15	18	26	37	25	26	24	28	26	21	29
Tend to agree	35	40	34	35	38	35	31	34	35	32	32	35	36	35	35	33	33	36	37	36
<b>TOTAL AGREE</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>65</b>
Tend to disagree	18	13	22	24	14	19	21	19	18	19	21	19	15	18	18	23	19	16	18	11
Strongly disagree	13	5	18	20	6	14	22	17	9	21	14	13	8	15	9	11	11	12	15	16
<b>TOTAL DISAGREE</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>27</b>
Don't know	9	3	5	3	6	7	7	5	12	14	15	8	2	6	12	8	10	8	8	8

**Table 10:** British public attitudes towards democracy and monarchy. (Source: Yougov, 2012, “Royal Family + Jubilee”, p. 15).

The results reveal that the majority (61%) consider the monarchy as an important part of Britain’s democratic system; the main supporters of this idea are Conservatives (78%), then the Labours (56%) and Liberal democrats (53%), with females’ scores exceeding the males’. The survey shows also that the more aged is likely to support more the monarchy. Nevertheless, the survey shows also a high percentage of people who totally disagree that monarchy is a part of their democratic system (31%).

The main argument against the British Monarchy is that it is associated with old-order and has no place in today’s democratic Britain, some of them even feel embarrassed of the institution. In tables 11 and 12, the same sample is asked about whether they consider the Royal Family outdated, and if they feel embarrassed of the British Monarchy

	Voting intention			2010 Vote			Gender		Age				Social grade		Region					
	Total	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Male	Female	18-24	25-39	40-59	60+	ABC1	C2DE	London	Rest of South	Midlands / Wales	North	Scotland
Weighted Sample	1743	432	575	104	584	436	376	847	896	211	444	596	492	994	749	223	566	373	429	152

The Royal Family is outdated and out of touch

Strongly agree	12	6	18	11	8	17	16	15	9	22	12	11	10	13	12	9	9	13	16	16
Tend to agree	18	13	21	22	12	19	25	19	17	18	20	18	17	19	16	22	19	17	17	17
<b>TOTAL AGREE</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>33</b>
Tend to disagree	32	30	34	37	29	34	35	29	36	27	31	32	36	32	33	29	35	37	30	24
Strongly disagree	29	49	22	24	45	23	19	30	28	22	22	33	35	30	29	27	31	26	26	37
<b>TOTAL DISAGREE</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>61</b>
Don't know	8	3	6	6	6	7	6	6	10	11	16	6	2	7	10	13	7	8	8	6

**Table 11:** British public attitudes towards modernizing the monarchy. (Source: Yougov, 2012, “Royal Family + Jubilee”, p. 15).

Would you say you are proud of the British monarchy, embarrassed of the British monarchy or neither?

Very proud	32	52	26	20	49	25	25	32	32	17	19	36	44	32	31	29	34	33	32	24
A little proud	25	27	24	26	25	26	23	26	24	26	27	23	23	25	24	22	25	24	23	33
<b>TOTAL PROUD</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>57</b>
Neither proud nor embarrassed	31	16	36	43	20	36	40	30	33	30	38	31	27	31	32	36	29	32	31	32
A little embarrassed	4	3	5	4	2	5	6	5	4	4	6	4	3	4	4	6	3	4	5	3
Very embarrassed	4	1	6	7	3	5	5	6	3	10	4	4	2	5	3	3	5	2	5	7
<b>TOTAL EMBARRASSED</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>10</b>
Don't know	4	1	3	1	1	4	1	3	4	11	5	2	1	2	6	3	4	4	4	1

**Table 12:** British public attitudes towards the existence monarchy. (Source: Yougov, 2012, “Royal Family + Jubilee”, p. 3).

The results in table 11 reveal that the majority (61%) totally disagree that Royal Family is outdated and out of touch, while 31% agree with the statement. As with the previous table, supporters of Royal family are mainly Conservatives (79%), with women more than men are

likely to support the crown (64% to 59%), and the old more than the young for the Royal Family (61% to 49%). The data also shows that support for the family is among the ABC1 social grade rather than the C2DE, especially in London.

The results in table 12 reveals almost the same tendency as in Table 12, though the percentage of the two extremes dwindles (total proud and total embarrassed). 57% of people are totally proud of the institution, whereas only 8% feel embarrassed of it. People who felt proud are mainly Conservatives, females, old people from the first social class.

The next table presents British public attitudes towards the future of the British Monarchy.

	Voting intention			2010 Vote			Gender		Age				Social grade		Region					
	Total	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Male	Female	18-24	25-39	40-59	60+	ABC1	C2DE	London	Rest of South	Midlands/Wales	North	Scotland
Weighted Sample	1743	432	575	104	564	436	376	847	896	211	444	596	492	994	749	223	566	373	429	152

Do you think Britain will still have a monarch in 100 years' time?	April 26-27 2011		May 27-28 2012																		
	20	17	27	15	10	24	14	13	18	16	11	20	20	13	17	17	19	18	16	15	15
Yes, definitely	46	43	47	43	57	43	43	43	45	42	44	48	40	44	47	38	37	45	46	44	40
Yes, probably	18	22	15	23	19	19	24	24	21	22	23	15	22	27	20	24	24	22	18	21	28
<b>TOTAL YES</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>55</b>
No, probably not	6	4	1	6	3	4	5	5	4	5	2	3	6	5	5	4	5	4	3	6	6
No, definitely not	24	26	16	29	22	23	29	29	25	27	25	18	28	32	25	28	29	26	21	27	33
<b>TOTAL NO</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>33</b>
Don't know	10	14	10	13	10	10	14	14	12	15	20	14	13	11	12	16	14	11	17	15	13

**Table 13:** British public attitudes towards the future of monarchy. (Source: Yougov, 2012, “Royal Family + Jubilee”, p. 1).

When the same sample was asked if Britain would still have a monarch in 100 year’s time, 60% answered “totally yes”, while 26% answered “totally no”. If we compare these statistics to

the survey held two years earlier about the same question, we find that the percentage of those who said yes decreased by 6%, while those who said no increased by 2%. It seems that people who expect the institution to exist in the next 100 years are mainly Conservatives (74%), then Liberal Democrats (67%), then Labours (58%). This time men more than women expect the institution to last for 100 years (63% to 58%), even the aged-groups and regional groups seem to have close percentages.

These statistics reveal that there is still a large support for the British Monarchy among the British, and they still see that it does not go against being a democratic country, but the percentage of those who disagree is not little too. If we consider variables, the existence of the institution rests on having a majority Conservative, female, young, and first class grade citizens in the country.

## Conclusion

We have seen throughout this chapter how democracy was a slow gradual process which took place only because of the heavy pressure placed on the government to reform the electoral system. The British and mainly the working class could no longer stand oppression, carelessness, and the continuous exclusion from the landed-gentry's political agenda who dominated parliament and never thought of serving benefits rather than theirs, holding the argument that the poor lacked necessary knowledge and wisdom to rule, for they can ruin the country by their ignorance, a situation that seems to repeat the old story of Athenians with one exception; there was neither glorious hero like Solon to save the lower class, nor a culture of tolerance or sense of cooperation and help to simply accept to share power with the lower class. The British had to fight for their right to vote for almost a century and half, with many motive forces helped them to push forward like the success of the French and American revolutions and the emergence of Middle class due to the Industrial Revolution. The British Electoral system had always been identified with economic achievements, and as middle class improved their conditions, they were granted the vote in the First Reform Act 1832, followed by the skilled workers in the Second Reform Act, and common people in separate acts, with women waiting until 1911 to have suffrage after they proved their efficiency during World War I.

It is no wonder that Britain now is considered as an ideal democratic country as revealed by source international indices like Freedom House, Polity VI, and Democracy Index; though some British see a contradiction between being democratic and having a monarchy at the same time, as we are going to see in details in the next chapter entitled: The Constitutional Roles of the British Monarchy and the Call for its Abolition

## **Chapter Three**

### **The British Monarchy and Republicanism in the United Kingdom**

#### **Introduction**

We have seen in the previous chapter that the United Kingdom of Britain and Northern Ireland is considered as an ideal democratic country with the testimony of reference international indexes to measure democracy, including Freedom House Organization, Polity VI Project Data Series, and Democracy Index. This raises questions about the wisdom of maintain an institution that is associated with old order and aristocracy like the British Monarchy. Many argue that in the twenty-first century, and in a perfect developed democratic country, it is unacceptable to keep an institution that makes the country looks backward and outdated, in addition to depriving the British of their fundamental right to elect their Head of State and hold him accountable for his actions as enjoyed by most people around the world. Many people in Britain call for abolishing the institution of the British Monarchy, especially that constitutionally speaking, it played only symbolic roles which do not justify its existence.

In this chapter, we will deal with republicanism in the United Kingdom and the call for abolishing the British Monarchy, starting first with a definition of republicanism and its historical background in Britain in which we focus on the rise of republican sentiments and the British experience of a republic during the rule of Oliver Cromwell and its consequences; until we come to today's republicanism with some political parties and pressure group. We will deal also with the debate around the British Monarchy studying arguments for and against the institution, although in the arguments in favour of the institution, we will only refute the main cons and refer to significant hidden roles played the British Monarchy which will be studied into details in the third chapter.

For this sake, we will use the historical analytical method, but mostly, we will use the descriptive method to analyse questionnaire results conducted by YouGov on the British attitudes towards the institution of monarchy.

## **1. Historical Background for Republicanism in the United Kingdom**

Before moving to the historical background of republicanism in the United Kingdom, it is essential to define what republicanism is first.

### **1.1 Definition of Republicanism**

To start with, modern scholars on republicanism admit that the word ‘republicanism’ is not easy to define, as confirmed by David Wooton in *Republicanism, Liberty and Commercial Society, 1649-1776*: “Republicanism is too amorphous a concept to handle” (Wooton, 1994, p. 1). Instead, Wooton moves to defining ‘republican’ which presents no problem at all. According to him, a republican is someone who disapproves of monarchy, and sees kings as tyrants. This definition, in fact, suggests that absolute monarchy is the anti-thesis of republicanism. The same point is stressed by Thomas Paine, as argued in Wiemann and Mahlberg’s *Perspectives on English Revolutionary Republicanism* (2014), Thomas Paine contrasts republicanism with monarchy, because in the latter, arbitrary powers are vested in one person who rules to serve himself, whereas in republic the object is stressed. Ashford and Davies in *A Dictionary of Conservative and Libertarian Thought* almost speak about the same idea when they define republicanism as a “political philosophy based on a reading of classical history which has influenced both classical liberalism and conservatism” (Ashford and Davies, 2012, p. 227).

Ashford and Davies agree with Wooton that republicanism is the anti-thesis of monarchy, but they add oligarchy as well, arguing that in monarchy a single person exercises power, and in oligarchy small minority do; whereas in republic, the majority rule with direct participatory democracy as the best form of politics and the key to a high-quality life which can be made

possible with the advocacy of a people's militia instead of tyrants' standing armies, constitution and laws instead of undefined, arbitrary, limitless executive powers, and above all, republic stresses the point that public good should be given priority over one's personal interests as was the case with both monarchy and oligarchy. Ashford and Davies admit that for such a republic to exist and succeed, there should be a virtuous society who believes in honesty, probity, liberty, equality, moral uprightness, and a sense of sacrifice for the general good, because republic depends for its existence on virtue. Likewise, republic vanishes when virtue is destroyed. Ashford and Davies consider luxury which they define as "an excessive concern with worldly goods" (Ashford and Davies, 2012, p. 228) as the true great destroyer of virtue, and as such a destroyer of republics too, as witnessed by the fall of most Italian city states with the exception of Venice. (Ashford and Davies, 2012)

Scholars like John Adams insist on the order of law in making any republic because law reflects the will of people and protects their rights. Indeed, putting laws means that the power of common people prevail and this is the essence of republic. Adams argues also that it is law which distinguishes republics from despotic monarchies, and even despotic aristocracies and democracies which do not guarantee its citizens security and property. On this view, monarchies can be considered republics as well if they are law-abiding. (Wooton, 994). In *republicanism: Theory, Culture, and History*, the importance of the equal impartial execution of law in republic is emphasized. It is defined as as a government: "in which all men, rich and poor, magistrates and subjects, officers and people, masters and servants, the first citizen and the last, are equally subject to law" (Burgess in Wiemann and Mahlberg, 2014, p.184)

Harvey Chisick in his *Historical Dictionary of Enlightenment* claimed that republicanism is originated in the Greek-city state and Roman Republic, though it remained irrelevant in European politics under the Roman Empire, feudalism, and the rising absolute monarchies of the time. It

re-appeared in Renaissance Italy in a way similar to the classical antiquity city-states; then, it emerged again in the eighteenth century, first in America in 1776, then in France in 1792. Since then, republicanism remained an active cultural and ideological force. (Chisick, 2005)

According to Worden's *Liberty for Export: 'Republicanism in England, 1500-1800*, the meaning of the word *republicanism* changed over the passage of time. It was not applied in England until 1685, and it became widespread only around the 1790s, though the word *republican* as a noun and adjective was used earlier. Worden refers this to the first pejorative connotation that the word carried. At that time republicanism meant principally hostility to rule by kings and a tendency towards replacing monarchies by republics; this explains why at the time the term was not used as people were not thinking of abolishing the institution of monarchy. During the period 1649-1660, when England was militarily ruled by Oliver Cromwell, the word *republican* was applied to describe extreme Whigs, and it was a word of abuse that became widely used in caricatures in the late seventeenth century. But with time, the term lost its negative connotation as people openly called their political programs *republican*. In recent age, the word is used mainly by historians, political commentators and literary critics with admiration. It seems that the term *republicanism* may have different practical uses. It can be used to speak about a form of government or it can be used to refer to principles like political participation in local governments or social participation in village meetings, sometimes the word is used to show admiration for the morals and virtues of classical antiquity. (Worden, 2013)

## **1.2 . History of Republicanism in the United Kingdom**

### **1.2.1 The English Civil War**

Republicanist sentiment rose in Britain during the English Civil War which lasted from 1642-1649 and divided the country into Royalists, the supporters of the crown who wanted to keep the institution of monarchy; and Parliamentarians, the advocates of parliamentary sovereignty who

wanted to abolish the monarchy. The rise of republicanism in Britain was the result of King Charles I's tyrannical rule and strong belief in the Divine Rights of Kings theory. He tried to escape his duties to observe the Magna Carta which was forced earlier to limit royal prerogatives. King Charles I chose simply to ignore it and tried every means possible to re-establish his powers as a monarch by the Divine Rights of Kings which give sovereigns unlimited powers for being divinely chosen; thus, subject to no earthly authority. King Charles I decided to rule without parliament for eleven years, a period that became to be called King's Charles Personal Rule, relying on his friends for advice instead of consulting the hostile parliament. In order to avoid the embarrassing situation of asking money from his enemies in parliament, Charles I ended wars with the two old enemies of Britain: France and Spain and this cost him large territories of the kingdom; To raise money, Charles I relied on his personal money and taxes which did not require parliamentary assent like custom duties, in addition to forced borrowing from rich aristocrats. But at the end, all pockets run out, and the king had to turn to parliament for money to suppress the Scottish rebellion which was caused by his attempt to force Anglicanism throughout Britain allegedly to keep the country united and strong under one religion and to skip over points of differences which may divide the British into sects and groups as was the case in Scotland with the growing Presbyterianism. Charles I's policies were culminated in a rebellion in Scotland, and to suppress it, he bitterly needed money. He decided finally to open parliament to finance him. This was an excellent opportunity for Parliamentarians to address their grievance with the King's Personal Rule. Parliamentarianism reached its peak and the country went into a civil war which lasted for seven years and ended by the execution of the sovereign and replacing the monarchy by a republic under the rule of Oliver Cromwell. (Adams and Stephens, 1901)

### **1.2.2 Cromwellian Commonwealth**

Under the military rule of Oliver Cromwell, Britain was a Commonwealth which is a term used historically to refer to the government of Cromwell during the period 1649-53 (Scruton, 2007), then a Protectorate (1653-1658) which is a form of guardianship whose duty is to foster the economic, political, and social development of the protectorate (Scruton, 2007). The monarchy was abolished during this period along with the House of Commons because both were associated with aristocracy and old tyrannical order which was blamed for a number of inequalities in the society, only the House of Commons remained for it represented the true voice of people. Everything indicated that Britain was about to enter a new era of Democracy in which equality, justice, fairness and all the virtues dreamed of would prevail in a new balance of power that would elevate the oppressed poor and leave the arrogant aristocrat behind, but in reality, nothing of these pinky dreams was achieved. Oliver Cromwell was a military man whose obvious puritan orientation to clean the society from the alleged sinful deeds suited no body. The British were fined for drinking, gambling, swearing, entering theaters and inns, riding horses, meeting publically to chat and having entertainment, even Christmas celebrations were banned for being too ceremonial, because all these were by the puritan teachings sins which hold back people from devoting their precious time to worship god, and help promoting the country's economy by doing something meaningful. Oliver Cromwell was very harsh with opposition as well; he executed all who showed disagreement with his absolute rule, including early resistance by Royalists, Levellers who campaigned for representation for ordinary people, and Catholics who were zealously persecuted in Ireland and everywhere. Above all, Oliver Cromwell ruled without parliament or constitution. Ironically, he was offered the monarchy to limit his powers, because as a sovereign, he has to act within the Magna Carta. (Wilinkson, 2006)

The experience of republic in the United Kingdom was bad, and support for the rule of Oliver Cromwell decreased dramatically. When he died in 1659, people refused to recognize his son Richard as the next protector and instead called Charles II from his exile to restore the monarchy and to crown him as a king.

### **1.2.3. The Restoration of Monarchy 1660**

Though Britain became a constitutional monarchy after the reign of Charles II, there have been several movements throughout the kingdom whose objective was to abolish the monarchy and replace it by a republican government especially in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and early 19<sup>th</sup> century with the rise of radicalism and fervent supporters like the minister Joseph Fawcett (White, 2006). Calls for abolishing the institution of monarchy rose during the last years of Queen Victoria's reign when she decided to withdraw from public life after the death of her husband. The institution was open to fierce criticism for playing no role domestically or abroad, but soon these criticisms vanished as the queen decided finally to come out of her mourning and return to public life again. During the American War of Independence and the French Revolution, the call to abolish the institution revived by politicians like Charles Dilk (Costa, 1996), Charles Bradlaugh, and George Reynolds (Olechnowicz, 2007), in addition to some members of the Labour Party who campaigned openly in their annual conference of 1923 for abolishing the Royal Family and the principle of hereditary right, claiming that the royal family is no longer a necessary part of the British constitution and that the hereditary principle in the British Constitution should be abolished, though these two motions were defeated, and the Labour Party moved away from advocating any republican views ever since, especially after the passage of the Treason Felony Act in 1848 which punished republican advocacy by transportation to Australia, then, it was amended to be life imprisonment, though the House of Lords stated in 2003 that advocates of peaceful abolition of monarchy were not to come under the act. May be this is what holds back

British from calling to abolish the monarchy. Even, the main three political parties are not officially adopting this in their political agenda. (Barnett, 2013)

#### **1.2.4. Today's Republicanism in the United Kingdom**

Though at present, none of the three dominant political parties in Britain has an official policy of republicanism (Conservative Party, Liberal Democratic Party, and the Labour Party), there are many prominent politicians who support the abolition of monarchy, including Tony Benn of the Labour Party who introduced a Commonwealth of Britain Bill in 1991, and the present leader of the party Jeremy Corbyn even if he stated that abolishing the institution is not within his political agenda. Support for republicanism can be found in minor political parties like The Green Party of England and Wales, the Scottish Green party, and Sinn Féin, the Irish Republican Party. In addition to Lobby groups; the most influential being the Republic, a campaign group that was founded in 1983. This lobby group grew in membership since the wedding of Prince Charles and Camillia Parker Bowles. In June 2006, it handed a petition calling for a serious national debate about whether to keep the monarchy in the United Kingdom. Though the group has been repeatedly lobbying against the institution, no changes took place, but it is still active, and it has been invited to parliament as a witness on issues related to misconduct of the Royal Family. There are also a number of well-known newspapers advocating the abolition of the monarchy. This includes The Guardian, Observer, and Independent. All these continue to shape today's British public opinion which according to recent polls held by Yougov shows that a considerable percentage of the British support the abolition of the monarchy, as we can see in Table 14 which reveals British public attitudes towards maintaining the institution of monarchy. (Yougov, 2012)

Sample Size: 1743 GB Adults  
Fieldwork: 27th - 28th May 2012

	Voting intention			2010 Vote			Gender		Age				Social grade		Region						
	Total	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Male	Female	18-24	25-39	40-59	60+	ABC1	C2DE	London	Rest of South	Midlands / Wales	North	Scotland	
Weighted Sample	1743	432	575	104	584	436	376	847	896	211	444	566	492	994	749	223	566	373	429	152	
Unweighted Sample	1743	426	650	109	562	414	404	840	903	99	435	740	469	1038	645	297	595	319	393	139	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%

Generally speaking, do you think the institution of the monarchy is good or bad for Britain?	April 17-18 2011		May 27-28 2012		April 17-18 2011		May 27-28 2012		April 17-18 2011		May 27-28 2012		April 17-18 2011		May 27-28 2012		April 17-18 2011		May 27-28 2012		
	Good for Britain	Bad for Britain	Neither good nor bad for Britain	Don't know	Good for Britain	Bad for Britain	Neither good nor bad for Britain	Don't know	Good for Britain	Bad for Britain	Neither good nor bad for Britain	Don't know	Good for Britain	Bad for Britain	Neither good nor bad for Britain	Don't know	Good for Britain	Bad for Britain	Neither good nor bad for Britain	Don't know	
Good for Britain	61	67	66	62	63	81	69	63	65	68	44	61	71	78	70	64	66	69	66	65	68
Bad for Britain	10	9	3	13	14	5	10	13	11	7	16	12	7	5	11	6	10	8	6	10	14
Neither good nor bad for Britain	24	20	11	23	21	12	24	22	21	20	29	20	20	16	17	24	20	18	25	20	17
Don't know	5	4	1	3	2	2	3	2	3	5	11	7	3	1	2	7	4	4	4	5	2

Do you think Britain should continue to have a monarchy in the future, or should it be replaced with an elected head of state?	April 17-18 2011		May 27-28 2012		April 17-18 2011		May 27-28 2012		April 17-18 2011		May 27-28 2012		April 17-18 2011		May 27-28 2012		April 17-18 2011		May 27-28 2012		
	Should continue to have a monarchy	Should have an elected head of state instead	Don't know	Should continue to have a monarchy	Should have an elected head of state instead	Don't know	Should continue to have a monarchy	Should have an elected head of state instead	Don't know	Should continue to have a monarchy	Should have an elected head of state instead	Don't know	Should continue to have a monarchy	Should have an elected head of state instead	Don't know	Should continue to have a monarchy	Should have an elected head of state instead	Don't know	Should continue to have a monarchy	Should have an elected head of state instead	
Should continue to have a monarchy	69	73	69	69	73	65	71	68	73	73	61	66	75	81	76	69	73	73	75	71	72
Should have an elected head of state instead	20	16	6	23	23	8	20	24	19	14	22	18	16	13	17	15	17	16	14	18	17
Don't know	11	11	5	9	4	7	9	10	8	13	17	16	9	6	7	15	10	10	12	11	11

And how strongly do you feel about that?	April 17-18 2011		May 27-28 2012		April 17-18 2011		May 27-28 2012		April 17-18 2011		May 27-28 2012		April 17-18 2011		May 27-28 2012		April 17-18 2011		May 27-28 2012	
	Very strongly	Fairly strongly	Not very strongly	Not strongly at all	Very strongly	Fairly strongly	Not very strongly	Not strongly at all	Very strongly	Fairly strongly	Not very strongly	Not strongly at all	Very strongly	Fairly strongly	Not very strongly	Not strongly at all	Very strongly	Fairly strongly	Not very strongly	Not strongly at all
Very strongly	39	57	34	26	55	32	32	40	39	30	26	43	51	41	38	36	39	39	40	39
Fairly strongly	32	27	36	42	27	39	39	35	30	33	34	32	31	34	30	31	34	35	29	32
<b>TOTAL STRONGLY</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>71</b>
Not very strongly	18	9	20	25	12	19	20	16	20	19	24	17	13	18	17	21	17	15	19	17
Not strongly at all	4	3	5	5	2	5	4	4	4	4	6	3	4	4	5	6	4	4	4	6
<b>TOTAL NOT STRONGLY</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>23</b>
Don't know	6	3	4	2	4	5	5	5	8	14	11	5	1	3	10	4	6	7	7	6

**Table 14:** British public attitudes toward maintaining the British Monarchy. (Source: Yougov, 2012, “Royal Family + Jubilee”, p. 1).

YouGov is an international market research firm which has become a member of the British Polling Council. It is classified as a public limited company which is listed in the alternative investment market of the London stock exchange. It conducts online researches with operations in Europe, North America, the Middle East and Asia-Pacific. It has 638 employees worldwide. ( Yougov, 2012)

## **Description of the Sample**

Yougov conducted an online questionnaire on 27<sup>th</sup>-28<sup>th</sup> May 2012 which covers 1743 adults from different parts. The sample is grouped according to 6 criteria to analyse variables which may influence their answers. This includes Voting Intention for the year, being for the Conservative Party, the Labour Party, or the Liberal Democratic Party; the sample is grouped also according to the 2010 votes, this gives us an idea also about the change in their voting orientations. The third criterion is gender. This allows us to compare male and female votes. The sample includes 896 women and 847 men, grouped in 4 aged groups to see the influence of age on their tendencies: (18-24), (25-39), (40-59), and (60+). The sample is further classified according to social grades into two categories ABC1 and C2DE. Finally, the sample is grouped according to region to see if regional factors affect the British attitudes towards the monarchy. This includes five regional groups: London, Rest of South, Midland/Wales, North, and Scotland.

## **Analysing Results**

When the British were asked if they thought the British Monarchy was good or bad for Britain, 67% said good, whereas 9% said bad, 20% said neither good nor bad, and 4% did not know. The questionnaire results show that there are more people who think that the institution is good for the country than those who think it is bad if we compare the results with the same questionnaire that was conducted in April 2011. Comparing voting intention and the 2010 votes reveal that Conservatives tend to support more the institution (86%-81%), followed by Liberal Democrats (63%-63%), then Labourers (62%-63%). Whereas comparing gender groups shows that females tend to support more the British Monarchy (88% to 65%), with the more aged more likely to think that the monarchy is good: 41% for the aged group of (18-24), 61% for (25-39), 71% for (40-59), and 78% for (60+). Whereas regional groups seem to have close percentages.

When the same sample was asked if it was better for Britain to continue having a monarchy, or to be replaced with an elected head of state, 73% answered that it was better to remain a monarchy, 16% preferred to be replaced by a head of state, whereas 11% did not know. If we compare these results to the same questionnaire of 2011, we find that the number of people who favored the monarchy increased from 69% to 73%, while the number of people who favored a head of state decreased from 20% to 16%. Comparing voting intentions continue to reveal that Conservatives vastly support the institution 89%, followed by Liberal Democrats %, and Laborers 69% with Consevatives feeling strongly about this 84%, then Liberal Democrats 70%, then Laborers 68%. Gender groups equally think that Britain should continue having a monarchy with the same percentage 73%, though men feel stronger about this if compared to women (75% to 69%), with the more aged more likely to think that it is better to keep the institution: 61% for the age group of (18-24), 68% for (25-39), 75% for (40-59), and 81% for the last age group of (60+), with the second social grade favoring more the institution (78% to 89%) , though the two grades feel equally strong about this 22%. It seems also that regional factors have little impacts on the British public attitudes towards the monarchy with the exception of the Northerners who tend to support less the institution if compared with the other regional groups.

To conclude, the questionnaire data reveal that there is a large support for the British Monarchy among the British, although there is a considerable percentage of British who want to abolish the institution and replace it by an elected head of state. Questionnaire results reveal also that support for the institution comes mainly from Conservatives, Women, the more aged people, the first social grade, and in different parts of the kingdom with the exception of Northerners. This gives a gloomy image about the future of the monarchy in Britain with the growth of young generation and the rise of the Labour Party whose votes do not seem to support a lot the institution for many reasons that we are going to tackle in the next sub-section.

## **2.Today's Debate on the British Monarchy**

The debate on the British Monarchy can be dated back to the English Civil War in the late seventeenth century, and still now the importance of the institution is being questioned by rising voices which call for its abolition, especially after the imperial role of the monarch disappeared as the empire has been replaced by the Commonwealth and the role of being a head of the armed forces became less important in peacetime (Hames and Mark, 1998). In this section we will deal with this debate, studying arguments for and against the institution.

### **2.1 Argument against the British Monarchy**

Almost there is no aspect of the British Monarchy left without harsh criticism; arguments go against its humble constitutional roles, being a contrast of democracy, opposing morals of merit and aspiration, lacking accountability, being associated with aristocracy and old order, being out-dated and gender-discriminative, calling for inequality and class stratification, causing anarchism and hindering the country's economy, among many others.

#### **2.1.1 The Symbolic Roles of the Monarch**

One of the main arguments that are used against the institution of monarchy in Britain is that the monarch has only symbolic roles to play which do not justify its existence. After the long struggle with parliament that resulted in establishing Parliamentary Sovereignty (i.e. parliament is the supreme law-making body and its acts are the highest source of English Law (Oakland, 2002) by terms of enforced documents like the Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights. The monarchy was stripped of most of its royal powers and was left with ceremonial functions. This point is taken as a strong argument by opponents of the institution; to understand it fully, we need first to study what are the roles headlined to the British Monarch under the uncodified constitution of the United Kingdom.

### **2.1.1.1 Constitutional Roles of the British Monarchy**

In fact Britain has an uncodified constitution in the sense that it is not written. It is made up of Statute Law (i.e. acts of parliament), Common Law (i.e. when judge make laws), conventions (i.e. principles and practices of government which are not legally binding, but have the force of law), some ancient documents like Magna Carta and the new addition of European Union Law (Oakland, 2002). To make the analysis of constitutional roles of the British Monarch clearer, we have classified royal prerogatives into two categories: those relating to domestic affairs, and those relating to foreign affairs. (Barnett, 2013)

#### **2.1.1.1.1 The Royal Prerogatives and Domestic Affairs**

First, what is meant by Royal Prerogative? In his book *Commentaries on the Laws of England* William Blackstone defines royal prerogative as any power that can be exercised and enjoyed only by the monarch (Carroll, 2007). While A.V. Dicey defines it as: “the remaining portion of the Crown’s original authority...Every act which the executive government can lawfully do without the authority of an Act of Parliament is done in virtue of the prerogative”. (Carroll, 2007, p. 246)

This definition suggests that any act of the executive government which is not legislated by parliament is considered as a royal prerogative and historically speaking it represents the few remaining original absolute powers which can be exercised only by the monarch.

In theory, in the domain of domestic affairs, the British Monarch has the following royal powers that will be discussed in details: the appointment of the Prime Minister, the dissolution of Parliament, the prerogative of mercy, granting of honours, regulation of the civil service, and regulation of the armed forces

### **2.1.1.1.1 Appointment of the Prime Minister**

In constitutional theory, after each general election, the British monarch is responsible for appointing the new Prime Minister who, in return, can dismiss the former ministers of the Crown and appoint new ones to form his government. The appointment of the Prime Minister becomes, immediately effective after his meeting with the sovereign in private audience, and kissing hands (Brazier, 1997). However, in reality, the monarch's choice has to follow a fundamental constitutional convention which according to political necessity dictates that the monarch must appoint as Prime Minister a person who can form a government that will certainly have the confidence of the House of Commons to avoid a Motion of No Confidence which means that the Lower House mistrusts the new formed government and refuses to recognize it. Thus it becomes clear that the British Monarch is not really free to choose any one. Moreover, the same convention clearly specifies the leader of the political party which has a majority in the House of Commons is indisputably appointed as Prime Minister. (Turpin and Tomkins, 2011)

But if no party has a majority in the House, how is the situation managed?

This is the case of a "Hung Parliament." In fact such a situation may have helped to increase the monarch's power to choose but here again, it is usually it is the leader of the largest party who is chosen to become Prime Minister (Waldron, 1990). Since 1945, there have been two hung parliaments. The first one happened in February 1974 when Harold Wilson, the leader of the Labour Party, was appointed Prime Minister the same year, despite the fact of having a minority in the House. He formed a minority government and seized upon the opportunity of a deteriorating industrial relations between the government and strong unions that were threatening the stability of the country and called another election on 10 October 1974 at which he secured a majority and became Prime Minister.

The second hung parliament took place in 2010. The problem was somehow quickly solved by forming the first coalition government, between Conservatives and Liberal Democrats, since World War II. It was agreed to have as Prime Minister, the Conservative, David Cameron, and as Deputy Prime Minister, the Liberal Democrat, Nick Clegg. (Handelman and Ethridge, 2013)

According to Turpin and Tomkins' *British Government and the Constitution: Texts and Materials*, when a Prime Minister dies or resigns, the sovereign seldom uses his power to appoint a new Prime Minister since, presently, the political parties have developed specific procedures to elect a successive Prime Minister. That was the case with the Labour Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, who resigned in 1976. He was replaced by Callaghan after an election was held in the Labour Party. Harold Wilson submitted his resignation to the Queen along with the result of the election; and the Queen appointed the new elected Prime Minister. A similar situation happened with Margaret Thatcher who had to wait to resign until her successor, John Major, was elected Prime Minister to replace her. Even if the party makes a delay in the election, it is not the monarch who appoints a temporary prime minister, but the Cabinet. This proves, once more, that in the British political system, the sovereign cannot use his or her royal prerogative. (Turpin and Tomkins, 2011)

#### **2.1.1.1.1.2 Dissolution of Parliament**

This prerogative is described by Helaire Barnett in *Constitutional and Administrative Law* as “the most important residual prerogative exercised personally by the sovereign, and represents the greatest potential for controversy” (Barnett, 2009, p. 106). Theoretically speaking, as a royal prerogative the sovereign could dissolve parliament at any time and call for an early general election. Constitutional theorists had opposing points of view on whether the sovereign could or could not unilaterally dissolve parliament. Many argue that the monarch could dissolve parliament after the request of the Prime Minister, who, himself, consulted his other ministers.

According to A.V Dicey, in some extreme circumstances, the monarch can dissolve parliament, when the opinion of the House goes against the opinion of electors. In this situation, the sovereign can use his or her prerogative as a problem-solver in order to avoid possible internal conflicts and civil wars, or following a motion of “No Confidence”, showing that the House of Commons no longer trusts the appointed government. In such a case, the British Monarch could use this prerogative to put an end to the existing Parliament, prior to general election. However, the debate over the sovereign use of his or her royal prerogative to dissolve parliament at any time and call for an early general election as a royal prerogative, was definitely settled with the introduction of the Fixed Term Parliamentary Act of 2011. This Act clearly states the conditions in which a parliament can be dissolved, that is, at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> working day before the polling day for the next general election. Added to which “parliament cannot otherwise be dissolved.” Which brings an official answer to the question of the monarch’s power concerning the dissolution of parliament(Barnett, 2013)

#### **2.1.1.1.1.3 Royal Assent to Legislation**

In the United Kingdom, the Queen is a part of the legislative process; this means that for any bill to become an Act of Parliament (a law), it has to receive the Royal Assent. This could give power and extra weight to the British Monarch. But, but practically, the Monarch cannot refuse to give this Assent as long as it has been voted by the two Houses. Queen Ann was the last one to refuse the royal Assent to the Scotch Militia Bill in 1707. Since then, it became almost an established constitutional convention that the British Monarch must give his or her assent to bills. Like other modern scholars, in *King and Country: Monarchy and the Future King Charles III*, Robert Blackburn significantly states that nowadays the monarch’s royal assent is merely “a certificate that the bill has passed through all its established parliamentary procedures” (Blackburn, 2006, p. 94). Moreover, he adds that the British political system is designed in a way that leaves no room for personal royal discretion in ordinary circumstances. (Blackburn, 2006)

#### **2.1.1.1.4 Prerogative of Mercy**

Under the British political system, the monarch has the prerogative of mercy which incorporates two elements: the granting of pardons, and the granting of Nolle Prosequi.

##### **2.1.1.1.4.1 Granting of pardons**

This means eliminating “pains, penalties and punishments” (Barnett, 2013, p. 95) from any criminal conviction, though this does not mean removing the conviction at all. In other words, this royal power reduces sentences provided that they are not related to civil matters. What may give extra weight to this royal prerogative is the fact that it is not subject to judicial review which is an administrative action which can be repelled on one of the three grounds: illegality, irrationality, and procedural impropriety (Pillington, 1999). But the monarch exercises this power only on the advice of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, who is held accountable by the parliament. Thus, the crown is not totally dependent in exercising this prerogative. (Barnett, 2013)

##### **2.1.1.1.4.2 Granting of Nolle Prosequi**

This prerogative is enjoyed by the Monarch to stop legal proceedings against an individual; accordingly, this does not mean an acquittal, and the defendant can be brought to court for the same charge at a later date. (Barnett, 2013)

##### **2.1.1.1.5 Granting Honours**

The British Monarch is the Fount of Honour; he is considered the source of all honours and dignities in the kingdom, and he has the personal power to grant honours or titles. This includes the Order of Garter, the Orders of the Thistle, the Royal Victorian Order, the Orders of Chivalry, and the Orders of Merit. But these titles are given only on the advice of the Prime Minister, who in turn, acts on the advice of the Political Honours Scrutiny Committee which includes three Privy Counsellors. (Barnett, 2013)

##### **2.1.1.1.6 Regulation of the Civil Service**

Before the introduction of the Constitutional Reform and Governance Act 2010, the Civil Service was vested in the Crown. This means that the British Monarch is responsible for appointing and dismissing every civil servant in the country, though dismissal was instructed only

in case of misconduct. After the act had been introduced, the Civil Service was placed on statutory basis which stated that the appointment of Civil Servants is the function of the Civil Service Commissions under the management of the Minister for Civil Service, but usually this minister is the Prime Minister. (Barnett, 2013)

#### **2.1.1.1.7 Regulation of the Armed Forces**

The British Monarch is Commander in Chief for the armed forces. This means that the control and the organization of the army is the prerogative of the monarch and all members of the armed forces are regulated according to royal prerogatives. But, it is the prime minister who has an ultimate decision in committing British soldiers into wars as was the case in 1939 when Britain declared war on Germany after the later had invaded Poland, or recently in 2003, when the British Prime Minister committed British Troops to back up the United States' invasion of Iraq without even consulting Parliament, though this was reformed by the Constitutional Reform and Governance Bill of 2009-2010 which stated that government should consult both houses prior declaring wars or engaging in international armed conflicts and peace-making activities, except when the prime minister considers the situation to be too urgent and exceptional that it requires an immediate action without referring to Parliament. We see that the sovereign, despite being the Chief of the Armed Forces, is not referred to in all these situations, even if the Crown Proceedings Act provided that the control, the disposition and the organization of the armed forces is the sole authority of the monarch (Loveland, 2009)

#### **2.1.1.1.2 The Royal Prerogative and Foreign Affairs**

This includes recognizing foreign states, maintaining diplomatic relations including receiving and sending diplomats, declaring war and peace, and annexing territories.

#### **2.1.1.1.2.1 Recognition of States**

Recognizing foreign states is within the Crown's prerogative. This does not mean that the sovereign decides to recognize states by himself; he merely reflects the wishes of Parliament as requested by the Prime Minister. Even, there are many statutes which regulate the prerogative. (Barnett, 2013)

#### **2.1.1.1.2.2 Making Diplomatic Relations**

As a head of the executive, the British Monarch can receive and send diplomats of foreign states, respecting the Diplomatic Privileges Act of 1964 which protects diplomats and gives them full immunity, both civil and criminal. This act renews and adds some elements to the old Diplomatic Privileges Act of 1708 which was introduced after a Russian ambassador had been arrested by the Crown for debt. Immediately, the Russian Czar Peter the Great considered this as a criminal offence and the British executive was uncertain about the action taken. Soon, the parliament solved the situation by introducing this act which provided that the Monarch cannot take judicial proceedings against diplomats and considered doing so as an offence. (Barnett, 2013)

#### **2.1.1.1.2.3 Annexation and Cession of Territories**

Under the United Kingdom's constitution, the monarch has the power of the annexation and cession of territories. This prerogative was used by the Crown in 1955 to take over the island of Rockland which was considered as an extension of Scotland. In similar cases, the sovereign decides about the government of former government of the annexed territory. The prerogative was exercised also in 1890 to cede Heligoland to Germany, thereby deprived British citizens of their nationality and other civil rights under the law. In these cases, parliamentary approval should be sought and granted before taking such a step. The Crown has also the prerogative of

altering the limits of British territorial waters and regulating colonies and dependent territories through the use of Orders in Council. (Barnett, 2013)

#### **2.1.1.1.2.4 Making Treaties**

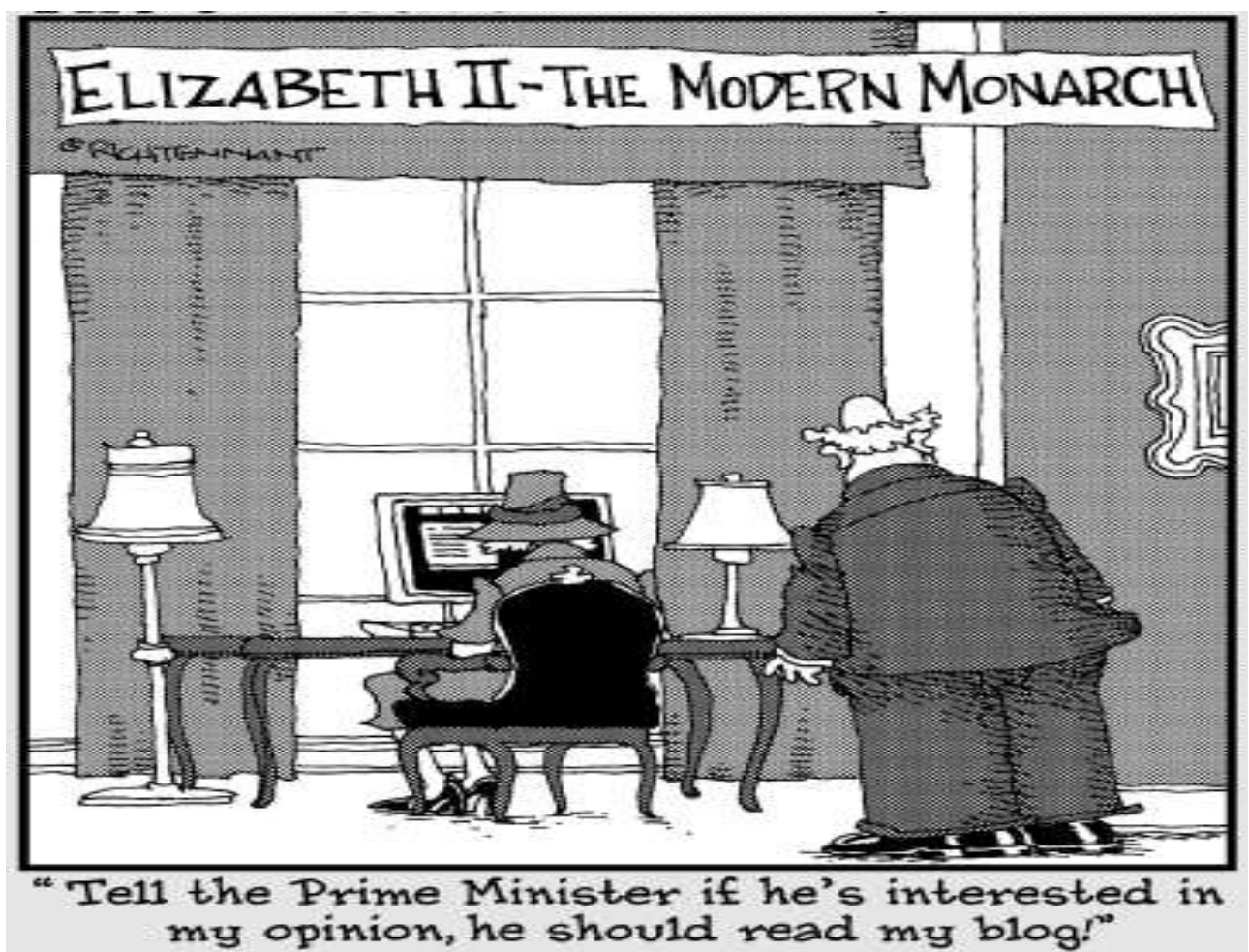
Treaty is defined as “a written agreement between states governed by international law” (Barnett, 2013, p. 101). It is generally accepted that entering into treaties is solely feature of the monarchy that is not shared by Parliament because under the doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty, an act of parliament can change domestic law; accordingly parliament has no power when it comes to entering treaties under international laws, but for these international laws to alter national laws, the consent of parliament is required. This is why in 1972 the parliament passed the European Communities Act to allow European Community laws to have an effect in the United Kingdom. (Barnett, 2013)

#### **2.1.1.2 The Institution between Theory and Practice**

These Royal Prerogatives make the monarch appears as an absolute ruler as summarized by Baghot:

Not to mention other things, she could disband the army [by law, she cannot engage more than a certain number of men, but she is not obliged to engage any men]; she could dismiss all the officers, from the General Commander in Chief downwards; she could dismiss all the sailors too; she could sell off all our ships of war and all our naval stores; she could make a peace by the sacrifice of Cornwall and begin a war for the conquest of Brittany. She could make every parish in the United Kingdom, she could dismiss most of the civil servants; she could pardon all offenders. In a word, the Queen could by prerogative upset all the action of civil government within the government, could disgrace the nation by a bad war or peace, and could, by disbanding our forces, whether land or sea, leave us defenseless against foreign nations. (p. 92)

But this is never the case in reality; all what have been said above about the powers of the British monarchy is only in strict theory. In other word, there is a “gap between constitutional theory and political reality” as argues Tony Wright in *the Political Process in Britain* (2000, p. 39). For in fact, constitution gives the British Monarch powers that are never exercised by the sovereign himself, but through the prime minister or the Privy Council. The prime minister can advise the sovereign to use a prerogative provided that he commands the support of the majority in the house. This is generally done during the weekly audience that the prime minister holds with the Monarch to inform him about current issues that are taking place in British Politics, though the monarch can only express his or her point of view, and not enforce his views on the prime minister as illustrated by this cartoon:



**Figure 8:** Cartoon about the Prime Minister and the opinion of the Queen. (Source: Wilkinson, 2006, p. 277)

The cartoon draws a picture of today's British Monarch Queen Elizabeth II in her computer while recommending the prime minister to read her blog if he was interested in her view. The cartoon portrays present-day powerless monarch whose opinions are only known about, but not forced into laws. In fact even drawing the Queen with her computer gives the impression that the British Monarch is trying to modernize itself to cope with the new changes and development of the 21<sup>st</sup> century in order to survive.

In addition to exercising royal prerogatives through the prime minister as we have seen earlier, the monarch can exercise his powers through the Privy Council which includes friends and advisers to the king, in addition to those automatically appointed for holding critical political, judicial, and administrative positions like members of the cabinet and prominent persons in the United Kingdom and the commonwealth. All of the Privy Council's members have a life membership and they act as an "executive arm of government" (Plinkton, 1999, p. 124) though its powers diminished gradually with the growth of parliamentary sovereignty. (Plinkton, 1999)

Many royal prerogatives are only in strict theory and are never exercised by the monarch himself. For example, the Royal Assent was not refused since 1707, thus we cannot speak of this authority as long as the monarch is not able to veto any bill; the appointment and dismissal of ministers, bishops and archbishops should be struck out of discussion as the monarch acts only within the constraints of the Prime Minister and the Privy Council; the same thing for the big issues of declaring wars, making peace or drifting international agreements, here, the monarch is mere a figurehead. Even the titles that the Queen holds remain meaningless; perhaps the clearest example is being Commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces and not interfering at all for not having any military experience. (Wright, 2000).

Walter Bagehot whose book *The English Constitution* (2001) inspired many prominent historians like M.D Graig, D. Cannadine and Olechnowicz, claims that in reality the British

monarch has only three rights: “the right to be consulted, the right to encourage, the right to warn” (2001, p60). He exemplifies the role of the Sovereign in the following dialogue:

The responsibility of these measures is upon you. Whatever you think best must be done. Whatever you think best must have my full and effective support. But you will observe that for this reason and that reason what you propose to do is bad; for this reason and that reason what you propose is better. I do not oppose, it is my duty not to oppose; but observe that I warn. (Baghot, 2001, p. 60)

From Bagehot’s point of view, a good monarch is the one who gives an effectual and beneficial guidance to his minister, and claims no other roles especially in legislation

because he cannot meet the more educated and experienced men of Parliament:

It is idle to expect an ordinary man born in the purple to have greater genius than an extraordinary man born out of the purple; to expect a man whose place has always been fixed to have a better judgment than one who has lived by his judgment; to expect a man whose career will be the same whether he is discreet or whether he is indiscreet to have the nice discretion of one who has risen by his wisdom, who will fall if he ceased to be wise. (Bagehot, 2001, p. 65)

Bagehot suggests that unlike the general held standard that one has to work hard to occupy a job and proves that he deserves it, monarchs hold their offices for lifetime as head of states without exhausting themselves to get these posts, for they knew since their childhood that they would be sovereigns in the future whatever are their qualification by the right of the hereditary system which dictates who will be the successive sovereign. That is why Baghot argues that monarchs cannot excel in their jobs or be any better than ordinary people who strive hard to get their jobs like members of parliaments; thus, they prepare themselves to make better judgments

and decisions in the future than kings whose powers should be restricted to allow the more educated and experienced parliament to make effective decisions.

In an interesting questionnaire held by Yougov, a sample of the British was asked how much they thought Queen Elizabeth II currently has, and how much power she should have. The questionnaire results are presented in Table 15

Total	Voting intention			2010 Vote			Gender		Age				Social grade		Region				
	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Male	Female	18-24	25-39	40-59	60+	ABC1	C2DE	London	Rest of South	Midlands / Wales	North	Scotland
1743	432	575	104	564	436	376	847	896	211	444	596	492	994	749	223	566	373	429	152

In general, how much power, if any, do you think Queen Elizabeth II currently has?

A lot	6	10	4	2	6	4	3	6	6	7	7	6	4	5	7	6	6	7	5	5
A fair amount	24	23	25	29	24	25	23	21	26	30	26	24	18	24	23	23	26	25	21	22
<b>TOTAL HAS POWER</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>27</b>
Not a lot	50	54	49	54	51	48	55	52	49	38	45	53	58	54	46	52	49	48	53	54
None at all	15	10	18	12	14	17	17	18	13	16	14	14	18	15	16	15	15	16	15	13
<b>TOTAL DOES NOT HAVE POWER</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>67</b>
Don't know	5	4	4	3	4	6	2	4	6	10	8	3	2	3	8	4	4	4	7	5

And how much power, if any, do you think Queen Elizabeth II SHOULD have?

A lot	12	13	11	6	15	12	7	10	13	10	14	12	11	9	16	14	13	11	10	12
A fair amount	32	36	28	33	37	27	28	28	36	31	26	32	37	31	33	30	36	33	29	27
<b>TOTAL SHOULD HAVE POWER</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>39</b>
Not a lot	32	40	32	37	33	32	36	34	30	31	29	33	33	35	28	31	30	33	34	34
None at all	19	9	26	21	11	23	26	24	14	22	21	17	17	22	15	22	18	15	20	23
<b>TOTAL SHOULD NOT HAVE POWER</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>57</b>
Don't know	6	2	4	2	4	7	2	4	7	6	9	6	2	3	9	3	4	7	7	5

**Table 15:** British public attitudes towards royal powers. (Source: Yougov, 2012, “Royal Family + Jubilee”, p. 3).

When the British were asked how much power their queen currently had, the majority answered that she did not have power (65%), only 30% thought that she had. People who were likely to answer that she hadn't are mainly Liberal Democrats (66% of the 2012 voting intentions, and 72% of the 2010 votes), and Labourers (67% of the 2012 voting intentions, and 65% of the 2010 votes). If we study gender groups, we find that men were more likely than women to reply that their sovereign had no powers (70% to 62%); whereas studying age groups reveal that the more aged respondents, the more they tend to say that the queen had no powers: 54% of the age group of (18-24), 59% of the group of (25-39), 67% of the group of (40-59), and 76% of the age group of (60+). Data reveal also that the first social grade group tend to support more the idea that the queen had no powers than the second grade group (ABC1 69%, whereas C2DE 62%). Data reveal also that the Northerners are more likely to say that the Queen had no powers 68%, followed by the Londoners 67% and the Scottish 67%, then the Southerners and Welsh 64%. In general the questionnaire show that most of the British are aware that Queen Elizabeth II currently had no powers especially the Labourers, the females, the aged people, and Northerners.

In the same questionnaire, the sample was asked how much power, if any, they thought Queen Elizabeth II should have. The respondents had to choose between "a lot", "a fair amount", "not a lot", "none at all", and "don't know". Most of the British answered that the Queen should not have much power 51%, though the percentage is not very far from that of those who thought that she should have powers 44%. The majority of people who thought that their Queen should not have power are particularly Liberal Democrats (58% of the 2012 voting intentions, and 62% of the 2010 votes), and Labourers (58% of the 2012 voting intentions, and 55% of the 2010 votes), males more than females (58% to 44%), the first social grade more than the second (ABC1 57% and C2DE 43%). The questionnaire results show also that the age group had the same percentage for total should not have powers 50%, except for the youngest age group which seems to support

more the idea 53%. Comparing region groups show us that the Scottish are more likely to support no powers for the British Monarch with 57%, followed by the Northerners with 54%, and the Londoners with 53%, then the Southerners and Welsh with 48%.

### **2.1.2 Monarchy contradicts democracy**

Republicans argue that the institution of monarchy devalues parliamentary systems with its royal prerogatives which can be used instead of the normal democratic process of legislating. Indeed, overnight the queen can decide to declare something unlawful, or introduce something new without any necessary legislative procedures, including initiating a bill, and reading it for several times reading to be voted for in the House of Commons, then in the House of Lords. All the legislative democratic steps to make a law which represent the will of the governed people and give their representatives a chance to exercise democracy are skipped over by the simple judgment of being a part of royal prerogatives. It is argued that the British Monarchy contradicts democracy in this way because it ignores the representatives of people who were elected to legislate according to their needs and wishes. Moreover, it is argued that the monarchy deprives people from their basic right of electing a head of state. A right that is enjoyed by most citizens around the world. Furthermore, the hereditary nature of the institution which defines the next sovereign denies people the right to be eligible to hold the office of Head of State according to merit and aspiration. (Woolgar and Newman, 2014)

### **2.1.3 Monarchy is the Enemy of Merit and Aspiration**

The highest office in the land is not open to free fair competition because the order of succession specifies who will become Head of State according to birth rights. This means that the head of state will always be from the same class, race, and family. This sends a message to minorities and working class people that however hard they work, nobody can be a head of state because the position is decided on birth rights (Newman and Woolgar, 2014). This devaluates

intellect and achievement as members of the Royal Family hold offices without the necessary experience; for example, the Queen has many honorary military titles like being Colonel-in-chief regardless of her military experience. Even some of royal family members serve in the armed forces, but reports continue to reveal their poor performance, as with Prince Andrew who participated in the Falklands War, but the commander of the British Naval Force revealed that they had to take some special measures to keep him alive. The same thing for Prince Harry who had to be moved to a safe room in an attack on the Camp Bastion base in Afghanistan to ensure that he would not lose his life. This confirmed to the world that they received their high military ranks and titles regardless to merit as they proved to be unable even to defend their lives, may be this is why public respect for royal family declines as estimated by Andrew Rosen in the *In Transformation of the British Life 1950-2000: A Social History (2003)*

#### **2.1.4 Monarchy Lacks Accountability**

In the British Monarchy, an important democratic accountability and transparency is lacking; under the UK law, civil and criminal proceeding cannot be taken against the person of the Monarch whatever he or she does; citizens can sue the government but not the Sovereign. It is argued in the twenty-first century that it is unacceptable that the Head of State be unaccountable just because of his “birth rights” (Newmann and Woolgar, 2014, p. 40)

#### **2.1.5 Monarchy is Expensive**

“No aspect of monarchy is so secret as its true cost” (Duncan, 1970, p. 170). Indeed, since the distant past, Royal Finances have being shrouded in secrecy, but recently some documents like the Daily Telegraph, leaked the shocking overpriced expenditures of the crown which allegedly amount to £ 334 million every year, thus making the British Monarchy the most expensive in Europe and 112 times more costly than the Irish presidency. This huge sum is paid for by taxes imposed on each adult British. It is estimated by the Daily Telegraph that the monarchy costs

each adult in the kingdom about 62 p a year. This causes resentment among republicans, seeing that this money is spent on meaningless self indulgent activities like ceremonies. They called for subjecting the Royal Family to greater scrutiny and accountability. The system for financing the monarchy is based on the Civil List Act of 1697, the Privy Purse, grants-in-aids, direct expenditures of government departments, net incomes from visitors who come to visit royal palaces, in addition to private incomes. Some of these accounts have always been publically available like the basic civil list, but the most are kept secret which damages the reputation of the institution and raises doubts and mistrust about its silent enigmatic arrangements. (Hames and Mark, 1998)

### **2.1.6 Monarchy is Out-dated**

Republicans argue that Britain can never claim of being a modern country because of the existence of the monarchy that is associated with old order, aristocracy, and medieval feudalism. This makes the United Kingdom look backward. It is argued also that the institution is out of touch with British citizens because the British royal family interacts socially only with people from similar background unlike continental royal families which tend to mix with the middle class. (Hames and Mark, 1998). Woolgar and Newman argue in *Pros and Cons: Debater Handbook* that this is due to the royal family's cosseted upbringing which means a little contact with people they lead; so, they have little in common with the majority of the British (Newman and Woolgar, 2014). Some even argue that the monarchy system condemns royal family members to an abnormal childhood and life which makes them suffer psychologically as claimed by William Godwin and Johann Hari who wrote *God Save the Queen? Year* In which he highlights this idea. Furthermore, the institution reminds people of the elitist and imperialist past of Britain and forms a barrier with the descendants of those who were slaughtered and oppressed in the name of the Crown (Newman and Woolgar, 2014; Bogdanor, 2001).

Some of the British even feel embarrassed of the institution as revealed by questionnaire results in Table 16 and Table 17.

	Voting intention			2010 Vote			Gender		Age				Social grade		Region				
Total	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Male	Female	18-24	25-39	40-59	60+	ABC1	C2DE	London	Rest of South	Midlands/Wales	North	Scotland
1743	432	575	104	564	436	376	847	896	211	444	596	492	994	749	223	566	373	429	152

Would you say you are proud of the British monarchy, embarrassed of the British monarchy or neither?

Very proud	32	52	26	20	49	25	25	32	32	17	19	36	44	32	31	29	34	33	32	24
A little proud	25	27	24	26	25	26	23	25	24	28	27	23	23	25	24	22	25	24	23	33
<b>TOTAL PROUD</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>57</b>
Neither proud nor embarrassed	31	16	36	43	20	36	40	30	33	30	38	31	27	31	32	36	29	32	31	32
A little embarrassed	4	3	5	4	2	5	6	5	4	4	6	4	3	4	4	8	3	4	5	3
Very embarrassed	4	1	6	7	3	5	5	6	3	10	4	4	2	5	3	3	5	2	5	7
<b>TOTAL EMBARRASSED</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>10</b>
Don't know	4	1	3	1	1	4	1	3	4	11	5	2	1	2	6	3	4	4	4	1

**Table 16:** Embarrassed of the institution? (Source: Yougov, 2012, “Royal Family + Jubilee”, p. 3).

The Royal Family is outdated and out of touch

Strongly agree	12	6	18	11	8	17	16	15	9	22	12	11	10	13	12	9	9	13	16	16
Tend to agree	18	13	21	22	12	19	25	19	17	18	20	18	17	19	16	22	19	17	17	17
<b>TOTAL AGREE</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>33</b>
Tend to disagree	32	30	34	37	29	34	35	29	36	27	31	32	36	32	33	29	35	37	30	24
Strongly disagree	29	49	22	24	45	23	19	30	28	22	22	33	35	30	29	27	31	26	28	37
<b>TOTAL DISAGREE</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>61</b>
Don't know	8	3	6	6	6	7	6	6	10	11	16	6	2	7	10	13	7	8	8	6

**Table 17:** British public attitudes towards updating the British monarchy. (Source: Yougov, 2012, “Royal Family + Jubilee”, p.15).

In Table 16, a sample of 1743 British adults is asked if they were proud of the British Monarchy, embarrassed of it, or neither. Questionnaire results reveal that the majority felt proud of the institution (57%), whereas only (8%) felt embarrassed, while a considerable percentage (31%) were neither proud nor embarrassed, and (4%) did not know. Studying sample groups show that people who felt proud were mainly Conservatives 79%, then Labourers 50%, then Liberal Democrats 46%. Even comparing the 2010 votes show the same thing; Conservatives first by 74%, then Labourers by 51%, and last the Liberal democrats by 48%. Gender group reveals that men feel relatively more embarrassed than women of the British Monarchy (11% to 7%), though almost the same percentage of them felt proud (56% for men and 57% for women) with a slight difference in the percentage of those who felt neither proud nor embarrassed (30% for men and 33% for women). Age groups show that people felt prouder of the institution as they were elder 45% for age group of (18-24), 46% for (25-39), 59% for (40-59), and 67% for (60+); and vice versa when it comes to feeling embarrassed: 5% for (60+), 8% for (40-59), 10% for (25-39), and 14% for (18-24). Whereas studying social grades groups show that the first social class felt relatively prouder than the second 57% for (ABC1), and 55% for (C2DE). The last category which is region group show close percentages for total proud between the rest of South 59% which is the highest recorded percentage, Wales and Midlands 57%, North 55%, and Scotland 57%, whereas London seemed to have the lowest recorded percentage for total proud 51%, and the highest percentage for total embarrassed. To conclude, the results show that the majority of the British feel proud of the British Monarchy especially Conservatives, females, the more aged, the first social grade, and Southerners; but still the number of people who feel embarrassed of the institution cannot be neglected, particularly because a considerable percentage of the British feel neither proud nor embarrassed, this means that they are apathetic about the

monarchy and they can go with both sides when it comes to keeping the institution or abolishing it.

The same sample was asked whether the Royal Family was outdated and out of touch. Questionnaire results which are presented in Table 17 show that 61% of the British disagreed, 30% of agreed, and 8% of them did not know. As with the case of the previous table, support for the Royal Family comes mainly from Conservatives (79% for the 2012 voting intentions, and 74% for the 2010 vote), but this time followed by Liberal Democrats (61% voting intentions, and 54% for the 2010 vote), then Labourers (56% voting intentions, and 57% for the 2010 vote). Results continue to reveal that females are more likely to support the British Monarchy than males as 64% of them disagreed with the statement if compared to 59% of males; data reveal also that the more aged tend to defend the institution as the age group of (60+) recorded the highest percentage of total disagree 71%, followed by the age group of (40-59) with 65% , then the group of (25-39) with 53% and finally the youngest group (18-24) with only 49% . This time social grade groups seem to have the same percentage for total disagree 62%, though the ABC1 recorded more total agrees than C2EF; while region groups have close percentages for total disagree with the highest percentage with the Rest of South 66%, and the lowest one with London 56%. On the whole, the questionnaire shows that the majority of the British disagree with the statement that the Royal Family is outdated and out of touch. As in the previous table, the institution of the monarchy seems to receive support among Conservatives, females, the first social grade, and the more aged people.

### **2.1.7 Monarchy is Gender-discriminative and Calls for Class Stratification**

It is argued that the British Monarchy is discriminatory against women as the institution has used until now male primogeniture, which means that the crown has to be inherited by the eldest son, and needs to pass to a daughters only if the monarch has no sons. In October 2011, the

Perth Agreement stated that the oldest son of any future monarch in the United Kingdom and in other Commonwealth realms will be the next monarch regardless of gender. This means that males will not be given priority over females. Though the act received Royal Assent in April 2013, putting it into practice depends on the order of the Lord President of the Council as soon as all the sixteenth Commonwealth realms pass similar legislations. It is also argued that the Royal Family with their noble dynasty calls for dividing society into social classes where one ethnic group can boast about their origins and drive from it a sense of superiority, particularly the way citizens are supposed to address members of the Royal Family which is regarded by some as an attempt to make the British subjects and not citizens. (Bertram, 2004)

According to recent statistics held by Yougov 2012, a large portion of the British society supports the idea that the British Monarchy and Royal Family promotes a class system and inequality within the country as we can see in Table 18

Total	Voting intention			2010 Vote			Gender		Age				Social grade		Region				
	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Male	Female	18-24	25-39	40-59	60+	ABC1	C2DE	London	Rest of South	Midlands / Wales	North	Scotland
1743	432	575	104	584	436	376	847	896	211	444	596	492	994	749	223	566	373	429	152

The Royal family and monarchy promote a class system and inequality within Britain

Strongly agree	18	9	24	12	10	23	26	20	16	20	17	18	18	18	17	15	17	17	18	25
Tend to agree	31	25	36	31	26	37	30	31	31	30	28	31	34	31	31	40	28	29	32	29
<b>TOTAL AGREE</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>54</b>
Tend to disagree	30	41	26	40	36	24	28	30	30	26	28	31	31	30	29	28	31	31	31	23
Strongly disagree	12	19	8	11	19	8	10	12	12	7	10	13	14	12	11	8	12	12	12	15
<b>TOTAL DISAGREE</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>38</b>
Don't know	10	6	5	7	8	7	6	8	12	17	16	8	3	9	11	10	12	12	6	8

**Table 18:** British Public Attitudes towards the Monarchy and Class Stratification (Source: Yougov, 2012, “Royal Family + Jubilee”, p. 15)

In a questionnaire held by Yougov with the same sample described earlier, British were asked if the Royal Family and monarchy promote a class system and inequality within Britain. The survey results which are presented in Table 18 reveal that the sample is almost divided into two halves between supporters of the idea 42% and opponents to it 49%, although the highest percentage is for total disagree. Studying voting intention groups and the 2010 vote groups show as one may expect after studying the previous tables that Conservatives disagree with the highest recorded percentage (60% for voting intentions, and 55% for the 2010 votes), followed by Liberal Democrats (51 for voting intentions, and 38% for the 2010 votes), then Labourers (34% for voting intentions, and 32% for the 2010 votes). As usually, the aged people tend to defend more the institution of monarchy as the aged group of (60+) recorded the highest percentage of total disagree 45%, followed by the age group of (40-59) with 44% , then the group of (25-39) with 43% and finally the youngest group (18-24) with only 33%. In this questionnaire, male and female have the same percentage of total disagree 42%, though men agree with the statement more than women (51% to 47%), and women who chose “don’t know” are more than men (12% to 8%). Comparing region groups show that the Londoners tend to support more the idea 55%, whereas the Southerners are likely to disagree with the statement. All in all, the questionnaire reveals that almost half of the British society believes that the Royal Family and monarchy promote a class system and inequality within the country. Even the sample groups which are likely to support the institution show a humble rejection for the idea; this includes mainly the aged people and females.

### **2.1.8 Monarchy Calls for Anarchism and Hinders the Country’s Economy**

Haselor (1993) claims that due to the institution of the monarchy, the British political system is anarchist and hinders the country’s economy, he said in his own words in *The End of the House of Windsor* that: “royal state, with its unwritten constitution and its tightly drawn network of

monarchy, Lords and established church is not only a constitutional anarchism, it also represents, reflects and encourages a set of attitudes which hobble the country's development" (1993, p. 5). Haselor blames the British monarchy and the bodies associated with it, including the House of Lords and the established Church of England for causing what he described as a constitutional anarchism, referring to royal prerogatives and the uncodified constitution which according to him hinder the development of the country.

### **2.1.9. The Monarchy Represents Protestant Christianity Only**

Some Republicans argue that the British monarch with its exclusive link with the Church of England as its Supreme Governor and Defender of the Faith represents only one part of the population and one religion in a society whose best estimated church attendance on Sundays doesn't exceed a million people. In addition to the fact that recently Britain has been evolving into a diverse religious society. This creates controversies about the Head of State's claim to represent the country at large for the Bill of Rights specifies the British Monarch to be a Protestant Christian. It is no wonder that the Prince of Wales said to Jonathan Dimbleby, a British presenter of political radio and some TV programmes, that as a sovereign, he hoped to be Defender of Faith rather than Defender of the Faith. This reflects not only his interest in non-Christian religions, but also his deep understanding that Britain is growing into a multi-religious society in which the majority is not Christian. This explains the suggestion of the bishops of the Church of England to introduce a multi-faith ceremony for Charles' coronation by the beginning of 1999. (Rosen, 2003)

## **2.2.Arguments in Favour of the British Monarchy**

### **2.2.1 Refuting Main Arguments Against the British Monarchy**

Arguments against the monarchy go mainly that the institution is non-democratic. This is totally wrong. Recent statistics continue to consider Britain as a democratic country *par-*

*excellence*. Democracy Index 2015 for example classified the United Kingdom with the only twenty-four full democracies in the world. This means that it holds highly free fair elections; it respects political freedom and civil liberties; it promotes an atmosphere of political culture among its citizens; the government functions well; media is independent and not controlled by state; even judiciary is independent from other branches (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2015) . Polity VI Data Series 2014 consider the United Kingdom as an ideal democratic country as well. It appears in dark blue in the Polity VI map of democracy which means that it is a democratic country. Moreover, the United Kingdom got 00,00 in the Fragility Index, 00,00 in the Effectiveness Score, and 00,00 also in the Effectiveness Score with green icons in these indicators: Security Effectiveness, Security Legitimacy, Political effectiveness, Political legitimacy, Economic Effectiveness, Economic Legitimacy, Social Effectiveness, and Social Legitimacy. This means that the country has good security, political, economic, social conditions and the country does well in these fields which makes the United Kingdom an exceptional perfect democratic country (Marshall, M. Cole, B, R. 2014). Freedom House considers UK as a democratic country as well. It appeared in the Freedom House Map of 2015 in green. This means that the country is free and democratic. Furthermore, it got 01,00 in Political Rights and 01,00 in Civil Liberties which means that the country highly respect both political rights and civil liberties of its citizens (Freedom House, 2015)

So, United Kingdom is a democratic country with the testimony of reference international indices of democracy. This puts a knife in the throat of some republicans who claim the country is not democratic. Even their claim that a head of state should be elected is not really reasonable because electing a head of state does not guarantee representation as insist Newman and Woogar in *Pros and Cons: Debater Handbook*. Even electing a head of state means that he is justified to interfere in every single aspect of politics; unlike having a monarch as a head of state, this gives

him no right to interfere with the sovereignty of parliament for having only symbolic powers. Thus, it offers a good balance of power. In other words, there should be no worries about keeping the institution of monarchy for it causes no harm. (Newman and Woogar, 2014)

The British Monarchy is fiercely attacked for being uncountable. This is not true; according to Judicial Review, the High Court has the right to review royal prerogatives as if they were parliamentary acts. The Shoreham Aerodrome case in 1915 is a good example; an appeal was made to the House of Lords versus the crown which allegedly took and occupied a commercial airfield on the south coast. The executive government defended that it was for military purposes in wartime under Royal prerogative, but the court judged that for a royal prerogative to be exercised, the government had to prove that a threat of invasion exists. The appeal was withdrawn as the crown agreed to pay compensation. The same thing happened with Attorney General Vs De Keyser's Royal Hotel Ltd (1920) in which the owners of the hotel made a claim for compensation under the Defence of the Realm Act 1914 after the armed forces occupied the hotel during wartime. The government relied on royal prerogative to refute the claim, but the House of Lords rejected this, ruling that: "once a statute had been enacted, the prerogative power fell into abeyance" (Barnett, 2013, p. 103). As such, courts established statutory superiority over royal powers. This means that in case royal prerogatives clash with statutes, the latter prevail and nullify the prerogatives as was the case with a number of appeals made against the government after like in Council of Civil Service Union Vs Minister of State for Civil Service (1985). The latter ordered by a prerogative to end the right of the employees of the Government Communication Headquarters (GCHQ) to join trade unions. The minister's order was followed by industrial unrest, and the union made an appeal to review the order. Although the union lost before the court of appeal and the House of Lords, it was very significant because it brought up the issue of the reviewability of the royal prerogative in which the House of Lords insist that royal

prerogatives are as reviewable as powers exercised under statute, but courts excludes matters such as the dissolution of parliament, the appointment of the prime minister, granting honours, and drafting treaties for these issues are related to policy which should be decided on by ministers. The case of R Vs Secretary for Home Department ex parte Northumbria Police Authority is another example. In this case, the secretary of state ordered supplies of riot control equipment to police force without approval by the Northumbrian police authority, claiming that the order was by royal prerogative to keep peace, but the police authority sought judicial review arguing that this went against the Police Act of 1964 which set out humble powers for the Secretary. It was ruled at the end that the minister who backed up the secretary's order acted outside the powers granted by the act, and the prerogative to keep peace cannot replace the act. This means that royal prerogatives are under statutory control. (Barnett, 2013)

In fact, royal prerogatives are not only controlled by judicial review as we have seen, but by parliamentary sovereignty as well. Parliament can preserve, restrict or abolish them like the Constitutional Reform and Governance Act 2010 which provides for parliamentary scrutiny of treaties and the adoption of statutory basis for civil service, in addition to the Fixed-term Parliament Act 2011 which ends the monarch's power to dissolve parliament. (Barnett, 2013)

In addition to holding government accountable for using royal prerogatives, the advisers of the monarch can be severely accounted and punished if acted badly as stated by Loveland: "according to the forms of the constitution. And yet if consequence of that exertion be manifestly to the grievance or dishonor of the kingdom, the parliament will call his advisers to a just and severe account". (Loveland, 2009, p. 102)

Even media does well in holding the British Monarchy into accounts, especially when it comes to its expenditures. The institution is highly criticized for costing the United Kingdom 334 million Euros a year. This means that the institution costs every adult British 62 p a year. This

upsets many British because such amount of money could have been spent on promoting services, or financing some projects to better their lives; but in fact, even if a republic is established the cost may remain the same; because a head of state would still have to pay to conserve royal palaces and buildings, in addition to his salary, expenditures on his security, state visits, banquets, and ceremonial duties. Without forgetting the fact that the British monarch today pays taxes as any other British citizen and engages in charitable works which help a lot the British society. Many argue that economically speaking, it is better to keep the institution of monarchy because it contributed to economy through tourism. Indeed, many people around the world come to Britain to see everything related to the monarchy including palaces and royal buildings. This of course pours money into the British economy as argued Rosen in the *In Transformation of the British Life 1950-2000: A Social History*. (Rosen, 2003)

Added to all these, the United Kingdom with its monarchy could stand on its feet in the time that many democracies fell down. Indeed, the country passed by civil wars, economic crises, world wars, but still it is stable. This means that the institution causes no harm and does not hinder the development of the economy as some argue. By contrast, Britain as a constitutional monarchy did better than republics. On the top of that, Britain has already experienced being a republic and it failed.

### **2.2.2 Introduction to Significant Hidden Roles Played by the British Monarchy**

It is true that the British Monarchy has no significant constitutional roles, but it plays highly important hidden roles which justify its existence and make abolishing it out of consideration. Maybe the British are aware of this as some polling evidence suggests; despite knowing that the monarch has only symbolic constitutional powers, the British still want to keep the institution, and they still want to be represented by a monarch at home and abroad, they still want a monarch

to be a head of their society because they know that the monarchy is good for their country.  
(Hames and Mark, 1998)

Some scholars argue that the British Monarchy serves in maintaining the British national identity, symbolizing all that has to do with British, including religion, tradition, race and origin, heritage ...etc (Baghot, 2001)

Many British feel proud of the monarchy for being a symbol of unity and nation which kept their country strong during trouble and celebrations. They no longer feel any embarrassed of it because the Royal Family as any other people including politicians and head of states make mistakes. Moreover, the Royal Family is no longer out of touch. They get out into the community through their generous charitable works which keep people around them for promoting civil society and giving voice to minorities (Newman and Woogar, 2014). Prince of Wales in particular made a good reputation by involving himself to help the unemployed the disadvantaged, the disabled and other minorities, in addition to promoting a culture of tolerance and understanding between different ethnic groups through establishing the Prince's Trusts.  
(Bogdanor, 2001)

The British Monarch plays an important role as a head of the Commonwealth which keeps ties with Britain's former colonies. This foster the British economy as the countries of the Commonwealth facilitate trade and commerce with each other, in addition to the fact that these countries vote as one block in decisive international organizations like the United Nations, and this of course serves Britain politically.

For these reasons and others that will be discussed in details in the next chapter, the British prefer to keep the institution of the monarchy. It is no wonder the Labour Party was heavily defeated by 3,694,000 votes to 386,000 after they considered Republicanist policy to abolish the monarchy in the Labour Party Conference of 1923. (Bogdanor, 1995)

## Conclusion

There is a running debate about the British Monarchy which can be dated back to the English Civil War in which Republican sentiments reached its peak with the establishment of a republic in Britain. Nowadays, still some British call for abolishing the institution of monarchy, though recent studies reveal that most British support the monarchy. They claim that the institution has only symbolic roles to play, it contradicts democracy, it is the enemy of merit and aspiration, it is expensive, gender-discriminative, outdated, it lacks accountability, it calls for anarchism, it hinders the development of the economy, it represents Christianity alone, and makes the country look outdated and backward. While supporters of the institution, who are according to studies mostly Conservatives, old aged, from the first social class with a domination of females, believe that the institution is good for the country and it does not contradict with democracy because Britain proved to be an ideal democratic country with the testimony of international organizations for measuring democracy. They argue also that no worries should be raised of the institution because royal prerogatives are controlled both by judicial review and parliamentary sovereignty, in addition to be severely accountable by media every day. Furthermore, they see no harm caused if the institution is maintained because royal prerogatives, which constitutionally speaking may appear absolute, are never exercised in practice; at least not by the monarch himself; they are exercised either by the Prime Minister or the Privy Council. It is by contrast, may be keeping the institution may benefit the country more than it can harm it by pouring money to the economy through tourism, charitable works which promote civil society. In addition to playing highly important roles like keeping the kingdom united, preserving the deteriorating British National identity, serving as a problem-solver during troubles through exceptional use of prerogative, and heading the Commonwealth to strengthen the country's economic and political position in the world as we will see in the next chapter.

## **Chapter Four**

### **The Role of the British Monarchy in Maintaining the British National Identity**

#### **Introduction**

We have seen previously the constitutional roles of the British Monarch between theory and practice, and how the institution is left only with symbolic powers which may do not justify its existence. These symbolic powers call many to abolish the monarchy including political parties like the Scottish National Party and the Plaid Cymru. But what about the possibility that this institution might be playing other roles not stated in the uncodified constitution of the United Kingdom, though do not go against it. In our attempt to find possible roles of the British monarchy which may justify its existence, we hypothesize in this chapter that this institution helps the country in overcoming one of its main problems which is a problem of identity. In fact, identity crisis in Britain is related to issues of local nationalisms in its four countries, immigration and multiculturalism policies, globalization, and membership in organizations such as the European Union. So, we try to cover these topics to understand first the scope of this problem before seeing what the British Monarchy can do to minimize it.

The problem of identity is not the only problem that Britain is facing; there is even more serious one that is in reality closely linked to the first, if not directly caused by it. It is the problem of calls for independence in the four countries which make up the kingdom. Indeed, recent statistics by the British Social Attitudes continue to reveal that many people within the kingdom do not feel British and have more loyalty to their local nationalisms especially in Scotland and Wales in which there are even political parties which officially adopt independence agenda to be separate independent countries. Perhaps the case of Scotland is more serious with the extent of holding a referendum to question separation from the Union. In the second part of

this chapter we try to cover the issue of independence in the four countries of the kingdom and we try to see if the institution of monarchy can do something about this.

## **1.The Role of British Monarchy in Maintaining the British National Identity**

### **Introduction**

National Identity is not easy to deal with. The simple fact that there is no single definition agreed on makes the task of searching for the role of British Monarchy in maintaining identity a bit difficult. In this part, we will rely on authentic definitions by reference political scientists and psychologists like Rupert Emerson, Tajfel, and Guibernau, in addition to source books like British Social Attitudes recent report. Then, we will cover deeply our first variable which is the crisis of identity in Britain to see in what way the institution of the monarchy can help later. For this sake, we will analyse primary sources which include the most recent surveys on identity based on the so-called Monero Question which asks respondents to choose the best identity that define them. We will also analyse House of Commons reports on issues like the impact of multiculturalism, immigration, and European Union on British Identity. Then, we move to our second variable which is the British Monarchy that can be a solution to the problem of identity in Britain.

### **1.1 Definition of National identity**

National Identity is a recent contested field of research which has been tackled by many scientists and scholars and has undergone many changes and additions each time it was studied by a new scientist specialized in a particular field to add his touch starting by the prominent political scientist Rupert Emerson who defined National Identity as early as 1960s simply as “a body of people who feel that they are a nation” (Emerson, 1969, pp. 95-96). This definition was endorsed by other scientists like social psychologists Henri Tajfel and John Turner who formulated together the Social Identity Theory that included two elements *self-categorization* and

*affect*. *Self-categorisation* refers to identifying oneself as a member of a group or a nation, whereas *affect* refers to the sense of belonging and attachment of towards a particular nation. (Tajfel, 2010)

Montserrat Guibernau in *The Identity of Nations (2007)* stresses the importance of the belief of belonging to a particular nation which according to him must be shared by all people who claim one national identity. Guibernau adds that there should be specific attributes and features shared by the people of the same nation which make

them different from other nations. He describes this fascinatingly:

The French love cheese and are proud of the Enlightenment and the changes brought about their Revolution. The English enjoy cricket, tea and the countryside. They are also pleased about their old democratic legacy. US citizens are proud of the founding fathers of their nation; they love steaks and big cars. Spaniards appreciate good wine and paella and are content about Columbus's discovery of America under Castilian sponsorship. But do all citizens of each one of these countries share such features? (Guibernau, 2007, p. 8)

Definitely the answer to this question is no. Even if they share such features, it is with varying intensity because the key questions of identity are "Who am I? and Who are we?" (Guibernau, 2007, p. 8). Furthermore, Guibernau in the same book claims that there are five dimensions of national identity which are highly recognized by modern scholars. This includes a psychological dimension, a cultural dimension, a historical dimension, a territorial dimension, and a political dimension. (Guibernau, 2007).

The psychological dimension deals with the consciousness of constituting a nation based on the emotional closeness which unites people who belong to the same nation with sentiments of love for their country and hate for those threatening it. Such sentiments manifest themselves

each time the nation confronts external or internal threats which may affect the country's territory, sovereignty, people, or even traditions and cultures. For this sake, people with strong sense of national identity may even sacrifice their lives in such circumstances. (Guibernau, 2007).

The cultural dimension deals with all attributes and features which make a particular nation different of others including having a shared history, beliefs, conventions, customs, habits, practices, and language. To consider national cultures, three questions are raised: First, antiquity which means whether this culture is modern or ancient; second, origin, it means if this culture has been constructed or has emerged directly out of certain attributes; third, whether this culture forms "an elite phenomenon" (Guibernau, 2007, p. 11).

The historical dimension deals with roots of nations and asks how far they can be traced back. While nations like England and France can be traced back to medieval times, nations like the United States of America and Australia can merely claim two or three centuries of history. Generally, members of a nation are likely to feel proud when their roots are ancient and they see this as a sign of superiority probably because they feel closer to their ancestors and this strengthens their belief of being a part of the extended family. People of the same nation tend also to share the same feelings when remembering happy experiences of their history like moments of victory or any significant achievement of their country, the same thing when they remember sad experiences like moments of humiliation and defeat. The territorial dimension refers to the territory upon which a particular nation had grown. It is this territory that members of the same land refer to as their home. The last dimension is the political dimension deals mainly with the rise of the nation-state and the relationship between rulers and ruled. (Guibernau, 2007)

## 1.2. The Importance of National Identity

National identity is highly important as confirmed by many scholars both ancient and modern. Keillor et al identifies it as: “a set of meanings owned by a given culture that sets it apart from other cultures” (1999, p. 58). This definition suggests that national identity is instrumental in distinguishing cultures, hence, peoples. But this is not everything; Sideny Verba (1965) adds that a nation is only legitimate and strong when its citizens share the same identity:

Unless those individuals who are physically and legally members of a political system are also psychologically members of that system, orderly patterns of change are unlikely. It is the sense of identity with the nation that legitimizes the activities of national elites and makes it possible for them to mobilize the commitment and support of their followers. (p. 529)

In Amelia H. Amkhan’s *British Foreign Policy, National Identity, and Neoclassical Realism (2010)*, She emphasizes the importance of national identity which according to her is not only important to distinguish peoples from each other, but also to help modern nation-states to define and defend themselves practically and existentially. (Amkhan, 2010)

## 1.3 The Crisis of British National Identity: Deterioration of “Britishness”

“Britain and Britishness are in trouble” (United Kingdom Independent Party, 2010, p. 1). This is how the United Kingdom Independent Party concluded about today’s British national identity in *A Cultural Policy for Independent Britain (2010)* largely because of internal threats like local nationalisms, policies of multiculturalism and immigration, and external threats like the European Union (EU). In Dogan’s *The Decline of Nationalisms within Western Europe: Comparative Politics (1994)* the same point is stressed as he notes that many writers claim that British identity is in decline because of processes of globalization and other factors which led to a blurring of Britishness. We will see these factors into details, but we need first to define Britishness. (Dogan, 1994)

### 1.3.1 Definition of “Britishness”

To understand what is meant by Britishness nowadays, we need to make distinction between two broad types of national identity that most theorists agree on. We have *ethnic identity* and *civic identity*. Ethnic identity refers to cultural conceptions which focus on roots and ancestry and other characteristics which are fixed at birth; whereas civic identity focuses on acquired characteristics like speaking national language, having a national citizenship, and respecting political institutions. (Park, Bryson, and Curtice, 2014)

Saggar and Somerville in *Building a British Model of Integration: Policy Lessons for Government (2012)* admit that the concept of Britishness nowadays refers to civic criteria according to the *British Social Attitudes: the 31<sup>st</sup> Report* which asked a sample

of British the following question:

Some people say that the following things are important for being truly British.

Others say that they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is:

To have been born in Britain

To have British citizenship

To have lived in Britain for most of one's life

To be able to speak English

To be a Christian

To respect Britain's political institutions and laws

To feel British

To have British ancestry

(Park et al, 2014, p. 64)

In fact, this question mixes civic and ethnic dimensions; to have British citizenship, to be able to speak English, and to respect Britain's political institutions and laws are civic

dimensions; whereas to have been born in Britain, to have lived in Britain for most of one's life, to be Christian, to have British ancestry, and to share customs and traditions are ethnic dimensions. The following table summarizes the results:

<b>Saying “very important” or “fairly important”</b>	<b>2013</b>
Ability to speak English	95
Having British Citizenship	85
Respecting institution/ laws	85
Feel British	78
Been born in Britain	77
Live life in Britain	74
Have British ancestry	51
Sharing customs/ traditions	50
Be a Christian	24
<b>Weighted base</b>	<b>894</b>
<b>Unweighted base</b>	<b>904</b>

**Table 19:** Civic and Ethnic Criteria for Being Truly British. (Source: Park et al, 2014, p.

65)

The table lists statements according to the percentage of voting for them. The 2013 survey shows that the highest recorded vote was for “the ability to speak English” with a percentage of 95%, followed by both “having British citizenship” and “respecting institutions and laws” with the same percentage of 85%. In fact the first three statements represent the civic part of identity. This proves that the British have civic criteria for being truly British, followed by ethic criteria

mainly “to feel British” (78%), “to live life in Britain” (77%), “to be born in Britain” (74%), “to have British ancestry” (51%), “sharing customs and traditions” (50%), and “to be Christian” (24%). This confirms Park et al’s idea that the British have civic understanding of Britishness. (Park et al, 2014)

### **1.3.2. Challenges to Britishness**

Britishness is challenged by a set of threats mainly: local nationalisms, multiculturalism and immigration policies, globalization and cosmopolitanism which are going to be discussed into details.

#### **1.3.2.1. Local Nationalisms**

United Kingdom of Britain and Northern Ireland is made of four countries: Scotland, Wales, England, and Northern Ireland. In each country, particular local nationalism raises. We can distinguish four local nationalisms in UK: Scottish nationalism, Welsh nationalism, Northern Irish nationalism, and English nationalism.

##### **1.3.2.1.1.Scottish Nationalism**

Before defining Scottish nationalism, it is most useful to define nationalism as a concept first. In *National Attachment in a European Nation: A British Study (2005)*, Rothi, Lyons, & Chryssochou define nationalism as:

A shared group feeling in the significance of a geographical and sometimes demographic region seeking independence for its culture and/or ethnicity that holds that group together.

This can be expressed as a belief or political ideology that involves an individual identifying with or becoming attached to one’s nation. (Rothi et al 2005, p)

Scottishness is nationalism which promotes that the Scottish people are different with their own culture and values and they form a distinct cohesive nation. This nationalism is closely linked to the cause of Scottish Home Rule which gives the country the power to govern itself

within its own administrative area, and Scottish Independence which is now the ideology of the Scottish National Party. (McAuley, 2003)

The Scottish Social Attitudes conducted the so-called Monero question to compare national and local identities. In Scotland, respondents were asked the following question:

“Which, if any, of the following best describes how you see yourself?

- Scottish not British
- More Scottish than British
- Equally Scottish and British
- More British than Scottish
- More British than Scottish
- British, not Scottish”

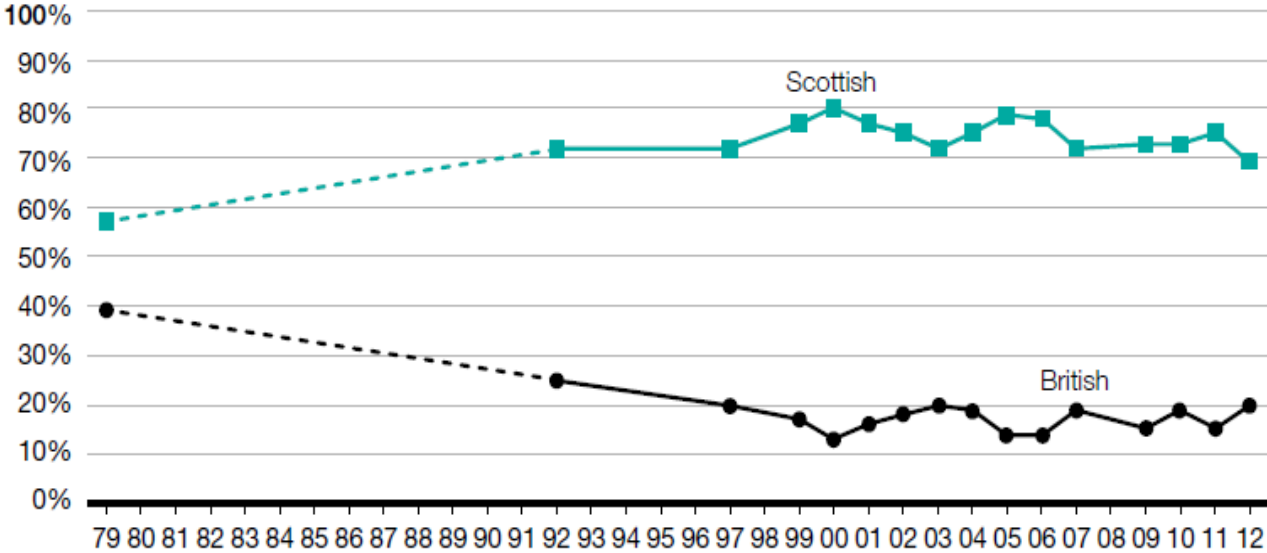
(Park et al 2014, p.46)

The following table summarises the results:

	92	97	99	00	01	03	05	06	07	09	10	11	12
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Scottish not British	19	23	32	37	36	31	32	33	27	27	28	29	23
More Scottish than British	40	38	35	31	30	34	32	32	30	31	30	33	30
Equally Scottish and British	33	27	22	21	24	22	22	21	28	26	26	23	30
More British than Scottish	3	4	3	3	3	4	4	4	5	4	4	5	5
British not Scottish	3	4	4	4	3	4	5	5	6	4	4	5	6
<i>Weighted base</i>	*	882	1482	1663	1605	1508	1549	1594	1508	1482	1495	1196	1229
<i>Unweighted base</i>	957	882	1482	1663	1605	1508	1549	1594	1508	1482	1495	1196	1229

**Table 20:** Trends in Monero National Identity, Scotland 2013. (Source: Park, Bryson, Clery, Curtice & Philips, 2013, p. 145)

The 2012 survey results shows that 23% see themselves as “Scottish not British”, 30% consider themselves “more Scottish than British”, 30% as “equally Scottish and British”, 5% see themselves “more British than Scottish”, and 6% as “British not Scottish”. Undoubtedly, the results show that the majority of the sample has more loyalty to their local identity than to their national identity if we consider those who identify themselves as “Scottish not British” and “More Scottish than British” with a percentage of 53% together. Those with dual identity have a considerable percentage as well (30%); whereas those with more loyalty to their national identity do not exceed 11% of the sample. If we compare the 2012 survey results with the previous years, we find that the percentages are close to one another. The Scottish Social Attitudes 2013’s founding reveals that the British national identity is really in a serious problem in Scotland as more than half of the population either claim their local identity and deny their national identity, or admit that their local identity prevails over their national identity. We can see this clearly through the following chart which turns the table results into a line to see the disparity between being Scottish and British in Scotland.



**Figure 9:** Trends in Monero national identity in Scotland 1979-2012. (Source: Park et al, 2013, p. 143)

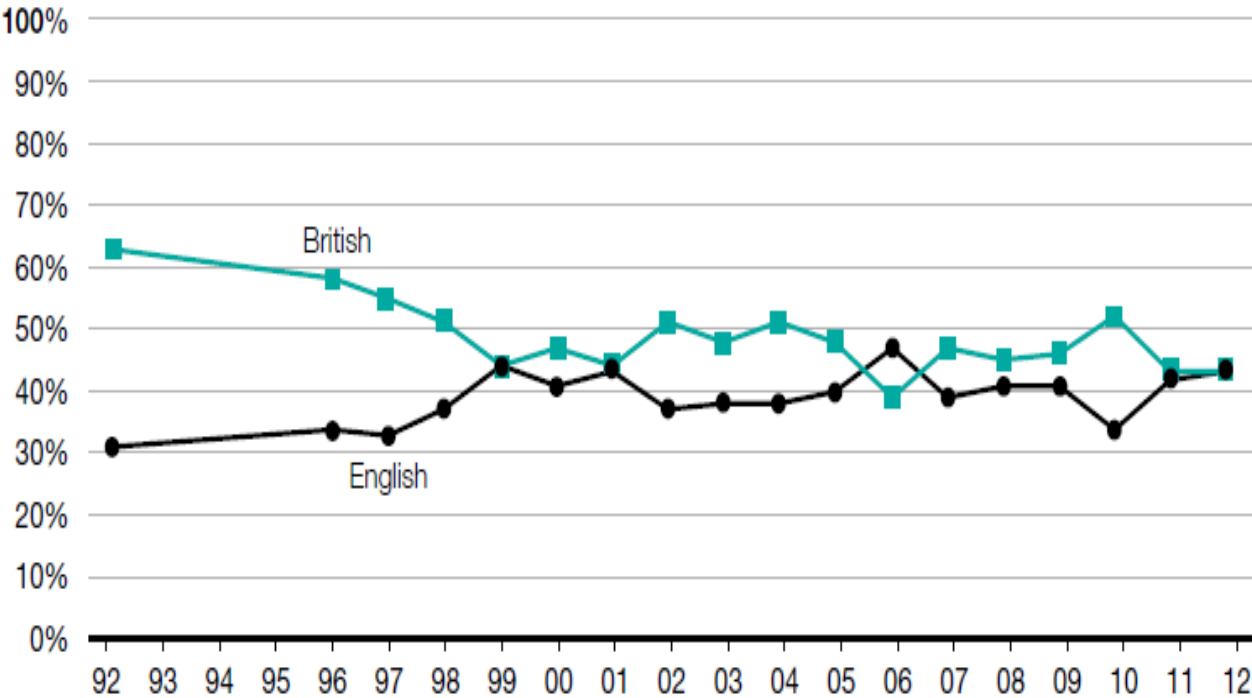
**1.3.2.1.2. English Nationalism**

It is the nationalism which asserts that the English people form a nation and have their own culture and values. Though there are some political and social movements to promote English nationalism, the English tend to use the words Britishness and Englishness interchangeably as claims MacAuley in *An Introduction to Politics, State and Society (2003)*. He argues that Britain and England are regarded as one entity despite the fact that England forms only around half of the United Kingdom’s territory. He explains this by the fact that the English dominate the kingdom politically, militarily, demographically, and economically. Not only this, even the way history is written in which the British history is synonymous with the English history. This can be seen clearly in the early history of forming what is called today the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. It was a story of conquests and assimilations to other nations into England which grew gradually to be Britain. It is no wonder that the English nationalism is weak and less studied; it is largely because the English find it difficult to distinguish between being English and being British as argued by Richard, McCrone, Bechhofer and Stewart in *Debatable Land: National and Local Identity in the Border Town (2000)*. To understand this better, it is useful to study the Monero National Identity survey in England 2013 as held by the British Social Attitudes in its 30<sup>th</sup> report of 2013:

	97	99	00	01	03	07	08	09	12
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
English not British	7	17	18	17	17	19	16	17	17
More English than British	17	14	14	13	19	14	14	16	12
Equally English and British	45	37	34	42	31	31	41	33	44
More British than English	14	11	14	9	13	14	9	10	8
British not English	9	14	12	11	10	12	9	13	10
<i>Weighted base</i>	2492+	2722	1956	2786	1929	870	1001	1970	2800
<i>Unweighted base</i>	3150	2718	1928	2761	1917	859	982	1940	2729

**Table 21:** Trends in Monero national identity in England, 1997-2012. (Source: Park et al, 2013, p. 148).

The 2012 survey results shows that 17% see themselves as “English not British”, 12% consider themselves “more English than British”, 44% as “equally English and British”, 8% see themselves “more British than English”, and 10% as “British not English”. The highest recorded percentage was is for being “equally English and British”. This confirms the point of Kiely et al that in England people tend to mix between being English and being British. If we take respondents who have more loyalty to their local identity, their percentage does not exceed 29%; and if we take the respondents who have more loyalty to their national identity, their percentage do not exceed 18% with almost the same vote results of the previous years. The British Social Attitudes 2013’s founding reveals that the English are likely to overlap between English identity and British identity. This graph may help us see this better:



**Figure 10:** Trends in Monero national identity in England, 1992-2012. (Source: Park et al, 2013, p. 148)

The graph shows that the two lines coincide with each other to show that the feeling of being both English and British prevails on the English especially in the years of 1999, 2001, and 2012. Notice also that recently the two lines correspond with each other more than any time before.

**1.3.2.1.3. Welsh Nationalism**

It is nationalism which asserts the distinctiveness of Welsh culture and promotes the idea that the Welsh people form a cohesive nation. It calls also for more self-determination which may include having more powerful Welsh Assembly or claiming full independence from the United Kingdom. According to James W MacAuley in *An Introduction to Politics, State and Society* (2003), the development of Welsh nationalism is due mainly to the rise of the welsh language which has been used in schools, newspapers, and even TV channels, in addition to establishing typical Welsh social and religious institutions like the non-conformist chapels and the Rugby Union. All these helped Welsh nationalism flourish especially with setting up the Welsh nationalist party Plaid Cymru which calls for promoting the Welsh Identity. (MacAuley, 2003)

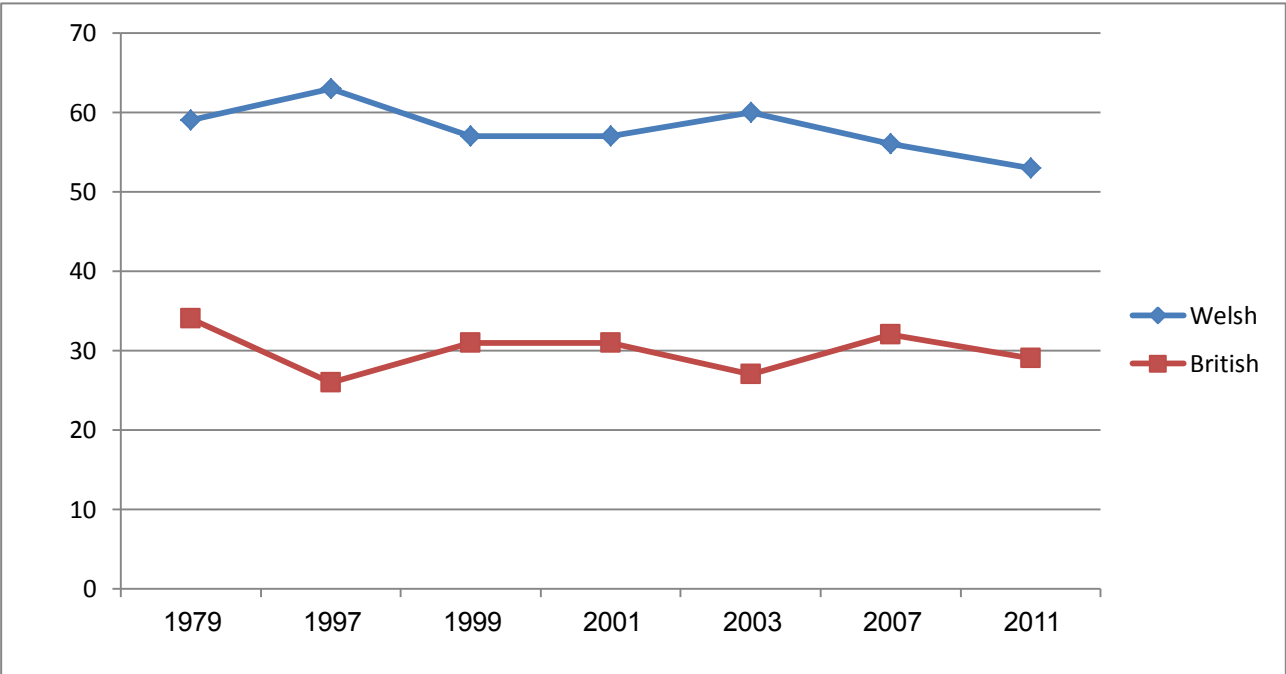
As with Scotland and England, the Monero National Identity question was asked in Wales to compare British national identity with Welsh nationalism as shown in the table:

	1997	1999	2001	2003	2007	2011	2011	2012
	%	%	%	%	%	(1)%	(2)%	%
<b>Welsh not British</b>	17	17	24	21	24	19	17	21
<b>More Welsh than British</b>	26	19	23	27	20	19	19	17
<b>Equally Welsh and British</b>	34	37	28	29	32	30	30	35
<b>More British than Welsh</b>	10	8	11	8	9	8	8	8
<b>British not Welsh</b>	12	14	11	9	9	20	20	17

**Table 22:** Monero National Identity in Wales, 1997-2012. (Source: Curtice, 2013, p. 17)

The 2012 Survey results show that 21% of people in Wales say they are “Welsh not British”; 17% consider themselves “More Welsh than British”; 35% say they are” Equally Welsh and

British”; only 8% regard themselves as “More British than Welsh”, and 17% as “British not Welsh”. This means that 38% of people in Wales have more loyalty to their local identity as opposed to 25% who identify themselves either as British more than Welsh or British not Welsh. Notice also that people in Wales tend to have dual identities if we consider the large percentage of those who identify themselves as “Equally Welsh and British”. To conclude, the Welsh have more loyalty to their local identity rather than to the British national identity as we can see obviously through the following figure which reflects the results of forced choice identity in Wales in which respondents had to choose only one identity: British, or Welsh. (Curtice, 2013)



**Figure 11:** Forced choices identities in Wales. (Source: Curtice, 2013, p. 16).

The chart shows that there is disparity in Wales between the British identity and the Welsh identity; the latter which is represented by the blue line seems to tower above the British national identity which is represented by the red line.

**1.3.2.1.4. Irish Nationalism and Irish Nationalism**

In Northern Ireland two nationalisms raise beside the British national identity: Northern Irish nationalism, and Irish nationalism. Northern Irish nationalism is nationalism which asserts that

the Northern Irish are a nation alone with their own specifications and cultural values. Whereas Irish nationalism asserts that the Irish form a nation by their own and supports a unified Ireland including Northern Ireland which was taken from it. Some Irish nationalists oppose the Westminster parliament allegedly because it did not take into consideration the Northern Irish interests especially the Catholics who do not consider themselves as British (Park et al, 2013).

The British Social Attitudes conducted a survey in Northern Ireland as was the case with England and Scotland, but this time it did not ask the Monero national identity question because more than one local nationalism raises in Northern Ireland. The following table summarises the results:

	89	91	93	94	95	96	98	99	00	01
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
British	45	44	48	46	43	39	41	45	49	42
Irish	25	24	22	26	28	28	27	29	22	27
Northern Irish	20	19	17	20	21	25	23	19	20	23
Ulster	7	11	10	6	8	7	6	4	5	5
<i>Weighted base</i>	862	898	841	1513	1510	784	1799	2212	1799	1800
<i>Unweighted base</i>	863	895	840	1514	1509	784	1800	2200	1800	1800

	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	12
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
British	45	41	48	39	39	38	37	35	37	39
Irish	28	27	27	28	28	29	26	32	26	32
Northern Irish	19	23	21	27	26	26	29	27	29	22
Ulster	4	4	3	3	4	3	4	2	3	1
<i>Weighted base</i>	1800	1801	1800	1200	1230	1178	1215	1228	1199	1199
<i>Unweighted base</i>	1800	1800	1800	1200	1230	1179	1214	1228	1201	1197

**Table 23:** Identities in Northern Ireland, 1989-2012. (Source: Park et al, 2013, p. 171).

The 2012 survey results show that 39% of the respondents see themselves as British, 32% as Irish, 22% as Northern Irish, and 1% regard themselves as Ulster. As shown in the table, the highest recorded percentage is for being British, followed by being Irish with a close percentage, then by being Northern Irish with a less percentage. What is astonishing in these results is the fact that unlike the Scottish and the English, the Northern Irish tend to have more loyalty to their British national identity. They even have more loyalty to Ireland rather than to Northern Ireland. To compare British nationalism with other local nationalism in Northern Ireland, it is useful to analyse the survey results conducted by Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency and published in *Census 2011: Key Statistics for Northern Ireland (2012)*:

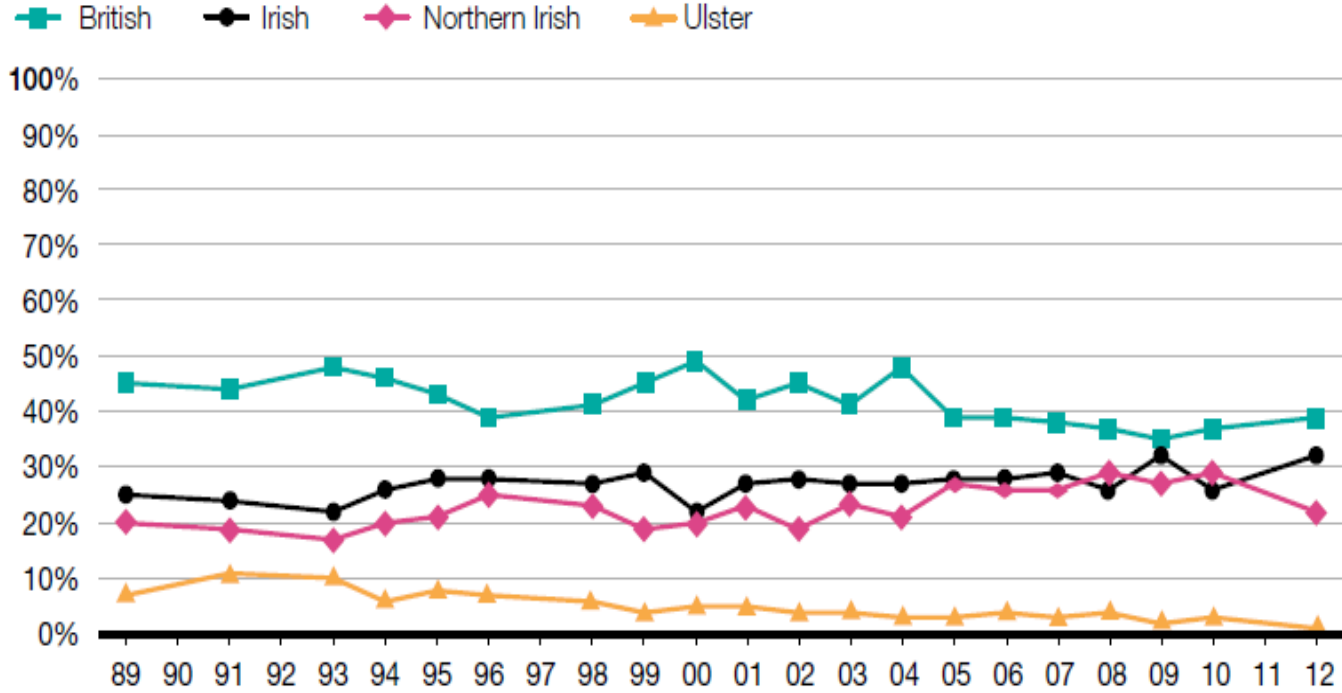
Area	All usual Residents	Percentage of all usual residents with national identity							
		British only	Irish only	N. Irish only	British and Irish only	Br and N. Irish only	Irish and N. Irish only	British, Irish and N. Irish only	Other
N.Ireland	1,810,883	39,89	25,28	20,94	0,88	8,17	1,08	1,02	5,00

**Table 24:** Northern Ireland identities. (Source: Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2012, p. 15).

The table suggests 7 identities for respondents to compare local nationalisms and the British national identity. Northern Irish voted: 39% for being “British only”, 25% for being “Irish only”, 20% for being “Northern Irish only”, less than 1% for being “British and Irish only”, 8% for being “British and Northern Irish only”, 1% for being “Irish and Northern Irish only”, 1% for being “British Irish and northern Irish only”, and 5% for “other”. The Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (NISRA) present close vote results as that of the British Social Attitudes

(BSA) in its first three identities. For example, Northern Irish voted 39% for being “British only” in NISRA, and they voted 39% for being “British” in BSA; the same thing for voting for being “Northern Irish only” in NISRA with a percentage of 25% , in BSA the percentage for voting to being “Northern Irish” is close (22%). Notice also that the Northern Irish tend to choose one identity only; this can be seen in the percentages of voting for “British and Irish only” (0,88%), “British and Northern Irish only”( 8,17%), “Irish and Northern Irish only”( 1,08%), “British, Irish, and Northern Irish only”( 1,02%). The highest percentage among these is for being “British and northern Irish only”.

To conclude, both surveys show that in Northern Ireland there is more loyalty to the British national identity than to other local nationalisms as summarized by the following figure which reflects the findings of Table 4. As we can see, the highest line is that of being “British” in green, followed by the black line of being “Irish”, then the pink line of being “Northern Irish”, and the last pink line of being “Ulster”.



**Figure 12:** Trends in forced choice national identity in Northern Ireland, 1989-2012. (Source: Park et al, 2013, p. 146)

In fact, people in Northern Ireland are influenced by their religion in voting as shown in the following table which distinguishes between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland.

		Protestant			Catholic			
		British	Irish	Northern Irish	British	Irish	Northern Irish	
1989	%	66	4	16	%	10	60	25
1994	%	70	3	15	%	9	62	28
1998	%	67	3	18	%	8	65	24
2002	%	75	3	14	%	10	62	25
2005	%	63	6	24	%	8	60	20
2008	%	57	4	32	%	8	61	25
2010	%	60	3	29	%	7	58	26
2012	%	69	3	24	%	9	68	16

**Table 24:** Trends in forced choice national identity by religion in Northern Ireland, 1989-2012. (Source: Park et al, 2013, p. 146).

The 2012 Survey results reveal that the Protestants tend to claim British identity, whereas the Catholics tend to claim the Irish identity. 69% of the Protestants in Northern Ireland say that they are “British”, 24% consider themselves “Northern Irish”, and only 3% see themselves as “Irish”. By contrast, 68% of the Catholics in the country regard themselves as “Irish”, 16% as “Northern Irish”, and 9% as British. Undoubtedly, the issue of national identity in Northern Ireland is highly affected by religion in which Protestants seem to support British identity and Catholics tend to favor Irish identity. Though the people in Northern Ireland in general are more loyal to their British national identity compared with the Scottish, the Welsh, and the English

We have seen in this sub-section how is the British national identity deteriorating due to the rise of local nationalism in the four countries which make up the United Kingdom with many citizens who either have more loyalty to their local identity rather than national identity, or more dangerously deny their national identity in favor their local identity. This was the case especially

with Scotland in the first place, followed by Wales, and with less degree England in which people tend to have dual identity.

In fact the crisis of the British national identity is made even worse with other factors rather than local nationalisms in the kingdom like immigration and multiculturalism policies in the country as we are going to see next.

### **1.3.2.2. Immigration and Multiculturalism Policies in United Kingdom**

Immigration and multiculturalism are linked with each other. With the increase flow of immigrants to the United Kingdom, it became a challenge to the government to deal with the issue of the new diverse cultures and ethnicities brought up by immigrants from all over the world to a country that is already culturally varied. To a certain degree, UK has adopted multiculturalist policies to keep the uniqueness of each culture. But what about the British culture? Where is the British national identity in all these? Do immigration and multiculturalism policies in the United Kingdom have positive or negative impacts on the British national identity? This is what we will try to answer briefly in this relatively short thesis which does not allow to cover such a research question which is worth a whole thesis alone.

#### **1.3.2.2.1. Immigration**

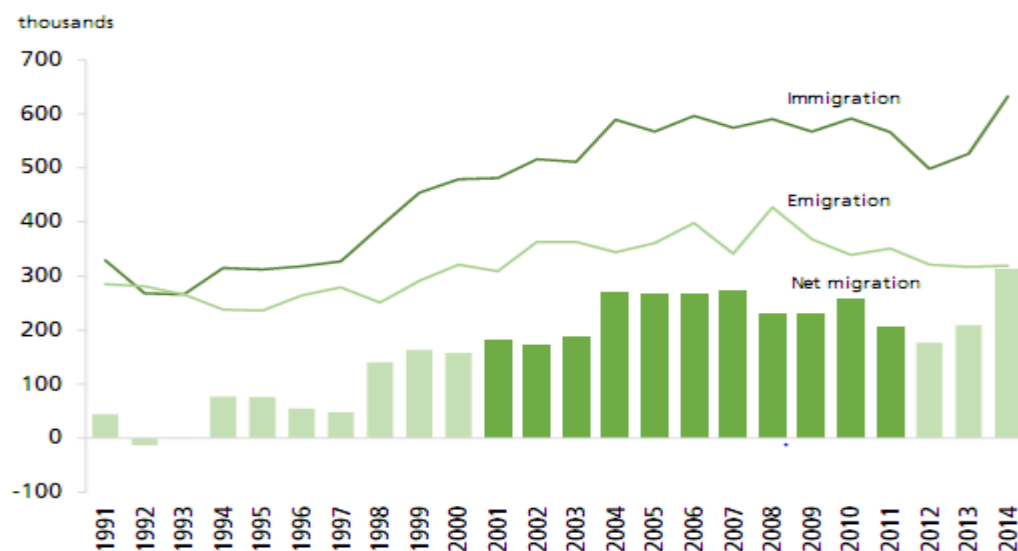
We cannot possibly talk about the impact of immigration on British national identity without defining immigration first and other concepts which one may confuse between them.

##### **1.3.2.2.1.1. Definition of Immigration and Interrelated Notions**

In *International Migration Law: Glossary on Migration* (2004) by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), immigration is identified as: “a process by which non-nationals move into a country for the purpose of settlement” (p. 31). We see here that the focus is on nationality. This means that anyone with a particular nationality moves to a country whose citizens have a different nationality for the sake of settlement is considered as an immigrant.

There are two other concepts close to immigration which one may find confusing: emigration, and migration. IOM defines emigration in the same book as “The act of departing or exiting from one State with a view to settle in another” (International Organization for Migration, 2004, p. 21). It stresses that under human rights no person should be denied the right to leave any country including his own country except under limited circumstances. Whereas a migrant is defined as anyone who changes his country of usual residence. Oliver Hawkins in *Migration Statistics* (2016b) explains this as anyone whose country of residence is different to his country of birth, or anyone whose nationality is not like his country of residence. A related term is Net Migration which is simply the difference between emigration and immigration, or in another word, the number of people who are moving to a particular country minus the number of people who are leaving that country. If there are more people who are moving to the country, it means if we have a positive number, we call it net immigration; and if more people are leaving than arriving, it means if we have a negative number, we call it net emigration. (Hawkins, 2016b)

The following chart gives us a snapshot about immigration, emigration, and net migration in the United Kingdom, starting from 1991 until 2014.



**Figure 13:** Long-term international migration in UK, 1991-2014. (Source: Hawkins, 2016b, p. 7).

This chart shows estimates of immigration, emigration and net migration in the United Kingdom during the period 1991-2014. As we can see immigration has increased faster than emigration during this period, rising from 329,000 in 1991 to 632,000 in 2014, which means an increase of 95%. Emigration has increased during this period as well, but with a slower pace. It rose from 285,000 in 1991 to 319,000 in 2014, which means an increase of 13%. This explains the increase in net migration which has always been a positive number to reflect that the number of people arriving to UK are far more than those leaving it except in the year 1992. It is estimated that net migration rose from an annual average of 37,000 during the period 1991-1995 to an annual average of 232,000 during the period 2010-2014. (Hawkins, 2016b)

To understand more this growth in immigration, and accordingly in net migration, it is most useful to have a brief history of modern immigration to UK.

#### **1.3.2.2.1.2. Brief History of Modern Immigration to the United Kingdom (Since 1945)**

After World War II, United Kingdom opened its doors for substantial groups of displaced people from Europe, particularly Poles and Ukrainians as so-called European Volunteer Workers to provide labour force for its industries to help the country recover economically from the war as claimed by Kay and Miles in *Refugees or Migrant Workers? The Case of the European Volunteer Workers in Britain (1946-1951)*. (1998)

Indians also flowed to United Kingdom in big numbers shortly after their country gained independence in 1947. Their number peaked between 1965 and 1972, particularly after the Ugandan president Idi Amin suddenly decided to expel 50,000 Asians within a delay of 90 days to leave the country, allegedly because they were manipulating Uganda's wealth and goods and causing social unrest in a climate of Indophobia (i.e. fear of people of Indian origins). Though some argue that such a step was merely taken as a plot vengeance against Britain for not supplying him with necessary arms to invade Tanzania. 30,000 of the expelled Asians migrated

to UK. Hungarians also chose UK as their destination following the 1956 Hungarian Revolution. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees records their number as high as 20,990 Hungarians. (International Business Publication, 2013)

Commonwealth citizens could immigrate freely to UK without restrictions until the introduction of the Commonwealth Immigrants Acts 1962 which tightened immigration regulations to permit only those with government-issued employment vouchers to settle in the country. These regulations were further restricted by the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1968 which allowed only people born in UK or who had at least a parent or grandfather born there. This act was repealed later on by the Immigration Act of 1071 that introduced the concept of *right of abode*. The latter gives unrestricted right to live in the United Kingdom, but it was not easily granted. The act places other restrictions on *primary immigration* which means the first movement of the earner of a family from one country to another for the purpose of improving his economic conditions. Once the primary immigrant is established in the new country, he usually seeks *family reunification* and brings his family. This is known as *secondary immigration*. (International Organization for Migration, 2004)

United Kingdom has accepted many immigrants from European Union member states under one of the European Union's Four Freedom which consider its 28 members as a single market that guarantees the free movement of goods, capital, services, and people. (Eriksen, 2011)

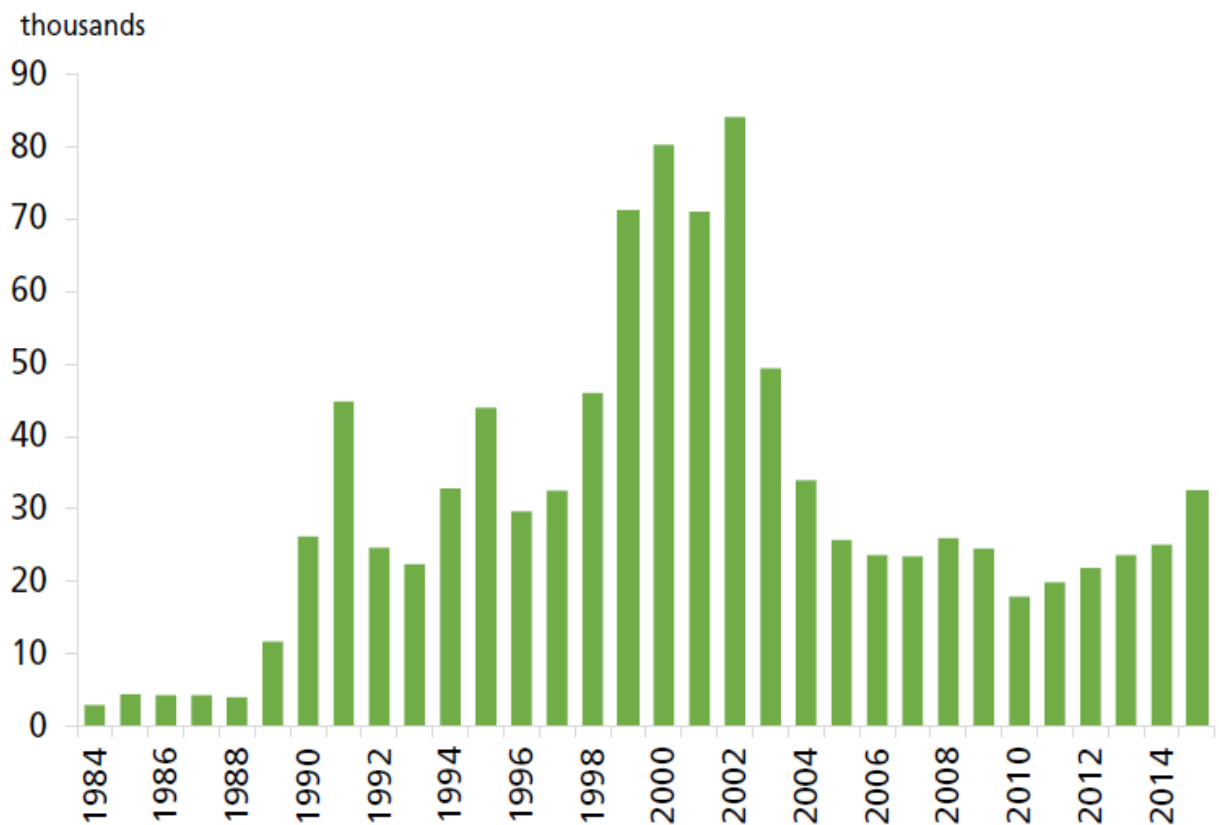
The following table summarises the origins of immigrants coming to United Kingdom recorded in three different ways: by nationality to see their legal status, by country of birth to see their historical origin, and by country of last residence to see the geographical source of immigration to UK.

	Thousands			%		
	Nationality	Country of birth	Country of last residence	Nationality	Country of birth	Country of last residence
United Kingdom	81	68	0	12.8%	10.8%	0.0%
European Union	264	256	287	41.8%	40.5%	45.4%
EU 15	129	121	155	20.4%	19.1%	24.5%
EU A8	80	81	79	12.7%	12.8%	12.5%
EU Other	55	54	53	8.7%	8.5%	8.4%
Non European Union	287	308	345	45.4%	48.7%	54.6%
Old Commonwealth	37	39	59	5.9%	6.2%	9.3%
New Commonwealth	90	99	95	14.2%	15.7%	15.0%
Other foreign	160	171	191	25.3%	27.1%	30.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>632</b>	<b>632</b>	<b>632</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**Table 25:** Immigration by nationality, country of birth, and country of last residence, 2014. (Source: Hawkins, 2016b, p. 12).

The table shows that almost 12.8% of immigrants to UK have a British nationality, 40.5% have a nationality of one of the 28 member states of European Union including EU 15, EU A8, and Malta, Cyprus, Bulgaria, Romania, and Croatia. EU 15 consists of: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, the Irish Republic, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and Sweden. Whereas EU 8 consists of: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia. The biggest percentage of immigrants coming to UK (45.4%) have non European Union nationality including Old Commonwealth which consists of: Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa; and New Commonwealth including all members of the commonwealth not stated in the old commonwealth. The table shows also that most immigrants who have a particular nationality tend to have been born in the same country, and migrate from the same country as well as we can see through the closeness between percentages of nationality, country if birth, and country of last residence.

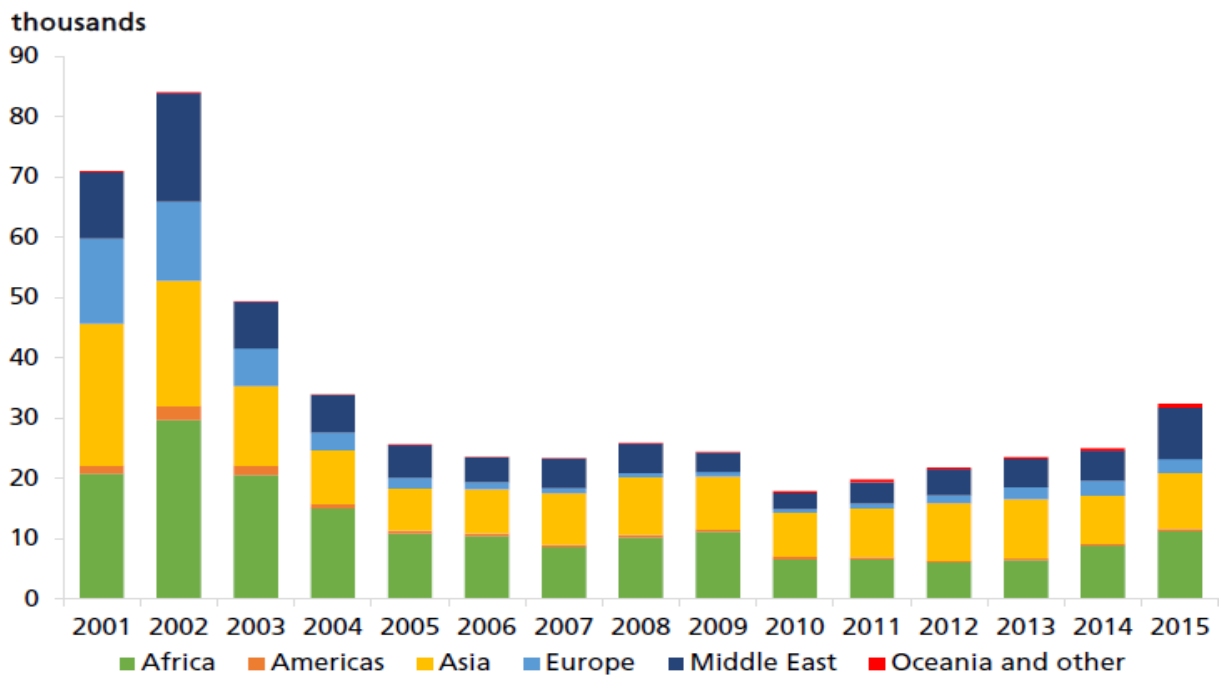
In addition to European and Commonwealth immigrants, the United Kingdom has been the destination of many asylum seekers because under international law the country has the responsibility not to return refugees after signing the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Nevertheless, the issue of immigration has become a controversial political issue since 1990's and governments pledged to suggest policies to restrict number of people who could claim asylum in UK, arguing that refugees should seek asylum from the first free state they reach and not do asylum shopping, though most asylum seekers in UK had not chosen their destination by themselves, but by external parties. The following table presents asylum application in UK :



**Figure 14:** Applications for asylum in UK, 1984-2014. (Source: Hawkins, 2016a, p. 6).

The chart shows that number of asylum seekers peaked in 2002 in which it reached 84,131. After that it fell rapidly to less than 20,000 in 2010. Then it rose gradually to reach 32,414 in

2015. But from where these applicants come. The following chart summarises origins of main asylum seekers in UK by nationality during the period 2001-2014.



**Figure 15:** Main asylum seekers in UK by nationality, 2001-2014. (Source: Hawkins, 2016a, p. 11).

The 2015 bar graph reveals that main asylum applicants come from Africa with a percentage of 35%, followed by 29% of applicants from Asia, 26% from the Middle East, and 7% from Europe. Only 3% of applicants come from Americas, Oceania and other. Further statistics reveal that the largest number of asylum seekers come from Eritrea (3,729), then Iran(3,248), Sudan(2,918), Syria (2,609) which jumped from 27<sup>th</sup> in the rank in 2010 to 4<sup>th</sup> in 2014, and Pakistan (2,441). But of course not all applicants were accepted. In 2015, out of 32,414 applications, 17,531 were refused. (Hawkins, 2016a)

Aside from EU immigrants, Commonwealth immigrants, and asylum seekers, ordinary people can immigrate to UK. To regulate this, a points-based immigration system was introduced and applied by UK border agencies. It includes five tiers:

Tier 1: for highly skilled workers to contribute to the growth of UK

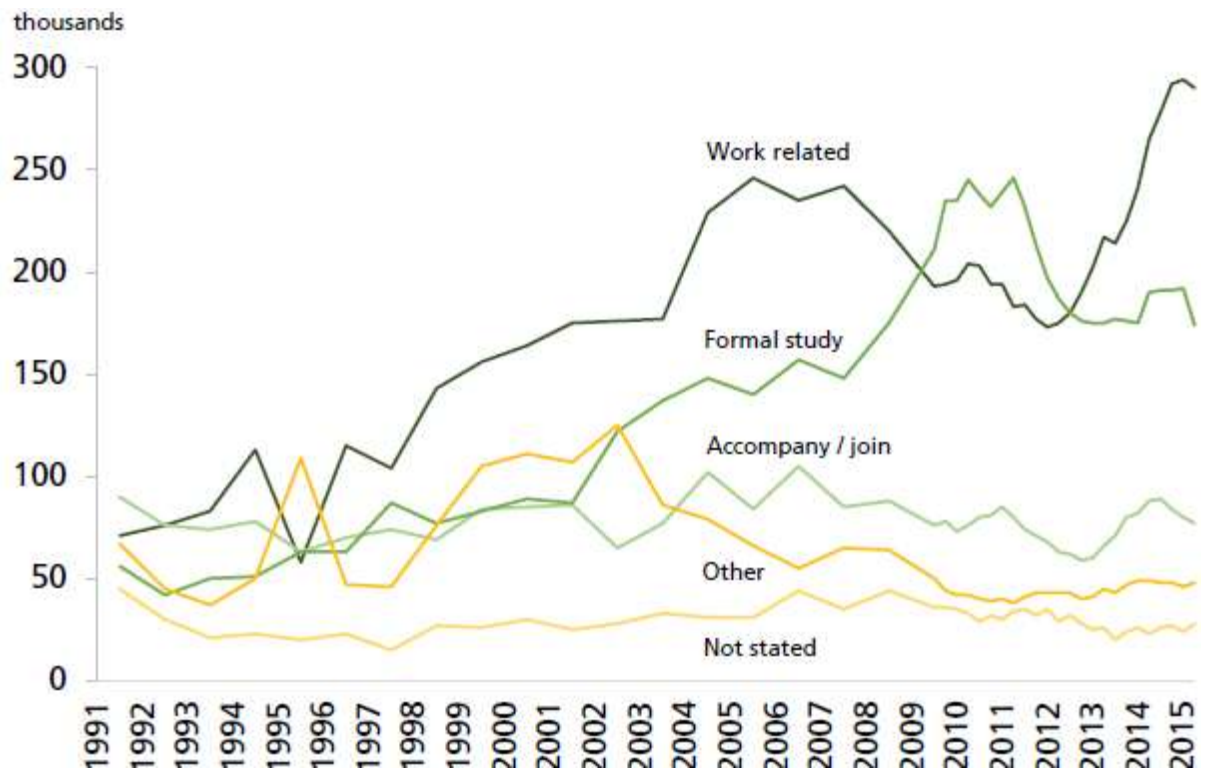
Tier 2: for skilled workers to fill gaps in UK labor force.

Tier 3: for low skilled workers for temporary jobs.

Tier 4: for students.

Tier 5: for temporary workers and immigrants for non-economic reasons.

The following chart summarises immigration in UK by main reason:

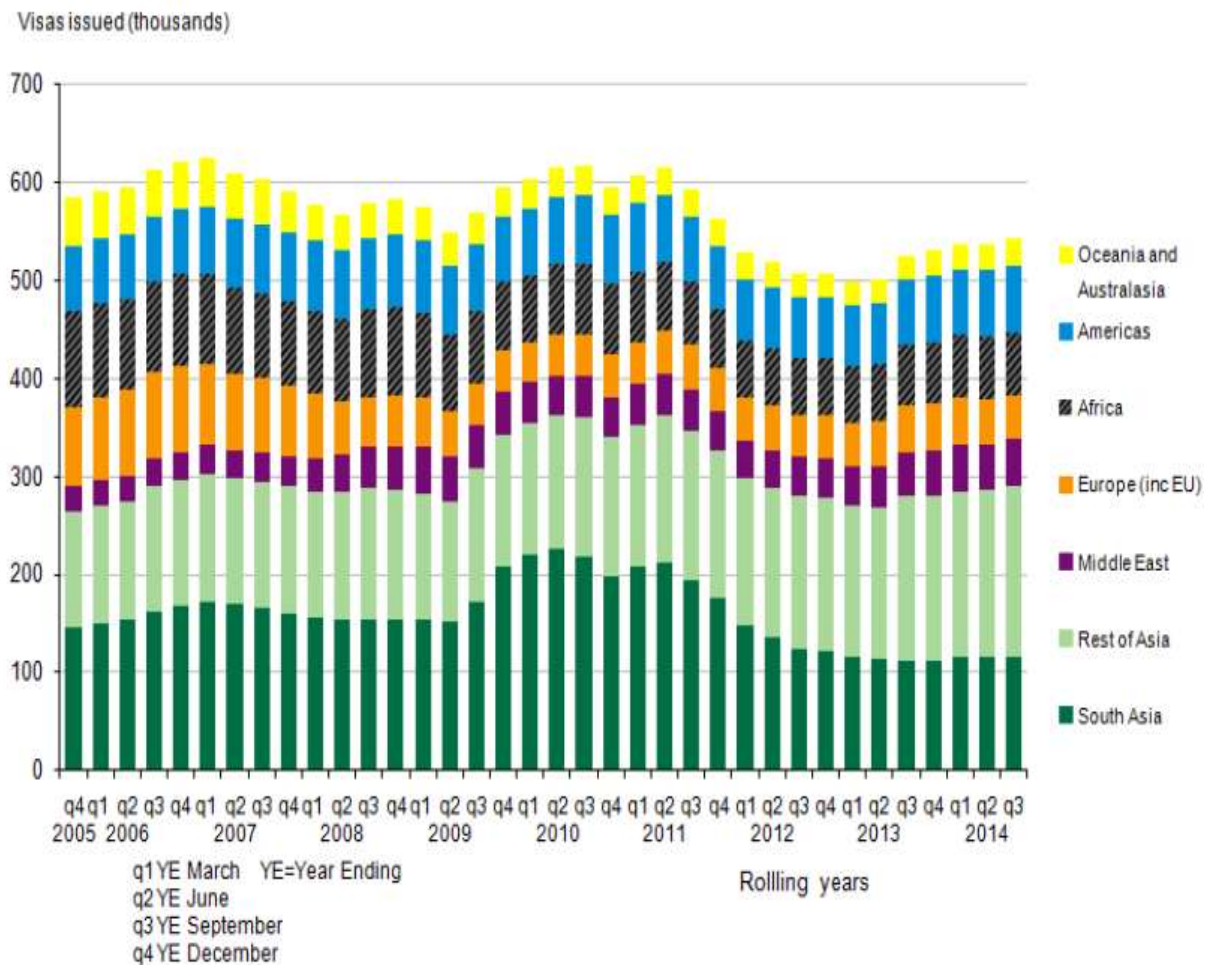


**Figure 16:** Immigration by main reason, 1991-2015. (Source: Hawkins, 2016b, p. 14).

The chart reveals that the first main reason for immigrating to UK is work whose percentage increased from 2004 to 2007. Then fell rapidly to rise sharply in 2013. The second main reason after work is formal study which rose in 2009 and 2011, then fell slowly. Other reasons include joining with family members and others.

Immigrants to UK come from different parts of the world as shown in Figure 17 which records the number of visas granted by World Area in UK each quarter year starting from 2005 until 2014. The chart shows that the majority of visas were granted for Asian nationals who accounted for 53% of the total visas during the year 2014. China and India alone

accounted each for 15% of the total visas; followed by Americans, then Africans, Europeans, Middle Easterns, and Australasians. Comparing the number of visas issued each year shows that there was an increase during the years 2006 and 2007, followed by a slight decrease in 2008, then a rise again three years after that reached 600, 000 visas. In 2012 the number almost stood at 500,00 visas, then rose slowly in 2014.



**Figure 17:** Entry clearance visas granted by world area UK, 2005-2014. (Source: Office for National Statistics, 2014, p. 13).

### 1.3.2.2.2. Multiculturalism Policies

The United Kingdom has adopted some multicultural policies to deal with cultural diversity (Gregory, Johnson, Pratt, Watts & Whatmore, 2013). In this sub-section we will see the impact of applying multicultural policies on British national identity; is it positive? Negative? And how far? But first we need to define “Multiculturalism” as a concept.

### **1.3.2.2.1. Definition of Multiculturalism**

In Craig Calhoun's Dictionary of the Social Sciences (2002), multiculturalism is defined as:

As a descriptive term, multiculturalism refers to the coexistence of people with many cultural identities in a common state, society, or community. As a prescriptive term, it is associated with the belief that racial, ethnic, and other groups should maintain their distinctive cultures within society yet live together with mutual tolerance and respect. (Craig, 2002, p. 323)

The definition distinguishes multiculturalism as a descriptive term and a prescriptive term. Descriptively, multiculturalism simply means coexistence of culturally diverse people in one society. Coexistence means to live in the company of others. Prescriptively, the ideological principle behind multiculturalism is to maintain the uniqueness and distinctiveness of each culture within the society. This can happen only through exchanged respect and tolerance between different ethnic groups.

Coexistence of culturally diverse people is stressed in *The Dictionary of Human Geography* by Ron et al (2011). They argue that only respect for cultural differences make it successful as an ideology and state policy. (Ron et al, 2011)

### **1.3.2.2.2 Brief History of Multiculturalism**

The theme of multiculturalism has raised and developed in the United States, then spread to other countries. It started in USA in a form of debates over the educational curricula in the 1970s and 1980s, in which marginalized ethnic groups and religious sects protested against the content of education that seemed to ignore history made by Native Americans, African Americans, Hispanics, Asians, immigrants, women, and others. Religious sects also protested about the content of education that went against their children's religious uprisings.

They called for varying the educational curricula to contain obligatory and optional modules so that catholic children do not find themselves forced to attend Protestant teachings. This is how the debates on education in USA paved the way for the rise of multiculturalism to deal with the same problem of cultural diversity in the society in which each culture is allowed to exist along with other cultures in a climate of understanding and mutual respect. This solution does not only avoid marginalizing minorities, but also it gives them a place within the whole society, making them proud of their differences as long as they respect others' differences as well. (Craig, 2002)

### **1. 3.2.3. The Impact of Immigration and Multiculturalism on British National Identity**

The United Kingdom has adopted the policy of multiculturalism to deal with its inevitable growing culturally varied society after opening its doors for large numbers of immigrants all over the world. We have seen in previous sections that the British Identity is deteriorating due to the rise of local nationalisms in its four countries, and now we will see what impact has multiculturalism on British national identity? In other words, is multiculturalism helping in maintaining the British identity, or leading to undermining it? and if so how and to what extent?

In fact, like anything else in this globe, multiculturalism is a double-edged weapon and it has positives and negatives with the testimony of researchers and experts in the field. Malory Nye in *Multiculturalism and Minority Religions in Britain: Krishna Consciousness, Religious Freedom, and the Politics of Locations* (2001) for example stresses the importance of multiculturalism to bring different views and ideas to the society and it is far better to live within a multicultural community than to live in

monocultural community. He describes this accurately in a metaphor to makes the idea closer:

The image of multiculturalism could be likened to a metaphor of many islands of culture existing together (in relative harmony) in a sea of plurality. A monoculturalist perspective may just see an archipelago or, worse still, a bloc of colonized islands all under one authority, but a difference multiculturalist will delight in recognizing the separateness, distinctiveness, and uniqueness of each 'island culture'. (p. 270)

So, Nye refers to the positive side of multiculturalism and suggests that instead of having a closed view from one culture, a multiculturalist view make things better. Nevertheless the other side of the coin is that multiculturalism may undermine the main culture of the society as argued by many scholars and writers (Warrier and Wunderlich, 2009; Ron et al, 2011). They argue that multiculturalism produces multiple identities and disturbs the stability of national identities. It also undermines social integration and the fragmentation of society, in addition to the fact that it is almost impossible to represent all groups and minorities (Craig, 2002).

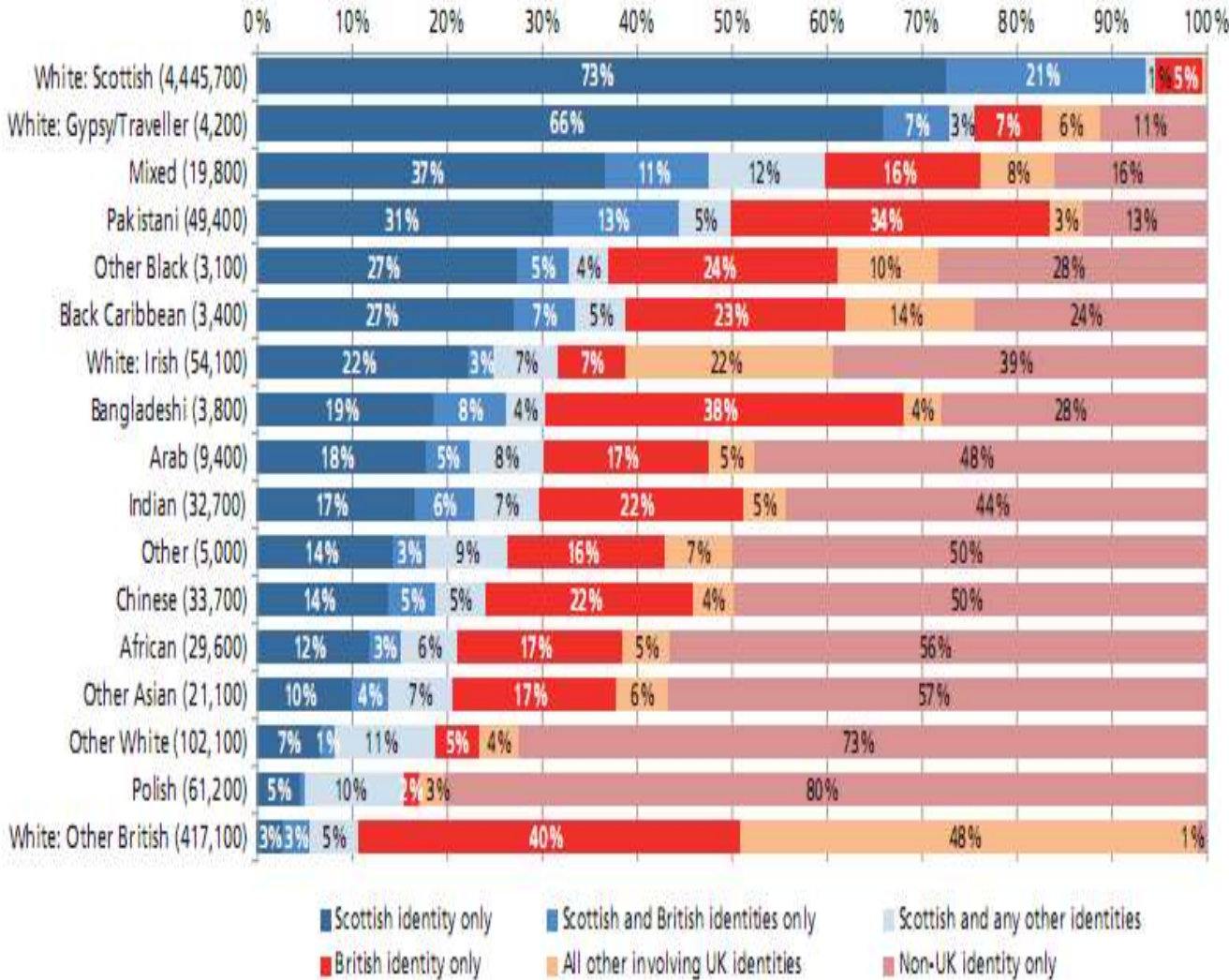
In UK, multiculturalism has failed. It caused only "fragmentation rather than integration" in society (Eade, Barrett, Flood & Race 2008, p. 138). Even Trevor Philips, the chair of the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) admits that multiculturalism is out-date because it encourages self-segregation and separatism within ethnic and religious minorities. Furthermore, many people went against immigration and multicultural policies which were blamed for a number of crises in the country like the riots in England in areas populated by immigrants or the 7/7 bomb attacks of London. In fact this proves that there is a gap between theory and practice. In theory multiculturalism was supposed to promote mutual respect, tolerance, and understanding between different cultures to make their coexistence possible, but in reality, it is not more than "a laissez-faire policy of live and let live" (Eade et al, 2008, p. 138) in which each culture is trying

to survive through undermining others because some people's culture go against others' beliefs and customs in another culture which makes their clash possible. (Eade et al, 2008)

In UK many cultures exist within society along with the main British culture and this is something unavoidable due to the fact that British citizens are not only those white Anglo-Saxon Protestants born and grown up in Britain, but they are also people coming from different parts of the world who acquired their nationality according to the British Nationality thanks to the government's support for immigration and multiculturalism. The question which rises here is: do immigrants who became British citizens claim British national identity? or they tend to be loyal to other identities? Thus leading to 'an identity crisis' within a country which has already been suffering from overwhelming local identities. We will see this through analyzing survey results held in each of the four countries which make up the UK to answer these questions. Respondents were asked to choose the identity which best described themselves.

In figure 18, people in Scotland were asked to choose their ethnic group between: White Scottish, White: gypsy/ traveler, mixed, Pakistani, other black, black Caribbean, white Irish, Bangladeshi, Arab, Indian, other, Chinese, African, other Asian, other white, Polish, white: other British. They are also asked to pick what they feel is their national identity, choosing between: Scottish identity only, British identity only, Scottish and British identities only, all other involving UK identities, Scottish and any other identities, non-UK identity only. This chart allows us to compare the national identity prevailing in each ethnic group and helps us see whether immigrants claim British national identity or not. First of all, we notice that many ethnic groups make up the Scottish society and each claim many identities together, nevertheless, we can find a dominating identity in each ethnic group. "Scottish identity only" is chosen more often by White Scottish, White: gypsy or travelers, mixed, and Black Caribbean. Whereas "British identity only" is chosen first by Pakistani and Bangladeshi. The rest tend to choose

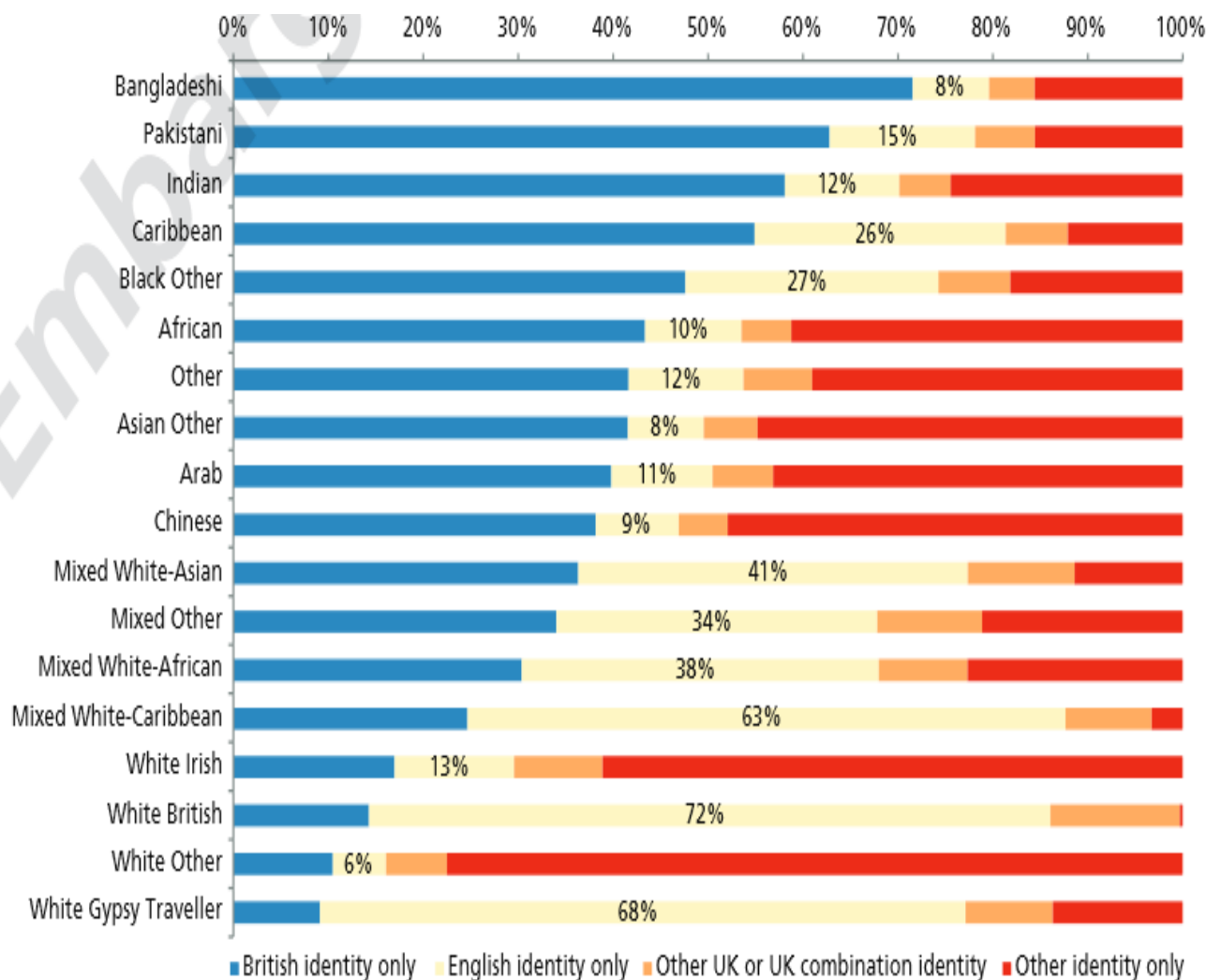
“Non-UK identity”. This includes: other Black, White Irish, Arabs, Indians, other, Chinese, Africans, Other Asians, Other White, Polish, and White: other British. To conclude, most ethnic groups in Scotland either choose Scottish identity only or non-UK identity. This is a heavy blow to the status of British national identity.



**Figure 18:** National identity and ethnic groups in Scotland, 2011. (Source: Simpson and Smith, 2014, p. 1).

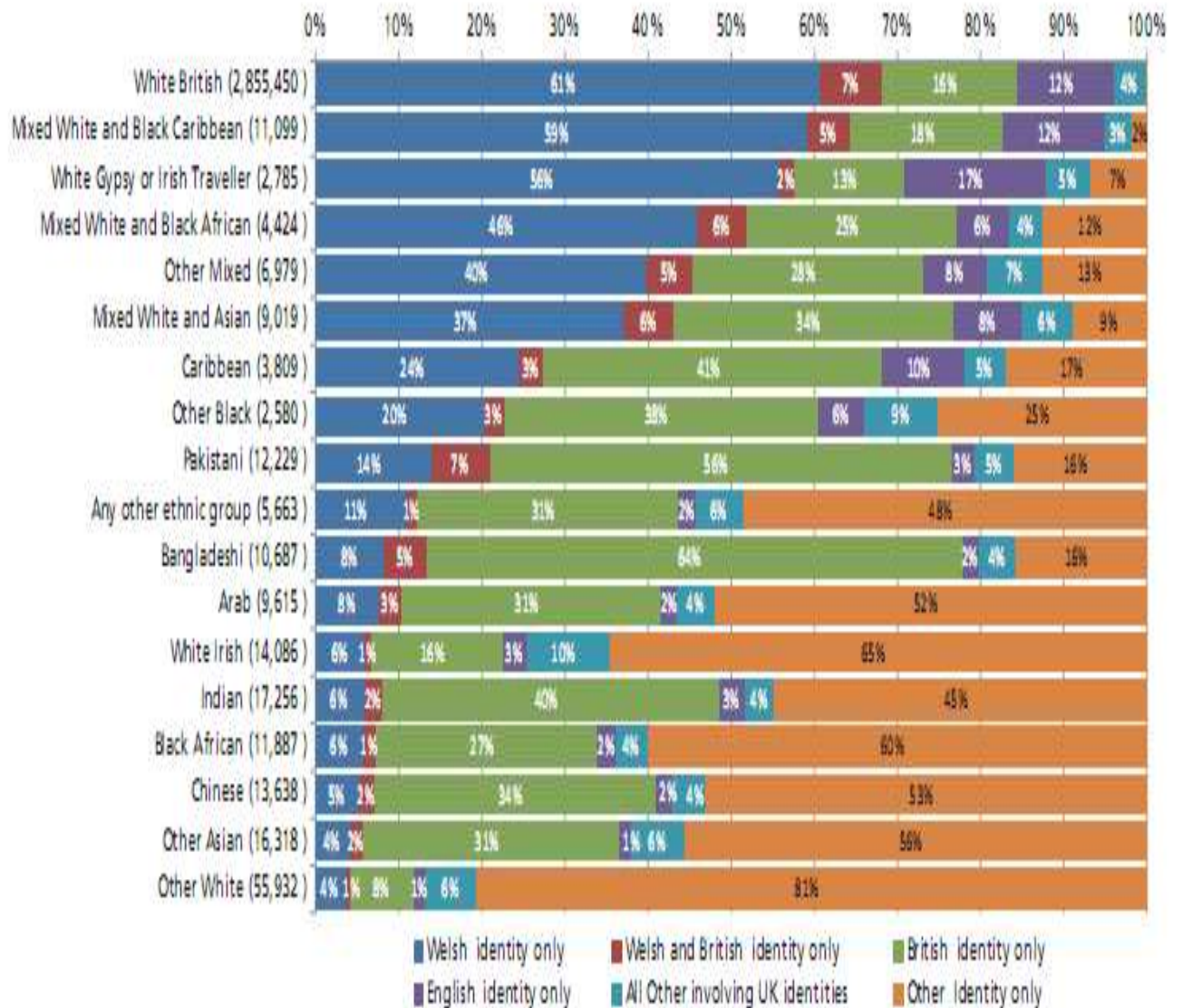
In England, almost the same survey was held as shown in figure 19 in which people were asked to choose their ethnic groups between: Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Indian, Caribbean, Black other, African, other, Asian other, Arab, Chinese, Mixed White-Asian, mixed other, mixed White-African, mixed white-Caribbean, White Irish, White British, White other, White gypsy

traveler. They were also asked to pick all identities which describe themselves including: British identity only, English identity only, other UK or UK combination, and other identity only. “British identity only” is chosen mainly by Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Indians, and Caribbean. Whereas “English Identity only” is chosen more often by White British, White Gypsy travelers, mixed White Caribbeans, mixed White Asians, and mixed white Africans. “other identity only” is chosen by most ethnic groups including: White Irish, White other, Chinese, Arabs, Asians other, and other. To conclude, Ethnic groups in England tend to identify themselves more as British identity in comparison with the Scottish. They tend also to consider themselves as English only, but still many ethnic groups are loyal to other identities.



**Figure 19:** National identity and ethnic groups in England, 2011. (Source: Jivraj, 2013, p. 1).

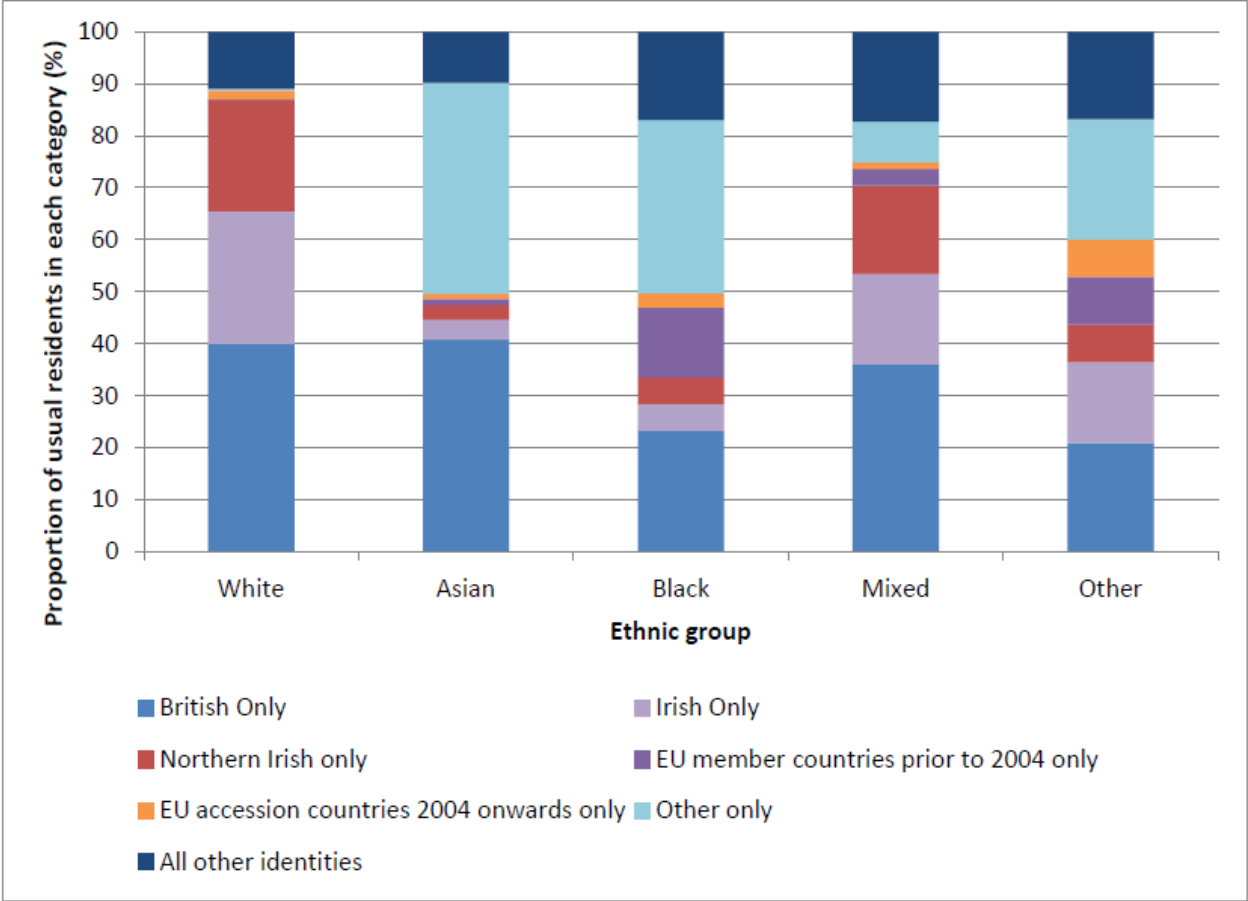
In Wales, the same survey was conducted and people were asked to choose their ethnic groups between: White British, Mixed White and Black Caribbean, White Gypsy or Irish Traveller, Mixed White and Black African, other mixed, Mixed White and Asian, Caribbean, other Black, Pakistani, Any other ethnic group, Bangladeshi, Arab, White Irish, Indian, Black African, Chinese, Other Asian, and other White. They were also asked to choose an identity or more between: Welsh identity only, English identity only, Welsh and British identity only, all other involving UK identities, British identity only, and other identity only. The survey results shows that Wales is made up of many ethnic groups if compared with Scotland and England. The chart reveals that some ethnic groups see themselves Welsh; this includes the groups of White British, Mixed White and Black Caribbean, White Gypsy or Irish Travellers, Mixed White and Black African, other Mixed, and Mixed White and Asian. Only very few ethnic groups saw themselves as British only, this includes the groups of Caribbean, Other Black, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi. Whereas most ethnic groups chose “Other Identity Only”. This is true for: Any other Ethnic Group, Arabs, White Irish, Indians, Black Africans, Chinese, Other Asian, and Other White. In short, only few immigrants in Wales identify themselves as British and they are more loyal to other identities. This means that immigration and multiculturalism in Wales undermines British national identity.



**Figure 20:** National identity and ethnic groups in Wales, 2011. (Source: Harries, Byrne & Lymperopoulou, 2014, p. 1).

In Northern Ireland, the survey was held by Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency in 2013 as shown in Figure 21. People in Northern Ireland were asked to choose their ethnic group first including: White, Asian, Black, Mixed, and Other. They were also offered a number of identities including: British Only, Irish Only, Northern Irish Only, EU member countries prior to 2004 only, EU accession countries 2004 onwards only, Other only, and All other identities. The survey results show that the groups which are more likely to choose “British only” are the groups of the “White”, “Asians”, followed by “Mixed groups. While the lowest vote for

“British only” is recorded with the groups of “Other”, and “Black” who are likely to choose “Other identity”. The results show that as in Scotland, Wales, and with less degree England, immigrants in Northern Ireland tend to be loyal to other identities rather than the British Identity.



**Figure 21:** National identity and ethnic groups in Northern Ireland, 2011. (Source: Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2013, p. 25).

To sum up, these statistics held in the four countries which constitute the United Kingdom reveal alarming figures about the deterioration of British national identity. Due to immigration and multiculturalism policies in the country, the British society became a sophisticated mosaic tableau made up of different groups most of which do not claim the British identity. Even the British public opinion seems to be against immigration which is blamed for undermining Britain’s culture as concluded a survey held by British Social Attitudes in 2013. Respondents were asked about the cultural impact of immigration on Britain’s culture. They are supposed to choose

between: undermined, enriched, neither, or don't know. The following table summarises the results.

<b>Britain's culture is</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>
...undermined (1-4)	47%	45%
...neither (5)	17%	19%
...enriched (6-10)	34%	34%
Don't know	1%	1%
Unweighted base	3311	3244

**Table 26:** British social attitudes towards immigration, 2013. (Source: Park et al, 2014, p. 5).

The table shows that almost half of the sample (45%) see that Britain's culture is undermined, whereas 34% see that it is enriched. To know more about who voted for and against immigration, it is useful to analyse the survey result presented in Table 27

		<b>Cultural Impact</b>		
	<b>Culture is undermined</b>	<b>Neither undermined nor enriched</b>	<b>Culture is enriched</b>	<b>Unweighted base</b>
<b>Sex</b>				
Men	45%	18%	36%	1452
Women	45%	20%	33%	1792
<b>Age</b>				
18-24	39%	22%	37%	237
25-35	36%	17%	45%	457
35-44	40%	18%	42%	554
45-54	50%	16%	33%	541

55-64	50%	18%	30%	533
65-97	53%	22%	23%	917
<b>Education</b>				
Degree	22%	13%	65%	694
Higher edu/a-level	44%	19%	36%	824
O level/GCSE/CSE	59%	20%	19%	715
No qual	56%	22%	17%	690
Household income (quartiles)				
Q1 (lowest income quartile)	50%	22%	27%	783
Q2	47%	22%	29%	626
Q3	48%	17%	34%	567
Q4 (highest income quartile)	36%	13%	50%	627
<b>Occupational Class</b>				
Managerial & professional Occupation	35%	17%	48%	1165
Intermediate occupations	47%	19%	33%	479
Employers in small org; own account workers	47%	23%	28%	287

Lower supervisory & technical occupations	59%	17%	22%	277
Semi-routine & routine occupations	%54	%20	%23	903
<b>Migrant heritage</b>				
Respondent and parents born in GB	51%	18%	30%	2643
1 <sup>st</sup> /2 <sup>nd</sup> gen migrant	24%	22%	52%	596
<b>Party Id</b>				
Conservative	52%	20%	28%	818
Labour	40%	17%	41%	1052
Liberal Democrat	20%	17%	63%	194
other	58%	13%	28%	328
None	48%	23%	26%	581
<b>Country</b>				
England	44%	19%	35%	2799
Scotland	40%	17%	42%	272
Wales	68%	15%	16%	173
Total	45%	19%	34%	3244

**Table 27:** Detailed British social attitudes towards immigration, 2013. (Source: Park et al, 2014, pp. 6-7).

The table gives more details about the respondents including their sex, age, education, occupational class, migrant heritage, party ID, and country. The table shows that men more than

women are likely to say that Britain's culture is enriched (36% to 33%), though both voted equally for "culture is undermined" (45%). Comparing age groups show that the more old respondents are, the more likely that they voted a negative cultural impact of immigration on their culture. For example, the age group of (18-24) voted 39% for "culture is undermined", the age group of (35-44) voted 40%, whereas the age groups of (45-54) and (55-64) voted 50%, and the age group of (65-97) voted 53%. Comparing educational level reveals that the more educated tend to vote a positive cultural impact of immigration on the country's culture. For instance, those with a degree voted 65% for "culture is enriched", those with higher educational level voted 36% for it, those with O level voted 19% for it, and those with no qual voted only 17% for it. Comparing household income quartile shows that the better income it is, the more likely that respondents vote for "culture is undermined" as we can see through vote percentages: Q1(50%), Q2(47%), Q3(48%), Q4(36%). Whereas comparing occupational classes shows that the highest class it is, the more likely respondents tend to vote a negative cultural impact of immigration on British culture. For example, managerial and professional occupations 35%, intermediate occupations and employers in organizations 45%, lower supervisory and technical occupations 59%, semi-routine and routine occupations 54%. The table shows also that respondents and parents born in Great Britain tend to vote for negative cultural impact of immigration as opposed to first or second migrants who tend to vote for a positive cultural impact. It seems that vote is also influenced by political party belonging in which Liberal Democrats support more immigration and praise its cultural impact on Britain's culture (63%), and also Labour with a less degree (41%) as opposed to Conservatives (28%), those who belong to other political parties (28%), and those without any party belonging (26%). In this survey, it seems that the Welsh (68%), followed by English (44%), and Scottish (40%) are more likely to vote for a negative impact of immigration. To conclude, those who see that immigration in UK has more negative

cultural impact on Britain's culture and who seem to be aware of the deterioration of the British culture and the British national identity due to immigration and multiculturalism policies are more than those who think that Britain's culture is enriched by immigration. Analysing the survey results revealed that these people are mainly old people, more educated, those with low income, those with low occupational class, respondents and parents born in GB, Conservatives, and people from Wales.

So, we have seen in this sub-section how immigration and multiculturalism affect negatively the British National Identity which has already been deteriorating due to the rise of local nationalism in the four countries which make up the United Kingdom. The problem with policies of immigration and multiculturalism policies, despite their possible positive economic outcomes, is that the British society is growing into a culturally diverse society in which most immigrants do not claim the British national identity, but they are more loyal to other identities which are related to their place of birth. In fact, the status of the British national identity is further worsened by the cultural impact of the European Union.

### **1.3.3. European Union**

To study the cultural impact of the European Union on the British national identity, it is necessary to have a brief overview about it including a definition, a brief historical background of its making, and a summary of its main institutions and how they function.

#### **1.3.3.1 Brief Overview about European Union**

The European Union is a politico-economic union of 28 member states, most of which are situated in Europe. This includes: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, France, Germany, Greece, The Irish Republic, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Malta, Cyprus, Bulgaria, Romania, and Croatia. Together they cover

an area of 4,324,782 km<sup>2</sup> and a population of over 508 million. under the motto of “United in Diversity” (Barnard, 2007, p. 447).

But these countries did not access the European Union at once; each time a country or group of countries gain membership in it. The history of this union started with six countries signing the Treaty of Rome in 1957 which became to be considered founder members. This includes France, Germany, Italy, Luxemburg, Belgium, and Netherlands. The treaty established the European Economic Community which was set for economic cooperation between member states. The community established custom union which is a trade bloc to form a free trade area with common external tariffs. The same member states signed later on the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) for cooperation in developing nuclear energy. In 1973; these communities expanded with the membership of United Kingdom, Ireland, and Denmark. In 1981, Greece joined the union, followed by Portugal and Spain in 1986 in which the European flag began to be used and the European Union was officially established by the treaty of Maastricht that came into force in 1993. In 1995, some countries gained membership in the union including Austria, Finland, and Sweden; whereas the year of 2004 has seen the biggest enlargement even, including the accession of 10 states at once. This includes Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia. In 2007, two states were admitted Romania, and Bulgaria. Croatia joined the union in 2013 to be the 28<sup>th</sup> member of the European Union. Any country can gain membership to the union provided that it fulfills the Copenhagen Criteria. These can be summarized in having institutions to preserve democracy and human rights, having a functioning market economy with an ability to face competitive pressure and market forces within the union and accepting the political and economic obligations and aims of the European Union. One of the main achievements of the union includes adopting a single currency, the Euro, and establishing the Four Freedoms: free movement of

people, capital, goods, and services. This facilitates for EU citizens to travel, live and work in the 28 member states. (European Union, 2013)

The European Union works through supranational institutions and intergovernmental-negotiated decisions. It has five parts which aim at fostering security, trade, and rights of citizens between its member states. The main part of the union is the European Parliament whose members are elected directly each five years by EU citizens. Every member state has a number of seats in the parliament. For example the United Kingdom has 73 seats out of 766 seats. Most Members of European Parliament (MEP) belong to one of the EU political groupings which have a relation with MEPs political parties at home, each with a particular political orientation. (European Union, 2013)

The parliament legislates laws which take force throughout the territories of member states which had already agreed to pool some of their decision-making powers to the EU especially in matters of common interest. They are made democratically at European level. There are four types of legislation in EU. The first is a *regulation*. It is a law binding in all member states which does not need to be passed by any national legislative body to take force; moreover, national laws have to be changed in case they conflict with European laws. The second type is a *directive* which is also a binding law, but it usually passes by national parliament to give it efficiency. The third type is a *decision*. It has also an abiding force but it is generally addressed more to groups of people or particular individuals rather than member states like addressing some prominent companies to merge. Finally, there are the recommendations or opinions which are not binding but EU advise to take them. (European Union, 2013)

The prominent decision body is probably the Council of the European Union which is made up by all heads of member states. It represents the highest level of cooperation between member states on serious political issues to decide upon the direction, policy, and priority of the union.

Concluded decisions in the council are made by consensus. In addition to the parliament and the council, there is the European Commission which proposes legislations and policies both for the council and the parliament. It also enforces EU laws and manages the budget. Its president is appointed between the candidates proposed by member states, who will in turn appoint the rest members of the commission. The commission works along with the Court of Auditors which checks that EU money is collected and managed correctly. The Court of Justice is another institution whose job is to make sure that EU laws are interpreted and implemented equally in all member states, in addition to checking the actions of EU institution, observing whether member states respect their obligations, and settling disputes through trials. In addition to many specific committees and specialized agencies like the European Economic and Social Committee, the Committee of Regions, the Agency for the Cooperation of energy Regulators, European Agency for Safety and Health at Work, European Fisheries Control Agency, and others. (European Union, 2013)

### **1.3.3.2 The Impact of European Union on the British National Identity**

In a questionnaire held by the British Social Attitudes in 2015, a sample of 954 British were suggested a set of measures that may improve the relation between Britain and the European Union. Respondents were asked to choose: “agree”, “disagree”, or “neither”. The suggested measures and vote for them is presented in Table 28.

The table shows that a considerable percentage of the British develop a kind of hatred to immigrants from other EU. For example, the highest recorded vote was for reducing the ability of migrants from other European Union countries to claim welfare benefits in Britain with a percentage of 68%, in addition to 59% of the British wanted to stop people from other EU countries getting NHS treatment for free, and 51% wanted to end the automatic right of people from other EU countries to come to Britain to live and work.

	% Agree	% Neither	% Disagree
Reduce the ability of migrants from other EU countries to claim welfare benefits in Britain	68	8	17
Reduce how much the EU regulates companies and businesses	60	18	14
Stop people from other EU countries getting NHS treatment for free	59	12	23
End the ability of the EU to decide the maximum number of hours people in Britain can be expected to work	53	22	17
End the automatic right of people from other EU countries to come to Britain to live and work	51	17	27
<i>Unweighted sample size = 954</i>			

Table 28: British attitudes towards Britain’s relationship with Europe. (Source: Curtice, 2016, p. 8)

In another survey held by BSA the same year, the British were asked the following question: “How much do you agree or disagree that being a member of the European Union is undermining Britain’s distinctive identity”. (Curtice, 2016, p.11). The answers are summarized in Table 29.

	<b>2015</b>
Agree	47%
Disagree	30%
Neither agree nor disagree	20%
Don’t know	3%

Table 29: British attitudes towards the cultural impact of EU on BNI. (Source: Curtice, 2016, p. 11).

The table shows that 47% of respondents agree that being a member in EU undermines British identity. Probably because they are aware that being a member in EU allows the flow of many

European immigrants to UK, most of whom do not feel British even if they come to live and work for lifetime as we saw with earlier surveys on immigrants and identity.

### **1.3.4 Globalization**

As any other country, the United Kingdom feels the impact of globalization its national identity, but before studying this point we need to define globalization.

#### **1.3.2.1 Definition of Globalization**

Drehel et al defines Globalization as “a process of creating networks of connections among actors at multicontinental distances, mediated through a variety of flows including people, information and ideas, capitals and goods” (Drehel, Gaston, & Martens, 2008, p. 158). This definition links the concept of globalization with the notion of making ties to link different parts of the world even at very far distances. According to Drehel et al this can be possible through “flows” of many things like goods, capitals, people, and more importantly culture. In fact, the use of the word “flows” suggests that these items move very and in large quantities. This is true especially for mass communication which connects the globe with each other and makes the effects of an event that happens in a particular area felt in another part of the world. For example, when the Brazilian Amazon rainforests shrink, the polar icecaps melt in the Atlantic, and wildfires hit in California; when the prices drastically fall in Wall Street, it is not only USA which goes under an economic depression, but almost half of the world suffer the consequences. Globalization is also felt through the speed and spread of identical products all over the world especially with famous brands like Coca-Cola, MacDonald and others. (Mau, Mewes, & Zimmermann, 2008)

Held et al agree with Drehel et al in their emphasis on “flows” of a number of items to express speed and large quantities, along with the notion of the focus on shrinking distances. Globalization is defined as “increasing cross-border flows of goods, services, money, people,

information, and culture” (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, & Peraton, 1999, p. 16). We see that in both definitions globalization is not only the flow of concrete items like goods, money and people, but also some immaterial items like information, ideas, and culture. We will see briefly the effect of the flow of these items on British national identity next.

#### **1.3.4.2 The Impact of Globalization on British National Identity**

Many theories are offered to explain why globalization weakens nationalisms over the world. Ohmae, for example, suggests that the development of international agencies and organizations of global governance, global markets, and mass communication are uncontrolled factors which national governments can do few to change or administer them. Indeed, it is almost impossible to stop the flow of new ideas, beliefs, and different cultures that people encounter everyday through the television, internet, newspapers, immigrants....etc which expose them to other lifestyles, unfamiliar practices, new beliefs. People suddenly find themselves among all these, sometimes, not even recognizing that they are changing their beliefs or traditions each time, and they end up by having loose attachment to their nation. (Ohmae, 1995)

Anthony Giddens suggests that this historically unprecedented globalization that the world is witnessing these days is mainly due to the spread of international organizations like the European Union and United Nations which continue to reshape societies, economies, and governments. Such bodies call for standard values and principles which minimize differences between peoples which form the core of national identities all over the world. (Giddens 1990)

Like any other nation which is affected by globalisation, Britain suffers from the cultural impact of globalization on British identity which has already been deteriorating due to the rise of local nationalisms in its four countries and multiculturalism and immigrations policies. All these present the realities under which the image of today’s British identity continue to change its

colours, unfortunately into darker ones. In the next section we will see what can the institution of monarchy do about this serious problem.

#### **1.4. The Role of the British Monarchy in Maintaining the British Identity**

Undoubtedly, national identity is highly important for the survival of nations as stressed many scholars both ancient and modern (Keillor et al, 1999; Sindney, 1965, Amkhan, 2010). Only national identity sets a nation's culture apart from another nation to define it better as suggests Shawcross because nations are not just defined by their geographical boundaries, but also by the culture within these boundaries (Shawcross 2002). Moreover, national identity allows a psychological bond between people of the same nation to be established so that they feel belonging to this nation and defend it by their lives when necessary as confirmed by Palmer in *Royalty, National Identity, Heritage, and Tourism* (2008). But what if a country, like Britain, suffers from weak national identity. Definitely this allows gloomy scenarios to cross one's mind. In fact, as there are factors which may affect British identity negatively, there are also factors which may help maintaining it, and the British Monarchy is a prominent factor which may contribute in promoting British identity. The institution of Monarchy is described by Shawcross in *Queen and Country: The Fifty-Year of Elizabeth II* as: "Britain's DNA" for playing a cultural role to maintain the identity of the nation (Shawcross, 2002, p. 91). The same point is stressed by Gimpel in his *Monarchies*, he claims that the British monarch has become the centre of the nation's identity (2011). This can be achieved through appealing to people's emotions. It seems that the Queen is aware of this role as she said in one of her Christmas speeches: "In the old days, the monarch led his soldiers on the battlefield and his leadership at all times was close and personal. Today, things are very different. I cannot lead you to battle. I do not give you laws or administer justice. But I can do something else. I can give you my heart" (Shawcross, 2002, p. 92). According to Yang in *Last Great Queen? Elizabeth II: Mother of Leadership, Seen from*

*the Crowd*, the British need the monarch now just as they did in the past because the issue of identity is so sensitive and important, and only the monarch can keep the nation's identity intact (Yang, 2014). In *The Meaning of Coronation*, Shils and Young insist that the role of the sovereign nowadays is to personify and embody the identity of the nation as confirmed by the British themselves. (2008)

In the next section, we will see into details how can the British monarch maintain the British identity.

### **1.4.1 The British Monarchy as an Iconic Symbol of British Identity**

In *Last Great Queen? Elizabeth II: Mother of Leadership, Seen from the Crowd*, Yang suggests the idea of the British monarch as a national icon which can never be replaced by any politician. He called the monarch as a “central iconic symbol of the British identity” (Yang, 2014, 103). In fact the notion of icon suggests that the sovereign is a symbol or representative of something in particular that people think of when remembering the monarch. In this case, Yang suggests that the Queen is an icon of British Identity. This plays an instrumental role in maintaining the British identity. We will explain this notion through studying the British Monarch as an icon of history, origin, and religion.

#### **1.4.1.1 The British Monarchy as an Icon of History**

The institution of Monarchy is the eldest institution in the world after the papacy, and the British Monarchy in particular has survived since 1077. This means that until now, the institution passes through almost 1000 years, and as such, it represents Britain's vast history. When the British see the Queen, they do not only see history since her coronation, but they see a person who embodies a history which goes back in time starting from the Victorian era, to the Stuarts, the Tudors, and beyond. Thus the Queen represents a living link between the present and the past. (Yang, 2014)

Hobsbawm in *The Invention of Traditions* (2012) stresses the same point. He suggests that the British Monarchy establishes continuity with the past, and nothing looks more ancient than this institution. (Hobsbawm, 2012)

#### **1.4.1.2 The British Monarchy as an Icon of Origin**

Unlike many people who cannot trace their origins and face identity of crisis because they do not know who they are, the British can easily trace back their roots and define themselves very well thanks to the hereditary nature of the British monarchy which allows them to link themselves with their ancestors and descendants; thus, they establish psychological ties and emotional belonging to their nation. After all, “Nationness is also about felt kingship” as insisted Palmer in *Touring Churchill’s England: Rituals of Kingship and Belonging*. (2003, p. 20)

#### **1.4.1.3 The British Monarchy as an Icon of Religion**

Before discussing the British Monarchy as an icon of religion, it is important to consider two facts. The first is that religion is an important component of any national identity, especially civic identity as revealed by a survey conducted by British Social Attitudes in which they asked the British to tick what they consider as an important criterion to be truly British. 24% of respondents ticked the criterion of religion, referring to Christianity in particular (Park et al, 2014). The second fact is that nowadays the British care little about religion as revealed by another poll. British were asked the following question: “Do you see yourself as belonging to any religion? If YES which? The following table summarises the results.

Religion which respondent belongs to	%
No religion	50
Church of England/Anglican	20
Other Christian	(15)
Christian – no denomination	9
Christian – specific denomination <sup>2</sup>	6
Roman Catholic	9
Non-Christian <sup>3</sup>	6
<i>Base</i>	3297

**Table 30:** Religious affiliation in Britain. (Source: Park, Clery, Curtice, Philips, & Utting, 2012, p. 175)

The table reveals that half of the respondents do not belong to any religion at all. 20% belong to the Anglican Church of England, 15% consider themselves other Christian, 9% Roman Catholics, and 6% are non-Christian. This survey reveals alarming facts about religion in Britain as half of the population have no religion at all. In fact, even those few who belong to specific religions do not attend religious services or meetings as we can see through Table 31.

Level of attendance	%
Never	56
Less than annually	5
At least annually	15
At least monthly	9
At least weekly	14
<i>Base</i>	2680

*Base: respondents who affiliate to a religion and/or were brought up in a religion*

**Table 31:** Attendance at religious services or meetings in Britain. (Source: Park et al, 2012, p. 177)

The British Social Attitudes Survey asked the respondents who belonged to any religion in the previous survey to tick the level of attendance, choosing between: never, less than annually, at least annually, at least monthly, or at least weekly. Table 33 shows that more than half of respondents (56%) never attend religious services or meetings, while 14% attend weekly; 9% monthly; and 20% almost annually.

Under these shocking realities, it is important for the British Monarchy to be an icon of religion as well to maintain the British identity. According to Shawcross, being the Supreme Governor of the Church of England enables the Queen to have spiritual and moral leadership, and to be an icon of religion through attending church festivals, memorials, and thanksgiving. (Shawcross, 2002)

The church and religion have always been part of British Royal ceremonies including coronations, jubilees, weddings, and funerals. Not only this, the Queen continues to link the British with religion through her Christmas speeches in which she preaches about Christian virtues like being kind to family, tolerance, sacrifice. However, starting from the sixties on, she has been talking about the importance of faiths in general not specifying any religion. (Seward, 2015)

Bradley in *God Save the Queen: the Spiritual Heart of Monarchy*, recognizes the British monarch as a symbol of moral virtues and qualities which may inspire all the British. Throughout his book, he stresses the sacramental and spiritual dimension of the monarchy focusing on the importance of ritual, tradition, and metaphysical imagination. (Bradley, 2012)

#### **1.4.2 The British Royal Family as an Ideal British Family and a Reference of British Values**

Being an icon of history, origin, and religion compel the British Royal family to set some standards in terms of personal conduct. According to Yang, the British monarchy embodies certain fundamental standards and values which are widely accepted among the British regardless

of their religious belonging. The Queen has shown these values through her civic engagements applying her view that kings and queens are servants of their people. (Yang, 2014)

Royal commitment to public service and duty can be seen in the role that the Queen plays in time of national disasters. Even before her coronation, the sovereign went to the east coast of England to console victims of the North Sea floods. In 1966, 146 people were killed by slagheap collapse in the mining village of Aberfan in South Wales, and most of victims were children schools. The Queen went there and she even allowed herself to climb a buried school to address people openly. With tears in her eyes, the queen said: “As a mother I’ m trying to understand what your feelings must be. I’m sorry I can give you nothing at present but sympathy”, the villagers were deeply touched by her speech and kind heart. (Shawcross, 2002, p. 97)

Thirty years later from this tragedy, an intruder massacred children in their schools in Dunblane, Scotland. As expected, the Queen travelled there to give comfort to victims. It is recorded that one child of Dunlane asked her where her crown was, she replied: “I left it behind; there was no room on the plane” (Shawcross, 2002, P. 97). It is the humble character of the queen and her care after her people which make her close to the British hearts as claimed by Yang (2014)

The Queen’s public commitment and care for promoting social moral values can be seen also through participating in charities and granting honors to recognize notable contributions to society. For this reason, twice a year, on New Year Day and mid-June, about 1,100 people are granted honours. The Queen does not choose them in person. This is the job of a vast set of specialized organizations which nominate each year. Besides granting honors, the Queen sends letters of congratulations to acknowledge the achievements of people that promote the interests of the British. Recognition of distinctive success and accomplishment is given through invitations to garden parties which may include up to 40,000 people. (Shawcross, 2002)

In addition to embodying moral virtues through civic engagement, the idea of having a ruling family carries on deep meanings of belonging to this representative of British families which establish emotional bonds with the first family in UK, about this Long and Palmer say

Family on the throne has the potential to exercise a powerful imaginative hold over the population. This is significant because thinking about royalty as a family enables individuals to make connections between their own family and that of the people who represent them. In this way, people and nation have something in common, a shared understanding about and experience of family life. (Long & Palmer, 2008, p199 )

Pimlott in *The Queen: Elizabeth II and the Monarchy* explains how the British royal family is knit with another to form one great family via the identification of each British family with the royal family (Pimlott, 2001). Shils and Young stress the same point as they argue that some bonds are created between the royal family and the wider national family. They take the marriage of Princess Margaret to the commoner Anthony Armstrong Jones as an illustrative example in which the bonds between ordinary British people and the royal family were intensified as people could simply contact her husband (Shills and Young, 1953).

Palmer in *Touring Churchill's England: Rituals of Kingship and Belonging* explains the importance of creating a psychological bond which unites people together to form a nation. He adds that this psychological bond is based on emotion rather than reason, including imagination, memory, and felt history (Palmer, 2003). In another article entitled: *Royalty, National Identity, Heritage and Tourism*, Palmer argues that the institution of monarchy creates such psychological bonds, and he speaks about how the idea of a royal family is used to maintain strong sense of national cohesion. He adds that the role of the British royal family as a symbol of nationness is more important than the constitutional functions of the institution of monarchy. (Palmer, 2008)

In *Beyond Reason: The Nature of the Ethno-national Bond*, Connor explains how the idea of family carries of emotional resonance to enable people to have common kingship ties and feel that they are a nation with shared descent and history in one big unified family (Connor 1993)

Like Palmer and Connor, Bagehot was aware of the importance of the monarch's appeal to people's emotions. He argues that the institution of British monarchy will survive despite loud calls for its abolition because it can affect the British in many ways by using emotions. He says in his own words: "so long as the human heart is strong and the human reason weak, royalty will be strong because it appeals to diffused feelings, and Republicans weak because they appeal to the understanding" (Bagehot, 1905, p.33)

Being the first family in the country directs all the eyes towards it, and because this family is supposed to represent the royal family it has to be a model family to follow. Palmer argues that the royal family needs to be an ideal family or at least to represent how should a normal family look like (Palmer, 2008). Regarding the British monarch as an icon of history, origin, and religion, the royal family is compelled to behave in a decent manner because the British people expect them to be a reference of values and their position allow them to provide spiritual leadership for the British. Through Christmas days, the Queen deliver speeches to celebrate this occasion with her people and to preach also about keeping faith, having moral virtues and passing these virtues to children (Seward 2015). The Queen also works hard to draw a good image for the British Monarchy. Her good conduct is unquestionable (Shawcross 2002), but some of royal members behavior do not quite go with the proper way they should act in and the Monarch always interferes to defend the dignity of the institution as was the case with Prince Edward who was next in line to be a king when he insisted on marrying Mrs. Simpson, a twice divorcee American commoner who was judged to be unsuitable to be the next Queen. The idea is that it was improper for a royal family, which is supposed to present a good example for the British to

follow, to let a seductress like Mrs. Simpson threaten the existence of the monarchy which is based on its spiritual leadership and iconic symbol of all that is British. (Palmer, 2008)

It is undeniable that the institution of the monarchy is shaken by scandals made by its royal family members from time to time like the extra-marital relations of Prince Charles of Wales, and Princess Diana Spencer, the misconduct of their son Prince Harry, and others but still the British see royal family members as a model to follow as revealed a survey conducted by Yougov in 2012 with a sample of 1743 British people. Respondents were asked if they thought that Prince William and Prince Harry were good or bad role models for young people. The following table summarises the results.

Fieldwork: 27th - 28th May 2012

	Voting intention			2010 Vote			Gender		Age				Social grade		Region					Monarch or elected			
	Total	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Male	Female	18-24	25-39	40-59	60+	ABC1	C2DE	London	Rest of South	Midlands / Wales	North	Scotland	Monarch	Elected head	
<b>Weighted Sample</b>	1743	432	575	104	564	436	376	847	896	211	444	596	492	994	749	223	566	373	429	152	1271	285	
<b>Unweighted Sample</b>	1743	426	550	109	562	414	404	840	903	99	435	740	469	1098	645	297	595	319	393	139	1272	290	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%

Do you think Prince William and Prince Harry are good or bad role models for young people?

Prince William

Good role model	80	92	77	78	89	79	77	76	84	71	78	82	84	80	81	79	83	84	78	72	91	49
Bad role model	4	2	6	5	2	4	5	5	3	8	4	3	3	4	4	4	4	3	3	5	0	16
Neither	11	5	15	12	7	13	13	13	10	11	10	12	11	12	9	13	10	6	14	16	7	25
Don't know	5	1	3	4	2	4	5	6	3	9	8	3	2	4	6	3	3	7	5	7	1	10

Prince Harry

Good role model	63	71	65	51	70	65	56	59	67	60	57	64	68	61	66	61	63	67	63	58	73	32
Bad role model	10	6	12	15	7	11	12	12	8	14	12	10	6	12	8	10	10	8	11	11	7	25
Neither	21	19	20	29	19	18	25	22	20	16	22	21	22	22	19	26	22	15	20	22	18	30
Don't know	6	3	4	5	4	6	7	7	5	11	9	4	4	5	8	4	4	10	6	8	3	12

Table 32: Prince William and Prince Harry as models (Source: YouGov, 2012)

The table reveals that the majority of the people questioned consider the two young princes as good examples especially Prince William who was thought to be a good role model by 80% of respondents, while 63% of them see his brother Prince Harry as a model. In fact, this question about whether the two princes are good or bad examples to follow implies that there is a tendency among the British to take members of the royal family as models as we have seen earlier in theory by many scholars. The vote of respondents seem to accord with theory. But what is astonishing is that even though Prince Harry had misconduct lately, he is still considered as a model for young people. It is true that he did not receive as high votes as his brother William, but still 63% represents a large majority of respondents. Probably because as any other British people, royal family members are human beings who err, fall, and rise. And as any British citizen, their behavior is not always sanctimonious. The British Royal family represents the normal British family whose conduct is penetrated by some problems and scandals. This idea is best described in

the words of Shils and Young in *The Meaning of Coronation*:

The events of the 1990's, the marriage breakdowns of the Queen's children, the fire at Windsor Castle, and the televised confession of adultery by Prince and Princess of Wales exploded the ...such problems merely strengthen royalty's ability to represent 'us'. The royal family's very fallibility enables people to emotionally connect with them on the basis of a shared understanding and experience of the hardships of life.

(Shils and Young, 1953, p. 19)

The quotation lists a number of royal scandals that plagued the monarchy starting by the divorce of three of the Queen's children. The first to divorce was the Princess Royal Ann who was married to Captain Mark Phillips on 14 November 1973 and had two children: Peter Mark Andrew Phillips, born in 1977, and Zara Anne Elizabeth Phillips, born in 1981. The Queen

Elizabeth was believed to offer Captain Phillips peerage but he refused; thus deprived his children of receiving titles like Honorable, Lady, or Lord. The problem between the couple when Captain Phillips made an extra-marital relation with a New Zealand art teacher Heather Tonkin and fathered a daughter in 1985 as confirmed by DNA Testing in a paternal suit. In 1992, the couple divorced.

The second to divorce was Prince Andrew, Duke of York who married Sarah Ferguson on 23 July 1986 and received many titles on his wedding day, including: Duke of York, Earl of Inverness, and Baron Killyleagh. The couple appeared to have a happy life with their two daughters, but due to the Prince's continuous trips due to his military careers, as well as the relentless focus of media on his wife which culminated in pictures in which the duchess appeared in intimate association with her financial advisor Bryan John. This led to the divorce of the couple in 1996.

The third to divorce was Prince Charles who married Lady Diana Spencer in 1981, and had two children: Prince William born in 1982, and Prince Harry born in 1984. After five years of apparent incompatibility with a difference of 13 years, as well as the extra-marital affair of Prince Charles with his ex mistress Camillia Bowles led to separation and divorce later on in 1996. The fire at Windsor Castle came to symbolize all these scandals as a blow to the prestige of the monarchy. (Jones & Norton, 2014)

Despite all these scandals, royal family members continue to command a large support among the British as we have seen through surveys conducted by YouGov probably as Shills and Young suggested in *The Meaning of Coronation* these problems reinforces the idea that the British Royal family really represent the British who suffer such problems in their daily life and compel them to face the hardship of life, even their fallibility eases the unconscious process of establishing emotional bonds with the Royal family who is like just any normal British family (Young and Shills, 1953). Support for the British royal family and the British monarchy can be seen through the amount of letters that the Queen receives every day. Their number range between 200 and

300 letters from her subjects in Britain and Commonwealth realms and the number increases when there is a birthday, a wedding, or any royal occasions. The Queen checks her post every morning and makes a random selection to read some of them. About this said Queen Elizabeth II in 1987 as quoted by Shawcross: “I make a point of reading as many of them as I possibly can. I value all these letters for keeping me in touch with your views and opinions” (Shawcross, 2002, p. 92)

Support for the crown can also be seen through the passion by which the British people carefully follow news of royal family members like the divorce of Margaret, the Queen’s sister, which became a public affair, the romance of the Queen’s children that attracted more attention, especially that of Prince Charles and Diana. People closely followed their story from the beginning until the end, starting by their courtship, marriage, and subsequent divorce. Even now, their sons Prince Charles and Harry are still a subject of public interest who has been watching them growing and live their romances as well. (Gimpel, 2011).

British people do not hesitate to celebrate with the royal family their triumphs and share with them both joy and grief. We can see this clearly during royal celebrations including the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II, the silver jubilee, the golden jubilee, the diamond jubilee and others as we are going to see next into details focusing on how the British respond to these royal celebrations and in what way can participation in these events enhance the status of British identity. (Yang, 2014).

#### **1.4.3. Royal Ceremonies as a Way to Maintain British Identity**

According to Encyclopedia Britannica, Queen Elizabeth II serves as a symbol of her country through royal ceremonies and events in personal life (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2014). This may sound astonishing but the Queen herself confessed that her personal life turned to be her true job as a monarch to maintain the British identity: “It’s a job for life. Most people have a job and then they go home, but in this existence the job and the life go together. You can’t really divide it

up” (Seward, 2015, P. 9). Royal ceremonies are so popular among the British. Indeed, the passion by which the British support royal events is a contested field of research among sociological and psychological scholars. Yang, for example, in *Last Great Queen? Elizabeth II: Mother of Leadership, Seen from the Crowd* describes how the British people was fervently waiting for their Queen to pass by in one of her trips:

“I watched down-to-earth, no-nonsense town go mad for the Queen. Thousands lined the street, hung out of windows, climbed lamp-posts to catch a glimpse of their monarch. They stood for hours in a chilly wind wearing daft hat. Times are tough, the challenges are great and we respond by cheering an aspect of our culture that, for all its irrationality, is uniquely ours”. (Yang, 2012, p. 108)

#### **1.4.3.1 Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II**

Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II was in 1953 when she was only 25 years old. A year after the death of her father George who died in sleep because of long struggle with lung cancer due to heavy smoking. Few years ago, Queen Elizabeth II was not expected at all to be crowned as a monarch, only the sudden and surprising abdication of her uncle King Edward to marry the twice divorcee American Wallis Simpson put her next in line after her father to be the monarch. (Bradley, 2012)

The coronation took place a year after the death of her father because it took long time to plan and organize it, partly because of the wish of the Princess to televise the ceremony to enable her subjects and people around the world to see it. This wish met a stiff opposition from the government including Prime Minister Winston Churchill, but the Queen insisted on televising it to be the first televised coronation in the history of Britain for which the Queen was given the title Television Queen as called by Crew in *Britain's Television Queen*. (Crew, 2012)

This ushered in a new era in which the monarchy is brought closer to people. It is estimated that 20 million people watched the coronation on television in Britain and throughout the world. Not the TV was alone in this; the Queen delivered her historic radio broadcast to the British early that day exactly on nine o'clock from the Royal Closet in Buckingham Palace. It was broadcast on the Home Service, Light Programme, and the single television channel, though they had sound only. In the speech, the Queen thanked the public for their support and promised them to devote herself for her people and do their best, following the same path of her father and grandfather to encounter her little experience. She also spoke of what she hoped to achieve and how will be the tone of her reign. (Seward, 2015)

The television sent its cameras to Westminster Abbey where the coronation took place. The Queen swore oath to maintain law and order and govern the Church of England. The coronation was very successful. Journalists wrote fondly of the British monarchy and spoke of New Elizabethan Age praising her determination and courage to televise the coronation despite the advice of the government not to let the intrusive camera in. (Ashton, 2009).

In fact, the television gave the traditional ritualized coronation another dimension through media exposure. The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) let the ceremony to be broadcast both in TV and radio and this was the greatest achievement for BBC at that point. The broadcast of the coronation was made in 24 languages and watched by 20 million people around the world. Even though the television was still new for the British in 1953, people gathered in the crowded sitting-rooms around their neighbors' sets to watch the Queen being crowned. Those who were not so fortunate to have a place in sitting rooms gathered outside to see through windows. Other people clustered in streets where some television owners place their TVs. The next day, news reports were full of accounts of people overcome by their emotions when seeing the Queen,

crying, and even fainting. Celebration took place after the coronation and a commemorative medal was issued throughout the sixteen Commonwealth Realms. (Steffef, 2008)

It seems that the monarchy caused strong emotional reaction among the British. In *Monarchy*, Rebecca Steffef stresses the cultural dimension of the coronation, making an interesting link between the coronation and a sense of history. She argues that: “like the coronation ceremony itself, the progress was part of a long tradition. Its purpose was to remind people of their heritage, to link the present with the past and it fulfilled that purpose” (Steffef, 2008, p.16). Here, Steffef considers the coronation ceremony as a British tradition which serves in establishing a link between the present and the past. The same idea is stressed by British social historian Harold Nicolson who said that royal ceremonies “were above all else impressed by a sense of history” (Steffef, 2008, p. 16)

#### **1.4.3.2 Silver Jubilee**

According to Robert Lacey in *Monarch: the Life and Reign of Elizabeth II*, the origin of jubilees was the Jewish Festivals which were held in Old Testament every forty-nine years. The Jewish jubilee was religiously celebrated a whole year. In Britain, Royal jubilees started at the beginning of the nineteenth century with King George III who wanted to celebrate his fiftieth years reign. (Lacey, 2003)

The Silver Jubilee of Queen Elizabeth II in 1976 marked the queen’s twenty-five years on the throne. Unfortunately, the Silver Jubilee celebration was held at a time when Britain was suffering from a set of economic problems, including problems of inflations and balance of payments which reached their peaks in the 1970s. In addition to the sharp decreases in the prices of oil and the huge crisis of coal miners in 1973, even trade unions seemed very powerful, probably because in the last 25 years no government was able to deal with these economic problems. The economic situation was so bad that the government was compelled to apply for a

loan from the International Monetary Fund in return for considerable cuts in public expenditures. To conclude, there was a sense of failure in Westminster and all the country (Shawcross, 2002). All these the dreams of a New Elizabethan Age evaporate. Cannon in *A Dictionary of British History* described the Queen's reign as "a somber reign" (Cannon, 2009, p. 593). The Queen herself was disappointed, especially by her sister's marital failure which "added to a catalogue of bad omens" (Lacey, 2003, p. 250).

Nevertheless, the British celebrated the jubilee enthusiastically. Indeed, twelve thousands, or perhaps more, street parties were organized by local communities throughout the kingdom to celebrate the Queen's Silver Jubilee (Lacey, 2003). In the entry for the Michael Aspel Capital Radio Silver Jubilee Poetry Competition the following description was made to have a close image about how the British celebrated the occasions as quoted by Lacey:

I wish you could have been there for our party in the street,  
With all the kids a-shouting the stamping of their feet,  
Flags and bunting flying, dancing on the green,  
And Mums were even crying\_What a Caper! What a scene!

(Lacey, 2003, p.247)

It estimated that the Queen made six tours of the UK and she visited 36 countries, including the Pacific, Western Samoa, Fiji, Tonga, New Zealand, Australia, and Papua New Guinea. On the board of her yacht *Britannia* that the Queen had chosen to make her tour, Commodore Anthony Morrow stated: "everywhere we went, we had these aquatic welcomes: boats, people\_ harbor entrances would be just packed with people everywhere" (Shawcross, 2002, p. 114)

The deep affection and appreciation that the British had for their Queen during that time can be seen through the millions of people who gathered to greet her when she passed by. Stephen Matthews who was the Queen's coachman at St Paul's Cathedral on 7 June said about this point:

It was just one noise, from the moment we went outside the gate till you actually got to St Paul's and your ears were ringing...you just couldn't hear anything...You couldn't even hear the horses' feet hitting the floor. There were banks of people each side of the road, and the people were of very, very mixed ages.

(Shawcross, 2002, p. 115)

This quotation summarises how successful the Silver Jubilee of the Queen was. The British celebrated with their Queen her 25 years of reign enthusiastically with all love and respect.

### **1.4.3.3 Golden Jubilee**

The Golden Jubilee of Queen Elizabeth II marked the fiftieth anniversary of her accession to the throne. Despite the death of her sister, Princess Margaret, and her mother, Queen Elizabeth the Queen's Mother in 2002 which made the media predict that there would be no anniversary at all, the jubilee was made and Queen Elizabeth attended all the scheduled official celebrations. With her husband, the Duke of Edinburgh, and throughout the year, she toured more than 40,000 miles to Australia, the Caribbean, New Zealand then the United Kingdom in which many commemorative medals stamps and other symbols were issued in addition to buildings parks, landmarks and the like which were named in honour of her golden Jubilee. Popular events were held throughout Britain and the all the Commonwealth Realms, and street parties throughout the kingdom were countless. In *Fifty Years the Queen: Tribute to her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II on her Golden Jubilee*, Busfield and Taffoli conclude that the people's celebration of the Queen's Golden Jubilee means that she is worth to be celebrated and supported. This is not only is a celebration of her jubilee, but also a celebration and support of the institution which has produced. (Busfield and Taffoli, 2002)

**1.4.3.4 Diamond Jubilee**

The Diamond Jubilee of Queen Elizabeth II marked its sixty years on the throne. It took place in 2012. Unlike the Queen’s Silver and Golden Jubilees, in the Diamond Jubilee the Queen and her husband Duke of Edinburgh toured only the United Kingdom. Other parts of the Commonwealth Realms were toured by her children and grandchildren instead. In the Queen’s Diamond Jubilee Year: A Royal Souvenir, Annie Bullen noted that since the Queen had been on the throne she dealt with 12 Prime Ministers, gave royal assent to more than 3,500 Bills, and she was the second British Monarch to celebrated the Diamond Jubilee after Queen Victoria her great-great grandmother. (Bullen, 2012)

As with previous jubilees, the British celebrated with their Queen this event, and she was passionately cheered up by thousands of people who clustered to celebrate the Queen’s reign for 60 years as confirmed a poll conducted by YouGov with a sample size of 1743 adults between 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> May 2012. Respondents were asked what the Diamond Jubilee of the Queen represented for them. The following table summarises the results:

This year marks the 60 <sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Queen’s reign which will be marked on the 4 <sup>th</sup> June 2012 as the Diamond Jubilee. Which, if any, of the following do you think that the Diamond Jubilee represents? (Please tick all that apply)	<b>Vote of the sample (%)</b>
An opportunity to celebrate the Queen’s reign for 60 years	<b>51%</b>
Extra time to spend with family/friends	<b>45%</b>
A day off work (i.e. bank holiday)	<b>44%</b>
A time to remember the Queen end the royal family	<b>43%</b>
A chance to go to local events (e.g. street parties) and	<b>33%</b>

spend time with the community	
Extra time to go on holiday	<b>18%</b>
None of these	<b>8%</b>
Don't know	<b>3%</b>

**Table 33:** What does Diamond Jubilee mean for people? (Source: YouGov, 2012, “Royal Family + Jubilee”, p. 19)

The table shows that more than half of the population (51%) see that the Diamond Jubilee is an opportunity to celebrate the Queen’s reign for 60 years, and 45 % see the occasion as an opportunity to celebrate Britain in general, though the jubilee was considered also as a day off work (44%) and an opportunity to spend extra time with friends and relatives (43%).

#### **1.4.3.5 Christmas Days**

Since her accession to the throne in 1952, the Queen had been giving Christmas broadcasts which she often uses as an opportunity to speak about a Christian point, though since the sixties and with the increasing populations of different religious thoughts, she started emphasizing the importance of faith in general with no reference to Christianity in particular; thus, contributing in maintaining one of the most important component of any identity. The Queen chooses different topics for her Christmas speeches, though she is not allowed to state her own views. For example, the Queen spoke about her silver wedding in the Christmas broadcast of 1972 in which she preached about domestic virtues to emphasize what some scholars claim that the Queen is an inspiring source of virtues and makes her play a considerable role in keeping identity. The following quotation illustrates this point: “One of the great Christian ideals is a happy and lasting marriage between man and wife, but no marriage can hope to succeed without a deliberate effort to be tolerant and understanding”. (Seward, 2015, p. 99)

Here, the Queen speaks about a “Christian ideal” in particular. This supports the argument that Christmas days are an opportunity to preach Christian points for a society whose faith is deteriorating; by such, the Queen is trying to maintain a vital portion of the British identity. The Queen is also careful about choosing what a Christian ideal to talk about. She decided on a virtue that people of different religions agree on.

In fact, Christmas days do not only have a religious dimension which undoubtedly serve in preserving the British identity, but they have also another psychological and sociological dimension. It is the idea of making the British a part of a big national family in which the British Royal family represents an ideal British family. This aim is served through Christmas days in which the Queen speaks about personal family occasions like silver wedding and the engagement and marriage of her daughter Princess Ann and Captain Mark Philips. The British respond to these royal family occasions and share with the Queen her happiness and sorrow as we can see through the following extract of one of the Queen’s Christmas speeches:

I am glad that my daughter’s wedding gave such pleasure to so many people just at a time when the world was facing very serious problems. People all over the world watched the wedding on television, but there were still many in London on the day, and their warmth and enthusiasm ensured it was an occasion my family will never forget.

(Seward, 2015, p. 103)

The British seem to share with the Royal family her grieves too, as was the case in the death of Princess Diana Spencer.

#### **1.4.3.6 Death of Princess Diana Spencer**

Lady Diana Spencer was the first wife of Prince Charles. They married in 1981 and had two children: Prince William and Prince Harry. After five years of marriage the couple divorced. Some people blame the incompatibility between the couple due to 13 years difference of age,

while others blame the extra-marital relation of Prince Charles with his ex-mistress Camillia Bowles that annoyed Princess Diana as she stated clearly in *Panorama interview*. Princess Diana herself confessed that she had an affair with a man rather than her husband. In 1995, the Queen wrote to her son Prince Charles and Princess Diana, urging them to divorce, and this what happened exactly after a year. Few years after divorcing Prince Charles, Lady Diana Spencer was killed in a tragic car accident, and the British all around the kingdom seemed to be deeply affected by her death in an unprecedented way that led many specialists to contest in an attempt to explain this phenomenon. People were found crying in streets in a way that astonished the world who knew about the British their introvert character when it comes to emotions for the British custom goes that expressing emotions in public is considered both weakness and disgrace. Thousands of people gathered for many days in the Princess tribute, leaving flowers and messages which were accumulated to the extent that they were considered to be threat to public safety. Everywhere people were crying their Princess. “Because she was so liked, people didn’t easily accept her death. The day that she died I came in on the lunchtime and it was just deathly quiet everywhere, no body spoke, nobody said hardly anything” said Marilyn Griffiths, a worker at Walsall Hospital that Princess Diana had once visited (Coward, 2007, p. 183).

Though Prince Charles run with his two children to the place where Lady Diana was killed, the British considered royal response to her death insufficient. Huge mutinous crowds gathered in front of the palace gates asking the Queen to deliver a speech and show more sympathy to tragic death of her daughter-in-law. The Queen, though being not able to figure out the public’s response to the death of someone they did not know personally, found herself almost obliged to say a word about the death of Lady Diana Spencer. She decided to deliver what Seward described in *The Queen’s Speech: An Ultimate Portrait of the Queen in her Own Words*: “the most difficult speech she had ever given” (Seward, 2015, p. 11). In a contrite calm voice, the

Queen started her speech by: “What I say to you now as your Queen, and as a grandmother, I say from my heart. I for one believe there are lessons to be drawn from her life...” (Seward, 2015, P. 11). In this motherly speech, the Queen praised Princess Diana and described her as an exceptional and gifted human being, in good times and bad times” (Yang, 2014, p. 8). She also thanked the public for their love and care for the Princess and the wonderful flowers and messages they left at her tribute. (Seward, 2015)

This public reaction to the death of Princess Diana was described by many as unusual and unprecedented because the British put their customary reserve aside and wept in streets and the monarchy was fiercely criticized openly for not showing enough sympathy with the dead princess. British response to the death was even as a “Myth and unreason” by Victor J. Seidler in *Remembering Diana: Cultural Memory and Reinvention of Authority* (Seidler, 2013, p. 34), but the question is why?

One answer to this question might be the fact that Princess Diana was a source of inspiration to many people as acknowledged by the Queen herself when she said: “I for one believe there are lessons to be drawn from her life” (Seward, 2015, p. 11), the Queen added: “She never lost her capacity to smile and laugh, nor to inspire others with her warmth and kindness. I admired and respected her for her energy and commitments to others” (Yang, 2014, P. 87). Indeed, Princess Diana was engaged in many charitable works and was known for her civic engagement, especially her intervention concerning AIDS along many societies, trusts, and foundations like Parkinson’s disease Society and the Child Bereavement Trust. She also transformed public perception for people whom the society used to sneer at like homelessness, people suffering from leprosy, mental health issues, and drug addiction and called for treating them with passion. (Coward, 2007)

Not only civic engagement that attracted people to Princess Diana, but also her courageous challenge for old royal traditions and her brave stances. She could have simply ignored her husband's continuous betrayal with his former mistress Camillia Bowles and pretend that everything is ok and live as a princess with all prestige that come by, but she said no! and sought divorce. Seidler argues that emotional is the price that rulers generally pay for their rule. Sometimes they prefer to sacrifice their happiness to maintain their rule even if this means living with a person they do not stand as long as they enjoy power and privileges. Princess Diana broke this tradition with the Panorama interview in which she regretted her husband's betrayal and spoke about her unhappy marriage and intention to seek her personal life away from Prince Charles. As such, she taught people to speak out and facing things openly without fear and to show their true feelings as summarized by Christopher Spence, Chair of of the Diana, Princess of Wales, Memorial Fund:

her death and funeral were a resounding demonstration of the kind of world in which we are unafraid to make real connections with one another and to show our true feelings; a more diverse and inclusive world, in which no one is left out; most especially those who for one reason or another find themselves on the margins of society and without a strong voice. (Coward, 2007, p. 184)

In addition to all these, the British were touched by the story of this little girl whom they were following since she was nineteen years old when she first appeared to public. They have been watching her growing in front of their eyes and witnessed her evolution from a shy young girl into a woman of great awareness and empathy towards global issues like AIDS. Many were affected by her struggle to find her own way after the bitter experience of marital betrayal, and her strong desire to overcome her difficulties and do the best for her two children. (Coward, 2007)

Thus, Princess Diana has almost become an icon that people used to track their own lives through identification with her marriage to Charles, their children and later on their separation and divorce. This identification was encouraged by mass media which sustained people with her daily images and news. Princess Diana almost became a part of people's daily life. This may answer the question why the British were so deeply affected by her death as if they lost someone close to their heart or someone they knew personally. It is no wonder that people named her "Queen of Hearts" (Seidler, 2013, p. 37) to become an ideal example of a queen who could reach people's hearts. (Seidler, 2013)

#### **1.4.3.7 Wedding of Prince William and Catherine Middleton**

The wedding of Prince William, Duke of Cambridge, and Catherine Middleton was on 29 April 2011. Prince William is the eldest son of Charles, Prince of Wales and Lady Diana Spencer. He is the second in line to succeed his grandmother Queen Elizabeth II. Catherine Middleton is the eldest of three children of Michael and Carole Middleton. The wedding took place at Westminster Abbey in London which has a long royal history. It was founded by King Edward the Confessor as early as the 10<sup>th</sup> century. It witnessed 38 coronations and started to be used for royal wedding in 20<sup>th</sup> century including the present Queen Elizabeth II and Princess Anne. (Bingham, 2011)

As with previous royal family occasions, the wedding witnessed a large support of the British. It is estimated that there were about 5,500 applications to hold street parties to celebrate the wedding across Wales and England. In London alone, there were more than 850 applications. Many ceremonies were held at places which had close connections with the couple. For example, at the University of St Andrews where the couple first met, about 2000 people gathered to celebrate the wedding, and 2,600 people gathered where the couple will reside after wedding, in addition to 200 street parties that were organized all around the kingdom.

## Conclusion

We started this part by hypothesizing that there is a link between the British national identity and the institution of monarchy in Britain. This hypothesis springs from the fact that there is an identity crisis in Britain within its four countries as recent polls continue to reveal from one hand, and the cultural aspect of the monarchy from other hand. We suggested that the institution of monarchy in Britain helps in overcoming the problem of identity and maintains British culture and values. To cover this point, we started first by dealing with the problem of identity in the United Kingdom and it seems from surveys analysis that the problem is really serious. The Monero Question revealed that a considerable number of People in the country do not feel British, and tend to have more loyalty to their local nationalisms. This may sound a bit reasonable because the United Kingdom is made up of four different countries. Statistics showed that the problem of identity is more severe in Scotland in which people there feel more Scottish than British, or Scottish not British, followed by people in Wales who seem to be very proud of their own language, extinct history, and other cultural aspects. In Northern Ireland, Catholics tend to consider themselves as Irish or Northern Irish, while people in England tend to have a dual English and British identity. We saw also that membership in the European Union, immigration and multiculturalism policies in UK add to the gravity of identity crisis through encouraging Commonwealth and European Union citizens to settle in the country, according to statistics most of them do not feel British and tend to have more loyalty to their country of birth even if they are permanent residents in the kingdom and have the right to vote.

The British Monarchy seems to be able to minimize the problem of identity through being a symbolic icon to all what is British. To understand this complex role it is important to see identity from a psychological point of view in which identity is considered as a sense of belonging to a nation which creates commitment to work hard for the safety, prosperity, and even

sacrifice to this nation. The British Monarchy does well in appealing to these senses and feelings by symbolizing and reminding the British of their long history, their origin through the hereditary right which enables the British to trace back their origins. The British Monarchy helps also in planting and encouraging British values and tradition through having what the British consider as an ideal model of family that many people tend to identify themselves with it despite some imperfections. This can be seen through the popularity of royal ceremonies in which the British share with the Royal Family its happiness and sorrows as was the case with the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II, the Silver Jubilee, the Golden Jubilee, the Diamond Jubilee, Christmas Days, death of Lady Diana Spencer, and the wedding of Prince William and Catherine Middleton.

## **2.The Role of the British Monarchy in Keeping the Kingdom United**

### **Introduction**

We saw in the first part of this chapter the problem of British identity, and how the British monarchy helps in minimizing this problem. In fact, the problem of identity in Britain is closely linked to the problem of rising calls for independence. Political specialists like Pr. Curtice suggests that the more people feel loyalty to another identity rather than national identity, the more likely they are inclined to call for independence. Based on this theory, we hypothesize in this part that the British Monarchy helps in minimizing calls for independence in the four countries of the kingdom; thus plays an important role in keeping the kingdom united. But before dealing with this tactic point, we need to cover first calls for independence in Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland, and England.

### **2. 1.The Call for Independence in the Kingdom**

#### **2.1.1. Scotland**

Scottish independence is supported mainly by the Scottish National Party (SNP) and less fervently by other political parties like the Scottish Green Party (SGP), the Scottish Socialist

Party (SSP), and Solidarity. These political parties, though all of them call for independence, have different political views. For example the SNP wants to keep the monarchy after seeking independence from the kingdom while still being a commonwealth realm like Canada and Australia. The SSP and Solidarity want Scotland to be an independent republic. The governing Scottish National Party, Scottish Socialist Party, and Scottish Green Party voted in October 2012 to fully participate in the campaign of Yes Scotland which supported a yes vote for the Scottish Independence Referendum of 2014. Yes Scotland was counterbalanced by Better Together campaign which supported a no vote for the referendum, backed up by unionist political parties including: Scottish Labour Party, Scottish Conservative Party, and Scottish Liberal Democratic Party. (McHarg, Walker & Mullen, 2016).

One of the strongest arguments held by Yes Scotland campaign and which highly appeals to the Scottish is the fact that Scotland sits on oil and gas reserves that worth up to £4 trillion. According to the Scottish government, Scottish oil makes 64% of the EU's oil. Scotland boasts also of its renewable energy resources which makes 25% of Europe's tidal energy potential; 25% of its wind energy potential, and 10% of its wave energy potential. The Scottish National Party claims that only an independent Scotland enables the Scottish to benefit financially from their natural resources. Independence would offer the Scottish also full national self-determination with complete decision-making power to choose the best for Scotland. Not only this, independence would offer the country the opportunity of removing the controversial Trident nuclear weapons which cost Scotland £ 25 billion. This huge amount of money could be diverted instead to address on more beneficial projects like healthcare, education, or housing. Supporters of Scottish independence draws a nice picture of the country if independence is attained with Scotland having full and equal membership in organizations like the European

Unions, the United Nations, and NATO . A full voice in these organizations would help to promote the country's interests. (Revest, 2014)

On the other side, opponents to independence like Better Together campaign claim that Scotland is economically stronger if it stays with the union to benefit from the international economic influence of UK. Scotland also has more influence on international affairs and this is derived from being a part of the UK too, especially from being a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council. This means that if Scotland risks with independence, it may not be able to resist demands of larger and stronger member nations. (McHarg, Walker & Mullen, 2016).

A referendum on Scottish independence was held on 18 September 2014. The question of the referendum was if Scotland should be an independent country. Voters had to answer by yes or no. All European Union and Commonwealth citizens resident in Scotland with an age of 16 or over could vote. A rate of 84.6 % of almost 4.3 million people participated in the referendum. This was the highest recorded rate since the introduction of the universal suffrage. The referendum ended with the victory of the no side, with 55.3% parallel to 2,001,926 votes against 44.7% corresponding to 1,617,989 votes. It is true that the Scottish did not vote for independence, but analyzing motive forces calling for breaking up with the union reveals a serious problem that may culminate one day in independence. According to John Curtice, a professor of politics at the university of Strathclyde and research consultant at NatCen Social Research, there are three main reasons why a considerable number of the Scottish are inclined to vote yes for independence: first, a deep sense of Scottish identity; second, awareness about the rich Scottish natural resources and hope for a better future, and third, prevailing feelings of inequality while staying within the union. (Curtice, 2014)

In British Social Attitudes: 31<sup>st</sup> Report (2014), Curtice suggests that support for and opposition to independence is influenced by the Scottish sense of identity. To see how far this hypothesis is true, Curtice compared the results of two questions and combined them in one table. The first question is the so-called Monero question which afford respondents five identities and asks them to choose the best that describes them: Scottish not British, more Scottish than British, equally Scottish and British, more British than Scottish, or British not Scottish. The second question asks the same respondents to tick their referendum vote intention: yes, no, or undecided. Table 34 summarises the results.

	<b>Scottish, not British</b>	<b>More Scottish than British</b>	<b>Equally Scottish and British</b>	<b>More British than Scottish/British not Scottish*</b>
<b>Referendum vote intention</b>	%	%	%	%
Yes	53	34	12	7
No	29	48	73	82
Undecided	14	14	11	5
<i>Weighted base</i>	368	435	433	151
<i>Unweighted base</i>	368	439	432	166

Table 34: Monero national identity and vote intentions in Scotland. (Source: Park, Bryson, & Curtice, 2014, p. 46).

The table reveals that the more someone feels Scottish and not British, the more likely he is inclined to vote yes for the referendum (53%), and the more someone feels British more than Scottish or British not Scottish, the more likely he is inclined to say no for independence (82%). The table reveals also that people with dual identity (i.e. those who identify themselves both as British and Scottish) tend to vote no for independence (73%). To conclude, there is undeniable connection between feelings of identity and call for independence in Scotland.

Nevertheless identity is not the only motive of independence in Scotland. Economic reasons have long been the strongest argument taken by supporters for independence especially by Scottish National Party (SNP) and it seems that it is this point that attracts the Scottish mostly. SNP draws a nice picture of Scotland being the only to benefit from its promising natural resources of oil, gas, and renewable energies. To see how far the Scottish are influenced by this, BSA asked a Scottish sample about what they expected the effects of independence would be on the country's economy, their living standards, personal finances, and taxes. Respondents had to choose between: "a lot better", "a little better", "no difference", "a little worse", or "a lot worse" for "Scotland's economy" and "personal finances". The same thing for "living standards" and "taxes", a five-point scale which ranges from "a lot higher" to "a lot lower" or vice versa is suggested. Curtice brilliantly combines the results of these questions with vote intentions to have Table 35.

% intending to vote Yes	Perceived effect of independence on			
	Scotland's economy	Living standards	Personal finances	Taxes
A lot better/higher/lower*	86	74	89	**
A little better/higher/lower*	67	65	82	(53)
No difference	23	26	35	37
A little worse/lower/higher	5	5	7	33
A lot worse/lower/higher	2	3	3	6

Asterisk (\*) in the first column means a positive answer. In the column of "taxes" double asterisk (\*\*) means too few cases and the figure between brackets means all those who think that taxes would be lower.

**Table 35:** The economic consequences of Scottish independence and intention to vote "Yes" in the referendum. (Source: Curtice, 2014, p. 48)

The table shows that the more optimistic the Scottish are about their future after independence, the more likely they are inclined to vote yes in the referendum. For example, 86% of those who

expect Scotland’s economy to be a lot better intend to vote “Yes” for independence. 74% of those who expect living standards to be a lot better and 89% of those who predict personal finances to be a lot higher intend to vote for independence too. These percentages suggest that the Scottish are more influenced by the issue of economy than identity. Indeed, only 53% of people who see themselves Scottish not British want to vote positively for independence, whereas 86% and 89% of those who see that Scotland’s economy and their personal finances would be a lot better intend to cast a “yes” vote.

In addition to identity and economy, Pr. Curtice suggests equality to be a core issue behind call for independence too. He explains that people in Scotland feel a sense of inequality within the union and tend to compare themselves with the English who seem to benefit more economically from the kingdom. British Social Attitudes asked some Scottish whose economy benefits most from the union. Respondents are offered three answers: “England’s benefits more”, “both equally”; or “Scotland’s benefits ”. Pr. Curtice combines the results of this question with referendum vote intention as summarized in Table 36.

	England's benefits more	Both equally	Scotland's benefits more
Referendum vote intention	%	%	%
Yes	60	18	7
No	25	66	81
Undecided	12	11	9
<i>Weighted base</i>	476	615	295
<i>Unweighted base</i>	454	618	310

**Table 36:** Who benefits economically from the union and vote intentions in the referendum. (Source: Curtice, 2014, p. 50).

The table shows that people who see that the union benefits England’s economy more tend to vote “Yes” in the referendum (60%). By contrast, people who see that the union benefits

Scotland’s economy more tend to vote “No” in the referendum (81%), while most of respondents who see that the union serves both economies equally tend to vote against independence.

In fact, it seems that those who intend to vote for independence are influenced by the idea that after independence there will be more equality between the Scottish because their national government will focus more on their own business alone, thus it will be more dynamic in answering the needs of its people and meeting problems like poverty especially after Scotland will be the only one to benefit from its rich natural resources. This suggests that Scotland, as an independent country, would have more money to spend on public services. To see to what extent the Scottish are influenced by these ideas, British Social Attitudes asked a sample of Scottish about the effect of independence on the gap between rich and poor and the amount of money to spend on public services in a five-point scale. Pr. Curtice linked the results of these questions with referendum vote intentions as summarized in table 37.

<b>% intending to vote Yes</b>	<b>Gap between rich and poor</b>	<b>Amount of money to spend on public services</b>
A lot smaller/more*	81**	77
A little smaller/more*	53	60
No difference	29	27
A little bigger/less	25	7
A lot bigger/less	9	2

An asterisk (\*) in the first column means that the answer is positive for “gap between rich and poor” if the respondent chooses “smaller”, and positive for “amount of money to spend on public services” if the answer is “more”. A double asterisk (\*\*) means that the figure is based on just 31 cases.

**Table 37:** The effect of independence on equality and public services and the intention to vote “Yes” in the referendum. (Source: Curtice, 2014, p. 54)

Table 37 shows that a large percentage of people who expect the gap between rich and poor to be a lot smaller (81%) tend to vote “Yes” in the referendum, likewise the people who expect the

amount of money on public services to be more (77%). These statistics confirms Pr. Curtice's point that supporters for independence are influenced by the promising economy, fairness, and equality that may await Scotland after quitting the union.

To conclude, since a referendum was held in Scotland to question independence from the kingdom, the bells of alarm will always be tolling to threaten the union of United Kingdom, particularly because the no side won only by a slight difference (55.3% to 44.7%) and motive forces for independence still persist including issues of identity, economy, and equality. In fact, Scotland has now another motive force added to these issues which is opposing UK's leave of EU.

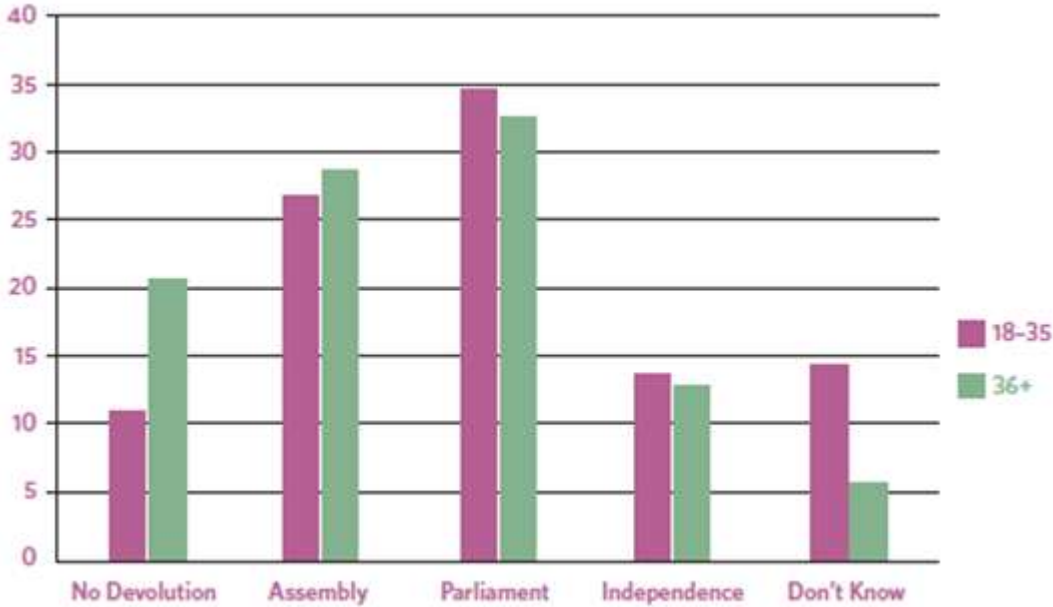
### **2.1.2. Wales**

Scotland is not the only country which calls for independence; Wales is on its path as well. Though independence is not strongly called for as in Scotland, the political ideology of Welsh independence is advocated by the Welsh nationalist party Plaid Cymru. The belief that Wales should be an independent country can be originated in mid 19<sup>th</sup> century. The idea came with Joseph Chamberlain who proposed in 1886 Home Rule all around the kingdom. The same year the movement of Cymru Fydd which was the starting point of today's Plaid Cymru was founded for the cause of forming devolved national assembly in Wales. This movement collapsed around 1896 after facing internal conflicts and rifts and the idea of Home Rule started to fell down gradually as World War I came to revive with founding Plaid Cymru in 1925. (Davies, Jenkins & Baines, 2008).

In fact the issue of independence is carefully and wisely dealt with in the countries which call for independence in the kingdom. In Wales for example many referendums were held to question devolution and the amount of power that should be given to local assemblies. All these measures were taken to avoid one option which is giving independence to these countries. The

first referendum in Wales was held in 1979 to see if there was enough support to establish a Welsh Assembly. At that time only 12% of the electorate voted in favour of having a national assembly. The same question was raised again at a second referendum in 1997, but this time the Welsh voted for establishing a devolved national assembly, though it had no power to initiate primary legislation until the introduction of Government of Wales Act 2006. Law-making powers of the assembly was further extended after a referendum in 2011 which ended by giving the Welsh Assembly extra powers by making it possible to legislate without having to turn to the UK parliament first or the Secretary of State for Wales in 20 areas. But it seems that the Welsh still seek to have their own parliament according to a poll held by Souly as shown in Figure 22.

(2013)



**Figure 22:** Constitutional preference in Wales by age, 2011. (Source: Souly, 2013, p.8).

Figure 22 shows that the largest percentage of respondents in Wales support having their own parliament. Comparing the two age groups show that the young group (18-35) tend to support more the Welsh parliament than the older group (36+). The figure shows also that the young tend to support independence more than the old as well, though only 14% does as compared to 34% who support parliament.

In addition to age, Pr. Curtice suggests that constitutional preferences are influenced by national identities too as we can see through Table 40.

<b>Constitutional Preference</b>	<b>Welsh, not British</b>	<b>Welsh more than British</b>	<b>Equally Welsh and British</b>	<b>More British than Welsh</b>	<b>British, not Welsh</b>
Independence	42	13	5	9	4
Parliament	35	46	37	23	23
Total	77	59	42	32	27

**Table 38:** National identities and constitutional preferences in Wales, 2011.

(Source: Curtice, 2013, p. 25).

Table 38 shows that there is a correlation between national identities and constitutional preferences in Wales. It seems that the more respondents feel Welsh not British, or Welsh more than British the more likely that they support independence and parliament (77% and 59%). By contrast, the more likely respondents feel British more than Welsh or British not Welsh the less likely that they support parliament (32% and 27%).

To conclude, there is a call of independence in Wales, though it is not as soaring as in Scotland. Polls reveal that there is a considerable support for devolution in Wales especially among the young generation and this support seems to be strengthen by a sense of Welsh identity.

**2.1.3.Northern Ireland**

In Northern Ireland there are many nationalisms including: British nationalism, Irish nationalism, and Northern Irish nationalism. According to polls held by British Social Attitudes, support for independence does not exceed 5%, and support for reunification with the rest of Ireland is 15%, while support for remaining as a part of the UK is 63%. Comparing the results of the same poll during the period 2002-2012 reveals that support for leaving the union has deceased

with the passage of time, probably because of the policies of integration and tolerance that the government has been taking.

	02	23	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	12
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Remain part of the UK	55	55	59	58	54	66*	70*	69*	72*	63*
Reunify with the rest of Ireland (Independent state)	22	23	22	22	30	23	18	21	16	15
Don't know/other answer	7	7	10	6	3	5	6	4	3	5
<i>Weighted base</i>	1800	1800	1800	1201	1230	1169	1212	1221	1192	1193
<i>Unweighted base</i>	1800	1800	1800	1200	1230	1169	1210	1221	1191	1191

**Table 39:** Attitudes towards independence in Northern Ireland. (Source: Park, Bryson, Clery, Curtice, & Philips, 2013, p. 153).

In fact, as was the case with Scotland and Wales, the issue of independence in Northern Ireland is influenced by national identities within the country in which we can distinguish three different identities: British identity, Irish identity, and Northern Irish identity as we can see in Table 42 below.

The table shows that support for independence or reunification with the Republic of Ireland is high with the respondents who see themselves as Irish with a percentage of 46%, followed by those who identify themselves as Northern Irish with a percentage of 15%. This suggests that there is stronger feeling of belonging to Ireland rather than Northern Ireland and with this there is a desire to reunify with the Republic of Ireland. The table shows also that only 5% who regard themselves as British support independence or reunification. As with the previous table, comparing the poll results reveal that support for independence decrease during the period 1989-2012.

% support reunify with Ireland/ support independent state	British	Irish	Northern Irish
1989	4	65	26
1993	3	64	24
1996	4	58	28
1998	5	67	27
2000	8	67	30
2003	8	68	33
2006	8	68	34
2007*	8	61	24
2008*	7	57	16
2009*	4	56	13
2010*	5	46	17
2012*	5	46	15

**Table 40:** Support for leaving the UK by national identity, 1989-2012. (Source: Park et al., 2013, p. 160).

By having a quick historical overview, we may have an answer to why there is a strong desire among some people in Northern Ireland to feel Irish and not Northern Irish or British, and why almost half of the sample wants reunification with the Republic of Ireland.

Northern Ireland suffered 30 years of troubles during the Northern Ireland Conflict. It was an ethno-nationalist conflict in Northern Ireland which started in 1968 and ended by the Good Friday Agreement of 1998. The key issue in this conflict was the constitutional status of Northern Ireland (NI); while royalists and unionists who consider themselves as British want NI to remain as a part of the UK, Irish nationalists and republicans who see themselves as Irish want either to be an independent state or to join Republic of Ireland. Participants in the conflict includes: the Irish Republican Army (IRA), Irish National Liberation Army (INLA), Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), and Ulster Defence Association (UDA). On the other side there was the British Army and Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC). Another key issue in this conflict was religion; those who fought for remaining with the UK were predominately Protestants who were well cared for by the

British government while those who fought for independence were discriminated Catholics. (Bryan, 2000)

It seems that the trace of this conflict is still felt today as polls reveal when studying religion and constitutional preferences in Northern Ireland as we can see through Table 43.

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% support remaining part of the UK	Protestant	Catholic	No religion
1989	93	32	83
1993	89	36	71
1996	85	35	54
1998	84	19	58
2000	83	20	53
2003	82	21	45
2006	85	22	46
2007*	89	39	71
2008*	89	43	71
2009*	91	47	66
2010*	91	51	60
2012*	86	42	65

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**Table 41:** Support for staying as a part of the UK in Northern Ireland by religion, 1989-2012. (Source: Park et al., 2013, p. 154).

The table shows that support for remaining part of the UK is really influenced by religion. Protestants tend to support more staying in the UK with a percentage of 86%, as compared to Catholics who tend to support less with a percentage of 42%. Comparing the two religious groups over the period of 1989-2012 reveals that Protestant’s support has decreased while Catholic’s support increased a little. The table shows also that respondents which belong to no religion tend to support the union as well.

To conclude, the question of independence in Northern Ireland is associated with issues of identity and religion. Thus, it is a complicated subject because in Northern Ireland there are a lot

of nationalisms and each prefers a particular constitutional status, and the cleavage between Catholics and Protestants still has its hand on whether to remain within the union or to leave. But it seems that the British government is doing well in dealing with the different ethnic and religious groups in Scotland as statistics continue to confirm. Indeed, it is recorded that with the passage of time ethnic and religious groups tend to support more staying within the union, probably because of governmental encouragement of integration and tolerance policies.

#### **2.1.4.England**

Perhaps in England, the question of independence is not raised because the English tend to identify themselves easily as British and the majority of them see themselves both as British and English. In a survey held by BSA in 2012, a sample of people living in England was asked the following question:

With all the changes going on in the way the different parts of Great Britain are run, which of the following do you think would be best for England ...  
for England to be governed as it is now, with laws made by the UK parliament,  
for each region of England to have its own assembly that runs services like health,  
or, for England as a whole to have its own new parliament with law-making powers?

(Park et al., 2013, p. 157)

The following table summarises the results:

	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12
<b>Following is best for England ...</b>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
... UK parliament	62	54	57	56	50	53	54	54	57	51	49	53	56	56
... regional assemblies	15	18	23	20	26	21	20	18	14	15	15	13	12	15
... English parliament	18	19	16	17	18	21	18	21	17	26	29	23	25	22
<i>Weighted base</i>	2722	1957	2786	2931	3742	2721	1815	936	870	1001	992	928	974	937
<i>Unweighted base</i>	2718	1928	2761	2897	3709	2684	1794	928	859	982	980	913	967	939

**Table 42:** Constitutional Preference in England, 1999-2012. (Source: Park et al., 2013, p. 157).

The table reveals that more than half of respondents want to be run by the UK parliament (56%), while 15% prefer regional assemblies and 22% favour to have an English parliament. To study constitutional preferences into details, Curtice suggests combining these answers with Monero question of identities as shown in Table 45.

	English not British	More English than British	Equally English and British	More British than English	British not English
<b>% say England should be governed as it is now, with laws made by the UK Parliament</b>					
1999		59	63	61	71
2007		54	52	61	66
2012		49	54	57	64
<b>% say England as whole to have its own new parliament with law-making powers</b>					
1999		23	19	18	11
2007		28	23	14	20
2012		34	26	20	16

**Table 43:** Constitutional preference and identities in England, 1999, 2007, 2012. (Source: Park et al., 2013, p. 162).

As is the case in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, local identity continue to have its impact on people's constitutional preference in England. As we may expect, respondents who identify themselves as English not British or English more than British tend to support establishing an English parliament with law-making powers more than those who regard themselves as British more than English or British not English. But still, most respondents including those who have more loyalty to local nationalism tend to support being governed by laws made by the UK government. This confirmed Pr. Curtice's point that there is only a slight tendency towards calling for independence in England as compared with the other countries which make up the United Kingdom.

## **2.2.The United Kingdom without Monarchy? The Importance of the Monarchy in Keeping the Kingdom United**

After dealing with attitudes towards independence in the four countries of the kingdom, let us see what role the British Monarchy can play to keep the kingdom united. Logically speaking if tendency towards independence in UK is a result of weak British national identity as we saw previously from one hand, and the institution of monarchy does well in maintaining national identity through being a symbolic icon of all that is British from the other hand, it is safe to say that the British monarchy, through maintaining British national identity, helps in minimizing calls for independence. The best way to see this is to imagine the United Kingdom without the British Monarchy.

If the institution of monarchy disappears, political parties like the Scottish National Party in Scotland and Plaid Cumru in Wales will finally have a better chance to realize their independence agenda, because all the four countries are constitutionally linked to the institution of monarchy to form the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and without it there will be no kingdom and instead, there might be possible four independent countries which can no longer

retain the privileges enjoyed earlier by the United Kingdom. If the kingdom disappears, the image of Britain will be so poor in the international scene, because it will lose both its economic and political positions for a kingdom that joins four countries is far better than four separate countries each is acting alone. No union means less population, less natural sources, a weaker military, and a weak country. The United Kingdom supremacy with its strong economy and a heard voice in decisive organizations like the United Nations and the Commonwealth. Everything will simply go with the monarchy and the kingdom.

### **Conclusion**

It seems that there are some calls for independence in the four countries which make up the United Kingdom. The strength of these calls differs from one country to the other according to motive forces. In Scotland, for example, people are more inclined to claim independence because of many reasons like strong feeling of Scottish identity, rich natural resources of oil and gas, and feelings of inequality and exploitations within the country. In Wales and Northern Ireland the call for independence is less strong; perhaps of having less natural resources. This call is motivated mainly by more loyalty to local nationalism, in addition to historical cleavage between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland. In England, it seems that people are less likely to claim for independence. Perhaps because people in England easily identify themselves as both English and British at the same time.

It seems also that the British Monarchy helps in suppressing such calls for independence and plays an important role in keeping the kingdom united because these four countries are constitutionally linked by acknowledging the British monarch as Head of State for the United Kingdom, in addition to the fact that through playing a role in maintaining the British identity, the British monarchy contributes in keeping the kingdom united.

## Conclusion

We started this chapter by making two hypotheses in our attempt to find reasons beyond the existence of the British Monarchy. The first hypothesis is that the institution of monarchy helps in minimizing the crisis of identity in Britain. This hypothesis springs on one hand from the fact that the United Kingdom is made up of four countries and some people feel more loyalty to their local nationalisms rather than British national identity, and on the other hand from the nature of the symbolic and cultural aspect of the British Monarchy which suggests it to help in maintaining British identity.

The second hypothesis is a follow up to the first one. It springs from the fact that identity and independence are related as suggested by Pr. Curtice. The hypothesis states that the British Monarchy plays a role in keeping the kingdom united. In-depth data analysis showed that in each of the four countries which make up the kingdom there is a tendency towards independence, especially within the countries which suffer most from a problem of identity. This confirms Pr. Curtice's theory that the more people feel loyalty to their local nationalism in the Monero Question rather than British National identity, the more likely they are inclined towards calling for independence and separation from the union. This is especially true for Scotland in which a referendum was held to question independence. Surveys revealed that support for independence was strong among those who feel Scottish more than British or Scottish more than British. The Scottish seem to be also influenced by promises of better living condition after attaining independence due to their rich Scottish natural resources which are being exploited by the union to serve all the kingdom. Some Scottish see that only independence guarantees that their natural resources will be used to prosper Scotland. In Wales, call for independence is less soaring than it is in Scotland, probably because the few Welsh natural resources do not provide people of Wales with an economic motive to call for independence. Nevertheless loyalty to Welsh identity

continue to push some people there to feel themselves as distinct especially among those who feel themselves Welsh more than British or Welsh not British. In Northern Ireland the issue of independence is linked with the aspect of religion. Surveys reveal that Catholics tend to support more independence as opposed to Protestants who tend to favour staying within the union. Perhaps this goes back to the long history of ethnic and religious struggle between Protestant royalists and Catholic nationalists. In England, people tend to identify themselves easily as both English and British, and surveys reveal that England is the less country which calls for separation from the union.

## **Chapter Five**

### **The Role of the British Monarchy in Promoting the Country's Economic and Political Positions in the World through the Commonwealth of Nations and United Nations**

#### **Introduction**

We have seen in the previous chapter how the British Monarchy contributes in maintaining the British National Identity which is deteriorating due to issues of local nationalisms, immigration and multiculturalism. We have seen also how problems with national identity lead to calls for independence in some parts of the kingdom and how the institution of monarchy helps in keeping the kingdom united. In fact, this chapter is almost a follow-up chapter that starts with the point that the previous chapter ended with. The considerable role of the British Monarchy in keeping the kingdom united may help the constitution in playing a more important role which is promoting Britain's economic and political positions in the world through two gigantic organizations which are the Commonwealth of Nations and the United Nations.

In this chapter we hypothesize that the British Monarch who is under the Commonwealth Charter "Head of the Commonwealth" helps in promoting the economic position of UK through encouraging trade with Commonwealth member states especially after leaving the European Union. We hypothesize also that the British Monarchy helps in promoting UK's political position through enabling the Commonwealth of Nations to largely participate in the decision-making process in the United Nations as one single British bloc.

#### **1. Overview about the Commonwealth of Nations**

Before studying the role of the British monarchy in promoting the country's economic and political positions through the Commonwealth of Nations, it is most useful to have an overview about the Commonwealth of Nations, including a brief definition, a nutshell about its history,

objectives, and functioning. All these help us understand how the Commonwealth is important for UK's economic and political position and how the British monarchy helps in all these.

### **1.1. Definition**

The Commonwealth of Nations is an intergovernmental organization that includes the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and 52 member states, most of whom were territories of the former British Empire. However, this does not mean that the Commonwealth consists of all former parts of the British Empire. For example, Burma was a former British colony, but it is not a member state, and Mozambique had never been a British colony, nevertheless, it joined the Commonwealth in 1995. With its 53 member states, the Commonwealth includes a quarter of the world's population and about one-fifth of the planet's surface. Therefore, it comprises many different cultures, religions, languages, ethnicities, and types of governments (Leonard, 2006). The primary objective of this organization is as affirmed in the Singapore meeting in 1971 to promote in the territories of its member states representative institutions to guarantee personal freedom and democracy under the rule of law. (Dundas, 2007)

### **1.2. History**

The idea of the Commonwealth of Nations dated back to the loss of the British Empire and the wave of decolonization, starting by losing the American colonies which changed the British attitudes towards its colonies by giving them more self-government to keep them. This can be seen first with the British reaction towards the Canadian rebellion of 1837 which sought the same rights as the United States. British policies were designed to abdicate some powers for Canada to govern itself while linking it to Great Britain. Canada became the first governing Dominion in 1867, followed by New Zealand in 1907, South Africa in 1910, the Irish Free State in 1921, and others. During World War I, these dominions worked hand in hand by sending forces to fight together, then, they participated in the Treaty of Versailles to end the war and gained some

prestigious international position. After the war, their relationship with the ex-colonized was questioned. In 1926 The heads of state met and adopted the Balfour Report by which these countries were considered to be autonomous, and by no means subordinate to each other, but united by their allegiance to the British Monarchy as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. (Northrup, 2015)

The army of the Commonwealth helped Britain in achieving victory during World War II, but after the war many nations got independence and the Commonwealth had to adapt in order to survive. The commonwealth entered a new phase by admitting India into it without accepting the British Monarchy as the Indian ruler, but as an independent republic member states. This allowed many countries to join the Commonwealth including Africa, the Caribbean, Mediterranean, and the Pacific. Then, the organization underwent many changes to address the new needs and demands through issuing each time some announcements like the Singapore Declaration (1971) and the Harare Declaration (1991) to establish and reconfirm Commonwealth principles like democratic institutions, honest government, rule of law, human rights and socio-economic development. All these allowed the Commonwealth to overcome some crises like the clash between India and Pakistan which are both members, policies of apartheid in South Africa which caused many rifts and divisions within the organization that made some observers wonder if the Commonwealth could survive, the controversial admission of Zimbabwe which was hotly debated in the twenty-first century, and Britain's entry into the European Union which undermined trade exchange with Commonwealth members, the challenge of globalization and others. (Leonard, 2006)

### **1.3. Principles and Values**

According to the Charter of Commonwealth (2013), democracy is the primary principle of the organization which encourages individuals of member states to participate in democratic

processes through free and fair elections. The organization supports governments, political parties, and civil societies to promote culture of democracy and holds them accountable in front of the public if they misbehave. For this task, the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group is set up to deal with serious violations of Commonwealth values. The organization is also committed to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights including the protection of political, economic, civil, social, and cultural rights without fear, favour, and opposes all forms of discrimination being it against race, gender, colour, or religious and political beliefs. (Commonwealth of Nations, 2013)

International peace and security is also listed within the principles and values of the Commonwealth that it tends to achieve along with maintaining the rule of law and encouraging economic growth. Thus, the organisation absolutely condemns all kinds of terrorist acts and supports international efforts to keep peace by the United Nations or other institutions. To avoid terrorism and instability, the Commonwealth emphasizes the urgency to promote tolerance, understanding, and respect for religious freedom and freedom of expression which are important to the development of any free democratic society. This includes also basic critical conditions like maintaining the rule of law to assure good governance, separation of powers to guarantee the integrity of the legislature, Executive and Judiciary. The Commonwealth recognizes the need of all citizens to fairly access to education, health care, drinking water, food, shelter, and sanitation. The organisation stresses also the importance to protect the environment through multilateral cooperation and raising awareness about the emergency to conserve our natural ecosystem and the use of technologies and renewable energies available to protect nature. (Commonwealth of Nations, 2013)

In addition to this, the Commonwealth Charter accentuates the necessity to sustain development through encouraging an effective fair and rules-based trading system which

considers the needs of the less fortunate and developing countries. The organization stresses also the importance of young people for development whom should be cared for especially women who can do a lot to enhance the economy. Furthermore, the Commonwealth calls for recognizing the needs of small countries and vulnerable states and invites for promoting the relationship between developing countries and industrialized nations, the dialogue between the North and the South, and the elimination of human rights violations. At the end of the charter, the organization points up to the role of civil societies as partners of the Commonwealth to maintain all these values and principle. (Commonwealth of Nations, 2013)

#### **1.4. Structure and Functioning**

Under the London Declaration, Queen Elizabeth II is the Head of Commonwealth but the position is only symbolic. The main decision-making body of the organization is the biennial Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) which is the successor to the Imperial Conference and Colonial Conference, then, the Meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. In CHOGM, Commonwealth heads of government meet for several days to discuss matters of mutual interest. This includes also regular meetings of law ministers, finance ministers, health ministers...etc. The head of government hosting CHOGM is called the Commonwealth Chairperson-in-Office. Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting is supported by some agencies and organs which prepare reports for each meeting to be discussed like the Human Rights Initiative and the Commonwealth Policy Studies Unit which are concerned with human rights like policing in the meeting of 2005, the right to information in the meeting of 2003, and poverty in 2001. (Forsythe, 2009)

The Commonwealth Secretariat is the chief intergovernmental agency of the Commonwealth. It facilitates cooperation and consultation among governments of member states. It also organizes the Commonwealth's meetings of ministers, summits, technical discussions, in addition

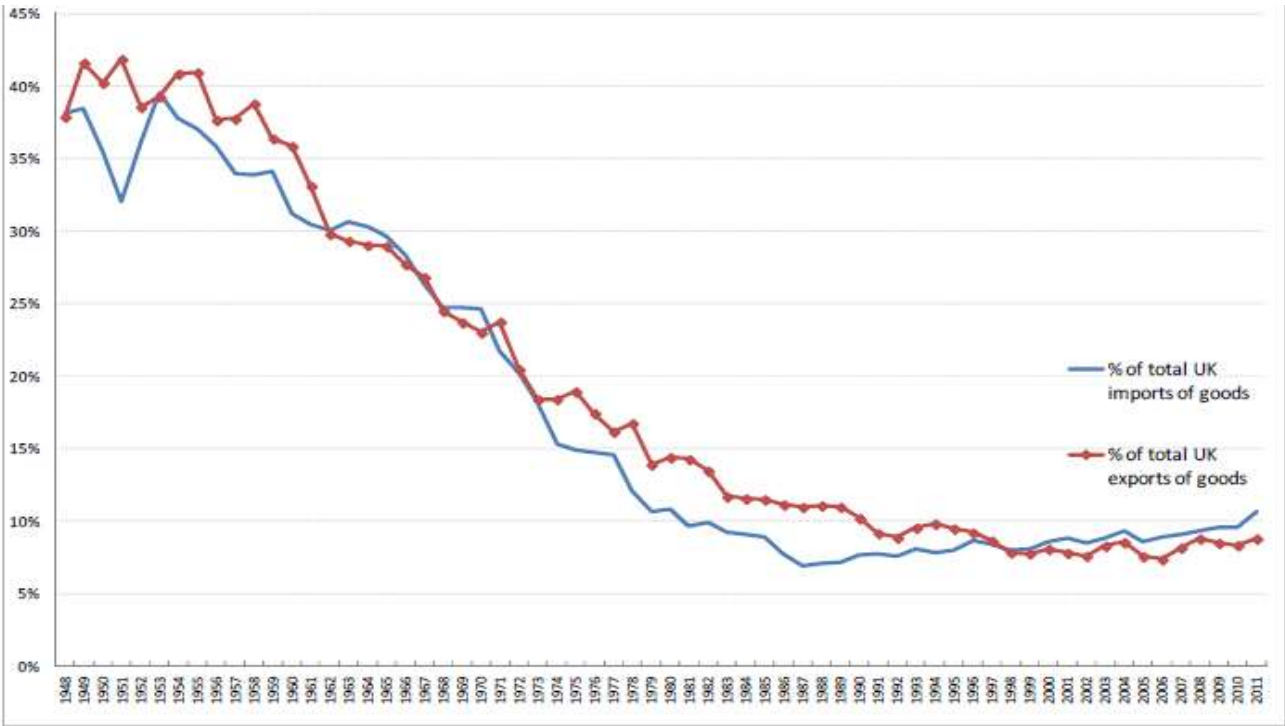
to providing technical assistance and advice to member governments to help in the economic and social developments of their countries. The Commonwealth Secretariat plays the role of an observer in the United Nations. It is headed by the Commonwealth Secretary General who is elected for two four-year terms by Commonwealth Heads of government. In addition to this, the Commonwealth includes many agencies governmental and quasi-governmental which are fully or partly sponsored by governments. The Commonwealth has also a wide range of programs for training, scholarship and facilitating communication between universities in addition to many organizations and activities like the Commonwealth Games, Commonwealth People's festival, Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, Commonwealth Local Government, the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group, Commonwealth Fund for Technical Cooperation, and Commonwealth Foundation. (Leonard, 2006)

To be a member state, it is enough to accept the Harare principles of promoting democracy, human rights that were discussed earlier, to be a sovereign state, to accept English to be a means of communication in the Commonwealth, to recognize the British monarch of the sixteen Commonwealth realms to be the Head of Commonwealth and to have present or past constitutional links to UK or one of the existing members, though some exception are made like the case of Mozambique and Rwanda, in addition to accepting and respecting the wishes of the majority in the Commonwealth. These criteria are made to be admitted as a member in the organization, but since one of the chief goals of the Commonwealth promoting democracy within member states, the organization can suspend some members like: South Africa in 1961 because of apartheid policies and minority-rule, Nigeria in 1995 after executing Ken Saro-Wiwa, Pakistan in 1999 after its military coup, Fiji in 2001 after failure to call election, Zimbabwe in 2002 following its controversial election. (Forsythe, 2009)

**2. Promoting the Country’s Economic Position through the Commonwealth of Nations**

The Commonwealth (CW) includes 53 countries from the six continents with a third of the world’s population (2.1 billion) which covers a surface area of 31,500,000 km<sup>2</sup>, almost 21% of the total planet’s land area. One question which may rise is: What does UK benefit from keeping ties with its ex-colonies through establishing such a gigantic organization? In this subsection we hypothesize that the UK benefits economically from CW economically while still staying relative to our thesis by trying to link this with the institution of British Monarchy.

One way to see if the UK is really benefiting from CW is examining the country’s total imports and exports of goods with Commonwealth countries. In a report prepared by Grahame Allen to the House of Commons entitled *Commonwealth Trade Statistics* (2012), he summarises UK’s total imports and exports with Commonwealth countries over the period (1948-2011) in the following chart.



**Figure 23:** UK trade with Commonwealth. (Source: Allen, 2012, p.2).

The chart shows that UK’s trade in goods with the Commonwealth has fallen drastically over the period 1948-2011 from 40% in 1948 to 10% in 2011. This fall can be explained by the

fact that UK joined the European Union in 1973; thus, priority is given to trade with EU members because it is not able to negotiate its own trade agreement outside EU. This can be seen through

Table 44.

UK, main goods trading partners, Exports, 1960			UK, main goods trading partners, Exports, 1970			UK, main goods trading partners, Exports, 1980		
	\$million	% World exports		\$million	% World exports		\$million	% World exports
1 United States	1,050	10%	1 United States	2,265	12%	1 Germany	11,797	11%
2 Australia	735	7%	2 Germany	1,207	6%	2 United States	10,503	10%
3 Canada	616	6%	3 Ireland	915	5%	3 Netherlands	8,937	8%
4 Germany	508	5%	4 Netherlands	907	5%	4 France	8,342	8%
5 South Africa	483	4%	5 Sweden	874	5%	5 Ireland	6,182	6%
6 India	429	4%	6 Australia	831	4%	6 Belgium-Luxembourg	6,098	6%
7 Sweden	376	4%	7 France	814	4%	7 Italy	4,414	4%
8 Netherlands	353	3%	8 South Africa	804	4%	8 Sweden	3,773	3%
9 New Zealand	340	3%	9 Belgium-Luxembourg	708	4%	9 Switzerland	2,908	3%
10 Ireland	333	3%	10 Canada	692	4%	10 Nigeria	2,799	3%
World	10,341		World	19,350		World	110,078	

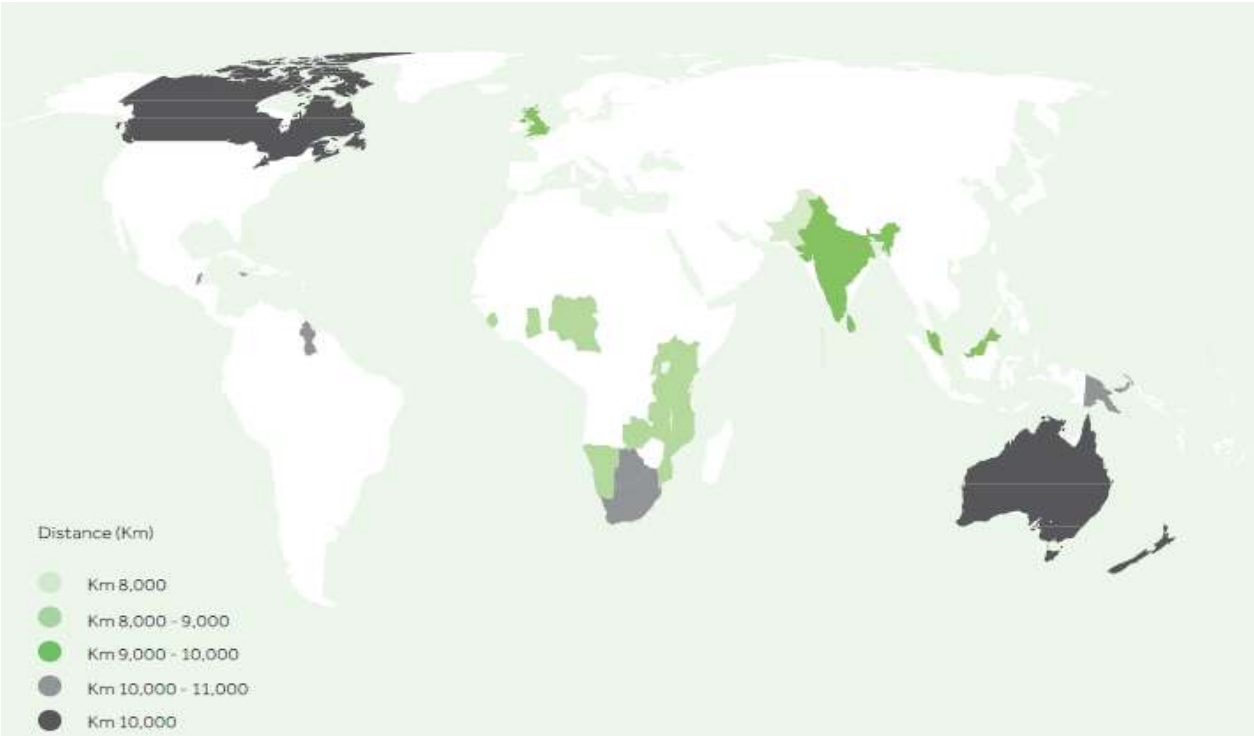
  

UK, main goods trading partners, Exports, 1990			UK, main goods trading partners, Exports, 2000			UK, main goods trading partners, Exports, 2011		
	\$million	% World exports		\$million	% World exports		\$million	% World exports
1 Germany	23,582	13%	1 United States	44,751	16%	1 Germany	50,542	11%
2 United States	23,280	13%	2 Germany	33,720	12%	2 United States	45,890	10%
3 France	19,451	11%	3 France	27,545	10%	3 Netherlands	38,605	8%
4 Netherlands	13,403	7%	4 Netherlands	22,221	8%	4 France	34,140	7%
5 Belgium-Luxembourg	10,068	5%	5 Ireland	19,098	7%	5 Switzerland	32,789	7%
6 Italy	10,035	5%	6 Belgium	14,873	5%	6 Ireland	27,791	6%
7 Ireland	9,554	5%	7 Italy	12,758	5%	7 Belgium	24,827	5%
8 Spain	6,876	4%	8 Spain	12,285	4%	8 Italy	15,570	3%
9 Sweden	4,789	3%	9 Sweden	6,267	2%	9 Spain	15,138	3%
10 Japan	4,709	3%	10 Japan	5,552	2%	10 Sweden	9,738	2%
World	185,154		World	282,873		World	463,879	

**Table 44:** UK main goods trading partners, 1960-2011. (Source: Allen, 2012, p.4).

The table compares main 10 goods trading partners for UK's exports during the years: 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2011. The table shows how the UK's major partners have shifted

from Commonwealth countries to European Union members. In 1980 for example, five Commonwealth countries dominated the list of top 10 markets with a percentage of 24% of total exports together. This includes Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, and South Africa. In 1980, only three of these countries were on the list and with a percentage of only of 12%, but starting from 1990 not a single Commonwealth country was on the list. It was dominated by USA and members of European Union. Besides the fact that UK's entry into EU undermined trade with CW countries by the terms of European Union trade agreements, another obstacle stood in front of trade with Commonwealth members. It is, as Commonwealth Secretariat points out in its Commonwealth trade review, distance between the United Kingdom and most of Commonwealth countries as shown through the map in figure 24.



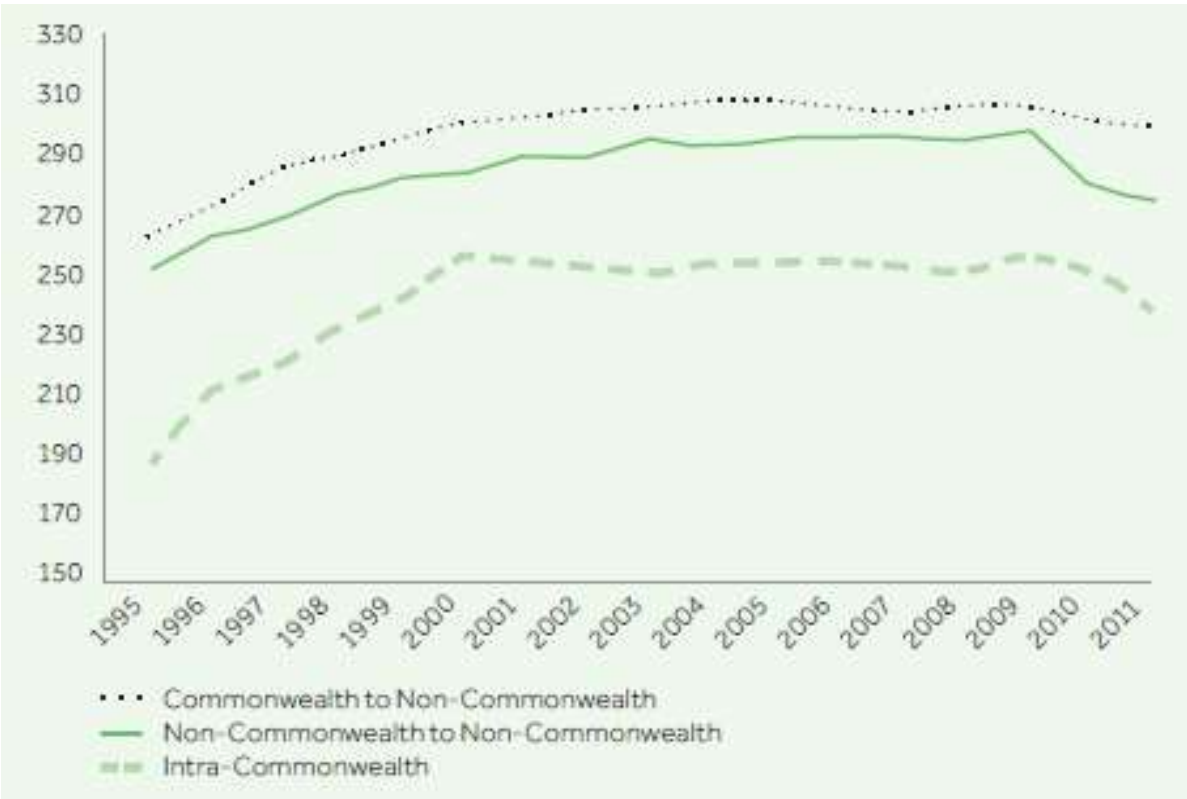
**Figure 24:** Average distance to main Commonwealth markets. (Source: Commonwealth Secretariat, 2015, p. 54).

The map calculates the average distance between the UK and major Commonwealth countries including Canada, Australia, South Africa and India. In addition to being geographically dispersed, the average distance between the UK and the main Commonwealth markets is 9500

km. By contrast, the UK is close to European markets. This may explain why European partners dominate the list of top 10 main goods trading partners.

Nevertheless, Bennett, Reed, and Sriskandarajah in *Trading places: the commonwealth effect revisited* (2010) argues that there is a considerable advantage in intra-Commonwealth trade and this is how they explain it: “We have found that the value of trade is likely to be a third to a half more between Commonwealth member states compared to pairs of countries where one or both are not Commonwealth members.” (Bennett, Reed, & Sriskandarajah, 2010, p. 13)

The Commonwealth Secretariat stresses the same point, using Figure 25 as an illustrative explanation.



**Figure 25:** Trade cost between Commonwealth countries and other partners. (Source: Commonwealth Secretariat, 2015, p. 56).

The figure compares trade costs between intra-Commonwealth countries, Commonwealth to Non-commonwealth States, and non-commonwealth to Non-commonwealth States. It shows that trade cost is less when the partners are Commonwealth countries. In 2009, for example, non-Commonwealth to non-Commonwealth trade cost amounted to 280 percent, and Commonwealth

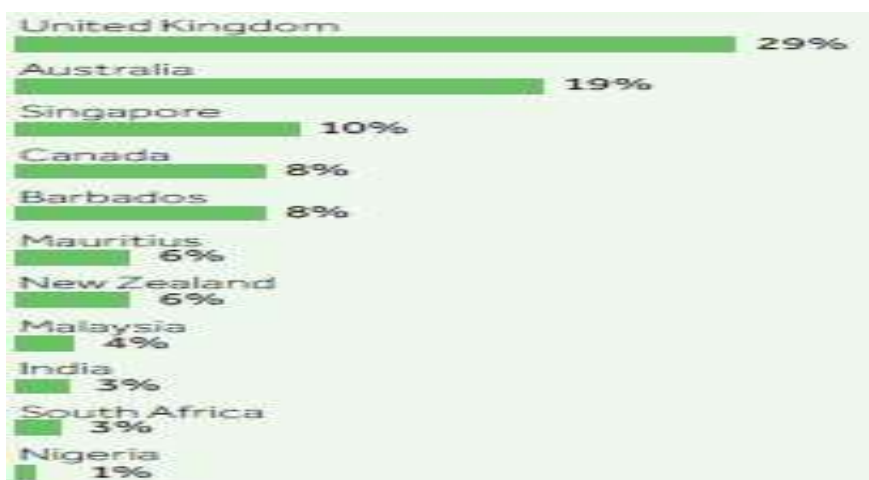
to non-Commonwealth trade costs 290 percent, whereas the average cost of intra-Commonwealth trade is only 250 percent. The Commonwealth Secretariat suggests that intra-Commonwealth trade costs less because of mutual trust and understanding between Commonwealth countries, in addition to familiarity among them because of having a common language and history. This what may explain why it is estimated that goods trade is 17% and services trade is 28% higher between Commonwealth countries. (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2015)

Another way to see if the UK really benefits from the Commonwealth is analyzing Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) which is defined by Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's *Glossary of Statistical Terms* (2015) as: "the category of international investment that reflects the objectives of a resident entity in one economy to obtain a lasting interest in an enterprise resident in another country". (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development *Glossary of Statistical Terms*, 2015, p. 211). Table 47 presents statistics about Commonwealth Foreign Direct Investments in the UK, and UK's Foreign Direct Investment in Commonwealth countries. The chart shows that Canada is the main stock-holder in UK with an average FDI stock of 87.22 \$ billion, followed by Australia with FDI stock of 58.51\$ billion, Singapore with FDI stock of 53.73 \$ billion, South Africa with FDI stock of 17.97 \$ billion, and Malaysia and India with less FDI stock. The UK seems to deal with the same stock-holders in its country; Australia comes first with an average UK's FDI stock of 67.2 \$ billion, Canada comes second with a stock of 52.53 \$ billion, followed by South Africa (21.19 \$ billion), Singapore (14.50 \$ billion), and India (9.53 \$ billion). All in all, the UK seems to benefit from Commonwealth countries through exchanging FDI stocks with them, and it seems that the UK is the major stock holder and recipient in the Commonwealth as confirmed by Figure 26.

Stock-holders in UK	FDI stock (\$ billion)	UK's Commonwealth stock	FDI stock (\$ billion)
Canada	87.22	Australia	67.20
Australia	58.51	Canada	52.53
Singapore	53.73	South Africa	21.19
South Africa	17.97	Singapore	14.50
Malaysia	4.56	India	9.53
India	2.16	Malaysia	3.34
		Nigeria	3.06
		Cyprus	2.75
		Malta	2.67
		Kenya	0.84
<b>Total</b>	<b>206</b>		<b>177</b>

**Table 45:** The United Kingdom's intra-Commonwealth FDI position, 2012. (Source: Commonwealth Secretariat, 2015, p. 49).

Figure 26 confirms that the United Kingdom is the major location of intra-Commonwealth Foreign Direct Investment with a percentage of 29%, followed by Australia (19%), Singapore (10%), Canada and Barbados (8% each).



**Figure 26:** Main locations of intra-Commonwealth FDI. (Source: Commonwealth Secretariat, 2015, p. 49).

To conclude, it is true that the UK's trade with Commonwealth states has been undermined since UK entry into EU and the distance between UK and major Commonwealth markets, though some statistics reveal that trade costs between Commonwealth countries is less and goods trade and services is high due to familiarity between Commonwealth countries, in addition to mutual trust and understanding of each other. It is also undeniable that the UK is the major location of Commonwealth Foreign Direct Investment and the main stock holders in chief Commonwealth countries. So, the United Kingdom benefits economically from Commonwealth of Nations which has a promising future after the UK left EU, for it can be an alternative to some European markets.

### **3.Promoting UK's Political Position through Using the Commonwealth in the United Nations**

Before discussing the role of the British Monarchy in promoting the UK's political position through using the Commonwealth in the United Nations, it is most useful to have a brief overview about the United Nations, including a definition, the structure of the organization, and its main principles and values.

#### **3.1. Brief Overview about the United Nations**

##### **3.1.1 Definition**

The United Nations (UN) is an intergovernmental organization that was established on 24 October 1945 as a replacement for the ineffective League of Nations to keep peace in the world and avoid any conflicts like WWI or WWII. The organization includes 193 countries with its headquarters in Manhattan, New York city and financed by assessed and voluntary contributions. The objectives of the United Nations include maintaining world peace, protecting human rights, promoting social and economic development, protecting the environment, providing humanitarian

help in case of natural and man-made disasters, and enhancing people's lives everywhere. (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2015)

### **3.1.2 Structure**

The United Nations include six organs. They are: the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Secretariat, the International Court of Justice, and the United Nations Trusteeship Council, though the latter is inactive since 1994 when the last trust territory Palau got independence.

The General Assembly is the main organ of UN. It includes all member states and meets regularly every year, but emergency sessions can be called. The president of the General Assembly is elected on regional basis from and by member states with 21 vice-presidents. Questions and issues in the General Assembly are decided by simple majority in which each member state has one vote, except is important issues like taking serious measures to keep peace, electing members to the Security Council, admitting new members, suspending or expending some members, or budgetary matters. In general, the role of the General Assembly is to oversee UN budget, to receive reports from UN bodies and make non-compulsory, electing the non-permanent members of the Security Council. (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2015)

The Security Council is the organ which is charged with maintaining peace and security. Despite other organs of UN which can make only non-compulsory recommendations, the Security Council's recommendations which are called United Nations Security Council resolutions are binding. This organ consists of fifteen members. Five of them are permanent and have the power of veto which enables each member to block any UN resolution. This includes the United States, the United Kingdom, Russia, France, and China. The rest ten are non-permanent members; they are elected by the General Assembly according to geographical regional basis for two-year terms while each month the presidency of the council rotates alphabetically. The

Security Council is the most powerful organ of the United Nations because the UN Charter gives it all three powers: the executive, the legislative, and the judiciary branches. The council is charged with maintaining international peace through peace-keeping operations, economic sanctions, and military actions. (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2015)

The International Court of Justice or the World Court as it is called is the UN organ responsible for hearing and deciding disputes between states and recognizing their jurisdiction, though its decisions are not binding. Any country can bring a case in front of the court which includes fifteen judges who are appointed by the General Assembly to serve a nine-years term. (Fomrand, 2009)

The Economic and Social Council helps the General Assembly in endorsing international economic and social cooperation and development in the world. The council includes 54 members who are elected by the General Assembly for a term of three years while the president is elected for one year. It has one annual meeting and its main function includes gathering information and making recommendations to member states. (Conforti, 2005)

The Secretariat is the administrative organ of the UN. It helps other UN bodies administratively like organizing conferences, writing reports, preparing budgets...etc. It is also considered as a source of economic and political analysis for both the General Assembly and the Security Council, in addition to conducting researches and surveys, publishing international treaties and agreements, operating political missions, and appointing heads of military operations. (Farazmand, A. & Pinkowski, 2006)

In addition to these organs, the UN Charter allows each organ to establish agencies and organization if judged necessary to help in fulfilling its duty. Probably the main UN agencies are: the World Bank, the International Atomic Energy Agency, World Health Organization, Food

and Agriculture Organization, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. (Melito, 2008)

### **3.1.3 Aims and Principles**

The aims and principles of the United Nations are clearly stated in the UN Charter, especially in its preamble and article 1 of it in which it is explained that the United Nations is born out of the experience of the devastating WWII and hopes for a lasting international peace in which human rights are respected and equality between all states is maintained to allow economic and social development in all societies. The UN stresses that the primary principle of the organization is to maintain lasting peace and security in the world. For this sake, UN states clearly that it will

Take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace. (Rumki, 2004, p. 26-27)

This quotation that is taken from the first article of the UN Charter manifests the strong will of the organization to maintain peace by all measures that are acknowledged by justice and international laws, being peaceful or by force. Though the quotation only points measures out to these “measure” and does not mention what are they explicitly, it shows that it entails international collaboration and support for what the organization considers as a threat to peace or act of aggression.

The second aim of the organization is to “develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of people”. (Rumki, 2004, p. 27). The organization suggests that developing friendly relations between nations in which they see one another as equal and free to determine their faith is the best guarantee of a lasting peace

between nations which may prevent any future act of aggression or breach of peace. (Rumki, 2004)

As a third aim, the UN Charter emphasizes the importance of international cooperation to solve international economic, social, cultural, and humanitarian problems. The idea is that there will be no lasting peace with social unrest, or economic and social backwardness. Thus the organization works encourages economic, social and cultural development all around the world. (Rumki, 2004)

The fourth purpose of the United Nations is to be the centre in helping its member states to achieve all these purposes and encouraging them especially to achieve peace because without it they cannot achieve other goals. For this end, the United Nations subjugates its five organs to serve international peace and different subordinate agencies and organizations. (Rumki, 2004)

### **3.2 Using the Commonwealth to Promote UK's Political Position in the United Nations**

The very economic force of the Commonwealth that was discussed earlier is used as a unique instrument to play stronger roles in international political organizations like the United Nations. According to Thomas Millar (1962), the Commonwealth exists as a cohesive group in the United Nation, acting in one single voice when it comes to voting. This is not surprising; the United Nations has always been described as a huge and imposing theatre of conflicts and interests (Saliu, 1999), as affirms a guide issued by the United Nations itself entitled: *Intergovernmental Negotiations and Decision Making at the United Nations*, it is stated that there are unofficial “alliances” (2007, p.12) within the United Nations speaking in one voice, this includes 12 groups like the European Union, the African Union, the Rio Group...etc. Among all these competitors, it is essential for the welfare of the UK that the British voice should be strong and clear, alone, her voice will not be heard, but with cooperation with its ex-colonies within the framework of the Commonwealth of Nations this can be achieved. In this subsection, we hypothesize that the

Commonwealth helps to promote the United Kingdom's political position through using it as a British bloc. We can see this with the three decision-making organs of the United Nations which are the General Assembly, the Security Council, and the Economic and Social Council. (United Nations, 2007)

### **3.2.1. The Commonwealth's Participation in the General Assembly**

At the beginning of each annual session, the member states elect the president, 21 vice-presidents, in addition to the chairs of the six committees: the Committee of Disarmament and International Security to reduce military budget and developing telecommunication to protect international security, the Economic and Financial Committee to develop international financial system and to strengthen international economic corporation, the Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural Committee to prevent crimes and eliminate racism, the Special Political and Decolonization Committee to deal with the effects of atomic radiations, and the peaceful use of outer-space and to grant independence to colonized people, the Administrative and Budgetary Committee administers financial functioning of the United Nations, and the Legal Committee which considers reports of the International Law Commission and to eliminate international terrorism. The candidates for these offices that include the president of the General Assembly, the 21 vice-presidents and the chairs of these six committees which cover wide range of subjects and issues are based on rotating geographical regional basis that includes five regions: the African region, the Asian-pacific region, the Latin American and Caribbean region, Eastern European region, and the Western European and others region. (United Nations, 2007)

The Commonwealth of Nations includes 53 states which make up 25.9% of the total 193 states of the United Nations. These countries come from all continents; thus, they belong to all United Nations' geographical regional groups. For example, The African group includes 54 UN member states and the Commonwealth of Nations makes up 17 of these states: Botswana, Cameroon, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Swaziland, Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania,

and Zambia, the Asian-pacific group consists of 53 UN member states and 19 of them are Commonwealth countries: Bangladesh, Brunei Darussalam, India, Malaysia, Maldives, Pakistan, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Australia, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon island, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu, The Latin American and Caribbean group has 53 UN member states and 13 of them are Commonwealth countries: Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Canada, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Saint Lucia, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, and Trinidad and Tobago, the Eastern Europe group also which contains 23 UN member states has one Commonwealth country which is Cyprus, whereas the Western European countries and others group has two Commonwealth countries out of total nine UN member states.

The large number of Commonwealth of Nations who come from all the six continents enable them to have a considerable share within the United Nations system whose candidature for most offices is based on rotating geographical regions, including the president of the General Assembly, vice-presidents, committee chairs, non-permanent members of the Security Council, members of the Economic and Social Council. We will practically see how Commonwealth countries are largely represented in the main three decision-making organs of the United Nations which are: the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, and the Security Council.

According to the official website of the United Nations, there are seventy men who took the office of President of the General Assembly since 1946 as presented in Table 46. These 70 men who come from different member states according to geographical regional basis include 16 Commonwealth countries which correspond to 22.85 % of the total. This includes: Australia (Vere Evatt in 1948), Canada (Lester B. Pearson in 1952), India (Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit in 1953), New Zealand (Leslie Munro in 1957), Ghana (Alex Quaison Sckey in 1964), Sri Lanka (Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe in 1976), United Republic of Tanzania (Salim Ahmed Salim in 1979), Zambia (Paul J. F. Lusaka in 1984), Bangladesh (Humayun Rashid Choudhury in 1986), Nigeria (Joseph Nanven Garba in 1989), Malaysia (Razali Ismail in 1996), Namibia (Theo-Ben Gurirab in

1999), St Lucia (Julian Hunte in 2003), Antigua and Barbuda (John William Ashe in 2013),  
 Aganda (Sam Kutesa in 2014), Fiji (Peter Thomson in 2016).

<b>Years</b>	<b>Name of the President</b>	<b>Nationality</b>
1946	Paul-Henri Spaak	Belgium
1947	Oswaldo Aranha	Brazil
1948	José Acre/ Herbert Vere Evatt	Argentina/ Australia
1949	Carlos P. Romulo	Philippines
1950	Narollah Entezam	Iran
1951	Luis Padilla Nervo	Mexico
1952	Lester B. Pearson	Canada
1953	Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit	India
1954	Ealco van Kleffens	Netherlands
1955	José Maza Fernandez	Chile
1956	Rudecindo Ortega/ Wan Waithayakon	Chile/ Thailand
1957	Leslie Munro	New Zealand
1958	Charles Malik	Lebanon
1959	Victor Andres Belaunde	Peru
1960	Frederick Boland	Ireland
1961	Mongi Slim	Tunisia
1962	Muhammad Zafarullah khan	Pakistan
1963	Carlos Sosa Rodriguez	Venezuela
1964	Alex Quaison Sckey	Ghana
1965	Amintore Fanfani	Italy
1966	Abdul Rahman Pazhwak	Afghanistan
1967	Cornelio Manescu	Romania
1968	Emilio Arenales Catalan	Guatemala
1969	Angie Brooks	Liberia
1970	Edvard Hambro	Norway
1971	Adam Malik	Indonesia
1972	Stanislaw Trepczynski	Poland
1973	Leopoldo Benites	Ecuador
1974	Andelaziz Bouteflika	Algeria
1975	Gaston Thorn	Luxemburg
1976	Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe	Sri Lanka
1977	Lazar Mojsok	Yugoslavia
1978	Indalecio Lievano	Colombia
1979	Salim Ahmed Salim	United Republic of Tanzania
1980	Rudiger von Wechmar	Federal Republic of Germany
1981	Ismat T. Kittani	Iraq
1982	Imre Hollai	Hungary
1983	Jorge Illueca	Panama
1984	Paul J. F. Lusaka	Zambia
1985	Jaime de Pinies	Spain
1986	Humayun Rashid Choudhury	Bangladesh
1987	Peter Florin	German Democratic
1988	Dante Caputo	Argentina

1989	Joseph Nanven Garba	Nigeria
1990	Guido de Marco	Malta
1991	Samir Shihabi	Saudi Arabia
1992	Stoyan Ganev	Bulgaria
1993	Rudy Insanally	Guyana
1994	Amara Essy	Ivory Coast
1995	Diogo de Freitas do Amaral	Portugal
1996	Razali Ismail	Malaysia
1997	Hennadiy Udovenko	Ukraine
1998	Ditier Opertti	Uruguay
1999	Theo-Ben Gurirab	Namibia
2000	Harri Holkeri	Finland
2001	Han Seung-soo	Republic of Korea
2002	Jan Kavan	Czech Republic
2003	Julian Hunte	Saint Lucia
2004	Jean Ping	Gabon
2005	Jan Eliasson	Sweden
2006	Haya Rashed Al-Khalifa	Bahrain
2007	Srgjan Kerim	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
2008	Miguel d'Esscoto Brockmann	Nicaragua
2009	Ali Treki	Libya
2010	Joseph Deiss	Switzerland
2011	Nassir Al-Nassir	Qatar
2012	Vuk Jeremic	Serbia
2013	John William Ashe	Antigua and Barbuda
2014	Sam Kutesa	Uganda
2015	Mogens Lykketof	Denmark
2016	Peter Thomson	Fiji

**Table 46:** List of United Nations presidents of UNGA, 1946-2016. (Source: United Nations, 2016d, “Past presidents”).

Like any other election in the United Nations, candidature to General Assembly Vice-presidency is based on geographical regional grouping. For example the African group includes six (6) vice-presidents, the Asian group includes five (5) vice-presidents, the Latin American and Caribbean group includes three (3), the Eastern European group includes one, the Western European and others group also includes one, in addition to the five permanent members of the Security Council. If we have a look at the president UNGA vice-presidents we find two Commonwealth countries: Mozambique in the African group, and Nauru in the Asian-Pacific group which make up almost 10% of total offices.

<b>Vice-presidents 2016</b>	
<b>African States</b>	Benin, Cameroon, Egypt, Eritrea, <b>Mozambique</b> , Togo.
<b>Asia-Pacific States</b>	Bahrain, Kazakhstan, <b>Nauru</b> , Republic of Korea, Yemen
<b>Eastern European States</b>	Azerbaijan
<b>Latin American and Caribbean States</b>	Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay
<b>Western European and Others States</b>	Italy
<b>Permanent Members of Security Council</b>	China, France, Russian Federation, UK, USA
<b>Total</b>	21

**Table 47:** List of United Nations vice presidents of UNGA, 2016. (Source: United Nations, 2016e, “Vice-presidents”).

Even if we have a look at the present UNGA chairs of the six committees, we find a Commonwealth representative which is Mr. Eden Charles from Trinidad and Tobago, the chair of the sixth committee. This makes the Commonwealth representation in the six committees of UNGA 16. 66% of total offices.

<b>Committees</b>	<b>Chairs of the six committees</b>	<b>Country</b>
First Committee	Mr. Karel Jan Gustaaf van Oosterom	Netherlands
Second Committee	Mr. Anrej Loga	Slovenia
Third Committee	Mr. Omar Hilale	Morocco
Fourth Committee	Mr. Brian Bowler	Malawi
Fifth Committee	Mr. Durga Prasad Bhattarai	Nepal
<b>Sixth Committee</b>	<b>Mr. Eden Charles</b>	<b>Trinidad and Tobago</b>
Total	6	

**Table 48:** List of United Nations chairs of the six committees of GA, 2016. (Source: United Nations, 2016a, “Chairs of the six committees”).

To conclude, the Commonwealth of Nations is largely represented in the United Nations as its member states belong to different geographical regions, but this is not everything; the Commonwealth countries tend also to vote in one single voice when it comes to serious matters to be discussed in UNGA like the case of Declaration on Rights of Indigenous People in which all Commonwealth countries with the exception of Canada, New Zealand, and Australia voted for it. The resolution aims at protecting the rights of indigenous people through accepting and respecting their identity, culture, language, and emphasizing their access to health, education, employment, and related services.

### **3.2.2. The Commonwealth's Participation in the Economic and Social Council**

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) is one of the three decision-making organs of the United Nations which coordinates economic and social roles of the organization, and like the General Assembly it seems that the large number and variety of Commonwealth member states regions enable the organization to be widely represented in this organ. Under the United Nations laws, the ECOSOC includes 54 member states representatives which are distributed according to geographical regions: 14 seats for the African group, 11 for the Asian-Pacific group, 6 for the Eastern European group, 10 for the Latin American and Caribbean group, and 13 for the Western European and others group. If we have a look at current members of ECOSOC as presented by the official website of UN, we find that out of 54 members, the Commonwealth of Nations occupies 14 seats. This corresponds to 25.92% of total seats and includes: Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, Bangladesh, Botswana, Ghana, Guyana, India, Nigeria, Pakistan, Rwanda, South Africa, Trinidad and Tobago, United Kingdom, and Uganda.

<b>Country</b>	<b>Term expires on 31 December</b>
Afghanistan	2018
Algeria	2018
Antigua and Barbuda	2016
Argentina	2017
Australia	2018
Bangladesh	2016
Belgium	2018
Botswana	2016
Brazil	2017
Burkina Faso	2017
Chile	2018
China	2016
Congo	2016
Czech Republic	2018
Democratic Republic of Congo	2016
Estonia	2017
Finland	2016
France	2017
Georgia	2016
Germany	2017
Ghana	2017
Greece	2017
Guatemala	2016
Guyana	2018
Honduras	2017
India	2017
Iraq	2018
Ireland	2017
Italy	2018
Japan	2017
Kazakhstan	2016
Lebanon	2018
Mauritania	2017
Nigeria	2018
Pakistan	2017
Panama	2016
Peru	2018
Portugal	2017
Republic of Korea	2016
Republic of Moldove	2018
Russian Federation	2016
Rwanda	2018
Serbia	2016
Somalia	2018
South Africa	2018
Sweden	2016
Switzerland	2016
Togo	2016

Trinidad and Tobago	2017
Uganda	2017
United Kingdom	2016
United States	2018
Viet Nam	2018
Zimbabwe	2017

**Table 49:** List of United Nations members of ECOSOC, 2016. (Source : United Nations, 2016b, “Full list of members of economic and social council for 2016 and expiration date of membership”).

To conclude, Commonwealth countries, like the General Assembly, is largely represented in the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations thanks to its large number and varied regions of its member states.

### 3.2.3. The Commonwealth’s Participation in the Security Council

2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Belgium</li> <li>Indonesia</li> <li>Italy</li> <li>Panama</li> <li>Congo</li> <li>Ghana</li> <li>Peru</li> <li>Qatar</li> <li>Slovakia</li> <li>South Africa</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Burkina Faso</li> <li>Costa Rica</li> <li>Croatia</li> <li>Libya</li> <li>Viet Nam</li> <li>Belgium</li> <li>Indonesia</li> <li>Italy</li> <li>Panama</li> <li>South Africa</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Australia</li> <li>Japan</li> <li>Mexico</li> <li>Turkey</li> <li>Uganda</li> <li>Burkina Faso</li> <li>Costa Rica</li> <li>Croatia</li> <li>Libya</li> <li>Viet Nam</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Brazil</li> <li>Bosnia &amp; Herzegovina</li> <li>Gabon</li> <li>Lebanon</li> <li>Austria</li> <li>Japan</li> <li>Mexico</li> <li>Nigeria</li> <li>Turkey</li> <li>Uganda</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Columbia</li> <li>Germany</li> <li>India</li> <li>Portugal</li> <li>S. Africa</li> <li>Bosnia &amp; H</li> <li>Brazil</li> <li>Gabon</li> <li>Lebanon</li> <li>Nigeria</li> </ol>
2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Azerbaijan</li> <li>Guatemala</li> <li>Morocco</li> <li>Pakistan</li> <li>Columbia</li> <li>Germany</li> <li>India</li> <li>Portugal</li> <li>S. Africa</li> <li>Togo</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Argentina</li> <li>Australia</li> <li>Luxembourg</li> <li>Korea</li> <li>Rwanda</li> <li>Azerbaijan</li> <li>Guatemala</li> <li>Luxembourg</li> <li>Morocco</li> <li>Togo</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Chad</li> <li>Chile</li> <li>Jordan</li> <li>Lithuania</li> <li>Argentina</li> <li>Australia</li> <li>Luxembourg</li> <li>Nigeria</li> <li>Korea</li> <li>Rwanda</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Angola</li> <li>Malaysia</li> <li>New Zealand</li> <li>Spain</li> <li>Togo</li> <li>Venezuela</li> <li>Chad</li> <li>Chile</li> <li>Lithuania</li> <li>Nigeria</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Egypt</li> <li>Japan</li> <li>Senegal</li> <li>Ukraine</li> <li>Uruguay</li> <li>Malaysia</li> <li>New Zealand</li> <li>Spain</li> <li>Venezuela</li> <li>Angola</li> </ol>

**Table 50:** List of United Nations members of UNSC, 2007-2016. (Source: United Nations (2016b). Countries elected members of the Security Council).

The Security Council is no exception; Commonwealth countries held a considerable number of seats. For example during the last ten years (2007-2016), the Commonwealth countries won 25 seats out of 100. This includes: Ghana and South Africa (2007), South Africa (2008), Australia, and Uganda (2009), Gabon, Nigeria, and Uganda (2010), India and South Africa (2011), Australia and Rwanda (2013), Australia, Nigeria, and Rwanda (2014), Malaysia, New Zealand, and Nigeria (2015), and Malaysia and New Zealand (2016). Perhaps the most decision-making organ of UN is UNSC because it is the only body whose resolutions are binding. Indeed, if United Nation member states ignore UNSC resolutions, they risk a number of sanctions which may include economic sanctions and even military operations. It is true that most privileges are enjoyed by the permanent members of the council, but still some powers are reserved to non-permanent members. According to UN charter, any member state of the council including even the non-permanent members can bring an issue for discussion, and measures can be taken if nine out of fifteen vote favourably including all permanent members. Thus, when Commonwealth countries hold a considerable number of seats in the council, they increase their participation in the decision-making process to determine the most serious issues in the world.

A question which may come across one's mind is: "what is the link between the large representation of the Commonwealth of Nations in the United Nations, and promoting the United Kingdom's political position in the world? The answer is simple if we come to think about membership criteria of the Commonwealth of Nations: being a former colony of UK, or being constitutionally linked to one of the present members, acknowledging the British monarch as a Head of State, then changed to be acknowledging him/her as a head of the Commonwealth of Nations, accepting English only which is the language of UK to be a means of communication. In all these there is Britain. Even the name of the organization was British Commonwealth before it was changed to Commonwealth of Nations. Everywhere the organization of the

Commonwealth of Nations remind people of Britain. So, when Commonwealth countries win seats UN organs like General Assembly vice-presidents, Chairs of the six committees, members in the Economic and Social Council, or in the Security Council, it means a lot for Britain especially with the sixteen Commonwealth realms which acknowledge the British Monarch Queen Elizabeth II as a Head of State.

#### **4.The Commonwealth of Nations without the British Monarchy? The importance of the British Monarchy for the Commonwealth of Nations.**

We have seen previously how the Commonwealth of Nations contributes in promoting the economic and political positions of the UK. But is it possible to have these achievements without the monarchy? In another word, what if there is no BM? What will happen to CW?

According to the Commonwealth Charter, the British Monarch is the head of the organization, and for any new sovereign state to become a member in CW, it has to acknowledge the British monarch as the head of the organization. Queen Elizabeth II has been the first monarch who to hold the title of “Head of Commonwealth of Nations”, though the role is only symbolic and the monarch by no means interferes in the governance of the organization. The symbolic role can be summarized in attending the biennial Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM), attending the CHOGM reception and dinner, delivering a speech, in addition to attending the quadrennial Commonwealth games and being present each Commonwealth Day to say a word to all member states. Though the office of Head of Commonwealth is not constitutionally hereditary, many member states like Canada and New Zealand refer to the Queen’s eldest son Prince Charles as the next head of the Commonwealth. Even Queen Elizabeth II, through the Letters Patent created her son Charles Prince of Wales and successor to Head of Commonwealth. In fact, the British monarch is made the head of the organization because s/he is the Head of State of sixteen (16) Commonwealth realms which include: Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas,

Barbados, Belize, Canada, Grenada, Jamaica, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu, and United Kingdom. These countries make up more than a quarter of the total CW member states (30.18%). Thus, perhaps it is logical to make the British Monarch, the Head of States for these sixteen Commonwealth realms, the representative head of the whole organization of the Commonwealth. But what if the British Monarchy disappears? May be there will be no even United Kingdom, because as we have seen in the previous chapter there are calls for independence in the four countries especially in Scotland and Wales, and after abolishing the monarchy they will have a good chance to get independence. Abolishing the monarchy means also that there will be no commonwealth realms for there is no British Monarch to be acknowledged the Head of States in these countries. As such, the United Kingdom, or perhaps the possible four independent countries of UK, will lose majority in the Commonwealth of nations with no constitutional links with the former Commonwealth realms. Without a representative leader, the UK or as we said the possible independent countries will have no right to be Head of the Commonwealth. As such, the position of UK will be weaker. In fact, a worse scenario might be the case; the Commonwealth might disappear at all. These possible scenarios are summarized by Brysk, Parson and Sanderholtze (2002) in saying that all achievements of the Commonwealth of Nations are in the credit of the British Monarchy. Ton Bentley and James Wilsdon also confirm the same point in *Monarchies: What are Kings and Queens for?* (2002) by saying that the symbolic role of the British Monarch in the Commonwealth is the best thing that the monarch can do for Britain and only few people are aware of the importance of this role. (Bentley & Wilsdon, 2002)

## Conclusion

We started this chapter by hypothesizing that the British Monarchy may help in promoting the economic and political position of the UK. To test this hypothesis, we started first by how the Commonwealth of Nations may help Britain economically, then politically and we tried at the end to link the Commonwealth of Nations with the British Monarchy.

Data analysis revealed that, economically, the organization helps relatively Britain in the way that trade with Commonwealth Countries increases goods trade and services while decreasing trade cost because of mutual trust and understanding between Britain and these countries, in addition to the fact that the United Kingdom holds many Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) in these countries. However, trade with Commonwealth countries is undermined by distance from main Commonwealth markets. This made Britain choose close European markets for its trade to decrease trade cost, but still trade with Commonwealth countries may have a better chance after leaving the European Union.

Politically speaking, Britain may benefit from the organization as well in terms of representation and participation in the United Nations because Commonwealth countries come from all the six continents and the five oceans. This enables Commonwealth countries to be largely presented in the three main decision-making bodies of the United Nations which are: the Security Council, the General Assembly, and the Economic and Social Council which all adopt geographical regional basis to elect members. As a result, we find that Commonwealth countries largely participate in determining important issues around the world through the United Nations. This serves Britain politically because many Commonwealth countries are constitutionally linked to UK as Commonwealth Realms. All the achievements of the Commonwealth of Nations, whether political or economic, are in the credit of the British Monarchy without which the organization may not exist at all. In addition to the fact that only through acknowledging the British Monarch to be Head of State for 15 Commonwealth countries in the world that Britain has 16 Commonwealth realms. This boosts the political position of Britain in the world.

## **Main Conclusion**

The institution of British Monarchy had been at once very powerful, with its kings enjoying absolute powers because of the strong belief in the Divine Right of Kings theory in the past as was the case with Anglo Saxon and Norman kings. Gradually, the institution was stripped of most of its powers, as people no longer believed in the sacrosanctity of their kings. This can be seen through three main rebellions in Britain against kings that led to limiting royal powers and contributed to the birth of Constitutional monarchy in Britain. First, the Barons Wars which enforced the Magna Carta to put an end to kings' abuse of powers and to protect citizens' basic rights. Second, the English Civil war in which the fervent determination to establish parliamentary sovereignty and fear from the unlimited regal powers of monarchs were culminated in abolishing the office of monarch and establishing a republic instead of a kingdom, in addition to beheading the king. And third, the Glorious Revolution which was the last fatal blow to the institution of the monarchy with enforcing Bills of Rights to keep the monarchy always inferior to parliament.

Consequently, nowadays, the British Monarchy is a powerless symbolic institution that receives fierce criticism for being unnecessary and playing no significant powers, in addition to contradicting a set of idolized principles and morals like democracy and equality, in addition to being outdated and associated with old aristocracy and class stratification.

The main hypothesis of our work was that despite being a powerless symbolic institution and all these critics against the institution of the monarchy, there is still a need to maintain it. Before trying to prove this, we started first by passing through important stages like refuting main arguments against the institution after identifying these arguments and providing our research by a strong theoretical background which included definitions of key terms and notions and

historical overviews about the long struggle between parliament and monarchy to establish a constitutional monarchy and to make the road towards democracy possible in Britain.

The main criticism that was against the monarchy is contradicting democracy, because allegedly the institution deprives the British of electing their Head of State, and of being a possible candidate to this office as most people in the world do. But in fact, continuous statistics by international organizations to measure democracy in the world reveal that Britain, as a constitutional monarchy, continues to score exceptionally well to be an excellent example of democracy in the world.

In House of Freedom World Map 2015, Britain appears in green. This corresponds for being “Free” by House of Freedom criteria which contain two: political rights and civil liberties. The first criterion comprises four indices: electoral process, political pluralism, political participation, and functioning of government. The second criterion includes five indices: freedom of expression and belief, associational and organizational rights, rule of law, personal autonomy, and individual rights. The score of a country in these two criteria is organized in seven-points scale which classify a country as “Free” if it scores between 1 to 2.5, “Partly Free” if it scores between 3 to 5, and “Not Free” if it scores between 5.5 to 7. The United Kingdom scored 1. This means that the country is an ideal free democratic country.

In the latest Center for Systematic Peace’s (CSP) world map of democracy (2014), the United Kingdom appears in dark blue. This corresponds for being “Full Democracy” in CSP’s ten-points scale which classifies a country as “Full Democracy” if it scores 10, “Democracy” if it scores between 9 and 6, “Open Anocracy” if it scores between 5 and 1, “Closed Anocracy” if it scores between 0 and (-5), and “Autocracy” if it scores between (-6) and (-10). This scale reflects the country’s score in two criteria: *effectiveness* and *legitimacy*. Effectiveness means the government’s ability to achieve stability in three prominent fields: the political field, the

economic field, and the social field; whereas legitimacy means citizens' perceptions and satisfaction with their government's performance in these three fields. In other words, effectiveness and legitimacy refer to the performance of the government and its relation with citizens. These two criteria allow CSP to see *state fragility* which means whether the regime in a particular country is solid and can stand for long or not. To measure state fragility, a scale of four-points is suggested: 0 = no fragility, 1 = low fragility, 2 = medium fragility, 3 = high fragility. The United Kingdom scored 0; this corresponds for having no fragility, in addition to being a full democratic country for scoring 10 in legitimacy and effectiveness.

The United Kingdom is considered as "Full Democracy" by the Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index (EIUDI) as well. The later classifies countries into four regime types: "Full Democracy" if the country scores between 8 and 10, "Flawed Democracy" if the country scores between 6 and 7.9, "Hybrid Regime" if the country scores between 4 and 5.9, and "Authoritarian Regime" if the country scores below 4. This scale reflects global scores in five criteria which are: electoral process and pluralism, civil liberties, the functioning of government, political participation, and political culture. In EIUDI ranking, UK was ranked 16 with an overall score of 8.31. This corresponds to being full democracy.

To conclude, the United Kingdom with its constitutional monarchy is classified as a democratic country with the testimony of well recognized international organizations to measure democracy around the world. This means that having a monarchy does not go against democracy as some opponents hold it as a main argument against the institution.

Another argument that is held strongly against the British monarchy is the unimportance of the institution because of its symbolic roles. Indeed, though the Royal Prerogatives give the monarch large powers, s/he cannot exercise any of them without referring first to parliament to hear its final word. The British Monarchy became mere a powerless figurehead which acts only

by parliamentary instructions, but this can be considered as an argument for and not against the institution because its existence causes no harm to the political process in Britain which is left solely for parliament to transmit the will of people.

Another argument that is continuously held by opponents of the institution is the heavy cost of the British Monarchy with its luxurious royal ceremonies and lavish celebrations. For the British, all these are extracted from them through taxes. The Daily Telegraph leaked recently the shocking overpriced expenditures of the crown which allegedly amount to £334 million every year. This makes the British Monarchy the most expensive monarchy in Europe and 112 times more costly than the Irish presidency. The British monarchy is financed by the Civil List Act of 1697, the Privy Purse, grants-in-aids, direct expenditures of government departments, net incomes from visitors to royal palaces, in addition to private incomes. But in fact, even if the monarchy is abolished and a republic is established instead, the cost may remain the same because a head of state needs in turn to pay for expenditures on his security, state visits, banquets, ceremonial duties, in addition to his own salary, and expenditures to conserve royal palaces and buildings. So abolishing the monarchy may financially make a little difference. By contrast, statistics revealed that the British monarchy pours money into the British economy through tourism because most tourists choose royal palaces and buildings for their destination. It seems that the British Monarch works hard to refute allegations of being an expensive institution through paying taxes as any ordinary British citizens and being engaged in charitable works to help the poor, the old, and the sick throughout the kingdom.

Some criticize the institution of monarchy for lacking accountability. This is not true. According to judicial review, the High Court has the right to review royal prerogatives as if they were parliamentary acts. Perhaps the *Shoreham Aeroion* case in 1915 is a good example. It was an appeal made to House of Lords versus the crown which allegedly occupied a commercial

airfield during wartime for military purposes. This was justified by the crown to be done under royal prerogative, but the House of Lords ruled that for a royal prerogative to be used there should be a proof that an emergency of a threat of invasion or war exists. The same thing for Attorney General Vs De Keyser's Royal Hotel Ltd in which armed forces occupied the hotel during war. This was again justified to be under royal prerogative too. The case ended by paying compensations by the crown. In fact there are many other examples of appeals against the crown which demonstrate that royal prerogatives are controlled both by judicial review and parliamentary sovereignty. The latter means that in case royal prerogatives clash with statutes, the latter prevail and nullify royal prerogatives.

Almost there is no aspect of monarchy left without criticism. Some arguments even go against being gender-discriminative because the hereditary system is based on male primogeniture. This means that a boy is given priority over girls to be crown as a king. Other arguments go against being associated with outdated aristocracy and old order for which there is no place in today's twenty-first century. Some surveys show that some British even feel embarrassed of the institution which makes Britain appear backward and remind people of the millions who were slaughtered and exploited in the name of the crown and the empire. Others see that the institution calls for anarchism for having no written constitution. This allowed the institution in the past to do things under royal prerogatives which are not listed or identified in any official document, but today royal prerogatives are strictly controlled by the legislative and judicial branches that prevented the crown from claiming new royal prerogatives.

Other critics accuse the monarchy of calling for class stratification because royal family members seem to be proud of belonging to this family and derive from this a sense of superiority that can be modeled by other people in the society. Some other critics even blame the monarchy

for subjugating family members, and particularly children, to abnormal life for forcing them to behave in a special way as surveys continue to reveal.

According to questionnaires held by Yougov, main critics and dissatisfactions with monarchy come from Labourers, followed by Liberal Democrats. Comparing respondents' groups reveal that opposition to the institution comes mainly from men rather than women, young age groups rather than old age groups, and from the second social class rather than the first. This means that Conservatives, women, the old (40-59) and 60+, the first social class tend to support more the crown. When respondents in Yougov surveys were asked if Britain should continue to have a monarchy in future, or should it be replaced by a head of state, 69% said that Britain should still have a monarchy and 20% said that Britain should have an elected head of state. Surveys revealed also that 66% of them thought that Britain would still have a monarch in 100 years' time as opposed to 24%. When respondents were asked if the monarchy was good or bad for Britain, 61% voted for being good, whereas only 20% voted for being bad.

In our thesis, we suggested as a main hypothesis that the institution of monarchy is good for Britain, particularly because it helps the country in overcoming a number of problems which include the problem of identity crisis, and the problem of tendencies towards independence within the kingdom. But before explaining how the British Monarchy may help, we studied first these two problems because we cannot possibly speak about the role of the British monarchy in minimizing the effect of these two problems on the country without knowing first about these two problems, in addition to the fact that speaking about the gravity of these two problems adds extra weight to any effort made by the monarchy to solve them.

The first problem that was covered in this thesis was the problem of identity crisis in Britain. Recent surveys on identity reveal that there is a deep problem of identity in Britain due to main

four factors which are: rise of local nationalisms throughout the kingdom, policies of immigration, multiculturalism, and globalization.

When the Monero Question was asked throughout the kingdom, it revealed that a considerable number of people in UK have more loyalty to local nationalism rather than to British national identity. In Scotland, for example, surveys showed that more than half of the people in Scotland (53%) tend to claim either Scottish identity more than British identity or Scottish identity only, whereas 30% claim both identities and only 11% considered themselves either British only, or British more than Scottish. In Wales, almost half of people (48%) see themselves as Welsh not British, or Welsh more than British, while 35% claim both identities, and a fifth of them (25%) identify themselves either as British only, or British more than Welsh. In Northern Ireland, the issue of identity is closely linked with religious sects. Surveys showed that Protestants tend to claim British identity (69% of the population), and Catholics tend to claim Irish identity (68%). In England, it seems that there are fewer tendencies to claim local identity. Only 29% see themselves as English not British or more English than British, whereas 44% of the population claims dual identity.

In addition to local nationalisms, British identity is undermined by immigration and multiculturalism policies. The United Kingdom opened its doors for substantial groups of displaced people from Europe, mainly for Poles and Ukrainians as European Volunteer Workers to provide the country with the necessary labour force in an attempt to help it recover economically from World War II. Indians were also welcomed to Britain after gaining independence in 1947. After establishing the Commonwealth of Nations, Commonwealth citizens had the right to come freely to UK without any restrictions until the introduction of Immigrants Acts in 1962 which placed some regulations that admitted only those with government-issued employment vouchers. These regulations were restricted by other acts to

limit primary immigration and the right of abode, but still immigrants flowed in large numbers to the United Kingdom. Immigrants can also come to UK from European Union member states citizens under the four freedoms of the organization which consider its 27 members as a single market that guarantees the free movement of goods, capital, services, and people. The UK was a previous member of EU, as such; many Europeans citizens came freely to the country. Recent statistics show that 40.5% of total immigrants to UK have European nationality, and almost 21% are Commonwealth citizens. Others come for different reasons like carrying on formal studies, working, joining couples, or seeking asylum. As a result, immigrants in UK are of different ethnics, origins, and culture including: Polish, Chinese, black Caribbean, Indians, Pakistani, Africans, gypsy, Arabs...etc

To deal with all their cultural diversities, the UK has adopted multicultural policies to allow the coexistence of different cultures in an atmosphere of tolerance, mutual respect and understanding for difference which are all important to promote their common interest in the same country. But in fact, these policies failed. They led only to segregation and fragmentation instead of integration, with each culture trying to survive through undermining others, in addition to fear of terrorism which was responsible of a number of accidents in Britain recently.

Policies of multiculturalism worsened the crisis of identity in Britain, because according to recent surveys immigrants who make a large portion of the British population do not claim British identity. Surveys show that they are more loyal to their country of birth even after becoming British citizens or being long residents in the country with the right to vote.

Besides policies of immigration and multiculturalism, it seems that globalization has its effect on aggrandizing the problem of identity in Britain. Indeed, the uncontrolled flow of ideas, goods, people, mass communication, and international organizations that connect the globe with each other and make the effects of an event in particular area felt in another part of the world has

its impact on local cultures in Britain. This process is almost unstoppable; indeed, it is almost impossible to stop the flow of ideas, beliefs, new lifestyles, and different cultural aspects that people encounter every day. Britain, as any other country in the world, suffers from undermining the national identity due to the speed process of globalization.

To conclude, Britain is suffering from a deep crisis of identity due to the rise of local nationalisms like Scottish identity, Welsh identity, Irish identity, and with a less degree English identity, in addition to previous membership in European Union, policies of immigration and multiculturalism, and globalization. In fact, the problem of identity in Britain leads to another problem which is more severe than identity crisis for it threatens the very existence of the United Kingdom. It is the problem of claims for independence in the four regions which make up the kingdom. Studies reveal that there is a direct relation between identity and calls for independence. The more people feel loyalty to local nationalism rather than to national identity, the more likely they are inclined to claim independence. This suggests that Scotland is the first country to possibly call for independence because feelings to be Scottish is far away more than feeling to be British.

In reality this is the case, Scotland was the first country to hold a referendum to separate from the union. The referendum was supported mainly by the Scottish National Party (SNP), and less fervently by other political parties like the Scottish Green Party (SGP), the Scottish Socialist Party (SSP), and Solidarity. Though all these parties back independence, they have different political views after achieving their goal which is independence. SNP, for example, wants to keep the British monarchy and to be a Commonwealth member state after independence, whereas SSP and Solidarity want to be a republic.

Statistics about the referendum revealed that 84.6 % of electors participated in the referendum, including European Union and Commonwealth citizens to vote yes or no for Scottish independence. The referendum ended by the victory of the no side with 55.3 % against 44.7%.

According to surveys held by British Social Attitudes (BSA), call for independence in Scotland is highly influenced by strong sense of Scottish identity. BSA asked respondents the Monero Question along with referendum vote intention shortly before the referendum was held. This allows tracing the vote of each of the five identity groups in the Monero Question.

The survey reveal that the identity group which identifies itself as “Scottish not British” is more likely to intend to vote yes in the referendum (53%), followed by the identity group of “More Scottish than British” (43%), then by the identity group of “Equally Scottish and British” (12%), and finally the identity groups of “More British than Scottish” and “British not Scottish” with only 8%. The results show that the more people feel “Scottish not British”, or “more Scottish than British”, the more likely they intend to vote “yes” in the referendum. This means that really there is a relation between identity and tendency towards independence and Scotland is a good example about this.

In addition to strong feeling of Scottish identity, independence in Scotland is motivated by economic reasons for Scotland has promising natural resources of oil, gas, and renewable energies. It is estimated that Scottish oil makes 64% of the EU’s oil, and 25% of its tidal energy potential and 10% of its wave energy. Political parties like SNP argue that only an independent Scotland enables the Scottish to fully benefit from their country’s natural resources. According to surveys by BSA, those who intend to vote “yes” in the referendum are also influenced by economic reasons besides feelings of local identity. Eighty-six (86%) of them thought that Scotland’s economy would be a lot better after independence. This includes to have better living standards (74%), and higher personal finances, in addition to low taxes (89%).

BSA revealed also that economic reasons behind claim for independence in Scotland go along with feelings of inequality and exploitation within the kingdom. Surveys show that 60% of those who intend to vote “yes” in the referendum claim that England benefits more from the kingdom. This is considered unfair by some Scottish because they see that they are deprived of enjoying better lives mainly because, according to them, the union uses Scotland’s natural resources not to take care about people in Scotland, but to take care of other countries in the kingdom.

Scotland is not the only country to claim independence; Wales is on its path as well with its Welsh national party: Plaid Cymru. In fact, Wales is theoretically suggested to be the second to claim for independence according to the theory of a correlation between feelings of identity and tendency towards independence because Welsh identity comes second after Scottish identity in Britain. This suggests the claim for independence in Wales to be high too.

Recent surveys continue to affirm this in the field ground. Statistics reveal that 42% of respondents in Wales who see themselves “Welsh not British” tend to favour more independence, followed by those who see themselves as “Welsh more than British” (13%), then those who consider themselves both Welsh and British (9%), and those who identify themselves as British not Welsh with a percentage of 4%.

In Northern Ireland there are fewer claims for independence because people there are divided between many local nationalisms including mainly Irish nationalism and Northern Irish nationalism. This is different than the situation in Scotland or Wales in which there is only one local nationality. Surveys by BSA show that the issue of independence in Northern Ireland is influenced mainly by religious sects. Protestants who feel predominately being British tend to prefer remaining a part of the kingdom, whereas Catholics who feel being Irish or Northern Irish tend to prefer either to reunify with the republic of Ireland, or to be a separate republic.

Undoubtedly, national identity is highly important as stressed by many scholars because only national identity sets a nation's culture apart from another culture. After all nations are not only defined by their geographical boundaries only, but by the culture within these boundaries. We have seen how Britain suffers from a severe identity crisis within its boundaries due to many factors, and how the problem of identity in Britain is linked to another problem which is call for independence. We suggest first in this thesis as a first minor hypothesis that the British Monarchy may help in minimizing the crisis of identity in Britain. This is done in three ways which are fully studied throughout the fourth chapter of this thesis. First, we suggest that that through being an iconic symbol of British identity, the British monarchy may help in maintaining British identity. Second, through making the British royal family as an ideal British family and a reference of British values, the institution may succeed in sustaining what remained of British identity; and third, through using charm of royal occasions to attract the British and gather them as one people.

First, to understand the British monarchy as an iconic symbol of British national identity, it is important to understand national identity as a psychological bond that links people of the same nation because of having some shared features together that are related to cultural aspects which may differentiate them from other people. This includes having a common history and past experiences, a common origin, language, and others. As a result, this people feel belonging to a particular nation and become able to answer the questions: "who I am?" and "who we are?" Feeling of belonging compel people of the same nation to respond when there is something threatening their nation, and makes even some people ready to sacrifice their lives for the country. Generally, people of the same nation tend to feel the same when remembering happy experiences of their history like moments of victory or any significant achievements of their country. The same thing when they remember sad experiences like moments of humiliation and disgrace. To

sum up, the point is that the more there are strong felt common features between the people of the same nation, the stronger is their national identity.

As an iconic symbol of national identity, the British monarch appeals to the British feelings to remind and accentuate some common British features which may help in strengthening their sense of belonging to their nation.

The British monarchy might be considered as an iconic symbol of history which may link the present and the past and offers continuity with the past, because the British monarchy is one of the eldest institutions in the world which goes back to 1077. When the British see the Queen, they do not only see history since her coronation in 1953, but they see a person who embodies a vast British history which goes back to the Victorian era, to the Stuarts, the Tudors, and beyond.

The British monarchy might also be considered as an iconic symbol of origin. Unlike many people who cannot trace back their origins and do not know who they are, the British in general may easily trace back their roots and define themselves thanks to the hereditary nature of the institution of the British monarchy which allows them to link themselves with ancestors and descendents. Thus, they establish some psychological ties which may strengthen their sense of national identity.

The British monarchy might be considered as an iconic symbol of religion as well. First of all, it is important to see religion as an important component of national identity. It seems that the British are aware of this point; in surveys held by BSA in which the British were asked about what makes a person truly British, results show that religion was chosen very often by respondents with a particular reference to Christianity. It is also important to know that there are some shocking realities in Britain about religion as recent statistics continue to reveal with a society that is increasingly growing into a secular society with the rise of the portion who belong to no religion, in addition to religious carelessness of the few who claim to belong to any religion

as confirmed by levels of attendance at religious services or meeting. Under these circumstances, it is significant when the British monarchy be an icon of religion. This can be seen through British royal ceremonies in which church and religion are accentuated, including coronations, jubilees, weddings, and funeral. Not only this, it seems that the Queen continues to link the British with religion through her annual Christmas speech in which it is very often to preach some Christian points like being kind to family, being an ideal parent, sacrifice...etc. Though starting from the sixties, it seems that the Queen became aware that Christianity was no longer the only religion in the British society. Instead, she started to address the importance of faith in general without any special reference to Christianity; for example, she started to cover morals that are appreciated in all religions like respect, tolerance, politeness...etc.

In addition to being an iconic symbol of British identity, the British monarchy may help in maintaining British identity through being an ideal British family for the British and a reference of British values.

Being an iconic symbol of history, origin, and religion, as we have seen earlier, compel the British royal family to set some standards in terms of personal conduct to behave in a particular way. The British monarch, for example, embodies certain fundamental standards and values which are widely accepted by the British regardless of their religious belonging. The Queen has shown these values through her civic engagement to be a servant of her people as she claims. These civic engagements teach the British to help each other, and to take care of the old, the sick, and the outcast in the society. In an interesting survey held by Yougov in which the British were asked who among the Queen, the Prime Minister, the parliament, politicians truly worries about the people's suffering and miseries, the majority of respondents chose the Queen.

Perhaps, this can be seen through royal commitment to public service and duty that the Queen has in times of national disasters to show support for the victims. Granting honors, writing

letters of congratulation as recognition of distinctive success and accomplishment, in addition to invitations to royal garden parties, all these encourage the British to promote the interests of their economy by making some contributions in different field.

In addition to embodying moral virtues, the idea of having a ruling family carries on deep meanings to the British royal family which is supposed to be a representative of British families who make emotional bonds with the first family in UK. Most scholars stress the factor of identification of each British family with the royal family. This idea was intensified among the British during the marriage of Princess Margeret with the ordinary man Anthony Armstrong Jones.

Being the first family in the country directs all eyes to this family which is supposed to be an ideal family or at least it should represent how a normal family looks like should. This compels royal family members to behave in a decent way. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that the British royal family was plagued by a number of scandals like the abdication of Prince Edward to marry Mrs. Simpson, the divorce of Princess Ann and Captain Mark Philips, the divorce of Prince Andrew and Sarah Ferguson, and the divorce of Prince Charles and Lady Diana Spencer. Most divorces took place because of extra-marital relations like the televised confession of Prince Charles and Diana of committing adultery. But according to surveys by Yougov, these scandals do not affect the prestige of the British monarchy because these scandals merely strengthen the ability of the royal family to represent the British who suffer from such problems in their daily lives.

Royal occasions are might also be a way to maintain British national identity in which people do not hesitate to celebrate with the royal family and share with them their joy and grief. This might be seen in the coronation of the Queen, the Silver Jubilee, the Golden Jubilee, the Diamond Jubilee, and death of Princess Diana. The passion by which the British follow royal occasions is

a contested field of research by sociological and psychological scholars. For example: the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II.

The coronation took place when the Queen was only 25 years old after abdication of her uncle Prince Edward and the death of her father after long struggle with lung cancer. It was the first televised coronation in British history. Millions of British watched the coronation, though TV was still new in Britain in 1953, people crowded around their neighbor's sets to see the coronation. Some unfortunate gathered outside to see through windows. Others clustered in streets where TV owners placed their televisions. British reports recorded that the British were overcome by emotions with many of them crying.

The same thing for the Silver Jubilee in 1976 which marked the Queen's 25 years on the throne. Though it was held during economic recession when trade unions were very powerful, The British celebrated the occasion enthusiastically with thousands of street parties that were organized to celebrate throughout the kingdom. The occasion was an opportunity for the Queen to make her tour of the Commonwealth realms on the board of her yacht Britannia. Millions of people gathered to greet her wherever she passed.

The Golden Jubilee which marked the fiftieth anniversary of the Queen's accession to the throne, and the Diamond Jubilee which marked her sixtieth anniversary were no exceptions. The British celebrated these royal occasions too. According to surveys by Yougov, these occasions for the British were opportunities not to have "a day off work", or "extra time to spend with family and friends", but mainly an opportunity to celebrate with their Queen before being a day off work, or extra time to spend with family.

In addition to the coronation, and the jubilees, passion for royal family can be seen through the popularity of royal Christmas speeches delivered by the Queen. Every year, the Queen

congratulates her people and describes how she is celebrating that sacred day with her own family.

Perhaps the main royal event which has a deep effect on the British is the death of Princess Diana Spencer who was the first wife of Prince Charles before their divorce two years later due to extra-marital relations of her husband with his x-mitress Camillia Bowles. Few years after this, Lady Diana was killed in a tragic car accident. The British were deeply moved by this accident to the extent that they were found crying in streets as if they lost a close family member. This astonished the world who knew about the British their introvert character when it comes to emotions. Thousands of people gathered for many days in the Princess tribute to leave flowers and messages which accumulated to the extent that they became a threat to public safety because they reached streets and covered public areas. The British were a bit upset with the Queen who remained silent all along this tragedy and asked her to deliver a speech to say a word about Diana's death.

All in all, participation in these royal occasions, sharing with the Royal family its happy and sad moments may reveal support to the British monarchy as well. This may help the institution to contribute in maintaining the British national identity through self-identification with the royal family in which the royal family is considered to be the family of every British family. The Queen herself admits in her own words that nowadays she cannot lead her people into battles as in the past, but she can do something better for her people which is her warmth, love, and mother-like care. She also confesses that unlike most jobs in which employers finish their work and go home to enjoy their personal lives, the job of her turned to be her personal life with no cut between the two. She said this because she is aware that through celebrating royal events and making monarchy closer to people, she is doing the most significant job which is maintaining British national identity through appealing to their emotions. This made prominent constitutional

theorist Walter Baghot say that as long our human heart is strong and our human reason is strong, royalty will always be strong because it appeals to emotions, and Republicans will always stay weak because they appeal to reason.

In addition to helping in maintaining British national identity, the British monarchy may help in keeping the kingdom united. This was our second minor hypothesis. In fact, logically speaking if tendency towards independence in UK is a result of weak British national identity from one hand, and the institution of monarchy helps in maintaining national identity from the other hand, it is safe to say that the British monarchy, through maintaining British national identity, may help at least in minimizing calls for independence in the kingdom. Perhaps, the best way to see this is to imagine the United Kingdom without the British Monarchy.

If the institution of monarchy disappears, political parties like the Scottish National Party in Scotland and Plaid Cumru in Wales will grow stronger and may finally have their golden chance to realize their independence agenda, because all the four regions in the country are constitutionally linked to the institution of monarchy to form the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and without it, there will be no kingdom and instead, there might be possible four independent countries which can no longer retain the privileges enjoyed earlier by the United Kingdom.

In international scene, if the kingdom disappears, the image of Britain might be so poor in the political scene, because it may lose both its economic position and political position, for a kingdom that joins four countries is far better than four separate countries each acting alone. No union means simply less population, less natural sources, a weaker military, and a weak country. The United Kingdom supremacy with its strong economy and heard voice in decisive organizations like the United Nations and the Commonwealth may simply go with the monarchy if abolished, including even a united kingdom.

We suggested in our third minor hypothesis that the British monarchy may help in promoting the UK's economic and political positions through the organization of the Commonwealth of Nations. To test this hypothesis, we started first by studying how may the Commonwealth of Nations help Britain economically and politically, and we tried at the end to link this organization with the institution of monarchy in Britain. All these were done after providing a strong theoretical background about the organization of the Commonwealth of Nations, including: definitions, history, principles, some achievements...etc

We found that economically UK may benefit, through relatively, from CW. In-depth research and data analysis reveal that despite not having a free trade zone between Commonwealth countries, trade with them increases goods trade and services while it decreases trade cost, in addition to the fact that the United Kingdom holds many Foreign Direct Investments in Commonwealth states especially in Canada, New Zealand, and India. Even these countries hold some Foreign Direct Investments in UK. Nevertheless, trade with Commonwealth countries is undermined by distance from main Commonwealth markets while being close to European markets. This makes the UK choose to trade mostly with European countries. The organization of the European Union made this easier through binding trade agreements which prevent Britain from signing any other trade agreements outside EU, including Commonwealth countries. But leaving this organization may boost the chances of trading with Commonwealth countries whose markets can be a chief alternative for European Union markets. To conclude, economically speaking, the Commonwealth of Nations may enable the UK to elevate its economic position through having some Foreign Direct Investments and trade with Commonwealth markets and it may have a brilliant future after leaving the EU.

It seems that the Commonwealth of Nations may help the UK even politically as well. The large number of Commonwealth countries who come from all the six continents and the five

oceans enable the Commonwealth to be largely represented in the three important organs of the United Nations which are the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, and the Security Council, which all adopt geographical regional basis to elect members. Fortunately for Commonwealth of Nations, its varied member states belong to all UN geographical regions. This increases Commonwealth countries' chance to be represented in UN and to participate in the decision-making process of UN to determine important issues all around the world. This of course serves Britain politically, because any achievement of Commonwealth of Nations is in the credit of the country that had created, coordinated, and continued to support the Commonwealth of Nations as a leading country. In addition to this, it seems that Commonwealth countries tend to form a British bloc in the United Nations which tend to vote in one voice when it comes to sensitive issues. More importantly, the CW enables Britain to be constitutionally linked with 15 Commonwealth states as "Commonwealth Realms" through acknowledging the British Monarch to be Head of State for these countries. To sum up, the organization of Commonwealth of Nations may really help Britain both with its economic position and political position in the world, but all these achievements are in the credit of the British monarchy without which the organization might not exist, because each member state should acknowledge first the British Monarch to be the head of the organization to be a member in the organization. The best way to see the importance of the institution of the monarchy for the Commonwealth is to try to imagine the organization without the monarchy.

To conclude, the role of the British monarchy in minimizing identity crisis and calls for independence in the four countries of the kingdom help us to suggest that there is really a need to maintain this institution, and these roles can be considered as reasons that may justify the existence of the institution, though there might be other reasons that can be found along them.

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## **Appendix 1: Clause 61 of Magna Carta**

Since, moreover, for God and the amendment of our kingdom and for the better allaying of the quarrel that has arisen between us and our barons, we have granted all these concessions, desirous that they should enjoy them in complete and firm endurance forever, we give and grant to them the underwritten security, namely, that the barons choose five and twenty barons of the kingdom, whomsoever they will, who shall be bound with all their might, to observe and hold, and cause to be observed, the peace and liberties we have granted and confirmed to them by this our present Charter, so that if we, or our justiciar, or our bailiffs or any one of our officers, shall in anything be at fault towards anyone, or shall have broken any one of the articles of this peace or of this security, and the offense be notified to four barons of the foresaid five and twenty, the said four barons shall repair to us (or our justiciar, if we are out of the realm) and, laying the transgression before us, petition to have that transgression redressed without delay. And if we shall not have corrected the transgression (or, in the event of our being out of the realm, if our justiciar shall not have corrected it) within forty days, reckoning from the time it has been intimated to us (or to our justiciar, if we should be out of the realm), the four barons aforesaid shall refer that matter to the rest of the five and twenty barons, and those five and twenty barons shall, together with the community of the whole realm, distrain and distress us in all possible ways, namely, by seizing our castles, lands, possessions, and in any other way they can, until redress has been obtained as they deem fit, saving harmless our own person, and the persons of our queen and children; and when redress has been obtained, they shall resume their old relations towards us. And let whoever in the country desires it, swear to obey the orders of the said five and twenty barons for the execution of all the aforesaid matters, and along with them, to molest us to the utmost of his power; and we publicly and freely grant leave to everyone who wishes to swear, and we shall never forbid anyone to swear. All those, moreover, in the land who of themselves and of their own accord are unwilling to swear to the twenty five to help them in constraining and molesting us, we shall by our command compel the same to swear to the effect foresaid. And if any one of

the five and twenty barons shall have died or departed from the land, or be incapacitated in any other manner which would prevent the foresaid provisions being carried out, those of the said twenty five barons who are left shall choose another in his place according to their own judgment, and he shall be sworn in the same way as the others. Further, in all matters, the execution of which is entrusted, to these twenty five barons, if perchance these twenty five are present and disagree about anything, or if some of them, after being summoned, are unwilling or unable to be present, that which the majority of those present ordain or command shall be held as fixed and established, exactly as if the whole twenty five had concurred in this; and the said twenty five shall swear that they will faithfully observe all that is aforesaid, and cause it to be observed with all their might. And we shall procure nothing from anyone, directly or indirectly, whereby any part of these concessions and liberties might be revoked or diminished; and if any such things has been procured, let it be void and null, and we shall never use it personally or by another.

**Reference:** Linebaugh P. (2008). Glossary. In *The Magna Carta Manifesto: liberties and commons for all*. London: University of California Press.

## **Appendix 2: Act Abolishing the Office of King**

Whereas Charles Stuart, late King of England, Ireland, and the territories and dominions thereunto belonging, hath by authority derived from Parliament been and is hereby declared to be justly condemned, adjudged to die, and put to death, for many reasons, murders, and other heinous offences committed by him, by which judgment he stood, and is hereby declared to be, attained of high treason, whereby his issue and posterity, and all others pretending title under him, are become incapable of the said Crown, or of being King or Queen of the said kingdom or dominions, or either or any of them; be it therefore enacted and ordained, and it is enacted, ordained, and declared by this present Parliament, and by authority thereof that all the people of England and Ireland and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, of what degree or condition soever, are discharged of all fealty, homage, and allegiance which is or shall be pretended to be due unto any of the issue and posterity of the said late King or any claiming under him; and that Charles Stuart, eldest son, and James, called Duke of York, second son, and all other the issue and posterity of him the said late king, and all and every person and persons pretending title from, by, or under him, are and be disabled to hold or enjoy the said Crown of England and Ireland, and other the dominions thereunto belonging, or any of them; or to have the name, title, style, or dignity of King or Queen of England and Ireland, Prince of Wales, or any of them; or to have and enjoy the power and dominion of the said kingdom and dominions, or any of them, or the honours, manors, lands, tenements, possessions, and hereditaments belonging or appertaining to the said Crown of England and Ireland, and other the dominions aforesaid, or either of them, any law, statute, ordinance, usage, or custom to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding.

II. And whereas it is and hath been found by experience, that the office of a king in this nation and Ireland, and to have the power thereof in any single person, is unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the people, and that for the most part, use hath been made of the regal power and prerogative to oppress and impoverish and enslave the

subject ; and that usually and naturally any one person in such power makes it his interest to encroach upon the just freedom and liberty of the people, and to promote the setting up of their own will and power above the laws, that so they might enslave these kingdoms to their own lust; be it therefore enacted and ordained by this present Parliament, and by authority of the same, that the office of a king in this nation shall not henceforth reside in or be exercised by any one single person; and that no one person whatsoever shall or may have, or hold the office , style, dignity, power, or authority of King of the said kingdoms and dominions, or any of them, or of the Prince of Wales, any law, statute, usage, or custom to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

III. And it is hereby, that if any person or persons shall endeavour to attempt by force of arms or otherwise, or be aiding, assisting, comforting, or abetting unto any person or persons that shall by any ways or means whatsoever endeavour or attempt the reviving or setting up again of any pretended right of the said Charles, eldest son to the said late King, James called Duke of York, or of any other the issue and prosperity of the said late King, or of any person or persons claiming under him or them, to the said regal office , style, dignity, or authority, or to be Prince of Wales; or the promoting of any one person whatsoever to the name, style, dignity, power, prerogative, or authority of King of England and Ireland, and dominions aforesaid, or any of them; that then every such offence shall be deemed and adjudged high treason, and the offenders therein , their counselors, procedures, aiders and abettors, being convicted of the said offence, or any of them, shall be deemed and adjudged traitors against the Parliament and people of England , and shall suffer, lose, and forfeit, and have such like and the same pains, forfeitures, judgments, and execution as is used in case of high treason.

IV. And whereas by the abolition of the kingly office provided for in this act, a most happy way is made for this reason (if God see it good) to return to its just and ancient right, of being governed by its own Representatives or national meetings in council, from time to time chosen and entrusted for that purpose by the people, it is therefore resolved and declared by the Commons assembled in Parliament, that they will put a period to the sitting of this present Parliament, and

dissolve the same so soon, as may possibly stand with the safety of the people that hath trusted them, and with what is absolutely necessary for the preserving and upholding the Government now settled in the way of a Commonwealth; and that they will carefully provide for the certain choosing, meeting, and sitting of the next and future Representatives, with such other circumstances of freedom in choice and equality in distribution of members to be elected thereunto, as shall most conduce to the lasting freedom and good of this Commonwealth.

V. And it is hereby further enacted and declared, notwithstanding anything contained in this Act, no person or persons of what condition and quality soever, within the commonwealth of England and Ireland, dominion of Wales, the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, shall be discharged from the obedience and subjection which he and they owe to the Government of this nation, as it is now declared, but all and every of them shall in all things render and perform the same, as of right is due unto the supreme authority hereby declared to reside in this and the successive Representatives of the people of this nation, and in them only.

**Reference:** Adams, G. B., & Stephens H, M. (Eds.). (1901). *Selected Documents of English constitutional history*. London: MacMillan.

### **Appendix 3: Bills of Rights**

**Article 1:** That the pretended power of suspending laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority,

without consent of parliament is illegal.

**Article 2:** That the pretended power of dispensing with the laws, or the execution of law by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.

**Article 3:** That the commission for erecting the late court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

**Article 4:** That levying money for or to the use of the crown by pretense of prerogative, without grant of parliament, for longer time or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal.

**Article 5:** That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.

**Article 6:** That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament, is against law.

**Article 7:** That the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defense suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law.

**Article 8:** That election of members of parliament ought to be free.

**Article 9:** That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament.

**Article 10:** That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

**Article 11:** That jurors ought to be duly impaneled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders.

**Article 12:** That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction are illegal and void.

**Reference:** House of Commons Information Office. (2010). *The Glorious Revolution*. UK: House of Commons Information Office.

## **Appendix 4: Definition of Main Social Research Centers and Agencies in the Thesis**

### **Freedom House**

It is an American nongovernmental organization that conducts research and advocacy on democracy, political freedom, and human rights. Freedom House was founded in October 1941. Wendell Willkie and Eleanor Roosevelt served as its first honorary chairpersons. It describes itself as a clear voice for democracy and freedom around the world.

The organization's annual *Freedom in the World Report*, which assesses each country's degree of political freedoms and civil liberties, is frequently cited by political scientists, journalists, and policymakers. Freedom of the Press and Freedom of the Net, which monitor censorship, intimidation and violence against journalists, and public access to information, are among its other signature reports.

### **Democracy Index**

Is an index compiled by the Economist Intelligence Unit, that measures the state of democracy in 167 countries, of which 166 are sovereign states and 165 are UN member states. The index is based on 60 indicators grouped in five different categories measuring: pluralism, civil liberties, and political culture. In addition to a numeric score and ranking, the index categorizes countries as one of four regime types full democracies, flawed democracies, hybrid regimes and authoritarian regimes. The index was first produced for 2006, with updates for 2008, 2010 and the following years since then.

### **The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU)**

Is a business within The Economist Group providing forecasting and advisory services through research and analysis, such as monthly country reports, five-year country economic forecasts, country risk service reports, and industry reports. The Economist Intelligence Unit provides country, industry, and management analysis worldwide and incorporates the former Business International Corporation, a UK company acquired by its parent company in 1986. The EIU has several offices across the globe including two offices in China and one in Hong Kong. The EIU

also produces regular reports on “liveability”, and “cost of living” of the world’s major cities that receive wide coverage in international media. The Economist Intelligence Unit’s Quality of life Index is another noted report. The current Manager Director is Robin Bew, formerly the company’s Editorial Director and Chief Economist.

### **The Polity Data Series**

It is a widely used data series in political science research. The latest version Polity VI contains coded annual information on the level of democracy for all independent states with greater than 500, 000 total population and covers the years 1800-2013. Polity’s conclusions about a state’s level of democracy are based on evaluation of that state’s elections for competitiveness and openness, the nature of political participation in general, and the extent of checks on executive authority. For each year and country a Polity Score is determined which ranges from -10 to +10. If a country scores is between -10 and -6, it is, an autocracy, if a country scores between -5 and 5, it is an anocracy, , and if a country scores between 6 and 10, it is a democracy. The polity study was initiated in the late 1960s by Ted Robert Gurr; it is now continued by Gurr’s former student Monty G. Marshall and sponsored by the Political Instability Force.

### **British Social Attitudes Survey (BSA).**

It is an annual statistical survey conducted in Great Britain by NatCen Social Research since 1983. The BSA involves in-depth interviews with over 3,300 respondents, selected using random probability sampling, focused on topics including newspapers reading, political parties, welfare benefits, health care, childcare, poverty, the labour market and other topics. The survey is funded by the Gatsby Charitable Foundation, government departments, quasi-governmental bodies and other grant-giving organizations. The BSA was not conducted in 1988 and 1992, when funding was devoted instead to studies of voting behavior and political attitudes in the British Election Study.

## **Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (NISRA)**

It is the principle source of official statistics and social research on Northern Ireland's population and socio-economic conditions. The statistics produced by the agency inform the policy process within government, research academia, and contribute to debate in the wider community.

It produces of a wide range of statistics covering the UK economy, society and other key areas. Regular surveys and census data include: Northern Ireland Multiple Deprivation Measures, 2001, Young People's Behaviour and Attitudes Surveys, 2000 and others. Since the early 1970s, the UK Data Service and its predecessors have worked closely with NISRA to ensure the deposit of many of its major survey series.

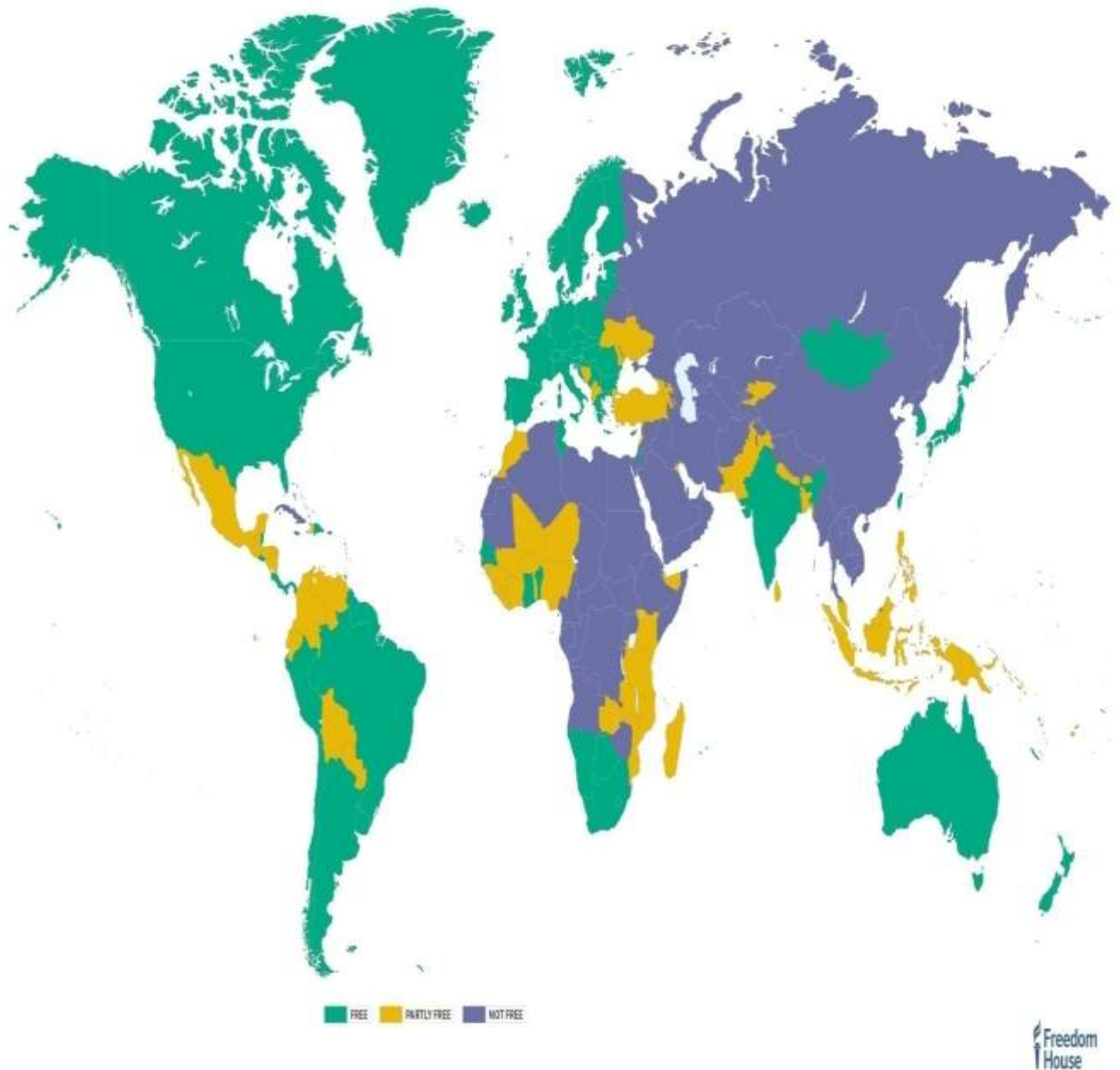
## **YouGov**

It is an international internet-based market research firm, headquartered in the UK, with operations in Europe, North America, the Middle East and Asia-Pacific.

YouGov was founded in the UK in May 2000 by Stephan Shakespeare and Nadhim Zahawi. In April 2005, YouGov became a public company listed on the Alternative Investment Market on the London Stock Exchange. It is also a member of the British Polling Council.

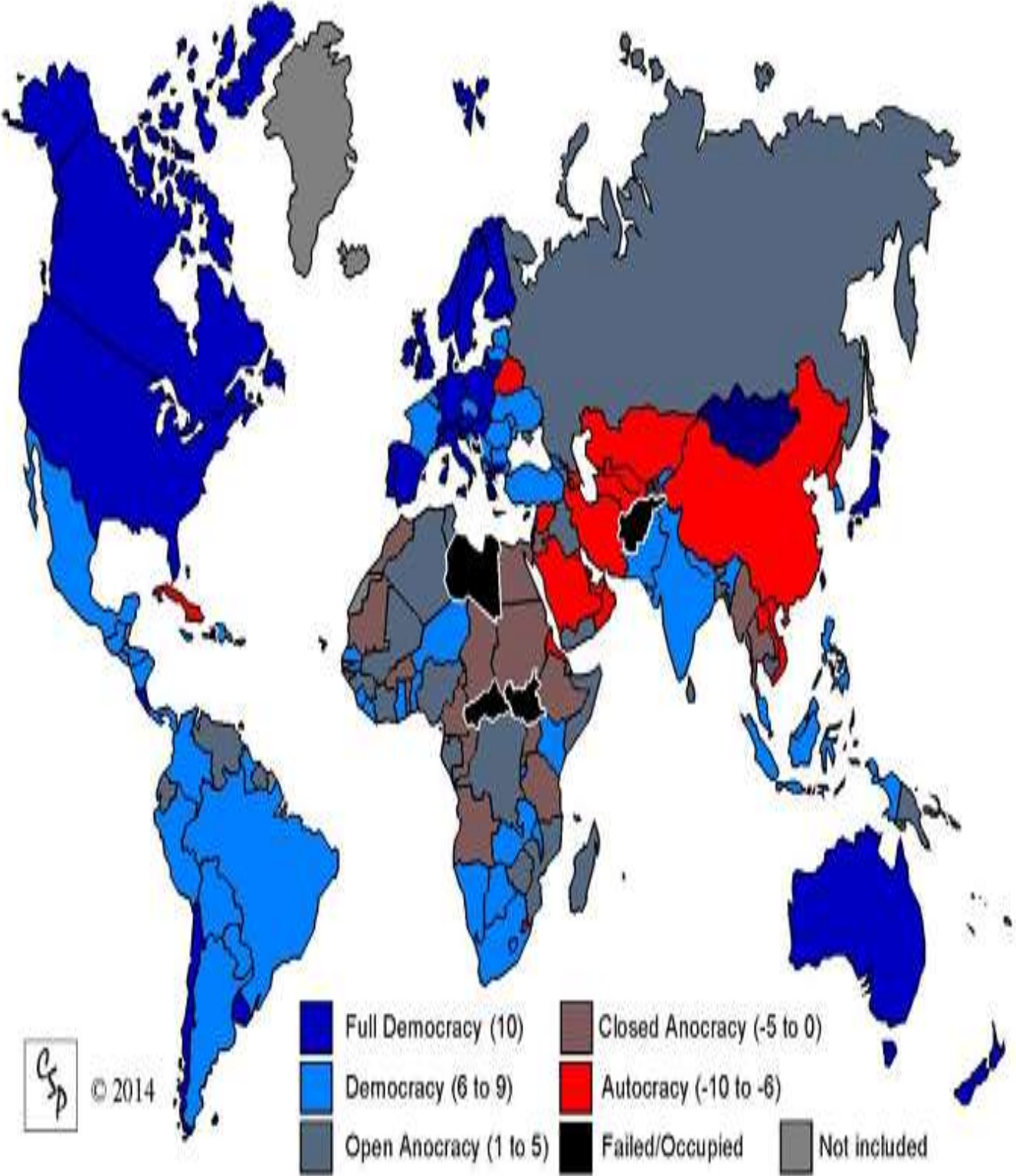
Appendix 5: Freedom House World Map, 2015

FREEDOM IN THE WORLD 2015



**Reference:** Freedom House. (2015) *Discarding democracy: return to the iron fist: freedom in the world 2015*. Washington, DC and New York: Freedom House.

**Appendix 6: Polity VI World Map of Democracy, 2014**



**Reference:** Marshall, M. G., & Cole, B. R. (2014). *Global Report 2014: conflict, governance and state fragility*. USA: Centre for Systematic Peace.

## Appendix 7: Democracy Index Ranking, 2015

	Rank	Overall score	Electoral process and pluralism	Functioning of government	Political participation	Political culture	Civil liberties
Full democracies							
Norway	1	9.93	10.00	9.64	10.00	10.00	10.00
Iceland	2	9.58	10.00	9.29	8.89	10.00	9.71
Sweden	3	9.45	9.58	9.64	8.33	10.00	9.71
New Zealand	4	9.26	10.00	9.29	8.89	8.13	10.00
Denmark	5	9.11	9.17	9.29	8.33	9.38	9.41
Switzerland	6	9.09	9.58	9.29	7.78	9.38	9.41
Canada	7	9.08	9.58	9.29	7.78	8.75	10.00
Finland	8	9.03	10.00	8.93	7.78	8.75	9.71
Australia	9	9.01	9.58	8.93	7.78	8.75	10.00
Netherlands	10	8.92	9.58	8.57	8.89	8.13	9.41
Luxembourg	11	8.88	10.00	9.29	6.67	8.75	9.71
Ireland	12	8.85	9.58	7.50	7.78	9.38	10.00
Germany	13	8.64	9.58	8.57	7.78	8.13	9.12
Austria	14	8.54	9.58	7.86	8.33	7.50	9.41
Malta	15	8.39	9.17	8.21	6.11	8.75	9.71
United Kingdom	16	8.31	9.58	7.14	6.67	8.75	9.41
Spain	17	8.30	9.58	7.14	7.22	8.13	9.41
Mauritius	18	8.28	9.17	8.21	5.56	8.75	9.71
Uruguay	19	8.17	10.00	8.93	4.44	7.50	10.00
United States of America	20	8.05	9.17	7.50	7.22	8.13	8.24
Flawed democracies							
Italy	21	7.98	9.58	6.43	7.22	8.13	8.53
South Korea	22	7.97	8.75	7.86	7.22	7.50	8.53
Japan	=23	7.96	9.17	8.21	6.11	7.50	8.82
Costa Rica	=23	7.96	9.58	7.50	6.11	6.88	9.71
Czech Republic	25	7.94	9.58	7.14	6.67	6.88	9.41
Belgium	26	7.93	9.58	8.21	5.56	6.88	9.41
France	27	7.92	9.58	7.14	7.78	6.25	8.82
Botswana	28	7.87	9.17	7.14	6.11	7.50	9.41
Estonia	29	7.85	9.58	7.86	6.11	6.88	8.82
Chile	30	7.84	9.58	8.57	4.44	6.88	9.71
Taiwan	31	7.83	9.58	7.86	6.67	5.63	9.41
Cabo Verde	32	7.81	9.17	7.86	6.67	6.25	9.12
Portugal	33	7.79	9.58	6.43	6.67	6.88	9.41

	Rank	Overall score	Electoral process and pluralism	Functioning of government	Political participation	Political culture	Civil liberties
Israel	34	7.77	9.17	7.14	8.89	7.50	6.18
India	35	7.74	9.58	7.14	7.22	5.63	9.12
Slovenia	36	7.57	9.58	7.14	6.67	5.63	8.82
South Africa	37	7.56	8.33	8.21	8.33	5.00	7.94
Lithuania	38	7.54	9.58	6.07	6.11	6.25	9.71
Cyprus	39	7.53	9.17	6.43	6.67	6.25	9.12
Greece	40	7.45	9.58	5.36	6.67	6.25	9.41
Jamaica	41	7.39	9.17	6.79	5.00	6.88	9.12
Latvia	42	7.37	9.58	5.71	5.56	6.88	9.12
Slovakia	43	7.29	9.58	7.50	5.56	5.00	8.82
Timor-Leste	44	7.24	8.67	7.14	5.56	6.88	7.94
Panama	45	7.19	9.58	6.43	6.11	5.00	8.82
Bulgaria	46	7.14	9.17	6.07	7.22	5.00	8.24
Trinidad and Tobago	47	7.10	9.58	7.14	5.56	5.00	8.24
Poland	48	7.09	9.58	5.71	6.67	4.38	9.12
Indonesia	49	7.03	7.75	7.14	6.67	6.25	7.35
Argentina	50	7.02	9.17	5.00	6.11	6.88	7.94
Brazil	51	6.96	9.58	6.79	5.56	3.75	9.12
Croatia	52	6.93	9.17	6.07	5.56	5.63	8.24
Ghana	53	6.86	8.33	5.71	6.67	6.25	7.35
Philippines	=54	6.84	8.33	5.71	6.67	4.38	9.12
Hungary	=54	6.84	9.17	6.07	4.44	6.88	7.65
Suriname	56	6.77	9.17	6.43	5.00	5.00	8.24
Tunisia	57	6.72	7.00	6.07	7.78	6.88	5.88
Serbia	58	6.71	9.17	5.36	6.67	5.00	7.35
Romania	59	6.68	9.17	5.71	5.00	5.00	8.53
Dominican Republic	60	6.67	8.75	5.71	5.00	6.25	7.65
El Salvador	61	6.64	9.17	6.07	4.44	5.00	8.53
Mongolia	=62	6.62	9.17	5.71	5.00	5.00	8.24
Colombia	=62	6.62	9.17	7.14	3.89	4.38	8.53
Lesotho	64	6.59	8.25	5.36	6.67	5.63	7.06
Peru	65	6.58	9.17	5.00	6.11	4.38	8.24
Mexico	66	6.55	8.33	6.07	7.22	4.38	6.76
Hong Kong	67	6.50	4.33	5.71	5.56	7.50	9.41
Malaysia	68	6.43	6.92	7.86	5.56	6.25	5.59
Sri Lanka	69	6.42	7.83	6.79	5.00	6.88	5.59

	Rank	Overall score	Electoral process and pluralism	Functioning of government	Political participation	Political culture	Civil liberties
Moldova	70	6.35	7.92	4.29	6.67	4.38	8.53
Paraguay	71	6.33	8.33	5.71	5.00	4.38	8.24
Namibia	72	6.31	5.67	5.36	6.67	5.63	8.24
Zambia	73	6.28	7.92	5.36	3.89	6.88	7.35
Singapore	74	6.14	4.33	7.50	5.56	6.25	7.06
Senegal	75	6.08	7.92	5.36	4.44	5.63	7.06
Guyana	76	6.05	7.92	5.36	5.56	4.38	7.06
Papua New Guinea	77	6.03	6.92	6.07	3.89	5.63	7.65
Macedonia	78	6.02	7.33	4.64	6.11	4.38	7.65
Montenegro	79	6.01	7.92	5.71	5.00	4.38	7.06
Hybrid regime							
Guatemala	80	5.92	7.92	6.07	3.89	4.38	7.35
Albania	81	5.91	7.00	4.36	5.56	5.00	7.65
Georgia	82	5.88	8.67	4.29	5.56	5.00	5.88
Ecuador	83	5.87	8.25	4.64	5.00	4.38	7.06
Honduras	84	5.84	8.75	5.71	3.89	4.38	6.47
Bolivia	85	5.75	7.00	5.36	5.00	3.75	7.65
Bangladesh	86	5.73	7.42	5.07	5.00	4.38	6.76
Benin	87	5.72	6.92	5.71	4.44	5.63	5.88
Ukraine	=88	5.70	5.83	3.93	6.67	5.00	7.06
Mali	=88	5.70	7.42	3.93	4.44	6.25	6.47
Fiji	90	5.69	4.58	5.71	6.67	5.63	5.88
Tanzania	91	5.58	7.00	5.00	5.00	5.63	5.29
Malawi	92	5.55	6.58	4.29	4.44	6.25	6.18
Kyrgyz Republic	=93	5.33	7.83	3.29	5.56	5.00	5.00
Kenya	=93	5.33	4.33	5.00	6.67	5.63	5.00
Nicaragua	95	5.26	6.17	3.29	4.44	5.63	6.76
Uganda	96	5.22	5.67	3.57	4.44	6.25	6.18
Turkey	97	5.12	6.67	5.36	5.00	5.63	2.94
Thailand	98	5.09	4.50	3.93	5.56	5.00	6.47
Venezuela	99	5.00	6.08	3.93	5.00	4.38	5.59
Liberia	100	4.95	7.83	0.79	5.56	5.00	5.59
Bhutan	101	4.93	8.33	5.36	2.78	4.38	3.82
Lebanon	102	4.86	4.42	2.14	7.78	4.38	5.59
Madagascar	103	4.85	5.50	2.86	5.56	5.63	4.71

	Rank	Overall score	Electoral process and pluralism	Functioning of government	Political participation	Political culture	Civil liberties
Bosnia and Herzegovina	104	4.83	6.50	2.93	3.89	4.38	6.47
Nepal	105	4.77	3.92	4.29	4.44	5.63	5.59
Burkina Faso	106	4.70	4.42	4.29	4.44	5.63	4.71
Morocco	107	4.66	4.75	4.64	3.89	5.63	4.41
Nigeria	108	4.62	6.08	4.29	3.33	5.00	4.41
Mozambique	109	4.60	4.42	3.57	5.56	5.63	3.82
Palestine	110	4.57	4.75	2.14	7.78	4.38	3.82
Sierra Leone	111	4.55	6.58	1.86	2.78	6.25	5.29
Pakistan	112	4.40	6.00	5.71	2.78	2.50	5.00
Cambodia	113	4.27	3.17	5.71	3.33	5.00	4.12
Myanmar	114	4.14	3.17	3.57	4.44	6.88	2.65
Iraq	115	4.08	4.33	0.07	7.22	4.38	4.41
Armenia	116	4.00	4.33	2.86	4.44	2.50	5.88
Authoritarian							
Mauritania	117	3.96	3.00	4.29	5.00	3.13	4.41
Algeria	118	3.95	3.00	2.21	3.89	6.25	4.41
Haiti	119	3.94	4.75	2.21	2.22	3.75	6.76
Jordan	120	3.86	3.58	3.93	3.89	4.38	3.53
Kuwait	=121	3.85	3.17	4.29	3.89	4.38	3.53
Niger	=121	3.85	6.25	1.14	2.78	4.38	4.71
Ethiopia	123	3.83	0.00	3.57	6.11	5.63	3.82
Gabon	124	3.76	3.00	2.21	4.44	5.00	4.12
Comoros	125	3.71	4.33	2.21	4.44	3.75	3.82
Cameroon	126	3.66	2.00	3.57	3.89	5.00	3.82
Belarus	127	3.62	1.75	3.57	3.89	6.25	2.65
Vietnam	128	3.53	0.00	3.93	3.89	6.88	2.94
Cuba	129	3.52	1.75	4.64	3.89	4.38	2.94
Togo	130	3.41	4.00	1.14	2.78	5.00	4.12
Angola	131	3.35	0.92	3.21	5.00	4.38	3.24
Côte d'Ivoire	=132	3.31	0.00	3.21	3.89	5.63	3.82
Russia	=132	3.31	2.67	2.86	5.00	2.50	3.53
Egypt	=134	3.18	3.00	2.86	3.33	3.75	2.94
Qatar	=134	3.18	0.00	3.93	2.22	5.63	4.12
Guinea	=136	3.14	3.50	0.43	4.44	4.38	2.94
China	=136	3.14	0.00	4.64	3.33	6.25	1.47

	Rank	Overall score	Electoral process and pluralism	Functioning of government	Political participation	Political culture	Civil liberties
Swaziland	138	3.09	0.92	2.86	2.22	5.63	3.82
Rwanda	139	3.07	0.83	5.00	2.22	4.38	2.94
Kazakhstan	140	3.06	0.50	2.14	4.44	4.38	3.82
Zimbabwe	141	3.05	0.50	2.00	3.89	5.63	3.24
Oman	142	3.04	0.00	3.93	2.78	4.38	4.12
Gambia	143	2.97	1.33	3.93	2.22	5.00	2.35
Congo (Brazzaville)	144	2.91	1.67	2.86	3.33	3.75	2.94
Djibouti	145	2.90	0.42	2.50	3.33	5.63	2.65
Bahrain	146	2.79	1.25	3.21	2.78	4.38	2.35
Afghanistan	147	2.77	2.50	1.14	3.89	2.50	3.82
United Arab Emirates	148	2.75	0.00	3.57	2.22	5.00	2.94
Azerbaijan	149	2.71	0.50	2.14	3.33	3.75	3.82
Burundi	150	2.49	0.50	0.43	3.89	5.00	2.65
Sudan	=151	2.37	0.00	1.79	3.89	5.00	1.18
Eritrea	=151	2.37	0.00	2.14	1.67	6.88	1.18
Libya	153	2.25	1.00	0.00	1.67	5.63	2.94
Yemen	154	2.24	0.50	0.36	4.44	5.00	0.88
Laos	155	2.21	0.00	3.21	1.67	5.00	1.18
Iran	156	2.16	0.00	2.86	3.33	3.13	1.47
DRC	157	2.11	0.92	0.71	2.78	4.38	1.76
Uzbekistan	=158	1.95	0.08	1.86	2.22	5.00	0.59
Tajikistan	=158	1.95	0.58	0.07	1.67	6.25	1.18
Guinea-Bissau	=160	1.93	1.67	0.00	2.78	3.13	2.06
Saudi Arabia	=160	1.93	0.00	2.86	2.22	3.13	1.47
Turkmenistan	162	1.83	0.00	0.79	2.78	5.00	0.59
Equatorial Guinea	163	1.77	0.00	0.79	2.22	4.38	1.47
Central African Republic	164	1.57	1.33	0.00	1.67	2.50	2.35
Chad	165	1.50	0.00	0.00	1.11	3.75	2.65
Syria	166	1.43	0.00	0.00	2.78	4.38	0.00
North Korea	167	1.08	0.00	2.50	1.67	1.25	0.00

**Reference:** The Economist Intelligence Unit. (2015). *Democracy Index 2015: democracy in an age of anxiety*. UK: EIT.

## **Appendix 8: Preamble to the Commonwealth Charter**

### WE THE PEOPLE OF COMMONWEALTH

Recognising that in an era of changing economic circumstances and uncertainty, new trade and economic patterns, unprecedented threats to peace and security, and a surge in popular demands for democracy, human rights and broadened economic opportunities, the potential of and need for the Commonwealth – as a compelling force for good and as an effective network for co-operation and for promoting development – has never been greater,

Recalling that the Commonwealth is a voluntary association of independent and equal sovereign states, each responsible for its own policies, consulting and co-operating in the common interests of our peoples and in the promotion of international understanding and world peace, and influencing international society to the benefit of all through the pursuit of common principles and values, affirming that the special strength of the Commonwealth lies in the combination of our diversity and our shared inheritance in language, culture and the rule of law; and bound together by shared history and tradition; by respect for all states and peoples; by shared values and principles and by concern for the vulnerable, Affirming that the Commonwealth way is to seek consensus through consultation and the sharing of experience, especially through practical co-operation, and further affirming that the Commonwealth is uniquely placed to serve as a model and as a catalyst for new forms of friendship and co-operation in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, Affirming the role of the Commonwealth as a recognised intergovernmental champion of small states, advocating for their special needs; providing policy advice on political, economic and social development issues; and delivering technical assistance, welcoming the valuable contribution of the network of the many intergovernmental, parliamentary, professional and civil society bodies which support the Commonwealth and which subscribe and adhere to its values and principles, Affirming the validity of and our commitment to the values and principles of the Commonwealth as defined and strengthened over the years including: the Singapore Declaration of Commonwealth Principles, the Harare Commonwealth Declaration, the Langkawi

Declaration on the Environment, the Millbrook Action Programme, the Latimer House Principles, the Aberdeen Agenda, the Trinidad and Tobago Affirmation of Commonwealth Values and Principles, the Munyonyo Statement on Respect and Understanding, the Lake Victoria Commonwealth Climate Change Action Plan, the Perth Declaration on Food Security Principles, and the Commonwealth Declaration on Investing in Young People,

Affirming our core Commonwealth principles of consensus and common action, mutual respect, inclusiveness, transparency, accountability, legitimacy, and responsiveness, Reaffirming the core values and principles of the Commonwealth as declared by this Charter

**Reference:** Commonwealth of Nations, (2012). *Charter of the Commonwealth of Nations*. UK: Commonwealth of Nations.

## **Appendix 9: Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations**

### *WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS DETERMINED*

to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

### *AND FOR THESE ENDS*

to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

### *HAVE RESOLVED TO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH THESE AIMS*

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organisation to be known as the United Nations

**Reference:** United Nations, (1945). *Charter of the United Nations*. San Francisco: United Nations.