

**Introducing the Hegemonic Tolerance Framework:
The Case of the British Monarchy**

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Abstract

This thesis advances the original theoretical concept of 'hegemonic tolerance' to describe a potential outcome of discursive modes of control that sustains and reproduces domination without the requirement of producing, or manufacturing consent. The 'hegemonic tolerance framework' is introduced as a replicable, operationalisable discourse-analytical framework through which to uncover specific ideological features of control in discourse that enable this form of non-consensual hegemony.

To explicate this framework, I situate this study within the broad context of antagonism - or apparent lack thereof - surrounding the British monarchy. The constitutional status of the British monarchy means it does not (necessarily) require consent to sustain itself. Rather, dominance is secured through discursive modes of control. Specifically, news texts pertaining to the alleged sexual assault of Virginia Giuffre by Prince Andrew - a site where one might/should expect to see critical voices and views featured - were analysed through the methodological lens of the hegemonic tolerance framework, to develop insight into how hegemonic tolerance might be enacted discursively. This case is particularly apposite because, given the overwhelmingly negative context of this event, one might reasonably expect dissenting ideologies to be an unavoidable feature of news reporting.

The primary data - nine online news texts pertaining to these allegations - are analysed using qualitative approaches. The hegemonic tolerance framework is inspired by critical discourse-analytical approaches and techniques, and uses an inventory of linguistic tools to uncover, and analyse deeply embedded ideological features in texts. The value of the framework is reflected in the main findings. Namely, I use it to uncover subtleties that favour elite/tolerant ideologies, and disfavour alternatives, such that the prevailing narrative is carefully controlled. This (re)establishes dominance by placing limits over what can/cannot be expressed, such that hegemonic tolerance is produced. The thesis contributes to the field of critical discourse studies, and to the wider study of hegemonic power, by problematising traditional interpretations of how hegemony is actualised. The

framework can, and should, be replicated in other, contexts in order to develop further insight into ideological operations of hegemony in discourse that have societal implications.

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Foreword

I can trace back the impetus of this thesis to August 1997 when, early one morning, I awoke to encounter my distraught mother transfixed by a television news broadcast. That morning, it emerged, Princess Diana had been killed in a car accident in Paris. Though it is not my intention to trivialise this event in any way, and I acknowledge that it remains a controversial subject, that it is still a considerable talking point decades after the fact played a sizable role in inspiring my thinking for this thesis. In other words, the subject of this thesis might be said to be tangentially rooted in this memory, insofar as it marked the first occasion I encountered traces of the phenomenon this study intends to illuminate. There is a link, in short, between the critical questioning of my youth, and the concretisation of my understanding throughout this doctoral journey.

I was only nine-years-old at the time - hardly the burgeoning radical - and though memories are vulnerable to embellishment, they can take on new meanings as we grow. In other words, I tend to imagine that what latently troubled me in the past, became the bedrock upon which my present preoccupations took form. As a child, I sensed vague constraints around the sorts of questions that could/could not be asked, the sorts of things that could/could not be said, and the sorts of people that could/could not speak about them. As an adult, I theorise that this ordering of more, or less permissible features in a prevailing discourse can have dominance-sustaining outcomes - such that regimes of control are reproduced without the necessity of approval.

Reflecting on it today, I feel that the reason this memory has stayed with me for so long is that it troubled me that the (perceived and/or represented) reaction to this event seemed so far removed from typical reactions to everyday tragedies that befall ordinary people. To be clear, the response I describe was entirely consistent with the mood of the nation at the time. Events as seismic as this often draw strong emotional responses from populations, perhaps in part owing to a form of 'empathy contagion' (Wheaton *et al*, 2021) that becomes stronger and more and more widespread the more heavily gatekeepers of knowledge magnify a given event or issue. We each, after all, experience, understand and

interpret 'our world' differently, thus allowing for different viewpoints, and different filters or 'reality paradigms' (Archer, 2002).

It is not my intention to be facetious when I say that, simply put, people do die every day, and people do die in car crashes every day. It is sad, and it is tragic and it is unfortunate, but there is a sense that news institutions and organisations play a role in defining what is especially tragic, who is an especially worthy victim, and vice versa. News organisations inhabit a love-hate relationship with figures like Diana. When she was alive, the press were notorious for their cruel mistreatment of her, feeding on any scrap of gossip about her supposed misconduct and impropriety (Barnett, 2017). This scrutiny transformed into hagiography postmortem. News outlets do not necessarily like figures like Diana, nor do they all necessarily support institutions like the monarchy, but they do seem to be invested in sustaining them, because they provide a proven reservoir of storymaking material. This investment is reflected in subtleties that favour elite/tolerant ideologies, and disfavour alternative/dissenting ideologies, such that existing regimes of power are sustained. Though I freely admit that many people consume news through an educated, critical lens, downplaying alternative/dissenting ideologies must have disempowering consequences.

As if to illustrate this, during the course of my doctoral studies, Queen Elizabeth II - Britain's longest-reigning monarch - passed away at the age of 96. I similarly do not intend to trivialise this event. It is sad when people die - most of us agree on this. However, it is difficult to ignore the extent to which the news media response to this event was overwhelmingly consistent with the central argument of this thesis. That is to say, it conveyed a strong, prevailing narrative of all-encompassing national grief. This included, wall-to-wall coverage of her passing, twenty-four hour coverage of her hearse being transported to various locations of significance on route to Westminster Abbey, and the spectacle of a very grand, tax-payer funded funeral. Further, the official state protocol, in the event of the monarch's demise, was a planned social media blackout (Hall, 2021). This appears to resemble a tacit acknowledgement by political elites that there is a *capacity* for the development of counter hegemonic discourse in alternative sites of discussion. It also suggests that ruling elites are very much prepared to use capacities for power to curtail the supposedly free, safe, unfettered space of the internet and social media when it is considered necessary to conserve existing regimes of governance.

It would have been difficult for an external observer, I expect, to glean anything other than universal adoration from this dominant discourse, with pundits from all over competing to offer the most convincing, lachrymose eulogy, as if desperate to prove that they had loved her the most. The event quite literally brought the country to an enforced economic standstill, surpassing even my own (I thought) slightly outrageous predictions of how the traditional news media would manage her death. The death of Elizabeth, or more specifically the manner in which the death of Elizabeth was discursively constructed in the news, is of particular significance to this thesis. Namely, because it provides a fairly straightforward example of how a single, value-laden perspective - that Elizabeth was a universally beloved figure - can come to be presented as the *only* perspective. The absence of alternative/dissenting ideologies in the dominant discourse means that this perspective was represented, largely, as 'common sense' (see Chapter 3, section 3.2.2).

The trouble is that there *are* other perspectives. The queen was not universally adored, and not everyone agrees that the monarchy is a force for good in society. There are, in fact, a plethora of alternative perspectives that, it appears, are forced to occupy the fringes of debate. Perspectives that highlight, for instance, the obscenity of thrusting the immense wealth and privilege of an elite, white minority into the foreground, or spending fortunes on the pomp, ceremony, and lifestyle associated with monarchical power, when workers continue to be impoverished, demonised, and disenfranchised. I am not suggesting that these views were *entirely* excluded from discourses surrounding the death of the monarch. Rather, I am suggesting that they had their amplitude turned down dramatically. News organisations control the knowledge we have access to. When there is no alternative voice represented in the press, the knowledge we have access to is limited to one worldview. As a result, this one worldview becomes the commonsensical way of experiencing the social world, and draws an arbitrary boundary around what can/cannot be said, and who can/cannot say it. In the thesis that follows, I argue that these discursive modes of control engender an endurance of features of the social world without the requirement of consent. I term this outcome *hegemonic tolerance*.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

This thesis offers two original contributions to knowledge. First, it advances the original theoretical concept of *hegemonic tolerance* to describe a potential outcome of suppressive and discursive modes of control that enable dominances to be (re)produced without consent. This constitutes the proposed original theoretical contribution. Second, I introduce the *hegemonic tolerance framework* (HTF) as a means of uncovering ideological structures in discourse that enable the outcome of hegemonic tolerance. This constitutes the proposed original methodological contribution. This chapter is divided into four sections. In section 1.1, I problematise the idea of domination on the basis of assumed consent. In section 1.2, I set out the proposed theoretical, and methodological contributions to knowledge in more detail. In section 1.3, I establish the research agenda. In section 1.4, I provide an overview of what to expect in each chapter of the thesis.

1.1 Problem Statement

I argue that certain social conditions - such as the preponderance of the British monarchy - typify the form of non-consensual domination enabled by what I term hegemonic tolerance. The monarchy does not, necessarily, require the consent of its subjects to rule. Though the English Civil War did away with the divine right to rule during the so-called Glorious Revolution and established Parliamentary Sovereignty, the reigning monarch remains the Head of State and the monarchy continues to enjoy many hereditary privileges (Healey, 2023). Whilst in a constitutional monarchy the ability to make and pass legislation resides with Parliament and the reigning monarch has no explicit political or executive role, the Sovereign is both the Head of State and Supreme Governor of the Church of England - essentially, the modern United Kingdom (UK) retains some elements of theocracy. This is made clear by the appointment of twenty six Lords Spiritual in the House of Lords (UK Parliament, No datea), and the parliamentary oath used to swear in members to the houses of parliament - "I swear by Almighty God that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King Charles, his heirs and successors, according to law. So help me God" (UK Parliament, No dateb). The language of this oath, the fact that members of both

parliamentary chambers are obliged by law to take it in order to sit, speak in debates, vote, or receive a salary, and can be fined for failing to comply (ibid), provides some indication of the extent to which monarchical power and state power remain inextricably intertwined in contemporary British political life.

According to the official website of the British monarchy, the reigning monarch also occupies the informal role of 'Head of Nation', wherein the Sovereign "acts as a focus for national identity, unity and pride" ([The Royal Family](#), No date). Suffice to say, the relative merits of all three of these latter functions, the interests served through the public identification with the monarchy, and the oft-cited 'stability' it provides has been subject to much debate (Nairn, 1989). Indeed, many hold that the monarchy functions as little more than a proxy through which the ruling class dominate, and that their primary role is to normalise wealth concentration (Clancy, 2021). Ramsay (2023, Online) concurs, arguing that it "places the hereditary principle and the class system at the centre of what it means to be British, enshrining deference and hierarchy at the very core of national identity". In this sense, it might be argued that hegemonic tolerance for monarchy reinforces hegemonic tolerance for wider systems of privilege and hierarchy that are not, necessarily, dependent on consent.

The public has no *judicial* say in these circumstances. There is no opportunity to formally challenge the supremacy of the monarchy, because it is above the law due to Sovereign Immunity, the legal doctrine by which the monarch is safeguarded against prosecution (Evans *et al*, 2022). Equally, I argue that the public also has a limited *discursive* say in these circumstances. In other words, the capacity to challenge monarchical power through traditional discursive channels (i.e. news reporting) is restricted. This thesis demonstrates that there is a tightly controlled discourse surrounding this institution, perpetuated by news institutions and state institutions, that broadly renders opposition ineffectual through defanging, and disempowering dissent. Indeed, the bible of parliamentary procedure, *Parliamentary Practice* by Erskine May, sets out the following, restrictive etiquette with regards to discussions of the monarchy in Westminster (UK Parliament, Paragraph 22.15, No date):

No question can be put which brings the name of the Sovereign or the influence of the Crown directly before Parliament, or which casts reflections upon the Sovereign or the royal family. A question has been altered at the Speaker's direction on the ground that the name of the Sovereign should not be introduced to affect the views of the House. Questions are, however, allowed on such matters as the costs to public funds of royal events and royal palaces.

There is therefore a clearly suppressive influence over republican ideals amongst select parliamentarians. In this thesis, I focus on journalism, because news organisations are in no way bound by the procedures set out by Erskine May, and news discourse is therefore a potential channel through which monarchical power might be challenged. Moreover, the purported quest of journalism is to seek and represent truths about social reality (Broersma, 2010) and act as a 'fourth estate' by holding governments to account for abuses of power (Tumber, 2001). However, this position is problematised by the uneasy relationship between news production and ideology, and the well documented and established connections between news organisations and elite interests (Chomsky & Herman, 1988). In other words, given the disproportionate reliance of news organisations on 'official' sources of information (ibid; van Dijk, 1996), it seems reasonable to suggest that certain values and standards - such as those of political elites - are likely to influence news reporting, and the prevailing discourse.

The British monarchy is hardly comparable to other autocratic feudal regimes such as, for instance, the House of Saud. To my knowledge, the former are not in the practice of beheading journalists that criticise them (BBC, 2021). On the surface, the Sovereign performs a largely ceremonial role in modern public life. However, the relationship between the institution and political elites is sometimes quite transparent. For example, Charles III allegedly accepted three million euros in cash stuffed into a briefcase and several Fortnum and Mason carrier bags from Sheikh Hamad bin Jassim bin Jaber al-Thani, the former prime minister of Qatar, in return for honours and political influence (Connett, 2022). This is alleged to have occurred during private meetings between the pair at the Westminster royal residence Clarence House in 2015, which found itself at the centre of a wider 'cash for access' debacle linking the monarch to global financial elites (ibid).

Since the accession of Charles following the death of his mother, Queen Elizabeth II, there have been worrying signs that freedom of speech in the UK only extends so far. Symon Hill was arrested during an Oxford proclamation ceremony for Charles after allegedly asking 'who elected him' (BBC, 2022a). He was summarily handcuffed by officers and arrested under the controversial Police, Crime, Sentencing & Courts Act 2022 for 'actions likely to lead to harassment or distress' (Hill, 2022). He was later released and de-arrested, but told to expect potential further recriminations. He was subsequently charged with 'using threatening or abusive words, or disorderly behaviour' and had been due to appear in court later that year (Guardian, 2022), until the charges against him were later dropped (BBC, 2022b). That such an innocuous comment should be responded to with such force appears to set a concerning precedent; that there are limits to what can and cannot be said about certain social conditions.

The relationship between the monarchy and the machinery of the state appears to be such that at certain points in time - when dissent is popularising - certain voices will be squashed. There is a sense that an inventory of power is drawn from on an ad hoc basis; a degree of criticism of monarchy is permitted, but coercive and/or suppressive apparatuses will be used to keep people in line and prevent the spread of dissent when it threatens to gain traction. Hill's (2022) relatively tame but nonetheless public display of an alternative vision for society had the *potential* to embarrass the monarchy and ignite a debate, but he was bundled away in a police van. That case, in my view, marked an exercising of repressive powers in service of maintaining hegemonic tolerance.

More recently, during the coronation of Charles, these repressive powers were drawn upon explicitly in order to suppress a peaceful protest. Graham Smith, the CEO of Republic, alongside dozens of other protesters, were detained on site in London during a republican demonstration on dubious grounds - grounds enshrined in new police powers given royal assent days before the event (Durbin & Sandford, 2023). Parliamentary figures including the Prime Minister and the leader of the opposition distanced themselves from critique of this policy, a policy that many human rights groups criticised as a brazen curtailing of freedoms, considering the demonstrators had followed procedures to the letter, and the protest received advance permission from the Metropolitan Police (ibid). Meanwhile, it was revealed that the BBC was submitting material to Buckingham Palace for

vetting prior to use, raising questions about editorial independence (Waterson, 2023). The former presents further evidence of the role of the state in protecting the monarchy from critique. The latter feature provides an explicit example of the symbiotic relationship between the *BBC* and the institution of monarchy.

The contemporary study of elites and global wealth inequality largely overlooks the landed wealth of institutions like the British monarchy in favour of the 'new money' of tech billionaires and neoliberal corporate power (Clancy, 2021). However, traditional sources of hereditary wealth remain central to systems of domination, and intersect with other sources of elite wealth in late capitalism in a variety of ways. Whilst there are elements of royal finances that are (reasonably) transparent, such as the sovereign grant, the crown estate and the Duchy of Lancaster and Cornwall, private sources of additional income, business interests, security costs and the extent to which political influence is exerted from within is largely shrouded in mystery (Partridge, 2022). The publication of the Duke of Sussex Prince Henry Charles Albert David Mountbatten-Windsor's ghostwritten memoir 'Spare' (2023), for all the hysteria surrounding its publication (Moir, 2022), seems unlikely to precipitate a surge in republican sentiment. Indeed, the brief discussion of the relationship between the public and the monarchy in the memoir largely propagates the convenient myth that the public on the whole support the monarchy because they are 'value for money' (Prince Harry, 2023). This is in spite of the lack of empirical evidence to substantiate the claim that the monarchy is directly responsible for generating billions in tourism revenue.

As Clancy (2021) argues, far from being an anachronism ill-fitting the study of wealth and power, the visible wealth and invisible and inscrutable sources of wealth of the British monarchy play a pivotal role in normalising elite wealth and structural disadvantages. Moreover, and perhaps setting the scene for this present study, even the very naming practices and conventions surrounding this particular group play a role in the discursive construction of difference, and the obscuration of heritage; in other words, in setting apart minority elites from ordinary people.

The British royals, uniquely, and unlike ordinary citizens, are not required to have a surname. Prior to 1917, monarchic naming practices were very literally tied to conquest and the lands over which a monarch ruled; the house or dynasty to which British royalty belonged was called the House of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha ([The Royal Family](#), no date). George V

changed this in 1917, adopting Windsor as a replacement House name and (optional) surname, as a response to anti-German sentiment during WWI; this later changed again to Mountbatten-Windsor. Today, Mountbatten-Windsor is the name carried by descendents of British monarchs without styles, whereas actors with the styles Prince, Princess, or HRH have no statutory obligation to use a surname (ibid). I adhere to these unusual conventions in this thesis, referring to individual royals (i.e. Andrew, Elizabeth) by forename only, sans titles, styles or honorifics.

I argue that the British monarchy relies on hegemonic tolerance, rather than consent, to sustain its position, and that this is a hidden outcome of discursive and coercive modes of control that subtly foreground ideologies of approval, and background ideologies of disapproval. Considering how monarchy is constructed discursively in the news through a Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) lens has the potential to uncover important ideological features that speak to wider inequalities. It is for these reasons that I focus on this group.

1.2 Proposed Contribution

The proposed original theoretical contribution of this thesis is the concept of hegemonic tolerance. I define hegemonic tolerance as the non-consensual suffering or endurance of certain social conditions. This definition is rooted in the *Oxford English Dictionary* definition of 'tolerance', which reads "The action or practice of enduring or sustaining pain or hardship; the power or capacity of enduring; endurance" (OED, No datea). The Oxford English Dictionary definition of 'consent', for comparison, reads "voluntary agreement to or acquiescence in what another proposes or desires; compliance, concurrence, permission". (OED, No dateb). The boundary between these definitions of tolerance and consent is crucial to this thesis - my interpretation is that, whereas consent implies permission *granted*, tolerance implies permission *taken for granted*. In this case, consent has been neither requested nor acquired, nor is it necessarily even assumed, and this is the reason it is prefixed with the adjective 'hegemonic'.

Tolerance has rarely been constructed, to date, as a potential machination of domination. One rare example is that of Critical Race Theorist Wemyss (2006, p.215), who conceived of tolerance as "the conditional withholding of force by those at the top of a hierarchy of belonging", rather than a positive national aspiration. I define the term very

differently and reverse this top-down interpretation. Instead of the powerful tolerating the powerless, I am interested in the powerless tolerating the powerful. Regardless, both conceptualisations focus on this critical view of tolerance, as being inextricable from the inequitable distribution of power in society. This contrasts with the more general understanding of the role of tolerance and intolerance in society - as respect or disrespect for diversity (Corneo & Jeanne, 2009) - highlighting instead the role of tolerance in (re)producing asymmetrical power relationships.

In this thesis, I chiefly focus on how hegemonic tolerance is achieved through nuances in news discourse. When the dominant discourse surrounding a particular social phenomenon is subjected to influences that constrain the voices that are permitted within it, I posit that hegemonic tolerance is a potential outcome. hegemonic tolerance perpetuates certain conditions by establishing the speakable and unspeakable, thinkable and unthinkable, actionable and unactionable. When these limits to what can and cannot be said are normalised, it becomes difficult for alternative perspectives to be articulated. As a consequence, certain voices and positions are dominant, certain voices and positions are subordinate, and certain social conditions - such as the preponderance of the institution of monarchy - remain fundamentally unchallengeable. Clancy (2021, p.332) has argued that representations of the royal family “act as a prism: a central affective and ideological project to distance the monarchy from capitalist vulgarity and aristocratic debauchery, and reproduce monarchical power by producing consent for it in the public imaginary”. Hegemonic tolerance takes this a step further, by representing how, precisely, hegemony is manufactured discursively through specific forms of control. Namely, without the requirement of ‘producing consent’.

The concept of hegemonic tolerance is adapted from the Gramscian (1947) notion of hegemonic power, to describe a suppressive influence over, in this case, antimonarchical sentiment in news discourse. Hegemonic power is to be understood as a form of domination whereby individuals, groups, organisations or institutions are legitimised consensually as opposed to coercively. That is, by winning consent to rule, as opposed to resorting to coercive methods of subjugation such as monopoly or violence (Adamson, 1983). Hegemony, from this Gramscian perspective, is a soft power (Nye, 1990), a form of compliance that is achieved through indirect, non-coercive methods of control, that

depends on ideological resources as opposed to material resources in order to establish dominance (Gallarotti, 2011). Discourse, and news discourse in particular, is a key ideological resource through which this outcome is engendered (van Dijk, 1996).

Gramsci (1947) identified three types of hegemony. 'Integral hegemony' describes the totalised commitment and ideological integration of the ruled classes to the values espoused by the ruling classes. 'Decadent hegemony' describes a more fragile version of hegemony whereby the ruling classes cannot command complete allegiance to their value system. Finally, 'minimal hegemony' involves instability, whereby ideological disharmony means the ruling classes meet consistent resistance from the ruled, and resort to recruiting select members of ruled communities into elite circles in order to maintain control.

hegemonic tolerance is adapted, specifically, from the notion of 'decadent' hegemony, because this is the type of hegemony that, I argue, best describes the place of monarchy in modern Britain - a sort of middle ground, wherein antagonism is acknowledged, but dissent is either prohibited, or carefully controlled. hegemonic tolerance concerns relations of domination that are negotiated through discourse, but anticipates that repressive state resources will be employed under certain circumstances in order to reinforce it, as discussed in section 1.1.

Hegemonic tolerance is presented in this study as a unique form of hegemony whereby a discourse is restricted to acceptable forms, ideas and values, a narrow window of permitted formulations in language that serves to restrict debate through the passive disengagement with alternative voices and through not enabling discursive environments wherein counter hegemonies may be established. Hegemonic tolerance concerns relations of domination that do not presuppose permission granted. Instead, it explains how certain social conditions are reproduced through permission taken for granted. In doing so, this study challenges traditional understandings of hegemony as operating under assumed consent (see Chapter 3, section 3.2.2).

The range of debate surrounding certain social conditions, such as that of the British monarchy, is determined and controlled by a nexus of social practices inextricable from dominant power structures (Fairclough, 1989; van Dijk, 1996). Hegemonic tolerance is distinguishable from outright censorship insofar as it does not presuppose the exclusion of oppositional discourses or censorious representation. Instead, it anticipates that counter-

hegemonic discourses will to some extent appear to be encouraged in order to simulate the appearance of an open forum. These discourses will, however, be diminished, occupy the fringes of debate, and will not represent any meaningful challenge to the established order of society (see Chapter 8, section 8.3).

In this thesis, I demonstrate that the division between permissible, and impermissible ideologies is observable in the discourse (see especially Chapter 7, sections 7.2, and 7.3). Permitted ideologies will include a narrow range of critique of certain individuals and courses of action, but leave the established order of society unchallenged and unchanged. Ideologies that explicitly link certain social conditions to systematised inequalities, and challenge the existing hierarchical social order, will be peripheral. This distinction is akin to the notion of 'sanctioned' and 'unsanctioned' discourse (Trottier, 1999; Turton, 2000; Jagerskog, 2002; Brethaut, 2021), whereby a hegemonic discourse develops around a particular issue and is legitimised by a discursive elite, creating a dominant way of thinking and talking and, by extension, a transgressive way of thinking and talking.

The proposed original methodological contribution of this thesis is the HTF, which operationalises the theory of hegemonic tolerance. The HTF excavates ideological structures in discourse that build towards establishing hegemonic tolerance. This framework bridges the gap between tolerance and dominance by using an inventory of linguistic tools to expose particular processes through which news discourse legitimises the dominance of elites. The HTF presents an operationalisable framework for understanding the manifestations and machinations of hegemonic tolerance, by offering practical ways by which one can identify strategies within discourse construction that belie hegemonic intentions. The HTF functions, in short, as a set of analytical categories specifically designed to expose how hegemonic tolerance is a discursive-ideological outcome.

The HTF is designed to expose subtleties in news discourse that challenge the ideal of journalism as serving to speak truth to power (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2021). This complements the growing evidence base in CDS that suggests that journalism often serves to consolidate the power of an elite minority and reinforce orders of domination. An exploration of the journalistic discourses surrounding a particular event concerning the British monarchy functions as a case study through which to exemplify this framework,

chosen as a case study owing to the apparent reluctance of the tabloid press and political elites to engage with any serious debate about its future (Kettle, 2022).

The HTF was inspired by the perceived vacuum of dissenting voices surrounding the monarchy in mainstream news discourse. It is presented here primarily as a critical discourse-analytical framework with which to understand how discourse may reinforce particular ways of thinking by foregrounding pro-monarchy ideologies and backgrounding anti-monarchy ideologies in the news. The framework consists of three major components (structures/strategies/devices) inspired by the three dimensions of discourse conceived by Fairclough (1989). These components are discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

1.3 Research Focus

I introduce the theoretical concept of hegemonic tolerance as a novel interpretation of hegemonic domination based on discursive disempowerment, rather than assumed consent. To concretise this abstract concept, I introduce the HTF as a methodological framework through which to identify specific features of control that enable hegemonic tolerance. I provide evidence of these features through the application of the HTF to a small, targeted sample of news texts surrounding a theoretically pertinent event (see below). As per Agee (2009), it can be helpful in qualitative research to capture the basic purpose of a study in an overarching statement of intent. As such, in order to provide the study with a clear focus, the thesis is broadly guided and framed by the following, exploratory aim:

Locate, operationalise, and apply the theoretical concept of hegemonic tolerance in order to provide insight into how specific features of control - such that elite/tolerant ideologies are promoted, and alternative/dissenting ideologies are demoted - can enable domination without the requirement of consent

This aim is achieved by completing three objectives:

1. Locate the theoretical concept of *hegemonic tolerance* within the wider literature in order to demonstrate how it is informed by and extends upon knowledge
2. Operationalise the *hegemonic tolerance framework* as a replicable methodological approach with which to identify the features of *hegemonic tolerance* in discourse
3. Apply the *hegemonic tolerance framework* to an appropriate case study in order to evidence features of *hegemonic tolerance* in discourse

The first objective is achieved in chapters 3, and 4. In Chapter 3, I draw from a substantive body of interdisciplinary literature in order to explain how the theoretical concept of hegemonic tolerance challenges traditional understandings of how hegemony is sustained. In Chapter 4, I synthesise germane ideas and principles from other discourse-analytical approaches, and break down the core components of the HTF in order to show how it has been developed with the express purpose of uncovering hegemonic tolerance structures in discourse.

The second objective is achieved in Chapter 5. In Chapter 5, I formally introduce the HTF as a replicable, operationalisable discourse-analytical framework based on established linguistic avenues of inquiry well suited to uncovering ideological features in discourse that have the potential to build towards hegemonic tolerance.

The third objective is achieved in Chapters 6, 7, and 8, in which I apply the HTF to a small case study where ideological operations are expected to be featured. The HTF is formally applied through the prism of the British monarchy, and a specific case study concerning nuances in news discourse surrounding the rape allegations (see Chapter 5, section 5.1; 5.2.1) made against a member of this group, the Duke of York Prince Andrew Albert Christian Edward Mountbatten-Windsor (henceforth referred to as Andrew), by Virginia Giuffre (henceforth referred to as Virginia).

The data for this project comprise nine news articles, published online between the 16th of November 2019 and the 16th of February 2022. The news sources used for this study are *The Daily Mail*, *The Guardian* and the *BBC*. This provides, ostensibly, a right wing, left wing, and non-partisan perspective on the monarchy (Smith, 2017) - allowing me to capture a broad spectrum of politico-ideological features in news discourse. By comparing and contrasting the nuances of how different news organisations produce and present

information about the monarchy, I aim to expose embedded ideologies that serve to reproduce hegemonic tolerance.

The sample comprises three articles from each source, with each text published in response to a different aspect of the Andrew-Virginia saga. Each of these articles pertain to one of three different points in time - the interview, the lawsuit and the settlement. The interview refers to the *BBC Newsnight* special episode 'Prince Andrew & the Epstein Scandal', broadcast on *BBC2* on the 16th November 2019, and its aftermath. The lawsuit refers to legal action filed in August 2021 in the US District Court for the Southern District of New York, in which Virginia sued Andrew for multiple instances of sexual assault. The settlement refers to the financial resolution that was reached between Andrew and Virginia in February 2022.

I focus broadly on monarchy because it occupies a unique status that is not necessarily predicated on consent. I chose this case study, in particular, because it provides a unique opportunity to highlight how manufacturers of news discourse navigate a case that arguably presents room for critique of Andrew, the wider institution of monarchy, and associated power imbalances. The overwhelmingly negative context within which the event occurred means one might reasonably expect news reporting to include dissenting voices and positions. As such, it is an appropriate location from which to investigate potential hegemonic tolerance machinations, because I argue that it would be reasonable to expect to find traces of discursively enacted limits to what can and cannot be articulated, making it difficult for alternative visions for society to develop.

1.4 Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into nine discrete chapters. The thesis structure is designed to reflect the development and operationalisation of the theoretical concept of hegemonic tolerance, and the governing methodological principles of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Each chapter contributes towards achieving the overarching aim of establishing hegemonic tolerance as a unique interpretation of hegemonic domination, and locating the mechanisms that produce it discursively using the HTF.

Chapter 2 represents part one of a critical review of background literature. This chapter focuses on factors that influence journalism practice. In section 2.1, I discuss

idealised theories of news reporting, and reporting practices surrounding the affairs of societal elites. In section 2.2, I discuss news values, and how ideas of value influence news selection and content. In section 2.3, I discuss the agenda-setting function of news construction, and the symbolic devices that shape how news stories are packaged and interpreted. In section 2.4, I discuss the interdependence of news media and policy elites, and how this reproduces hegemonic ideologies. Finally, in section 2.5, I discuss routines and factors of influence in day to day journalism, and how this affects news output.

Chapter 3 represents part two of a critical review of background literature. This chapter lays the groundwork for hegemonic tolerance as a theoretical contribution. In section 3.1, I locate this study within the broader remit of CDA, and discuss the philosophical underpinnings of CDA as an approach to applied linguistics. In section 3.2, I discuss hegemony, situate hegemonic tolerance amongst the prevailing arguments surrounding this concept, and critique its application in wider CDA research. In section 3.3, I discuss other models of significance. Finally, in section 3.4, I discuss the relationship between theory and practice, and set out my moral-political intentions as a researcher.

Chapter 4 introduces the HTF as an analytical framework. In section 4.1, I discuss established discourse-analytical approaches. Here, I explain how the HTF adapts and synthesises specific features to achieve specific goals. In section 4.2, I conceptualise the social dimension of the HTF. Here, I set out a theoretical understanding of structures of power through which, I argue, hegemonic tolerance is enabled. In section 4.3, I conceptualise the discursive dimension of the HTF. Here, I set out the specific discursive strategies through which, I argue, hegemonic tolerance is constructed. In section 4.4, I conceptualise the textual dimension of the HTF. Here, I set out the specific linguistic devices through which, I argue, hegemonic tolerance is manifested.

Chapter 5 operationalises the HTF as an analytical framework. In section 5.1, I define my approach to data collection, outline the data proper, and discuss significant ethical considerations. In section 5.2, I establish my methodological approaches. Herein, I engage with the wider CDA literature to situate my epistemological and ontological standpoint. In section 5.3, I explain the application of the HTF. Here, I introduce and justify the specific analytical tools through which the HTF is operationalised. Finally, in section 5.4, I outline the presentation of findings and discussion to follow.

Chapters 6, 7, and 8 represent the findings of the study. Each chapter represents a different, major character or group of characters. The first section of each findings chapter outlines the main argument/s that I present about the discourse. In Chapter 6, I discuss portrayals of Virginia in the texts. This chapter primarily focuses on features that evoke victim-blaming ideologies. In Chapter 7, I discuss portrayals of Andrew in the texts. This chapter primarily focuses on features that emphasise particular flavours of critique, over alternatives. In Chapter 8, I discuss portrayals of other specified, or unspecified figures. This chapter primarily focuses on features that victimise Elizabeth, and features that foreground elite voices and views and background alternative voices and views.

Chapter 9 represents the conclusion to this thesis. I first provide an overview of the thesis and describe the contents of the chapter. In section 9.1, I demonstrate how I have addressed the research agenda of this thesis, establishing an original theoretical (9.1.1), and methodological (9.1.2) contribution to knowledge, and reflecting on the successes of the HTF (9.1.3). In section 9.2, I discuss the limitations of the study. In section 9.3, I discuss potential avenues of future research, and how I intend to strengthen the explanatory power of the HTF in order to promote wider application across disciplines.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review (Part 1)

In this chapter, I critically engage with key scholarly research surrounding journalism practice, in order to inform and enhance the explanatory power of the HTF as a methodological contribution to knowledge. In section 2.1, I discuss (Western democratic) idealised views of news reporting (see especially Siebert *et al*, 1956), and consider these functional expectations in relation to news coverage of societal elites. In section 2.2, I discuss widely recognised taxonomies of news values (see especially Galtung & Ruge, 1965) underpinning the operational production of news in the UK, and how ideas of value influence news selection processes. In section 2.3, I discuss two cognitive models - 'agenda-setting theory' (see especially McCombs & Shaw, 1972), and 'framing theory' (see especially Goffman, 1974) - that provide a theoretical basis from which to understand the (potential) causal properties, or *effects* of news discourse. In section 2.4, I discuss scholarship surrounding the concept of 'primary definition' (see especially Hall *et al*, 1978), which aims to explain how news media reproduce a 'consensus' of hegemonic ideologies as a consequence of relations of reciprocity with centralised elites, rather than inherent bias. Finally, in section 2.5, I discuss two related frameworks - 'strategic ritual of objectivity' (see especially Tuchman, 1972), and 'hierarchy of influences' (see especially Shoemaker & Reese, 1991) - that aim to demystify the multitudinal constraining factors of operational journalism, and how these factors shape news output.

2.1 Normative Theories & Societal Elites

The popular view of investigative journalism as a force for good is generally connected to the fourth-estate ideal of news reporting; as watch-dog of the state, rather than attack-dog for the state, through which the activities of powerful actors and groups are scrutinised on behalf of the citizenry (Felle, 2015). However, different models of democracy have, historically, generated different normative expectations of journalism. For instance, in *Four Theories of the Press*, Siebert (*et al*, 1956) famously distinguished between authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility, and communist societal models.

This model provides a useful starting point but, as Cammaerts (*et al*, 2020) note, the decline of communist systems, the hegemony of neoliberalism, and other factors belie the datedness of the theory. Hallin and Mancini (2004) would later provide a more sophisticated account that uses four dimensions (mass circulation; political parallelism; professionalisation; and state intervention), to distinguish between three prevailing media-polity systems (polarised-pluralist; democratic-corporatist; and liberal). Britain is purported to belong to the 'liberal' model. This aligns with Curran and Seaton (1981, p.326), who locate the historic basis of British journalism in the liberalist doctrine that "the freedom to publish in the free market ensures that the press reflects a wide range of opinions and interests in society", but note that such a view disregards multifarious constraining factors - including, but not limited to those discussed in this chapter.

A more recent framework set out Christians (*et al*, 2009) proposes three interrelated analytical entry points (normative traditions; models of democracy; and roles of the media) that separates desired functions, systems of governance, and systems of media. According to this model, journalism performs any combination of four roles: 'monitorial'; 'facilitative'; 'radical'; and 'collaborative'. The monitorial function aligns closely with the fourth-estate ideal. The facilitative function implies the enshrinement of debate and deliberation on key issues. The radical function suggests a counter-hegemonic role in which the journalist exposes the roots of social injustice. Finally, the collaborative function presumes the interdependency of media and policy elites, in which the role of the journalist is to conserve existing regimes of power.

In their study of journalistic representations of former Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn, Cammaerts (*et al*, 2020, p.206) found some evidence of (legitimate) monitorial, and collaborative reporting, but a much stronger current of undermining: "Corbyn was commonly depicted as an inimical political other, a deviant enemy of the British people and of the British state". The authors argue that this brand of 'attack-dog journalism' actually went beyond the collaborative function envisioned by Christians (*et al*, 2009); for whom collaboration did not necessarily contravene democratic processes. In this case, the press acted without moral rationale, actively and aggressively attempting to discredit a legitimate political actor who was operating within the boundaries of a system of democracy. Thus,

this marked an occasion where journalistic practices did not entirely match up with the heroic image of journalism, or with prevailing ideas of normativity.

Cammaerts' (*et al*, 2020) operationalisation of Christians' (*et al*, 2009) conceptual framework offers a useful example of how normative theories of journalism can help to explain why certain stories are reported in certain ways. This extends to the present study, in which the ideal/actual role of journalism is tied up with elitism and the 'national spirit essence' of monarchy (Nairn, 1989). It should be noted that it is difficult to disentangle the 'ideal' of the royal correspondent from the 'less than ideal', because this is entirely contingent on point of view. For some, this might be monitorial and/or radical; for others, this might be collaborative. Having said this, the analysis of news outputs in this study (see Chapters 6, 7, & 8) does indicate a predominantly collaborative function. In the context of sex crime reporting, this is difficult to reconcile with any doctrine of 'public interest'.

Clancy (2023) provides a useful explanatory account for how such a collaborative function might be engendered. Royal correspondents act as 'cultural intermediaries' - 'taste makers' with influence over the construction of culture (Bourdieu, 1984) - that are deeply embedded (together) in elite networks by necessity of the trade. The exclusivity of these networks produces 'homophilic' reporting styles - a type of groupthink arising from interactions between similar individuals (Fincham *et al*, 2019) - such that the classed power of the monarchical institution is reproduced rather than challenged. Moreover, the most successful royal correspondents are often those with pre-established connections within elite networks, and predisposed to maintain the structures of classed privilege that enables the exclusive access upon which their careers are built (Clancy, 2023). This helps to explain an historically 'soft' approach in mainstream UK news reporting (Coward, 2008). Specialism, experience, and access means that royal correspondents tend to produce and/or oversee the bulk of royal news. This extends to the data used in this study (see Chapter 5, section 5.2.1). The chosen outlets (*Guardian*, *BBC*, and *Daily Mail*) all have embedded royal editors (formerly Stephen Bates, Sean Coughlan, and Rebecca English respectively) and two of these (Coughlan and English) are the sole and/or co-credited authors of select texts in the sample (Coughlan, 2022; Edgington & Coughlan, 2022; Duell *et al*, 2022). This highlights entrenched journalistic practices, but is not to presume strategic alignment. In this regard, it should be noted that a left-centre-right view is not wholly sufficient. *BBC* ('centre') coverage of royal

events has been labelled 'imbalanced, vacuous and dishonest' (Davies, 2023). *Daily Mail* ('right') coverage tends towards sycophancy, but is also notorious for campaigns of hatred against select royals (Clancy & Yelin, 2021). *Guardian* ('left') coverage conditionally embraces alternative/dissenting views; provided they are sequestered to contributor journalism (i.e. Suzanne Moore, Gary Younge, Emma Dent Coad, John Harris). Thus, the reality of outlet positioning is much messier.

Royal reporting is also shaped by other formal, and informal codes that obstruct the potential for a monitorial/radical journalism. In an illuminating study, Clancy (2024) demonstrates how fourth-estate journalism is impracticable in royal reporting, because a variety of practical constraints inherently deter critique. First, contact between journalists and royals is kept to a minimum. Instead, royal reporters are routinely referred to the central Communications Office to confirm information, which itself functions as a public relations bureau staffed by experienced journalists and broadcasters. This can frustrate journalism practice, especially given that alternative insider sources are bound by strict confidentiality rules. Second, public engagements and events are tightly choreographed, and news outlets must apply for access for their journalists through the Royal Rota System. Outlets that are rejected have to rely on the secondary information of Royal Rota journalists. This produces a hierarchical system whereby approve(ing)d publications break the stories, and rejected publications are forced to recycle them. Third, the pressures of the role produce self-monitoring behaviour. On the one hand, the correspondent is expected to continuously print stories about the royals. This means keeping the monarchy relevant in the public imaginary. On the other hand, the correspondent is expected to avoid upsetting the royals. This means avoiding maledictory reportage. Needless to say, it is impossible to meet both these obligations, and execute a monitorial/radical journalism at the same time. It follows that entrenched media-monarchy relations and safeguards ensure that collaborative reporting is par for the course, and alternative (critical) approaches are difficult to realise.

2.2 News Values & Newsworthiness

The selection, prioritisation, and un/intentional distortion of world events as news content is connected to the politico-ideologically determined worth of particular occurrences as

potential news items (Lippmann, 1922). In their seminal study of international news reporting, Galtung and Ruge (1965) concerned themselves with taxonomising the particular determining factors that tend to underpin orders of priority in news production; a hypothetical scoring system of 'news values' in which higher or lower scores lead to greater or lesser priority, depending on the particular agenda of individual news outlets. It should be noted that, for Galtung and Ruge (*ibid*), the semantics of 'value' are based on efficacy, and are not to be confused with the wider normative values thought to underpin journalism (see section 2.1). It should also be noted that this conceptualisation of news values bears more than a passing resemblance to the Foucauldian (1971) concept of 'orders of discourse' (see Chapter 3, section 3.1.4), which are of particular significance in CDS.

Galtung and Ruge (*ibid*) identified twelve interrelated conditions influencing the (perceived) newsworthiness of world events: frequency; threshold; unambiguity; meaningfulness; consonance; unexpectedness; continuity; composition; reference to elite nations; reference to elite people; reference to persons; and reference to something negative. The authors postulate that the more an event satisfies these conditions, the more likely it will be registered as news (selection), the more likely that post-selection, factors of newsworthiness will be accentuated (distortion), and the more likely that selection and distortion processes will repeat across the chain of news communication (replication). This model proved hugely influential, and remains widely cited even decades later (for example see Lew *et al*, 2024; Rauh & Parizek, 2024). Indeed, based on these hypotheticals, it is easy to see why the story of concern in this thesis (see Chapter 5, section 5.2.1) made headlines, because it does seem to satisfy all twelve values.

However, much of these supposedly predisposing factors might be said to factor in many different types of text that predate mass media news reporting (Harcup & O'Neill, 2001). Further, by exclusively focusing on how 'events' - themselves difficult to define - that occur in the world are selected by journalists, Galtung and Ruge (1965) largely disregard the (re)constitutive role of news media (Curran & Seaton, 2018). In other words, the model presumes that journalism practice is all about 'reporting' reality, subordinating its equally important function in 'constructing' reality (van Dijk, 1988). Comparatively, critical accounts of the ideologies that underpin news values (Hall *et al*, 1978), and the politico-economic

constraints of news selection processes (Chomsky & Herman, 1988) go beyond these formal factors (for the latter see Chapter 3, section 3.3.2).

Harcup and O'Neill (2001), focusing on published news texts rather than the 'events' that are selected for news, identified a number of flaws in Galtung and Ruge's (1965) original taxonomy. Most of these flaws concerned the broadness, and interpretive nature of many of the twelve conditions. For example, the 'threshold' factor depends on the subjective determination of what constitutes a more or less impactful 'event'. Further, what passes for 'reference to something negative' might differ from individual to individual. This methodological limitation is particularly unconscionable in the field of applied linguistics, in which semantics are a prime concern. In their study, Harcup and O'Neill (2001) uncover a number of overlooked conditions, and demonstrate that many stories appearing in the news were actually based on pseudo-events, rather than real world occurrences.

This informed a revised set of ten news values: the power elite; celebrity; entertainment; surprise; bad news; good news; magnitude; relevance; follow up; newspaper agenda. The authors (Harcup & O'Neill, 2001, p.276) concede that while the findings suggest that certain combinations of the revised taxonomy make news coverage likely, "it is not possible unequivocally to demonstrate empirically a clear hierarchy of news values". This adage is carried over into later work on the model (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). Revisiting their taxonomy in light of the ascendancy of digital journalism and associated challenges, the authors (*ibid*, p.1472) admit that "no theory of news values can explain everything, not least because arbitrary factors including luck, convenience and serendipity can come into play". Incorporating scholarly developments in the area including, but not limited to Brighton and Foy's (2007) alternative matrix (relevance; topicality; composition; expectation; unusualness; worth; external influences), the authors set out an updated taxonomy as a tool for analysis and further research consisting of fourteen values: exclusivity; bad news; conflict; surprise; audio-visuals; shareability; entertainment; drama; follow-up; relevance; magnitude; celebrity; good news; news organisation's agenda.

Conspicuously absent amongst these various theories of news value is what this means for the study of news texts from critical, discourse-analytical perspectives. In this respect, Bednarek and Caple (2014) offer a useful framework that looks at how texts construct newsworthiness, and perpetuate ideologies of newsworthiness through

multimodal resources. This builds on the wider CDS scholarship that takes the concept of news values seriously: most notably van Dijk (1988) and Fowler (1991), both of whom acknowledge in some detail the constraining effects of cognitively represented news values, and Richardson (2007, p.94), for whom news values are important news selection criteria that predict “the (imagined) preferences of the expected audience”. The Bednarek and Caple (2014, p.139) framework is designed to assess “how an event is ‘sold’ to us as (news)worthy” using multimodal and corpus-assisted techniques. This is based on a taxonomy of values broadly consistent with the wider journalism scholarship (negativity; timeliness; proximity; superlativeness; eliteness; impact; novelty; personalisation; consonance). The aim of their textual analysis is to uncover the particular resources that establish a particular metric of newsworthiness. For example, negativity might be constructed through appraisal (i.e. awful), or lexis (i.e. murdered), and superlativeness might be constructed through quantifiers (i.e. millions), or intensifiers (i.e. terribly).

At its core, the HTF (see Chapter 4) is about how hegemony might be (re)produced discursively and without the need for consent, by promoting elite/tolerant voices and positions, and demoting alternative/dissenting voices and positions in the news. As will be revealed (see Chapters 6, 7, & 8), analysis of a case study (see Chapter 5, section 5.2.1) appears to support this supposition. The discursive perspective set out by Bednarek and Caple (*ibid*), and the wider scholarship on news values (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Harcup & O’Neill, 2001; 2017) provides a useful knowledge base from which to build an explanatory critique of this phenomenon. For example, the promotion of elite/tolerant voices and positions, and the demotion of alternative/dissenting voices and positions might, in part, be explained by the (perceived) newsworthiness of particular (elite) voices, over others. From a news-gathering perspective, just as certain ‘events’ or pseudo-events might be said to better satisfy certain news selection criteria, so too might certain voices; especially accredited, ‘authoritative’ sources of information. This, in turn, is entangled with structures of news production through which elite definitions of events are prioritised and reproduced (see section 2.4).

2.3 Agenda-Setting & Framing Theory

Causal relations between discourse and the social world are difficult to prove empirically. It follows that explaining the potential *effects* of news output often relies on theoretical perspectives that simplify the hyper-complexities of social reality. Scholarly efforts to grapple with this problem can be traced back to *Public Opinion* (Lippmann, 1922). Therein, it was argued that mass media construct 'pictures in our heads' (i.e. pseudo reality) when capturing and documenting 'the world outside' (i.e. social reality) in a triangular relationship between real-world occurrences, journalistic representations, and audience interpretations. Cohen (1963, p.13) would later make the more refined observation that news media "may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think *about*." These disparate ideas would eventually coalesce in McCombs and Shaw's (1972) 'agenda-setting theory' of media effects, in their seminal work *The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media*.

Focusing on the 1968 US election campaign, McCombs and Shaw (ibid, p.177) would hypothesise that "the mass media set the agenda for each political campaign, influencing the salience of attitudes toward the political issues". To assess this hypothesis, the authors compared voter attitudes in Chapel Hill, North Carolina with regional campaign news reporting, and unearthed high levels of correlation. Specifically, voters tended to share the 'composite definition' of orders of political importance propagated by the press. This was said to provide indicative evidence of an agenda-setting function; focusing more, or less, on particular campaign issues attached more, or less importance, and this appeared to have attitudinal effects on voters. Thus, the central thesis is about transference of issue salience - the more frequently and prominently an issue features in the news, the more salient it will be considered by audiences. It should be noted that elements of this original study are severely outmoded. For instance, the authors (ibid, p.185) claimed that agenda-setting provided the best explanation for hegemonic issue saliency because "for most, mass media provide the best - and only - easily available approximation of ever-changing political realities". In the information age, this is far from the case.

McCombs (*et al*, 2014) have since dramatically expanded agenda-setting theory to account for contemporary developments. This includes dividing agenda-setting into three interrelated processes, and explicitly incorporating a (necessary) psychological component.

The Chapel Hill study, retroactively, is said to concern ‘first level’ or ‘basic’ agenda-setting; the effect of the news agenda on the public agenda regarding the saliency of *objects*. ‘Second level’ agenda-setting is said to concern the effect of the news agenda on the public agenda regarding the saliency of object *attributes*. Finally, ‘third level’ agenda-setting is said to concern the effect of the news agenda on the public agenda regarding the saliency of connections *between* objects and attributes (Guo & McCombs, 2011; Guo, 2014). The adhesive that holds these theories together is the psychological concept of ‘need for orientation’ (McCombs & Weaver, 1973). According to this model, the agenda-setting function of news is mediated by the individual need to intellectually ‘map’ reality, based on a combination of relevance and uncertainty; high levels of both lead to a high need for orientation, and vice versa. Individuals with a high need for orientation are said to be drawn to ‘vertical’ (traditional) news media, where first level (object) agenda-setting is more prominent. Individuals with a low need for orientation are said to be drawn to ‘horizontal’ (partisan) news media, where second level (attribute) agenda-setting is more prominent (Weaver *et al*, 2010). It is further postulated that horizontal news media and second level agenda-setting are more likely to lead to ‘agendamelding’ - the unconscious merging of media/audience agendas (McCombs *et al*, 2014).

This psychosocial juncture in the development of agenda-setting research significantly intersects with ‘framing’ perspectives on media effects. The framing scholarship is vast, and broadly divided into two (convergent) disciplinary strands - the psychological (Sherif, 1967; Kahneman & Tversky, 1979), and the sociological. Goffman’s (1974) work *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* is commonly credited with the formal advent of framing theory as a sociological approach. Key to this is the ‘ritual work’ (see section 2.4) of applying schemata of interpretation called ‘primary frameworks’ to events. Such schemata are said to be “seen by those who apply it as not depending on or harking back to some prior or ‘original’ interpretation; indeed a primary framework is one that is seen as rendering what would otherwise be meaningless into something that is meaningful” (ibid, p.21). Thus, according to this metatheoretical view, events are contextualised in terms of any combination of various natural or socially shared and sustained interpretive schemata (frameworks or frames) that enable the human classification and definition of reality (framing). This construct is of significance to

communications research because it aims to conceptualise the socially constructed category systems used in human information processing; since different discourses might be said to target different systems, this connects with the ideological function of language (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 1994).

However, D'Angelo (2019, p.1), citing Tuchman (1978), notes that *Frame Analysis* “did not promulgate a theory of mediated communication, let alone one that explained how journalists, news sources, and news audiences influence one another in the multilevel processes in which frames are produced and framing effects occur”. Rather, framing as an integrative concept deployed in linguistically oriented journalism research emerged later. Pan and Kosicki (1993) provide an early example. In their sociocognitive study of public policy news discourse, the authors operationalise framing as a constructivist research approach by dividing textual analysis into four interrelated dimensions: syntax; theme; script; and rhetoric. The typical macrosyntactic structure of a news text (see especially van Dijk, 1985) is the ‘inverted pyramid’ (i.e. Headline, Lead, Main Event, Background, Conclusion). These elements, and their order of priority, provide cues that activate certain semantic concepts in the mind, and are thus seen as powerful framing devices. Thematic structure relates to macrosyntax: the theme is usually hypothesised within the summary (i.e. Headline, Lead), and supported within the connecting elements and subthemes of the main body (i.e. Main Event, Background, Conclusion) hierarchically. News stories also tend to follow a script, or sequence (i.e. who, what, when, where, why, how) that “links audiences with the environment that transcends their limited sensory experiences” (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p.60). Finally, rhetorical structures (i.e. stylistic choices) and their intended effects can also be viewed as framing devices that reinforce the legitimacy of reportage, and the authority of select sources (see section 2.5).

The vastness of framing scholarship and its interdisciplinary scope means that countless alternatives to this approach have emerged since (see for example Entman, 1993; Scheufele, 1999; 2000; Hertog & McLeod, 2001). This has led to disagreement on key issues, a lack of paradigmatic clarity, and calls for broader categories of cognitive media effects (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Indeed, this includes disputes regarding the distinction between framing, and agenda-setting. McCombs (2004), perhaps somewhat self-servingly, claims that second level agenda-setting *encompasses* framing, which should be subsumed

under agenda-setting as a refined form of issue saliency transference. van Dijk (2023, p.172) largely dismisses frame analysis as “an attractive analytical method that could be applied to any data, without needing expertise of language, discourse or cognition”, attributing its popularity to a problematic conceptual flexibility. Building on this, Borrah (2011) notes the inclination of framing scholars to work with unique, case-specific frames rather than consistent generic categories - such as the ‘interpretive packages’ proposed by Gamson and Modigliani (1989) (metaphor, exemplar, catchphrase, depiction, imagery) - which adds little to the broader framing construct, and risks confirmatory bias. Finally, it might be argued that van Dijk (2016) has already provided a powerful ‘solution’ to much of this confusion surrounding media effects with his sociocognitive approach to CDA, which provides an integrative, triangular account of cognitively mediated relations between discourse and society based on concrete categories and models.

2.4 Primary & Secondary Definition

The relationship between news production and hegemonic ideology is not reducible to a top-down chain of command. In other words, journalists do not tend to operate at the beck and call of the power elite. Rather, hegemonic ideology is reproduced discursively through the interdependency of major news outlets and powerful institutions, itself arising from pressures of the trade, and notions of impartiality. This is according to Hall (*et al*, 1978, p.58), who contend that these professional factors “combine to produce a systematically structured *over-accessing* to the media of those in powerful and privileged institutional positions”. According to this model, reporters (‘secondary definers’) will routinely turn to representatives of major social institutions (‘primary definers’) in pursuit of the closest approximation to ‘objective’ and ‘authoritative’ information on social events. This cycle of ‘primary definition’, intended to establish and preserve impartiality, inadvertently orients the media to the particular definition of social reality expressed by the primary definer, which will tend towards conserving existing regimes of power. In this sense, it is discourse practice, rather than inherent bias, that gives rise to hegemonic ideology in news reporting. In the words of Hall (*et al*, 1978, p.59):

The media, then, do not simply 'create' the news; nor do they simply transmit the ideology of the 'ruling class' in a conspiratorial fashion. Indeed, we have suggested that, in a critical sense, the media are frequently not the 'primary definers' of news events at all; but their structured relationship to power has the effect of making them play a crucial but secondary role in reproducing the definitions of those who have privileged access, as of right, to the media as 'accredited sources'.

This view strongly implies an emasculated - if well-intentioned - news media, in thrall to primary definers through systematic, hierarchical structures of subordination. This overlaps significantly with van Dijk's (1996) work surrounding discourse access (see Chapter 4, section 4.2.3). However, Schlesinger (1990) points out several flaws. First, the model does not account for contention between different primary definers, (unrealistically) assuming ideological consensus across multiple power centres with potentially conflicting interests. Second, the model disregards 'off-the-record' briefings that might (invisibly) define news. Third, the model fails to address inequalities of access *amongst* privileged groups, and the political fluidity of these inequalities. Fourth, the model is 'atemporal', in that it assumes the (unlikely) rigidity of particular groups and interests in the dominant power bloc. Fifth, the model is unidirectional, in that "there is no space to account for occasions on which the media may take the initiative in the definitional process" (ibid, p.67). Sixth, while the model acknowledges the potential for 'counter-definition' to emerge from conflict between sources with competing interests, it (reductively) assumes that 'alternative' sources and counter-definitions are constrained by pre-established boundaries of legitimacy set by the privileged definitions of primary definers, in a closed loop.

Miller (1993) similarly contends that the Hall (*et al*, 1978) model overlooks three major overarching factors preventing elite definitional advantage. First, personal, professional, or political divisions within organisations; second, the effect of competition and cooperation between organisations; and third, the impact of news values (see section

2.1). Using the then ongoing conflict in Northern Ireland as an example, Miller (1993) highlights how tensions and distrust between press officers and civil servants in the Northern Ireland Office led to internal enclosure attempts, and definitional conflict. The lack of control over 'official' sources within certain adjacent organisations, such as the Royal Ulster Constabulary, routinely led to undesirable representations making the news, either through the absence of a coherent media strategy, or common human error. Further, disagreement surrounding the most appropriate strategies for dealing with the Irish Republican Army abounded across different power centres, and intelligence organisations within the state apparatus. This definitional struggle sometimes played out in the news, because as Miller (1993, p.393) notes, it is "occasionally useful for an organisation to further its aims by waging the struggle, at least partially, in the media". Another related limit to the definitional advantage of any particular 'official' source was the activities of other, equally 'official' sources with subtly different priorities; including tactics like carefully timed, selective disclosures of information. Finally, there were disparities between the preferred state/media depiction of events. The Northern Ireland Office wanted to emphasise the foulness of Republican activities, but maintain a positive image of Northern Ireland. The media, on the other hand, seemingly measured the newsworthiness of events in terms of violence. As Miller (1993, p.395) notes, "some news desks were so convinced that Northern Ireland was synonymous with violence, that they were reluctant to print stories which gave a different view". Thus, definitional conflict arose not only between competing 'official' sources, but also between certain news outlets and the state apparatus.

Despite these limitations, Anstead and Chadwick (2018) argue that the concept of primary definition remains relevant in the digital era, in which strong relations of interdependency between reporters, political elites, 'experts', public relations professionals and news agencies endure (Lewis *et al*, 2008). In their study of online austerity discourse during the 2015 UK general election campaign, the authors (*ibid*, p. 262) demonstrate how, despite the supposed pluralising effects of social news, "older forms of political organisation are adapting to digital media and shaping the transition to a new settlement in their own image". Their analysis of interactions between professional journalists, political partisans, and the Institute for Fiscal Studies (IFS) reveals a pattern of 'authority signalling' behaviour on social media. These groups are said to be bound together in an 'incentive structure' - a

desire to build long term relations with ‘expert’ sources - by which primary definer authority is co-constructed and propagated. Combined with the IFS ‘balance sheet’ approach, and propensity for ‘rapid-response, journalist-friendly’ analysis, this produced a widespread mobilisation, and legitimisation of the ‘deficit reduction’ discourse favoured by the incumbent government. This authority signalling behaviour is far from limited to social media. For instance, the incontestability of IFS analysis was also unearthed in a comparable study of broadcast journalism, in which findings suggest that “over-reliance on the IFS as an expert source comes at the expense of other voices, narrowing and limiting scope for debate” (Chadwick *et al*, 2020, p.912). Harjuniemi (2023) adds to this argument, attributing the journalistic austerity consensus that emerged following the ‘great recession’ to the ability of primary definers to control the ‘sphere of consensus’ (i.e. budgetary discipline; liberal market reform), and the ‘sphere of legitimate controversy’ (i.e. alternatives to fiscal austerity) (Hallin, 1984).

As will be revealed (see Chapters 6, 7, & 8), the texts analysed in this study do not feature a plurality of views. Rather, debate is steered by a narrow range of elite/tolerant ‘expert-sources’ that might aptly be described as primary definers. The dominance of elite/tolerant voices, arising from the interdependency of major news outlets and powerful institutions, the pressures of day-to-day journalism, and the intended imperative of impartiality, ensures that the prevailing discourse tends to be restricted to a narrowly defined sphere of ‘legitimate controversy’. Conversely, alternative/dissenting viewpoints that challenge the popular narrative tend to be sequestered to the ‘sphere of deviance’ (Hallin, 1984). Given the nature of events, the actors and power imbalances involved, and the rare opportunity the story presents to platform critical perspectives (see Chapter 5, section 5.2.1), this might be said to significantly undermine the fourth-estate ideal of journalism. In this respect, the Hall (*et al*, 1978) model and the more recent work surrounding it might appropriately be deployed to explain the prevalence, and effects, of certain textual-discursive features that, I will argue, construct hegemonic tolerance.

2.5 Strategic Ritual & Hierarchy of Influences

In a landmark study, Tuchman (1972, p.661) defines the purported quest for ‘objectivity’ in journalism as ‘ritualistic’ - “a routine procedure which has relatively little or only tangential

relevance to the end sought” - and ‘strategic’ - “tactics used offensively to anticipate attack or defensively to deflect criticism”. It is argued that this ‘strategic ritual of objectivity’ enables journalists to protect themselves from critics, and lay claim to (intended) impartiality. Crucially, this far from guarantees accurate, or balanced news reportage. Rather, it is how the individual journalist routinely avoids libel, and meets the day-to-day demands of the trade. Notions of ‘objective fact’ are said to be based on three factors: form; content; and interorganisational relationships. Form denotes formal manifestations of ‘objectivity’ (i.e. scare quotes), and content denotes ‘common sense’ (see Chapter 3, section 2.2) assumptions about ‘objectivity’ (i.e. in/credibility of sources) which, in turn, are influenced by interorganisational relationships (i.e. primary definition). These procedures or ‘rites’ (Ross & Joslyn, 1988), codified in the formal attributes of news reportage, are conceived as one avenue through which ‘objectivity’ is discursively conveyed.

One problem with this view, as Ehrlich (1996) notes, is that Tuchman (1972) tends to conflate ‘ritual’ and ‘routine’. This relates to the wider issue of lacking distinction between different levels of practice. In other words, it is unclear if ‘ritual’ pertains only to the individual level of news production, and ‘routine’ applies only to the organisational level of news production. To this end, Ehrlich (1996) sets out an alternative, ‘heuristic’ framework for studying ritual in journalism that distinguishes between different strata of analysis, and pluralises rituals, routines, and rites. At the individual level, the ‘ritual’ of journalistic objectivity denotes creative, semi-autonomous activities. At the organisational level, the ‘routine’ of newsgathering denotes governing principles and expectations. At the institutional level, the ‘rite’ of interaction denotes relations of reciprocity between news organisations and powerful institutions. Individual ‘rituals’, organisational ‘routines’, and institutional ‘rites’ are typically oriented towards the continuity of structures, but all three are said to facilitate conforming, and oppositional news.

Ehrlich (1996) advocates a cultural studies approach to journalism, and is dismissive of ideology and hegemony as determinants of media activity. It follows that the heuristic framework significantly develops, and disambiguates Tuchman (1972), but is not particularly useful in CDA research. The same applies to later interpretations of ritual as ‘performativity’ (Bogaerts, 2011), ‘verification’ (Shapiro *et al*, 2013), and ‘emotionality’ (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013). Such approaches provide a renewed focus on ideology, but are principally concerned

with the constitution of the journalistic identity, rather than reportorial nuances that *emerge* from the journalistic identity. This is not to suggest that the concept of strategic ritual is of no explanatory value. On the contrary, the ritualistic codification of 'objectivity' significantly relates to the appraisal device of the HTF (see Chapter 4, section 4.4.3). Rather, there are alternative multilevel approaches that are more synergistic with CDA.

Shoemaker and Reese (1991) establish one such alternative in their pioneering work *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content*. Synthesising a systematic review of the prevailing research on media content that existed at the time (including Tuchman, 1972), the authors set out a series of representative assumptions and propositions based on empirical research and informed inference. These assumptions and propositions, in turn, inform a range of non-exhaustive, yet highly detailed hypotheses about influences on media content. The 'hierarchy of influences' framework distinguishes between five different levels of mutually constitutive practice, ranging in scope from microanalysis to macroanalysis: individual; routine; organisational; extramedia; and ideological. All domains of practice are in perennial flux, and are said to simultaneously influence one another, and influence news output. In brief, the individual level accounts for the particular background (i.e. worldview) of the newspaper. The routine level accounts for the patterned activities (i.e. news valuing) of the newspaper. The organisational level accounts for the commercial (i.e. profit orientation) and professional (i.e. target audience) concerns of the news outlet. The extramedia or social-institutional level accounts for external media policies (i.e. regulation), sourcing practices (i.e. primary definition), and pressures (i.e. advertisement revenue). Finally, the ideological or social-systemic level accounts for wider societal hegemonies (i.e. neoliberalism).

The hierarchy of influences framework provides a highly sophisticated and flexible perspective on the multitudinal forces at work in the production of news, that dually emphasises the inherently independent/interdependent, and enabling/constraining potential of each domain of practice. That being said, it is not without its limitations. Critics (Hackett, 2006; Lee, 2004; Keith, 2011) have pointed to the US-centricity of the framework, the emergence of new technologies, the inconsistent routines of global multimedia journalism, and most prominently, the difficulty presented in empirically separating the influence of one level of practice from another when trying to capture the complex

interrelations of newswork. However, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) explicitly avoid any claim to comprehensiveness. Further, no one level is intended to be interpreted as necessarily more, or less constraining/enabling than another. Rather, it is suggested that each level be taken into account when approaching media content analysis (Reese, 2019).

Even in light of globalised, technology-enabled changes to the climate of news production, the hierarchy of influences model remains a powerful explanatory resource. It is inspired because, as Reese (2001, p.178) notes, it “helps to meaningfully organise a vast array of eclectic research by considering the level or perspective at which explanation is primarily sought”. Reese and Shoemaker (2016, p.407) argue that despite the ‘spatial turn’ in communications research, elusive and transitory new media configurations “are still located within a framework of power”, and the model remains a redoubtable standard “against which to measure the destabilisation and realignment of media forces”. The approach provides a useful taxonomy of well-established factors of import, and this equips CDA work in the field of journalism with a considerable explanatory arsenal. This extends to the framework proposed in this study. As will be revealed (see Chapters 6, 7, & 8), the findings presented in this thesis reveal many subtleties embedded within ‘critical’ news reportage that, in effect, reproduce the hegemony of monarchical power. Any combination of the five domains of influence might usefully be deployed to explain how such subtleties emerge from operational journalism, and strengthen my claims surrounding the discursive construction of hegemonic tolerance.

Chapter 3 - Literature Review (Part 2)

In this chapter, I critically engage with significant philosophical and discourse-analytical concepts in order to situate the theory of hegemonic tolerance within broader ideas of discourse, power, and ideology. Locating this study within the broader remit of CDA, I discuss the philosophical underpinnings of critical approaches in applied linguistics (see section 3.1). This is followed by a discussion of hegemony, wherein I situate hegemonic tolerance amongst the prevailing arguments surrounding this concept, and critique its application in wider CDA research (see section 3.2). Following this, I discuss other models of significance to which the concept of hegemonic tolerance serves as an extension (see section 3.3). I conclude this chapter with a discussion of the relationship between theory and practice, wherein I set out my moral-political intentions as a researcher (see section 3.4).

3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

In this section I will discuss CDA as an approach to the study of discourse. In section 3.1.1, I explore the background of CDA and the ideas that have come to define the approach. In section 3.1.2, I discuss the notion of discourse, the relationship it occupies with power and ideology, and the significance of news discourse in particular. In section 3.1.3, I discuss discourse in terms of dialectics, or the relationship between discourse and society. Finally, in section 3.1.4, I discuss the significance of orders of discourse, and how access to discourse is an important feature of the HTF.

3.1.1 Critical Linguistics & CDA

CDA has its roots in Critical Linguistics, and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Fowler, Hodge, Kress, and Trew (1979) pioneered Critical Linguistics in their book *Language and Control*. Michael Halliday pioneered SFL in *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (1985). Halliday's (ibid) SFL views language as a system of choices that provide an indication of how speakers and writers perceive reality, and therefore ideology.

According to SFL, language is systemic, in that it is a system of choices, and functional, in that it performs three main metafunctions. The three metafunctions of language are *experiential*, *interpersonal* and *textual*, each of which play a key role in the making of meaning (Thompson, 1996). The experiential metafunction of language denotes how language is used to describe our experience of reality and the world around us, expressed through language as different verbal groups. The interpersonal metafunction of language pertains to relationships as expressed through language, and is realised through interactional moves in the clause. The textual metafunction of language concerns the message structure of the clause, in other words, how experiential and interpersonal metafunction meanings are organised and expressed in language. Understanding the role of grammatical structures in constructing meaning is of particular relevance to CDA because it provides the analyst with a framework through which to expose deeply embedded ideological features in the construction of clauses.

Borrowing from these SFL concepts - which were in development at the time - Fowler (*et al*, 1979) pioneered the notion of language as a social practice. Social practice can be taken to mean an intervention in the social and economic order through the reproduction of ideology (Fowler, 1996). This is perhaps the most important feature of *critical* approaches to the study of language because it is what distinguishes the approach from traditional linguistics. From this perspective, language is viewed as inherently ideological, and is therefore a social practice by virtue of its capacity to reproduce ideology and, by extension, reproduce social conditions. Critical Linguistics is critical because it focuses on power dynamics and on the relationship between discursive structure and social structure, with a particular focus on embedded ideologies in language. Fowler (1996) attributed this form of critique to the Marxist notion of critique developed by the Frankfurt School, which became known as Critical Theory. Connerton (1976, p.20) defines this notion of critique, or 'criticism', as aiming at:

Changing or even removing the conditions of what is considered to be a false or distorted consciousness.... Criticism...renders transparent what had previously been hidden, and in doing so it initiates a process of self-reflection, in individuals or in

groups, designed to achieve a liberation from the domination of past constraints. Here a change in practice is therefore a constitutive element of a change in theory.

Fowler (1996) and his contemporaries pioneered the analysis of discourse in such a way as to expose implicitly encoded ideologies behind overt lexical and syntactic constructions, and examining these features within sociological contexts. Fowler (ibid) describes Critical Linguistics as a 'value free theory of representation', insofar as it merely signposts the function of language as a social practice. However, he does concede that proponents of the tradition tend to occupy the political left and are interested primarily in exposing the injustices of capital.

Certain approaches to the study of language through this critical lens have since become known as CDA, but the two terms are often conflated. As Wodak (2011a, p.50) notes, "the terms Critical Linguistics (CL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) have been frequently used interchangeably. Recently, however, the term CDA seems to have been preferred and is being used to denote the theory formerly identified as CL". It is important to note that Fowler's (1996) characterisation of Critical Linguistics as a 'value free theory of representation' does not necessarily apply to CDA. Later manifestations of this approach that are more accurately called CDA explicitly state that CDA is not at all value free, and in fact has very specific normative goals (Fairclough, 1989; van Dijk, 1993). The Marxist underpinning of much CDA work means it cannot possibly be value-free. It is very much on the side of the disempowered and pursuant of transformational change, meaning that it cannot be value-free.

CDA, then, is a specific approach adapted from the broad range of ideas of Critical Linguistics, in which the concepts of ideology and power are a defining feature. CDA seeks to critique social inequality by "focusing on the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance" (Van Dijk, 1993). It is therefore well suited to understanding antagonism and the negotiation of hegemonic tolerance in discourses surrounding powerful social groups. From this perspective, discourse and texts (multiple and mixed communicative modes) are viewed as sites of ideological struggle and power negotiation, where dominant structures, groups and ideas compete to legitimise themselves. CDA provides the opportunity to analyse "pressures from above and possibilities of resistance to

unequal power relationships that appear as societal conventions” (Wodak, 2001a, p.3). Viewing language through this critical lens enables us to understand how the production, distribution and consumption of texts can embed these pressures and possibilities in news media discourses.

CDA, as a form of language analysis rooted in the concepts of power and ideology, is an appropriate approach to understanding the discursive construction of hegemonic tolerance. It is an approach that seeks to explore social inequalities by focusing on the role of discourse and the construction of discourse in the reproduction and challenge of orders of dominance (van Dijk, 1993). Understanding how hegemonic tolerance may be constructed requires understanding how dominant structures stabilise and naturalise conventions - in other words, how “the effects of power and ideology in the production of meaning are obscured and acquire stable and natural forms: they are taken as ‘given’” (Wodak, 2001a, p.3).

As van Dijk (1995a) points out, one of the founding principles of CDA is that it is problem oriented, insofar as CDA practitioners tend to be concerned with inherent social contradictions and inequities, which in turn are inextricable from capital given its near-global dominance as a world system. It is for this reason that CDA practitioners tend to signpost their ideological standpoint on the issue they are investigating - as I have done early-on in this thesis (see especially Chapter 1, section 1.1). van Dijk (1995a) identifies a number of criteria that are typical of a CDA investigation, including it being problem or issue oriented, being typically inter or multidisciplinary, and focusing particularly on relations of power, dominance and inequality. CDA studies often attempt to “uncover, reveal or disclose what is implicit, hidden or otherwise not immediately obvious in relations of discursively enacted dominance or their underlying ideologies” (van Dijk, 1995a, p.18). For these reasons, I openly signpost my view of the monarchy as a vestigial feature of entrenched social inequalities, and an ideological apparatus of ruling elites. As Clancy (2021; 2023; 2024) has observed, entrenched constraints surrounding monarchical power can frustrate journalism practice and make critical reporting difficult (see Chapter 2, section 2.1). Combined with the explanatory power of the wider media journalism scholarship (see Chapter 2), I argue that CDA is ideally suited to teasing out the discursive manifestations of

these constraints and contributing to the wider understanding of discursively enacted hegemony.

1.2 Discourse, Ideology, Power & News

Discourse is a complex concept with many conflicting and overlapping definitions, used for different reasons in different contexts. Discourse can, for instance, be taken to mean simply any written or spoken communication (Wodak, 2011). In CDS, the term carries much more meaning, and is principally defined as the foregrounding of a particular ideology over another through linguistic choices (Fairclough, 1989).

Most contemporary, philosophical understandings of the notion of discourse derive from the work of Michel Foucault. Foucault pioneered the view of discourse as any form of thinking or communicating about different aspects of reality that is constrained by socially fluid boundaries - such as, for example, the discourse of sexuality (Foucault, 1978). He used the term to refer not only to ways of speaking about phenomena, but more specifically, different ways of structuring, and therefore controlling, systems of knowledge. For the purposes of this study, discourse is broadly understood in this Foucauldian sense, because the HTF is interested primarily in how knowledge surrounding certain social conditions is controlled discursively, such that asymmetrical power relationships are sustained.

Since systems of knowledge dictate how the world is perceived and understood, "discourse is a social force which has a central role in what is constructed as 'real' and therefore what is possible" (Philo, 2007, p.176). In short, discourse both determines how we understand reality and is a manifestation of that understanding (Foucault, 1989), and thus provides a window into "how language embodies systems of thought which structure what can be understood" (Philo, 2007, p.176). The purpose of discourse analysis then, is to make a connection between texts and their social purpose - that is to say, to understand the roles that discourses play in shaping and influencing society and the role that society plays in shaping and influencing discourse (Fairclough, 1992).

Discourses, then, can be understood as the mutable flow of thinking and communicating about any given 'thing' at any given time, through a wide variety of channels of expression, and which foreground or background certain ideologies over others depending on what best serves the interests of certain groups. There are innumerable

discourses surrounding ‘things’ and competing for dominance at any given time. van Dijk (1997) distinguishes between three main dimensions of discourse, namely language use, the communication of beliefs, and interaction in social situations. He posits that the function of the CDA practitioner is typically to consider all three dimensions when conducting an investigation of a text in order to formulate theories about the relationship between them. These three dimensions are concretised by Fairclough’s (1989) three-dimensional model of CDA, that aims to consider text, discourse and social practice concurrently. When considering the notion of discourse from this perspective, one has to recognise that it is not the exclusive domain of written and spoken language. Rather, a discourse potentially comprises many different genres and forms, and the proliferation of digital culture means they are also increasingly multimedia (*ibid*).

From this CDA perspective, discourse can be understood as an inherently ideological and relational view of language, as a form of power and social practice determined by social structures, through which our beliefs, values and desires are formed (Fairclough, 1989). Thompson (1990) defines ideology as meaning in the service of power, that is, the ways in which meaning serves to establish and sustain relations of power which are systematically asymmetrical. He refers to these asymmetries as relations of domination (*ibid*). For Thompson, understanding ideology requires investigating the ways in which meaning is constructed and conveyed by symbolic forms of various kinds, and the social contexts within which these symbolic forms are employed and deployed. This leads to the question of whether or not, and why, this meaning establishes and sustains relations of domination. Hegemonic tolerance is one avenue through which relations of domination may be (re)produced, and the ideologies that are foregrounded in a particular discourse are the principal means through which this is achieved. Namely, ideologies that construct particular values and courses of action - that favour incumbent power relations - as natural, or a given.

As Fairclough (1989) notes, power is not in itself bad; the power of ordinary people to do things, for instance, is not. ‘Power over’, on the other hand, whilst not being necessarily inherently bad, is often hidden and “becomes open to critique when it is not legitimate, or when it has bad effects” (*ibid*, p.27). Similarly, tolerance is not inherently bad. As I have previously mentioned (see Chapter 1, section 1.1.1), tolerance can be a socially positive force. However, when tolerance is enacted discursively and surreptitiously to

secure the power of dominant groups, structures, or ideas, without the knowledge or consent of the tolerator, then that type of tolerance, I argue, is hegemonic, and negative. This is not to suggest that hegemony itself is inherently bad - rather, that hegemony is an outcome that potentially rewards bad behaviours, and protects bad behavers (see especially Chapter 7).

Fairclough (ibid) also draws a distinction between ‘power in’ discourse and ‘power behind’ discourse. ‘Power in’ discourse concerns the ability of powerful participants to control and constrain the contributions of non-powerful participants. ‘Power behind’ discourse, on the other hand, concerns the struggles for control over discourses between dominant structures or groups. It goes without saying that power behind discourse is not shared equally. In other words, certain groups with aligned interests are better situated to control the composition of discourse than others. It is this type of power that I principally focus on in this thesis.

The HTF has been designed using critical linguistic tools that help illuminate the ideological mechanisms underpinning the linguistic choices of news organisations and journalists. In Marxist philosophy, the political application of the concept of ideology is rooted in the concept of ‘false consciousness’, which refers broadly to a distorted and limited form of social experience impressed upon those living in a capitalist society (Eyerman, 1981). The French Marxist philosopher, Louis Althusser, would later critique this conceptualisation of ideology, and point out that it is in fact profoundly unconscious (Eagleton, 1994). Althusser’s definition of ideology (1971) draws distinction between the ‘Repressive State Apparatus’ (RSA) - government, military, police, courts, prisons - and the ‘Ideological State Apparatus’ (ISA) - religion, education, politics, communications, culture. Whereas the former functions by violence, Althusser (ibid) argued, the latter apparatus functions via ideology.

This distinction is particularly interesting in the context of this thesis, because the monarchy occupies a highly unique position, in that it wields influence over both the RSA and the ISA. In terms of the RSA, in the UK the reigning monarch is the head of state, the commander in chief of the armed forces and the head of the criminal justice system, which includes the police, the courts and prisons. Meanwhile, in terms of the ISA, the reigning monarch also happens to be the head of the Church of England, performs a ‘neutral’

political role, and is a key feature of British culture both domestically and internationally. The British monarchy is also a group to which its subjects - the public - has very limited access. Communication - between rulers and ruled - passes through internal PR strategies, the filters of the state and the production and editorial processes of news organisations before reaching us. Needless to say, the resultant news discourse is likely to bare traces of ideology, such that voices and positions of approval are prioritised, voices and positions of dissent are diminished, and the incumbent social order is sustained.

News organisations can be understood as gatekeepers of knowledge and are uniquely situated to influence the prevailing discourses surrounding a given phenomenon (van Dijk, 1988). Language and other modes of communication such as imagery and colour are used to provide the public with information about the world around them, and various mechanisms influence the production of news (ibid). News reporting can therefore be seen as “a mode of rhetoric, a value laden, ideologically determined discourse with a clear potential to influence the media audience’s assumptions and beliefs about the way the world is and the way it ought to be” (White, 2006, p.1). The ideological potential of news discourse makes it the ideal candidate site to investigate for traces of hegemonic tolerance, because, for most, it is a primary source of knowledge about reality, including contested subjects such as the monarchy, where one may expect to encounter a degree of ideological antagonism being represented in reportage.

Tolerance is, ultimately, a human behaviour, and one implication of discursively enacted hegemonic tolerance is that this may occupy a dialectical, mutually constitutive relationship with monarchical power. In other words, if, in this case, the dominant discourse surrounding the British monarchy is one in which pro-monarchy voices are loudened, and anti-monarchy voices are compressed - as has been broadly indicated by Clancy (2021; 2023; 2024) (see Chapter 2, section 2.1) - this might encourage certain human behaviours, and discourage alternative human behaviours. Specifically, it seems reasonable to suggest that this might have the effect of promoting obedient actions (i.e. inaction), and demoting disobedient actions (i.e. protest). As put by van Dijk (1995a, p.18): “CDA specifically focuses on the strategies of manipulation, legitimation, the manufacture of consent and other discursive ways to influence the minds (and indirectly the actions) of people in the interest of the powerful”. The ideological effect of mass media news reporting, or the role of news

as a communicative mode in shaping and maintaining 'consent' (Atton, 2010), is based on the well-established assumption in critical media studies that news tends to reflect, and thereby reproduce, dominant ideologies (Hall, 1977).

Of course, the causal direction of influence is difficult to establish in the study of news, in that it cannot be proven that news media are a driving force of social transformation and public opinion (Yacoumis, 2018). However, whilst it may be difficult to establish empirically that news discourse exerts an influence over the thinking or doing of consumers, it seems reasonable to make certain inferences about how journalism likely influences how we understand the world. The *Sun* newspaper, for instance, once ran with the headline 'It was the Sun wot won it', in reference to the surprise Tory election victory in 1992 (Reeves *et al*, 2016). The headline was telling in regard to the power of journalism to influence opinion, insofar as it suggested an organisational claim over the very literal, election-swaying power of news production. The power to control what people read, and how what people read about the world is constructed, from this perspective, is palpable.

It seems reasonable to suggest that late capitalist society is not a meritocratic, level playing field. That is to say, there are a variety of stratifying influences that ensure that power is rarely equally shared or distributed - influences such as class, poverty, economic, social and cultural capital, systematised discrimination and so on. The capitalist conceptualisation of rational egoism (Rand, 1964), meanwhile, broadly related to laissez-faire systems of power, suggests that those wielding power will be rationally self-interested in sustaining the structures that best serve the reproduction of that power. The powerless, moreover, are vulnerable to this power being misused. Some powerful groups - such as the British monarchy - occupy naturalised, vestigial positions of dominance as a result of complex socio-historical factors that have ordered society in a manner that favours and reproduces this division. The sociologist C. Wright Mills (1956) referred to such groups as the 'power elite', and today the term is often used interchangeably with terms like 'establishment', and 'state' as shorthand to describe a consortium of dominant groups wielding immense power and influence - arguably, including news institutions.

There is an assumption amongst critical linguists that positions certain news organisations as resistant to social change and inextricable from prevailing orders of dominance. It follows that news discourses surrounding certain subjects are expected to be

exposed to a variety of influences that constrain what can and cannot be said, and how what can be said can be said, often serving as an impediment to achieving social equality and promoting social change. This research contributes to this established understanding by asking - specifically - how tolerance in particular may be a form of domination that is discursively enacted in the news in order to insulate certain social conditions and groups from particular forms of critique.

3.1.3 Discourse, Dialectics & Social Structure

The critical turn in Marxism that became known as Critical Theory, as employed in the study of language, necessitated a shift in the study of language that highlights the link between the structure of language and the structure of society (Wodak, 2011). CDA is not a methodology. Rather, it is an approach to the study of language rooted in Critical Theory that draws from a wide range of techniques (ibid). Hence, CDA practitioners are typically interested in power and ideology, how power and ideology are negotiated in language, and the dialectical relationship between discourse and society. By dialectical relationship, what is meant is that discourse and society are mutually constitutive. Social practices, including discourse practices, are determined by social structures, while social structures are a product of social practice - in other words, social practice and social structure each engender the other (Fairclough, 2010).

As features of society change, so too does the language surrounding these features. The range of available language and discourse surrounding certain people, events, conditions and circumstances, shift alongside the sociopolitical and socioeconomic landscape. Just as knowledge is ever changing, so too is the language that emerges from the development of new knowledge. Just as the language surrounding certain people, events, conditions and circumstances may shift in tandem with new knowledge, society may go through changes as a result of this shift in language. One can imagine how both of these processes can result in positive, and negative outcomes for different people.

The critique of language inherent to CDA has its roots in the Marxist adaptation of dialectical reasoning, itself rooted in Aristotelian philosophy. Dialectics, in this sense, refers to the critical questioning of commonly held beliefs and opinions (discourse) and the journeying for 'truth' about these beliefs, opinions and ways of speaking through the

rational inquiry of differing experiences of reality (Fairclough, 1989). CDA is itself a form of dialectical practical reasoning in the sense that it begins with a normative critique - meaning it seeks to evaluate the rightness or wrongness of features in terms of the values of the analyst - of a discourse or of discourses surrounding a perceived social problem, and leads to an argument for transformative action on the basis of that critique. By critically analysing what is said and believed about the world through dialectical reasoning, CDA practitioners strive to better understand experiences of reality, and advocate the best courses of action, or praxis, on the basis of this understanding (ibid).

3.1.4 Orders of Discourse & Discourse Access

The concept of orders of discourse originates in the work of Foucault, who stated that “In every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures, whose role is to avert its powers and its dangers, to cope with chance events, to evade its ponderous, awesome materiality” (1971, p.8). In essence, orders of discourse are what determine the structure of discourses, and understanding how discourses are structured and why they are structured the way that they are is key to understanding how power and ideology influence how we think and speak about the world around us. Fairclough (2001, p. 232) states as such, arguing that “one aspect of this ordering is dominance: some ways of making meaning are dominant or mainstream in a particular order of discourse, others are marginal, or oppositional, or “alternative””.

Orders of discourse concern the “totality of discursive practices of an institution and relationships between them” (Fairclough, 1993, p.138). They are usually associated with particular institutions or domains of social life. In describing orders of discourse, one is concerned with specifying what discourse types are used in the domain, and the relationships between each discursive practice in terms of the production and interpretation of discourse. Understanding the conventions that underpin the overall determination of an order of discourse is key to understanding how and why certain ideologies are foregrounded or backgrounded. Discourses change over time because relationships of power at different levels, which include the capacity for ideological control over orders of discourse, also change over time, and as priorities shift, so too do orders of discourse (Fairclough, 1989).

Orders of discourse can themselves be subdivided into 'type', 'genre' and 'field'. 'Type' refers to the specific social context within which a text originates, and as such medical examinations, police interrogations, news reports and political speeches form different discourse types (ibid). 'Genre' or generic structure refers to the syntagmatic structure of a text and how the 'speech act' constituting the text provides it with purpose and meaning, such as a declaration of intention, a description, a positive or negative evaluation, or a prediction (van Leeuwen, 1993). 'Field' refers to the structure used in a text to describe and recontextualise social practice, that is, how the constituent elements involved in the subject matter of a text, such as participants and activities, are constructed and represented (ibid).

Understanding the structuring and prioritisation of discourses surrounding certain social conditions can help to explain the prevalence of certain voices and the absence of others in the news. For this reason, orders of discourse are an important feature of the HTF. hegemonic tolerance, I argue, is engendered by naturalising a discourse in which certain voices and positions are dominant and certain voices are subordinate, to the extent that the prevailing way of talking and thinking about a given subject includes certain qualities and excludes certain qualities. This can only be achieved through the strategic ordering of discourses - by pushing the dominant forms of meaning making - in this case, pro-monarchy voices - to the forefront, and pushing oppositional forms of meaning making - in this case, anti-monarchy voices - to the margins.

Key to understanding the role of power in determining the order of discourse surrounding a given topic is van Dijk's (1996) concept of discourse access. van Dijk (ibid) distinguishes between power understood as relations between groups, institutions and organisations, and 'social power', defined as "the control exercised by one group or organisation over the actions and/or the minds of the members of another group, thus limiting the freedom of action of the others, or influencing their knowledge, attitudes or ideologies" (ibid, p.84). Social power, he argues, is distributed in such a way as to give certain elite groups disproportionate control over certain discursive domains and communicative events. For instance, the preferential access to journalists defines who is most likely to be interviewed, quoted and described in news reports surrounding certain

subjects. Conversely, alternative views may tend to be relegated to comment pieces, or letters to the editor (*ibid*).

The consequences of disproportionate discourse access are that certain ideologies have a tendency to dominate the news, whilst alternative perspectives tend to be underrepresented. This is a fundamental feature of the HTF. Voices likely to be more sympathetic to the monarchy, in this case, such as political elites, experts and internal figures, tend to have preferential access to major channels of communication, such as the news. These voices and ideologies tend to be foregrounded as a result (see especially Chapter 8, section 8.2). Voices likely to be less sympathetic, on the other hand, such as those of republicans and political activists, do not have preferential access to these same channels. As such, whilst they are unlikely to be excluded entirely, these voices and ideologies tend to be backgrounded (see especially Chapter 8, section 8.3).

3.2 Hegemony

In this section I will introduce the notion of hegemony and critically discuss the prevailing arguments surrounding the concept. I draw from an interdisciplinary blend of sources in order to contextualise my ideas and demonstrate how the concept of hegemonic tolerance contributes to the wider debate surrounding hegemony and hegemonic control not only within the tradition of linguistics, but also media studies, sociology, and politics. In section 3.2.1, I define the concept of hegemony. In section 3.2.2, I discuss the notion of ‘spontaneous consent’ in relation to hegemonic tolerance and distinguish between these concepts. In section 3.2.3, I discuss the relationship between hegemony and discourse. Finally, in section 3.2.4, I critique the application of the concept of hegemony in the wider CDS literature.

3.2.1 Defining Hegemony

Hegemony refers to the preponderance of one idea or entity over another or others; a form of domination whereby ways of thinking and ways of doing are legitimised consensually through ideology, as opposed to coercively through violent forms of subjugation (Adamson, 1983). It is a key concept within Marxist social theory, and captures the Marxist interpretation of power, as dominance invisibilised through the entrenchment of Bourgeois

values, which are principally concerned with the protection of private property and the reproduction of the social class system (Therborn, 2008).

According to this Marxian interpretation of power, in a capitalist system capital is an historically acquired or inherited resource that is always disproportionately distributed, maintaining an asymmetrical society that, fundamentally, supports the continued dominance of ruling elites (Bourdieu, 2011). Capitalism indentures workers to waged labour, whilst the ruling class, the owners of the means of production, extract the surplus value of labour. Hegemony is the invisible strategy through which Bourgeois ideology spreads, manufacturing the compliance of workers through the creation of false needs and by convincing them to commit to the values that sustain their indenturement. This results in a pervasive reluctance to engage in revolutionary struggle. This is broadly what is meant by 'consent', in Marxist terms.

My concept of hegemonic tolerance has been adapted from Antonio Gramsci's (1947) concept of decadent hegemony. In his *Prison Notebooks*, Gramsci (1947) identified that the very literal struggle over material resources, the means of production, or the war of attack, was futile if the struggle over the war of position, or the struggle between ideas, was not first won by working people. However, in a decadent hegemony, he argued, it is difficult to gain ground in the war of position. As Willis and Chiasson (2007, p.216) explain:

In a decadent hegemony, the leadership has lost its ability to productively integrate the various groups, and is in decline. In this case, coercion may be used to hold onto power. But, power may also be preserved by a lack of an alternative language and vision in the subaltern groups.

Hegemonic tolerance, as I have argued, is achieved by sustaining this lack of an alternative language amongst subaltern groups - by limiting what is, and is not, featured in a prevailing discourse, and foregrounding voices and positions of approval, at the expense of alternatives - which is why I situate the theory within this particular conceptualisation of hegemonic power. Without a clearly developed means of articulating an alternative language and vision for the future, subaltern groups are unlikely to break free of hegemonic

tolerance, and, crucially, in a decadent hegemony the prevailing discourse prevents them from doing so (ibid).

Human rights and civil liberties won over the course of many years mean that (some) states can no longer trample the public underfoot without some form of domestic and international outcry. For this reason, the contemporary study of power has increasingly focused on the role of ideology in (re)producing dominance (van Dijk, 1995a). Gramsci established the centrality of hegemony in systems of power, and the concept is particularly significant to CDS because it provides a useful lens through which to understand the relationship between ideology and discourse. Importantly, the notion of assumed consent is a pivotal feature of this lens.

3.2.2 Consent & Tolerance

Gramsci's (1947) use of the term consent is notoriously vague, defined broadly as an implicit acceptance of the existing social order. He describes this form of consent as 'spontaneous', but it is often unclear if he intended this to be understood as an active choice to support the values of the ruling class because such values are considered to best serve the interests of the majority, or a passive subservience to incumbent social structures manifested through internalised ideologies. Althusser (1971) subscribed to this latter condition, describing it as the process of 'interpellation' - the unconscious internalisation of Bourgeois values via the ISA. Femia (1975, p.33) suggests that Gramsci's writings are largely consistent with this Althusserian understanding:

[Consent] emerges not so much because the masses profoundly regard the social order as an expression of their aspirations as because they lack the conceptual tools, the 'clear theoretical consciousness', which would enable them effectively to comprehend and act on their discontent

From this perspective, consent is understood as an implicit, passive phenomenon. However, this is somewhat contradicted by Gramsci's (1947, p.145) characterisation of consent as 'spontaneous', suggesting that it is voluntarily offered, as a consequence of a commitment to a value system:

The “spontaneous” consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is “historically” caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function.

Gramsci (ibid) imagines this spontaneous consent to operate alongside apparatuses of state coercive power. These apparatuses enforce discipline amongst non-consenting groups through legal channels - a feature perhaps expressed during the coronation demonstrations (see Chapter 1, section 1.1). Gramsci (ibid) describes the ‘spontaneity’ of this form of consent as having been formed through everyday experience and common sense; a popular and easily accessible way of understanding social reality that is instinctive, primitive and historically acquired.

Common sense is an important feature of Gramsci’s (1947) theory of hegemony. This refers to a form of popularised, uncritical, normative everyday thinking that provides us with frameworks through which to understand reality; an easily available form of knowledge that, crucially, contains ideological elements and assumptions, and is therefore key to understanding how we interpret discourse (Fairclough, 1989). What passes for common sense at any one time is fluid and connected to changes in wider society, but common sense may also contain traces of vestigial ideologies and historical prejudices. However, one cannot set out to eradicate common sense, because common sense will always exist in some form or another, and is not necessarily inherently ‘bad’. Fairclough (ibid, p.13) argues that instead, CDA critique should seek to identify the fundamental contradictions of common sense:

Normative critique can identify its contradictions, not in the forlorn hope of removing them (common sense without contradictions would not be common sense), but at least to try to differentiate the ‘good sense’ that Gramsci saw as one element of common sense from the rest.

What is and is not 'good sense' is contentious. However, there is a widely held assumption in CDS that discursive practices contribute to the shaping of commonsensical knowledge. Common sense is therefore a key element of a thesis of hegemonic tolerance. Common sense informs the interpretive frameworks through which discourses surrounding certain elements of social reality are processed. In other words, it is an extant framework of right and wrong, normal and abnormal, ordinary and extraordinary, familiar and alien, that may contain traces of hegemonic ideology. Crucially, this form of knowledge occupies a mutually constitutive relationship with discourse - discourse shapes common sense, and common sense both shapes discourse and is the lens through which discourse is interpreted. hegemonic tolerance, as an outcome of discourse practices, is therefore an outcome of the common sense assumptions underpinning the production and interpretation of discourse.

As Ciocchini and Khoury (2017, p.76) argue, the spontaneous consent described by Gramsci is achieved when "subaltern groups consider those values (and practices) to be in their interests, even though in practice the values of the dominant social group work against them". In other words, when those values and practices have become commonsensical. To 'consider' is an action, implying a degree of agency on the part of the consenter - in this case, members of the subaltern classes. Similarly, Gramsci (1947) described spontaneous consent as being 'given' by the subaltern classes, with the verb 'given' in this case implying a degree of agency. In this sense, Gramsci's understanding of consent seems to indicate an active, participatory activity - that which I have described in this thesis as a form of 'permission granted' - an 'act' of bestowing authority, underscored by the unconscious interpellation of Bourgeois values.

Hegemony then, according to this view, is achieved when a social contract of sorts is established between the dominant and the dominated, with the former bestowed implicit permission to rule. This social contract gives rise to spontaneous consent, or "consent "historically" caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function" (Gramsci, 1947, p.145). Where spontaneous consent has failed, coercive methods of control will be used to sustain hegemony.

One problem with this view, I argue, is that the notion of 'spontaneity' implies a degree of ideological commitment to the ruling value system. Gramsci adopted the Leninist belief that bourgeois ideology is ideally situated to impose itself on working people, because it has at its disposal multiple historically acquired methods of inculcation (Femia, 1975). The trouble with this view is that, in reality, human beings rarely exhibit absolute, unthinking commitment to a cause, or resistance to a cause. The 'spontaneity' of implied consent, in other words, seems fanciful, reductive, and insufficiently explained by historically acquired common sense. Another problem with this view is its contradictory reliance on, on the one hand, vague and untrustworthy notions of 'the unconscious', or 'false consciousness', and on the other hand, agreement or 'consent'. In other words, if agreement or consent arises only from the unconscious interpellation of Bourgeois values, then this is not really agreement or consent at all - on the contrary, there is little that is consensual about this transaction.

For these reasons, hegemonic tolerance does not anticipate or depend on spontaneity, nor does it anticipate or depend on any goings on in the immeasurable realm of the unconscious. The 'spontaneous' understanding of consent contrasts with my understanding of hegemonic tolerance, which, conversely, I have described as a form of 'permission taken for granted'. Hegemonic tolerance is a type of hegemony that, I argue, occurs when consent is not necessarily a prerequisite for dominance. It is in this sense that this thesis challenges the Gramscian interpretation of hegemony - spontaneous consent and hegemonic tolerance, I argue, are subtly different avenues through which hegemony might be achieved. Certain circumstances - such as the vestigial dominance of monarchy - do not require spontaneous consent or unconsciously internalised ideologies to maintain control. Rather, it is secured by discursively defanging dissent.

There are two principle differences between spontaneous consent and hegemonic tolerance. The first is directional. Spontaneous consent, which I describe as a form of 'permission granted', is mainly bottom-up - it is given, offered or conferred to the dominant, by the dominated. In other words, the act or behaviour of consent is exhibited from below, with little direct interference from above except where coercion is necessary to keep non-consenting groups under control; thus relying primarily on ideology to sustain this dynamic. Hegemonic tolerance, on the other hand, which I describe as a form of 'permission taken for

granted', is equally bottom-up and top-down - it is imposed from above by the dominant, and exhibited from below by the dominated. In essence, then, the act or behaviour of tolerance is exhibited from below, but only through interference from above; thus relying on direct control strategies such as the prioritisation of elite/tolerant ideologies in the news, alongside the policing of dissidence, in order to sustain this dynamic. In this sense, hegemonic tolerance restores a degree of agency to the concept of hegemony.

Herein lies the second principle difference between spontaneous consent and hegemonic tolerance. Perhaps, one of the more problematic aspects of the notion of 'spontaneous' consent is the implication that workers are passive dupes. With hegemonic tolerance, I attempt to avoid this trapping by relying less on the vague notion of assumed cognitive incapacity on the part of the dominated, as per Althusser (1971), and more on the various means through which the dominant exert their influence discursively from above, in order to prevent challenge from below. Gramsci's (1947) understanding of consent is characterised by a *lack of challenge* presented to the dominant - the dominated are, from this perspective, tricked by ideology and false consciousness. Hegemonic tolerance, on the other hand, is characterised by a *lack of capacity to challenge* - the dominated are not necessarily deceived by ideology or false consciousness, but are prevented from mounting an effective challenge to the dominant through discursive, or legal channels.

3.2.3 Hegemony & Discourse

Gramsci was amongst the first of these Marxist philosophers to highlight that it was no longer sufficient to view power as a simple oppression of one class by another, and that hegemonic power should not necessarily to be taken for granted (Hall, 1982). Instead, hegemony is best considered a negotiated phenomenon that inhabits both material realities and languages, and at any one time there are multiple hegemonies in conflict with one another. Gramsci's (1947) theory of hegemony was a response to the perceived inadequacies of Marxist theory at the time, and what he perceived to be an invisible barrier to the development of class consciousness amongst the subaltern classes of Italy. As put by Bates (1975, p.360), "the apathy and indifference of the masses to the appeals of the revolutionaries expressed for Gramsci the fact of their subordination, not only to the force of the state, but also to the worldview of the ruling class". The most important aspect of this

interpretation of power, for the purposes of CDA, is the way in which the focus shifted from material reality to culture - in other words, Gramsci identified that power could be negotiated not only through economic channels, but also through our everyday linguistic interaction and discourse.

Hegemony has since become a key concept in Marxism and Critical Theory, and by extension CDA research. The critical turn in Marxist theory, defined by an increased focus on language, highlights how ideologies are embedded in discourse and might be used to suppress and resist social change (Therborn, 2008). This is the intersection which marks the divide between Marxists and post-Marxists in terms of theory and practice - that is, the intersection at which ideas and reality collide. Whereas classical Marxist theory was concerned with material reality, post-Marxism concerned itself with discourse, or in other words, the discursive construction of reality. Gramsci played a key role in this shift, having identified that it is not only force with which one person, group, institution or state exerts control over another or others, but also with ideas (Bates 1975). Discourse is inherently ideological, and thus a major avenue through which ideas are disseminated.

Led by Max Horkheimer and Herbert Marcuse, the Frankfurt School became known for replacing the materialism of Marxism, or the focus on the material components of society and the struggle over material resources, with Critical Theory (Therborn, 2008). CDA borrows heavily from Critical Theory and is, as such, principally concerned with investigating ideological conflict in discourse. Therborn (*ibid*) refers to the body of work of a broad range of thinkers, from Gramsci and Lukacs, to Horkheimer and Marcuse, to Althusser, Adorno and Sartre, that pioneered this change in perspective of analytical inquiry, as Western Marxism, defined as “a politically autonomous Marxist trend of thought in the advanced capitalist countries after the October Revolution” (*ibid*, p.84). This philosophical shift emerged during the interwar period in response to international developments and the perceived inadequacies of traditional Marxist theory in understanding the resilience of capitalism and the resistance of the proletariat to achieving class consciousness. This shift is described thusly by Ives (2006, p. 455):

Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe attempted to save the concept of ‘hegemony’ from its economistic and essentialist Marxist roots by incorporating the

linguistic influences of post-structuralist theory. Their major Marxist detractors criticise their trajectory as a 'descent into discourse' – a decay from well-grounded, material reality into the idealistic and problematic realm of language and discourse. Both sides of the debate seem to agree on one thing: the line from Marxism to post-Marxism is the line from the economy to language, from 'reality' to discourse.

The critical turn emphasised that in order to critique the complexities that reproduce the inequities of modern capitalism, or neoliberalism, one had to look at how control is exerted discursively and ideologically. Althusser's (1971) distinction between the RSA and the ISA is one such critique that followed, a mode of control that may be exerted through a variety of channels, such as the news media, advertising, television entertainment, social media or government communications. Another is attributed to Horkheimer and Adorno (1944), who offer an account of how modern capitalism has adapted to protect itself from dismantlement, and thereby sustain asymmetrical power relations, by producing pop culture (film, music, television, magazines etc.) as a means of placating the masses and constructing ideo-environmental constraints that puts them into a position of dependency on the consumption of material goods based on false needs.

Whereas Gramsci established the concept of hegemony, the Frankfurt School and its adherents refined it and gave it trans-national, and trans-societal applicability. Meanwhile, the ascendancy of the Frankfurt School and Critical Theory aligned with the shift from Marxism and the focus on material reality to post-Marxism, and the focus on ideas and discourse. This development of human ideas, in turn, paved the way for a variety of new pathways of academic enquiry, including CDA.

News discourse tends to reflect the prevailing way of interpreting reality - the hegemonic ideology - and thus shapes and legitimises commonsensical notions of right and wrong, ordinary and extraordinary, and acceptable and unacceptable courses of action. News discourse can therefore be considered a pivotal avenue of legitimation through which hegemony might be achieved. For this reason, news discourse is a common site of investigation in CDS. News discourse is viewed as a powerful channel of communication through which certain ways of thinking and doing are clandestinely conventionalised. One way in which this is achieved is by ostracising, and constructing as unnatural by contrast,

alternative ways of thinking and doing; especially alternative ways of thinking and doing that threaten the established social order (Williams & Taylor, 1993).

Whilst news organisations are not necessarily beholden to the whims of elites, many are conservative and resistant to change, and are thus prone to promoting ideas that reproduce the existing social hierarchy, and sidelining ideas that challenge it (van Dijk, 2009). The HTF anticipates that counter hegemonic discourses will thus tend to be backgrounded within orders of discourse in the news surrounding certain social conditions, and therefore limited in their transformational capacity. This does not presuppose the exclusion of oppositional discourses or censorious representation of elite groups. Rather, it anticipates that counter hegemonic discourses - such as, in this case, republican or republican-adjacent discourses - will feature only marginally, such that they occupy the fringes of debate. Republicanism in Britain has failed to gain the traction one would perhaps expect, especially in light of recent events such as the Andrew-Virginia saga. Whilst there are multiple, complex explanations for why this may be, this study is intended to illuminate the role of discourse in particular. With the HTF, I demonstrate how the capacity to challenge certain social conditions - in this case, the dominance of the British monarchy - is compressed, making it difficult for an alternative language to develop.

3.2.4 Hegemony & CDA

Some critics point to the uncritical way in which the concept of hegemony has been co-opted in CDA and other disciplines. For instance, Saccarelli (2020, p.179) argues that “one might say that the concept has itself attained hegemonic status, insofar as it would be difficult to find anyone today who disagrees with its crucial place in the vocabulary and thinking of the left”. Indeed, in CDS there is a sense that hegemony is often taken as a given, rather than being unpacked and analysed as a feature of language in and of itself. This thesis presents an attempt at ameliorating this issue by explaining in specific linguistic terms how hegemony might be achieved discursively.

Donoghue (2018) argues that the relatively perfunctory way in which Gramscian theory has been co-opted by CDA practitioners over the years leaves much to be desired, and that engaging with his ideas beyond the surface level could lead to the development of a genuinely emancipatory CDA, and not just a CDA that points out inequalities. Gramscian

concepts such as hegemony and common sense have the capacity to enhance CDA, particularly in regard to providing insight into how discourses serve to legitimise and sustain asymmetrical power relations between groups. By demonstrating how voices surrounding, in this case, the institution of monarchy, are promoted or demoted in news discourse, I attempt to do this emancipatory work by highlighting practices that prioritise particular ideologies over others, and thus have dominant-sustaining, and disempowering effects.

According to Fairclough (1989), hegemony is an integral component of CDA. Indeed, a common critique of contemporary studies of hegemony, particularly in the field of discourse studies, concerns the hegemonic status of hegemony amongst CDA practitioners (Donoghue, 2018). As Fairclough puts it (1992a, p.91-92):

The concept of hegemony, which is the centrepiece of Gramsci's analysis of Western capitalism and revolutionary strategy in Western Europe (Gramsci 1971; Buci-Glucksmann 1980) harmonizes with the view of discourse I have been advocating, and provides a way of theorizing change in relation to the evolution of power relations which allows a particular focus upon discursive change, but at the same time a way of seeing it as contributing to and being shaped by wider processes of change.

It is often taken for granted that the negotiation of discourse necessitates the negotiation, or struggle between, hegemonies, with little detailed examination of how hegemony is constructed linguistically (Donoghue, 2018). Yacoumis' (2018) study of news media discourses surrounding sustainable development typifies this loose application in CDS. Proceeding from the idea that news is a site in which hegemony may be reproduced, the study uses CDA to investigate news texts published between 2004-2013 across the eight most widely circulated newspapers in Australia. It is argued in the paper that sustainable development news is confined to a narrow range of discourses that perpetuate the status quo and legitimise dominant ecological narratives. Yacoumis (ibid, p. 842) interprets hegemony in the typical Gramscian sense, as "the process by which ruling elites secure consent to the established political order through the production and diffusion of meanings and values". However, hegemony is not investigated in linguistic terms - it is merely

assumed that the inclusion and exclusion of certain elements in news texts produces hegemony.

The paper does, however, highlight an important feature of mass media news reporting, which is the tendency for journalists to prioritise authoritative sources from dominant institutions including government and business as an approximation of news objectivity (ibid). This predisposes news organisations to reproduce dominant discourses on key issues. For instance, in the data for the Yacoumis (ibid) study, business and political figures constituted 72.6% of sources used by journalists in the sample, whereas nongovernmental organisations and activists were comparatively sidelined. That dissenting views and community voices were largely relegated to letters and opinion pieces lends credence to the thesis that news organisations play a role in marginalising disruptive perspectives (see especially Chapter 8, section 8.3). This significantly connects with the concept of primary definition popularised by Hall (*et al*, 1978) (see Chapter 2, section 2.4).

Montessori's (2011) paper concerning ideological conflict between the Mexican government and the EZLN makes a more concerted attempt to identify and explain hegemonic struggle in language. Montessori puts forward a theoretical, methodological analytical framework designed to analyse hegemonic operations in discourses surrounding the conflict. Montessori argues that the Discourse Theory (DT) developed by Laclau and Mouffe (1985) augments CDA by providing it with a narrative on hegemony that CDA has historically lacked. However, it is unclear how, in practical terms, the integration of DT and CDA brings us any closer to understanding the specific conditions under which hegemony is produced in language. The study largely adheres to the typical Faircloughian (1989) three-dimensional model of CDA. The results of each dimensional analysis are then related to aspects of DT.

Whilst this particular combination of concepts does offer an original perspective, the CDA/DT model stops short of demonstrating in specific linguistic terms how hegemony is constructed. Indeed, Montessori (ibid) admits that DT lacks an instrumental and operational methodology to analyse discourse, and this is used to justify the combination of DT with CDA. However, CDA is an approach to the study of language rather than a methodology; practitioners employ a variety of methodological tools in order to achieve their aims. Consequently, Montessori (ibid) presents an astute and compelling narrative analysis of the

ideological conflict between the Mexican government and the EZLN - the *what* - without providing insight into the specific strategies and mechanisms underscoring the language that produce hegemony - the *how*.

Addressing the *how* of hegemony is, surely, an important step towards understanding appropriate courses of action towards addressing it. This is what the HTF is designed to achieve. I examine the specific discursive strategies that produce hegemony, or more specifically, the specific discursive strategies that produce what I term hegemonic tolerance, which itself is conceived as a form of hegemony that, effectively, renders consent redundant through various control mechanisms. I explain in specific, linguistic terms how these mechanisms are manifested in the language of news texts (see Chapters 6, 7, and 8).

3.3 Models of Significance

My construction of hegemonic tolerance as a type of hegemonic power gives shape to an idea that is implicit in a number of studies of hegemony. Yacoumis (2018, p.849), for instance, suggests that by foregrounding hegemonic discourses, news organisations insulate readers from the minutiae of issues, and that this “dampens the desire for further civic engagement or political deliberation”.

Fairclough and Fairclough (2013), similarly, hint towards my understanding of the term tolerance in their paper concerning a public debate surrounding banker’s bonuses, held in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crash. Their study focuses upon prudential and moral reasoning underpinning argumentation and, vitally, the analysis of community comments surrounding the debate specifically highlights tolerance as an explicit, prudential argument amongst those in favour of ‘tolerating’ banker’s bonuses, taking the form of a ‘trickle down’ defence of inequality (ibid).

However, neither of these studies go as far as to concretise tolerance as a legitimate and unique form of hegemony warranting further investigation. In this section I outline three specific, established theoretical models that have influenced the HTF (explained in detail in Chapter 4), which work towards shaping an understanding of tolerance in other names - the ‘Overton window’ (Robertson, 2018), the ‘propaganda model’ (Chomsky & Herman, 1988), and ‘sanctioned discourse’ (Trottier, 1999).

The HTF presents a ‘bringing together’ of this space of non-consensual domination, serving to join these disparate ideas together in a novel linguistically-oriented framework for analysing the discursive construction of hegemonic tolerance. Crucially, I will argue that none of the three models outlined go far enough in explaining how hegemony is constructed in news discourse. As such, I position the HTF as a unique operationalisation of these theories and of my own theory of hegemonic tolerance, that in turn highlights the hitherto neglected concept of hegemony that is achieved without the need for producing implicit or explicit consent.

3.3.1 Overton Window

The ‘Overton window’ theory has its roots in the work of American policy analyst Joseph Overton. Overton positioned himself ideologically on the American conservative right, was a libertarian and also free market enthusiast associated with the public policy think tank the Mackinac Centre. As such, this particular model is notable for being popularised by, and popular amongst, thinkers, policy makers and populist figures (such as Donald Trump) who position themselves on the political right.

The overarching idea of the Overton window is that the discourse of any official political landscape is defined by two arenas - the first is the Overton window, that is, a small range of acceptable and palatable policies that political actors can comfortably support without drawing scorn. The second arena relates to all that lies outside this window of discourse - ideas, policies, language likely to raise concern, cause offence, and ultimately decrease the likelihood of adherents being elected to political office (Robertson, 2018). Positioning oneself within the range of politically acceptable policies - the Overton window - is not necessarily seen as a negative. On the contrary, it is seen as desirable. It is actively encouraged that proponents remain safely within this theoretical window of political acceptability, and it is hard to argue with this pragmatic logic in terms of political success. In reverse order of attractiveness, proponents of this model have suggested there are six types of policy - unthinkable, radical, acceptable, sensible, popular and policy (Robertson, 2018). The Overton window of discourse includes only the latter four types.

This theory is significantly related to the construction of hegemonic tolerance in news discourse because it has been openly embraced by political elites. Political elites have

disproportionate discourse access, meaning that their voices tend to be dominant in the news. If, amongst such groups, it is considered desirable to restrict political discussion to that which is considered 'acceptable', 'sensible', 'popular' or is 'policy', and to exclude from political discussion that which is considered 'unthinkable' or 'radical', it seems reasonable to suggest that certain voices and ideas are likely to be marginalised as a consequence. For example, in the case of the British monarchy, we know that parliamentary etiquette restricts what can and cannot be said (see Chapter 1, section 1.1). Moreover, we know that press organisations occupy a unique symbiotic relationship with the monarchy, insofar as certain royals are able to exert a degree of influence over what is and is not printed, and exchange information in return for a degree of privacy (see Chapter 4, section 4.2.1). This constructs an Overton window of discourse surrounding the monarchy, that accentuates voices and ideas that sit comfortably within this window - such as those of political elites, insiders, and sympathisers - and compresses those that are external to the window - such as republicans or abolitionists. This isn't the case for all royals, of course - hence Harry's legal battles with *Mirror Group* newspapers (Minelle, 2024) - suggesting that, perhaps, only certain, agreeable royal actors can depend on this privileged access to - and control over - the Overton window of news discourse.

3.3.2 Propaganda Model

The 'propaganda model' is a theory of news production and filtration put forward by Chomsky and Herman (1988) in their book *Manufacturing Consent*. In their study of the political economy of mass media they outline the propaganda model, which contributed in no small degree to establishing arguments surrounding the influence of capital over news production. They argue that in authoritarian states, the coercive role of news media is clear, whilst it is much harder to identify in nations without formal state censorship and where news organisations are privately owned and operated.

The model "focuses on inequality of wealth and power and its multilevel effects on mass-media interests and choices" (Chomsky & Herman, 1988, p.2). The propaganda model is relevant to the HTF because it similarly attempts to explain how and why news discourse might manipulate public opinion about given topics. However, I would contend that the propaganda model is best suited to explaining how capital interferes in the production of

news, as a study of political economy, while the HTF is better suited to explaining how linguistic nuances in news discourse may influence our experience of reality.

The propaganda model consists of five filters that influence news discourse. The first is the size, ownership and profit-orientation of the mass media, the second is reliance upon advertisement revenue, the third is reliance on 'official' sources for news, the fourth is 'flak' or the likelihood of recrimination for overstepping, and the fifth and final filter is anti-communism as a control mechanism (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). These elements of news production might otherwise be referred to as discourse practice - in other words, a key dimension of Fairclough's (1989) three-dimensional model of CDA. They pertain, in other words, to how processes of production, distribution and consumption of news discourse influence meaning.

There is therefore a fairly clear intellectual synergy between the propaganda model and CDA as an approach to the study of how news discourse is constructed. According to Chomsky and Herman (1988), the five filters of news production, and the dichotomisation of 'worthy and unworthy victims', are the significant politico-ideological strategies that manufacture consent and legitimise the pursuit of American capitalism. The notion of dichotomising 'worthy and unworthy victims' in the news is particularly resonant with CDA research, because it echoes van Dijk (1989a), Reisigl and Wodak's (2001) arguments surrounding the significance of constructing the positive 'self' and the negative 'other' as an exclusionary strategy.

The propaganda model has been revisited in scholarly debate a number of times over the years (Mullen, 2010), and is not without its critics. For instance, much of the scholarship of the model was produced decades ago, and reflects the traditional print and television news media structure of its time, rather than the complexities of contemporary, digital journalism (DiMaggio, 2022). It has also been dismissed as a conspiracy theory, despite the fact that at the outset of *Manufacturing Consent*, the authors predicted this critique, and clearly signpost the status of the model as a 'free market analysis' of how the workings of market forces shape news media (Klaen, 2003). That the results presented in *Manufacturing Consent* (1988) are the outcome of the workings of market forces does not, however, insulate the model from critique. The structural critique inherent to the model belies a political-positional understanding of social conditions based on an ethical critique of

neoliberalism. In essence, the propaganda model presents a simplified version of hypercomplex reality. However, whilst there are perhaps variables that the propaganda model fails to account for, either deliberately or otherwise, it remains a persuasive analysis of the political economy of mass media.

A common current amidst criticism of the propaganda model (Collier & Horowitz, 2004) is that it implies that news organisations and journalists are, to a degree, in cahoots with an elite cabal of powerful interest groups. The problem with this argument is that, in fact, nowhere in *Manufacturing Consent* (1988) do the writers suggest this. As per Klaehn (2003, p.361), “the propaganda model does not assume that media personnel routinely make conscious decisions to align themselves with the interests of elites.” Instead, the propaganda model suggests that as a result of market forces, news organisations are compelled to adapt their production techniques in such a way as to produce news that fits in with the elite consensus. This fits in with my arguments surrounding hegemonic tolerance, because rather than focusing on vague, immeasurable notions of unconscious, ideological consensus, the HTF focuses on pressures from above that discursively restrict the capacity to effectively challenge the dominant.

There are clear parallels between the propaganda model and the HTF. However, the propaganda model is rooted in political economy, focusing primarily on news production, whereas the HTF is rooted in CDA, and thus concurrently considers processes of news production, distribution, and consumption, and how linguistic choices reflect politico-ideological agendas. The HTF and the propaganda model centre on different aspects of news discourse, but refer to many similar aspects with different orders of importance. Similarly, both models are aligned in arguing the case that there are certain suppressive influences and constraints that serve to protect the interests of an elite minority, and result in many voices going unheard in the news. With the HTF, I aim to contribute to the wider debate surrounding the dialectical relationship between journalism, text, audience and social structure (Richardson, 2008).

3.3.3 Sanctioned Discourse

Pioneered by a range of scholars researching the discourse of hydropolitics, the concept of sanctioned discourse was developed by Charles Tripp at the School of Oriental and African

Studies (Trottier, 1999). Trottier (*ibid*, p.171) defines a sanctioned discourse as “a normative vision in which the thought process of an analyst or a political actor is locked, a sort of largely ethical paradigm that determines the hypotheses we can put out and the questions we can ask.”

The sanctioned discourse is hegemonic because it is legitimised by a cultural elite within a given discursive realm; the hegemonic status of that discourse creates a dominant way of thinking reflected within who can and cannot speak authoritatively on the subject and what can and cannot be said (Turton, 2000). The concept is employed broadly by its progenitors (Trottier, 1999; Turton, 2000; Jagerskog, 2002) as a structural critique of the constraints surrounding global hydropolitical discourse.

The establishment of the dominance of the sanctioned discourse coincides with the parallelised engendering of prohibited discourses. As argued by Jagerskog (2002), once the sanctioned discourse achieves dominance in a society over a given topic, policy and debate is constrained by its limitations, and it can thus become difficult for counter hegemonies to be afforded equal space. Jagerskog (*ibid*) links the concept to Thomas Kuhn’s concept of Paradigm and Paradigmatic Shifts; mutable scientific ways of thinking that, despite evolving and changing over time, tend to be presented as the only way of thinking and speaking about a given subject (Wray, 2010).

Brethaut (2021) takes this concept a step further by distinguishing between four different overlapping typologies of discourse that are pervasive amidst discussions surrounding global hydropolitics: dominant, institutionalised, hegemonic, and sanctioned. These typologies are adapted from Haajer’s (1995) discursive approach to environmental policy analysis. According to Brethaut (2021), the dominant discourse is one that structures our understanding and articulation of a particular issue by providing us with necessary concepts or categories; the institutionalised discourse materialises in important societal and governmental institutions and is thus commonly expressed through policy frameworks; the hegemonic discourse is both dominant and institutionalised; the sanctioned discourse is the discourse explicitly or implicitly endorsed and legitimised by a power elite.

There are a number of parallels that can be drawn between this conceptual framework and the HTF. I interpret the dominant discourse in terms of common sense. The dominant discourse surrounding the British monarchy resides in a historically acquired,

popular way of thinking and talking that is relatively unresistant. Meanwhile, the institutionalised discourse is quite clearly expressed through political speech, such as conventionalised parliamentary etiquette (see Chapter 1, section 1.1.2), as well as through social policy, such as the (atypically) coercive police response to a recent republican demonstration during Charles's coronation (Durbin & Sandford, 2023). It is fairly evident that the dominant discourse is reflected by the institutionalised discourse, which according to Brethaut (2021), are the necessary conditions for the hegemonic discourse. However, the boundary between the hegemonic discourse and the sanctioned discourse is fuzzy. There is little to distinguish between the two because the hegemonic discourse, in this case, is popularly expressed, endorsed and legitimised explicitly and implicitly by the power elite, and is therefore also the sanctioned discourse.

Brethaut (ibid, p.469) suggests that their conceptual framework is inspired by CDA, whereby "analysis begins with exploring the variety of discourses engaged in representing the basin's hydropolitical reality at a given moment and ends with investigating how prevailing discourses lead to policies and practices." However, there is no linguistic dimension to this conceptual framework; discourse is understood only in terms of structures and practices, rather than in terms of language choices and properties, and the ideologies underpinning them.

3.4 Philosophy of Praxis

Each of the models of significance I have critiqued in section 3.3 have in some way influenced the HTF and provided it with a useful theoretical anchoring point. There are similarities and subtle differences between all three. Both the propaganda model and the concept of sanctioned discourse are problem oriented, in that they highlight the hegemony of certain ideas, beliefs and courses of action. The Overton window theory, on the other hand, is presented as a Machiavellian political tool to be used as a gauge of policy popularity. A commonality shared by all three models is that each hint towards an invisible boundary between permissible, and prohibited features in discourse.

What none of these models achieve is to demonstrate how this boundary is delineated, in terms of the specifics of language use. The HTF adapts these models and operationalises the analysis of how hegemony is constructed in news discourse. The

framework demonstrates in linguistic terms how actors, ideas, beliefs, and courses of action are foregrounded, backgrounded, or excluded in news and the role this plays in producing hegemonic tolerance. The models described above lack the linguistic lens necessary to explicate how certain discourses may become sanctionable whilst others are excluded. That is, the specific linguistic and grammatical choices that produce hegemonic discourse. This pertains to what actors are named, and how they are named; to what actions are being performed, what actors are performing them, and what actors are undergoing them; to what information is included and what information is excluded; to the evaluative language that is employed. These are some of the questions that the HTF asks of a text, because these are the linguistic nuances that may conceal the ideological components of hegemonic tolerance. In doing so, it is my intention to bridge the gap between tolerance and hegemony.

The next chapter situates the HTF within extant concepts and approaches to the study of discourse, and unpacks its main components. As such, Chapter 3 serves as a second (targetted) review of literature, looking specifically at the processes, strategies, and devices that form the core assumptions of the HTF. Chapter 4 is my methods chapter, and is entitled Praxis in reference to Gramsci's (1947) philosophy of praxis, which refers broadly to the necessary combination of practice and theory, or in other words, the principle of striving not only to interpret the world but to change it. Fairclough (1989) adopts the term praxis to describe the transformative human action that is the ultimate end-point of CDA - in other words, the use of CDA to develop persuasive arguments with which to equip movements for positive social change. This, Fairclough (ibid) argues, is how CDA practitioners are able to address the disjuncture between CDA as a theoretical approach to the study of language and the practical application of the results of CDA. I will posit that hegemonic tolerance describes a hitherto neglected relationship between discourse, hegemony and tolerance (Theory), and accordingly present the HTF as a lens through which to identify and evidence how this is manifested linguistically, and how a case for change (Praxis) may be presented.

Chapter 4 - The Hegemonic Tolerance Framework

In this chapter I formally introduce the HTF as an analytical framework and methodological contribution. First, I discuss the established discourse-analytical approaches that have inspired the HTF. Here, I explain how the HTF adapts and synthesises specific features from different discourse-analytical models in order to achieve specific goals. Following this section, I conceptualise the social dimension of the HTF. Here, I outline a theoretical understanding of structures of power through which hegemonic tolerance is enabled. Next, I conceptualise the discursive dimension of the HTF. Specifically, I set out specific discursive practices through which, I argue, hegemonic tolerance is constructed. Finally, I conclude this section with an outline of how these discursive practices are expected to be manifested textually. Here, I describe the specific linguistic devices through which, I argue, hegemonic tolerance is formally actualised.

4.1 Adapting Approaches to CDA

There are a wide variety of different approaches to 'doing' CDA that differ in some ways and overlap in others (Catalano & Waugh, 2020a). The HTF is a lens through which to identify the construction of hegemonic tolerance in discourse that is adapted from, and thus indebted to, two CDA approaches in particular. In this section I will outline Wodak's (2001b) discourse-historical approach, and Fairclough's (1989) three-dimensional model of CDA, and explain how elements of each have inspired and come to be embedded within the HTF.

4.1.1 Discourse-Historical Approach

The discourse-historical approach is an approach to CDA pioneered by Reisigl and Wodak (2001). The discourse-historical approach is, like many CDA approaches, rooted in the political-philosophical outlook of Critical Theory. However, unlike other established approaches (i.e. Fairclough, 1989), the discourse-historical approach is not concerned with evaluating 'right' from 'wrong', and espouses the principle of triangulation as a means of accounting for the complexities of discourse (Wodak, 2001b). A core assumption of the discourse-historical approach is that discriminatory ideologies are reproduced discursively

through various exclusionary mechanisms (ibid). It is thus an appropriate model from which to draw in order to understand how hegemonic tolerance might be constructed in news discourse, given that this theory concerns subtleties by which disapproving voices, positions, features, and ideologies are made peripheral.

The discourse-historical approach offers three entry points into the social critique of discourse - 'immanent', 'socio-diagnostic' and 'prognostic' - focusing on four levels of context - textual, intertextual and interdiscursive, extralinguistic, and historical. Immanent critique concerns the textual conditions themselves, or inconsistencies and contradictions in text-internal structures. Socio-diagnostic critique concerns the persuasive or manipulative character of certain discursive practices. Prognostic critique argues for change on the basis of the discriminatory or otherwise malignant practices uncovered during the immanent and socio-diagnostic stages of critique (Wodak, 2001b).

The discourse-historical approach distinguishes between 'objectives', 'strategies' and 'devices' as key components requiring investigation in the analysis of a text (Wodak, 2001b). 'Objectives' refer to the general contents and topics of a discourse, or in other words what, from the perspective of the analyst, a text is designed to achieve. 'Strategies' refer more abstractly to the discursive strategies that achieve the objectives of a text. Finally, 'devices' refer to how these strategies are manifested in a text through linguistic means and context-dependent linguistic realisations.

Unlike some approaches in CDA (Fairclough, 1989), instead of identifying emergent discourse strategies, the discourse-historical approach involves predefined, *a priori* categories of analysis. Reisigl and Wodak (2001) orient themselves to five strategies in particular amongst many rhetorical possibilities - 'nomination', 'predication', 'argumentation', 'perspectivisation' and 'intensification or mitigation'. Their justification for heuristically orienting themselves to these five discourse strategies is that each pertains to the presentation of the positive 'self' and the negative 'other'. In their view, the discursive construction of 'us' and 'them' are the basic elements of discourses of identity and difference. Thus, these five categories are considered salient entry points from which to investigate the discursive construction of discrimination.

4.1.2 Three-Dimensional Model

Fairclough's (1989) three-dimensional model has some overlap with the discourse-historical approach. It is similarly underscored by the political-philosophical outlook espoused by Critical Theory, for example. Both are concerned with the identification of social problems with a semiotic element, and the normative critique of discourses surrounding this particular problem. Where the three-dimensional model differs from the discourse-historical approach is in its positioning of the practitioner and of the end goals of CDA.

The three-dimensional model embeds the analysis of discourse with the Critical Linguistic notion of language as a social practice, dialectical reasoning, and the tenets of Gramsci's (1947) praxis. CDA, Fairclough (1989) argues, should begin with a normative critique of discourse, end with an explanatory critique of elements of social reality, and provide evidence with which to transform those elements. In the third edition of *Language and Power* (2015), Fairclough contends that the discourse-historical approach, and some other approaches to CDA, largely ignore the function of ideology, and provide only a normative critique of discourse without explaining the social conditions that give rise to the discourse. Consequently, such approaches provide only normative critique of the discourse under investigation, and not the social conditions underpinning the discourse. This means that the discourse-historical approach, for example, only argues for changes in discourse, and not changes in society - the three-dimensional model addresses this by providing not only normative critique of discourse, but also explanatory critique of the social determination of discourses and the wider social implications of their characteristics.

The three-dimensional model is concerned with the relationship between texts (text practice), interactions (discourse practice) and contexts (social practice). Each of these dimensions, in turn, pertain to a different stage of CDA and to a different form of critique or analysis - respectively, 'description', 'interpretation' and 'explanation'. 'Description' concerns the linguistic features of a text, such as vocabulary, grammar, and structure. 'Interpretation' considers how the production, distribution and consumption of a text provides it with meaning. 'Explanation' accounts for the social, cultural, and political contexts that influenced the conditions uncovered during the descriptive and interpretive stages. The explanatory objective of CDA is to portray a particular discourse as part of a

social process, determined by social structures, that has sustaining, or transformative effects (Fairclough, 1989).

Fairclough (ibid) outlines ten questions to ask of a text during the first, descriptive stage of analysis. Four concerning vocabulary, four concerning grammar, and two concerning textual structures. According to the three-dimensional model, vocabulary and grammar are analysed principally in terms of the experiential, relational, and expressive value of words and grammatical features. Words carry experiential value if they contain traces of experiences of reality, relational value if they carry traces of social relationships, and expressive value if they carry traces of evaluative stance. Alongside the analysis of these three values, the descriptive stage also considers metaphors employed in a text, syntactic and structural features. Although Fairclough (ibid) makes no explicit mention of the link in *Language and Power* given the implicit influence of SFL in CDS, the three values he discusses pertain to the experiential, interpersonal and textual metafunctions of language (Halliday, 1985). Indeed, the ten questions the three-dimensional model asks of a text use Halliday's (1985) grammatical resources for metafunctional meaning as a basis - lexicalisation, patterns of transitivity, active and passive voice, nominalisation, choices of mood, choices of modality or polarity, thematic structure, information focus and cohesion devices (Janks, 1997).

The three-dimensional model is a useful approach to the study of discourse because it provides multiple, mutually explanatory entry points of analysis pertaining to three interdependent dimensions of discourse; text practice, discourse practice and social practice (ibid). Fairclough's (1989) approach is inspired because it demonstrates the non-linearity and messiness of discourse analysis, and how understanding discourse means understanding the mutually constituted relationship between texts, discourse and society. Each dimension of discourse is intended to be analysed simultaneously, rather than sequentially, in order to fully consider the interrelated and mutually constitutive relationships between text, discourse, and society.

The main persuasive power of the three-dimensional model is in its distinction between the three dimensions of discourse that highlight the mutually constitutive relationship between discourse and society. However, the three-dimensional model does not necessarily make other approaches to CDA redundant. Fairclough's (ibid) critique of the

discourse-historical approach, for instance, as ‘unpolitical’ and dismissive of the function of ideology, does not stand up to scrutiny. Indeed, the socio-diagnostic critique stage of the discourse-historical approach explicitly considers ideology as a determiner of persuasive and manipulative discursive practices (Wodak, 2001b). Meanwhile, Fairclough’s (1989) notion of expressive value can be substituted for other scholarly models that have emerged since, including Martin and White’s (2005) ‘*appraisal theory*’ (see Chapter 5, section 5.3.3), which arguably provides a much more nuanced approach towards uncovering, and understanding the inscription of evaluative stance in texts.

4.1.3 Synthesis

The HTF synthesises elements of the discourse-historical approach, and the three-dimensional model, with the explicit aim of uncovering nuances that build towards hegemonic tolerance. Namely, the discourse-historical approach provides the HTF with the useful distinction of a priori objectives, strategies, and devices. This equips the HTF with three core assumptions. The first assumption is that the ‘objective’ of text/s under investigation is engendering hegemonic tolerance. The second assumption is that this objective is achieved through three dichotomous ‘strategies’ (see section 4.3). The third assumption is that these strategies are materialised through three linguistic ‘devices’ (see section 4.4). The three-dimensional model, meanwhile, provides the HTF with three non-sequential levels of mutually constitutive context, and three analytical entry points. The textual context is investigated in terms of three ‘linguistic devices’ (see section 4.4). This addresses the ‘description’ dimension of analysis. The discourse context is investigated in terms of three scalar ‘discourse strategies’ (see section 4.3). This addresses the ‘interpretation’ dimension of analysis. The social context is broadly understood in terms of ‘power structures’ (see section 4.2). This addresses the ‘explanation’ dimension of analysis. In the following sections, I outline these three core criteria of the HTF - power structures, discourse strategies, and linguistic devices - in detail.

4.2 Power Structures

I argue that hegemonic tolerance is enabled, in part, by what I term *laissez-faire power structures* that come to be reflected in discourse. This describes structures - understood as

circumstances in the social world that have (disproportionate) constraining/enabling effects on human action (Jessop & Morgan, 2022) - that immunise particular conditions from critical scrutiny. Laissez-faire is a term borrowed from French that translates as 'allow to do' (Merriam-Webster, No date), and is typically associated with deregulated capitalism and proponents of Adam Smith's philosophy of the guiding 'invisible hand' of market forces (Denis, 2004). Proponents of laissez-faire capitalism, such as the objectivist philosopher Ayn Rand (1964), argue that rational self-interest or egoism is a virtuous and ethical human pursuit that should be unmolested by government interference in consequence. I repurpose the term to describe power structures that operate outside of the boundaries of consent, or in other words, unchallenged or inscrutable structures of domination. I use the laissez-faire metaphor in particular because it seems an appropriate descriptor for how certain groups appear to dominate. That is, without interference or with minimal interference, and perhaps buttressed by certain, often concealed forces with aligned interests. The institution of monarchy serves the unique ideological function of normalising socioeconomic hierarchy (Clancy, 2021). One way in which this function might be maintained is by insulating it from critique discursively.

I refer to laissez-faire power structures rather than laissez-faire power, because whereas power is an outcome, power structures enable the processes that produce this outcome (Sayer, 2012; Jessop, 2005). The power wielded by certain groups, or in other words the power to be and do or not be and not do certain things in certain ways, is an acquired resource, and exists only by virtue of the underlying structures and processes that enable it. This is particularly true of late-stage capitalism, in which money and power are very closely intertwined. This is why Sayer (2012) uses the example of land ownership to explain the model - being able to charge rent is a form of power that is an outcome of a variety of structural preconditions and processes, and access to this form of power is not guaranteed for everybody.

The same is true of discourse, because access to discourse is disproportionate (van Dijk, 1996). Certain actors and groups, such as political elites, wield preferential access to powerful channels of communication, such as the news. This was laid bare in the first phase of the Leveson Inquiry (Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2012), designed to investigate the culture, practices and ethics of the press in the wake of the News

International phone hacking scandal. The report found press-parliament relationships to be 'too close', presenting a serious conflict of interest, and concluding that political actors had sought "to control (if not manipulate) the supply of news and information to the public in return for expected or hoped-for favourable treatment by sections of the press" (3.7, p.1439). The strategic alliances and policies that form around these relations mean that certain news discourses may take on certain qualities that reflect certain interests, including maintaining the ideological function of the institution of monarchy. I argue that through laissez-faire power structures, the necessary conditions for hegemonic tolerance to develop are established.

This theory is based on an understanding of power - the capacity to dominate - as an acquired outcome of structures of power - a relationship of forces with overlapping, co-constitutive interests. In his study of the modern capitalist state, Jessop (1999) establishes this distinction with the 'strategic-relational approach' to structure and agency. Jessop (ibid) argues that the state is best described as a social relation and 'an institutional ensemble' that cannot directly exercise power. Instead, to study state power one should consider the various potential structures of power or, in other words, state capacities that comprise this institutional ensemble. The power centres that comprise the ensemble, Jessop (ibid) argues, offer disproportionate access to different capacities for power, to actors within and outside the state and for different purposes. The actualisation of these structures of and therefore capacities for power is contingent on the agency of specific actors or groups of actors located within specific power centres at specific levels within the institutional ensemble. A crucial aspect of this understanding is that structures are viewed as differentially advantageous - human action is seen as structured or, in other words, constrained/enabled, by power structures that may privilege certain actors, actions, or ideologies, over alternatives.

I use this conceptualisation to describe not only state power structures but also extra-state power structures. Specifically, underlying structures that serve to safeguard certain groups, interests, and conditions from certain levels of intervention, scrutiny, and critique. These power structures, I argue, set the conditions for hegemonic tolerance to develop. In this sense, the concept of laissez-faire power structures represents an attempt to address the social practice dimension of discourse - as per Fairclough's (1989) three-

dimensional model. In other words, I use the concept of laissez-faire power structures to broadly contribute towards the explanatory objective of CDA, linking textual features, and discursive effects, to underlying social, cultural, and political contexts. Specifically, I identify three structures that contribute towards the development of hegemonic tolerance - symbiosis, institution, and access. In the following sections, I explain what is meant by each.

4.2.1 Symbiosis

‘Symbiosis’ refers to mutually dependent relationships between state or extrastate institutions or organisations; reciprocal relationships with uncodified rules and norms. By maintaining relationships of reciprocity, I argue that certain institutions are able to exert a degree of discursive influence over other organisations and institutions - such as news outlets and the wider news media. Institutions occupying such reciprocal relationships are seen as capable of compressing critique as a consequence of this power structure. The power structure of symbiosis is not, necessarily, always laissez-faire in nature. However, in the specific context of this study, it is assumed that the relationship of reciprocity that exists between news outlets and the monarchy is likely to contain laissez-faire features. In other words, features that sustain the inscrutability of monarchical power.

I argue that the monarchy’s dealings with the news media serve as an archetypal example of this form of relationship. This relationship is not transparent, nor is it legislative, nor is it written down or codified anywhere obvious. Instead, it functions as a tacit agreement between two mutually dependent groups that stand to gain something from maintaining this reciprocity.

Mysticism is a key feature of the ideological legitimacy of the monarchy, defined by an imaginary permanence, and an emphasis on its status as a fundamental feature of Britishness and ‘who we are’ (Ramsay, 2023). As Walter Bagehot (1867) wrote in *The English Constitution*, whereas Westminster and Whitehall operate through efficiency in order to govern the many, the monarchy operates through dignity in order to impress the many, and “excite and preserve the reverence of the population” (p.5).

News organisations, I posit, play a key role in reproducing this dignified mysticism discursively. This is not only because the British media tends to exhibit broad patterns of ideological conservatism with regard to the theme of monarchy (Blain & O'Donnell, 2003).

On the contrary, news outlets depend on print and online readership for revenue, and content about the glamour and scandal of the monarchy and its membership, given its pervasiveness, must be regarded as either in the public interest, profitable, or both from within. It follows that an implicit contract, of sorts, has formed between these institutions.

The existence of this 'invisible contract' has recently been made somewhat more transparent. In his recently published memoir, Harry (2023) discusses how certain royals have been exchanging information with news organisations in return for flattering or rehabilitative coverage for decades, characterising this relationship as mutually obsessive. In an interesting parallel, both participants in this symbiotic relationship can be viewed as equally desperate to cling to relevancy; certain royals, on the one hand, are anxious to be seen as more than an anachronism, and news outlets, on the other, are struggling to adapt to declining print readership and advertisement revenue (Ramsay, 2023).

The symbiotic relationship that emerges from this mutual dependency is not, necessarily, merely an innocuous transaction of gossip in exchange for privacy. Take, for example, the alleged squashing of an interview with a victim of Jeffrey Epstein that implicated Andrew, by the broadcaster ABC, as a direct response to pressure from Buckingham Palace (Coaston, 2019). More recently, the institution vetted BBC coverage of the 2023 coronation, raising questions about editorial independence (Waterson, 2023) - even if such practices might be interpreted as a pragmatic approach towards preparing for extraordinary events (i.e. a coronation). The *laissez-faire* power structure of symbiosis is therefore an important feature of the HTF, because it is a potential avenue through which critique might be quashed through censorious rather than discursive methods of control.

This theoretical understanding of symbiosis - as a *laissez-faire* power structure - provides one explanation as to why approving ideologies may take precedence over disapproving ideologies, in the specific context of news reporting surrounding the present case study (see Chapter 5, section 5.1; 5.2.1). Namely, because news institutions are invested in maintaining channels of communication between monarchical power centres, and news organisations, meaning that critical ideologies are less likely to be featured prominently.

4.2.2 Institution

The term 'institution' is pervasive in social scientific research, and often confusingly conflated with other, similar terms, such as 'organisation' (Hodgson, 2006). According to Hodgson (*ibid*), an 'organisation' can be understood as a *form* of 'institution', with criteria to establish its boundaries and distinguish between members and nonmembers, principles of sovereignty, and chains of command delineating responsibilities. A particular news outlet may, for instance, fit this definition.

An 'institution', on the other hand, more broadly denotes "a system of established and embedded social rules that structure social interactions" (*ibid*, p.2). Institutions and organisations thus exist in a hyponymous relationship - institutions superordinate organisations, whilst organisations subordinate institutions. Institutions, from this perspective, occupy a higher status of socially embedded systems, rules and values. A particular news outlet would not fit this definition; however, the broader, more general understanding of 'news media' would, because of the well-established connection between news discourse, ideology, and power (van Dijk, 2009).

This understanding of 'institution' is in keeping with broader CDA research that intersects with sociology (Fairclough, 1989; van Dijk, 1989a), and is useful for describing particular 'organisations' - such as, in this case, the monarchy - that serve a broader remit of cultural-ideological functions including the (re)production and naturalisation of social inequalities (Clancy, 2021). The status of the monarchy as an 'institution' that forms part of the wider 'institutional ensemble' (Jessop, 1999) of the British state, I argue, can be understood as a structure of power that has the effect of cushioning it from critique.

The modern British state is composed of many strata, and one such stratum is the monarchy. Given that the monarchy and the wider institutional ensemble that composes the state are assumed to have overlapping interests (though by no means in all cases), it is anticipated that this institutional stratification - the connectedness of state components - functions as one mechanism through which the monarchy, one such component, is reinforced. One way in which this reinforcement occurs is through controlling or, indeed, prohibiting discussion of the monarchy and of the influence of the monarchy by other components of the state, including the houses of parliament (see Chapter 1, section 1.1). In

other words, the inscrutability of the monarchy is policy emanating from different power centres within the institutional ensemble of the state.

The state is inextricable from historic alliances, policies, and etiquettes. It is also, as a ruling body, inherently invested in conserving existing regimes of governance, such that incumbent member-institutions of the ensemble, such as the monarchy, are safeguarded from internal and external threats. This can be seen, for instance, in the policing of protest (BBC, 2022a; 2022b; Durbin & Sandford, 2023). This laissez-faire power structure is thus mainly coercive, and perhaps closest in resemblance to Althusser's (1971) notion of the RSA. This connects to my arguments surrounding hegemonic tolerance, because it undermines the notion of assumed consent as acting as the principle means through which hegemony is sustained.

This theoretical understanding of institution - as a laissez-faire power structure - provides another explanation as to why approving ideologies may take precedence over disapproving ideologies, in the specific context of news reporting surrounding the present case study (see Chapter 5, section 5.1; 5.2.1). Namely, because representatives of the institutional ensemble of the state including, but not limited to, members of the specific institution of monarchy - who may well be included in the prevailing discourse surrounding events in the news, and elsewhere - are unlikely to express critical views due to the obvious self-interest of monarchic or monarchic-adjacent members, and the mutual self-interestedness of other member institutions.

4.2.3 Access

Access refers to access to channels of communication or, in other words, access to discourse. This feature is explicitly derived from van Dijk's (1996) work relating to discourse access. Access to discourse is disproportionate, which means that discourse is often imbalanced. This disproportionality influences the voices, and therefore ideologies, that are foregrounded or backgrounded in news discourse. In my view, this means that, in the case of the monarchy, uncritical voices are likely to be overrepresented in the news. Like symbiosis, this power structure is not, necessarily, always laissez-faire in nature. However, in the specific context of antagonism surrounding monarchical power in news reporting, it is anticipated that disproportionate access to discourse is one avenue through which

ideologies of approval - characterised, in this case, by a lack of critical oversight of monarchical operations - are propagated.

News organisations tend to rely on official and, therefore, often state sources of information (Yacoumis, 2018). This means that voices emanating from within the institutional ensemble of the state tend to have an abundance of discourse access. These voices will tend to reflect the values and objectives of the state, including the endorsement and legitimisation of partnered institutions, such as the monarchy. The laissez-faire power structure of access is therefore a useful process for shoring up the power of dominant groups, not only in terms of access to avenues of communication, but also in terms of access to control mechanisms of the public mind (van Dijk, 1996).

Jessop (1999) argued that the power centres that comprise the institutional ensemble of the state offer disproportionate access to different capacities for power, to actors within and outside the state and for different purposes. This is also true of access to discourse. The institutional, symbiotic, and accessional laissez-faire power structures mean that the voices of elites with an abundance of discourse access will tend to be promoted. Conversely, the voices of non-elites with a poverty of discourse access will tend to be demoted. This normalises practices of inscrutability surrounding certain conditions and institutions, such as the monarchy.

This theoretical understanding of access - as a laissez-faire power structure - provides an alternative explanation as to why approving ideologies may take precedence over disapproving ideologies, in the specific context of news reporting surrounding the present case study (see Chapter 5, section 5.1; 5.2.1). Namely, because it highlights practical inequalities surrounding news production that mean elite/tolerant voices, and therefore ideologies, are much more likely to be featured in traditional news reporting than dissident alternatives.

4.3 Discourse Strategies

According to Reisigl and Wodak (2001, p.73), a 'discourse strategy' can be defined as "a more or less accurate and more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim". The objective of a strategy may be to persuade, to manipulate, to highlight certain points of

view, focus on particular details over others, or construct dichotomies of sympathetic and unsympathetic actors (van Leeuwen, 1995b).

This somewhat flexible understanding of the term is a common feature across much of the CDA literature (Fairclough, 1992b; van Dijk, 2006). Typically, in such cases discourse strategies are seen to emerge during the course of investigation. However, as I have previously outlined (see section 4.1.1), I have opted to follow Wodak's (2001b) approach of identifying broad analytical criteria *a priori*, because this helps navigate the inherent messiness of much CDA research. By controlling the predominant voices we read or hear, I argue, certain dominances are endured without the need for explicit or assumed consent - they are tolerated, not because of the unconscious interpellation of ruling values, but because there are no easily perceivable alternatives. I posit that this is reflected in three overlapping, scalar strategies in particular - *de/amplification*, *dis/association*, and *ir/reverence*. In the following subsections, I explain these strategies in detail.

4.3.1 De/amplification

De/amplification describes the practice of promoting (amplifying) or demoting (de-amplifying) voices, in different contexts, to achieve politico-ideological ambitions. De/amplification encompasses a spectrum of amplitude, or volume. Elite voices and positions are expected to be amplified (loudened), alternative voices and positions are expected to be de-amplified (quietened).

De/amplification is intertwined with how identity and difference is constructed in discourse or, in other words, in the construction of the positive self and the negative other, positive in-groups and negative out-groups, positive us and negative them - the essential components of inclusion and exclusion (van Dijk, 1989a; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). The most straightforward way that this might be achieved is through patterns of inclusion and exclusion. Simply put, voices and positions that are included in a text are (variably) represented. Voices and positions that are excluded from a text are not represented. When voices and positions are tracelessly excluded, linguistic analysis is not required, as there is no linguistic manifestation - although there may be contextual evidence for exclusion. In the particular case study presented in this thesis (see Chapter 5, section 5.1; 5.2.1), the exclusion of critical voices is not necessarily evidentiary, given the limited size and

representativeness of the sample. Rather, it is argued that the absence of critical voices that could be represented is indicative of exclusion, because the case in question is one that would typically invite critical voices.

The more nuanced way that de/amplification can be achieved is through subtleties in representations of included voices and positions. Simply put, voices and positions that are included in a text can be constructed in different ways. Robbing voices of a platform invites critical scrutiny. A much more effective means of suppressing such voices is by featuring them in such a way as to clearly organise and polarise representations of voices of approval, and voices of dissent asymmetrically. This might be considered through the lens of van Dijk's (1993) 'ideological square'. According to this view, ideological discourse tends to be organised in such a way as to express or emphasise the positive representation of the ingroup (us) and the negative representation of the outgroup (them) and suppress or mitigate the negative representation of the ingroup (us) and the positive representation of the outgroup (them). How voices of approval (us) and voices of dissent (them) are represented differently in a text is therefore key to understanding its potentially manipulative qualities.

Addressing how discourse is organised in such a way requires investigating nuances in language and the choices underlying these nuances. The ideological square concerns the deliberate, binary distinction of 'us' and 'them', and as such, the inner workings of this scheme of manipulation is often defined by contrast (van Dijk, 2006). In the specific context of this study, if the words used to describe elite actors are favourable, and the words used to describe non-elites are unfavourable, this might provide an indication of the us/them divide. The same can be said of the provision of general as opposed to specific details, the use of active as opposed to passive sentences, or any other rhetorical device that serves to construct voices, positions, ideologies, or features of approval and disapproval differently.

To consider the spectrum of de/amplification, the HTF asks of a text whether or not there are voices that could or should be represented that are tracelessly suppressed, the degree to which featured voices and views of approval and voices and views of dissent are promoted (amplified) or marginalised (de-amplified), and the potential underlying causes.

4.3.2 Dis/association

Dis/association describes the practice of representing closeness (associating) or distance (disassociating) between different features in texts, in different contexts, to achieve politico-ideological outcomes. The political value of proximity is context-dependent (Cap, 2008). As such, this strategy encompasses an omnidirectional spectrum of distance. In general, I anticipate that elite voices and positions will be positioned closely to desirable features, and remotely from undesirable features. Conversely, I anticipate that alternative voices and positions will be positioned closely to undesirable features, and remotely from desirable features.

Dis/association is not always, necessarily, used for politically motivated, ideological purposes. Kopytowska (2015), for instance, discusses the various ways in which journalists use what she terms 'proximization' to manipulate distance in the news. According to this view, different dimensions of distance influence the audience's conceptualisations of the events and problems presented in texts. Kopytowska (ibid) identifies five such dimensions - spatial, temporal, axiological, epistemic, and emotional. Based on this view, proximization is the process through which journalists bring 'reality' closer to the audience. This process consists of reducing the distance between the audience and selected aspects of reality transformed into news events. From this point of view, proximization is seen as a process through which journalists repackage reality as news in order to promote audience engagement - in other words, it is seen as a functional pursuit. For instance, a journalist might exclude certain details in order to make a story more emotionally engaging, and closer to audiences - and this may, or may not, have un/intended ideological consequences.

This view neglects to consider the potential uses of dis/association as a tool of politico-ideological legitimization or delegitimation. My conceptualisation of dis/association restores the connection between distancing, legitimization and manipulation, thus understanding proximization more in line with that of Cap (2008). Dis/association, I argue, can be used to achieve ideological ends, to construct the relationship between certain features in certain politically motivated ways. It follows that strategic dis/association that is proximity-value dependent and context-dependent is one avenue through which certain social conditions may be discursively legitimated or delegitimated (Cap, 2008).

Language can be used in certain strategic ways so as to increase or decrease the distances between disparate entities in a text (Meadows, 2005). This overlaps with the discursive strategy of de/amplification. As discussed, discourse tends to be organised in such a way as to express or emphasise the positive representation of the ingroup (us) and the negative representation of the outgroup (them) (van Dijk, 1993). This us/them dichotomy is manifested in various linguistic forms, including the manufacturing of space between what is 'good' about 'us' and what is 'bad' about 'them' - akin to van Dijk's (ibid) ideological square. Metaphorical or metonymic references to the us/them dichotomy or the hero/villain dichotomy in spoken or written discourse is thus one way in which dis/association might be achieved (Meadows, 2005; Lakoff, 1991). For instance, in this case, by foregrounding negative representations of Virginia, and backgrounding negative representations of Andrew.

De/amplification is therefore also necessarily a form of dis/association. However, dis/association is not synonymous with de/amplification. Both, however, are manipulated differently depending on what or who is being spoken or written about - in this case, because proximity-value in discursive space is context-dependent - and this may or may not produce direct or indirect de/amplifying effects. For instance, it may have high proximity-value for certain actors, reputationally, to be linguistically situated far from certain formations (words, actors, objects, ideas, events), or equally, low proximity-value for certain actors, reputationally, to be linguistically situated close to certain formations. In the specific context of this thesis, this might be reflected in features that disassociate elites (i.e. Andrew) from undesirable words (i.e. rape).

One way in which dis/association might be manifested as a (de)legitimising strategy is through the use of different pronouns. Pronouns can be used to index, distance and position speakers or writers in relation to actors, groups, goals, or ideas (Reyes-Rodríguez, 2008). The pronouns 'we' and 'us', for instance, signpost solidarity with and membership of certain groups, constructing closeness. The pronouns 'they' and 'them', on the other hand, signpost opposition and otherness, constructing remoteness. In this respect, pronouns are inherently political lexis (Pennycook, 1994). The same can be said of certain possessive determiners. The possessive determiner 'our' indexes ownership and membership, thereby

producing closeness. The possessive determiner 'their', on the other hand, indexes otherness and difference, thereby producing remoteness (Reyes-Rodríguez, 2008).

Another way in which dis/association might be manifested as a (de)legitimising strategy is through the use of stance markers such as 'modal verbs' (*might, should, ought*), 'perception verbs' (*believe, think, seem*) and phrases such as 'according to' or 'if I may' (Lipari, 1996). The reliability of claims, for instance, can be signalled with truth-oriented stance markers such as 'obviously' and 'certainly'. Conversely, the uncertainty or unreliability of claims can be signalled with stance adverbs that convey doubt, such as 'presumably', 'allegedly', or 'supposedly'. The strategic use of stance markers constructs distance between elements inside and outside of texts - they augment or diminish the legitimacy of knowledge claims, and therefore have the potential to steer readers towards a preferred interpretation of reality (ibid).

Dis/association as a (de)legitimising strategy might also be achieved through patterns of backgrounding and foregrounding (van Leeuwen, 1995b). Actors that are fully nominated in texts are foregrounded, thereby bringing them closer to the audience and constructing them as human beings. On the other hand, actors that are not fully nominated in texts are backgrounded, thereby pushing them further away from the audience and constructing them as less than human beings. The same can be said of actions. If, in a text, certain actors are foregrounded but certain actions are backgrounded, dis/association is achieved, favourably or otherwise, between that actor and that action. The facts that are presented, or not presented, to an audience, are also measurable by dis/association. News organisations may foreground, and therefore focus upon, certain facts about a news event, whilst backgrounding or omitting other facts. Doing so brings audiences closer to certain details in news events and and/or backgrounds them from others.

To consider the spectrum of dis/association, the HTF asks of a text how different features are positioned in relation to one another, in different contexts, the potential ideological effects of these manoeuvres, and the potential underlying causes.

4.3.3 Ir/reverence

Ir/reverence describes the practice of increasing (reverent) or decreasing (irreverent) deference, in different contexts, to achieve politico-ideological ambitions. Reverence can be

paid or withheld in different ways and to different degrees. As such, it is viewed as a spectrum of ir/reverence. The HTF anticipates that a polarity of referential norms will tend to divide elites, and non-elites, as a consequence of politico-ideological constraints. In general, I anticipate that elites will be more revered. Conversely, I anticipate that non-elites will be less revered, and that this has the effect of reinforcing hierarchical ideologies.

I argue that ir/reverence is a product of politico-ideological constraints surrounding news organisations and journalists (Chomsky & Herman, 1988; Klaen, 2003). I argue that this defines certain editorial expectations and boundaries that in turn determine the appropriateness or inappropriateness of certain representations. This is actualised in discourse through the contrasting referential conventions used to construct elites and non-elites. I anticipate that elites and non-elites are constructed differently in news discourse, and that this polarity reinforces certain social conditions.

There are certain norms that constrain how news organisations and journalists present information about certain actors and groups, including how elites and non-elites are represented differently, that determine what is and is not considered appropriate for publication and consumption (Chomsky & Herman, 1988; Klaehn, 2003). These predefined notions of appropriateness and inappropriateness, I would argue, are consistent with well-established understandings of the role of news media in naturalising certain values and belief systems (ibid; White, 2006).

Elites, I argue, will tend to be discursively constructed in such a way as to accentuate their positive qualities or status. They will tend to be fully nominated and foregrounded in news texts, especially if this has proximity-value and is ideologically expedient, usually including titles or honorifics. Moreover, the positive attributes and philanthropic endeavours of elites will tend to be emphasised, whilst the negative qualities of elites will tend to be deemphasised where convenient (van Dijk, 1993). Non-elites, on the other hand, will tend to be discursively constructed in such a way as to accentuate their negative qualities or status. They will tend to be anonymised and backgrounded in news texts unless it is ideologically expedient to highlight their identity.

This referential dichotomy overlaps with the discursive construction of inclusion and exclusion, the positive 'us' and the negative 'them', and is therefore consistent with van Dijk's (1993) ideological square. In other words, contrasting constructions of elite and non-

elite actors and groups - as either positive or negative, respectively - is one avenue through which the stratification of society is reinforced through news discourse and variable manifestations of ir/reverence.

To consider the spectrum of ir/reverence, the HTF asks of a text how elites and non-elites are represented - more, or less reverently - in what proximities, what ideological effects this might have, and the potential underlying causes.

4.4 Linguistic Devices

The HTF follows previous major approaches to CDA, such as Fairclough's three-dimensional model (1989), and Wodak's discourse-historical approach (2001b), in pursuing the analysis of discourse using specific analytical parameters. At the textual level of discourse, the HTF considers three parameters in particular - 'Actor', 'Action' and 'Appraisal' - as semiotic features through which discursive strategies may be manifested. These categories, in turn, address three overarching questions asked of a text - who is or is not represented (Actor), what is being done and to whom (Action), and how are actors and actions evaluated (Appraisal). These questions are well established in the CDA literature as essential to uncovering how identity and difference is constructed in texts and what texts are trying to achieve (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; van Dijk, 1996; KhosraviNik, 2009). In the following subsections I will explain each analytical category and how they may be used to manifest the discursive strategies of de/amplification, dis/association, and ir/reverence.

4.4.1 Actor

The first question the HTF asks of a text is who is and is not represented? This linguistic feature pertains to the actors and groups referred to in a text, and how actors and groups are referred to in a text. Investigating the referential strategies used to foreground, background, or invisibilise different actors and groups in a text provides insight into how the originator of a text views the world and, by extension, how audiences of texts are encouraged to view the world (Koller, 2012).

De/amplification can be achieved through actor representation. Actors that are represented in a text are included, whereas actors that are not represented in a text are excluded. De/amplification can be achieved through the traceless exclusion of certain actors

and groups - by simply not referring to them in a text directly or indirectly. De/amplification can also be achieved by referring to actors and groups in certain ways. For instance, by using general rather than specific naming strategies (van Leeuwen, 1995b), and thereby making them more, or less visible.

Dis/association can be achieved through actor representation. The referential strategies used to represent different actors and groups in a text play a role in determining closeness and remoteness. Actors and groups that are tracelessly excluded from texts - not named - are isolated from audiences. This means it is left entirely to the imagination of the audience to draw links between the content of a text and extralinguistic actors and groups. Moreover, actors and groups that are referred to in general rather than specific terms in texts are included, but at arms length. On the other hand, actors and groups that are fully nominated in texts are brought closer into focus (KhosraviNik, 2010).

Ir/reverence can be achieved through actor representation. The politico-ideological constraints that determine politeness and appropriateness in the news mean that elites and non-elites tend to be named differently. The referential strategies used to name elites will tend to be highly specific. Elites will tend to be foregrounded and identified fully, with titles and honorifics. The referential strategies used to name non-elites, on the other hand, will tend to be generic. Non-elites will tend to be backgrounded and identified partially, or otherwise generalised or anonymised (van Leeuwen, 1995b).

4.4.2 Action

The second question the HTF asks of a text is who is doing what to whom? In order to answer this question, I consider how domains of experience - processes, participants, and circumstances - are constructed in discourse (Halliday, 1985; Thompson, 1996). This linguistic feature pertains to the actions or processes that are associated with different actors and groups in a text. This parameter considers what actions are being taken, what actors are associated with these actions, and who is on the receiving end of these actions (KhosraviNik, 2010).

De/amplification can be achieved through action construction. It seems reasonable to infer that there are positive actions, and negative actions. As such, associating certain actors or groups with positive actions, and certain actors or groups with negative actions,

has potentially de/amplifying effects (KhosraviNik, 2009). Equally, obscuring the recipient of an action - the actor or group on the receiving end of an action - has potentially de/amplifying effects on victims. The same can be said of actions themselves - it may be clear in a text that one actor has performed an action on another actor, but unclear what this action is. If an action is obscured, this has potentially de/amplifying effects on the recipient.

Dis/association can be achieved through action construction. Given that there are positive and negative actions, it follows that different actions have different proximity-value for different actors in different discursive spaces. Positive actions have positive proximity-value. Certain actors and groups may be associated with such actions and situated closely to the recipient of an action. In other words, a clear linguistic path is drawn between actor, action, and recipient (van Leeuwen, 1995b). Negative actions have negative proximity-value. As such, certain actors and groups may be dis/associated from such actions, and situated further from the recipient of an action. In other words, the path from actor to action to recipient is obscured.

Ir/reverence can be achieved through action construction. The politico-ideological constraints that determine politeness and appropriateness in the news mean that the actions of elites and non-elites are discussed differently. Elites represent more of a litigative threat to news organisations than non-elites (Chomsky & Herman, 1988). As such, the actions of elites and the consequences of these actions might tend to be constructed with a degree of ambiguity, whereas the actions of non-elites might not. This reinforces the us/them polarity by which elites and non-elites are constructed differently in news discourse.

4.4.3 Appraisal

The third question the HTF asks of a text is how are actors or groups, and actions represented? This parameter pertains to the value that is assigned to actors, actions and states of affairs in a text, or in other words, the language that is used to evaluate phenomena (Martin & White, 2005). The appraisal of actors and actions, moreover, can channel either positive or negative valence (Bullo, Webster & Hearn, 2023). As such, analysing patterns of appraisal has the potential to expose politico-ideological stances.

De/amplification can be achieved through appraisal. Certain words carry positive or negative evaluative meaning, or valency (Koller, 2012). Further, appraisal has the potential to endorse, or dismiss voices and positions - in turn turning them up, or turning them down. Evaluative choices and positionings are an important feature of news discourse, because they potentially carry de/legitimising qualities (Martin & White, 2005). Describing a group of protesters as a *mob*, for instance, has clearly negative evaluative effects - our understanding of the term *mob* leads us to understand that the group is 'bad'. Equally, describing the actions of this same group of protesters as *disruptive* has clearly negative evaluative effects - our understanding of the term *disruptive* leads us to understand their actions as inconvenient.

Dis/association can be achieved through appraisal. Using certain words to describe the relationships between features in a text has the potential to guide audiences towards certain interpretations about these relationships (Martin & White, 2005). For this reason, appraisal is one avenue through which dis/association can be constructed. For instance, there are many different ways in which to describe relationships between actors represented in a text. If two actors are described as 'friendly', this might lead audiences to construe this relationship in a certain way. If, on the other hand, two actors are described as 'associated', this might lead audiences to construe this relationship differently. Evaluative language is thus able to manipulate distance in texts in ways that might reflect certain values.

Ir/reverence can be achieved through appraisal. The politico-ideological constraints that determine appropriateness and inappropriateness in the news mean that elites and non-elites tend to be evaluated differently (Chomsky & Herman, 1988). Positive and negative evaluative language has the capacity to enhance the remarkable-unremarkable polarity through which elites and non-elites are constructed in news discourse. It is anticipated that elites will tend to be appraised positively in strategic contexts, whilst non-elites will tend to be appraised negatively in strategic contexts.

In the following chapter, I present the data used in this study, discuss methodological considerations, demonstrate how I operationalise these analytical entry points using specific linguistic tools, and outline the presentation of findings to be found in successive chapters.

Chapter 5 - Praxis

The purpose of this thesis is to introduce the HTF as a lens adapted from established discourse-analytical approaches (see Chapter 4, section 4.1) through which to identify how hegemonic tolerance might be constructed discursively. The theory of hegemonic tolerance put forth in this thesis highlights how certain dominances are (re)produced discursively, without requiring implicit or explicit consent.

I argue that news reportage is a major avenue through which hegemonic tolerance is achieved. News discourse is an ideologically determined form of rhetoric with a clear potential to influence how audiences experience reality (White, 2006). The persuasive communicative purpose of news is salient, moreover, because news organisations tend to promote the dominant values of elite groups (van Dijk, 1988). It is therefore prudent that this study uses news texts as its primary dataset. In this thesis, I expand upon this knowledge by demonstrating how news organisations also play a key role in producing hegemonic tolerance, constructed discursively using particular strategies (see Chapter 4, section 4.3) and manifested linguistically in particular devices (see Chapter 4, section 4.4).

As previously established, CDA is multidisciplinary, interdisciplinary, inter-metatheoretical and eclectic (van Dijk, 2001). However, positivistic measurement of large bodies of text cannot necessarily account for deeply embedded ideological, manipulative features (Wodak, 2015). Uncovering such features is an essential step towards exemplifying the HTF. It is therefore appropriate that this thesis follows the example of other CDA projects and focuses on a case study, consisting of a small, targeted sample of texts in which ideological operations have been observed (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Close, in-depth qualitative analysis has the capacity to expose nuances in news reporting that corpus-based or statistical approaches cannot (Breeze, 2011). As such, this approach is best suited to meeting the research aim of operationalising, and applying the theoretical concept of hegemonic tolerance.

5.1 Timeline

Below is a timeline of major, and minor events pertaining to the case study under investigation in this thesis (see section 5.2.1). The specific points in time of concern here are highlighted in bold. This timeline has been adapted from an article by Strick (2022):

1999: Andrew reportedly introduced to Epstein

2000: Andrew, Epstein, and Maxwell pictured together in Mar-a-Lago and Sandringham

2001: Andrew allegedly rapes Virginia in London, New York, and Little Saint James

2001: Andrew appointed special representative for international trade and investment

2008: Epstein convicted of child prostitution and sentenced to 18 months in prison

2010: Andrew visits Epstein following his release from prison after 13 months served

2011: Andrew resigns from his role as UK trade envoy following backlash to visit

2015: Court documents in Florida make rape allegations explicit and public

2019: Epstein re-arrested and charged with child sex trafficking

2019: Epstein found dead in his prison cell while awaiting trial

2019: 'Prince Andrew & the Epstein Scandal' broadcast on BBC2 (16/11/19)

2019: Andrew steps back from public duties in aftermath

2021: Virginia Giuffre v. Prince Andrew filed in New York (09/08/21)

2021: Maxwell convicted of grooming and child sex trafficking

2022: New York judge Lewis Kaplan rejects Andrew's attempts to throw out lawsuit

2022: Andrew stripped of royal titles, military affiliations and patronages

2022: Andrew reaches settlement in principle with Virginia (15/02/22)

5.2 Data

Case study research is an established empirical strategy in qualitative research that can reveal nuances that contribute to the theorisation of the subject under investigation (Duff, 2018). The case study approach explores social phenomena through the prism of an individual case or example of the phenomena being studied; the method provides the opportunity to magnify highly specific details that quantitative approaches tend to overlook (ibid). It is therefore an appropriate strategy for illustrating how hegemonic tolerance may

be manufactured in news discourse, providing clearly delineated boundaries within which to focus on deeply ingrained ideological qualities that may speak to wider social contexts.

The smaller samples associated with case studies promote intensive examination of granular linguistic features (Sengul, 2019). The ideological and manipulative qualities of texts are not necessarily observable on the surface; rather, they are often hidden beneath linguistic, grammatical and syntactical forms that technologies and natural scientific methods are not necessarily always capable of accurately identifying (Fairclough, 1989; Wodak, 2001b; van Dijk, 1993). Case studies are useful in such scenarios because the in-depth exploration of complex issues in natural settings is conducive of the development of theory (Crowe *et al*, 2011). In this case, this means investigating nuances in the language choices of news outlets in relation to a specific series of events (see section 5.1; 5.2.1) in order to demonstrate how hegemonic tolerance might be constructed in discourse using the HTF.

Discourse is always more than just language; it is also a means by which power is manifest, or in other words a potential resource of the powerful and the powerless, through which beliefs, values and desires are formed and negotiated (Fairclough, 1989). CDA is an approach to engaging with normative critique of discourse, and the case study approach provides the analyst with a concentrated evaluative space in which to consider what features are, are not, and could be in a text. Discourse is highly complex and, as such, clearly partitioning what is and is not to be studied concentrates analysis and keeps it aim-focused and achievable (Duff, 2018).

The approach to data gathering in case study research falls broadly in line with the notion of 'purposive sampling' (Yin, 2011). Purposive sampling concerns selecting information-rich examples of phenomena for in-depth analysis; sources of data likely to yield the most relevant information about the phenomena under investigation. A purposive approach to data sampling prioritises qualitative insight and in-depth understanding of an issue, rather than pursuing empirical generalisability (*ibid*).

As van Dijk (2001) notes, CDA practitioners should select texts that are best suited to exploring specific questions surrounding specific social problems. In this study, this purposive approach has entailed selecting a case that would typically invite critical voices - namely, the alleged sexual assault of a minor by a member of an elite group with clear ties

to the institutional ensemble of the state - and therefore an interesting entry point from which to investigate the discursive construction of hegemonic tolerance. In the following section, I outline this case study in detail.

5.2.1 Case Study

The central argument of this thesis is that certain dominances do not necessarily presuppose implied or explicit consent. I refer to this outcome as hegemonic tolerance, and argue that it is (re)produced through discursive modes of control (see Chapter 4, section 4.3).

I consider the British monarchy to be an embodiment of this type of hegemony, because the domination of this particular social group does not presuppose consent (see Chapter 1, section 1.1). We are not asked, in other words, for our consent to this domination, nor is this consent necessarily assumed. Instead, I argue that the discursive construction of hegemonic tolerance is the one mechanism through which this dominance is secured.

I share Clancy's (2021) view of monarchy as a normalising device. The group is viewed as a proxy of ruling elites, through which hereditary capital and hierarchical social stratification are enshrined and naturalised. Processes serving to obfuscate this politico-ideological function - such as nuances in news production - also serve to reproduce these inequitable social conditions and, according to the principles of CDA, should therefore be exposed and critiqued, in order to pave the way for transformative social action. For these reasons, the monarchy serves as an appropriate example through which to demonstrate the HTF.

As Fairclough (1989) argues, CDA is concerned with, among many things, what is, could and, arguably, should be said in a given text. As such, I selected a specific case study - the alleged sexual assault of Virginia, at the time a minor trafficked for sex by Jeffrey Epstein and Ghislaine Maxwell, by Andrew - that provides unique, theoretically pertinent opportunities to consider these criteria. The case concerns, above all else, alleged abuses of power. It also concerns those on the receiving end of these alleged abuses of power - victims of sex trafficking and sexual abuse. Moreover, the link between Andrew and Jeffrey

Epstein also, arguably, draws an explicit link between the British aristocracy and global financial elites.

I selected this case in particular because it presents *room for critique* of the behaviours of an elite actor and, arguably, the wider institution of monarchy with which he is associated. Owing to the qualities of this particular case, there are certain (critical) voices one might expect to feature in news reportage - such as republicans. It is therefore, in my view, an appropriate avenue through which to investigate how hegemonic tolerance might be constructed in news discourse, because as I have argued, hegemonic tolerance is a potential outcome of constraining the voices and formulations that are permitted within a dominant discourse. Thus, in this case, the extent to which voices of disapproval - including republicans - are engaged with, or disengaged from, has the potential to provide evidence of hegemonic tolerance operations.

To gather news texts, I selected three sources of online news - *The Daily Mail*, *The Guardian*, and the *BBC*. According to the Ofcom's (2022) latest News Consumption in the UK report, *The Daily Mail* and *The Guardian* are the most widely read digital news titles amongst UK adults, whilst the *BBC* website and app remains the most used other online source for news. Moreover, the *BBC*, as an apparatus of the institutional ensemble of the state, provides opportunities to highlight how internal, strategic alliances navigate external threats discursively. It follows, in consequence, that these three sources wield a significant degree of influence that reaches a significant portion of the (UK) population - amongst whom, theoretically, the behaviour of tolerance might be inculcated.

The Daily Mail is generally positioned to the political right, whilst *The Guardian* is typically positioned to the political left (Smith, 2017). As a public corporation of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, the *BBC* is a state mechanism of discourse that is, ostensibly, politically impartial. I deem this set of sources appropriate because it represents the left, right and state-centric poles of the political spectrum. This amounts to as diverse a range of traditional news outlets - and orientations - as possible, for a study of this scale.

The case of Andrew and the allegations made against him by Virginia have been divided into three distinct points in time, and three salient events, for analytical purposes. These events might be said to mark the beginning, middle, and end of the story. Examining news texts concerning these three distinct events and points in time provides the

opportunity to investigate changes that may occur in how certain actors and actions are represented, constructed and appraised.

The first is the BBC interview, in which he discussed the allegations with Emily Maitlis (November 2019). This refers to the BBC Newsnight special episode 'Prince Andrew & the Epstein Scandal', broadcast on BBC2 on the 16th November 2019, and its aftermath. In that programme, presenter Emily Maitlis interviewed Andrew about his friendship with Jeffrey Epstein, and alleged abuses of Virginia and other victims of sexual grooming, trafficking and exploitation.

The second is the lawsuit that emerged in the wake of the interview (August 2021). This refers to legal action filed in August 2021 in the US District Court for the Southern District of New York, in which Virginia sued Andrew for multiple instances of sexual assault. The suit was assigned to district judge Lewis Kaplan, and filed under the New York Child Victims Act. In the suit, Virginia alleged that she was sexually assaulted by Andrew on multiple occasions at the age of seventeen, having been groomed and trafficked for sex by Ghislaine Maxwell and Jeffrey Epstein.

The third is the undisclosed financial settlement that brought the lawsuit to an end (February 2022). This refers to the financial resolution that was reached between Andrew and Virginia in February 2022. Payment of an undisclosed figure and a substantial donation to Virginia's charity *Victims Refuse Silence* formally ended the civil case brought against Andrew. The specifics of the settlement have yet to be made public, but released documents involve no admission of liability.

Data for this thesis, then, consists of a total of nine news texts - three from the *Daily Mail* (Gallagher *et al*, 2019; Robinson *et al*, 2022; Duell *et al*, 2022) (see Appendices 1-3), three from the *BBC* (BBC, 2019b; BBC, 2022a; Edginton & Coughlan, 2022) (see Appendices 4-6), and three from the *Guardian* (Doward, 2019; Davis, 2022; Hall, 2022) (see Appendices 7-9). This sample is evenly weighted across sources for consistency, and limited to one text per point in time and source, to keep data manageable and keep research aims achievable by extension.

5.2.2 Ethics

The data used for this study are news texts in the public domain, sourced online from the digital equivalents of the *Daily Mail*, the *Guardian* and the *BBC*. Usage of this data complies with open licence terms and conditions. The *Daily Mail*, the *Guardian* and the *BBC* retain ownership of this data. No special permissions or clearances were required to use this data, and there are no conflicting interests to declare. Full ethical approval was granted through MMU's EthOS inspection system on 27th October 2020. Three amendments to this protocol were approved on 23rd February 2021, 27th April 2022, and 16th May 2022.

This thesis involves distressing data. In particular, it involves analysing and discussing news texts that include details of sex trafficking and sexual assault. This has required that I demonstrate certain sensitivities. As there are no participants, the risk of causing distress is diminished. However, dealing with distressing data has the potential to be emotionally demanding (BAAL, 2021). In order to mitigate associated risks and safeguard my well-being as a researcher, I have adopted various resilience strategies, including taking regular breaks, limiting the amount of data analysed on any one occasion, and utilising the support of my supervisory team at regular intervals. These strategies have helped me maintain a distance from the data and protect myself from psychological harm.

The data used in this study is clearly situated in the public domain. This is in contrast to other types of 'public' data, such as user-generated social media data, wherein the boundary between publicness and privateness is less distinct (Spilioti & Tagg, 2017). However, the public data used in this study does contain sensitive content pertaining to an alleged sex crime. In this case, I do not anonymise the actors involved, because the major participants are all known, and there is no benefit to be had from keeping these identities confidential. In discussing this case, I am not seeking to damage the reputation of any particular actor. Rather, I am seeking to highlight nuances that are of significance to the contribution I propose to make with this thesis.

5.3 Methodological Approaches

In the following subsections I discuss methodological concerns, and situate the present study within the wider CDS literature. First, I discuss criticism of CDA as an approach, and provide a rationale for its deployment in this research context. Second, I outline an

epistemological position on interpretive procedures. Third, I outline an ontological position on causality, structure, and agency. Fourth, I discuss Critical Realism as a combined metatheoretical perspective that can inform and enhance explanatory critique.

5.3.1 Criticism of CDA

CDA explicitly seeks to critique social inequality by focusing on the role of discourse in the reproduction of dominance (van Dijk, 1993). It is thus viewed as well-suited to investigating antagonism surrounding monarchical power and the hegemonic relationship between journalistic discourse and society. Because the approach is typically situated within the hermeneutic-interpretive methodological tradition, the path between data collection and data analysis in CDA is somewhat obscure (Meyer, 2001). This has led to criticism from multiple quarters. I focus here on three notable issues associated with the approach: methodological rigour, criticality, and eclecticism.

The methods employed in much CDA work have been described as insufficiently systematic. Widdowson (1995; 1998), Schegloff (1997), and Verschueren (2001) have argued that the procedural approach proposed by Fairclough (1989) risks 'impressionistic' conclusions about ideology. This is based on the observation that by choosing to focus on particular features (i.e. nominalisation), the analyst might inadvertently reach desired conclusions. It is true that how one researcher interprets a text may differ significantly from how another researcher and/or an intended audience might interpret that same text. In his refutation to Widdowson (1995), Fairclough (1996) notes that diversity of interpretation is a central assumption of CDA, and that there is no proposed alternative without traces of ideology. Later, Toolan (1997), and Stubbs (1997) would contend that the small textual samples associated with the prevailing CDA scholarship at the time lacked representativeness. Both proposed corpus or corpus assisted CDA as a solution. This has since been widely embraced in the field (see for example Mautner, 2015). However, corpus approaches are not infallible, and are not always appropriate or available. As Breeze (2011) notes, in exploratory research where representativeness is not the aim, qualitative approaches still provide multiple benefits.

CDA is also a politically charged pursuit. This means that CDA work is often shaped by ideology. This has led some (Hammersley, 1997; Billig, 2003; Martin, 2004) to attack the

hegemony of its inherently 'negative' underlying premises (i.e. Critical Theory, Marxism) and call for a greater commitment to objectivity and reconstructivism, rather than partisanship and deconstructivism. Some models attempt this (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Fairclough & Fairclough, 2018), but for some (van Dijk, 1995) radicalism is part of the appeal. All discourse, including academic discourse, is ideological. This is especially true in hermeneutic-interpretive research. Indeed, a truly objective CDA might not be possible. Graham (2018) concurs, claiming that in qualitative discourse-analytical research it is better to reflexively embrace an explicit ideological stance. As Catalano and Waugh (2020b) note, this issue is not exclusive to CDA. Rather, it is symptomatic of wider methodological conflict across the humanities and social sciences. According to Billig (2008), one way that self-criticality and self-reflexivity might be ascribed in qualitative CDA work is to hold the language of the researcher and the language of the data being analysed to the same standard. In other words, by seeking to continuously identify and/or eliminate the ideological features of analysis, and signposting alternative interpretations.

Finally, the purported benefits of eclecticism and interdisciplinarity in CDA research are mixed. For some (Fairclough, 1989; van Dijk, 2001), a broad intellectual base is appealing. For others (Fowler, 1986; Slembrouck, 2001), CDA has become so heterogeneous that it can be difficult to discern its philosophical commitments. The propensity for blending multiple competing and/or incompatible paradigms from across disciplines reproduces an incoherent methodological identity. This illustrates how the 'broad church' reputation of CDA is one of two sides. According to Fowler (1986), the intellectual vastness of its base licences profligate use of the term 'discourse analysis', even where alternative terminology might be more appropriate. This dilutes the methodological identity of CDA further still. The weakness of interdisciplinarity in CDS is that it is frequently "caught between linguists, non-linguists and scholars who come from media studies that have well developed theories for handling multimodal data" (Catalano & Waugh, 2020b, p.228). The strength of interdisciplinarity in CDS is that it has led to novel solutions (see especially Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996; Machin, 2007). Indeed, much of the critique outlined in this section emerged from within the field as part of reflexive practice, and combining disparate ideas is one way that CDA has adapted and developed for the better.

5.3.2 Interpretive Procedures

Interpretation is the process through which certain features or cues in texts are combined with the background knowledge and values of the interpreter, in order to articulate an observation or formulate an analytical argument (Fairclough, 1989). Importantly, cues that are viewed as significant by one researcher may be viewed as insignificant by another, or vice versa - they are open to interpretation. Interpretation is thus contingent on the coherence frameworks, beliefs, values, desires and ideologies brought to a text, which in turn are connected to the discourse communities to which we belong (ibid). It follows that interpretation is a key component of the contention surrounding CDA as an approach. My position is that CDA is a political-moral pursuit, which is why, throughout this thesis, I have made my views and values explicit. These views and values should not and, arguably, cannot be separated from my interpretation of texts. That said, they do lead to different possible outcomes of interpretation and explanation that, in turn, are rooted in different desired social outcomes, and different understandings of the politico-ideological theories, frames, and inequalities relating to what some might call tolerance and others might call consent.

Fairclough (ibid) has referred to the kind of background knowledge we all bring to discourse as 'members' resources' and argued that what distinguishes the critical questioning of ordinary participants from the critical questioning of CDA practitioners is that the latter make explicit how these resources, or ideologies, are drawn upon in interpretation. The three-dimensional model embodies this view, with a clear analytical pathway drawn from description of textual qualities to interpretation of discursive processes to explanation of social contexts. Indeed, Fairclough initially made explicit the virtue of using members' resources as a lens through which to understand how ordinary participants may interpret discourse, but doing so self-consciously, in such a way as to account for the commonsensical origins of ideological assumptions. Doing so entails drawing on one's own ideologies in order to explain how discourse participants might draw upon theirs in the production or consumption of texts - as it is only self-consciousness that distinguishes analyst from participant, to do so critically involves continuously reflecting upon the rootedness of all discourse in the commonsensical assumptions of members' resources (ibid).

In a significant departure from this view, Fairclough and Fairclough (2018) later suggested that in order to speak truth to power whilst not being advocative or partisan, CDA practitioners should attempt to separate their values from their critique. From this view, CDA is a potential means of engaging in ethical critique, and the authors stress the importance of practitioner reflexivity in providing this approach with credibility. CDA is itself a form of emancipatory discourse and, in part, an ethical critique of domination and ideology that requires researchers to subject their own argumentation to systematic critical questioning. As CDA often concerns political discourse, ethical critique of CDA often concerns the political values of the researcher.

Fairclough and Fairclough (*ibid*) outline a procedural framework for CDA that combines three ethical perspectives: 'deontological', 'consequentialist' and 'virtue'. They argue that, for CDA to be an impartial yet critical and open-minded endeavour as opposed to a form of advocacy, these perspectives should be combined within a deliberative approach. According to deontological ethics, people should act in certain ways, according to moral principles. According to consequentialist ethics, people should choose actions that have positive consequences, and reject actions that have negative consequences. According to virtue ethics, people should choose actions that are virtuous, and reject actions that are vicious (*ibid*).

Within the context of a study of news discourse, then, deontological critique would concern how journalists are duty bound to write in certain ways, according to organisational values and commitments. Consequentialist critique would pertain to whether or not journalists are making decisions that have ethically sound consequences, and rejecting decisions that have negative consequences. Virtue critique would pertain to the virtuousness of journalistic actions; in other words, whether a journalist acted with integrity and sincerity in reporting on a given event, or else intended to mislead, deceive or in some way guide their readers towards a certain interpretation.

As indicated above, my view is closer to that established in Fairclough's (1989) earlier work. As per this view, it is impossible to (entirely) divide views and values from critique of discourse. All discourse is ideological, all texts are ideological, all critique is ideological, and all ideology is engendering power relations - for better, or for worse. It follows that frameworks for ethical critique, such as that posed by Fairclough and Fairclough

(2018), cannot be divided (entirely) from views and values. This is because there are normative judgements involved in determining what should or could be written or spoken about, what ethically sound consequences look like and what ethically unsound consequences look like, and what passes for integrity and sincerity or deception and manipulation.

Wodak (2011b, p.630), similarly, concedes that even in non-hermeneutic-interpretive approaches to CDA, “every explicit and systematic analysis of a text or discourse will always entail an interpretative ‘leap’ when reconciling the analyses of the text and context”. It follows that it is questionable that impartiality can truly be achieved in CDA, and whether or not, in that case, it should necessarily be strived for. Indeed, Graham (2018, pp.201-202) argues that the values brought to bear in the interpretive procedures of CDA should, instead, be self-consciously embraced, capturing this perspective thusly:

We need, as analysts, to make our own position clear about what we are analysing, and why, how, and to what end we are analysing it. To pretend that CDA is anything other than a primarily moral pursuit would seem to me to be dishonest, even in places where analysis demonstrates a strict Scientism (a focus on the true-false binary). It must also lead to bad analysis that misses the point.

CDA, as Graham (ibid) suggests, can be viewed as an inherently ideological pursuit, that seeks to expose specific features in discourse that make possible and/or reproduce injustices in society. Provided analysts make explicit how ideologies have been drawn from, there is no deception.

My epistemological position is broadly rooted in the tenets of Critical Theory, Marxism, and dialectical materialism. Knowledge is acquired in CDA by excavating and critiquing embedded ideologies in discourse that make possible and/or reproduce social injustice. This position is broadly consistent with the ‘dialectical-relational’ approach (Fairclough, 2009), itself derived from Bhaskar’s (1986) doctrine of ‘explanatory critique’ (see Chapter 5, section 5.3.3), from which discourse and society are understood to occupy a mutually constitutive, dialectical relationship. Human in/action throughout history is such that it has produced the specific, unjust social relations of late-stage capitalism. These

relations favour and express the values of dominant groups, and are either maintained through coercion, or manufactured hegemonically.

5.3.3 Causality, Structure & Agency

The causal direction of influence between discourse and the social world is difficult to establish, because discourse, or the structures of the social world, are never static - it is in perennial flux. Discourse is defined by internal struggles for dominance - between ideas, voices, courses of action, normative claims to and of rightness or wrongness and so on - as well as external struggles for hegemony between competing discourses (Wodak, 2001a). Internal and external discursive conflict, meanwhile, is shaped by a plethora of complex asymmetries, material, and ideational conflicts in society (van Dijk, 1989b).

If discourse and society are to be understood as mutually constitutive, then it follows that discourse must be considered to involve causal mechanisms, even if this relationship is difficult to demonstrate empirically (Yacoumis, 2018). What is measurable is the 'mechanismic' relationship between aspects inside and outside of discourse - causation as directionality; as enablement of or a constraining influence over certain ways of thinking, speaking, writing, and doing that are either sanctionable or un-sanctionable for agents participating in and subject to the discourse (Banta, 2012). In other words, one can observe what appears to be a permissible and inadmissible statement in a given discourse community, consider the multifarious factors that enable certain things to be said, and prevent other things from being said.

Foucault's (1989) account of discourse acknowledges how discursive formations normalise certain ways of thinking and doing, and that these rules take shape inside the consciousnesses of individual members of certain groups. However, Foucault (ibid) avoids offering a complete ontological account of discourse - in other words, an account of the causal efficacy of these rules as they are moored in groups of people. Elder-Vass (2011) uses the term 'norm-circle' to describe the causal power of social groups. According to Elder-Vass (ibid), social norms can be thought of as rules for social practice, and that these norms are sustained and reproduced by the endorsing and enforcing practices of groups of people called norm circles. It follows that norm circles are causal, and Elder-Vass (ibid) argues that this ontological concept can be extended to the causal power of discursive norms.

According to this ontological model, certain norm circles are specifically concerned with endorsing and enforcing specific discursive norms - take, for example, newspaper editors. There are certain, often politically motivated norms concerning what must be said, what can be said, what must not be said, and how what must and can be said should be presented in news discourse that editors follow (ibid). This significantly relates to the concept of strategic ritual (Tuchman, 1972), and the hierarchy of influences framework (Shoemaker & Reese, 1991) (see Chapter 2, section 2.5). These norms may, in turn, be enforced from above by other norm circles, such as press regulators. The constraints and conventions of these norm circles come to be internalised by journalists, who produce news in a certain corresponding way. Discourse viewed in this way has clearly causal properties. In this illustrative example, even if the constraints and conventions that influence the discursive norms which are endorsed and enforced by a given norm circle changes over time, the causal direction of influence between the discursive behaviour of one norm circle (regulators) and another (editors and journalists) is clear - even if these discursive behaviours are inherently constrained by non-discursive forces before they emerge as discursive behaviours.

Structure emphasises and foregrounds the ways in which transparent or hidden social systems determine reality, including discourse and texts; agency emphasises and foregrounds the ways in which creative and innovative agents in different situations determine reality, and therefore discourse and texts (Fairclough, 2003). The dialectical-relational view emphasises how aspects of both have causal properties. Discourse is an outcome of dialectical tensions between structure and agency. Social structures constrain but do not necessarily determine the strategies or practices of agents. Agentic strategies or practices are therefore limited by the constraints, conventions, and boundaries of social structures. In turn, they have the capacity to challenge and therefore transform them, but only within these boundaries.

This view is akin to that of Giddens (1984), whose 'structuration' theory of the constitution of society balances social action recursively between structure and agency in a duality. This view overturns orthodox paradigmatic interpretations of reality in social theory. According to Giddens' (ibid) framework, structuration is the process through which social structures are created by social agents, and they carry certain rules and resources; social

structures enable or prohibit the actions of social agents, and because the social actions of social agents can only be taken in continuity with history, it follows that any social action by a social agent will reproduce or resist existing social structures.

Discourse, then, is viewed as a causal mechanism, with a clear directional influence over social practices. Resources including access to discourse are inequitably distributed, and this means that discourse often reflects the values and desires of ruling elites (van Dijk, 1993). Historical development is such that structures have been created that favour the values and desires of ruling elites. Social actions of social agents are constrained by the continuity of these structures, such that they tend to be reproduced rather than transformed or replaced. Moreover, agents with access to the most resources are both the best equipped to pursue change and the least likely to do so, because this would undermine structures that privilege their values and needs.

5.3.4 Critical Realism

Critical Realism emerged in the 1970's as a radical alternative to positivist and constructivist philosophies of science. Heralded most notably by Bhaskar (1975), this perspective combines elements of the realist ontology of positivism, with elements of the subjectivist epistemology of constructivism. Crucially, Critical Realism emphasises the separation of ontology and epistemology into distinct domains, and prioritises ontology over epistemology in order to explain causal mechanisms in reality. As a theory of ontology and epistemology, a Critical Realist paradigmatic approach means striving to reach causal explanations for social phenomena through retroductive reasoning (Jessop, 2005). The path to retroductive logic, moreover, implies a particular understanding of causality, structure, and agency.

The realist ontology of Critical Realism distinguishes between three relational dimensions of reality; 'real' causal mechanisms and powers, 'actual' events, and 'empirical' experiences (Archer *et al*, 1999). Unlike the dualism of Giddens (1984), in this paradigm social structures and human agency are both assumed to have separate causal properties, meaning that explanatory critique should attend to both, rather than restrict itself to one or the other, and should anticipate multiple causes and multiple effects interacting in complex ways (Archer, 1998). The subjectivist epistemology of Critical Realism distinguishes between

intransitive and transitive dimensions of scientific enquiry (Jessop, 2005). The intransitive dimension refers to reality itself, which is inaccessible and independent of observation. The transitive dimension refers to scientific interpretations of reality, which are always considered contingent, and fallible (Archer *et al*, 1999). Although Critical Realism embraces epistemological relativism (Jessop, 2005), the overarching aim of the philosophical position is to produce (transitive) knowledge about (intransitive) reality by explicitly focusing on (potential) causal explanations for social phenomena through the power of retroductive reasoning (McEvoy & Richards, 2003).

Retroductive reasoning combines elements of empirical induction, and logical deduction to infer (transitive) causal explanations about elements of (intransitive) reality, by using 'empirical' experiences to identify the 'real' underlying conditions and mechanisms that make 'actual' events possible (Sayer, 1992). As put by Jessop (2005, p.43), "epistemological relativism does not entail judgemental relativism, that is to say, the view that any judgement is as good as any other". Thus, the aim of this logic is to arrive at the 'best' (if not the only) explanation/s for 'empirical' events, and this entails making rational judgements between competing claims, and confronting retroductive reasoning with (transitive) evidence in order to develop, assess, and strengthen scientific interpretations of reality (Mukumbang, 2019).

The literature on Critical Realism is often decidedly opaque (see especially Bhaskar, 1975; 1986) and, in consequence, it can be difficult to translate into practice in social research. Stutchbury (2022) provides a very useful account of Critical Realist thinking using the metaphor of an iceberg. In summary, Critical Realism assumes a realist ontology (there is something real to discover) with a relativist epistemology (different people will arrive at different conclusions in different ways). This means looking for explanations (causal mechanisms) through a focus on what actors can achieve (agency) in the social contexts in which they are operating (structure). Bhaskar's (1975) stratified ontology can be viewed like an iceberg divided into three distinct domains of reality: the 'empirical' domain above the surface of the water ('experiences' that are observable and measurable); the 'actual' domain just below the surface of the water ('events' that are accessible through research methods); and the 'real' domain deep beneath the surface of the water ('causal-generative mechanisms' that enable/constrain 'experiences' and 'events'). In sum, the Critical Realist

agenda is to represent the 'real' domain as accurately as possible through data-driven and theory-driven abductive and retroductive reasoning (Stutchbury, 2022).

Critical Realism explicitly seeks to explain the constraining/enabling effects of causal mechanisms - including discourse - over human in/action. This implies a significant overlap with prevailing approaches in CDS (see Chapter 4, section 4.1). Indeed, some have argued that a Critical Realist theory of ontology and epistemology addresses the partisanship of CDA (see especially Huang & Pu, 2024). However, as I have argued above (see section 5.3.2), CDA is a moral-ethical pursuit in which partisanship need not be discouraged, and cannot necessarily be eliminated. Besides which, the determination of any 'best' explanation of causal-generative mechanisms, just like any 'best' course of political action, will always involve normative judgement. Moreover, the major tenets of Critical Realism are already, albeit implicitly, 'built-in' to many established approaches in CDA research (Newman, 2020). Most significantly, later iterations of the highly influential model of CDA developed by Fairclough (see Chapter 4, section 4.1.2), notably in collaboration with Jessop, and Sayer (2002), explicitly subscribes to Bhaskar's (1986) doctrine of explanatory critique. In fact, the three dimensions of Fairclough's (1989) model of CDA might be said to reflect the three dimensions of Bhaskar's (1986) stratified ontology; for text practice involves describing 'empirical' observations, discourse practice involves interpreting 'actual' events enabled or constrained by hidden structures, and social practice involves attempting to explain the 'real' underlying causal-generative mechanisms that give rise to 'actual' events and 'empirical' experiences.

5.4 Analytical Tools

As discussed in Chapter 4, the HTF explores three linguistic devices in particular - Actor, Action, and Appraisal. These features are widely recognised as entry points well-suited to revealing the discursive construction of the positive 'us' and the negative 'them', which is helpful in establishing the politico-ideological agenda of texts (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; van Dijk, 1996; KhosraviNik, 2010). In this case, investigating these features is intended to provide an account of how hegemonic tolerance might be constructed discursively in news reportage.

I do so using three analytical tools in particular. *Actor* representation is addressed using van Leeuwen's (1995a) '*social actor taxonomy*', which provides specific categories with which to explain how and why different actors are constructed in different ways. *Action* representation is addressed using Halliday's (1985) '*transitivity system*', a component of SFL belonging to the experiential metafunction of language, which considers how processes, participants and circumstances are constructed in clauses. Appraisal is addressed using Martin and White's (2005) *appraisal theory*, given its provision of specific categories with which to identify how actors and actions are evaluated either positively or negatively.

The three discursive strategies of the HTF are scalar and overlapping, rather than discrete entities. Similarly, no one analytical tool is the exclusive domain of one discursive strategy. Rather, all three tools are used to determine how de/amplification, dis/association, and ir/reverence might be constructed linguistically in news discourse. Each analytical tool provides an isolated perspective that is compared and contrasted to build an holistic profile of features of significance. There is, however, a rationale behind applying these tools in a certain order when initially analysing a text.

Before considering how actions are constructed and what positive or negative qualities are attributed to actors and actions, it is germane to first identify the actors that are included or excluded in a text, and the naming strategies used to construct them. The HTF thus pursues a logical analytical procedure - Actor analysis (who), Action analysis (what), Appraisal analysis (how) - and synthesises findings to address the wider relationship between a text and society (why). In the following subsections I explain how each corresponding analytical tool is operated.

5.4.1 Social Actor Taxonomy

van Leeuwen's (1995a) *social actor taxonomy* sets out to address the various grammatical choices involved in determining how social actors can be and are represented in discourse. The *social actor taxonomy* borrows from the Hallidayan (1985) notion of meaning potential, or what can be said, rather than a set of predefined rules, or what must be said. The categorical naming of actors in texts, realised in specific linguistic forms, thus represents a series of choices that may have ideological qualities (van Leeuwen, 1995a).

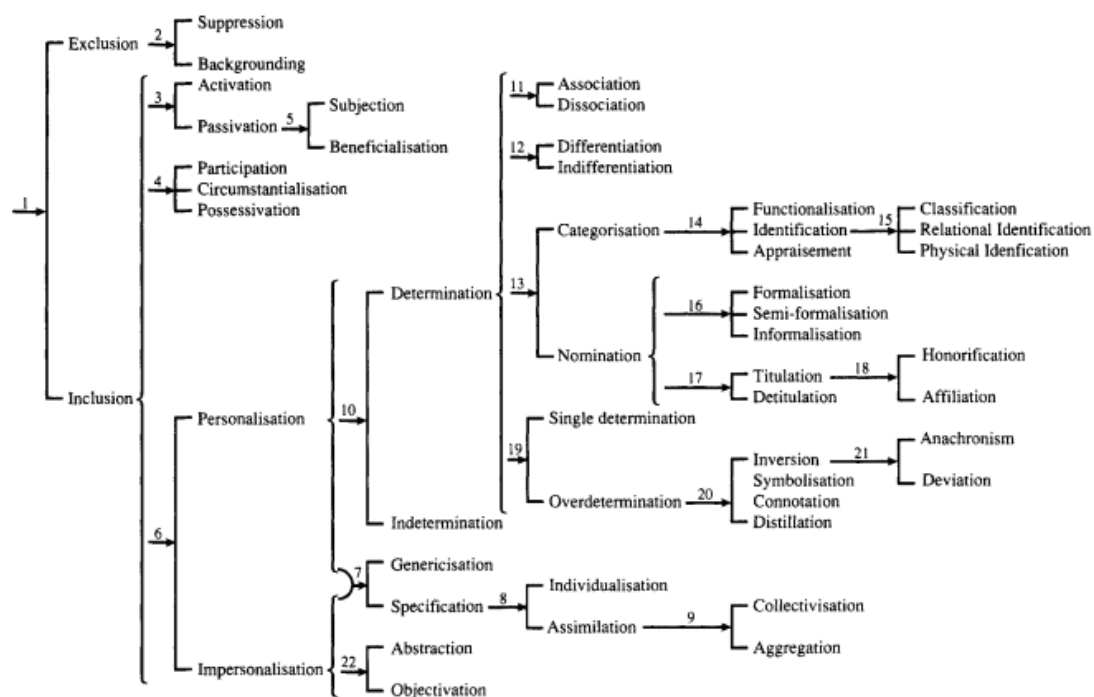
The *social actor taxonomy* is termed as such owing to the extensive map of multiple categories that can be used to name or otherwise represent social actors in a text. The most obvious way that actors can be constructed in texts is by naming them in one way or another. Actors, however, can also be represented in texts in less direct forms. This is important, because directly or indirectly representing actors in specific contexts can have potentially positive or negative effects. Excluding certain actors in texts has the potential to reinforce prejudices and also the potential to isolate certain actors from wrongdoing (Ahlstrand, 2021). Naming strategies are thus equally instrumental in constructing us-them dichotomies as obscuring those responsible for certain actions. Social actors and the agency of social actors in specific contexts, in other words, can be constructed not only grammatically through role allocation, but also sociosemantically through referential patterns (Bernard, 2018). How social actors and the agency of social actors are constructed in news texts, moreover, is assumed to be ideological. The *social actor taxonomy* lays out a number of mechanisms through which this is manifested, principally concerning patterns of foregrounding (inclusion) and backgrounding (exclusion).

Inclusionary practices in texts can carry ideological qualities. Actors can be specified and identifiable. Determination, according to the *social actor taxonomy* (van Leeuwen, 1995a), occurs when actors are constructed as specific, identifiable individuals. Actors can be nominated, emphasising their unique personal identity, or categorised, emphasising the qualities, functions or identities they share with others. Actors can also be personalised, using certain special referential strategies that emphasise their unique social status. Actors can also be unspecified and unidentifiable. Indetermination, according to the *social actor taxonomy* (ibid), occurs when actors are constructed as unspecified, anonymous individuals. Actors can be constructed as less than human, using certain abstract or concrete nouns. Inclusionary practices can be used to construct difference, and to foreground or background certain actors in texts. This can have both positive and negative effects. Inclusionary practices present opportunities to achieve dis/association, and ir/reverence. Identifying, or not identifying, specific actors in texts in certain linguistic proximities may be ideologically motivated, linking to my arguments surrounding the discursive construction of dis/association (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.2). Equally, inclusionary practices that construct

elites and non-elites as more or less positive or negative fits with my arguments surrounding the discursive construction of ir/reverence (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.3).

Exclusionary practices in texts can also carry ideological qualities. There are two types of exclusion, according to the *social actor taxonomy* (ibid). The first type, suppression, concerns the outright expulsion of any reference, directly or indirectly, to an actor in a text altogether. Suppression is traceless - no evidence of the excluded actor is left detectable in the text. The second type concerns a less radical form of exclusion called backgrounding. Backgrounding leaves traces of unnamed actors behind, thereby allowing readers or listeners to make certain deductions and connections. According to van Leeuwen (ibid), backgrounding may be achieved when actors are not referred to in relation to specific events or activities, but referred to elsewhere in a text. The traceability of actors means we are capable of making certain inferences about their involvement in certain actions, though not necessarily with absolute certainty as to their specific identity. It is a form of de-emphasis then, through which particular actors are backgrounded in particular contexts. These two categories clearly parallel my arguments surrounding how the discursive strategy of de/amplification can be achieved in a text (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.1).

The *social actor taxonomy* incorporates elements of other tools, including SFL. The *social actor taxonomy* intersects with the *transitivity system* by highlighting the use of active and passive tense as an important feature of the representation of social actors. This concerns who is represented as an 'agent' (Actor) and who is represented as a 'patient' (Goal) in the construction of a particular action. These grammatical features are analysed separately, using Halliday's (1985) *transitivity system*. A visual representation of the *social actor taxonomy* is provided below (source: van Leeuwen, 1995a):



5.4.2 Transitivity System

SFL is an approach to the study of grammar that focuses less on the forms that language takes and more on the social functions accomplished by language (Halliday, 1985). In other words, language is viewed as a form of action, or doing, and therefore is considered strategic insofar as it can be used to express meaning in context in order to achieve certain goals.

According to this view, language is a resource of meaning potential used to establish meaning in the clause, and meaning making thus involves various potential options. Utterances draw from an inventory of choices - that which could be said - and these choices determine meaning. The semantic and syntactic choices a speaker or writer makes encode their discourse with a particular construction of reality, and therefore carry potential ideological significance (Thompson, 1996).

SFL leads us to understand that language is used to perform three metafunctions - *interpersonal*, *textual* and *experiential* - to interact and establish relationships, create cohesive and coherent texts, and capture our experience of reality (see Chapter 3, section 3.1.1). The interpersonal metafunction is understood in terms of the 'mood block' of the clause, the textual metafunction in terms of 'theme' and 'rheme', and the experiential metafunction in terms of the *transitivity system* of language (Halliday, 1985). The *transitivity system* represents our individual experience of reality; through it, we articulate 'who is

doing what to whom'. This study concerns nuances in news reportage surrounding a particularly egregious act - the alleged sexual assault of a minor by a public figure (see section 5.1; 5.2.1) - as such, answering the question of 'who is doing what to whom' has the potential to reveal significant ideological features.

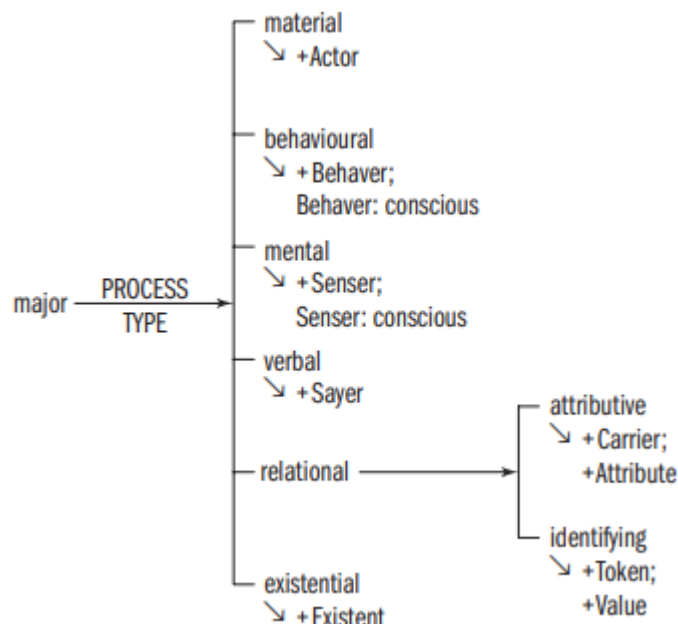
Transitivity analysis concerns actions, which are understood in terms of processes, which provide context with which to understand agency, power, and the relationships between constituent elements and features. This includes the main constituents of interest in transitivity analysis - the actor performing an action, and the actor on the receiving end of an action. Transitivity is an expression of how we experience reality, and so active or passive role allocation in a text can be a politically motivated form of blame apportionment (de Carvalho Figueiredo, 1999). In the context of a sex crime case (see section 5.1; 5.2.1) involving, on the one hand, an elite figure and, on the other hand, an (for all intents and purposes) ordinary citizen, the grammatical apportionment of agency is an important linguistic feature that may influence how the specifics of the alleged crime are interpreted and, in turn, might be one avenue through which hegemonic tolerance is engendered.

According to the *transitivity system*, our experience of reality is represented in the clause in terms of various verbal groups, or *processes* - ways of doing with various implications. There are six groups of processes: material, mental, verbal, existential, relational and behavioural. Processes, in turn, involve particular sets of grammatical *participants* - elements in the clause that answer who, which or what questions - and *circumstances* - elements in the clause that answer when, where, how or why questions. Understanding 'who does what to whom', then, involves investigating each of these three elements of the clause (Thompson, 1996).

Material processes are physical actions - processes of doing or happening. They involve two main participants - Actor (the one performing the action), and Goal (that which is affected by the action). Mental processes are psychological actions - processes of thinking or feeling. They involve only two participants - Sayer (the one performing the thinking or feeling), and Phenomenon (that which is thought or felt). Verbal processes are verbal actions - processes of saying or expressing. They have three potential participants - Sayer (the one performing the saying or expressing), Receiver (the one being addressed), and Verbiage (the content of what is said). Existential processes are existential actions -

processes of being. They involve only one participant - Existent (that which is). Existential processes express the existence of an entity, without predicating any other qualities to it. Relational processes are relational actions - processes of being, possessing or becoming. They obligatorily require two participants - for relational-attributive processes these are Carrier (the entity that carries the attribute) and Attribute (that which is attributed), and for relational-identifying processes these are Identified (that which is) and Identifier (the quality of the Identified). Behavioural processes are a hybrid of material and mental actions - processes of doing or happening that are clearly psychological. Typically, they involve only one participant - Behaver (the one exhibiting the behaviour), but can also involve a Behaviour (the one on the receiving end of the behaviour) (Thompson, 1996).

Identifying the transitivity process of a clause involves a combination of grammatical knowledge and common sense (ibid). Identifying the process group, participants, and circumstances provides the lexico-grammatical resources with which to determine 'who is doing what to whom' (ibid). Attempting to answer this question is an important step towards understanding how the construction of action in a text may speak to its ideological qualities. There are 'good' actions and 'bad' actions according to the context. As such, the transitivity structures used to allocate different roles in the clause have the potential to assign or obscure responsibility (Matu, 2008). It follows that, in the context of a sex crime case (see section 5.1; 5.2.1), identifying how news texts use these lexico-grammatical resources strategically may reveal politico-ideological features - including features that belie hegemonic intentions. A visual representation of the *transitivity system* is provided below (source: Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004):



5.4.3 Appraisal Theory

Appraisal theory is a development of SFL concerning primarily the interpersonal metafunction of language, because it concerns how we draw from an inventory of meaning potential in order to express stance in a variety of different ways, by evaluating that which we speak or write about. This overlaps significantly with agenda-setting theory (McCombs & Shaw, 1972), and framing theory (Goffman, 1974) (see Chapter 2, section 2.3). *Appraisal theory* was pioneered by Martin and White (2005), and provides a framework with which to identify how texts convey positive or negative assessments and increased or decreased intensity of attitudinal utterances.

News reporting has the ideological functionality of endorsing, perpetuating and making seem natural particular systems of value and belief, and appraisal is a critical component of this function, because evaluative language choices have the potential to steer readers towards positive or negative views of certain phenomena (White, 2006). The *appraisal framework* is useful because it provides the HTF with a tool with which to identify the mechanisms through which attitudinal positions are conveyed, and by which readers may be positioned to (dis)favour particular ways of viewing reality.

Martin and White (2005) propose three main domains of evaluative meaning - *Graduation, Attitude, and Engagement*. Graduation pertains to values through which the

intensity of propositions is raised or lowered, understood in terms of *Force* and *Focus*. Variations of intensity are understood to provide an indication as to a speaker or writer's personal investment in a particular proposition. Propositions that are intensified or mitigated are measured in terms of increased or decreased Force. Meanings through which the 'prototypicality' of categories are either sharpened or blurred are measured in terms of increased or decreased Focus.

Attitude pertains to values through which positive and negative viewpoints are activated, expressed through *Judgement*, *Appreciation* and *Affect*. Judgement concerns the expression of positive or negative attitudinal assessments of human behaviours and qualities, and is divided into two subcategories - *Social Esteem* and *Social Sanction*. Social Esteem concerns positive (admired) or negative (criticised) evaluations pertaining to normality (how ordinary or extraordinary), capacity (how capable) or tenacity (how dependable). Social Sanction concerns positive (praised) or negative (condemned) evaluations pertaining to veracity (how truthful) or propriety (how ethical). Appreciation concerns the assessment of non-human entities or 'things'. Appreciation can be expressed positively or negatively in terms of *Reaction* (emotive or desiderative evaluations of non-human phenomena), *Composition* (perceptive experiences of non-human phenomena) or *Valuation* (cognitive assessments of non-human phenomena). Affect concerns the register of positive or negative feelings as evaluative language, and is measured in terms of four main considerations: is the expressed feeling popularly construed as good or bad?; is the expressed feeling internal (Mental) or external (Behavioural)?; is the expressed feeling a reaction to a specific trigger or an undirected mood?; and finally what is the intensity of the feeling on a low-median-high scale?

Positive or negative expressions of attitudinal *judgement* are of particular interest to this study, because it involves a case that presents room for critique of human behaviour (see section 5.1; 5.2.1). The (in)expression of judgement in news texts is therefore a potential site of ideological conflict in which hegemonic tolerance might play a role and, as such, is of potential significance to this thesis.

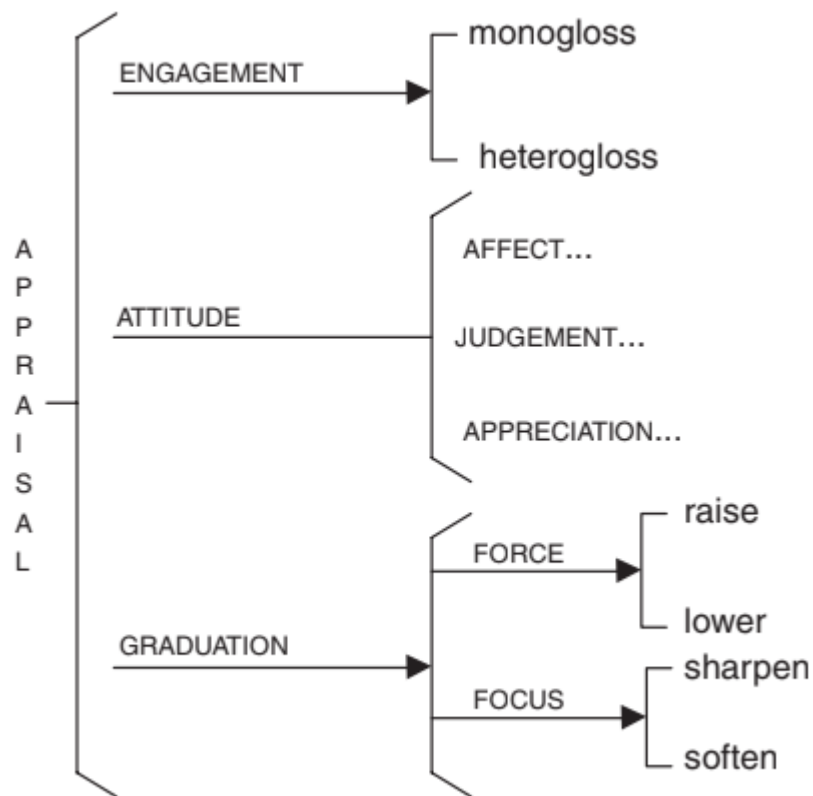
Engagement concerns stance-taking - the linguistic resources by which a text-internal authorial voice, to a greater or lesser degree, indicates personal investment in a proposition by invoking and making allowances for, or disregarding, dialogistically alternative voices and

value positions. Engagement is understood in terms of resources of dialogistic positioning, and is divided into two main domains - *Monoglossia* and *Heteroglossia*. A monoglossic dialogistic position *disregards* alternative voices and views. This might be manifested as a factive presupposition that is taken for granted, or as a matter at issue, and the focus of discussion. A heteroglossic dialogistic position *recognises* alternative voices and views. A heteroglossic dialogistic position, moreover, can be *expanded* or *contracted*. Expansion occurs when a speaker or writer actively creates space for alternative voices and views. The main resources of dialogic expansion are *attribute* (said, told etc.), and *entertain* (possibly, probably etc.). Contraction occurs when a speaker or writer challenges or restricts the scope of alternative voices and views. The main resources of dialogic contraction are *disclaim* (however, although etc.), and *proclaim* (demonstrates, explains etc.).

Engagement, like judgement, is of particular interest to this study, because it involves a case that, arguably, invites critique from (alternative) voices and value positions (see section 5.1; 5.2.1). It follows that the range of voices and value positions represented, the positioning of the text-internal voice in relation to these voices and positions, and the extent to which these voices and positions are turned up, or turned down, is of potential significance to this thesis.

By emphasising the rhetorical choices underpinning linguistic resources, *appraisal theory* offers a sophisticated system with which to understand the strategies used to realise the interpersonal metafunction of language (Thompson, 1996). News texts are artefacts of multiple producers, and it is therefore difficult to determine precisely the metafunctional origin of particular evaluative utterances or propositions. However, news texts can guide readers towards certain interpretations of events, and the *appraisal framework* magnifies the stance encoded within the end product of news production.

This thesis focuses explicitly (though not exclusively) on the inscription of positive or negative attitudinal judgement, and the expression of monoglossic and heteroglossic engagement, because these domains are of particular relevance to the case being investigated (see section 5.2.1), and clearly parallel my arguments surrounding the discursive construction of hegemonic tolerance (see Chapter 4, section 4.3). A visual representation of the *appraisal framework* is provided below (source: Martin & White, 2005):



5.5 Presentation of Findings

The following three chapters (5, 6, & 7) represent the findings of this study. Each chapter represents a different, major character or group of characters. Chapter 5 concerns Virginia, Chapter 6 concerns Andrew, and Chapter 7 concerns other, specified or unspecified characters. In each chapter, I begin by establishing my main arguments. These arguments are then supported by an in-depth analysis of particularly salient features identified across the sample. Analysis is, broadly, guided by three overarching, critical questions adapted from well-established avenues of enquiry in CDA research (Fairclough, 1989):

1. How are the character(s) and their actions represented?
2. What are the potential effects of this representation?
3. What are the potential underlying causes of this representation?

My approach to answering these questions is holistic, insofar as I do not divide sources, or points of significance in the case, into separate discussions. Analysis orbits three major discourse-analytical domains - Actor, Action, and Appraisal - and is explicitly rooted in the CDA tenets of discourse, ideology, and power. In each section I present examples pertaining to one or more discourse-analytical categories to answer these questions, and support my main arguments. The examples used are lettered for cross-referencing, and suffixed with a code indicating source and event - for example, DM1 indicates the *Daily Mail* text concerning The Interview, G2 indicates the *Guardian* text concerning The Lawsuit, and BBC3 indicates the *BBC* text concerning The Settlement.

A number of factors that are not, necessarily, ideological, will have influenced news reporting in this case. This was a civil case and, as such, Andrew was never facing criminal charges or convictions. The case was settled out of court, and involved no admission of liability. It follows that the allegations, technically, remain allegations, and the matter is, officially, resolved. Deadlines, shorthand, editorial codes of conduct, the risk of litigation, and the competitive drive for attention-grabbing headlines will all have determined, or mitigated, aspects of how this case has been reported (Richardson, 2007). Furthermore, media journalism constraints including news values (see Chapter 2, section 2.2), primary definition (see Chapter 2, section 2.4), and the hierarchy of influences (see Chapter 2, section 2.5) will have shaped the representation of events.

It is also important to note that, because news reporting about sexual violence tends to focus on a small number of exceptional cases - often involving prominent individuals, such as in this case - it plays a powerful role in promoting misconceptions about the issue, tending to play into myths that contradict statistical realities (Serisier, 2017). The vast majority of crimes of a sexual nature are extremely under-reported, which means that the common conditions under which such offences occur are not particularly visible (Soothill & Walby, 1991).

This also means that it is challenging to compare exceptional cases with non-exceptional cases - because the latter rarely make the news. Even so, because news reporting about cases like this has the capacity to discursively shape dominant understandings of sex crimes, using CDA techniques to explore how key characters are

constructed and positioned has the potential to contribute to the wider debate, and evidence-base, surrounding this issue.

5.6 Iterative Research

The data, methods, and methodology used in this study emerged only following several iterative stages of design, and scoping. This means that various alternative approaches were discarded as the project evolved. In the first instance, I had planned to source a large corpus of texts specifically representative of antimonarchical discourse, across various print, broadcast, and social media sites. The broad intent, at this stage, was to pursue a mixed method approach divided into two main stages of analysis, adhering to the principle of triangulation (Wodak, 2001). First, techniques from Corpus Linguistics would be used for the initial parsing and quantification of data, and the identification of semantic themes. This entailed using the University of Lancaster provided parsing tool Wmatrix, and the University Centre for Computer Corpus Research on Language (UCREL) Semantic Analysis System (USAS). Second, techniques from CDS would be used to undertake a more nuanced analysis of select texts from the corpus. This denoted using a range of tools to uncover the ideological mechanisms and power relations that shape and frame contemporary antimonarchical discourse in the news media, and more broadly exploring the hegemonic relationship between news discourse, and tolerance.

To this end, I targeted four potential groups of data to build a corpus of texts: online print journalism (*Metro*, the *Sun*, the *Daily Mail*, the *Evening Standard*, the *Daily Mirror*, and the *Times*); broadcast journalism (*BSkyB*, *Channel 4*, *ITV*, and the *BBC*); social media (*Facebook* and *Twitter*); and alternative social media (*Gab* and *Dissenter*). I proposed a ‘grounded’ (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) approach to data collection, in order to establish an understanding of extant antagonism surrounding the British monarchy as manifested in the news. This would have entailed monitoring sites of discourse for relevant texts as they were published, and the project evolved, meaning that data collection and analysis would have run concurrently in an open-ended, ongoing procedure. However, cursory scoping led me to reconsider this approach. Foremost, this is because casting too wide a net created an inordinate amount of data. This, in turn, would have prevented me from achieving the aim and objectives of the study within the allotted time frame, and with the resources available

to me. Moreover, the unfocused nature of grounded approaches to data collection can make it difficult to plan ahead. The project required greater structure and concentration, including a clear, robust, and manageable data sourcing strategy. This led to the principle of purposive sampling (Yin, 2011), which entails selecting information-rich cases for in-depth inquiry. Taking the research in this direction made increasingly more sense as the project evolved, because the emergent centrality of the HTF (see Chapter 5) - and the time, labour, and rigour required to properly assess the efficacy and replicability of the framework - necessitated the prioritisation of qualitative insight over empirical generalisability.

This shift in priority led to two major, interrelated changes to the research design. First, a focus on qualitative insight meant a much smaller sample of texts. This, in turn, meant discarding Corpus Linguistics as an approach, because Corpus Linguistics techniques are designed for, and indeed best suited to large volumes of naturally occurring language (Mautner, 2015). That being said, in CDS even the smaller samples of data associated with qualitative research can require a significant amount of manual, semi-automated, or automated quantitative sorting before any adequate qualitative analysis can be completed (Mayer, 2001). As such, I designed my own parsing approach (see for example Appendix 10) with which to identify, categorise, and quantify salient features in texts, that is more closely associated with techniques adapted from Content Analysis (Hesmondhalgh, 2006; Neuendorf & Kumar, 2015), and is specifically geared towards the devices and linguistic manifestations of concern for the HTF (see Chapter 4, section 4.4; Chapter 5, section 5.4). Second, this shift entailed jettisoning three of the four potential data groups to reduce the size of the sample, and establish realistic study design parameters. Namely, broadcast journalism, social media, and alternative social media were excluded at this stage in the study. Drawing from data provided by Ofcom (2019), I identified the four online print journalism sources with the largest share of UK readership: the *Daily Mail*, the *Sun*, *Metro*, and the *Guardian*. The *Daily Mail*, and the *Sun* are known for their conservative political position, while the *Guardian* is generally considered a centre-left publication. *Metro*, meanwhile, claims to be editorially independent, but remains under the ownership of the Daily Mail and General Trust (DMGT), which also owns the *Daily Mail*. I made the decision to exclude other print journalism sources at this stage for two main reasons: first, to reduce

the size of the sample, helping make the research feasible; second, to keep the sample as politically pluralistic as possible, helping avoid confirmation bias.

Next, I sought to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the proposed approach. In order to do this, I first set out to identify ‘spikes’ in news discourse surrounding monarchy. These tended to coincide with particular events concerning the institution of monarchy, or members of the institution. I identified that each event could be categorised as either ‘positive’ or ‘negative’, and came to codify them as such. A ‘positive’ event indicated an event likely to be presented as celebratory, indicative of the preferred public profile of monarchy, including weddings, births, and ceremonies. A ‘negative’ event indicated an event likely to provoke an antagonistic response, and present the royal estate with PR difficulties, including scandals, misdemeanours, and gaffs. The curation of a suitable sample of events led to my decision to define and justify a provisional time-period in which to anchor the research. Namely, I discovered many events occurring between the years 2018 and 2020, with 2019 in particular being a tumultuous year for the monarchy, and consequently characterised by flurries of discourse in the news. Selecting this data catchment period ensured an abundance of information-rich texts for analysis, whilst also keeping the research contemporary. I designated the coronavirus pandemic and/or the then monarch’s related public address a suitable justification for a May 2020 cutoff point, on account of the diminishing attention many subjects were naturally afforded in the immediate aftermath. Summarily, I identified fourteen events spanning an exact two-year period, beginning 19th of May 2018, and ending 19th of May 2020. It should be noted that several highly significant events (i.e. the death of Philip, the death of Elizabeth) occurred later, and beyond the permissions granted by ethical approval for data gathering. Of the original fourteen events, I codified seven as ‘positive’, and seven as ‘negative’, as shown in the diagram below:

Code	Type	Date	Description
a	‘Negative’	19th May 2020	Charles’ ‘hard graft’ gaffe
b	‘Negative’	13th January 2020	‘Sandringham Summit’
c	‘Negative’	8th January 2020	‘Megxit’ saga kicks off
d	‘Negative’	16th November 2019	Andrew’s interview

e	'Negative'	28th August 2019	Prorogation of parliament
f	'Positive'	8th June 2019	Trooping of the Colour
g	'Positive'	6th May 2019	Archie Windsor born
h	'Positive'	2nd April 2019	@Sussexroyal launched
i	'Negative'	14th March 2019	Separation of households
j	'Negative'	17th January 2019	Philip's car crash
k	'Positive'	25th December 2018	Xmas 'gold piano' message
l	'Positive'	12th October 2018	Eugenie / Jack wed
m	'Positive'	13th July 2018	Queen meets Trump
n	'Positive'	19th May 2018	Harry / Meghan wed

First, I selected one of these events at random (j), and gathered a small sample of texts pertaining to the event from the proposed sources, using the functionalities of the online database LexisNexis. The sample comprised eight texts, two each from the *Daily Mail*, the *Sun*, the *Guardian*, and *Metro*. A close reading and comparison of the texts in this sample led to two further changes to the study design. First, *Metro* was excluded, because the texts from this source contributed minimal insight into the target phenomenon. Second, the *Sun* was excluded, because the texts from this source contained very similar features to the *Daily Mail* texts, and this risked imbalance. It was at this stage that the *BBC* was added as an alternative, third data source, because this ostensibly established representation of the left, right, and centreground of journalism (see also Chapter 2, section 2.1).

Second, I conducted a pilot study to see if the proposed approach to analysing the data was operable, and suitable for exemplifying the theory of hegemonic tolerance. I chose one 'negative' event (d) and one 'positive' event (f), and gathered two texts published in direct response to each by one of the proposed sources (*Daily Mail*). I then designed a formative analytical process flow (a precursor to Appendix 10) and went through each text individually and separately. In brief, I first identified and quantified every actor/group representation in a text (Actor). Next, I identified every verb and conjugated verb present in a text, and mapped these verbs to colour coded transitivity processes (Action). Next, I looked through each of these verbs and identified valency (Appraisal). I used codes to categorise appraising verbs, and prefixed each of these codes with a + or - to indicate

positive or negative valence. Next, I looked through each appraising verb in context, separated the sentence containing the appraisal into clauses, and looped back to in-depth transitivity analysis. I completed this process four times, once for each text, recording any particularly significant observations in the process.

This nascent approach would eventually crystallise into the three devices included in the textual dimension of the HTF (see Chapter 4, section 4.4). Crucially, it is at this point that the interpretive work of CDA began. Focusing on these factors, I determined that three major strategies were at work in the discourse. Namely, I located differential patterns of amplitude (de/amplification), reverence (ir/reverence), and distance (dis/association) surrounding particular features in the texts. These strategies would eventually solidify into the discursive dimension of the HTF (see Chapter 4, section 4.3). Furthermore, one event (d) proved much more fertile than the other (f). This precipitated my decision to build the project around a single case; albeit a case divided into three sub-events (see sections 5.1; 5.2.1). There are two main reasons for this. First, even this precursive analytical work proved to be highly labour intensive and time consuming. Given the emerging complexity of the HTF, it was decided on this basis that a single case study would be sufficient for the purposes of exemplification. Second, the case of *Virginia L. Giuffre v Prince Andrew* (2022) is unique in that it represents something of an ‘open goal’ for news organisations and journalists. Thus, the degree to which alternative/dissenting voices and positions are represented in texts surrounding this story is of particular significance to this thesis, and highly relevant to the theory of discursively enacted hegemonic tolerance. The decision is vindicated by the chapters that follow, in which I demonstrate in detail how, through a variety of different avenues, subtleties in the representation of particular actors, and particular actions do the work of discursively constructed hegemonic tolerance.

Chapter 6 - 'Money-Hungry Sex Kitten'

In this chapter I advance three main evidence-driven arguments concerning the discursive construction of Virginia in the case data. In 6.1, I argue that portrayals of Virginia are *condemning*, connecting with victim-blaming ideologies surrounding sexual violence. In 6.2, I argue that portrayals of Virginia are *distrusting*, connecting with victim-blaming ideologies surrounding sexual violence. In 6.3, I argue that portrayals of the alleged sex crime are *consensualising*, such that a diminishing interpretation of events (alleged sex) is privileged over alternatives (alleged rape). In 6.4, I discuss how these features build towards achieving the objective of hegemonic tolerance.

6.1 Apportioning Blame

I orient this discussion around three different images of the character that compress critical positions, specifically, by withdrawing, or withholding sympathy - Virginia as *accuser*, Virginia as *gold digger*, and Virginia as *conditional victim*. In the following subsections, I discuss how these portrayals are actualised linguistically, and the potential effects and causes of these portrayals.

6.1.1 Accuser

Critical feminist accounts of the most appropriate terminology with which to represent (alleged) victims of sexual violence differ. For instance, according to Alcoff and Gray (1993), the term 'survivor' has the potential to invite ridicule, as it evokes unfavourable comparisons to genocide, while the term 'victim' has the potential to be disempowering, because it erases agency. Waterhouse-Watson (2013, *A Note on Terminology*) settles on the terms 'complainant', "as it draws attention to the act of *speaking* about rape", and '(alleged) victim', "as in legal discourse 'victim' is the term ascribed to a wronged party". Both are used only sparingly across the texts to represent Virginia, who is much more commonly represented in alternative forms.

For instance, in examples (a)-(c), Virginia is functionalised as an 'accuser', represented in terms of her performance of the verbal process 'to accuse'. This

representation is used either as a possessive, relational function (i.e. (a) ‘Andrew’s accuser’), or as a premodifying function (i.e. (b) ‘rape accuser Virginia Roberts’):

- a. “Ms Giuffre's lawyer Mr Boies said Andrew's accuser was 'pleased' that 'evidence will now be taken concerning her claims against him.’” DM2
- b. “Queen 'to foot part of Andrew's £12m bill': Humiliated Duke's mother 'helps pay settlement with rape accuser Virginia Roberts' in bid to draw line under scandal before Jubilee celebrations – which he 'will be BANNED from attending’” DM3
- c. “Andrew and his accuser Virginia Giuffre reach out-of-court settlement in civil sex claim filed in New York” DM3

News reporting has been linked to myths and misconceptions about sexual violence by a number of studies that connect the term ‘accuser’, in particular, with victim-blaming ideologies (e.g. Burt, 1980; Benedict, 1992). This is because, unlike ‘complainant’, or ‘(alleged) victim’, it has no legal basis, and has the potential to withdraw sympathy, deflect critical scrutiny, and shift support from victim to perpetrator. Whilst the presumption of innocence is important, the ‘accuser’ narrative has the potential to feed into wider misogynistic impulses to doubt the motives of alleged victims of sexual violence (Katz, 2015; Silveirinha, 2019; Royal, 2019a).

Examples (a)-(c), therefore, represent significant ideological choice-making in news production. These variations of ‘accuser’ are easily substitutable with other, more neutral representations. To wit, in example (a), ‘his client’ is a readily available, alternative resource of equal accuracy, and less stigma. In example (b), ‘Virginia Giuffre’, or ‘(alleged) victim’ would sufficiently identify the character. The same could be said of example (c), in which the premodification ‘his accuser’ is, arguably, a superfluous inclusion, because this information is retrievable elsewhere in the text.

Allocating Virginia the role of ‘accuser’ through nominalisations and transitivity structures spotlights *her* behaviour, emphasising the action she is *undertaking*, rather than the action she has *undergone*. van Leeuwen (1995a, p.56) contends that “possessivated functionalisations signify the activation (as in ‘his victim’) or subjection (as in ‘my attacker’) of the possessing participant”. Thus, examples (a), and (c) also perform the specific function

of *passivating* the possessing participant (Andrew), who is positioned as being on the receiving end of Virginia's behaviour - in effect, reversing victim-perpetrator roles.

Newspapers increasingly rely on sensational terminology to attract readers (Blumner & Gurevitch, 1995). This might, in part, explain a proclivity for certain lexicogrammatical resources - such as 'accuser' - over other, equally accurate, yet more semantically neutral resources - such as 'his client'. The discursive construction of Virginia that happens through and around the choice to represent her as an 'accuser', on the other hand, produces ideological effects. Namely, doing so emphasises her behaviour, placing her motives in the foreground of discussion which, in turn, acts as bait for entrenched misogynistic distrust in women, and especially women 'accusing' prominent men of sexual assault.

6.1.2 Gold Digger

Benedict (1992, p.18) argues that one image used to portray sex crime victims in news reporting is that of the 'vamp' - "a wanton female who provoked the assailant with her sexuality". In example (d), Virginia is represented in forms closely resembling this image:

- d. "This is despite a string of recent aggressive accusations made by his legal team that included referencing a story which branded Miss Roberts a 'money-hungry sex kitten'." DM3

This particularly loaded representation of Virginia constructs her in two different, equally derogatory ways that link to myths (and discourses) about sexual violence - that women lie about rape, and only 'loose' women are raped (Benedict, 1992). The text-internal authorial voice disassociates itself from the utterance - heteroglossically attributed to 'his legal team', and enclosed in scare quotes to indicate the external origin of the locution - however, formulations that promote myths about sexual assault *should* have no place in news reporting, regardless of context, because news discourse is a fundamental avenue of debate on the issue that shapes opinion, and policy (Soothill & Walby, 1991).

Burt (1980, p.217) defined 'rape myth' as "prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rapists". Many studies (e.g. Benedict, 1992; Franiuk *et al*, 2008a; O'Hara, 2012) have since demonstrated how these myths have come to be

embedded in, and perpetuated by, news reportage about violence against women. Lazar (2007, p.142) heralds a feminist CDA (FCDA), with which to “show up the complex, subtle, and sometimes not so subtle, ways in which frequently taken-for-granted gendered assumptions and hegemonic power relations are discursively produced, sustained, negotiated, and challenged”. Example (d) represents a particularly *unsubtle* way in which news reporting is a potential avenue through which gendered assumptions about victims of sexual violence might come to be naturalised.

First, the judgement ‘money-hungry’ clearly portrays Virginia as devious and avaricious. This explicitly evokes the ‘gold digger’ myth, that women who claim to have been raped are lying, or have ulterior motives, such as revenge, or financial gain (Franiuk *et al*, 2008a). Next, the pejorative functionalisation ‘sex kitten’ overtly sexualises her, constructing a discrediting rape-victim stereotype. This connects with the myth that women provoke sexual assault through enticement, or provocation (O’Hara, 2012).

Not only is the choice to include this representation ideologically significant, there are other examples that invite similar, critical construals of Virginia’s behaviour:

- e. “After repeatedly denying any sexual contact with Ms Giuffre – and saying he can’t recollect meeting her – he was asked if he thinks she is lying. His response was considered. Andrew will almost certainly have [sic] warned by lawyers not to be accusatory for fear of facing a possible defamation claim. ‘That’s a very difficult thing to answer because I’m not in a position to know what she’s trying to achieve,’ he said.” DM1
- f. “Giuffre unlikely to just want money, says lawyer” BBC2

In example (e), the choice has been made to make reference to a particular question that Emily Maitlis asked Andrew during the BBC Newsnight interview, namely, ‘are you saying you don't believe her, she's lying?’ (BBC, 2019a). This is the only text in the sample in which this detail has been (imprecisely) included. The language in and around it is conditioned by careful dis/associating devices. First, the verbal process ‘asked’ is clearly performed by Maitlis. Second, the mental process ‘thinks’ is clearly performed by Andrew. Third, the text signals that his ‘considered’ response is ‘almost certainly’ based on legal

advice. These heteroglossic engagement resources establish disassociation, and deniability, between the position, and the authorial voice. Regardless, the choice to platform a position that conveys doubt about an alleged victim in a sex crime case is, at best, controversial.

The answer given is, similarly, embedded with victim-blaming structures. Namely, highlighting what Virginia might be ‘trying to achieve’ suggests that this might be something *other* than justice for herself, and other alleged victims of sexual violence. Given that the text establishes that this ‘considered’ answer is ‘almost certainly’ based on legal advice to avoid a defamation claim, the implication is that Andrew is choosing his words carefully. In other words, the reader is invited to consider that he may *only* be answering the question thusly *because* he has been advised to do so, leaving open the dialogistic alternative that Virginia *might*, in fact, be ‘lying’. Similarly, in example (f), certain stance markers pay credence to the notion that Virginia may have an ulterior motive. Here, the modal auxiliary ‘unlikely’, and the adverb ‘just’, entertain the dialogistic alternative that Virginia ‘might (in part) want money’.

Both examples evoke the ‘gold digger’ motif, not through an explicit proclamation of dishonesty, but through an implicit invitation for the reader to *consider* the possibility that Virginia *might* be dishonest, or pursuant of an alternative agenda. Waterhouse-Watson (2013) refers to such features of discrediment as ‘(un)reasonable doubt’, by which news reporting about sexual violence against women disproportionately allocates the burden of proof to alleged victims. Together, these structures reflect the wider issue of attack and discrediment that is faced by women who speak out against sexual violence, especially against powerful men.

6.1.3 Conditional Victim

Benedict (1992, p.18) argues that, alternatively, sex crime victims are stereotyped in news reporting through the image of the ‘virgin’ - “pure and innocent, a true victim attacked by monsters”. Representations of Virginia as a victim do not resemble this construct. In fact, there is only a single example of manifest representation of Virginia as a victim across the sample; example (g), in which Virginia is overtly, unequivocally represented as a victim by the text-internal authorial voice:

- g. “The paper suggests the total amount that the victim and her charity will receive will actually exceed £12m, with the funds coming from her private Duchy of Lancaster estate, which recently increased by £1.5m to more than £23m.” DM3

Here, Virginia is clearly, unconditionally represented as a victim. Who, or what, precisely, she is the victim *of* is unrepresented in this proximity; although, this information is retrievable elsewhere in the text. What makes the explicitness of this particular representation interesting beyond who is, and is not, represented, is that it occurs in close linguistic range to words belonging to another semantic domain - ‘money’ - manifested, in this case, by the adjective ‘total’, the nouns ‘amount’, ‘funds’, and ‘estate’, the material processes ‘receive’, ‘exceed’, and ‘increased’, and the determiner ‘more’, alongside a variety of specific sums.

Conflating certain semantic domains in news reporting has the potential to construct associations between certain concepts, which can influence how texts are interpreted, how characters represented therein are viewed, and how topics are resultantly understood (Mason & Monckton-Smith, 2008). As such, situating the sole explicit representation of Virginia as a victim in this location, in particular, has the potential to invite negative construals of her behaviour. Namely, doing so subtly evokes the ‘gold digger’ myth surrounding alleged victims of sexual violence, by discursively associating victimhood with financial gain.

All other representations of Virginia as a victim are peripheral, and unendorsed. For instance, examples (h)-(j) construct sympathetic, vindicating portrayals of Virginia. However, these utterances are dialogic acknowledgements of overtly text-external positions - in this case, originating from the settlement documentation itself. This grounds each locution in an explicit subjectivity:

- h. “It also said the prince accepted that Miss Roberts, now 38, had been subjected to 'unfair public attacks' and that he had never intended to 'malign her character'.”
DM3
- i. “Although the agreement contained no formal admission of liability from Andrew, or an apology, it said he now accepted Miss Roberts was a 'victim of abuse' and that he

regretted his association with Epstein, the disgraced financier who trafficked countless young girls.” DM3

- j. “The full details, including the sum that Andrew will pay out, are not disclosed in the document, but Andrew has agreed to make a “substantial donation” to a charity supporting victims’ rights, and has accepted that Giuffre “suffered as an established victim of abuse”. He makes no admission of liability.” G3

In examples (h)-(j), heteroglossic engagement resources signal dialogistic alternatives, and the authorial stance is not overtly articulated. This is manifested, first, by acknowledgement - the reporting verbs ‘said’, ‘contained’, and ‘disclosed’ establish that everything that is ‘said’, ‘contained’, and ‘disclosed’ is attributed to the settlement documentation, and does not necessarily reflect the position of the text-internal authorial voice. These resources, in turn, modify the conceding concurrence ‘accepted’. This means that the mental process (‘accepted’), through which the victim-status of Virginia is ratified, is isolated from the authorial voice by two separate layers of linguistic distancing.

Further, positions that vindicate Virginia, explicitly representing her as a victim, are situated within scare quotes. Scare quotes are commonly employed in news reporting to construct dis/associating formulations, often for legal reasons, that “go somewhat further than acknowledgements in that, in presenting the authorial voice as explicitly declining to take responsibility for the proposition, they maximise the space for dialogistic alternatives” (Martin & White, 2005, p.114). Examples (i), and (j) establish, for the most part, *what* Virginia is an (alleged) victim of - ‘abuse’ - but not *who* is responsible. In fact, both examples emphasise the exclusion of any avowal of liability from the settlement; though these locutions are, similarly, hedged by heteroglossic reporting verbs, and are most likely a legal requirement.

Interestingly, the closest approximation to an identifiable perpetrator is established in example (h), in which Virginia is said to have been the subject of ‘unfair public attacks’, and that Andrew had never intended to ‘malign her character’. Crucially, it is the ‘public’, not Andrew, that looks worse in this representation. Andrew had ‘never intended to malign’, and there is no confirmation that any ‘maligning’ actually took place - only that he had ‘never intended’ to do so. The impression is that, according to the terms of the

settlement, Andrew ‘accepts’ that Virginia has been ‘subjected’ to either, ‘unfair attacks’ by the ‘public’, or ‘unfair (public) attacks’ by an unspecified actor, or group of actors (i.e. ‘his legal team’). The text does not make this connection explicit, and in the clause, the agent responsible is passively deleted.

Similar outcomes are achieved in example (k), in which Virginia is represented as representing *herself* as a victim, through the attributing reporting verb ‘said’, and a perpetrator is more clearly brought into focus:

- k. “In court documents filed as part of her civil case against Prince Andrew, Ms Giuffre said she was the victim of sex trafficking and abuse by the late billionaire financier, Epstein.” BBC2

Events are constructed misleadingly in this example. The details that are included are factually accurate, because the lawsuit does specify that Virginia was trafficked and abused by Epstein (*Virginia L. Giuffre v Prince Andrew, 2022*). However, certain details are excluded, and Andrew, in particular, is positioned strategically. In the first clause, the agent responsible for the material process ‘filed’ is deleted, and Andrew forms part of the contingency ‘as part of her civil case against Prince Andrew’, reducing his role to the circumstances under which the ‘*filing*’ has taken place. In the second clause, selective verbiage further obscures the specifics of the suit - excluding details about his alleged role in the abuses entirely. The case is not ‘Virginia L. Giuffre v Jeffrey Epstein’, and yet this is the impression produced by these transitivity structures. As a consequence, the implication is that Andrew is inaccurately, and perhaps unfairly, involved in a civil case about Epstein’s crimes.

In examples (i), and (m), Virginia is represented as a victim in a different way:

- l. “Source close to ‘sex slave’ Virginia Roberts said interview ‘lacked in empathy” DM1
 m. “Last night one of the US financier’s ‘sex slave’ victims, Virginia Roberts Giuffre – who claims she was forced to have sex with Andrew three times between 1999 and 2002 – was said to be ‘furious’ over the interview.” DM1

In both cases, the sexualising functionalisation of Virginia as a 'sex slave' premodifies, and superordinates, the functionalisation of Virginia as a 'victim'. Because this representation removes agency, it indicates force. In the context of an alleged sex crime case, this clearly emphasises victimhood. Still, this representation is not, necessarily, sympathetic. Firstly, the noun phrase 'sex slave' is conditioned by scare quotes. This indicates that the status is uncorroborated, and does not necessarily reflect the position of the text-internal voice. Secondly, the noun phrase 'sex slave' is rooted in patriarchal assumptions about female sexuality. Namely, while the ostensible purpose of 'sex slave' narratives is to protect women trafficked for sex from harm, it is underscored by male anxieties about female autonomy, and a moral commitment to controlling 'loose women' (Doezema, 1999). Based on this interpretation, while representing Virginia as a 'sex slave' does highlight her victimhood, it also diminishes her, because it reinforces masculine dependency ideologies.

6.2 Building Distrust

Portrayals of Virginia are obscuring, and include de-amplifying, and irreverent expressions rooted in hegemonic masculinity. These choices are not standard practice, and are substitutable with less stigmatising conventions. Further, her indirect reported speech tends to be restricted to dis/associating formulations that withdraw authorial support. This is partly a consequence of ambiguities surrounding the case, and the threat of litigation posed to news organisations reporting on the case. I focus this discussion on referential strategies that construct an uncertain identity, and engagement structures that signal contestability. These features build towards a discursive conveyance of doubt that provide a foundation upon which hegemonic tolerance may develop, because Virginia is, largely, represented in untrustworthy terms.

6.2.1 Ambiguous Identity

A confusion of representational conventions are used to identify Virginia in the texts. This makes it difficult to determine who, precisely, she is, because her identity (and status) is only vaguely established and, often, in contradictory terms. One avenue through which this obscuration is achieved is the formal title 'Ms', as exhibited by examples (a)-(f):

- a. "Ms Giuffre outlined her claims against Andrew in a world exclusive interview with The Mail on Sunday in 2011." DM1
- b. "He had investigations carried out to establish whether a photograph of him with Ms Giuffre was faked, but they were inconclusive" BBC1
- c. "Ms Giuffre claims she was forced to have sex with the Duke three times in 2001 at Epstein's multiple homes" DM2
- d. "Earlier, Ms Giuffre's lawyer David Boies said a money settlement alone will not be enough for his client - telling the BBC she wants to be vindicated." BBC2
- e. "Court papers show Duke will make 'substantial donation to Ms Giuffre's charity in support of victims' rights'" DM3
- f. "Whatever the total amount, it will need to be big enough to cover an acceptably large payment to Ms Giuffre" BBC3

Excepting definite pronouns, the formal nomination 'Ms Giuffre' is the most common identification of Virginia that appears in the texts published by the *Daily Mail* (sixteen occurrences), and the *BBC* (sixteen occurrences). The *Guardian* texts do not feature this form. There is no explicit evidence of this being standard practice in sex crime reporting. The Independent Press Standards Organisation (IPSO), the regulator for many UK news organisations, including the *Daily Mail*, does not set out specific guidelines in this regard (2021a; 2021b). As such, the title appears to be optional.

Inherent sexism in the English language restricts the forms with which women are represented (Benedict, 1992). For instance, there are more words, and more positive words, to describe men than there are to describe women. There are also more words with sexual overtones to describe women than there are to describe men, and many more words to describe a 'sexually promiscuous female', than there are words to describe a 'sexually promiscuous male' (Lakoff, 1973; Benedict, 1992). The same can be said of titles. In the English language, women are forced to choose between, and tend to be represented as, either 'Mrs', 'Miss', or 'Ms', whereas men have no such distinction. The title 'Ms' originated as an alternative option that gave women more power over their identities - in other words, to be defined in terms other than in relation to their marital status and relationship with

men. Baker (2010, p.145) notes that the 'Ms' title "was perhaps a useful word in that its existence helped to raise consciousness about the problems with the system and may have led to avoidance of other terms". However, as Mills (2003) points out, the resource has developed a less favourable, suspicious reputation, often (pejoratively) associated with age, divorce, and feminism. Contrary to its intended purposes, women using the title came to be perceived as cold, unlikeable, and success-driven (Lawton *et al*, 2003). As Lakoff (1973, p.73) contends, the empowerment this resource was intended to provide "is doomed to failure if it is not accompanied by a change in society's attitude to what the titles describe". The title is thus often used in news reporting to ridicule, rather than legitimise women. Walsh (2003), for instance, points out that news organisations often use the title to critically represent prominent female political actors.

The de-amplifying effect of these representations is not, necessarily, intentional. Rather, in a hegemonically masculine world, the resources with which to represent women that are available to journalists are limited to diminishing forms - 'Miss' can be infantilising, 'Mrs' can be objectifying, and 'Ms' can be pejorative. This links to Lazar's (2007) FCDA perspective, and how masculine structures embedded in news discourse can sustain asymmetrical gender-power relationships. Of course, none of these titles are mandatory, as evidenced by formalised representations of other women in the texts that exclude titles (i.e. 'Maitlis'). It follows that using 'Ms' in the context of a sex crime case is noteworthy, because obfuscating the marital status of an alleged victim of sexual assault identifies her nebulously in terms of her relationship to other men. This nebulosity is, similarly, achieved through other, contradictory naming practices.

Virginia identifies, today, as Virginia Louise Giuffre. Virginia identified, at the time of the alleged abuses, as Virginia Louise Roberts. This distinction is appropriately signalled by the *BBC*, and *Guardian* texts when the surname 'Roberts' is used, with the adverb '*then*' (i.e. '*then/formerly known as/called Virginia Roberts*'). The *Daily Mail* texts, on the other hand, do not tend to make this clear, confirming only once that Virginia 'brought the lawsuit under her married name' (see Appendix 3). As a consequence, in examples (g)-(k), Virginia's married name (Giuffre), and birth name (Roberts) are conflated:

- g. “In any case, he insisted, he was ‘at home with the children’ on the night Miss Roberts alleged she was nightclubbing and later having sex with him.” DM1
- h. “Source close to ‘sex slave’ Virginia Roberts said interview ‘lacked in empathy’” DM1
- i. “Last night one of the US financier’s ‘sex slave’ victims, Virginia Roberts Giuffre – who claims she was forced to have sex with Andrew three times between 1999 and 2002 – was said to be ‘furious’ over the interview.” DM1
- j. “Prince Andrew WILL face sex assault lawsuit in US: Royal to be called for dramatic court showdown in New York as judge refuses his attempt to throw out Virginia Roberts’s case accusing him of having sex with her when she was 17” DM2
- k. “Prince Andrew is today under severe pressure to settle with Virginia Roberts Giuffre after a New York judge sensationally refused to throw out her case” DM2

In these examples, Virginia is inaccurately named, and the information required to determine her precise identity is not retrievable elsewhere in the texts. Interestingly, the title ‘Miss’ is only used in the *Daily Mail* texts, and only to construct the formal nomination ‘Miss Roberts’. In contrast, the title ‘Ms’ is only used in the *Daily Mail*, and *BBC* texts, and only to construct the formal nomination ‘Ms Giuffre’. This might be interpreted as an attempt at equitable reporting. Alternatively, and following Lazar’s (2007) FCDA perspective, the ‘Miss’ title might have (un)intended, infantilising consequences. This would also mean that it functions as a subtle method of signposting that Virginia was a teenager at the time of the alleged offences. On the one hand, this has potential negative consequences for Andrew, as it draws attention to the extent of his alleged impropriety. On the other hand, it might also be argued that it has potential negative consequences for Virginia, as infantilising her may diminish her (perceived) credibility as a complainant in a historical civil case against a member of the British monarchy.

It is not possible to establish whether, or not, these nominal misrepresentations are attributable to shorthand, the pressures of news production, or inconsistent naming practices in the case documentation. However, other, key characters (i.e. Andrew) are not represented with such inconsistency; their identities are much more constant. Hegemonic masculinity means that certain actors (i.e. Andrew) benefit from patriarchal privilege, and the privilege of historically patriarchal institutions (i.e. monarchy) wherein names do not

tend to change other than upon accession. This contrasting fluidity of naming practices is one avenue through which difference is manifested discursively. In example (I), difference is much more overtly constructed:

- I. “The Duke of York has "categorically" denied having any sexual contact with an American woman, who says she was forced to have sex with him aged 17.” BBC1

This representation classifies Virginia in terms of nationality, and gender. This representation is foregrounded in the article subheading, and is thus superordinate to other, more specific representations that follow. This establishes, at the outset of the text, that Virginia is one of ‘them’, and not one of ‘us’. It should be noted that, in this case, the date of publication will have been an influencing factor. At this stage, Virginia did not have the name recognition that has since been established.

First, the indefinite determiner ‘an’ manifests typicality - Virginia is just one, of many ‘American women’. Next, the classification ‘American’ establishes ‘difference’ - Virginia is not British. Finally, ‘woman’ identifies her generically, rather than specifically. It is difficult to imagine other, key characters (i.e. Andrew) being represented in similarly, reductive terms (i.e. ‘a British man’). Moreover, this type of classificatory representation is widely recognised in the CDA literature as typical of ideological discourse, in which the positive ‘us’ and negative ‘them’ are differentiated (van Dijk, 1996; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001).

6.2.3 Claims & Allegations

The English language provides a range of lexico-grammatical resources with which to signal the extent of writer/speaker investment in a locution. Martin and White (2005) divide these resources into various categories of engagement, including attribution, by which positions are acknowledged (i.e. ‘to say’), or distanced (i.e. ‘to claim’). This type of engagement is commonly found in news reporting, and tends to be actualised linguistically through communicative process verbs (i.e. ‘to claim’), mental process verbs (i.e. ‘to believe’), process nominalisations (i.e. ‘*claims*’, ‘*beliefs*’), or adverbial adjuncts (i.e. ‘according to’).

Attributive resources in news reporting are potentially ideological, because different choices in this regard can have (de)legitimising effects (Lipari, 1996; Floyd, 2000; White,

2006). In this case, propositions credited (indirectly) to Virginia are represented very carefully. In most cases, this is realised by the reporting verbal processes ‘claimed’ or ‘claims’, and ‘alleged’ or ‘alleges’, and the nominalisations ‘*claims*’, and ‘*allegations*’, as shown in examples (m)-(p):

- m. “Virginia Giuffre, one of Epstein's accusers, claimed she was forced to have sex with the prince three times.” BBC1
- n. “But it was in 2015, that Roberts, now Giuffre, first alleged in legal papers she was forced to have sex with the prince” G2
- o. “It comes just weeks after Andrew vowed to contest Virginia Roberts' rape claims at a public trial.” DM3
- p. “It comes as he faces a US civil action over sexual assault allegations - claims he has consistently denied.” BBC2

These resources are not, necessarily, semantic equivalents, but are used interchangeably in the texts, forming disassociating formulations that actively withdraw support from the attributed material (White, 2006). The more ‘neutral’ communicative process verb ‘said’ is used much more sparingly, and never by the *Daily Mail*. This contrasts with propositions credited directly, and/or indirectly to Andrew, which much more commonly form acknowledging formulations. These choices remain relatively consistent across the legal timeline of the case.

Some of these features can be explained by extra-contextual factors. Key details in the case have never been substantiated. The case was settled out of court and involved no formal admission of liability from Andrew. This means that guilt, or innocence, cannot be monoglossically declared without risking litigation. Hence, the use of hedging devices like ‘*claim*’, and ‘*allege*’. As the subject of the allegations, Andrew has been given much more opportunity to speak in response. This includes the *BBC Newsnight* interview itself. Many of the texts refer directly to exchanges from this interview and, as a consequence, he is ‘*saying*’ much more than Virginia in the discourse.

6.3 Consensualising Abuse

In this section, I discuss the experiential construal of the alleged sex crime. I argue that strategically situated transitivity structures (processes, participants, and circumstances) *consensualise* events, such that an uncritical account (allegedly having sex) is privileged over critical alternatives (alleged rape). I connect this argument to the wider, victim-blaming myth - perpetuated in news reporting about sex crimes involving, in particular, elite (alleged) perpetrators - that 'rape is sex' (Burt, 1980; Benedict, 1992).

Common crosscultural myths about sexual violence tend to blame the victim/s, doubt the victim/s, and exonerate the perpetrator/s (Grubb & Turner, 2012). According to Benedict (1992), at the root of all myths about sexual violence is the inaccurate conflation of rape, and sex. This myth "ignores the fact that rape is a physical attack, and leads to the mistaken belief that rape does not hurt the victim any more than does sex" (ibid, p.14). News reporting that endorses this myth, arguably, has marginalising consequences for victims. The myth that rape is sexual - rather than an act of physical aggression and violence in which sex is weaponised in order to control, dominate and humiliate - trivialises the destructive consequences for victims. Further, the lexicogrammatical construction of the alleged sex crime in news texts is a potential site of hegemonic tolerance, because this particular site provides opportunities to portray events, and position participants, strategically.

The lawsuit was launched on August 9th, 2021, and settled on February 15th, 2022. The interview took place earlier, on November 16th, 2019. This means that the specifics of the allegations were not (necessarily) available to journalists at this time. The specifics of the suit are as follows: Andrew sexually abused Virginia on multiple occasions when she was under the age of eighteen, forcing her to have sex with him and engage in sex acts against her will, whilst fully aware of her age and status as a sex-trafficking victim under the coercive influence of Jeffrey Epstein and Ghislaine Maxwell. The victim was compelled to submit to this abuse under express or implied threat to her wellbeing from Andrew, Jeffrey Epstein and Ghislaine Maxwell, which has inflicted enduring psychological and emotional distress and harm (*Virginia L. Giuffre v Prince Andrew*, 2022).

These alleged offences are constructed in three major forms, each involving distinct transitivity structures. Each form represents events differently. The first form represents

events *critically*. The second form represents events *less critically*. The third form *consensualises* events.

In examples (a), and (b), the minutiae of events are explicitly articulated, the perpetrator is activated, and the victim is passivated. This strategy represents the allegations, more or less, accurately, albeit conditioned by the heteroglossic reporting verbs 'alleges', and 'alleged'. This promotes a *critical* interpretation of events. This form occurs infrequently (4 total - BBC2: 1, G3: 3):

- a. "She alleges the duke abused her on three occasions - both in the UK and the US - when she was a minor under US law." BBC2
- b. "Giuffre, who is now 38, has alleged that Andrew met her in the Tramp nightclub in London in 2001 and sexually assaulted her at Maxwell's home in Belgravia, London." G3

In examples (c)-(e), the subtleties of the case are less explicit, the perpetrator is passively deleted, and Andrew is circumstantialised (van Leeuwen, 1995a). This strategy represents the allegations with less accuracy, and is conditioned by the heteroglossic reporting verbs 'claimed', and 'claims'. This encourages a *less critical* interpretation of events. This form occurs frequently (12 total - DM1: 2, DM2: 3, DM3: 1, BBC1: 3, BBC2: 1, G2: 1, G3: 1):

- c. "Virginia Giuffre, one of Epstein's accusers, claimed she was forced to have sex with the prince three times." BBC1
- d. "Ms Giuffre claims she was forced to have sex with the Duke three times in 2001 at Epstein's multiple homes" DM2
- e. "She had claimed she was trafficked to have sex with the Queen's second son on three occasions when she was 17, a claim he has consistently denied." G3

In examples (f)-(h), the specifics of the allegations are obscured, and equated to 'having sex'. This strategy represents the allegations inaccurately, and is conditioned by the heteroglossic reporting verbs 'said', 'told', and 'admitted'. This *consensualises* events. This

form occurs very frequently (18 total - DM1: 3, DM2: 2, DM3: 2, BBC1: 5, BBC2: 1, G1: 4, G3: 1):

- f. “Roberts has said that they partied at Tramp nightclub in London on 10 March 2001, before going back to Maxwell’s Belgravia house where she claims she had sex with Andrew.” G1
- g. “In an interview with BBC Newsnight in 2019, the Queen's second son said that he had no recollection of ever meeting Ms Giuffre, and her account of them having sex in the US and UK "didn't happen"." BBC2
- h. “It comes just over a month after another of Epstein's victims exclusively told the Mail that Miss Roberts had admitted to her that she had slept with the prince in London in 2001.” DM3

The prevailing lexicogrammatical structures through which events are constructed achieve significant ideological outcomes. Foremost, the central ambiguity of the case is subtly reconstituted. Certain features are accentuated (‘did he/she/they have sex +/- with her/him’), and certain features are downplayed (‘did he sexually assault her’). As a consequence, the potential range of answers to the question ‘who did what to whom?’ is restricted. Advancing this narrative steers the reader towards desirable/uncritical questions and answers, and away from undesirable/critical questions and answers.

According to Benedict (1992), the pressures of news production regularly lead journalists to rely on clichés and familiar framing devices that (re)produce naturalised, common sense assumptions about sexual violence. This is exacerbated by woefully insufficient advice for journalists on the matter. For instance, Clause 11 (Victims of sexual assault) of the IPSO Editors’ Code of Practice (2021b) “does not set out the language which must be used to describe sexual offences”. Further, Royal (2019a) has shown that guidelines for reporting violence against women published by the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) are rarely followed. This tendency might, similarly, be explained by industry pressures.

The imprecise formulation ‘she says she had sex with him’ is prioritised over the (more) precise formulation ‘she alleges he sexually assaulted her’. This fits the assumptions of the HTF. Namely, these features amplify an elite/tolerant depiction of events, and de-

amplify a critical/alternative depiction of events, such that critical scrutiny of the alleged perpetrator - and the institution with which he is associated - is discouraged.

6.4 Towards Hegemonic Tolerance

Overall, the findings presented in this chapter support the core, underlying assumptions of the HTF. Specifically, in this case, the HTF has proven an effective means of uncovering structures of ir-reverence surrounding portrayals of Virginia - consistent with theoretical-methodological assumptions (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.3). Representations of Virginia typically downwardly modify reverence. This is primarily achieved through three different images that compress critical positions, specifically, by withdrawing, or withholding sympathy - Virginia as accuser, Virginia as gold digger, and Virginia as conditional victim. The discursive construction of Virginia that happens through and around these choices of representation produces ideological effects that emphasise her behaviour, placing her motives in the foreground of discussion which, in turn, evokes entrenched misogynistic ideologies. The 'accuser' image shifts the focus of debate from the alleged abuses suffered by Virginia, and the alleged perpetrator of these abuses, to the actions she is undertaking. This has the ideological effect of reversing victim-perpetrator roles, and withdrawing reverence. The 'gold digger' image is implicit in a number of representations, and associations between Virginia, and the semantic domain of 'money'. This has the ideological effect of inviting the reader to consider the possibility that she is pursuant of an ulterior agenda. Finally, the 'conditional victim' image is channelled through heteroglossic engagement resources that signal dialogistic alternatives (i.e. scare quotes), and sexualising premodifications that evoke harmful, patriarchal assumptions about female sexuality (i.e. 'sex slave'). Explicit representations of Virginia as a victim, on the other hand, are peripheral.

These features build towards hegemonic tolerance, because representing Virginia negatively has potentially rehabilitative consequences for Andrew and, in turn, the wider institution of monarchy. This might be explained, in part, by the laissez-faire power structure of symbiosis (see Chapter 4, section 4.2.1). Virginia represents a reputational threat to an elite figure with close ties to a member-institution of the state ensemble. I argue that traditional news organisations occupy a symbiotic relationship with this member-

institution, and will seek to sustain it. News institutions are inherently invested in maintaining channels of communication between monarchical power centres, and news organisations, meaning that critical ideologies are less likely to be featured prominently. Positive, sympathetic portrayals of Virginia - a figure representing a potentially existential threat to the institution of monarchy - are unlikely to work towards sustaining this relationship. As this chapter has revealed, this is instead reflected in ideological subtleties that compress critical positions, and guide the reader towards a particular interpretation of events that disengages from critical avenues of debate - including consensualising constructions of the alleged sex crime (see section 6.3). For instance, by emphasising negative, unsympathetic portrayals (i.e. 'money-hungry sex kitten') that contrast with positive, sympathetic portrayals of other figures, such as Elizabeth (see Chapter 8, section 8.1). In the following chapter, I move on to explore the discursive construction of Andrew in the case data.

Chapter 7 - 'Really Rather Extraordinarily Stupid'

In this chapter I present three major evidence-driven arguments regarding the discursive construction of Andrew in the case data. In 7.1, I argue that portrayals of Andrew are *colourless*, such that the boundaries of in/appropriate representations are established. In 7.2, I argue that portrayals of Andrew are *exculpating*, such that the boundaries of un/sanctionable critique are established. In 7.3, I argue that portrayals of the alleged sex crime are *consensualising*, such that a diminishing interpretation of events (alleged sex) is privileged over alternatives (alleged rape). In 7.4, I discuss how these features build towards achieving the objective of hegemonic tolerance.

7.1 Establishing Boundaries

I argue that reverent representations (i.e. 'Prince Andrew') are foregrounded in the discourse. In turn, certain transgressive representations (i.e. 'the alleged rapist') are backgrounded in the discourse. This establishes a dominant image of the character - what he can be named or portrayed as doing, and what he cannot be named or portrayed as doing. The facts of the case mean that a degree of opprobrium is unavoidable. However, in this case, *colourless* representation - in other words, representation that disinvents any particular evaluation of his character or actions - works towards establishing a dominant range of permissible condemnation.

Nilsson (2018) contends that difference is constructed in news reporting through 'rape genres', by which different cases, involving different types of participants, perform different sociocultural functions. Elements of this case might be said to fit 'the celebrity rape' genre, in which "the need to maintain the state of cultural anaesthesia is, more than in any other genre, explicitly expressed" (ibid, p.1187). This cultural construct has been identified in a number of cases involving, in particular, respected athletes (Franiuk *et al*, 2008; Waterson-Watson, 2012; Royal, 2019b, Silveirinha *et al*, 2020). Each of these studies uncovered familiar features that construct us/them dichotomies, and excuse the abuses of assailants who subvert rapist stereotypes. For instance, Royal (2019b) found the (in)visibility and passivity of the alleged perpetrator (UK footballer Ched Evans) to be a core

marginalising component. Meanwhile, Silveirinha (*et al*, 2020) found the ‘national hero’ status of the alleged perpetrator (Portuguese footballer Cristiano Ronaldo) to be a key discrediting device.

There are a number of divergent features in this case that set it apart from this genre of news discourse. Firstly, the alleged perpetrator does not neatly fit the category of ‘celebrity’. Andrew was never regarded, necessarily, as a beloved national figure and, prior to the events of November 16th, 2019, many citizens may have been unfamiliar with his status. Secondly, Andrew is foregrounded as the focus of debate, rather than invisibilised. Thirdly, his image does not escape the discourse ‘unblemished’ (Nilsson, 2018). Rather, he is broadly the isolated target of limited ridicule. Unlike the late celebrity serial rapist, and close friend of the current reigning monarch (Clancy & Yelin, 2021), ‘Sir James Wilson Vincent Savile OBE’ - who was strenuously cast in black and white terms as either a ‘national treasure’, or a ‘monster’ in news coverage (Boyle, 2018) - Andrew is never represented in particularly striking terms. Rather, this case might be said to sculpt a different subgenre of sex crime reporting - ‘the grey rape’ - in which *colourless* representation of the alleged perpetrator signals the perceived limits of sanctionable denunciation.

A macrosyntactic view of (Western) news discourse assumes a conventional superstructure, or schema, by which content is organised into a thematic structure with conventional categories and rules i.e. Summary, Main Event, Background (van Dijk, 1985). The higher-level category ‘Summary’ is constituted by the lower-level categories ‘Headline’ (news text title) and, in most cases, ‘Lead’ (summarising sentence in bold). These categories express the highest level macroproposition of the discourse, foregrounding certain details that, in turn, reflect ideology (van Dijk, 1985). It follows that how Andrew is represented in these sites, in particular, builds towards establishing dominant perceptions of the boundaries of critique. Accordingly, examples (a)-(i) illustrate the strategies that are typically prioritised in Headlines (H), and Leads (L):

- a. “Prince Andrew 'categorically' denies sex claims” BBC1H
- b. “Duke of York claims alibi in interview with Emily Maitlis for Newsnight about Jeffrey Epstein links” G1L

- c. "Duke of York answered questions from Emily Maitlis, 49, during hour long show"
DM1L
- d. "Lawsuit is devastating blow for Prince Andrew – and the royal family" G2H
- e. "The Duke of York's military titles and royal patronages have been returned to the Queen, Buckingham Palace has said." BBC2L
- f. "Andrew now faces being deposed and giving evidence at a trial pencilled in for the US courts in September" DM2L
- g. "Prince Andrew: Where does he get his money from?" BBC3H
- h. "The duke had earlier said he would never settle and wanted a jury trial, making the deal between parties completely unexpected" G3L
- i. "Andrew and his accuser Virginia Giuffre reach out-of-court settlement in civil sex claim filed in New York" DM3L

We see that, far from the monstrous rapist stereotype conceived of by Burt (1980, p.217) as "sex-starved, insane, or both", Andrew is portrayed in particularly *unsensational* terms in these sites. Andrew is only, and without much variety, personalised (i.e. 'he'), nominated (i.e. 'Prince Andrew'), and functionalised (i.e. 'Duke of York'). These specifications persist through each stage of intensity in the case, rendering a nondescript first impression of Andrew in the macroproposition. There is some potential for critique in these representations. Namely, in example (g) the question posed carries the potential implicature that he is a person who lives off others. Moreover, examples (a), (b), (d), (f), (h), and (i) all establish that he is having to address charges. One could also argue that the consistent use of title/function as a reminder of his social status is a form of critique that is wrapped in accentuated reverence, because it also reminds readers that he is expected to exhibit greater standards of behaviour. However, these expressions of criticality are implicit, and may or may not factor into interpretations. Overall, the dominant impression is neither here, nor there - there is little flavour from which to form any particular opinion.

This contrasts significantly with popular, alternative impressions that are overtly critical of his (alleged) behaviour. For instance, a song released by Essex-based protest band The Kunts titled 'Prince Andrew is a Sweaty Nonce' saw UK chart success ahead of the 2022 platinum jubilee (Whiting, 2022). It might seem ridiculous to suggest that news outlets

could/should risk humiliating a public figure who has not been found guilty of wrongdoing. However, they will when it is considered expedient. Such was the case in the vociferous campaign of discreditment launched by select publications against the ‘loony lefty’ former Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn between 2015 and 2020 (Cammaerts *et al*, 2020).

A more critical position might, alternatively, have been signalled by different categories or subcategories of representation, or certain predicatory strategies. Predicates (i.e. adjectives) are commonly used in news discourse to positively, or negatively, modify social actor representations (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). In this case, Andrew is named, but not described. There are a range of alternative resources with which Andrew *could* have been represented, including predicates that describe him positively, or negatively, or other, equally accurate functionalisations (i.e. ‘the alleged abuser’). This would have the effect of levelling perpetrator-victim representations because Virginia is, by contrast, often represented in this site in terms that *might* invite critical scrutiny depending on reader ideologies (i.e. ‘rape accuser Virginia Roberts’) (see Chapter 6, section 6.2.1). It should, however, be noted that there is less ‘at stake’ for calling someone an accuser than there is for calling someone an (alleged) abuser, especially in a context of innocence until proven guilty.

Certain categories of social actor representation are excluded entirely from the macroproposition of the discourse. For instance, Andrew is never relationally identified (i.e. ‘the Queen’s second son’) in Headlines, or Leads, as he often is elsewhere in the texts. Although this might be the result of textual constraints, it has the clear politico-ideological effect of constructing disassociation between his alleged behaviours, and the underlying structures with which he is associated. Moreover, the ‘special’ status of this character is signalled by the (conventional) exclusion of other categories of representation from the texts as a whole. For instance, unlike Virginia (see Chapter 6, section 6.3.1), Andrew is never formalised (i.e. ‘Mr Mountbatten-Windsor’), semi-formalised (i.e. ‘Andrew Mountbatten-Windsor’), or classified (i.e. ‘a British man’). This (re)produces difference discursively. It might be argued that such categories are ‘impossible’, given his highly unique social status. However, this illustrates the degree to which certain conventions can come to be naturalised as common sense and reflected in news reporting (Pickering, 2001).

These features support wider myths surrounding sexual violence. Namely, critical scrutiny is reserved for the alleged victim, who tends to be functionalised in much more sensational terms in the macroproposition (i.e. ‘sex accuser Virginia Roberts’) (see Chapter 6, section 6.2.1). This is consistent with Serisier’s (2017) assertion that, in rape cases involving elite alleged assailants, critical media scrutiny tends to be reserved for alleged victims. These forms provide cues that evoke (un)reasonable doubt (Waterhouse-Watson, 2013), and (re)produce victim-blaming ideologies. Conversely, the dominant referential strategies used to represent Andrew provide only a bare minimum of detail, from which we are able to construe his specific identity, and limited implicit critique (financial dependence, having to address charges).

One way that news discourse (re)produces misconceptions about sexual violence is by casting alleged assailants in black and white terms - as ‘monsters’, or as ‘respectable men’ (Serisier, 2017). Changing news representations of Savile over time are a good example of this dichotomy (Boyle, 2018). The consistently polite conventions used to represent Andrew in the macroproposition feed into the myth that only certain people can be ‘rapists’, and only certain rapes are ‘real rapes’ (Flowe *et al*, 2009). These forms, in turn, build towards establishing the dominant boundaries of ‘appropriate’ critique. This tendency is particularly pronounced in the *BBC* texts.

The *BBC* texts feature no informalisations of Andrew. Excepting pronouns, macropropositional representations of Andrew are restricted to nominations with honorifics (i.e. Prince Andrew), and functionalisations (i.e. The Duke of York). Different news outlets favour different referential categories depending on the status of the actor being represented (Richardson, 2007). Andrew is informalised (‘Andrew’) in the *Daily Mail* examples (f), and (i), indicating that news organisations are not statutorily bound to represent him in any particular way, and that honorifics (i.e. ‘Prince’) are avoidable terms of reverence. This tendency might be explained by differing house styles, but also by the *BBC*’s unique proximity to the institutional ensemble of the state, and status as a public broadcaster dependent on a licence fee (Chomsky & Herman, 1988).

Crimes involving sex are commonly distorted and sensationalised in popular news reporting, offering gendered accounts that (re)enforce misconceptions about sexual violence (Dowler, 2006). In such cases, perpetrators tend to be ‘othered’, constructed as

perverse, monstrous, and deviant (O'Hara, 2012). However, Serisier (2017) contends that tabloid stereotypes are much less common in cases involving elite perpetrators. News discourse constructs sex crimes in accordance with the status and features of the participants involved, meaning that not all rape cases are positioned as equal, and blame and sympathy are not always apportioned in the same way (Silveirinha *et al*, 2020). This feeds into wider power imbalances, and (re)produces hegemonic structures.

A key distinguishing feature of this character compared to, for instance, certain celebrities and/or athletes, is that his status as a senior royal binds him to wider social processes (Clancy, 2021). The macro politico-ideological purpose of monarchy is to represent and uphold the interests of ruling elites, and this includes pardoning, and championing, the oppression of women's bodies (Clancy & Yelin, 2021). Meanwhile, many studies have identified structures embedded in news reporting that reflect elite interests (Harkins & Lugo-Ocando, 2016; Barca, 2018). The macroproposition provides a good indication of underlying ideologies (van Dijk, 1985). Representations of Virginia in the macroproposition tend to be quite colourful (i.e. 'sex accuser Virginia Roberts'). Representations of Andrew in the macroproposition tend to be quite bland (i.e. 'Prince Andrew'). Such depictions do not neatly fit either extreme (monster/respectable man) commonly seen in sex crime reporting (Serisier, 2017).

7.2 Regulating Critique

As noted in 7.1, Andrew does not escape the discourse unblemished. Rather, he is the isolated target of limited ridicule. This is one reason the case might be said to occupy a unique subgenre of sex crime reporting. Andrew is a member of an institution that forms part of the institutional ensemble of the state. News outlets tend to represent a narrow range of views that reflect the interests of ruling elites (Chomsky & Herman, 1988). The minutiae of events, in this case, mean that backlash is unavoidable. In order to protect underlying structures from harm, it is anticipated that critique will be regulated. In this section, I address how this is achieved in the texts. Namely, by emphasising particular (negative) portrayals of Andrew, and deemphasising alternatives. This signals a dominant character of denunciation, and builds towards hegemonic tolerance.

In terms of the *appraisal framework* (Martin & White, 2005), negative portrayals of Andrew tend to be constructed around strategic judgements of sanction (propriety, veracity), and esteem (capacity). These evaluating formulations are usually exophoric, heteroglossically attributed to external voices. Judgements of sanction (propriety, veracity) occur regularly in the *Daily Mail* texts, less regularly in the *Guardian* texts, and rarely in the *BBC* texts. Judgements of esteem (capacity), on the other hand, are mostly confined to the *Daily Mail* texts. Judgements of capacity, in particular, connect with exculpating myths surrounding sexual violence because they diminish perpetrator agency (Benedict, 1992). As the *Daily Mail* is traditionally regarded as a conservative publication with royalist sympathies (Smith, 2017), this might be considered strategic.

The general tepidness of negative portrayals of Andrew might be interpreted in terms of specific media journalism models. Namely, the texts overwhelmingly privilege certain 'expert-sources' with preferential access to media channels (see especially Chapter 8, section 8.2). These sources might aptly be described as primary definers (see Chapter 2, section 2.4). Pre-existing relations with 'authoritative' sources embedded within powerful societal institutions enable journalists to arrogate 'objectivity' (see Chapter 2, section 2.5). However, this inadvertently orients reportage around a particular definition of events that will tend towards the conservation of existing regimes of power. This includes monarchy, and in this case, is manifested as a soft form of denunciation of Andrew, and a particular representation of events that builds towards hegemonic tolerance.

Judgement is a form of evaluation that construes attitude/s about people and, specifically, their behaviours (Martin & White, 2005). Appraising language reflects positive, or negative valence. I focus on negative valence in this section, because the details of this case mean there is room for critique. The HTF anticipates that, in cases such as this, critique will have a cosmetic prevalence - a degree of surface engagement with critical views that does not threaten underlying structures. Thus, this area provides opportunities to gain insight into how hegemonic tolerance might be constructed in news discourse. The meaning of an appraising lexical item is determined by context, and co-text. Context refers to the extralinguistic circumstances in which the language is produced (Widdowson, 2004). Co-text refers to the immediate linguistic environment surrounding a unit of language (Halliday, 1999).

In examples (a)-(b), negative portrayals of Andrew form around judgements of sanction (propriety, veracity). Example (a), below, is attributed to 'Ingrid Seward, editor of Majesty magazine', via the acknowledging verbal process 'said'. Example (b) is attributed to 'Lt Stuart Hunt, who served in the 1st Royal Tank Regiment', via the acknowledging verbal process 'told'. The main appraising lexical item/s are underlined:

- a. "“It is disappointing that the Queen’s second son has put himself in a position to have to answer such questions. He has to take responsibility for the situation he has put himself in.” DM1
- b. "“Whether he's guilty or not, he has brought things into disrepute... He's not fit to serve in an honorary rank. He has forgone [sic] that right by getting into this sort of situation.” BBC2

In example (a), the immediate co-text establishes the target of assessment to be Andrew having 'put himself' in a particular 'position'. The word 'disappointing' has no positive application as an adjective in the English language. We can therefore interpret the assessment to be condemning, rather than praising, reflecting negative valence. We can also surmise, on this basis, that the 'position' Andrew has 'put himself' in is undesirable. Interestingly, the extralinguistic context (time) means that this evaluation pertains specifically to the *Newsnight* interview, and not any compromising position he may, or may not have 'put himself' in with Virginia.

Co-textual features do not reveal *why* the speaker considers the behaviour to be 'disappointing' - though readers may draw this from the wider context of the text based on assumptions about the relevance of expertise and quotes in news. Co-textual features do reveal information about *who* the speaker is - we are able to discern that the speaker is a fully nominated, functionalised insider-expert. Experts tend to be used in news reporting to reinforce hegemonic views (Said, 1981; Mason, 2007; Miller & Mills, 2009) (see Chapter 8, section 8.2). This might explain why certain flavours of critique are privileged over alternatives in the discourse. In this case, the denouncement that is emphasised is that it is disappointing that Andrew agreed to be interviewed. This comes at the expense of much more censorious alternatives. Alternatively the judgement might be condemning Andrew in

terms of esteem, and the subcategory of veracity. Specifically, reprimanding him for being *too* 'honest' or, in other words, a 'blabbermouth' (Martin & White, 2005).

In the second sentence of extract (a), Andrew is similarly constructed as having 'put himself' in a 'situation'. This behaviour is *not* explicitly appraised, positively, or negatively - even if it is underscored by the implication of negative appraisal in the linguistic and social context. Namely, 'taking responsibility' tends to be associated with negative behaviour in the English language. Contextual (timeline), and co-textual ('to answer such questions') factors mean we can reasonably interpret 'position' to mean 'being interviewed on television about this specific event/allegation'. The meaning of 'situation' is less clear. This may also mean 'interview', or it may mean 'sex crimes', which might be inferred from the wider context of the text. If 'interview' is taken to be its meaning, the interview is superordinate, and assessed negatively as 'disappointing', while the implied sex crimes are subordinate, and unappraised. Again, these nuances demonstrate how certain flavours of critique are favoured over others in the discourse. In this case, a certain denouncement is emphasised - it is disappointing that Andrew agreed to be interviewed - at the expense of much more censorious alternatives.

In example (b), Andrew is represented by others as performing four material processes ('brought', 'serve', 'forgone', and 'getting'). The immediate co-text indicates that only one of these actions is the explicit target of assessment - 'getting' ('getting into this sort of situation'). This is established by another process - 'forgone' - and the preposition 'by'. The two latter propositions should be read as cause-consequence, with the process 'getting' understood as being associated with the clause pertaining to 'not fit' through anaphoric reference, which is signalled by the determiner 'that' in the noun phrase 'that right'. The implication, through anaphoric reference, is that 'he has foregone [the right of serving in an honorary rank] by getting into this sort of situation'. The surrounding co-text ('guilty', 'disrepute') signals that this unit is a judgement of sanction, corresponding to the subcategory of propriety (how ethical). The co-text also provides information about *what* Andrew is assessed as 'not fit' to do - 'serve in an honorary rank'. As the appraising item is antonymous to 'fit', which is synonymous to 'appropriate', we can infer that the evaluation reflects negative valence.

The appraised behaviour in example (b), like example (a), pertains to an unspecified 'situation'. Extralinguistic factors provide some information that aids interpretation of what this noun is likely to refer to. At the point of publication, a civil-legal context had been established. This prompted criticism, including a letter to the then monarch 'signed by more than 150 Royal Navy, RAF and Army veterans'. This policy is reportedly 'welcomed' by 'Lt Stuart Hunt'. The co-text tells us that the 'right' Andrew has 'foregone' is to 'hold honorary rank'. It also tells us that his unfitness is determined by 'getting into this sort of situation'. As such, we can reasonably infer that, in this case, 'situation' refers specifically to his embroilment in the lawsuit, and not (necessarily) the alleged sex abuses that precipitated the lawsuit - although both interpretations are possible.

This means that it is the extralinguistic *legal* context that precludes military honours, and not necessarily other (alleged) behaviours, or relationships. Moreover, co-textual features establish the military, not Virginia, as an (indirect) victim of Andrew, if 'things' are taken to mean 'military'. This is implied by the fact that the first clause in example (b) is preceded by the co-textual proposition 'I'm just glad he's not associated with the military now', which is also attributed to 'Lt Stuart Hunt' via the acknowledging verbal process 'told'. Based on this interpretation, the military is the victim of Andrew through the infliction of reputational damage ('brought things into disrepute') as a consequence of his behaviour ('getting into this sort of situation'), 'whether he's guilty or not'. In Althusserian (1971) terms, the military is an RSA. Thus, these nuances decrease association between Andrew and an essential component of the state in late-stage capitalism by emphasising his 'unfitness' to be 'associated' with, or 'hold honorary rank' within. Meanwhile, the specifics of his alleged wrongdoing - the rape of a minor - are excluded entirely from the assessment, and thereby rendered a subordinate critique.

In examples (c)-(e), negative portrayals of Andrew form around judgements of sanction (veracity), and esteem (capacity). Example (c) is attributed to 'a source close to the now mother-of-three' (Virginia), via the acknowledging verbal process 'told'. Example (d) is attributed to 'royal author Penny Junor', via the acknowledging verbal process 'added'. Example (e) is attributed to a 'senior royal source', via the acknowledging verbal process 'said'. The main appraising lexical item/s are underlined:

- c. “It is telling that the Prince is so out of touch that he tries to make the interview all about him.” DM1
- d. “I think that this protestation of knowing nothing, seeing nothing, not remembering anything, defies belief. He is either not telling the truth or he is really rather extraordinarily stupid.” DM1
- e. “Regardless of the outcome, he has ruled himself out of any public role by virtue of his appalling lack of judgment [sic] and poor choice of friends and associates.” DM3

In example (c), the immediate co-text establishes the target of assessment to be ‘the Prince’. Andrew is performing three processes in the extract - the existential process ‘is’, the behavioural process ‘tries’, and the material process ‘make’. The appraising item ‘out of touch’ targets the processes ‘tries’, and ‘make’ (‘he tries to make the interview all about him’). This is signalled by the determiner ‘that’, and establishes attitudinal judgement. In populist news discourse, the phrase ‘out of touch’ is typically used as an ideological strategy that juxtaposes elites (‘them’), and non-elites (‘us’) (Maydell *et al*, 2022). In this case, extralinguistic contexts (widely derided interview), and co-textual features (habituality: ‘so’), mean we can reasonably infer that the assessment reflects negative valence.

This criticism represents a relatively benign assessment, especially given that the speaker is reportedly ‘close’ to the alleged victim. Of course, the speaker does not have the power to choose what is included, or omitted, from their contribution to the debate - it is decided on their behalf by those involved in news production processes. This means the outlet has chosen to represent the speaker, and their position, in this particular way. Further, this type of assessment is repeated by the text-internal authorial voice at a later point in the text, graduated by the intensifying subjunct ‘absurdly’ (‘The Prince often came across as absurdly out of touch.’). Given that the phrase ‘out of touch’ is commonly understood to mean ‘lacking relevant knowledge, or information’ (OED, No datec), this particular assessment might be said to evoke ideologies that pardon alleged perpetrators of sexual violence. In sex crime reporting, implications of perpetrator ignorance can act as subtle structures of agency diminishment (Benedict, 1992). However, in this case, the speaker is (reportedly) connecting his ‘out of touchedness’ to the specific behavioural process ‘tries’ (‘to make the interview all about him’) via the determiner ‘that’. Thus, this

critique is not, necessarily, building towards pardoning Andrew. Rather, it is critiquing his conduct during the interview. Again, this foregrounds a particular tenor of critique (the interview was self-centred), and backgrounds much more critical alternatives.

In example (d), the targets of assessment are ‘this protestation’, and ‘he’, establishing correspondence to the judgement system of appraisal. There are three appraising lexical items pertaining to two different types of attitudinal judgement - ‘defies belief’, and ‘not telling the truth’ are judgements of sanction, clearly corresponding to the subsystem of veracity (how truthful); ‘stupid’ is a judgement of esteem, clearly corresponding to the subsystem of capacity (how capable). The immediate co-text establishes ‘this protestation’ to be the target of the assessment ‘defies belief’. The preposition ‘of’ signals the human behaviours described by the noun ‘protestation’ (‘knowing’, ‘seeing’, ‘remembering’). Andrew is not allocated a participant role, but this can be inferred from surrounding co-textual features (‘telling’). Next, co-textual features establish ‘he’ to be the target of the assessments ‘not telling the truth’, and ‘stupid’. This is signalled by the verb ‘is’.

Extralinguistic contexts (widely derided interview, sex abuse allegations) mean we can reasonably construe these assessments to reflect negative valence. The extract plainly constructs two negative portrayals of Andrew around themes of dishonesty, and ineptitude. The judgements of veracity (‘defies belief’, ‘not telling the truth’) target specific mental, and material processes - ‘knowing nothing’, ‘seeing nothing’, ‘not remembering anything’ - that foreground behaviours Andrew may have *witnessed*, and background behaviours Andrew may have *exhibited*. This is emphasised by the language surrounding the extract in the text (‘I’m sure he could help the FBI investigation into Epstein....’, ‘he must have noticed something going on....’). Next, the conjunctions ‘or’, and ‘either’, establish the mutual exclusivity of ‘not telling the truth’, and ‘stupid’. In other words, Andrew is represented as being one of two things - a liar, or a fool. Further, given that ‘stupid’ is graduated by the intensifier ‘really rather extraordinarily’, one estimation (‘stupid’) is prioritised over the other (‘not telling the truth’). The net outcome of these evaluations of Andrew’s behaviour are two separate critiques. In the first instance, it is implied that he ‘knows something’. In the second instance, it is implied that he is ‘stupid’. Neither of these evaluations target the specific behaviours he has been accused of exhibiting. Thus, the propositions act to subtly

foreground a preferred set of questions ('what does he know', 'is he stupid'), at the expense of critical alternatives.

In example (e), the immediate co-text establishes the subject of appraisal to be Andrew ('his'), corresponding to the judgement system. The two assessments - 'lack of judgement', 'poor choice' - pertain to the capacity (how capable) subsystem of attitudinal judgement. These assessments produce comparable portrayals of Andrew around the theme of (in)competence, clearly reflecting negative valence. The co-text acknowledges the settlement ('outcome') and, at this stage in the timeline of the case, the specifics of the allegations were a matter of public record. As such, we can make reasonably well-informed interpretations about the target of each appraisal.

The target of 'poor choice' is revealed by the co-text ('of friends and associates'). This is likely to refer to his relationship with Jeffrey Epstein. The target of 'lack of judgment [sic]' is not revealed by the co-text. This assessment is graduated by the intensifying adjective 'appalling'. There are several potential interpretations as to the target of this assessment. The most obvious candidate is the more general and abstract processes associated with choosing friends (i.e. being with, and acting with those friends). Based on this interpretation, the emphasised critique is that Andrew has exhibited an 'appalling lack of judgement in his choice of friends and associates'. This clearly favours a particular tenor of critique based around capacity. The less obvious candidate is the alleged sexual impropriety, which might be inferred from the wider context of the text. Based on this interpretation, 'rape' is equated with 'lack of judgement'. This evokes ideologies that excuse alleged perpetrators of rape, because the act and its consequences are diminished. Exculpating structures in news reporting about rape connect with victim-blaming ideologies, because they work towards pardoning alleged perpetrators (Soothill & Walby, 1991). The degree to which this evaluation is interpreted as a subtle attempt at pardoning Andrew will depend on reader MR. It should also be noted that these evaluations are conditioned by the phrase 'regardless of the outcome'. Thus, the overall message of the quote is that, whether Andrew were to be found guilty or innocent of multiple (civil) counts of (alleged) rape, his 'lack of judgement' - with regards to either/or choosing friends or sexual impropriety - is the quality that precludes him from a public role, rather than his status as a potential sex

offender. This pushes an extraordinarily diminishing account of events into the foreground for the reader.

Andrew is a representative of the institution of monarchy. This means that reputational damage has wider implications for underlying structures. News outlets tend to promote views that sustain existing conditions, and align with the interests of the state (White, 2006). This is manifested in strategies of impression management that sculpt a preferred depiction of events. Specifically, certain flavours of critique are privileged over alternatives in the discourse. Sanctionable critique includes; it is disappointing that Andrew agreed to be interviewed; Andrew is unfit to be associated with the military; the interview was self-centred; he knows something; he is stupid. Unsanctionable critique includes anything that focuses on the specifics of his wrongdoing i.e. the alleged rape of a minor, and the underlying structures by which this alleged behaviour was, in part, enabled. The outcome is a relatively 'safe' depiction of events.

7.3 Consensualising Abuse

In this section, I discuss the experiential construal of the alleged sex crime. I argue that strategically situated transitivity structures *consensualise* events, such that an uncritical account (allegedly having sex) is privileged over critical alternatives (alleged rape). I connect this argument to the wider, victim-blaming myth - perpetuated in news reporting about sex crimes involving, in particular, elite (alleged) perpetrators - that 'rape is sex' (Burt, 1980; Benedict, 1992).

The alleged offences are constructed in three major forms, each involving distinct transitivity structures. Each form represents events differently. The first form represents events *critically*. The second form represents events *less critically*. The third form *consensualises* events. This parallels the findings discussed in Chapter 6, section 6.4.

Examples (a)-(b) espouse a *critical* depiction of events. This form (ostensibly) represents the allegations accurately. Example (a) is conditioned by the heteroglossic reporting verbal processes 'accused', and 'alleged', and is attributed to Virginia. Example (b) is conditioned by the heteroglossic reporting verbal process 'said', and is attributed to 'Rachel Fiset, a senior partner at law firm Zweiback, Fiset & Coleman'. This form (i.e. he assaulted her) occurs infrequently (4 - G3: 3, DM3: 1):

- a. "It wasn't until 2015 that details became public, when court documents filed in Florida in which Giuffre accused Epstein of trafficking her also alleged that Andrew had sexually assaulted her." G3
- b. "'When you couple the price of litigation on both sides with the risk of embarrassing facts coming out for Andrew and a potential jury loss relating to the sexual assault of a minor by a Prince, the settlement amount is likely very high.'" DM3

In example (a), details are explicitly articulated, conditioned by the heteroglossic reporting verbal process 'alleged'. In the clause in which the alleged sex crime is constructed ('Andrew had sexually assaulted her'), Andrew is activated, and Virginia is passivated. This strategy represents the allegations accurately. Example (b) constructs events differently. In this case, the indefinite determiner 'a' ('a Prince') disassociates Andrew, and the material process 'assault'. However, the wider context means it is easy to infer that 'a Prince' is a representation of Andrew, who is also mentioned in the co-text. The same can be said of Virginia ('a minor'). Further, the 'embarrassing facts' at risk of exposure are not revealed by the co-text.

Examples (c)-(d) espouse a *less critical* depiction of events. This form represents the allegations with less accuracy. Example (c) is conditioned by the heteroglossic reporting verbal process 'claimed', and is attributed to Andrew. Example (d) is conditioned by the heteroglossic reporting verbal process 'insisted', and is also attributed to Andrew. This form (i.e. he had sex with a minor) occurs frequently (11 - DM1: 1, DM2: 2, DM3: 1, BBC1: 1, BBC2: 1, G1: 4, G3: 1):

- c. "The Duke of York claimed on Saturday night that he could not have had sex with a teenage girl in the London home of British socialite Ghislaine Maxwell because he was at home after attending a children's party at Pizza Express in Woking." G1
- d. "In a sometimes rambling and contradictory account of their friendship, which drew accusations of arrogance from viewers, the prince insisted he had not had sex with any women trafficked by Epstein in any of his properties." G1

In example (c), criticality is represented by the classification 'a teenage girl'. This establishes Virginia's status as a minor at the time of the alleged offences. Sex-trafficked minors cannot provide consent (Reid & Jones, 2011). As such, this example misrepresents alleged rape as sex - although, it might be argued that by representing Virginia as a minor, rape is implied. There are also multiple dis/associating structures at work in this example. The 'claim' that 'he could not have had sex' is attributed to Andrew. This disassociates Andrew from sex. The representation 'a teenage girl', although implicitly establishing rape, also increases the space between Andrew, and Virginia, who is not explicitly represented. Part of his 'claim' is that he 'could not' have 'had sex' because he was elsewhere at the time ('at home after attending a children's party'). This very literally increases the geographical distance between Andrew and the alleged offences.

In example (d), criticality is represented by the material process 'trafficked'. This process is performed by 'Epstein', and implies rape (by others). This is because many 'women trafficked by Epstein', including Virginia, were minors, and sex-trafficked minors cannot provide consent (Reid & Jones, 2011). Despite this, the act of rape is consensualised ('had sex'). This is enacted as a means of denying that *any* act took place - rape is not acknowledged, and sex is denied. Andrew is contrasted with Epstein - 'trafficking' is a crime, 'having sex' is not - which increases the distance between the behaviours (and improprieties) of these actors. The words around not having sex ('the prince insisted he had not had sex with any women') are attributed to Andrew. This disassociates Andrew from 'sex', although the verbal process 'insisted' does imply that he is having to work hard to be believed. Epstein is associated explicitly with criminal activity because he had already been found guilty of these crimes in a court of law. Thus, the attribution of 'he had not had sex with any women' to Andrew might be for legal reasons. The collectivisation 'any women trafficked by Epstein' presumably includes Virginia, but this is not made explicit. This example effectively increases the space between Andrew and various undesirable features (Epstein, sex, Virginia, rape).

Examples (e)-(g) espouse an *uncritical* depiction of events. This form represents the allegations inaccurately. Example (e) is conditioned by the heteroglossic reporting verbal process 'said', which is attributed to Andrew, and 'says', which is attributed to Virginia. Example (f) is conditioned by the heteroglossic reporting verbal processes 'asked', and

‘press’, attributed to ‘Maitlis’, and ‘replied’, which is attributed to Andrew. Example (g) is conditioned by the heteroglossic reporting verbal processes ‘claiming’, which is attributed to Andrew, and ‘alleged’, which is (inferentially) attributed to Virginia. This form (i.e. they had sex) occurs very frequently (18 - DM1: 3, DM2: 2, DM3: 2, BBC1: 5, BBC2: 1, G1: 4, G3: 1):

- e. “He said the date when Ms Giuffre says he had sex with her was 10 March 2001, when he had taken his daughter Beatrice to Pizza Express in Woking for a party before spending the night at home.” BBC1
- f. “Asked if they had sex in 2001 at the London home of Ghislaine Maxwell [sic], then Epstein’s girlfriend, the Prince replied: ‘It didn’t happen.’ She went on to press him four more times on whether they had sex - or ‘any kind of sexual contact.’” DM1
- g. “Andrew’s daughter Beatrice could also be called, because her father used her as an alibi claiming he was with her in a Woking Pizza Express on the night he is alleged to have slept with Virginia in Ghislaine Maxwell’s London mews house.” DM2

When pulled from their context, examples (e)-(g) conflate rape, and sex. The specifics of the alleged wrongdoing are obscured, and synonymised with ‘having sex’. These examples are, of course, part of a wider context, in which the allegations have been made (somewhat) more explicit. However, this is less true in the case of examples (e), and (f). At this stage in the timeline of the case, the lawsuit had not been initiated. This is reflected in the language of the texts. Namely, terms like ‘assault’, ‘rape’, or ‘abuse’ are not present - it is left to the reader to interpret these meanings from other terms, such as ‘trafficked’, or the material process ‘forced’. In the case of example (g), the specifics of the allegations were a matter of public record.

In example (e), events are specifically constructed as ‘he had sex with her’, placing Andrew in the active actor role of the material process ‘had’, and Virginia in the passive goal role. However, this is tempered by several layers of disassociation, according to the reported speech. Namely, Andrew is allocated the active sayer role in the verbal process ‘said’, and the verbiage contains another verbal process in which Virginia is allocated the active sayer role (‘says’) that has the effect of signalling the inherent subjectivity of the material transitivity process ‘he had sex with her’. Further, in this example, Andrew is

reported to increase the geographical distance between himself and the alleged events by stating that he had been elsewhere on the presumed date of the offence.

In example (f), events are constructed slightly differently. The assignment of 'rape' as 'sex', in this case, is attributed to the interviewer ('Maitlis'). According to an internal transcript of the interview (BBC, 2019a), this is not an entirely accurate reflection of what was asked. The specific statement - which is repeated twice near-verbatim by the interviewer - was 'She says she met you in 2001, she dined with you, she danced with you, you bought her drinks, you were in Tramp Nightclub in London and she went on to have sex with you in a house in Belgravia belonging to Ghislaine Maxwell'. Agency has thus been modified. Interestingly, the use of the collective pronoun 'they' actually places a greater emphasis on Andrew's participation in the act of 'having sex'. The choice to print a direct quote response - 'It didn't happen' - is also interesting. This clearly equates to Andrew disassociating himself from the allegations. According to the transcript, the first time Maitlis makes the statement, Andrew responds 'I have no recollection of ever meeting this lady, none whatsoever'. The quoted 'It didn't happen' occurs the second time. The first response does not, definitively, rule out the alleged encounters occurred - only that Andrew could not recall. The second response does. Thus, this represents potentially ideologically choice-making in news production.

In example (g), the conflation of rape and sex is less easily explained by contextual factors. At this stage of intensity in the case, the extratextual legal context means that further information was officially available. This is reflected in the terminology used elsewhere in the text (i.e. 'Prince Andrew WILL face sex assault lawsuit in US'). There are three main processes of note in this example. First, Andrew is allocated the active sayer role in the verbal process 'claiming', with the verbiage ('he was with her in a Woking Pizza Express on the night') providing an alibi that increases the geographical distance between himself and the alleged offences. Second, the verbal process 'alleged' establishes a heteroglossic backdrop for the material process 'slept'. Virginia is mentioned in the co-text, and wider textual features mean Virginia is the most likely candidate for the active sayer role in this process. However, choosing not to explicitly represent her in the process also disassociates Andrew, and Virginia. Third, Andrew is allocated the active actor role in the material process 'slept', and Virginia is allocated the passive goal role. The phrasal verb

'slept with' is innocuous, generally used to describe consensual sexual encounters. It is thus notable that it is the text-internal authorial voice that has chosen to use this verb to describe what, at the time of publication, has been established in civil court documentation as alleged sexual assault.

Waterhouse-Watson (2013) argues that a 'narrative immunity' surrounds elites accused of sex crimes, reflected in victim-blaming structures embedded in the subtleties of news reporting. This is echoed by Barca (2018, p.266) who, in their study of varsity athletes accused of sexual assault, found that "perpetrators who are socially privileged and valued are exculpated and even celebrated" in the press. Although this is not the case here, as Serisier (2017) notes, elites accused of sex crimes are rarely constructed in terms of the rapist stereotype, defined by marginal males driven by sexual desire. The *BBC* texts as a whole provide a good illustration of this. The *BBC* texts include the term 'assault' on only two occasions (BBC2: 1, BBC3: 1). In both cases it forms part of a noun phrase, and is not employed as a verb. Further, the term 'rape' is never used in the *BBC* texts, in any context. Instead, the *BBC* prefers to construct events in terms of the consensualising theme of 'having sex'.

The prevailing lexicogrammatical construction of events demonstrated by examples (e)-(g) evokes harmful discourses that pervade news reporting about sexual violence. Specifically, the myth that 'rape is sex' (Benedict, 1992). As a consequence, alleged acts of coercion are represented as alleged acts of consent. This has been seen in previous, landmark studies of British news reporting about sex crimes (Lees, 1995). The examples discussed in this section suggest a willingness to entertain the possibility that Andrew *might* be guilty of *some form of impropriety* - but not rape. He is not explicitly pardoned, nor is he explicitly condemned. In this sense, I return to my suggestion (see section 7.1) that this case seems to fit an alternative subgenre of colourless sex crime reporting characterised by a limited range of isolated critique.

7.4 Towards Hegemonic Tolerance

Overall, the findings presented in this chapter support the core, underlying assumptions of the HTF. Specifically, in this case, the HTF has proven an effective means of uncovering structures of dis-association surrounding portrayals of Andrew - consistent with theoretical-

methodological assumptions (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.2). The alleged sexual assault of Virginia by Andrew, for instance, is frequently constructed as ‘she/he had sex with him/her’ (see also Chapter 6, section 6.3). This version of events is also commonly premodified by heteroglossic hedging devices (say/claim/allege) that, in turn, dis-associate the authorial voice from Virginia’s account of events. Although it might be argued that this is for legal reasons, given that the allegations have not been proven in a court of law, the effect is that the central ambiguity of the case is subtly reconstituted, certain questions are emphasised (‘did he/she/they have sex +/- with her/him’), and certain questions are deemphasised (‘did he sexually assault her’). As a consequence, the potential range of answers to the question ‘who did what to whom?’ is restricted, and Andrew is dis-associated from an obviously critical account of events (i.e. rape). Prioritising the imprecise formulation ‘she says she had sex with him’ over the (more) precise formulation ‘she alleges he sexually assaulted her’ fits the underlying assumption of the HTF that elites will tend to be dis-associated from undesirable features. This also evokes harmful discourses about sexual violence. Namely, the myth that ‘rape is sex’ (Benedict, 1992). The effect is that alleged acts of coercion are represented as alleged acts of consent. This is reflected in subjective assessments - predominantly attributed to elite/tolerant voices - that suggest a willingness to entertain only the possibility that Andrew might be guilty of some form of impropriety - but not that Andrew might be guilty of rape (see especially section 7.3).

These features build towards hegemonic tolerance, because they downplay the severity of Andrew’s alleged actions. This feeds into a broader strategy of impression management that has advantageous effects for the wider institution of monarchy. Portraying events bluntly - Andrew allegedly raped Virginia on multiple occasions when she was a minor under US law - has obvious negative reputational consequences for Andrew, and the monarchy. Portraying these same events with subtle differences - Andrew/Virginia allegedly had sex with Virginia/Andrew - does not, to the same degree, because at best, it distances Andrew from the act of rape, and at worst, it implies consent. This might be explained, in part, by the laissez-faire power structure of institution (see Chapter 4, section 4.2.2). The status of the monarchy as an institution that forms part of the wider institutional ensemble of the state, can be understood as a structure of power by which policies of inscrutability are enabled. If traditional news institutions and organisations are understood

in Althusserian (1971) terms as part of the ISA (see Chapter 3, section 3.1.2), then they can be understood as broadly interested in maintaining existing regimes of power and control, including monarchical power. In terms of news reporting, this is reflected in the predominance of elite/tolerant voices, to whom the subjective assessments of Andrew's behaviour that consensualise events are predominantly attributed (see section 7.3). This overlaps with the *laissez-faire* power structure of access (see Chapter 4, section 4.2.3), which explains why certain ideologies are more prevalent than others in the news. The power structure of institution explains why actors and groups that are connected to the institutional ensemble of the state are unlikely to express critical views that endanger partnered institutions, while the power structure of access explains why these actors and groups are more prominently featured in news reportage surrounding certain events compared to alternatives. In the following chapter, I move on to explore the discursive construction of other, specified and unspecified actors in the texts, including Elizabeth.

Chapter 8 - 'Howls of Horror, Incredulity and Mockery'

In this chapter I present three major evidence-driven arguments regarding the discursive construction of other specified, and unspecified voices in the case data. In 8.1, I argue that portrayals of Elizabeth are *victimising*, such that she emerges from the discourse a more sympathetic figure than Virginia. In 8.2, I argue that elite voices and positions are *turned up*, such that hegemonic views are emphasised. In 8.3, I argue that alternative voices and positions are *turned down*, such that counter-hegemonic views are deemphasised. In 8.4, I discuss how these features build towards achieving the objective of hegemonic tolerance.

8.1 (Re)directing Sympathy

Portrayals of Elizabeth exhibit two major ideological characteristics that are consistent with the central assumptions of the HTF. Namely, that portrayals of elites will tend to be more reverent, and that elites will tend to be distanced from undesirable features. First, actor representations are restricted to strategically proximated statutory ('monarch'), and familial ('mother') forms. These forms achieve two main outcomes - the discursive (re)production of reverential norms and hierarchies, and the tactical manipulation of distance between Elizabeth, and Andrew. Second, certain depictions emphasise details that evoke sympathy, corresponding to the timeline of the case. Namely, the risk of reputational damage (Interview), overshadowing of jubilee celebrations (Lawsuit), and financial encumbrance (Settlement). As a consequence, Elizabeth emerges from the discourse a more sympathetic figure than Virginia (see especially Chapter 6, section 6.2).

Excepting personalising pronouns, actor representations of Elizabeth tend to construct her in terms of her status as head of state, or her status as a mother. This is perhaps unsurprising in the wider social context of her position at the time, and the local context of her tangential involvement in the case. Statutory representations are confined to two categories - functionalisation, and honorification. Examples (a)-(c) demonstrate how these strategies tend to be articulated in context:

- a. "All Prince Andrew's roles have been returned to the Queen with immediate effect, and will be redistributed to other members of the Royal Family, a source said." BBC2
- b. "Her Majesty is entering a period of celebration in the UK as her Platinum Jubilee marking her 70 years on the throne approaches" DM2
- c. "The value of the grant is based on the profits of the Crown Estate, a business that independently manages property and land owned by the monarch." BBC3

Functional representations ('the Queen', 'the monarch') are naturalised, and unavoidable, as a consequence of the uniqueness, and exclusivity of these roles. News reporting in which this actor is represented is restricted to politico-ideologically, and historically determined referential conventions (Blain & O'Donnell, 2003). This means that there is a limited range of resources from which to choose. As a consequence, representations tend to (re)produce difference, through reverence. This corresponds to the HTF. Namely, the assumption that ir/reverence will be expressed or withdrawn, in different contexts, in order to sustain hegemonies.

In the context of news reporting, honorific representations ('Her Majesty') are avoidable terms of reverence. This type of representation is only used (twice) in one *Daily Mail* text (Robinson *et al*, 2022). In both cases, this manner of address is expressed monoglossically, and the immediate co-text emphasises an imminent celebration of her seven decades in power. Given that this news outlet has historic ties to conservatism (Stoegner & Wodak, 2016), it seems reasonable to infer that this reflects an ideological commitment to royalism. This corresponds to the HTF. The choice to express optional terms of reverence ('Her Majesty') explicitly extends reverence to the actor represented (Elizabeth), and the institution represented by the actor (monarchy).

Direct representations of Elizabeth in terms of kinship with Andrew are expressed through variants of relational identification (van Leeuwen, 1995a). This is usually actualised as a possessivated pronoun ('his mother', 'her son'), or a genitive prepositional phrase ('the Duke of York's mother', 'the Queen's son'). Of course, this is largely unavoidable, given parent-child relationships and the resources available for describing them. However, only genitive prepositional phrases in which Elizabeth is the possessor ('the Queen's son') are

used by all three news outlets. Examples (d)-(f) illustrate how this strategy is typically articulated in context:

- d. "Prince Andrew, who is the Queen's third child, has been facing questions for several months over his ties to Epstein" BBC1
- e. "Leading commentator Phil Dampier said he believes that the Queen's second son will try to stop the case with an out-of-court settlement" DM2
- f. "She had claimed she was trafficked to have sex with the Queen's second son on three occasions when she was 17, a claim he has consistently denied." G3

An immediately observable feature of these representations is the (extraneous) numerical information that they provide. Andrew is represented as a 'third child', and 'second son' to 'the Queen'. The information required to discern the meaning behind these numbers is extralinguistic. Elizabeth had four children - Charles, Anne, Andrew, and Edward. This explains why Andrew is the 'third child', but the 'second son'. Further, these resources are substitutable with alternatives. For instance, Andrew has previously been cited in news reporting as the 'favourite child' (Kay & Levy, 2016). Further, royal biographers had not contested this detail at the time (Ferguson, 2022). Thus, the option was available. That this is never repeated in the context of this case is of significance to this study. Describing Andrew as Elizabeth's 'favourite child' brings them closer. Thus, excluding this representation achieves the opposite effect - disassociating them, and building towards protecting Elizabeth from collateral damage, and, perhaps implying critique of Andrew.

Most significantly, this particular combination of naming resources contains subtle dis/associating structures. I have likened my understanding of dis/association to theories of proximization (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.2). Chilton (2004) described proximization as an essentially spatial process by which writers and speakers indicate closeness, or remoteness to events. Cap (2008) later elaborated on this model to include temporal, and axiological dimensions. From this view, dis/association is a potential (de)legitimising resource, used by political speakers to justify proclaimed actions. The space between actors, and groups represented in texts is no less a site of political struggle. In this case, by emphasising his subordinate position in the sequence of birth, space is created between Andrew, Elizabeth,

and the institution they both represent. Emphasising his subordinate position in the sequence of birth, moreover, emphasises his subordinate position in the order of succession. Thus, space is simultaneously created between Andrew, and the wider monarchy. This is consistent with the presumed conservative agenda of major news organisations, because doing so builds towards immunising underlying structures from critique.

The recurrent theme of motherhood in portrayals of Elizabeth is also indirectly reflected in certain transitivity structures, and appraisements. Elizabeth is seldom appraised positively, or negatively in the texts comprising this sample. Example (g) represents an exception. The following passage is attributed to ‘another royal expert, Christopher Wilson’ via the acknowledging verbal process ‘said’. It should be noted, however, that within the extract, the sayer indicates that ‘people’ will ‘say’ - meaning the appraisal (‘lost her judgement’) is attributed - hypothetically - to indeterminate external speakers. This has the effect of increasing the distance between him and the appraisal. The principal verb, appraising lexical items, and (salient) social actor representation are underlined:

- g. “She has wrapped a security blanket around him through all of the best intentions, but people will look at her and say there is [sic] 93-year-old woman who has lost her judgment [sic].” DM1

The immediate co-text establishes two targets of assessment - ‘she’, and ‘93-year-old woman’. The surrounding co-text (‘his mother’) establishes that these are representations of Elizabeth. The activated ‘she’ is performing the material process ‘wrapped’. The appraising lexical item ‘all the best intentions’ targets the process ‘wrapped’, performed by ‘she’. This is signalled by the preposition ‘through’, and establishes attitudinal judgement of propriety, and positive valence. The surrounding co-text (‘Prince Andrew’) also establishes ‘him’ to be a representation of Andrew. In this case, the goal (‘a security blanket’) conveys motherhood by reflecting the parental initiative of keeping children safe from harm.

The activated ‘93-year-old woman’ is performing the mental process ‘lost’. If ‘lost’ is understood as a mental transitivity process, ‘her judgement’ is the phenomenon. If, on the

other hand, 'lost her judgement' is understood as an appraising lexical item, the target is '93-year-old woman', establishing attitudinal judgement of capacity, and negative valence. The classification '93-year-old woman' represents Elizabeth in terms of age, and gender. This representation emphasises frailty, or perhaps senility and the accompanying negative evaluations of mental soundness, and builds toward reinforcing the negatively appraised behaviour of losing one's judgement. As mentioned above, dis/associating structures embedded within this portrayal also create space between the speaker ('another royal expert, Christopher Wilson'), and the negative appraisal 'lost her judgement'. Namely, the indeterminate collective noun 'people' represents the sayer to whom the assessment is attributed. This contrasts with the positive assessment 'all the best intentions', for which the speaker takes full responsibility. This appears to represent a reluctance to (directly) engage with critique (of Andrew or Elizabeth).

Representations of Elizabeth that emphasise motherhood connect to wider ideologies surrounding the monarchy. The former monarch is often described as having been the 'mother of the nation' (BBC, 2022d). Another quality that tends to be emphasised in the texts is her decision making prowess. For example, this is appraised as 'firm and speedy' (Davis, 2022) and, elsewhere (if 'Buckingham Palace' is interpreted as a synecdoche) 'swift and almost brutal' (BBC, 2022a). These gendered representations are consistent with the preferred, patriotic image of historic British monarchs. Namely, "a mother figure, displaying not only the traditional stereotypical 'masculine' qualities of leadership – strength, fortitude, strategic calculation – but adding to them such 'feminine' qualities as grace, tact, and sympathy; an iron fist in a velvet glove" (Bell, 2006, p. 14). Thus, portrayals in news reporting that emphasise these qualities, in particular, reflect a wider commitment to sustaining the hegemony of monarchy. This ideology seems under threat in example (g). The description seems to run counter to typical, dutiful representations of the former monarch. The implication seems to be that, when it comes to her purportedly 'favourite son', she loses her capacity to rule effectively. This might, in part, explain the efforts described above to emphasise his subordinate position in the line of succession, favour, and progeny.

Certain depictions of Elizabeth overtly elicit sympathy. These depictions are built around the consequences of the case for Elizabeth, in particular, and are especially

pervasive in the *Daily Mail* texts. Each major event corresponds to a different consequence. The first event (Interview) corresponds to the risk of reputational damage. This is conveyed in example (h), which is attributed to ‘another royal expert, Christopher Wilson’ via the reporting verbal process ‘said’, and includes a judgement of Andrew’s behaviour:

- h. “I think the long-term impact – and the one Prince Andrew should be looking at very closely – is what impact it will have on his mother and her reputation.” DM1

This proposition is primarily built around the mental transitivity process ‘think’, in which ‘I’ is allocated the senser participant role, with all that follows (excluding parenthetical subordinate clause) being the phenomenon. The phenomenon - ‘the long term impact is what impact it will have on his mother and her reputation’ - clearly emphasises the negative reputational consequences of the *BBC* interview for Elizabeth. Further, the contents of the parenthetical subordinate clause clearly emphasises that it is this consequence, in particular, that Andrew should be regarding ‘very closely’. This has the effect of privileging a preferred critique - the interview might be detrimental to the monarch - over critical alternatives.

Excluding ‘I think’ leaves an identifying relational process, in which ‘the long term impact’ is the token, and all that follows (excluding parenthetical subordinate clause) is the value. If part of this value - ‘what impact it will have’ - is modified to read ‘it will have an impact’, we are left with a material process in which ‘it’ is allocated the actor participant role, and ‘his mother and her reputation’ is allocated the goal participant role. The surrounding co-text - ‘He should have kept his trap shut’ - establishes that all three lexicogrammatical interpretations pertain to reputational ‘impact’ as a consequence of Andrew speaking in the now-infamous *BBC* interview. Further, the contents of the parenthetical subordinate clause intensifies the primacy of this particular consequence via the graduating adjective ‘very’.

The second event (Lawsuit) corresponds to the threat of shrouding her 2022 anniversary celebrating seven decades in power. This is conveyed in example (i), which is attributed to ‘royal experts’ via the verbal process ‘claimed’:

- i. "His mother the Queen now has a 'horrid shadow' over her Platinum Jubilee year unless her son settles to avoid a trial, royal experts have claimed" DM2

This proposition is primarily constructed around the attributive relational process 'has', in which 'His mother the Queen' is allocated the carrier participant role, and 'a 'horrid shadow' over her Platinum Jubilee year' is the attribute. The degree to which this represents an elicitation of sympathy will depend on the ideologies brought to the interpretation of the text by the reader. The noun 'shadow' is an ambiguous indicator, but is premodified by the adjective 'horrid', denoting a negative quality. This might be interpreted as a nonspecific, abstract representation of negativity. This might also be interpreted as representing the extralinguistic legal context, if 'shadow' is understood to mean 'lawsuit', or an abstracted distillation of everything involved therein. Further, Virginia is represented in the surrounding co-text via the semi-formal nomination 'Virginia Roberts Giuffre'. Thus, 'shadow' might also be interpreted as representing Virginia through appraisal ('horrid'), and abstraction ('shadow') (van Leeuwen, 1995a). Andrew is also represented in the co-text ('his'; 'her son'). Thus, an alternative candidate for 'shadow' would be Andrew's behaviour. This is based on the understanding that 'to cast a shadow' denotes that his behaviour has negatively affected what should be a time of celebration for Elizabeth. The information that is supplied in the proposition, and wider text means that which of these meanings apply is dependent on the ideologies of the reader.

The third event (Settlement) corresponds to the consequence of financial encumbrance. This is conveyed in examples (j)-(k). Example (j) is attributed to 'reports' via the reporting verb 'claimed'. Example (k) is attributed to 'royal finance expert David McClure via the reporting verbal process 'told':

- j. "The Queen is to foot part of the bill for Prince Andrew's sexual abuse lawsuit, which could end up costing some £12 million, reports claimed tonight." DM3
- k. ""If the figure does turn out to be of the order of £5m to £10m, I don't think he has that money. And it's more than likely the Queen will fork out some money,"" BBC3

Example (j) is primarily built around the material transitivity process ‘foot’, in which ‘The Queen’ is activated in the actor participant role, and ‘part of the bill for Prince Andrew’s sexual abuse lawsuit’ is the goal. Example (k) is primarily constructed around the material transitivity process ‘fork’, in which ‘the Queen’ is activated in the actor participant role, and ‘some money’ is the goal. In example (j), the immediate co-text (‘part of the bill’) establishes the material process ‘foot’ to be a derivation of the idiom ‘foot the bill’, which is usually reserved to describe something that is considered unreasonably expensive (CED, No datea). Similarly, in example (k), the phrasal verb ‘fork out’ is commonly understood as the act of paying for something reluctantly (CED, No dateb). In both extracts, certain word choices increase the distance between Elizabeth, and the settlement. In example (k), the noun ‘some’ indicates that Elizabeth is not paying the entirety of the settlement. In example (j), the noun phrase ‘part of’ establishes that there is some expectation for Andrew and/or other financial sources to contribute to the settlement. This also establishes an implicit, negative appraisal of Andrew - that he is someone who makes mistakes that others have to pay for. It is also notable that he is nominalised as ‘Prince Andrew’, in this case, rather than ‘her son’ - and certainly, not ‘her favourite son’. The choice of actor representation increases the degree of disassociation between Elizabeth and Andrew, and the choice to possessivise ‘sexual abuse lawsuit’ (‘Prince Andrew’s’) increases the degree of disassociation between Elizabeth and his legal travails - consistent with the assumption that dis/associating structures will tend to favourably position certain elites where it is possible to do so.

8.2 Shaping Debate

As this section will reveal, a particular brand of ‘expert-sources’ are amplified in the texts, such that hegemonic tolerance is enabled. This ‘expertise’ reflects a generally conservative orthodoxy because it tends to be drawn from a well of institutionally-embedded elites (Miller & Mills, 2009). As a consequence, critical perspectives - including critical perspectives on monarchy - are extremely limited. This is not, necessarily, a surprising finding. News reporting favours fast, efficient information gathering (Davies, 2008). Elite sources tend to be ideally situated and well-suited to providing journalists with information (and/or opinion) about events. This is a consequence of entrenched relationships between news institutions

and source-institutions with an historically acquired abundance of discourse access (van Dijk, 2009). The outcome is a prevailing narrative in which certain, moderate ideologies steer the tenor of debate, and alternative ideologies are stymied (Atton, 2010).

Sources of information are an integral component of news production. The ability to create news efficiently and credibly relies, in part, on pre-established relationships with authoritative sources, despite the internally, and externally perceived authoritativeness of sources varying from story to story, and context to context (Tiffen *et al*, 2014). For instance, 'official' sources of information that are viewed as authoritative by news institutions and journalists are not necessarily viewed as authoritative, or trustworthy by all audiences. However, for journalists and audiences, the desire to maintain the independence of news institutions from political power centres is difficult when the 'officialness' of often centralised sources provides the closest approximation to reliability (Rodríguez-Martínez *et al*, 2013). Access to information is disproportionately distributed, and major institutions including, but not limited to, centralised governmental institutions are often fonts of newsworthy stories, and simultaneously rich sources of information (Berkowitz, 2009). This leads to the (sensible) formation of channels of communication between news institutions and source institutions to facilitate efficient newsgathering practices. Access to discourse is also disproportionately distributed, and this condition is (re)produced by these circumstances - institutionally-embedded, elite sources have more information access, which sustains more discourse access; alternative, non-elite sources have less information access, which sustains less discourse access (van Dijk, 1996).

These presumed conditions have led to the (contentious) scholarly assumption that journalists are dependent on 'elite sources' - representatives of major institutions - to provide them with information with which to produce news and support claims made in news (Goldman & Rajagopal, 1991). Institutionally-embedded, elite sources that represent bureaucratic institutions are ideally-situated to supply the newsroom with 'official' information regularly, providing the closest approximation to credibility because they tend to be state officials, professionals, or technocrats (Chomsky & Herman, 1988). Based on this view, the end-product of news production is often information transmitted from elite sources, repackaged by (usually well-intentioned) journalists, and sold to readers (Mason, 2007). How information is 'repackaged' to create news is particularly essential to CDA

analysis because it provides many potential signals of ideology - including the organisation, inclusion and/or exclusion of voices, positions, and information (van Dijk, 2009).

The realities of the 21st century newsroom - where expertise and credibility is found and formed in many places outside of traditional bureaucracies and institutions - means that outlet-source relationships have become more complex (Curran & Seaton, 2018). News is no longer the exclusive product of a printing press, and consumption is no longer constrained by locally purchasable publications. This has had democratising effects, because alternative news media can now be much more freely formed and accessed, and has forced traditional news institutions to adapt their practices and values in order to remain competitive (Buyens & van Aelst, 2022). Digitalisation means that near infinite information is available instantly to anyone with a device and access to the internet. This includes journalists, theoretically making institutionally-embedded sources a less essential component of news production than previously (Weaver & Willnat, 2016). However, this does not mean that news institutions are unshackled from elite influences. In fact, traditional news institutions still habitually rely on centralised sources of information (Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2009), and information subsidies like news agencies and public relations professionals that are themselves often embedded within institutions (Lewis *et al*, 2008). Indeed, Davies (2008, p.339) argues that “most reporters most of the time will reproduce what they are told by official sources, because they are ‘predisposed to believe them’”; this is seen as an effective journalism practice because even if the official account is erroneous, “those who attack it will lack the instant credibility of the official sources who are backing it” (*ibid*).

One type of ‘official’ source commonly used in news reporting is the ‘expert’. Boyce (2006) highlights the importance of distinguishing between ‘sources’ - those not possessing specialist knowledge - and ‘expert-sources’ - those possessing specialist knowledge - in news production. This normative definition of the loaded terms ‘experts’ and ‘expertise’ is likewise adopted by Mosurska *et al* (2023). Journalists rely on ‘expert’ testimony and/or expert voices to support or construct certain interpretations of events. This circumnavigates the appearance of bias by seeming to draw conclusions from a well of professional consensus. Albaek (2011), and latterly Merkley (2020) refer to this as ‘compensatory legitimisation’ - the process of deferring to the authority of ‘experts’ perceived as having neutral, factual knowledge about events. Crucially, expert-sources called upon to comment

on events are not (necessarily) selected on the basis of the value they add to debate. Rather, they are selected on the basis of familiarity, reliability, and availability (ibid). Thus, the extent to which 'expert-source' views are perceived to be informative, or desirable depends on internal (institutional) and external (readership) values.

In order to understand how 'expertise' establishes strict boundaries of critique, I draw from Miller and Mills' (2009) 'expert's ideological framework'. According to this model, an 'invisible college' of 'experts', composed of a nexus of institutionally-embedded voices that appears pluralistic, represents a narrow range of positions, and de facto controls a discursive territory. This is seen to coincide with elite interests, because it (re)produces dominant conditions and ideologies. The authors divided media 'experts' into three camps based on the extent to which they challenged a prevailing discourse - 'orthodox experts' (uncritical) present no challenge, 'alternative experts' (less critical) present some challenge, and 'critical experts' (critical) reject the elite consensus. In my analysis, below, I establish the extent to which the 'expertise' and/or 'official' knowledge featured in the texts I explore in this thesis is differentially applied to construct and/or (re)produce hegemonic tolerance of monarchy. As will be revealed, in this case, sources fitting Miller and Mills (ibid) designation of 'orthodox expertise' are dominant, and 'alternative' and 'critical experts' are excluded.

The data largely support the presumed-dated assumption that news institutions tend to rely on institutionally-embedded, elite 'experts' as sources of information. This has a number of consequences that shape how events are portrayed. 'Expert-sources' represented in the texts can be loosely divided into five groups - generic, legal, royal, state, and specialist. Below is a select range of examples that illustrate how this is achieved:

- a. "Andrew insisted he has 'a peculiar medical condition which is that I don't sweat or I didn't sweat at the time'. This, he explained, was because he suffered 'an overdose of adrenalin[sic]' after being shot at during the 1982 Falklands conflict while serving aboard HMS Invincible. Experts said this explanation was plausible." DM1
- b. "The Duke of York cannot return to royal duties because his reputation is 'damaged beyond repair' following a the[sic] decision to allow a civil case to be brought against him by Virginia Roberts Giuffre, experts told MailOnline;" DM2

- c. “Royal commentator Richard Fitzwilliams said: ‘This must be the most bizarre royal interview ever given. He only regrets visiting Epstein to tell him he was breaking contact with him. He can’t see that he did anything wrong and admits to no wrongdoing. Who will believe him after this bizarre ramble? The question must be whether he will keep his more than 200 patronages and what royal engagements he will do in the future. He won’t recover from this.’” DM1
- d. “‘The only official evidence of the Queen’s support for her second son is her agreeing to him stepping back from his royal role in late 2019 as the crisis intensified. However, as Andrew’s mother she continues to see him on a regular basis at Windsor Castle, so the personal bond is clearly still in place,’ he added.” G2
- e. “‘It’s important that the problems that Prince Andrew has incurred aren’t bled over into the regiments that he was representing,” Mr Ellwood said.” BBC2
- f. “A spokesperson for the Ministry of Defence said it had no comment about the duke’s military titles being handed back to the Queen, and that it was a matter for the Palace.” BBC2
- g. “Buckingham Palace said in a statement: “With the Queen’s approval and agreement, the Duke of York’s military affiliations and Royal patronages have been returned to the Queen.” BBC2
- h. “There have been suggestions this would be from her private funds, but Buckingham Palace says it won’t comment on the financing of Prince Andrew’s legal case.” BBC3

Example (a) is composed of three clauses. Each clause is built around a verbal transitivity process. In the first clause, ‘Andrew’ is allocated the active sayer role, ‘insisted’ is the process, and ‘he has...’ is the verbiage. According to Martin and White (2005), certain attributive verbs have higher engagement values than others. This includes verbs like ‘insisted’, which indicates a higher degree of text-internal investment in the utterance. In the context of this clause, insistence comes with the implication of a need for insistence or, in other words, rebuttal from others. As such, this resource might be said to signal the need for Andrew to explain himself. In the second clause, ‘he’ (‘Andrew’) is allocated the active sayer role, ‘explained’ is the process, and ‘was because...’ is the verbiage. This explanation is used by Andrew to discredit Virginia’s account of events. The engagement value of the

verbal choice ‘explained’, unlike ‘claimed’, or ‘alleged’ (see Chapter 6, section 6.3.2), does not distance the authorial voice from the utterance. This subtly lends legitimacy to Andrew’s account. This is compounded by the third clause, in which a *generic* group of ‘Experts’ are allocated the active sayer role, ‘said’ is the process, and ‘this explanation...’ is the verbiage. In the verbiage, the determiner ‘this’ signals anaphoric reference to the preceding processes. The appraisal ‘plausible’ has positive valence in this context, because it enhances the legitimacy of Andrew’s ‘explanation’. The reader cannot interrogate this proposition any further, because identifying information about ‘Experts’ is not provided. The result is that ‘Experts’ are deployed to reinforce Andrew’s account of events, at this point in time, which was that the alleged abuses *could not* have happened.

Example (b) is primarily framed by the verbal process ‘told’ in which a *generic* group of ‘experts’ are allocated the active sayer role, and everything before ‘, experts...’ is the verbiage. Because ‘damaged beyond repair’ is the only part of the verbiage situated within scare quotes, this is either the only part of the verbiage that the authorial voice distances itself from - suggesting, perhaps, that this is contentious, and may yet be redeemed - or it is the only part of the verbiage that is quoted verbatim (Piazza, 2009). The verbiage contains two other processes. First is the material process ‘return’, in which ‘The Duke of York’ is allocated the active actor role. The co-text provides circumstantial information pertaining to ‘where’ (‘to royal duties’), and ‘why’ (‘because his reputation is ‘damaged beyond repair’’). Further, the contraction ‘cannot’ indicates a lack of permission. Presumably, as the figurehead of the institution this edict is attributable to Elizabeth, but this actor is excluded - and therefore dis-associated - from events. Next, the preposition ‘following’ establishes a causal connection to the subsequent material process ‘allow’, in which the actor role is vacant, and the goal is ‘a civil case to be brought against him by Virginia Roberts Giuffre’. The information required to discern the anaphorically signified actor participant in this process is retrievable in the text Lead (‘But New York Judge Kaplan threw Andrew’s application out of court today, paving the way for civil trial’). Thus, the implication through anaphoric reference is that Kaplan is to blame for the reputational damage by allowing the civil case to proceed. The result is that ‘experts’ are deployed to emphasise the actions of Kaplan, the US judiciary, and Virginia, and deemphasise the (alleged) actions of Andrew.

Example (c) is framed by the verbal process 'said', in which the *specialist* 'expert' 'Royal commentator Richard Fitzwilliams' is allocated the active sayer role, and the remainder of the clause is the verbiage. The entirety of the verbiage is contained within quotation marks. This is typically an indication of 'distancing' (Martin & White, 2005). However, the *Daily Mail* does not distinguish between direct and indirect reported speech (in this text). As such, it is not possible to determine if it is a verbatim quotation, or paraphrase. It is indicated that it is a quotation by dint of typical expectations of punctuation usage and, as such, the authorial voice is effectively dis-associated from the critique contained therein. Framed within this verbal process are seven additional processes - assuming 'visiting', 'tell', and 'breaking' function as part of the phenomenon in the mental process 'regrets', and 'did' functions as part of the phenomenon in the mental process 'see'. These processes can be grouped together in terms of the outcomes they achieve. For instance, the identifying relational process 'This [Token] must be [Relational-Identifying] the most bizarre royal interview ever given [Value]', and the mental process 'Who [Senser] will believe [Mental] him [Phenomenon] after this bizarre ramble?' both contain the negative judgement 'bizarre', which suggests abnormality, but not impropriety (Martin & White, 2005). This connects with other evidence surrounding the boundaries of un/sanctionable critique (see Chapter 7, section 7.3); namely, that minor, 'safe' critique of Andrew (i.e. 'bizarre' interview) are permissible. Comparable outcomes are achieved in a second group of processes - the mental process 'He [Senser] only regrets [Mental] visiting Epstein to tell him he was breaking contact with him [Phenomenon]; the mental process 'He [Senser/Sayer] can't see [Mental] that he did anything wrong [Phenomenon]'; and the verbal process 'and admits [Verbal] to no wrongdoing [Verbiage]'. This might provide some indication of what the speaker is/is not willing to say (or what is/is not fit for print). Crucially, behind each of these statements are more critical quandaries that are not spelled out for the reader. Namely, the speaker does not address whether Andrew *should* have alternative 'regrets', *has* done 'anything wrong', or *should* have admitted 'to any wrongdoing'.

In the identifying relational process 'The question [Token] must be [Relational-Identifying] whether he will keep his more than 200 patronages and what royal engagements he will do in the future [Value]', the verb 'must' pronounces the essentiality of

one question, over alternatives. The verb 'must' is an example of deontic modality. According to Martin and White (2005), deontic modality is included in the category of entertainment, and concerns permission, obligation, and dialogic relationships of control and compliance. In this case, the modal functions as an assessment of obligation according to the speaker. The final material process 'He [Actor] won't recover [Material] from this' achieves similar outcomes. In this case, the speaker uses the contracted modal verb 'won't' to explicitly exclude alternative positions. Again, this indicates a willingness to engage with minor, 'safe' critique - especially since, in this case, doing so actively, and favourably dis-associates Andrew from the wider monarchy. The result is that 'Royal commentator Richard Fitzwilliams' is mainly deployed to rule out alternative, critical positions, and questions that might be asked.

Example (d) is framed by the verbal process 'added', in which the *specialist* 'expert' 'Joe Little, the managing editor of Majesty magazine' is allocated the active sayer role, and 'The only...' is (part) of the verbiage. This extract begins with the identifying relational process "'The only official evidence of the Queen's support for her second son [Token] is [Relational-Identifying] her...[Value]'. The adjective 'only', and the noun phrase 'official evidence' establish a heteroglossic backdrop to this utterance because they permit alternatives. In the value, the 'only official evidence' is provided by the verbal process 'her [Sayer] agreeing [Verbal] to him stepping back from his royal role in late 2019 as the crisis intensified [Verbiage]'. As I have argued (see section 8.1), the relational identification 'her second son' is a dis-associating strategy that emphasises Andrew's subordinate position in the order of birth, and hence succession. This process is followed by two other processes - the material process 'However, as Andrew's mother she [Actor] continues to see [Material] him [Goal] on a regular basis at Windsor Castle,' and the attributing relational process 'so the personal bond [Carrier] is [Relational-Attributi] clearly still in place [Attribute]'. According to Martin and White (2005), 'countering' is a subtype of disclaim in which a proposition is represented as supplanting and thereby countering another, and is typically conveyed through conjunctions and connectives. In this case, the connective adverb 'However' signals the supplantation. The shift in purported support - from minimal 'official evidence', to 'the personal bond is clearly still in place' - is accompanied by a shift in naming strategies - from 'the Queen', to 'Andrew's mother'. In other words, 'the Queen' is subtly

dis-associated from Andrew, but 'Andrew's mother' is not. The result is that 'Joe Little, the managing editor of Majesty magazine' is mainly deployed to distinguish between institutional, and paternal support - as 'Andrew's mother', Elizabeth is supportive, but as 'the Queen', this is not necessarily the case. This has the effect of dis-associating Andrew from her official role as head of state, and thus the wider institution of monarchy.

Example (e) is predicated on the verbal process 'said', in which the *state* 'expert' 'The chair of the Commons Defence Select Committee, Tobias Ellwood' is allocated the active sayer role, and 'It's important...' is the verbiage. In the verbiage, the contraction 'It's' forms either an existential process - 'It [Existent] is [Existential]' - or an attributing relational process - 'It [Carrier] is [Relational-Attributing] important that... [Attribute]'. As an attributing relational process, this process frames and connects the secondary material processes 'incurred', and 'representing', in which Andrew is activated in the actor participant role. The goal of the process 'incurred' is 'the problems', and the goal of the process ('was') 'representing' is 'the regiments'. The extralinguistic legal context, and surrounding co-textual features ('ahead of the US civil case') suggest that the noun phrase 'the problems' represents the lawsuit. Based on this interpretation, alleged rape is subject to considerable diminishment. Further, the adjective 'important' points to the goal of the process 'representing' - 'the regiments' - being inoculated from reputational harm. This is supported by the surrounding co-text ('"necessary" to protect the reputation of the military'). The result is that 'Mr Ellwood' is mainly deployed to dis-associate Andrew, and the RSA.

Example (f) is framed by the verbal process 'said', in which the *state* 'expert' 'A spokesperson for the Ministry of Defence' is allocated the active sayer role, and 'it had...' is the verbiage. The verbiage contains two attributing relational processes that achieve similar outcomes. First, in the attributing relational process 'it [Carrier] had [Relational-Attributing] no comment about the duke's military titles being handed back to the Queen [Attribute]', the speaker is indirectly reported to have turned down an opportunity to evaluate events, as indicated by the noun phrase 'no comment'. Further, Andrew and Elizabeth are situated far apart in the representation of the reported speech, constructed in terms of their official roles, rather than their paternal relationship. Second, in the attributing relational process 'it [Carrier] was [Relational-Attributing] a matter for the Palace [Attribute]', the speaker is

indirectly reported to be, either, delegating the request for ‘comment’ to ‘the Palace’, and/or implying that the story is an internal matter that *should not* be discussed publicly, or in the news. The capitalised objectivation ‘the Palace’, in this case, is presumably a metonymic reference to the wider consortium of senior royal figures close to Andrew - who are consequently dis-associated from events. The main result, in both cases, is that ‘A spokesperson for the Ministry of Defence’ is deployed to increase reverence by (re)legitimising the idea that matters *of* monarchy are matters *for* monarchy. This reflects policies of inscrutability surrounding monarchical power that emanate from other power centres (i.e. parliament) within the institutional ensemble of the British state.

Example (g) is framed by the verbal process ‘said’, in which the *royal* ‘expert’ ‘Buckingham Palace’ is allocated the active sayer role, and “‘With the Queen’s...’ is the verbiage. The metonymic objectivation ‘Buckingham Palace’ dis-associates all named actors from the ‘statement’ and, by extension, the material process ‘returned’. In the co-textual accompaniment circumstance ‘With the Queen’s approval and agreement’, the nouns ‘approval’, and ‘agreement’ seem to signal her un/official support for the material process ‘returned’. The use of official titles (‘the Queen’; ‘the Duke of York’) dispenses increased reverence, and manifests distance between Elizabeth, and Andrew. The result is that ‘Buckingham Palace’ is mainly deployed to dis-associate Andrew from the wider monarchy, and emphasise Elizabeth’s (positive) role in stripping him of honours.

Example (h) consists of three processes. In the existential process ‘There have been [Existential] suggestions [Existent]’, the existent (the collective noun ‘suggestions’) frames the identifying relational process ‘this [Token] would be [Relational-Identifying] from her private funds [Value],’. The surrounding co-text (‘Could the settlement be funded by the Queen or with public money?’) establishes the meaning of the token in the identifying relational process to be ‘the settlement’. In so doing, the authorial voice presents the proposition as a range of possible options, entertaining the dialogic alternative that ‘this’ would not ‘be from her private funds’. The identifying relational process is followed by the conjunction ‘but’, which counters the preceding utterances and supplants them with the verbal process ‘Buckingham Palace [Sayer] says [Verbal] it won’t comment on the financing of Prince Andrew’s legal case [Verbiage].’ The metonymic objectivation ‘Buckingham Palace’, as in example (g), dis-associates all named royal or royal-adjacent actors from the

utterance. As seen in example (f), the opportunity to express critique is (unsurprisingly) dismissed. Further, the utterance contains subtle dis-associating structures. Namely, the possessivation of 'legal case' ('Prince Andrew's') dis-associates the wider monarchy from the lawsuit, and 'the financing' of the settlement. The result is that 'Buckingham Palace' is mainly deployed to deemphasise the role Elizabeth might play in funding the settlement, and dis-associate Andrew and his legal travails from the wider monarchy.

Broadly, examples (a)-(h) illustrate how a reliance on expert-sources has had a constraining effect on the discourse. Dependence on elite sources, especially those embedded within centralised institutions, continuously exposes journalists to the language and agenda of dominant structures (Eldridge, 1993). News outlets curate long-term, strategic relationships with institutionally-embedded sources to promote efficient newsgathering practices based around easily-accessible sources of information with 'official' knowledge about events at their disposal (Davies, 2008). This type of knowledge tends to emanate from dominant state and extrastate institutions that are ideologically predisposed towards conserving extant states of affairs (Apple, 2014). The credibility of this type of knowledge relies on dominant understandings of truth/untruth, and the expectation that these centres of information are best positioned to, and interested in, presenting an accurate depiction of reality (Foucault, 1978). These conditions engender a perfunctory, two-way process of dependency (Meadows & Ewart, 2001) that enmeshes elite values and news values (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017). The day-to-day routine of news gathering and the discursive practices of actors perceived as 'official' or 'expert' sources by media professionals forms a "'vicious cycle' which is hard to break for potential sources with less official status" (Mesikämmen, 2016, p.721).

Specifically, examples (a)-(h) show that the outcome of these circumstances is that the debate is limited to a narrow range of generally uncritical views that present no challenge to the prevailing, hegemonic narrative, and denounces only certain behaviours (i.e. 'he should have kept his trap shut') (Gallagher *et al*, 2019), and consequences (i.e. 'he has brought things into disrepute') (BBC, 2022a). In terms of Miller and Mills (2009) ideological framework, the expert-sources and expert testimony deployed in the texts to support and/or construct interpretations of events fit the category of orthodox expertise, presenting moderate critique of certain decisions and/or behaviours, but no fundamental

challenge to the prevailing narrative. In consequence, critique is divorced from wider structures, dismissing systemic facilitators of sexual exploitation including capitalism, patriarchy, and misogyny, that historically sustain and reward 'bad apples' (Clancy & Yelin, 2021).

8.3 Acknowledging Dissent

As this section will reveal, expressions of dissent that are attributable to alternative, non-elite voices are de-amplified in the texts, such that hegemonic tolerance is enabled. Non-elites and alternative knowledge are represented differently to elites and 'official' knowledge. Dissent is not (entirely) excluded from the texts. Rather, it is occasionally *acknowledged*, but quietened and limited to moderate, 'safe' critique of specific behaviours and decisions. Critical perspectives on monarchy are not featured. The outcome is that underlying structures that enable abuse - such as the preponderance of unaccountable elite groups including the monarchy - escape the discourse unchallenged.

As discussed in section 8.2, institutionally-embedded, elite sources tend to have preferential access to information, which sustains preferential access to discourse (van Dijk, 1996). In contrast, alternative, non-elite sources and dissenting voices tend to be underrepresented in certain genres of news reporting (Davis, 2008). These newsgathering practices are self-replicating, because news institutions will tend to pursue the most efficient route to newsmaking, which includes relying on centralised sources of 'official' information (Albaek, 2011). That said, traditional news institutions will often permit, and encourage, controlled opportunities for alternative voices to express moderate dissent. For example, Murray (*et al*, 2008) examined UK news coverage of anti-war dissent surrounding the second gulf war, in order to assess the degree to which news media acted as a 'faithful servant' that marginalised the anti-war movement, or as an 'advocate of the underdog' that reinforced its progressive message. The authors found that despite the controversy surrounding the invasion, the movement failed to sustain a positive or significant presence in the news, and that "consistent with the literature highlighting the difficulties that protest movements have in accessing media, the anti-war movement was progressively ignored and/or challenged by newspapers" (*ibid*, p.24-25). Further, the authors note that, in reportage in which dissent was featured, 'elite dissent' - moderate/palatable dissent

expressed by sociopolitical elites including political actors (see section 8.2) - were much more prominently featured than 'grassroots dissent', and more successful at sustaining coverage in the news (*ibid*). These practices help outlets appear inclusive, and have the potential capacity to establish the prominence of elite views amongst subaltern classes, and (re)produce common sense ideologies (van Dijk, 1995b).

As seen in section 8.1, and 8.2, representations of elite/tolerant voices and positions tend to be legitimised, in different ways. For instance, in section 8.1, example (e), the social actor representation 'Leading commentator Phil Dampier' (Robinson *et al*, 2022) consists of an appraisal ('Leading'), a functionalisation ('commentator'), and a semi-formal nomination ('Phil Dampier'). The appraising adjective 'Leading' corresponds to positive valence in this context, because it evokes ideas of seniority, or expertise. The functionalising noun 'commentator' also lends legitimacy, because it tells the reader what the speaker is 'Leading' in. The full nominalisation also lends legitimacy, because it provides the reader with the necessary information with which to assess the speakers' credentials. The entire representation is presented monoglossically, which signals the (greater) level of investment the authorial voice has in the legitimacy of the speakers' position. In this same example, another feature that lends legitimacy to the utterance is the flexibility the speaker is provided - or reported to have been provided - to perform different processes. Namely, the freedom to express their point of view in a variety of ways. In this example, the (elite) speaker is represented as performing the verbal process 'said', and the mental process 'believes' in order to express the relatively benign position that 'the Queen's second son will try to stop the case with an out-of-court settlement' - in which Andrew's subordinate position in the order of birth, and hence succession, is emphasised, dis-associating him from Elizabeth, and the wider monarchy.

I argue that hegemonic tolerance can be constructed not only through representations of elite/tolerant voices and positions, but also through representations of alternative/dissenting voices and positions. In this case, alternative/dissenting voices and positions are much harder to detect compared to elite/tolerant voices and positions, with the latter often foregrounded. That is not to say there is no representation - there is, but it is constructed quite differently. Take, for example, victims of sexual violence. This group represents an obvious source of critique, in this case, and yet their voices are rarely

(directly) featured. Excepting Virginia, victims are always indeterminate - represented as unspecified individuals or groups (van Leeuwen, 1995a). Of course, this is consistent with guidance on reporting sexual offences set out by IPSO (2021b) aimed at protecting the anonymity of victims of sex crimes. Individual victims tend to be classified in terms of age, gender, or both. For example, 'a minor' (BBC, 2019b), and 'an under-age girl' (Gallagher *et al*, 2019). Assimilated victims tend to be collectivised, aggregated, associated, or a combination of the above, with or without classifications. For example, 'victims of sexual abuse' (Robinson *et al*, 2022), 'countless young girls' (Duell *et al*, 2022), and 'the billionaire paedophile's victims' (Gallagher *et al*, 2019). Members of this voice-group are usually passive participants in material transitivity processes (i.e. 'abused', 'represented'), rather than agential sources of information. Example (a) represents a unique exception to this trend:

- a. "It comes just over a month after another of Epstein's victims exclusively told the Mail that Miss Roberts had admitted to her that she had slept with the prince in London in 2001." DM3

This proposition is primarily built around the verbal transitivity process 'told', in which 'another of Epstein's victims' is allocated the active sayer participant role, and 'that Miss Roberts...' is the verbiage. The first part of the representation ('another of') signals the indeterminate identity of the speaker. This also provides the authorial signal that *someone* else in the text/story is granted the specific victim-of-Epstein status. The specific implication is that Virginia is the candidate, arguably creating a lens through which to view her account of Andrew's impropriety because it identifies her as a victim of abuse. The second part of the representation ('Epstein's victims') fits van Leeuwen's (1995a) definition of functionalisation, because to 'be' a victim is a form of activity. In the verbiage, the secondary verbal process 'Miss Roberts [Sayer] had admitted [Verbal] to her [Receiver] that she had slept with the prince...[Verbiage]' is built around the process 'admitted'. According to Martin and White (2005), this type of resource belongs to 'concurrence' - a type of proclamation that presents the represented proposition as highly warrantable and compelling. In the context of the whole story, this might be said to represent one victim

supporting the allegations of another. However, this is not necessarily the only interpretation. The proclamation frames the material process ‘she [Actor] had slept [Material] with the prince [Goal]...’, in which lexicogrammatical structures reverse victim-perpetrator roles, and the ‘rape is sex’ myth (see Chapter 6, section 6.3) is evoked by a process (‘slept’) that indicates consent. This presents some critique of Andrew, because it implies that his account, that ‘nothing’ happened, is false. However, it also has the possible effect of closing down the potential range of answers to the question ‘who did what to whom?’, depending on the interpretive model of the reader. This is a loose summary of what was said, and so it is not possible to accurately determine the origin of the verb choice ‘slept’. Nonetheless, the result is that an alternative, non-elite source that has been provided exceptional discourse access is deployed to express - or to be represented as expressing - support for a *certain* reconstituted version of events (‘Virginia slept with Andrew’) that privileges certain flavours of critique (i.e. Andrew is dishonest) over alternatives (i.e. Andrew is an alleged rapist).

Another voice-group that arguably represents a potential source of alternative/dissenting information, in this case, is the general public - given that the monarchy and its membership purportedly depend upon civic acquiescence, including discursively acquired acquiescence, to rule effectively (Clancy, 2021). This group, like victims, tend to be indeterminately assimilated in a variety of guises. The most common variant of representation adapts the generic noun ‘people’. This tends to be realised through collectivisation, or aggregation. For example, ‘people’ (Gallagher et al, 2019), ‘a lot of people’ (BBC, 2019b), and ‘the nation’ (Davis, 2022). Unlike indeterminate victims, indeterminate public voices and views are occasionally featured - or represented as being featured. In examples (b)-(g), explicit and/or implied representations of dissent are attributed directly, or indirectly to alternative, non-elite voices, with the primary *source* of ‘dissent’ underlined:

- b. “In a sometimes rambling and contradictory account of their friendship, which drew accusations of arrogance from viewers, the prince insisted he had not had sex with any women trafficked by Epstein in any of his properties.” G1

- c. “He suggested that, as a member of the royal family, he was “not one to, as it were, hug, and public displays of affection are not something that I do.” Photographs of the prince in embraces with various women swiftly emerged on Twitter.” G1
- d. “But, watched by millions, it was his glaring failure to express a single note of regret over what happened to Epstein’s victims that provoked the most outrage.” DM1
- e. “The Prince’s often bizarre responses were greeted with howls of horror, incredulity and mockery on social media.” DM1
- f. “And last night, an MP for the city of York called on the duke to withdraw his title to show 'respect' for people living there. Labour's Rachael Maskell said he has caused 'deep hurt and embarrassment' to residents of the city.” DM3

Example (b) is primarily constructed around a verbal and material process that, excluding the subordinate clause, is: ‘In a sometimes rambling and contradictory account of their friendship [Circumstance: Manner], the prince [Sayer] insisted [Verbal] he [Actor] had not had [Material] sex with any women...[Goal / Verbiage]’. In the circumstance (manner), the adjectives ‘rambling’ and ‘contradictory’ target Andrew’s ‘account’ of his friendship with Epstein. These resources resemble monoglossic judgements of capacity that clearly reflect negative valence. This foregrounds a dissenting evaluation of ‘account’ that is attributable to the authorial voice, slightly mitigated by the modal ‘sometimes’. This type of dissent corresponds to the flavour of criticality discussed elsewhere (see Chapter 7, section 7.2) - namely, a ‘safe’ depiction of events that privileges certain forms of critique (i.e. buffoon) over others (i.e. alleged rapist). An alternative *source* of dissent, in this case, is relegated to the subordinate clause ‘which drew accusations of arrogance from viewers’, in which the most obvious candidate for the assimilation ‘viewers’ are *BBC* audiences, and the subordinating conjunction ‘which’ indicates that the target of assessment is again, specifically, the ‘his account of their friendship’. The main outcome of this proposition is that it reinforces the focus of moderate dissenting views. Namely, by amplifying dissenting views about specific details (‘his account of their friendship’), and de-amplifying dissenting views about alternative details.

Example (c) consists of two main processes - the verbal process ‘He [Sayer] suggested [Verbal] that, as a member of the royal family...[Verbiage]’, and the material

process 'Photographs of the prince in embraces with various women [Actor] swiftly emerged [Material/Verbal] on Twitter [Circumstance: Location]'. This is an interesting example, because it appears to represent an attempt to use (external) alternative/dissenting voices to express (internal) critical perspectives. The verbal process 'suggested' explicitly distances the authorial voice from the directly attributed reported speech of Andrew. In the reported speech, Andrew 'suggests' that he is 'not one to hug'. The subsequent clause presents contradictory evidence through the material/verbal process 'emerged' that challenges this claim, which is intensified by the modal 'swiftly'. The contradictory evidence ('photographs') is (indirectly) attributed to the social media platform 'Twitter' via the preposition 'on'. The result is that the implication that Andrew is lying is expressed, but this critique is subtly dis-associated from the text-internal authorial voice. The authorial voice acknowledges that *others* have presented evidence to the contrary in an alternative discourse site, but neglects to engage with this site explicitly (i.e. by representing examples). This might signal some of the boundaries of sanctionable critique in news discourse concerning royal figures.

Example (d) is composed of a subordinate clause, and a main clause. In the subordinate clause, the conjunction 'But' establishes that the represented proposition counters preceding co-textual features ('he faced a barrage of probing questions, offering evasive and sometimes contradictory responses'). The subordinate clause is built around the behavioural process 'watched [Behavioural] by millions [Behaver]'. This is dependent on the main clause. The main clause is constructed around the attributing relational process 'it [Carrier] was [Relational-Attributing] his glaring failure...[Attribute]'. The surrounding co-text ('Prince Andrew looked deeply uncomfortable') establishes 'his' to be a representation of Andrew. The attribute includes the contingency circumstance 'that provoked the most outrage', in which the superlative 'most', whilst implying that there are concerns other than 'his failure to express regret', also implies that they - including the alleged sexual assault of a minor by a senior royal - are *less* outrageous. Of course, this is implicitly predicated on the fact that there is something to regret. The outcome is that the acknowledged dissent ('outrage') is associated with certain behaviours ('failure to express regret'), and potentially dis-associated from others (i.e. alleged abuse of sex trafficking victims) in consequence.

Example (e) is primarily constructed around the verbal process 'The Prince's often bizarre responses [Receiver] were greeted [Verbal] with howls of horror, incredulity and mockery [Verbiage] on social media [Circumstance: Location]'. In this case, the sayer participant in the process is passively deleted. According to van Leeuwen (1995a), social actors can be impersonalised through abstract nouns, or concrete nouns that do not include the semantic feature 'human'. Included in the category of objectivation is 'instrumentalisation', by which social actors are represented through reference to the instrument with which they carry out an activity they are represented as being engaged in. It follows that 'social media' - the instrument through which 'howls of horror, incredulity and mockery' are expressed, that is relegated to circumstance (Location) in the clause - can be interpreted as a metonymic reference to 'people'. Based on this interpretation, this might represent the sort of 'compromise' seen previously in example (c). Namely, including this particular assessment- but not comparable, individuated sources of alternative/dissenting critique - might signal how news outlets navigate (perceived) un/sanctionable formulations in news reporting about elite figures. That said, the auxiliary verb 'were' clearly indicates the target of the negative assessment to be, specifically, 'his often bizarre responses'. As such, the assessment is 'safe' to include because it aligns with 'elite dissent' featured elsewhere in the text, such as 'Royal commentator Richard Fitzwilliams said: 'This must be the most bizarre royal interview ever given'. This example represents precisely the prevailing policy that seems to surround alternative/dissenting voices, in this case. Acknowledging the *existence* of dissent is permissible and, perhaps, advisable (Proffitt, 2007) - hence, the inclusion of certain information i.e. 'People have been critical of Andrew's responses on social media'. However, there is no attempt to engage with this dissent beyond this surface acknowledgement. The result is that 'howls of horror, incredulity and mockery' - which sound powerful, and persuasive - are reduced to a relatively ineffectual whimper.

Example (f) is primarily built around two processes, and is an interesting extract because it is attributed to a political elite, expressing (moderate) dissent *on behalf* of non-elite constituents. In the verbal process 'And last night, an MP for the city of York [Sayer] called [Verbal] on the duke [Receiver] to show 'respect' for people living there [Verbiage]', a specific sector (citizens of York) is represented via indeterminate collectivisation ('people'), and functionalisation ('living' [there]). The text-internal authorial voice indicates a lower

degree of investment in the proposition by situating the noun 'respect' - which constitutes a negative assessment of Andrew in this context - within scare quotes. In the verbal process 'Labour's Rachael Maskell [Sayer] said [Verbal] he has caused 'deep hurt and embarrassment' to residents of the city [Verbiage]', the group are represented via collective functionalisation ('Residents' [of the city]). The negative proprietary judgement 'caused deep hurt and embarrassment' is situated within scare quotes, again signalling distance. Crucially, these (subjective) assessments privilege the expression of particular, uncritical details (i.e. Andrew using the title 'Duke of York'), while more contentious, critical details (i.e. Andrew settling a civil rape case) are left implicit.

Republicans represent perhaps the voice-group most likely to express dissenting views about events, including critique of underlying structures of dominance. As anticipated, this group is almost entirely excluded from debate. Example (g) represents one unique exception to this:

- g. "On Thursday, a letter - released by anti-monarchy pressure group Republic - was signed by more than 150 Royal Navy, RAF and Army veterans asking the Queen to strip Prince Andrew of his eight British military titles." BBC2

The group is represented here by the collective noun phrase 'anti-monarchy pressure group Republic'. This representation is made up of three components - an appraisal ('anti-monarchy'), a functionalisation ('pressure group'), and a collectivising proper noun ('Republic'). This is comparable to the representation 'Leading commentator Phil Dampier', discussed above, with two exceptions. First, the appraisal 'anti-monarchy' could conjure negative, or positive feelings, depending on the values of the reader. The same might be said of the (accurate) functionalisation 'pressure group', given the semantic implication of force. The representation is also restricted to the parenthetical subordinate clause, 'released by anti-monarchy pressure group Republic', in which the group is positioned in the active role of the material process 'released'. The main clause is primarily built around the material process 'a letter [Goal] was signed [Material] by more than 150 Royal Navy, RAF and Army veterans [Actor]...'. Crucially, it is 'Lt Stuart Hunt', a veteran and signatory of the letter, that is elsewhere approached for comment (see Chapter

7, section 7.2) - not Republic. The outcome is that the group that is, arguably, most likely to express and/or champion dissenting positions is significantly de-amplified, compared to voices of approval. It is not robbed of a platform, because it is represented, but it is robbed of a voice, because it is not permitted to use the platform to further its goals.

These examples indicate that alternative/dissenting voices are compressed in news reporting surrounding the Andrew-Virginia scandal. The examples above are characterised by surface acknowledgement, and disengagement. Acknowledgment promotes the appearance of impartiality. Disengagement discourages the development of counter-hegemonies. This cannot be explained, in all cases, by disproportionate discourse access. Republic, for instance, is a well-established campaign group with proven media links (Rajvanshi, 2023). As such, the exclusion of this voice-group - which represents the interests of abolitionists - cannot be explained by factors of news production alone. It must be, in part, an ideologically motivated strategy. The net result of these exclusionary practices is that it becomes difficult for the conversation surrounding certain conditions - in this case, the preponderance of monarchy - to shift in any meaningful way. This discursive resistance to change on one partisan political issue, moreover, has the wider ripple effect of (re)producing common sense ideologies surrounding the underlying structures it serves to champion, and uphold.

8.4 Towards Hegemonic Tolerance

Overall, the findings presented in this chapter support the core, underlying assumptions of the HTF. Firstly, in this case, the HTF has proven an effective means of uncovering structures of reverence, and dis-association surrounding portrayals of Elizabeth - consistent with theoretical-methodological assumptions (see Chapter 4, sections 4.3.3, and 4.3.2 respectively). Representations of Elizabeth, unlike representations of Virginia (see especially Chapter 6, section 6.1), typically upwardly modify reverence. In Elizabeth's case, nominalisations are restricted to strategically proximated statutory ('monarch'), and familial ('mother') forms. Both images (re)produce deferential norms and hierarchies, and are constructed around gendered representations that are consistent with the preferred, patriotic image of historic British monarchs. Namely, as a mother/father figure, displaying a combination of feminine/masculine qualities historically seen to define good leadership

(Bell, 2006). Again, unlike Virginia, certain depictions of Elizabeth are overtly designed to elicit sympathy. These depictions are built around the consequences of the case for Elizabeth, in particular. Each major event corresponds to a different consequence. The first event (the interview) corresponds to the risk of reputational damage. The second event (the lawsuit) corresponds to the threat of shrouding her 2022 anniversary, celebrating seven decades in power, in controversy. The third event (the settlement) corresponds to the consequence of financial encumbrance. In each case, 'expert-sources' are deployed to emphasise these consequences. This has the ideological effect of (re)directing sympathy from Virginia, to Elizabeth. The strategy of dis/association, meanwhile, is commonly detectable in subtleties that isolate Andrew from the wider consortium of monarchical dominance. For instance, representations of Andrew in terms of his relationship to Elizabeth, his mother and the then monarchical figurehead, frequently incorporate subtleties that dis-associate the two and, by extension, the closeness of Andrew to the wider institution of monarchy. This relationship is usually actualised as a possessivated pronoun ('his mother', 'her son'), or a genitive prepositional phrase ('the Duke of York's mother', 'the Queen's son'). Only genitive prepositional phrases in which Elizabeth is the possessor ('the Queen's son') are used by all three news outlets. Such representations frequently include extraneous numerical information. Namely, Andrew is represented as a 'third child', and 'second son' to 'the Queen' - rather than the 'favourite child', which was also available. By emphasising his subordinate position in the sequence of birth, space is created between Andrew, and Elizabeth. Emphasising his subordinate position in the sequence of birth, moreover, emphasises his subordinate position in the order of succession. Thus, space is simultaneously created between Andrew, and the wider monarchy.

These features build towards hegemonic tolerance because, firstly, reverent depictions of Elizabeth reinforce common sense ideologies surrounding monarchical power. Namely, ideologies of exceptionalism that are emphasised through contrasting depictions of non-elites - including Virginia (see especially Chapter 6, section 6.1). This might be said to be the feature of the textual data that most obviously corresponds to van Dijk's ideological square (1993). Namely, because these representations are organised in such a way as to express positive 'us' representation, and mitigate negative 'us' representation (Elizabeth),

and express negative 'them' representation, and mitigate positive 'them' representation (Virginia) (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.1). Secondly, dis-associating structures that increase the distance between Elizabeth, and Andrew, have wider, advantageous consequences for monarchical power. Namely, because doing so builds towards isolating Andrew, and his alleged actions, from wider monarchical actors and operations. These features might be explained, in part, by the laissez-faire power structures of symbiosis (see Chapter 4, section 4.2.1). News institutions are inherently invested in maintaining channels of communication between monarchical power centres, and news organisations. Positive, sympathetic portrayals of Elizabeth - as the then figurehead of the institution - are likely to work towards sustaining this relationship. Similarly, the laissez-faire power structures of institution (see Chapter 4, section 4.2.2), and access (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.3) may provide alternative explanations. This is reflected in the predominance of elite/tolerant voices who, in this case, act as mouthpieces through which sympathetic portrayals of Elizabeth are conveyed (see especially section 8.1).

The HTF has also proven an effective means of uncovering patterns of de/amplification surrounding, respectively, alternative/dissenting voices, and elite/tolerant voices - consistent with theoretical-methodological assumptions (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.1). There are three main alternative/dissenting groups that, perhaps given their 'stake' in events, are provided a degree of (anonymous) representation in the texts - victims, republicans, and citizens. Each group represents an obvious source of (potential) critique for different reasons. However, this potential is barely realised and, in fact, the amplitude of each group tends to be lowered, excepting contexts in which two of these groups - victims, and citizens - are deployed to mirror hegemonic views. In consequence, alternative/dissenting ideologies are broadly de-amplified. Representation tends to be defined by a policy of acknowledge/disengage - acknowledgement promotes the appearance of inclusivity, and disengagement discourages the development of counter-hegemonies. Further, co-opting potential sources of alternative/dissenting views to echo elite/tolerant views that shift the focus of debate from critical details, to less critical details, promotes the appearance of an (un)critical consensus. Meanwhile, the exclusion of republicans - the most likely candidate for critical perspectives - from debate cannot be explained by factors of news production alone, because this group has proven media links

(Rajvanshi, 2023). Instead of featuring these types of voices, debate is primarily driven by institutionally-embedded 'expert-sources' that reflect elite/tolerant ideologies. Compared to alternative/dissenting sources, this group is amplified - provided with considerable space in which to express what amounts to a very narrow range of positions, such that there is little room for critical perspectives on monarchy to be articulated. The outcome is a prevailing narrative in which a slim selection of moderate ideologies indirectly steer the tenor of debate in a particular direction - one that privileges certain brands of critique, at the expense of critical alternatives. Five types of 'expert-source' - generic, legal, royal, state, and specialist - are deployed in the texts to achieve this (see section 8.2). In each case, utterances attributed to these sources can be broadly mapped to Miller and Mills' (2009) designation of 'orthodox expertise' or, in other words, expertise that reflects a generally conservative orthodoxy and presents no challenge to the prevailing narrative about events. The outcome of a pervasive reliance on such sources is that debate is largely shaped by a narrow range of generally uncritical views that present no challenge to the prevailing, hegemonic narrative. The expert-sources and expert testimony deployed in the texts to support and/or construct interpretations of events is defined, mainly, by moderate critique of particular decisions and/or behaviours that dismisses the role of underlying inequalities that enable abuse (Clancy & Yelin, 2021). The consequence of these practices is that the prevailing discourse surrounding the Andrew-Virginia saga is divorced from alternative/dissenting ideologies that connect events to broader, underlying inequalities and contentions, including the preponderance of unaccountable elite groups such as the monarchy.

These features build towards hegemonic tolerance because, as anticipated, they exhibit a clear prioritisation of elite/tolerant voices and ideologies, and a dereliction of alternative/dissenting voices and ideologies. This means that the clear opportunity for alternative/dissenting views to gain a foothold in the prevailing that this case represents is broadly suppressed. Instead of being given a clear space in which to articulate critical perspectives on events and, perhaps, connect Andrew's alleged behaviours with wider societal inequalities, including the preponderance of unaccountable elites, alternative/dissenting voices are afforded very limited representation and, therefore, capacity in which to do so effectively. This is perhaps best explained, in part, by the *laissez-*

faire power structure of access (see Chapter 4, section 4.2.3). News organisations tend to disproportionately rely on elite/tolerant sources. These sources tend to reflect the values and objectives of the state, including the endorsement and legitimisation of partnered institutions, such as the monarchy. Access to avenues of communication and the public mind is not shared equally (van Dijk, 1996). Power centres that comprise the institutional ensemble of the state offer disproportionate access to different capacities for power, to actors within and outside the state and for different purposes (Jessop, 1999). As a consequence, elite/tolerant voices tend to be promoted, and alternative/dissenting voices tend to be demoted, and this has the un/intended consequence of naturalising the policies of inscrutability surrounding certain power centres and institutions, including the monarchy.

Chapter 9 - Conclusion

This thesis has investigated features of control in discourse that contribute to the (re)production of dominance without the requirement of explicit, or assumed consent. In doing so, it has challenged the popular, Gramscian (1947) definition of ‘hegemony’ as domination achieved through the ideological naturalisation of dominant views and values (see Chapter 3, section 3.2.1). I have argued that this view of hegemony is best applied to circumstances in which dominances are unopposed, arising from a lack of challenge that implies consent, or permission granted. In circumstances in which dominances are unopposable, this view of hegemony is insufficient. To this end, I have advanced the theory of *hegemonic tolerance* to describe a type of hegemony that arises from a lack of capacity to challenge that does not (necessarily) imply consent, and thus a form of domination by which permission is taken for granted (see Chapter 1, section 1.2; Chapter 3, section 3.2.2). In this sense, hegemonic tolerance represents a significantly more subtle route to domination.

In order to effectively explore this concept, I have introduced the *hegemonic tolerance framework* (HTF) as an operationalisable set of analytical strategies designed to uncover observable features in discourse that build towards hegemonic tolerance (see Chapter 4, sections 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4). This is broadly inspired by discourse-analytical approaches and techniques associated with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) that are well-suited to excavating features of discursively enacted dominance (see Chapter 3, section 3.1;

Chapter 4, section 4.1). Following the example of many CDA projects, this study focused on a small, targeted sample of news texts in which ideological operations had been observed. The constitutional status of the British monarchy means it does not (necessarily) require consent to sustain itself (see Chapter 1, section 1.1). Rather, dominance is secured, primarily, through discursive modes of control. As such, the monarchy resembled an appropriate prism through which to consider how hegemonic tolerance might be engendered. Specifically, news texts pertaining to the alleged sexual assault of Virginia Giuffre by Prince Andrew (see Chapter 5, section 5.1; 5.2.1) - a site where one might/should expect to see critical voices and views featured - were analysed through the methodological lens of the HTF, to develop insight into how hegemonic tolerance might be enacted discursively. The outcome of this analysis was presented in Chapters 6, 7, and 8, revealing patterns that are consistent with the underlying assumptions of the HTF. In brief, elite/tolerant voices (i.e. experts) tend to be amplified, alternative/dissenting voices (i.e. republicans) tend to be de-amplified. Elite actors (i.e. Andrew) and undesirable features (i.e. rape) tend to be dis-associated, non-elite actors (i.e. Virginia) and undesirable features (i.e. money) tend to be associated. Elite actor representations tend to be more reverent (i.e. Her Majesty), and non-elite actor representations tend to be less reverent (i.e. 'money-hungry sex kitten'). These discoveries suggest that the theoretical concept of hegemonic tolerance merits further investigation, and reflect the successes of the HTF as a methodological operationalisation of a unique interpretation of hegemonic power.

This chapter concludes the thesis. Herein, I establish how I have addressed the research agenda of the study (see Chapter 1, section 1.3). In section 9.1, I review the thesis, focusing on the features that constitute an original contribution to knowledge. Section 9.1.1 discusses hegemonic tolerance as an original theoretical contribution based on cognisance of a substantive body of interdisciplinary research. Section 9.1.2 highlights the HTF as an original methodological contribution based on cognisance of appropriate discourse-analytical techniques. Section 9.1.3 summarises the main findings of the study and, in turn, the successes of the HTF as a discourse-analytical framework. The final sections of the thesis discuss the limitations of the study (9.2), and propose future directions of research (9.3).

9.1 Contribution

In this section I evidence how, with this thesis, I have created and interpreted new knowledge through original research. The study was underpinned by the following, exploratory aim:

Locate, operationalise, and apply the theoretical concept of hegemonic tolerance in order to provide insight into how specific features of control, such that elite/tolerant ideologies are promoted, and alternative/dissenting ideologies are demoted, can enable domination without the requirement of consent

This exploratory aim was accomplished by completing three objectives:

1. Locate the theoretical concept of *hegemonic tolerance* within the wider literature in order to demonstrate how it is informed by and extends upon knowledge
2. Operationalise the *hegemonic tolerance framework* as a replicable methodological approach with which to identify the features of *hegemonic tolerance* in discourse
3. Apply the *hegemonic tolerance framework* to an appropriate case study in order to evidence features of *hegemonic tolerance* in discourse

In this section, I demonstrate how I have addressed the first, and second objectives of this broad research agenda (see Chapter 1, section 1.3). In section 9.1.1, I discuss hegemonic tolerance as an original theoretical contribution that is informed by a systematic acquisition and understanding of a substantial body of knowledge, and extends the forefront of the discipline. In doing so, I demonstrate that I have met the first objective of the research agenda. In section 9.1.2, I discuss the HTF as an original methodological contribution that reflects my ability to successfully conceptualise a novel methodological approach for the generation of new knowledge. In doing so, I demonstrate that I have met the second objective of the research agenda. In section 9.1.3, I evaluate the effectiveness of the HTF, in light of the main findings. In doing so, I demonstrate how I have met the third objective of the research agenda.

9.1.1 Theoretical Contribution

This thesis has advanced the original theoretical concept of hegemonic tolerance to describe a potential outcome of discursive modes of control that enable relations of domination to operate without the need to produce consent. In doing so, this thesis challenges traditional understandings of how hegemony is sustained. hegemonic tolerance describes, specifically, a human behaviour that potentially emerges from discursive modes of control that places limits over the features of a prevailing discourse. Namely, the action or practice of enduring, or suffering unchallengeable conditions. This contrasts with common understandings of hegemonic consent (see Chapter 3, section 3.2.2), as the action or practice of voluntarily complying to challengeable conditions. This distinction is crucial to the thesis - consent implies permission *granted*, tolerance implies permission *taken for granted*. As a theoretical contribution, this thesis has illuminated the oftentimes perfunctory application of the concept of hegemony, and presented an alternative interpretation based on observable features in discourse. To achieve this, I situated the theoretical concept of hegemonic tolerance within the wider literature, and demonstrated how it is informed by and extends upon knowledge surrounding the relationship between hegemonic power, ideology, and discourse, accomplishing the first objective of the research agenda.

Tolerance had been, hitherto, neglected as a potential resource of domination in the literature. Instead of the role of tolerance in (re)producing asymmetrical power relationships, the term is generally understood in different terms, as a desirable inclusionary behaviour related to dis/respect for diversity (Corneo & Jeanne, 2009). My understanding of the term is more akin to that of Wemyss (2006), who adopts a top-down view of tolerance to describe the withholding of force, or tolerance, of the powerless by the powerful in order to maintain order. My version of the term is bidirectional - tolerance is seen as a bestowal of power from below that is determined and maintained ideologically, and discursively from above. This type of (hegemonic) tolerance is *implicit* in a number of studies in which hegemony and the diminishment of dissent are central concerns (Montessori, 2011; Fairclough & Fairclough, 2013; Yacoumis, 2018), but had not, to date, been highlighted as a potential resource of domination in its own right. This study travels some distance towards ameliorating this shortfall by bridging the gap, theoretically and methodologically, between tolerance and hegemony.

Hegemonic tolerance is adapted from the Gramscian (1947) notion of hegemony, which is a fundamental feature of the Marxist interpretation of power (Therborn, 2008). According to this view, hegemony is a soft power (Nye, 1990), a form of domination that is achieved through ideological resources and indirect, non-coercive control mechanisms that produce 'consent' by naturalising ruling values as 'common sense' (Adamson, 1983; Gallarotti, 2011). This includes discourse, and news discourse, in particular, is a well-established site of ideological-hegemonic operations in CDA (van Dijk, 1996; Fairclough, 1989). Gramsci (1947) identified three types of hegemony - integral, minimal, and decadent. hegemonic tolerance is adapted from decadent hegemony - a fragile form of hegemony in which the ruling class cannot command complete allegiance, and depends on coercive and ideological resources to maintain control and prevent the subaltern classes from developing a clear articulation of alternative policies. The concept of hegemony is of particular significance to Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) because it provides a lens through which to consider the relationship between ideology and discourse. However, the 'loose' application of the concept and, especially, the central feature of assumed or 'spontaneous consent', has drawn criticism for having attained a form of common sense status of its own (Donoghue, 2018). The concept of hegemonic tolerance marks an attempt towards problematising the idea of 'spontaneous consent' at the heart of many studies in which hegemony is a central concern, offering a novel interpretation of how ideological constraints might produce a form of compliance that is based on mechanisms of legal and discursive disempowerment, rather than mechanisms of cognitive conditioning that, as such, does not depend on vague notions of the unconscious (see Chapter 3, section 3.2.2).

Gramsci (1947) saw hegemony as an ideologically-determined, bottom-up, 'spontaneous' transference of consent to the dominant by the dominated with little direct interference from ruling interest groups, except where coercion is necessary to keep unconsenting groups under control. As I have mentioned, hegemonic tolerance is both bottom-up, and top-down - it is imposed from above by the dominant, and exhibited from below by the dominated. Tolerant behaviour is exhibited *only* through interference from above. In this sense, hegemonic tolerance relies much more on directly suppressive strategies such as the policing of dissidence, and the discursive polarisation of un/acceptable views and values in order to sustain this dynamic. The notion of 'spontaneous

consent' is problematic because it implies a lack of capacity for critical thinking. This is why I focus more on the various means through which dominant elites exert their influence discursively from above, in order to promote tolerant behaviours - that may, or may not, be reluctant and thereby not precisely 'consensual' - from below. The key difference, then, is that Gramsci's (ibid) understanding of consent is characterised by a lack of challenge arising from false consciousness, while hegemonic tolerance is characterised by a lack of capacity to mount an effective challenge through discursive or judicial channels.

I argue that these circumstances are enabled, in part, by *laissez-faire power structures* that have suppressive effects. Laissez-faire power structures describe processes - or power structures - that immunise particular conditions from critical scrutiny. This is based on Jessop's (2005) 'strategic-relational approach' to structure and agency. According to this view, power is a resource that is acquired through selective and strategic alliances, policies, practices, and standardised courses of action. The borrowed French term 'laissez-faire' is usually associated with free market economics (Denis, 2004). I repurposed the term to describe power structures that insulate certain conditions from certain forms of interference. I outlined three structures in particular that are seen as instrumental in setting the conditions for hegemonic tolerance to develop, in this case - institution, symbiosis, and access (see Chapter 4, section 4.2, and section 9.1.2).

In this thesis, I have focused broadly on the British monarchy, arguing that it relies on hegemonic tolerance, rather than consent, to sustain its position, and that this is a subtle outcome of control mechanisms that foreground elite/tolerant ideologies, and background alternative/dissenting ideologies in the prevailing discourse surrounding it (see Chapter 1, section 1.1). The British monarchy typifies the type of non-consensual domination enabled by hegemonic tolerance because it does not, necessarily, require the consent of its subjects to rule (see Chapter 1, section 1.1). The institution of monarchy enshrines and champions ruling ideologies that intersect with the values underpinning late capitalism - especially the hereditary principle, the social class system, and the concentration of capital in the hands of an elite minority (Clancy, 2021; Clancy & Yelin, 2021; Ramsay, 2023). This proxy role means that hegemonic tolerance for the monarchy might be said to reinforce hegemonic tolerance for wider, invisibilised systems of dominance and division that are, equally, not necessarily predicated on 'spontaneous consent'. Monarchic subjects have no legislative power to

challenge the hegemony of monarchy, because it is immunised from judicial interference (Evans *et al*, 2022). Further, I argue that this suppressive policy is enhanced by a tightly controlled prevailing discourse, promoted by state (parliament) and extrastate (news outlets) institutions, that hegemonises a non-interventionist policy of inscrutability, and takes away any ideological-discursive capacity to challenge monarchic power through traditional forms of mass communication (see especially Chapter 4, section 4.2).

Clancy (2021, p.332) has argued that representations of the royal family “act as a prism: a central affective and ideological project to distance the monarchy from capitalist vulgarity and aristocratic debauchery, and reproduce monarchical power by producing consent for it in the public imaginary”. This thesis provides a much more detailed account of how, precisely, monarchical power is reproduced discursively, and without the requirement of ‘producing consent’ (Hall, 1977). I argue that hegemonic tolerance perpetuates monarchical power discursively not by producing consent, but by defanging and disempowering dissenting ideologies by establishing the un/speakable, un/thinkable, and un/actionable through various control strategies (see Chapter 4, section 4.3). When these boundaries around who/what can/cannot speak/be said attain common sense status, it becomes difficult for alternative perspectives to be articulated even if a civic desire for change exists, and the inscrutability of monarchical power is reproduced. This is not to presume that dissenting ideologies are entirely excluded from the prevailing discourse. Rather, it is to presume that dissenting ideologies will tend to be minimally represented, such that they are rendered ineffectual (see especially Chapter 8, section 8.3). I focused on news discourse, in particular, to illustrate this, because it is a site in which critical perspectives could/should be featured in certain contexts, and is well-established in the CDA literature as a mode of rhetoric with a clear ideological potential for sustaining and/or challenging hegemonies (van Dijk, 2001; White, 2006). This is especially prudent in this case, given the overwhelmingly negative context of the story (see Chapter 5, section 5.2.1) means that critical views about the British monarchy should be particularly relevant. In this sense, the findings of this thesis (see Chapters 6, 7, and 8) add to the growing body of interdisciplinary evidence (Cammaerts *et al*, 2020; Ahlstrad, 2021) that challenges the ideal of ‘fourth estate’ journalism (Tumber, 2001; Broersma, 2010; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2021) by illuminating features that belie hegemonic intentions.

As mentioned above, the theoretical concept of hegemonic tolerance is *implicit* in a number of studies in which hegemony and alternative/dissenting ideologies are central concerns. There is also some crossover between this concept, and other select theoretical models in which hegemonic tolerance might be said to (invisibly) factor (see Chapter 3, section 3.3). For instance, the libertarian Joseph Overton popularised the idea that the discourse of any official political landscape is defined by two arenas - the desirable discourse (acceptable, sensible, popular, policy), and the undesirable discourse (unthinkable, radical) (Robertson, 2018). This connects with the concept of hegemonic tolerance because it implies that official political discourse should embrace a narrow range of 'palatable' ideologies and policies, and reject radical alternatives, and as mentioned above, hegemonic tolerance is expected to develop in prevailing discourses - especially discourses of politico-ideological contention - in which elite/tolerant ideologies are foregrounded, and alternative/dissenting ideologies are backgrounded to maintain the status quo. Hence, the development and assessment of the HTF presented in this thesis, as a means through which to uncover the mechanisms through which these ideologies are ordered.

Hegemonic tolerance might also be said to overlap with Chomsky and Herman's (1988) infamous analysis of mass media. Their model uses political economic theory to focus on the effects of global inequalities on the interests and choices of news institutions and journalists, and attempts to explain how and why news reporting can come to reflect ruling ideals, and perpetuate asymmetrical power relations. The authors highlight five filters of news production (or discourse practice) that in/directly further the goals of dominant interest groups - ownership, advertising, sourcing, flak, and anticommunism. The fourth and fifth filters, in particular, signal a clear intellectual synergy between this model and the concept of hegemonic tolerance. The (negative) effects of disproportionate sourcing practices are one of the key research findings (see especially Chapter 8, sections 8.2, and 8.3). Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the fifth filter might be said to require modification, but remains aimed at creating a 'face of evil' in various ideological guises (Hyzen, 2023). As mentioned above, the concept of hegemonic tolerance also indirectly problematises the notion of manufacturing, or producing 'consent', by suggesting that hegemony can be secured without the requirement of obtaining consensus.

Finally, hegemonic tolerance builds upon the concept of ‘sanctioned discourse’, developed by Charles Tripp and pioneered by a range of scholars investigating discourses of global hydropolitics. Trottier (1999, p.171) defined a sanctioned discourse as “a normative vision in which the thought process of an analyst or a political actor is locked, a sort of largely ethical paradigm that determines the hypotheses we can put out and the questions we can ask.” The legitimisation of a sanctioned discourse, in turn, delegitimises transgressive discourses (Trottier, 1999; Turton, 2000; Jagerskog, 2002; Brethaut, 2021). This clearly parallels the concept of hegemonic tolerance, as it is primarily concerned with how elite/tolerant ideologies are privileged over alternative/dissenting ideologies in a prevailing discourse, and the effects this might have. The concept of sanctioned discourse is said to be inspired by CDA (Brethaut, 2021), but this is only vaguely qualified as a methodological approach, and the linguistic manifestations of discursive-ideological nuances do not feature in the analysis (Trottier, 1999; Turton, 2000; Jagerskog, 2002; Brethaut, 2021). In this way, the specific operationalisation of the concept of hegemonic tolerance presented in this study (see Chapter 5, section 5.3) provides further insight into hegemonic-discursive operations.

Each of the models described above suggest an invisible boundary between admissible, and inadmissible features in discourse. However, none of these models sufficiently explain how this boundary is specifically delineated, because they lack the linguistic lens necessary to explicate how the un/sanction-ability of features and discourses is actualised. That is, the specific naming practices, lexicogrammatical structures, and evaluative choices that underpin hegemony-sustaining discourses. Further, none of these models single out tolerance as a legitimate machination of hegemonic control. In this thesis, I have introduced the HTF as a unique operationalisation of the theoretical concept of hegemonic tolerance that represents a ‘bringing together’ of this space of non-consensual domination, connecting these disparate ideas together within a unique, linguistically-oriented framework designed to uncover ideological features in discourse that construct hegemony. Taking news reportage surrounding the Andrew-Virginia saga (see Chapter 5, section 5.2.1) as an anchoring point, I use the HTF to demonstrate in specific linguistic terms how different language features can be used to achieve hegemonic outcomes (see Chapters 6, 7, and 8).

9.1.2 Methodological Contribution

The HTF is presented in this thesis as a replicable, operationalisable discourse-analytical framework designed to explicate the manifestations and machinations of hegemonic tolerance, offering practical solutions towards identifying features in discourse that have dominance-sustaining effects. The framework provides a specific set of analytical strategies to achieve this, based on a detailed understanding of established CDA methods and approaches that are well-suited to uncovering ideological subtleties in discourse (see Chapter 4, section 4.1). As a methodological contribution, this thesis has provided evidence that combining a particular inventory of CDA-inspired approaches and linguistic tools is an effective means of uncovering compelling evidence of, in this case, ideological structures and features in news discourses surrounding the British monarchy that reproduce monarchical power by disempowering oppositional ideologies, and thereby enabling hegemonic tolerance. To provide this evidence, I operationalised the HTF as a replicable methodological approach with which to identify features of control in discourse that enable hegemonic tolerance, accomplishing the second objective of the research agenda.

CDA encompasses a range of discourse-analytical approaches in which power and ideology are central concerns, and texts are viewed as sites of ideological struggle in which structures compete for legitimacy (Fairclough, 1989). The purpose of CDA is to locate, critique, and gather persuasive evidence about power imbalances with semiotic features (van Dijk, 1995a). As such, it is seen as ideally suited to uncovering features of discursively enacted dominance, including hegemonic tolerance. This study followed the example of many CDA projects by focusing on a small, targeted sample of news texts in which ideological operations have been observed. News discourse is seen as an ideologically determined form of rhetoric with a clear potential to influence interpretations of events (White, 2006). As such, it is viewed as a prudent ideological site in which to investigate hegemonic tolerance structures.

As I have argued (see Chapter 1, section 1.1), the constitutional status of the British monarchy means it does not require consent to sustain itself. Rather, dominance is secured through discursive modes of control. As such, news texts in which this group are featured resembles an appropriate prism through which to consider how hegemonic tolerance might

be engendered. Data were selected using purposive sampling (see Chapter 5, section 5.2). Purposive sampling prioritises qualitative insight and in-depth understanding of an issue, rather than pursuing empirical generalisability. In my case, this involved selecting a sample of news texts in which one might/should expect to find critical voices and positions. In order to fulfil this criteria, I chose a case study in which one might expect to find critical perspectives featured in news reportage. Namely, the alleged sexual assault of Virginia Giuffre, at the time a minor (under US legislation) trafficked for sex by Jeffrey Epstein and Ghislaine Maxwell, by Prince Andrew (see Chapter 5, section 5.2.1).

This case is apposite because one might expect to find critical perspectives featured, and it therefore provided theoretically pertinent opportunities to assess the criteria of the HTF. I chose this case over other, more obvious examples of ideological news discourse (i.e. the death of Prince Phillip), in which ir/reverence is *likely* to be accentuated, and dissent is *unlikely* to be featured, because this case represents an opportunity to uncover much more subtle hegemonic operations. In other words, if ideological structures that tacitly (re)produce hegemony can be observed in a case in which ir/reverence is *unlikely* to be accentuated, and dissent is *likely* to be featured, I present a much more convincing case for the concept of hegemonic tolerance. The Andrew-Virginia scandal can be divided into three distinct points in time - the interview (November 2019), the lawsuit (August 2021), and the settlement (February 2022). I selected three sources of online news - the *Guardian*, *Daily Mail*, and the *BBC* - on the basis that, according to Ofcom (2022), these sources are the most widely read digital news titles amongst UK adults. This set of sources also (ostensibly) represents the left, right, and state-centric poles of the political spectrum (Smith, 2017). The sample is limited to one text, per source, per point in time. In brief, the data for this project consists of nine online news texts - three from the *Daily Mail* (Gallagher et al, 2019; Robinson et al, 2022; Duell et al, 2022) (see Appendices 1-3), three from the *Guardian* (Doward, 2019; Davis, 2022; Hall, 2022) (see Appendices 4-6), and three from the *BBC* (BBC, 2019b; BBC, 2022a; Edginton & Coughlan, 2022) (see Appendices 7-9) (see Chapter 5, section 5.1; 5.2.1).

CDA (see Chapter 3, section 3.1) is not a method - rather, it is a broad church of interdisciplinary approaches and models that tend to share the common goal of uncovering discursively enacted dominances by which injustices and inequalities are reproduced (van

Dijk, 1995a). The HTF is inspired by two models of CDA in particular - Reisigl and Wodak's (2001) discourse-historical approach (see Chapter 4, section 4.1.1), and Fairclough's (1989) three-dimensional model (see Chapter 4, section 4.1.2). The HTF resembles a unique synthesis of specific elements taken from each of these models, combined with the explicit aim of uncovering nuances in discourse that enable hegemonic tolerance. The discourse-historical approach provides the HTF with three core a priori assumptions based on its useful distinction between objectives, strategies, and devices. The first assumption is that the 'objective' of a text under investigation is the engenderment of hegemonic tolerance. The second assumption is that this objective will be reflected in three scalar discourse 'strategies'. The third assumption is that these strategies will be manifested linguistically through three 'devices'. These three assumptions have a clear intellectual and methodological synergy with select elements of the three-dimensional model. The three-dimensional model provides the HTF with three non-sequential analytical entry points (explain, interpret, describe) mapped to three mutually-constitutive levels of context (social, discursive, textual). The 'objective' component of a text is understood in terms of the 'explain' entry point, and the 'social' context. The 'strategy' component of a text is understood in terms of the 'interpret' entry point, and the 'discursive' context. The 'device' component of a text is understood in terms of the 'describe' entry point, and the 'textual' context. In demonstrating the synergy of these features, the HTF provides the ancillary methodological contribution of providing evidence of mutually compatible features across different approaches to CDA, proving to be an effective investigatory tool.

Laissez-faire power structures (see Chapter 4, section 4.2), in brief, describe policies of inscrutability that enshroud certain conditions from critical scrutiny by curtailing the resources of opposition and enable impenetrability. This is informed by Jessop's (2005) conception of the state in late capitalism as, rather than a monolithic entity capable of exercising power directly, an institutional ensemble in which capacities to exercise power are dispersed amongst various power centres. These processes represent a novel approach towards *explaining* ideological structures in discourse that, I argue, build towards the (re)production of hegemonic tolerance. In other words, an attempt at addressing the social practice dimension of discourse (Fairclough, 1989). I identify three types of laissez-faire power structure based on this view - symbiosis, institution, and access. 'Symbiosis' refers to

mutually dependent relationships between state or extrastate institutions or organisations with uncodified rules and norms. These relationships are opaque, extra-legislative, and provide unique suppressive capabilities. This is reflected in the information that is exchanged between parties, and the information that is presented to external audiences. Parties are invested in sustaining relationships of reciprocity, and will pursue courses of action that best represent the interests of both sides. This includes controlling and manipulating the flow of information from state-news-audience - as evidenced in the first stage of the Leveson Inquiry (Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 2012). 'Institution' denotes a centralised system of social rules and values. Membership of the institutional ensemble of the state provides certain benefits. This includes what amounts to a degree of protection from critique to reinforce member-institutions. This is reflected in repressive policies emanating from different power centres. The connectedness of state components (re)produces overlapping interests. The state is self-interested, tied to historic alliances and policies, and inherently driven to conserve existing regimes of governance. 'Access' connotes entry to channels of communication. This includes news outlets. News outlets tend to rely on institutionally-embedded sources of information (Davies, 2008). This provides member-institutions preferential access to channels of communication. Non-members and individuals have fewer resources. As a consequence, news reporting tends to exclude alternative voices and value positions. The restricted flow of information - and ideologies - between member-institutions and news outlets shapes the end-product. News comes to legitimise and endorse member-institutions. Access is a two-pronged control mechanism. It provides control over the flow of information, and it provides control over the public mind (van Dijk, 1996).

The constraints of *laissez-faire* power structures, in part, enable the conditions for hegemonic tolerance to develop, and this is reflected primarily in three overlapping, scalar discourse strategies in particular - de/amplification, dis/association, and ir/reverence (see Chapter 4, section 4.3). In brief, 'de/amplification' describes the practice of increasing (amplifying) or decreasing (de-amplifying) the volume of features in texts to achieve politico-ideological ambitions. De/amplification encompasses a spectrum of metaphorical 'volume', or amplitude. Namely, from quiet/invisible/dismissed to loud/visible/endorsed. I posit that through this strategy, realised in a variety of forms and contexts, elite/tolerant

features are likely to be amplified, and alternative/dissenting features are likely to be de-amplified (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.1). 'Dis/association' describes the practice of increasing (dis-associating) or decreasing (associating) the space between features in texts to achieve politico-ideological ambitions. Dis/association encompasses an omnidirectional spectrum of space. Namely, from close (associated) to remote (dis-associated). I posit that through this strategy, realised in a variety of forms and contexts, features will be positioned differently, in different contexts, in order to sustain hegemonies, and privilege elite/tolerant ideologies over alternatives (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.2). 'Ir/reverence' describes the practice of increasing (reverent) or decreasing (irreverent) deference in texts to achieve politico-ideological ambitions. Ir/reverence encompasses a spectrum of deference, respect, or politeness, and can be paid (reverent), or withdrawn (irreverent) in different forms, to different degrees, in different contexts. I posit that through this strategy, elites and non-elites will be represented differently, in different contexts, in order to sustain hegemonies, and reinforce hierarchical ideologies (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.3).

Pursuing well-established avenues for research on ideological discourse (van Dijk, 1996; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; KhosraviNik, 2009), the HTF locates discourse strategies by focusing on three linguistic manifestations, or devices, in particular - Actor, Action, and Appraisal (see Chapter 4, section 4.4). Each of these devices, moreover, is primarily analysed through the lens of a particular linguistic tool (see Chapter 5, section 5.3). These devices, in turn, address three principal, critical questions associated with CDA research. Namely, how actors and actions are represented (describe), the potential effects of representation (interpret), and the potential underlying causes of representation (explain) (Fairclough, 1989). The 'Actor' device (see Chapter 4, section 4.4.1) pertains to the actors and groups referred to in a text, and the referential conventions that are chosen to represent them. This device is primarily considered through van Leeuwen's (1995a) '*social actor taxonomy*' (see Chapter 5, section 5.4.1), which sets out to address the various grammatical choices involved in determining how social actors can be and are represented in a discourse. This tool borrows from the Hallidayan (1985) notion of meaning potential, or what can be said, rather than a set of predefined rules, or what must be said. The categorical naming of actors in texts, realised in specific linguistic forms, is seen to represent a series of choices that may have ideological qualities (van Leeuwen, 1995a). The 'Action' device (see Chapter 4, section

4.4.2) pertains to the actions or processes that are associated with different actors and groups or, in other words, how domains of experience - processes, participants, and circumstances - are constructed in a discourse (Halliday, 1985; Thompson, 1996). This device is primarily considered through Halliday's (1985) '*transitivity system*' (see Chapter 5, section 5.4.2). This tool sets out to address 'who does what to whom', or to identify experiential meaning expressed in the clause in terms of processes, participants, and circumstances. The semantic and syntactic choices a speaker or writer makes encode their discourse with a particular construction of reality that carries potential ideological significance. In the context of an alleged sex crime, the grammatical apportionment of agency is an important linguistic feature. The 'Appraisal' device (see Chapter 4, section 4.4.3) pertains to the value that is assigned to actors, actions and states of affairs in a text, or in other words, the language that is used to evaluate phenomena. This device is primarily considered through Martin and White's (2005) '*appraisal theory*' (see Chapter 5, section 5.4.3). This tool sets out to address how texts convey positive or negative assessments and increased or decreased intensity of attitudinal utterances through three domains of evaluative meaning - graduation, attitude, and engagement. The *appraisal framework* provides a sophisticated system through which to identify expressions of interpersonal meaning. This tool presents useful opportunities to investigate how evaluative meaning is used in news reporting to legitimise, or delegitimise different features.

9.1.3 Application

In Chapters 6, 7, and 8, I used the case study data to achieve the third objective of the research agenda. Namely, to apply the HTF to an appropriate case study in order to evidence hegemonic tolerance features in discourse. Overall, the findings support the core, underlying assumptions of the HTF. As was revealed in these chapters, the HTF has proven to be an effective framework through which to uncover ideological structures in news discourse that strategically modulate different features, in different contexts to promote/demote elite/alternative ideologies, such that the conditions for hegemonic tolerance to develop are potentially enabled.

In Chapter 6, section 6.1, and Chapter 8, section 8.1, I used the HTF to excavate nuances that significantly distinguish the discursive construction of non-elites (Virginia), as

compared to the discursive construction of elites (Elizabeth). In so doing, I provided evidence of contrasting practices that have the effect of perpetuating ideologies of hierarchy and difference by withdrawing (Virginia), and dispensing (Elizabeth) reverence - as per theoretical-methodological assumptions (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.3). This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6, section 6.4, and Chapter 8, section 8.4.

In Chapter 6, section 6.3, Chapter 7, section 7.3, and Chapter 8, section 8.1, I used the HTF to uncover subtleties that dis-associate elites (Andrew, Elizabeth/Monarchy) from undesirable features (rape, Andrew). In so doing, I provided evidence of practices that have the effect of insulating elites (Andrew) from critical interpretations of events (rape), and at the same time isolating elites (Andrew) from the wider consortium of monarchical power - as per theoretical-methodological assumptions (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.2). This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7, section 7.4, and Chapter 8, section 8.4.

In Chapter 8, section 8.2, and Chapter 8, section 8.3, I used the HTF to expose features that significantly differentiate the discursive construction of alternative/dissenting sources, as compared to the discursive construction of elite/tolerant sources. In so doing, I provided evidence of contrasting practices that have the effect of amplifying sanctionable ideologies (elite/tolerant), and de-amplifying unsanctionable ideologies (alternative/dissenting) - as per theoretical-methodological assumptions (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.1). This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8, sections 8.2, and 8.3 respectively.

These broad findings constitute the primary 'strength' of this thesis, undergirded by the theoretical and methodological value of hegemonic tolerance, and the HTF by extension, that I have already signposted in sections 9.1.1, and 9.1.2. This study offers valuable insights into embedded structures and features in news discourse that promote certain ideologies, and demote alternatives, such that certain dominions - in this case, the preponderance of monarchical power - are sustained discursively and, arguably, without the requirement of consent. In this thesis, I have used the HTF to uncover significant evidence of practices that have the effect of sidelining inconvenient ideologies - especially republican or republican-adjacent ideologies - through subtleties in language, themselves rooted in conservative ideologies, that bifurcate the utterworthy, and the unutterworthy, through various non-explicit, non-coercive control mechanisms in discourse. The outcome is an

unpolitical dialogue between a slim selection of institutionally-embedded voices, in which debate is defanged, shorn of almost all criticality, and antimonarchical ideologies are rarely, if at all, a prominent feature. As has been seen in this thesis, individualised critique (i.e. of *certain* behaviours or actors) appears to be permissible. Institutional critique, on the other hand, or critique that makes explicit the connection between monarchical power, and wider societal inequities, becomes difficult to express when various underlying factors work against it. As a consequence, it is difficult for oppositional views to be articulated, and therefore heard, through traditional avenues of communication, and this engenders hegemonic tolerance.

9.2 Limitations

The methodological and theoretical choices made in this thesis present limitations with regards the reliability of findings. CDA is an inherently ideological pursuit that seeks to expose discursive features that make possible and/or reproduce injustices. I have made my positions clear in this study. For example, that monarchical power represents a form of vestigial dominance that is incompatible with modern understandings of equality, and enshrines values that support the reproduction of social injustices (see Chapter 1, section 1.1). However, it is not possible to separate my personal values from my analyses. This means that findings include unavoidably subjective interpretations. This is a critique that is often levelled at CDA-based studies (Schlegoff, 1997; Widdowson, 1995), because different researchers may interpret features differently, based on their own ideological worldview, potentially leading to bias (see Chapter 5, section 5.3.1). With that being said, I have been careful throughout this thesis to ensure I can support my claims and interpretations, either with linguistic evidence or supporting scholarly research. Moreover, I have followed Billig (2008) in attempting to inscribe self-criticality and self-reflexivity into my qualitative CDA work, by consistently seeking to identify and/or eliminate ideological features in my use of language and my interpretation of language data, and clearly signposting that there will always be alternative interpretations of linguistic and discursive features.

Another limitation is that I work with a small sample of texts, as is par for the course in CDS. This means that I cannot make any claims to representativeness or objectivity. Having said this, I have sought to identify specific, observable features in language use - in

the specific context of news reporting - based on cognisance of established approaches and techniques and supported with reference to wider CDS research, that belie hegemonic intent. I have also attempted to offset some of the main criticisms levelled at CDA research by selecting a 'difficult' case study, rather than alternative cases containing obvious ideological operations (i.e. a case in which critique is *not* anticipated). I selected a case in which substantial critique may have been anticipated, with a view of uncovering subtle hegemonic operations that might, otherwise, be undetected. In doing so, I attempted to present a substantially more convincing set of arguments, driven and supported by observable features in the data, for the theoretical concept of hegemonic tolerance, and the HTF by extension. The findings presented in Chapters 6, 7, and 8 go some way towards achieving this. Using the HTF, I have demonstrated how nuances in news reporting can subtly bifurcate un/featurable formulations and, in effect, enable what I term hegemonic tolerance by establishing the limits of debate surrounding certain conditions.

Another limitation of this study is that I was unable to include comparative data concerning citizen commentary. At one stage, this had been a consideration, because including a domain of potentially alternative/dissenting ideologies would open a window to exploring counter-hegemonies, and reception. However, qualitative, CDA-based studies are time-consuming, requiring thorough examination of individual texts in order to uncover deeply embedded ideological choice-making. This resulted in the smaller, more manageable sample size presented in this thesis that, to the detriment of generalisability of findings, meant I was able to focus on in-depth analysis of features that may, or may not reflect or represent broader news discourse. The specific nature of these texts and the socio-political context in which they were produced means the applicability of findings to other contexts beyond the scope of this study is difficult to determine. Despite these limitations, I am confident that, with this thesis, I have provided rich insights into the various means through which hegemony can be discursively enacted, contributing to wider understandings of the relationship between mass media communication, discourse, power, and ideology.

9.3 Future Research

The successes of this study suggest the HTF has merit. It provides credible evidence from which to consider the framework fit for the specific purpose of uncovering subtle features in

news discourse that potentially contribute to the sustenance of hegemonies. This supports my central claim that hegemony is not always, necessarily, predicated on the production of consent (see Chapter 1, section 1.1). However, the unique qualities of the case study - and the fact that the HTF has largely been developed with this in mind - means it is difficult to determine the extent to which results might be replicated in similar, alternative contexts. As such, a fitting proposal for future research might begin by selecting an alternative, specific context in which the HTF might be applied. For example, one option might be to select another, comparable event involving the British monarchy, in order to see if the findings presented in this thesis are replicated or, alternatively, another event concerning the British monarchy that, unlike this case, is not, necessarily, likely to feature critical voices. This might present opportunities to examine the extent to which the metrics of the HTF are accentuated to a greater, or lesser degree.

As mentioned previously, this study assumes that dissent is peripheral, but does not account for audience participation, or the behavioural dimension of hegemonic tolerance. Thus, online news comments, and contributor journalism present opportunities to explore potential sites in which hegemonic tolerance might come to be reflected, and counter-hegemonies might develop. Beyond this, an appropriate next phase in research might be to explore different sites of ideological discourse in which one might expect to find operations of hegemonic tolerance. It might be that applying the HTF to a wholly different context leads to greater insight, and development of the framework. For instance, applying the HTF to a sample of parliamentary debate surrounding a particularly contentious issue, using Hansard data, might reveal hegemonic tolerance structures at work. In short, there is no shortage of potential areas where this investigation could be taken next.

The HTF has been broadly developed with a particular elite group in mind. This particular elite group has highly unique characteristics and, as such, beyond the purposes of exemplification, certain elements of the framework would require modification in order to promote wider scholarly application, and replicability in alternative contexts. As I see it, two main adjustments are necessary to achieve this. The first adjustment would be to strengthen the metatheoretical basis of the framework. As discussed in detail elsewhere (see Chapter 5, section 5.3.3), the philosophical paradigm of Critical Realism significantly overlaps with prevailing approaches to CDA, with Bhaskar's (1986) stratified ontology

implicitly reflected in the text ('empirical'), discourse ('actual'), and social ('real') practice dimensions of discourse and, by extension, the descriptive, interpretive, and explanatory stages of CDA. It follows that explicitly grounding the HTF in a Critical Realist metatheoretical position would have the effect of fastening each domain of inquiry to a robust theory of ontology and epistemology; whereby 'devices' would translate to the 'empirical' domain, and 'strategies' would correspond to the 'actual' domain.

This feeds into the second adjustment to the HTF. In this thesis, the explanatory dimension of CDA is addressed using the concept of 'processes' called *laissez-faire* power structures (see Chapter 4, section 4.2). This has proven insufficient for two main reasons. First, the concept is inextricably bound to highly specific, unique functions and power relations that are not conducive of wider application. Second, the concept is overly complex, and incredibly difficult to evidence convincingly using textual data. Critical Realism broadly promotes a type of logic that looks for the best explanation, which is often the simplest available. Following this tenet, replacing 'processes' with (causal-generative) 'mechanisms' that explicitly translate to the 'real' domain of Bhaskar's (1986) stratified ontology would be beneficial. Namely, there are many obvious influences over journalism practice (see especially Chapter 2) that provide the HTF with superior explanatory power (i.e. news values, agenda-setting and framing, primary definition, hierarchy of influences). Simplifying the explanatory domain of the HTF in conjunction with these key contributions to the wider media journalism scholarship promotes application across disciplines.

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Appendix 1 (DM1)

'Not a single word of remorse': Friend of sex accuser Virginia Roberts hits out at Prince Andrew for 'total lack of empathy' in 'most bizarre royal interview ever given'

- **'Forensic' BBC Newsnight interview with Prince Andrew, 59, aired on Saturday**
- **Duke of York answered questions from Emily Maitlis, 49, during hour long show**
- **Source close to 'sex slave' Virginia Roberts said interview 'lacked in empathy'**
- **While royal commentator said it was 'most bizarre royal interview ever given'**

The Duke of York was humiliated by a disastrous TV interview last night about his friendship with Jeffrey Epstein – in which he showed no sympathy for the billionaire paedophile's victims.

In an unprecedented public grilling of a senior Royal, Prince Andrew looked deeply uncomfortable as he faced a barrage of probing questions, offering evasive and sometimes contradictory responses. Some of the interrogation focused on the most intimate aspects of his private life.

But, watched by millions, it was his glaring failure to express a single note of regret over what happened to Epstein's victims that provoked the most outrage. He also claimed it was because he was 'too honourable' that he decided to stay with Epstein after the financier's release from jail.

Last night one of the US financier's 'sex slave' victims, Virginia Roberts Giuffre – who claims she was forced to have sex with Andrew three times between 1999 and 2002 – was said to be 'furious' over the interview.

A source close to the now mother-of-three told The Mail on Sunday: 'The interview was totally lacking in empathy and he did not utter a word of remorse for any of Epstein's multitude of victims. How do you think that makes them feel? It is telling that the Prince is so out of touch that he tries to make the interview all about him.'

During one breathtaking exchange with the BBC's Emily Maitlis, the Queen's second son was asked if he felt any sense of guilt or shame over his friendship with the US financier, jailed for procuring an under-age girl for prostitution.

To Maitlis's obvious incredulity, he replied: 'Do I regret that fact that he has quite obviously conducted himself in a manner unbecoming? Yes.'

The Newsnight presenter immediately challenged his use of the word 'unbecoming' to describe the actions of a child sex offender and the Duke apologised. Yet overall his tone was far from regretful. Astonishingly, he went out of his way to say of Epstein that the 'opportunities that I was given to learn either by him or because of him were actually very useful'.

The Prince's often bizarre responses were greeted with howls of horror, incredulity and mockery on social media.

Maitlis also asked the Duke if he would be willing to testify or give a statement to an FBI inquest into Epstein's crimes under oath. He replies: 'I will have to take all the legal advice that there was before I was to do that sort of thing. But if push came to shove and the legal advice was to do so, then I would be duty bound to do so.'

Royal commentator Richard Fitzwilliams said: 'This must be the most bizarre royal interview ever given. He only regrets visiting Epstein to tell him he was breaking contact with him. He can't see that he did anything wrong and admits to no wrongdoing. Who will believe him after this bizarre ramble? The question must be whether he will keep his more than 200

patronages and what royal engagements he will do in the future. He won't recover from this.'

Last night, Ingrid Seward, Editor of Majesty Magazine, said: 'It is disappointing that the Queen's second son has put himself in a position to have to answer such questions. He has to take responsibility for the situation he has put himself in.'

Royal author Penny Junor added: 'I think that this protestation of knowing nothing, seeing nothing, not remembering anything, defies belief. He is either not telling the truth or he is really rather extraordinarily stupid.'

'I'm sure he could help the FBI investigation into Epstein. I'm not suggesting for a second that Andrew is guilty of anything ... but unless he really is incredibly stupid he must have noticed something going on – and could be helpful in the investigation.'

Another royal expert, Christopher Wilson, said: 'He should have kept his trap shut. I think the long-term impact – and the one Prince Andrew should be looking at very closely – is what impact it will have on his mother and her reputation. She has wrapped a security blanket around him through all of the best intentions, but people will look at her and say there is 93-year-old woman who has lost her judgment.'

Ms Giuffre outlined her claims against Andrew in a world exclusive interview with The Mail on Sunday in 2011. And it was these alleged encounters – fiercely and repeatedly denied by Andrew and ruled inadmissible by a US court in 2015 – that produced some of the most fierce questioning from Maitlis last night,

Asked if they had sex in 2001 at the London home of Ghislaine Mawell, then Epstein's girlfriend, the Prince replied: 'It didn't happen.' She went on to press him four more times on whether they had sex - or 'any kind of sexual contact.'

Andrew replied: 'I can absolutely categorically tell you that it never happened.' Elsewhere he is asked if he could have had sex with 'any young woman trafficked by Jeffrey Epstein in any of his residences' and issues a rambling response: 'If you're a man it is a positive act to have sex with somebody. You have to... take some sort of positive action and therefore if you try to forget it's very difficult to try and forget a positive action and I do not remember anything.'

Of Ms Giuffre's claim that they had earlier danced together during a visit to Tramp nightclub in London, he said simply: 'No.' He was then questioned about the then 17-year-old's recollection of how he had sweated profusely.

Andrew insisted he has 'a peculiar medical condition which is that I don't sweat or I didn't sweat at the time'. This, he explained, was because he suffered 'an overdose of adrenalin' after being shot at during the 1982 Falklands conflict while serving aboard HMS Invincible. Experts said this explanation was plausible.

In any case, he insisted, he was 'at home with the children' on the night Miss Roberts alleged she was nightclubbing and later having sex with him.

Exploring this alibi, Maitliss pressed further and Andrew volunteered that he could remember taking his daughter Beatrice to a Pizza Express in Woking, Surrey, at between 4pm and 5pm that afternoon.

Maitliss asked why he would remember that so specifically and he replied: 'Because going to Pizza Express in Woking is an unusual thing for me to do, a very unusual thing... I've only been to Woking a couple of times and I remember it weirdly distinctly.'

After repeatedly denying any sexual contact with Ms Giuffre – and saying he can't recollect meeting her – he was asked if he thinks she is lying. His response was considered. Andrew

will almost certainly have warned by lawyers not to be accusatory for fear of facing a possible defamation claim. 'That's a very difficult thing to answer because I'm not in a position to know what she's trying to achieve,' he said.

The Prince often came across as absurdly out of touch. In one exchange Ms Maitlis asked if he threw a birthday party for Ghislaine Maxwell at Sandringham

He replied: 'No , it was a shooting weekend.'

Maitlis questioned: 'A shooting weekend?'

Andrew added: 'Just a straightforward, a straightforward shooting weekend.'

The interview, conducted at Buckingham Palace, aired on BBC2 last night in a Newsnight special. The palace did not ask for any questions to be submitted in advance, and no assurances were given.

The source close to Ms Giuffre said last night's interview was in marked contrast to a statement released by Buckingham Palace in August after The Mail on Sunday revealed images from a video taken in 2010 showing Prince Andrew inside Epstein's New York mansion. In one image Andrew is seen waving off a young woman while standing at the front door.

The statement said: 'His Royal Highness deplores the exploitation of any human being and the suggestion he would condone, participate in or encourage any such behaviour is abhorrent.'

The source added: 'Where is the sympathy this time? This interview is all about him. He's worrying about himself. It's shameful.'

Virginia Giuffre did not immediately comment with sources saying she was ‘taking her time to consult with her legal team’ before making a public statement.

But her lawyer Brad Edwards told this newspaper: ‘I was confused by his comment that being too honourable may have coloured his judgment. His self-serving statements and controlled interviews do absolutely nothing for anybody. If Prince Andrew wants to be honourable, do what honourable people really do and answer questions, under oath, from those who know the facts and have a real interest in learning the truth. If he is being truthful, then that process will serve him best as well.’

The 2010 New York visit also led to intensive questioning from Maitlis. At the time Epstein – who was found dead in his New York prison cell in August while awaiting trial for sex trafficking– was newly released from prison. ‘Why were you staying with a convicted sex offender?’ asked Maitlis.

Andrew said he went there with ‘the sole purpose of saying to him that because he had been convicted it was inappropriate for us to be seen together’.

Andrew said he broke the news as they walked through Central Park, where they were pictured together, adding: ‘We decided that we would part company and I left. I think it was the next day.’ But as this newspaper has previously revealed, Andrew stayed with his paedophile friend for six days in total – a fact put to him by Maitlis.

Andrew, later added that the mansion was a ‘convenient’ place to stay in New York.

Now he says he recognises it was wrong ‘But at the time I felt it was the honourable and right thing to do and I admit fully that my judgement was probably coloured by my tendency to be too honourable, but that’s just the way it is.’

Since the 2010 visit to Manhattan, Miss Roberts has claimed that she was forced to have sex with the prince on three separate occasions, including an 'orgy' at Epstein's home in the US Virgin Islands.

Appendix 2 (DM2)

Prince Andrew WILL face sex assault lawsuit in US: Royal to be called for dramatic court showdown in New York as judge refuses his attempt to throw out Virginia Roberts's case accusing him of having sex with her when she was 17

- **Prince Andrew hoped Epstein's \$500,000 settlement to drop Giuffre's claims would help dismiss her case**
- **Duke of York's lawyers claimed it contained a clause that prevented her pursuing friends of Epstein**
- **But New York Judge Kaplan threw Andrew's application out of court today, paving the way for civil trial**
- **Ms Giuffre claims she was forced to have sex with the Duke three times in 2001 at Epstein's multiple homes**
- **Andrew now faces being deposed and giving evidence at a trial pencilled in for the US courts in September**
- **But he cannot be forced to answer court due to the case being a civil suit in a different legal jurisdiction**

Prince Andrew is today under severe pressure to settle with Virginia Roberts Giuffre after a New York judge sensationally refused to throw out her case - paving the way for a box office trial in nine months to examine claims she was repeatedly forced to have sex with him when she was a teenager.

The decision is a devastating blow to the Duke of York, who now faces a hugely expensive and reputation-shredding court case next September unless he tries to pay-off Ms Giuffre with at least \$5million.

If he chooses not to settle, or if Ms Giuffre rejects any offers, Andrew faces being interviewed by her lawyers in a videotaped deposition in London that could be played in court, although the ninth in line to the throne cannot be forced to give evidence due to it being a civil suit in a different legal jurisdiction.

Additionally, he could simply ignore the case and let the court give a decision in his absence, although this would be likely to damage his reputation further.

Andrew has been forced to sell off the £17million Swiss ski chalet he owns with his ex-wife Sarah, the Duchess of York, to cover his legal bills or a settlement after his mother the Queen reportedly refused to pay. He was only able to sell the property after settling a £6.6m debt with the owner.

Judge Lewis Kaplan has slated the case to be held between September and December, with Andrew having the option to appear via videolink. However, this timeline is likely to slip, particularly if Andrew decides to appeal today's judgement.

This morning in New York, he dismissed an application from the Duke of York's lawyers to have the case shut down - freeing Ms Giuffre to pursue her high-profile case in September over her sensational allegations against the British royal.

Andrew's attorneys had unsuccessfully argued that her case should have been thrown out because of a newly-unsealed \$500,000 settlement with Jeffrey Epstein. The royal's lawyer, Andrew Brettler, argued it protected Andrew because it contained a clause where she agreed not to take legal action against 'potential defendants'.

In the conclusion of his written ruling, Judge Kaplan said: 'For the foregoing reasons, defendant's motion to dismiss the complaint or for a more definite statement is denied in all respects.'

'Given the court's limited task of ruling on this motion, nothing in this opinion or previously in these proceedings properly may be construed as indicating a view with respect to the truth of the charges or countercharges or as to the intention of the parties in entering into the 2009 Agreement.'

Outlining his reasons for denying the motion, Judge Kaplan said the court was not able at this stage to consider the duke's efforts to cast doubt on Ms Giuffre's claims or whether he was covered by the settlement agreement, suggesting these were issues for a trial.

In his ruling, he said: 'The 2009 Agreement cannot be said to demonstrate, clearly and unambiguously, the parties intended the instrument 'directly,' 'primarily,' or 'substantially,' to benefit Prince Andrew.'

And it went on: 'The law prohibits the Court from considering at this stage of the proceedings the defendant's efforts to cast doubt on the truth of Ms Giuffre's allegations, even though his efforts would be permissible at trial. In a similar vein and for similar reasons, it is not open to the Court now to decide, as a matter of fact, just what the parties to the release in the 2009 settlement agreement signed by Ms Giuffre and Jeffrey Epstein actually meant.'

Her Majesty is entering a period of celebration in the UK as her Platinum Jubilee marking her 70 years on the throne approaches - but the monarch now faces the prospect of her second son's accuser giving a detailed account of her sexual abuse allegations in open court this Autumn.

Prince Charles, Meghan Markle and Sarah, Duchess of York could all be called as witnesses, David Boies, the lawyer representing Ms Giuffre in her legal action has claimed. Andrew's daughter Beatrice could also be called, because her father used her as an alibi claiming he was with her in a Woking Pizza Express on the night he is alleged to have slept with Virginia in Ghislaine Maxwell's London mews house. However, royals based in the UK cannot be forced to give evidence due to it being a civil case in a different jurisdiction.

Ms Giuffre's lawyer Mr Boies said Andrew's accuser was 'pleased' that 'evidence will now be taken concerning her claims against him.'

'She looks forward to a judicial determination of the merits of those claims,' he said in a statement.

Andrew's medical records will also be requested, to ascertain if he is telling the truth about claims he cannot sweat due to a rush of adrenaline while on a Royal Navy ship under attack in the 1982 Falklands War fought between Britain and Argentina.

Buckingham Palace has refused to comment again today, describing it as an 'ongoing legal matter', but royal experts told MailOnline that Her Majesty now has a 'horrid shadow' over her Jubilee year.

If the trial goes ahead Andrew would likely be subpoenaed to appear in person - but he could refuse to attend. His deposition would be used in lieu of live testimony - but that would likely play out badly with any jury. He will not be able to rely on diplomatic immunity to avoid the case - because it only applies to the Queen and her immediate household.

But legal experts say he cannot be forced to attend any US court, because UK citizens cannot be extradited to America for civil cases. Lawyers will be able to go ahead with the case in his absence. And they say he could still be forced to pay damages if he loses the case.

Mitchell Garabedian, who has represented victims of sexual abuse for decades, said: 'I think it would be a serious mistake for Prince Andrew not to testify – he's a party and if he doesn't testify it's an elephant in a room. If he chooses just not to testify, then a jury's going to be wondering why he hasn't.'

Friends of Ms Giuffre, who alleges she was forced to have sex with the Duke of York three times aged 17 on the orders of his friend Jeffrey Epstein, insist she will not agree to an out

of court settlement, claiming she wants to 'send a message' that anyone 'with power and privilege' accused of abusing young girls will face the full force of the law.

And Ms Giuffre has instructed her lawyers that agreeing a settlement of at least \$5million with Prince Andrew - who denies the allegations being made against him - would not 'advance that message'. But nevertheless, 99 per cent of civil cases in the US are settled out of court.

As Andrew suffered humiliation in New York, it also emerged today:

- The Duke of York cannot return to royal duties because his reputation is 'damaged beyond repair' following a the decision to allow a civil case to be brought against him by Virginia Roberts Giuffre, experts told MailOnline;
- His mother the Queen now has a 'horrid shadow' over her Platinum Jubilee year unless her son settles to avoid a trial, royal experts have claimed;
- Leading commentator Phil Dampier said he believes that the Queen's second son will try to stop the case with an out-of-court settlement;
- The author added he believes Andrew is 'finished' and will likely be stripped of his military patronages;
- Lisa Bloom, who represents a number of Maxwell and Epstein's accusers, described the judge's ruling as 'a detailed, well reasoned decision'.

Appendix 3 (DM3)

Queen 'to foot part of Andrew's £12m bill': Humiliated Duke's mother 'helps pay settlement with rape accuser Virginia Roberts' in bid to draw line under scandal before Jubilee celebrations – which he 'will be BANNED from attending'

- **Andrew and his accuser Virginia Giuffre reach out-of-court settlement in civil sex claim filed in New York**
- **Her lawyer wrote jointly with Andrew's lawyers to say that the parties had lack of 'reached settlement in principle'**
- **Court papers show Duke will make 'substantial donation to Ms Giuffre's charity in support of victims' rights'**
- **Buckingham Palace declines to comment on news which is in year of Queen's Platinum Jubilee celebrations**

The Queen is to foot part of the bill for Prince Andrew's sexual abuse lawsuit, which could end up costing some £12 million, reports claimed tonight.

The humiliated Duke of York's mother is said to be set to help fund the settlement, which was agreed between lawyers in a sensational development on Tuesday.

The move is understood to be a bid to draw a line under the scandal before her much-anticipated Jubilee celebrations latter this year, which he will apparently be banned from attending.

It comes just weeks after Andrew vowed to contest Virginia Roberts' rape claims at a public trial. Miss Roberts had alleged she was forced to have sex with the duke three times when she was 17 under the orders of the late paedophile Jeffrey Epstein.

Only last month, she was given the go-ahead to sue Andrew, 61, for unspecified damages in a New York civil court.

But despite vowing to fight the allegations and repeatedly protesting his innocence, the prince yesterday agreed to pay a huge sum to settle the case before it ever reaches a jury.

It comes as reports suggest the Queen herself will provide money to pay for the settlement, according to the Telegraph.

The paper suggests the total amount that the victim and her charity will receive will actually exceed £12m, with the funds coming from her private Duchy of Lancaster estate, which recently increased by £1.5m to more than £23m.

Although the agreement contained no formal admission of liability from Andrew, or an apology, it said he now accepted Miss Roberts was a 'victim of abuse' and that he regretted his association with Epstein, the disgraced financier who trafficked countless young girls.

It also said the prince accepted that Miss Roberts, now 38, had been subjected to 'unfair public attacks' and that he had never intended to 'malign her character'.

This is despite a string of recent aggressive accusations made by his legal team that included referencing a story which branded Miss Roberts a 'money-hungry sex kitten'.

It is understood that Andrew will now hand a large sum of cash to Miss Roberts and he has also agreed to make a 'substantial donation' to her charity in support of victims' rights.

Although the terms of the deal remain a closely guarded secret, sources indicated the settlement itself could cost Andrew as much as £7.5 million (\$10 million) – with several million pounds worth of legal fees taking the potential cost of the case to the prince to around the £10 million mark.

Miss Roberts – who brought the lawsuit under her married name Virginia Giuffre – launched her legal action against Andrew in August, seeking unspecified damages for battery, including rape, and the infliction of emotional distress. The Daily Mail can reveal that negotiations on a settlement have secretly been taking place since last month when a US judge refused to throw Miss Roberts' case out.

But her legal team were said to be surprised at the suddenness of Andrew's capitulation, with things taking a dramatic turn in recent days.

The prince, who was stripped of his remaining patronages earlier this year, has faced pressure from senior royals to resolve the lawsuit ahead of the Queen's Platinum Jubilee later this year. And while last night Buckingham Palace was said to be breathing a sigh of relief that the case will not go to trial, senior royal sources indicated there was now no way back to public life for the disgraced duke.

One said: 'Regardless of the outcome, he has ruled himself out of any public role by virtue of his appalling lack of judgment and poor choice of friends and associates.'

Significantly, the agreement contained no restatement of Andrew's previous denials of having had sex with Miss Roberts and the settlement means the prince will not have the chance to disprove her claims in court.

It comes just over a month after another of Epstein's victims exclusively told the Mail that Miss Roberts had admitted to her that she had slept with the prince in London in 2001.

Last night, Miss Roberts' lawyer David Boies said: 'It's a really great day. Virginia was thrilled when we told her the terms. This has all come about over the past couple of days, it's been quite quick. I am not sure what changed from his side. I thought that this should have been settled when we brought the lawsuit.'

'That's basically the end of the case. She will get paid the money in 30 days' time. I cannot comment on the amount or the terms, but it's a good day.'

Mr Boies had agreed to take on the case pro bono but it is unclear if he will still seek to recoup some of his legal costs from the duke.

A source who is familiar with the case said: 'Andrew moved so far, so fast from his position of deny, deny, deny. There were a lot of things looming for him.'

'Things were starting to come out and Andrew knew what the case was against him.'

'It's a princely amount, a very, very substantial amount of money split into two buckets: the settlement itself and the donation.'

Rachel Fiset, a senior partner at law firm Zweiback, Fiset & Coleman who specialises in defending white collar crime cases, suggested the total figure could be even higher than many others predict.

'A settlement that would cover Andrew's legal fees to take this case to trial alone, would be well into the millions,' she said.

'When you couple the price of litigation on both sides with the risk of embarrassing facts coming out for Andrew and a potential jury loss relating to the sexual assault of a minor by a Prince, the settlement amount is likely very high. My best guess puts the settlement amount somewhere between 20 and 30 million dollars.'

Meanwhile, a royal source told the Mail that the prince was guilty of 'inexcusably bad judgment' in both his association with Epstein and the way the allegations against him – which first surfaced more than seven years ago – were handled. One source added: 'There is huge relief in the royal household. This has been a very difficult time for everyone involved, not least because of the issues involved and that the allegations had been made by an

acknowledged victim of Jeffrey Epstein. The feeling is that the situation was badly – inexcusably badly – managed by Andrew and his advisers from the start. It was as if they thought they could close their eyes and put their fingers in their ears and it would all go away.'

One source said they believed the settlement would pave the way for Andrew to attend his late-father's memorial service at the end of March as a member of the Royal Family in a private capacity. But it was unlikely he would be able to attend any of the Queen's Platinum Jubilee celebrations. A Palace spokesman said firmly last night: 'It is a matter for the duke and his legal team.'

Royal sources said the case and its ongoing 'attritional' effect on the Royal Family had been 'widely discussed' among senior royals, but there was deep concern not to be seen meddling in issues.

The Prince of Wales also spoke to his brother on several occasions and was instinctively keen to avoid the horror of a public trial. But sources said he accepted the legal process needed to take its natural course and, as a matter of instinct, the heir to the throne shies away from 'mandating' on issues when it comes to his family.

Another well-placed royal insider said that 'no one had much sympathy for Andrew'. Last month, the Queen decided to strip her son of his remaining military affiliations and patronages and force him to stop using the His Royal Highness title in any official capacity.

And last night, an MP for the city of York called on the duke to withdraw his title to show 'respect' for people living there. Labour's Rachael Maskell said he has caused 'deep hurt and embarrassment' to residents of the city.

It leaves Andrew's claims of a trip to Pizza Express in Woking and that he cannot sweat, both of which he used as an alibi against Miss Roberts' accusations, unresolved. The deal comes just weeks before he was set to sit down for a deposition, an interview under oath, in what would have been an uncomfortable grilling by Miss Roberts' lawyers

Nick Goldstone, head of dispute resolution at London-based international law firm Ince, said: 'Clearly this is a settlement in principle on very generous financial terms for the complainant and a degree of backpedalling by the defendant.'

'In terms of 'the court of public opinion' this looks like an admission of bad conduct on the part of Andrew and I suspect he will remain 'off-stage' from the Royal Family for the rest of his life. It's a good day for the Royal Family. A huge relief for that institution. Probably a good day for Miss Roberts and a recognition of the impossible position Prince Andrew was in and the cessation of hostilities'.

Lawyer Lisa Bloom, who represents eight victims of Epstein, welcomed the settlement. She said: 'We hail Virginia's victory today. She has accomplished what no one else could: getting Prince Andrew to stop his nonsense and side with sexual abuse victims. We salute Virginia's stunning courage.'

Royal author Penny Junor said the settlement made is likely to come as a 'huge relief' to the rest of the royal family but that the damage to Andrew is irreparable.

She said: 'Going to trial, it could have been very, very nasty. It could have been embarrassing, humiliating, and it would have been huge fodder for the tabloid press. It could have really taken the shine off the Queen's Platinum Jubilee year.'

She added: 'It does of course, I assume, mean we will never know whether Andrew was innocent or guilty. And that, I think, in itself means that he will never be able to go back to any kind of royal work. I think his reputation will never recover.'

Amber Melville-Brown, a partner at the New York office of the London law firm Withers, told the Times the settlement would be 'worth its weight in gold to the Queen as she celebrates her Platinum Jubilee'.

Appendix 4 (BBC1)

Prince Andrew 'categorically' denies sex claims

The Duke of York has "categorically" denied having any sexual contact with an American woman, who says she was forced to have sex with him aged 17.

Answering questions about his links to convicted sex offender Jeffrey Epstein in a BBC interview, Prince Andrew said the alleged incidents "never happened".

Virginia Giuffre, one of Epstein's accusers, claimed she was forced to have sex with the prince three times.

The prince said he was at home with his children on one of the occasions.

Prince Andrew, who is the Queen's third child, has been facing questions for several months over his ties to Epstein - an American financier who, at the age of 66, took his own life while awaiting trial on sex-trafficking charges.

Virginia Giuffre - then called Virginia Roberts - has said she was forced to have sex with Prince Andrew between 2001 - when she was 17 - and 2002, in London, New York and Epstein's private island in the US Virgin Islands.

Speaking to BBC Newsnight's Emily Maitlis, the prince said: "It didn't happen. I can absolutely categorically tell you it never happened."

"I have no recollection of ever meeting this lady, none whatsoever."

He said Ms Giuffre's account of him "profusely sweating" and "pouring with perspiration" when they danced at the club on the night in 2001 when she says they first had sex was impossible, because he had a medical condition preventing him from perspiring.

In an extraordinary interview, which you can watch in full on BBC iPlayer in the UK or YouTube elsewhere in the world, the duke said:

- He had investigations carried out to establish whether a photograph of him with Ms Giuffre was faked, but they were inconclusive
- He would testify under oath if "push came to shove" and his lawyers advised him to
- He was unaware of an arrest warrant against Epstein when he invited him to Princess Beatrice's 18th birthday party at Windsor Castle
- He does not regret his friendship with Epstein because of "the opportunities I was given to learn" from him about trade and business
- Speaking out about his relationship with the financier had become almost "a mental health issue" for him

Addressing Ms Giuffre's claims that she had dined with the prince, danced with him at a nightclub, and went on to have sex with him at the house of Ghislaine Maxwell, a friend of the prince, in Belgravia, central London, he said "there are a number of things that are wrong with that story".

He said the date when Ms Giuffre says he had sex with her was 10 March 2001, when he had taken his daughter Beatrice to Pizza Express in Woking for a party before spending the night at home.

"Going to Pizza Express in Woking is an unusual thing for me to do," he said. "I remember it weirdly distinctly."

No memory

Ms Giuffre described him providing her with alcohol at a nightclub, but Prince Andrew said: "I don't drink, I don't think I've ever bought a drink in Tramps whenever I was there."

On claims he was sweating, he said: "I have a peculiar medical condition which is that I don't sweat or I didn't sweat at the time," he said, blaming it on "an overdose of adrenaline in the Falklands War".

He said he had only started to be able to sweat again "in the recent past".

Asked about a photograph of him and Ms Giuffre being taken at Ghislaine Maxwell's house, he said he had "absolutely no memory" of it.

"Investigations that we've done" have been unable to prove whether the photograph was faked, he said, "because it is a photograph of a photograph of a photograph".

Prince Andrew said he did not recall going upstairs in that house, said he was not dressed as he usually would be if he was in London and added "we can't be certain as to whether or not that's my hand".

"I'm at a loss to explain this particular photograph," he said.

A thick skin

On the further accusation that he had sex with her in New York, the duke denied he was present at Epstein's home that day, although he had been travelling in the US.

He also denied the claim he had sex with her on Epstein's private island with a group of seven or eight other girls. "Absolutely no to all of it," he said.

Prince Andrew said he never suspected Epstein's criminal behaviour on his visits, describing the house as a busy place with staff like Buckingham Palace.

He said: "I live in an institution at Buckingham Palace which has members of staff walking around all the time and I don't wish to appear grand but there were a lot of people who were walking around Jeffrey Epstein's house. As far as I aware, they were staff."

But he denied that there were large numbers of underage girls present and said Epstein "may have changed his behaviour patterns not to be obvious to me".

Asked if he would testify under oath, the duke said: "I'm like everybody else and I will have to take all the legal advice that there was before I was to do that sort of thing. But if push came to shove and the legal advice was to do so, then I would be duty bound to do so."

'The wrong thing to do'

The duke rejected the perception of him as "the party prince" in the past, and said "going to Jeffrey's was not about partying, absolutely not".

He said he had first met Epstein through his girlfriend Ghislaine Maxwell in 1999 but it was a "stretch" to say they were close friends and they saw each other "a maximum of three times a year".

Prince Andrew acknowledged he had stayed on Epstein's private island, visited his home in Palm Beach, Florida, and travelled on his private plane.

He said he wanted to learn more about the "international business world and so that was another reason" for going to visit the US financier in New York, as the prince became special representative for international trade and investment.

He invited Epstein to Princess Beatrice's 18th birthday at Windsor Castle in July 2006 but said "certainly I wasn't aware" that a warrant had been issued in May for his arrest for sex crimes.

But the duke said he ceased contact with Epstein later that year, until 2010.

Epstein was convicted of soliciting and procuring a minor for prostitution in 2008. The then 55-year-old Epstein received an 18-month prison sentence after prosecutors forged a deal with him.

In July 2010, Epstein was released and in December, Prince Andrew went to visit him in his New York mansion.

Challenged on his decision to stay at the home of a convicted sex offender, he said: "I went there with the sole purpose of saying to him that because he had been convicted, it was inappropriate for us to be seen together."

He stayed several days and attended a dinner party, however. "It was a convenient place to stay," he said, but added "with a benefit of all the hindsight that one can have, it was definitely the wrong thing to do".

The duke denied an account by another guest that he had been seen receiving a foot massage from a Russian woman.

Asked about a picture of him and Epstein taken in Central Park in 2010, Prince Andrew said "somebody very cleverly took that photograph" but that they had not been able to "find any evidence" that Epstein had set it up.

'A sore in the family'

The fallout over Epstein's arrest had been "a constant sore in the family", the prince said.

Following the allegations made against him in a 2015 deposition, Prince Andrew said the wider Royal Family "couldn't be more supportive" and his immediate family "were at a loss".

The duke denied the episode had been damaging to the Queen, but said "it has to me, and it's been a constant drip in the background that people want to know".

He said he would like to be able to give "closure" on the issue but "I'm just as much in the dark as many people".

He said that choosing to talk about the allegations was "almost a mental health issue to some extent for me", adding that "it's been nagging at my mind for a great many years".

Meeting Epstein after his conviction was "the wrong decision and the wrong judgement" but the allegations from Ms Giuffre were "surprising, shocking and a distraction", he said.

But he refused to entirely disavow his relationship with Epstein, saying it had "some seriously beneficial outcomes" that were unrelated to the accusations against them both.

"Do I regret the fact that he has quite obviously conducted himself in a manner unbecoming? Yes," he said.

After interviewer Emily Maitlis challenged him, describing Epstein as a sex offender, the duke said: "Yeah, I'm sorry, I'm being polite."

Appendix 5 (BBC2)

Prince Andrew loses military titles and use of HRH

The Duke of York's military titles and royal patronages have been returned to the Queen, Buckingham Palace has said.

Prince Andrew, 61, will also stop using the style His Royal Highness in an official capacity, a royal source said.

It comes as he faces a US civil action over sexual assault allegations - claims he has consistently denied.

A source close to the duke said he would "continue to defend himself" against the case brought in New York by Virginia Giuffre.

But the source insisted a judge's ruling on Wednesday that the civil action could proceed was "not a judgement on the merits of Ms Giuffre's allegations".

- Who is Prince Andrew and what titles is he losing?
- Giuffre unlikely to just want money, says lawyer
- Maitlis: Prince's jaw-dropping TV interview now critical
- What's next for Prince Andrew?

Buckingham Palace said in a statement: "With the Queen's approval and agreement, the Duke of York's military affiliations and Royal patronages have been returned to the Queen.

"The Duke of York will continue not to undertake any public duties and is defending this case as a private citizen."

All Prince Andrew's roles have been returned to the Queen with immediate effect, and will be redistributed to other members of the Royal Family, a source said.

The issue had been widely discussed with the Royal Family, the source said.

Like Harry and Meghan, Prince Andrew retains his title HRH but will not use it in any official capacity.

A spokesperson for the Ministry of Defence said it had no comment about the duke's military titles being handed back to the Queen, and that it was a matter for the Palace.

On Thursday, a letter - released by anti-monarchy pressure group Republic - was signed by more than 150 Royal Navy, RAF and Army veterans asking the Queen to strip Prince Andrew of his eight British military titles.

Lt Stuart Hunt, who served in The 1st Royal Tank Regiment and signed the letter, welcomed the prince losing his military titles but suggested the matter should have been resolved sooner.

The 52-year-old told the PA News Agency: "It's an unsavoury business... I'm just glad he's not associated with the military now.

"Whether he's guilty or not, he has brought things into disrepute... He's not fit to serve in an honorary rank. He has forgone that right by getting into this sort of situation."

Analysis by Sean Coughlan Royal Correspondent

The response from Buckingham Palace has been swift and almost brutal.

The Royal Family is being firmly distanced from the toxic fall-out from the allegations against Prince Andrew.

He will have to defend himself against Virginia Giuffre as a private citizen, there will be no more His Royal Highness in this court case.

This is claimed to have been by mutual agreement, a stepping back rather than something imposed.

But the military titles and royal roles will go to other members of the family, which means they won't be coming back to Prince Andrew whatever the outcome.

The door is being closed on a return to public life.

Although he does seem to be keeping his constitutional role as "counsellor of state", one of four royals who can undertake the Queen's official duties, should she be unwell.

The court case will still make headlines, and there will be concerns it could cloud a jubilee year, but this unambiguous decision will have already answered the inevitable calls for his removal from his remaining public roles.

Prince Andrew has strongly denied any wrongdoing - and his representatives say that fighting the case is a "marathon and not a sprint".

Although this must feel like a huge and rapid retreat.

The duke had a 22-year career in the Royal Navy, and served as a helicopter pilot during the Falklands War.

The latest Palace announcement means he has lost military titles including Colonel of the Grenadier Guards - one of the most senior infantry regiments in the British army.

The other UK military titles he no longer has include:

- Honorary air commodore of RAF Lossiemouth
- Colonel-in-chief of the Royal Irish Regiment
- Colonel-in-chief of the Small Arms School Corps
- Colonel-in-chief of The Royal Lancers (Queen Elizabeth's Own)
- Colonel-in-chief of the Yorkshire Regiment
- Commodore-in-Chief of the Fleet Air Arm
- Royal colonel of the Royal Highland Fusiliers
- Royal colonel of the Royal Regiment of Scotland.

The duke will also lose several overseas honorary roles including colonel-in-chief of The Royal Highland Fusiliers Of Canada, colonel-in-chief of the Royal New Zealand Army Logistic Regiment, colonel-in-chief of the Princess Louise Fusiliers of Canada and colonel-in-chief of the Queen's York Rangers (1st American Regiment).

But he will retain his service rank of Vice-Admiral, the Palace has confirmed.

As an ex-member of the armed forces, he was promoted in line with his still-serving peers and made Vice-Admiral by the Navy on his 55th birthday in 2015.

The duke was due to be promoted to Admiral on his 60th birthday in 2020, but asked to defer this after stepping back from public duties in 2019.

At the time, the Palace said his other military appointments had been suspended.

Several other charities and organisations had cut their ties with the duke, but he continued to hold dozens of royal patronages - including being a patron or member of prestigious golf clubs, schools and cultural trusts.

The chair of the Commons Defence Select Committee, Tobias Ellwood, welcomed the returning of the Duke of York's military titles and royal patronages.

He told the BBC's Newscast podcast that the duke's change in status ahead of the US civil case was "necessary" to protect the reputation of the military.

"Prince Andrew already had stepped back from many of his public duties - I think all of them, as well - so I think this was anticipated, indeed it was expected, from this perspective, so I'm actually not surprised.

"It's important that the problems that Prince Andrew has incurred aren't bled over into the regiments that he was representing," Mr Ellwood said.

Earlier, Ms Giuffre's lawyer David Boies said a money settlement alone will not be enough for his client - telling the BBC she wants to be vindicated.

The prince's lawyers had argued her case should be dismissed, citing a 2009 deal she signed with convicted sex offender Jeffrey Epstein.

But in a 46-page decision, Judge Lewis A Kaplan dismissed Prince Andrew's contention that the case against him was "legally insufficient" and could not go on to be heard at a future trial.

Ms Giuffre, now 38, filed a civil case in New York in August 2021 under the state's Child Victims Act, which allows survivors of childhood sexual abuse to pursue a case which otherwise would have been barred because too much time had passed.

In court documents filed as part of her civil case against Prince Andrew, Ms Giuffre said she was the victim of sex trafficking and abuse by the late billionaire financier, Epstein.

She alleged that part of her abuse involved being loaned out to other powerful men.

Ms Giuffre claims Epstein trafficked her to have sex with Prince Andrew when she was 17.

She alleges the duke abused her on three occasions - both in the UK and the US - when she was a minor under US law.

In an interview with BBC Newsnight in 2019, the Queen's second son said that he had no recollection of ever meeting Ms Giuffre, and her account of them having sex in the US and UK "didn't happen".

The duke withdrew from public life shortly after the interview, which he used to repeat his denials of Ms Giuffre's claims and explain his one-time friendship with Epstein and the late financier's girlfriend, Ghislaine Maxwell.

Last month, Ms Maxwell was found guilty of recruiting and trafficking underage girls to be sexually abused by Epstein.

Appendix 6 (BBC3)

Prince Andrew: Where does he get his money from?

Prince Andrew has settled a civil sexual assault case brought against him in the US by Virginia Giuffre.

However, questions remain over the size of the settlement and how Prince Andrew will be able to afford it. How can his income cover such expenses? Or will public funds be used towards the payment?

How big is the settlement?

There has been widespread speculation that the payment from Prince Andrew could run into millions - with newspaper reports suggesting sums ranging from £7.5m to £12m.

But it's a confidential arrangement and it's unlikely the precise financial settlement will be made public.

Whatever the total amount, it will need to be big enough to cover an acceptably large payment to Ms Giuffre; a "substantial donation" to Ms Giuffre's charity supporting victims' rights; plus what are likely to be some eye-watering legal bills.

Where does Prince Andrew get his money from?

Royal finances are not always straightforward.

When he was a "working royal," carrying out duties on behalf of the Royal Family, it was suggested that Prince Andrew received about £250,000 per year, including the cost of running an office.

But that would have ended when he stepped down from official royal duties in 2019, in the wake of his Newsnight interview.

It hasn't been confirmed whether that was replaced by the Queen paying him from her private income.

Prince Andrew also receives an armed forces pension, thought to be about £20,000 a year.

He lives in the Royal Lodge in Windsor, a Grade II-listed property, but that's leased from the Crown Estate and is not an asset that could be sold.

But some extra funds could come from selling a luxury chalet in the Swiss ski resort of Verbier, which he bought in 2015 for over £8m with his ex-wife Sarah, Duchess of York.

It is not known how much the chalet will raise, but a spokeswoman for the prince said that a sale was currently in process, although yet to be completed.

His financial affairs, and how he has sustained his lifestyle, has been a long-running story.

In 2007, Prince Andrew sold his Sunninghill Park home for £15m - £3m more than the asking price - to Timor Kulibayev, the son-in-law of the then-president of Kazakhstan via an offshore trust in the British Virgin Islands.

The 12-bedroom house near Windsor Castle had been given to Prince Andrew as a wedding present from the Queen in 1986.

Prince Andrew is also reported to have had a £1.5m personal loan paid off in December 2017. According to Bloomberg News, the money was repaid by a company linked to a wealthy Conservative party donor - although Prince Andrew has never confirmed this.

Sarah, Duchess of York told the Standard in 2012 that she had made a "gigantic error of judgement" in accepting £15,000 from sex offender Jeffrey Epstein to pay off a debt.

Could the settlement be funded by the Queen or with public money?

"If the figure does turn out to be of the order of £5m to £10m, I don't think he has that money. And it's more than likely the Queen will fork out some money," royal finance expert David McClure told the BBC.

There have been suggestions this would be from her private funds, but Buckingham Palace says it won't comment on the financing of Prince Andrew's legal case.

The Queen's income comes from a mixture of public and private money - and there have been concerns about public money being used to pay for Prince Andrew's out-of-court deal.

Each year the Queen is given a single payment by the government called the Sovereign Grant. Last year it was set at £86.3m and it is used to pay for official royal running costs, such as staff, buildings and travel.

The value of the grant is based on the profits of the Crown Estate, a business that independently manages property and land owned by the monarch.

The Queen also receives private income from the Queen's Privy Purse.

This is the money from a private estate known as the Duchy of Lancaster, which covers over 18,000 hectares of land. It includes land in areas including Lancashire and Yorkshire, as well as property in central London.

The Duchy of Lancaster usually makes a profit of about £20m each year.

The Queen also has an income through properties such as Sandringham and Balmoral, which she owns privately.

But the uncertainty about who is paying for the settlement has prompted calls for more transparency.

"It is likely there will be some demands to know where the payment is coming from - public or private purse?" says Kate Macnab, a lawyer at Reeds Solicitors.

Appendix 7 (G1)

Prince Andrew: I didn't have sex with teenager, I was home after Pizza Express in Woking

Duke of York claims alibi in interview with Emily Maitlis for Newsnight about Jeffrey Epstein links

- Key quotes: Prince Andrew on the Epstein scandal

The Duke of York claimed on Saturday night that he could not have had sex with a teenage girl in the London home of British socialite Ghislaine Maxwell because he was at home after attending a children's party at Pizza Express in Woking.

Prince Andrew gave the startling explanation in a bombshell interview with Emily Maitlis for BBC's Newsnight in which he was grilled about his relationship with the disgraced financier Jeffrey Epstein, who has been exposed as a child sex offender.

In a sometimes rambling and contradictory account of their friendship, which drew accusations of arrogance from viewers, the prince insisted he had not had sex with any women trafficked by Epstein in any of his properties. He confirmed that he had flown on Epstein's now notorious jet, nicknamed the Lolita Express, and stayed on his private island and at his home in Palm Beach, as well as at his New York mansion.

"If you're a man it is a positive act to have sex with somebody," the prince explained. "You have to ... take some sort of positive action and so therefore if you try to forget it's very difficult to try and forget a positive action and I do not remember anything."

Referring to Epstein, who took his own life in his prison cell in August while facing charges of abusing dozens of underage girls, the prince said: "Do I regret the fact that he has quite obviously conducted himself in a manner unbecoming? Yes."

Asked if he had sex with Virginia Giuffre, formerly known as Virginia Roberts, when she was 17, the prince categorically denied it ever happened.

Roberts has said that they partied at Tramp nightclub in London on 10 March 2001, before going back to Maxwell's Belgravia house where she claims she had sex with Andrew.

The prince said: "I was with the children and I'd taken Beatrice to a Pizza Express in Woking for a party at I suppose four or five in the afternoon. And then because the duchess [Sarah Ferguson] was away, we have a simple rule in the family that when one is away the other is there."

A photograph of the prince with his arm around Roberts's waist has been widely circulated, but the prince repeatedly said in his Newsnight interview he had "no recollection of that photograph ever being taken". He said the picture appeared to have been taken upstairs in Maxwell's house, somewhere "I don't think I ever went". He suggested that, as a member of the royal family, he was "not one to, as it were, hug, and public displays of affection are not something that I do." Photographs of the prince in embraces with various women swiftly emerged on Twitter.

On Saturday Giuffre retweeted several disparaging tweets about the prince including one that read: "Prince Andrew's shocking interview was an attempt to save his reputation – but it just raised more questions."

He explained that the reason why he hadn't noticed young girls at Epstein's house was that, as a member of the royal family, he was used to "members of staff walking around all the time" and so hadn't interacted in a meaningful way with anyone he considered to be staff. Yet earlier he said that there had been "absolutely no indication" of anything untoward, and claimed his connection with the NSPCC meant "I knew what the things were to look for but I never saw them".

He confirmed that Epstein had been a guest at Windsor and Sandringham and that he attended a dinner celebrating the financier's release from prison. An arrest warrant was issued for Epstein in May 2006, for sexual assault of a minor. The prince confirmed that he invited Epstein to Princess Beatrice's 18th birthday the following July and was unaware that the warrant had been issued.

In 2010, the prince was photographed walking with Epstein in New York's Central Park – two years after Epstein's first conviction for soliciting a minor for prostitution. When it was pointed out during the interview that he was staying at the house of a "convicted sex offender", he said: "It was a convenient place to stay... At the end of the day, with the benefit of all the hindsight one can have, it was definitely the wrong thing to do. But at the time, I felt it was the honourable and right thing to do. And I admit fully that my judgment was probably coloured by my tendency to be too honourable but that is just the way it is."

The prince said he went to the US to tell Epstein they could no longer see each other, as "doing it over the telephone was the chicken's way". Of claims that witnesses saw young girls entering Epstein's mansion, he said: "His house, I described it ... almost as a railway station ... there were people coming in and out... all the time."

He appeared to be open to giving a statement under oath: "If push came to shove and the legal advice was to do so, then I would be duty bound to do so."

Before the broadcast, Gloria Allred, a lawyer acting for a number of Epstein's victims, said: "Rather than just going on television he, I think, would be well served to just say I'm willing to take the oath and appear at a deposition."

The prince said that his association with the financier had hurt his family and his daughters, saying "it has been a constant sore in the family".

Appendix 8 (G2)

Lawsuit is devastating blow for Prince Andrew – and the royal family

Analysis: Win or lose, sexual assault case is unprecedented chapter in royal family's modern history

The New York court ruling that the civil sex assault case against the Duke of York will proceed is a devastating blow for Prince Andrew and the royal family after more than a decade of allegation and innuendo.

Aside from any appeal Prince Andrew may be able to mount against Wednesday's ruling, he faces the ignominious prospect of having to give evidence in a sex assault lawsuit and face cross-examination on aspects of his private life to clear his name. Win or lose, it is an unprecedented chapter in the royal family's modern history.

One option to avoid this uncomfortable scenario would be to reach a settlement, though such is the momentum of this case worldwide it seems unlikely this could satisfactorily rehabilitate his reputation.

Since Andrew was photographed in 2010 in New York's Central Park with the sex offender and wealthy financier Jeffrey Epstein, the duke's public image has been tarnished by association. When, in 2011, the photograph of Andrew with his arm around the waist of the then 17-year-old Virginia Roberts appeared, it further damned him in the court of public opinion.

But it was in 2015, that Roberts, now Giuffre, first alleged in legal papers she was forced to have sex with the prince – in Epstein's New York mansion, on his private island in the US Virgin Islands, and at Maxwell's London home.

Since then, all Andrew's attempts to fight the allegations – which he vehemently denies – while trying to avoid a courtroom showdown, have failed.

His 2019 Newsnight interview, a high-stakes ploy, was widely derided as a car crash, and served to worsen his public standing. It resulted in the Queen making the firm and speedy decision that her second son must step away from royal duties, and from his Pitch@Palace entrepreneurial initiative.

Aside from any appeal on Judge Lewis Kaplan's ruling, Andrew now faces the "discovery" phase, which involves the taking of depositions.

"That will involve witnesses on both sides being interviewed by the opposing legal team in the presence of their own legal team and either in the presence of a court reporter to take a verbatim transcript or with the interview being videotaped 'for the court record'", said Nick Goldstone, the head of dispute resolution at Ince.

"It would be possible to have Prince Andrew deposed [interviewed] in the UK, so he would not need to travel to New York for his deposition."

"If the case progresses all the way through to a trial, I think the prince would be under enormous pressure to appear in person if he is going to give evidence in his defence. He may, of course, decline to appear, and I am certain that he cannot be compelled to appear. I think it is unlikely that he would be allowed to appear at a trial via a remote video link, and in any event, from a presentational perspective, that would not look good."

Another option, unattractive as it may be to Andrew, would be to stop the whole process by reaching a settlement with Giuffre. "If he can't get it struck out, he has a choice of fronting it up at trial and facing the consequences of a verdict, which may go in his favour or may not. Or settle the case on the best terms available and getting certainty by resolving the case without having to appear, ending this process, unsatisfactorily maybe, but bringing the court process to an end," Goldstone said.

“I do think this story has now got so much momentum that it is a difficult case to settle with him having any future public life,” he added.

Since the Newsnight interview, which backfired so spectacularly, Buckingham Palace has sought to put space between the institution of the monarchy and Andrew’s legal travails. Questions about the case are routinely referred to Andrew’s legal representatives, with the Queen’s aides refusing to comment on them.

Andrew may have no current role in public life, and possibly never again will have, though he is said to harbour hopes his reputation can be rehabilitated. But he is still a member of the royal family, and as such his presence at family events continues.

When the Duke of Edinburgh died, and members of the family paid tribute in television interviews, Andrew, with the Queen’s permission, was given a prominent role in addressing the media. He visited her at Balmoral in the summer, and several times has been photographed driving from his Windsor home to Windsor Castle to see his mother.

But the Queen is 96 in April. Prince Charles and Prince William, the two next in line to the throne, will be very much taking the temperature of the nation’s mood reflected in Andrew’s plummeting standing in the polls, and both are understood to have concerns that he can ever play a public role again – even if he does succeed in clearing his name.

“The Duke of York’s reputation is so badly tarnished that if the case went to trial and he won, his rehabilitation would be minimal,” said Joe Little, the managing editor of Majesty magazine.

“The only official evidence of the Queen’s support for her second son is her agreeing to him stepping back from his royal role in late 2019 as the crisis intensified. However, as Andrew’s mother she continues to see him on a regular basis at Windsor Castle, so the personal bond is clearly still in place,” he added.

“The Queen, Charles and William, mindful of the damage being done to the institution of monarchy, may have to take decisive action before the situation goes from bad to worse.

“Official retirement as a working royal, perhaps, and the relinquishing of military appointments and patronages.”

Appendix 9 (G3)

Prince Andrew's settlement with Virginia Giuffre: what just happened?

The duke had earlier said he would never settle and wanted a jury trial, making the deal between parties completely unexpected

What has happened?

In an unexpected twist to a case that has been the subject of intense media scrutiny, documents submitted to a civil court in New York on Tuesday reveal that Prince Andrew plans to settle with Virginia Giuffre. She had claimed she was trafficked to have sex with the Queen's second son on three occasions when she was 17, a claim he has consistently denied.

Prior to the settlement, the case was in the "discovery" phase, meaning that several witnesses, including Andrew and Giuffre, were lined up to give depositions. A civil sex assault trial was scheduled to follow between September and December.

What were the allegations?

Andrew was reportedly introduced to disgraced financier Jeffrey Epstein by British media heiress Ghislaine Maxwell in 1999. Epstein killed himself in his jail cell after he was arrested for sex trafficking girls as young as 14 in 2019. Maxwell, Epstein's co-conspirator, was recently convicted as a sex trafficker for luring girls into his orbit.

Giuffre, who is now 38, has alleged that Andrew met her in the Tramp nightclub in London in 2001 and sexually assaulted her at Maxwell's home in Belgravia, London. She said he assaulted her on two further occasions, at Epstein's New York home and at an "orgy" on his

private island in the Caribbean. Giuffre has also accused Andrew of engaging in sexual misconduct on other occasions as an associate of Epstein's.

It wasn't until 2015 that details became public, when court documents filed in Florida in which Giuffre accused Epstein of trafficking her also alleged that Andrew had sexually assaulted her.

Was the case headed for court?

In August last year, Giuffre filed a suit in New York against the royal, citing battery and intentional infliction of emotional distress.

Andrew attempted to block the lawsuit on grounds that Giuffre's \$500,000 2009 settlement with Epstein shielded him after this was unsealed on 3 January. However on 12 January Judge Lewis Kaplan ruled that the suit could go forward. Kaplan also rejected Andrew's claims that Giuffre's civil allegations lacked necessary specificity.

Andrew's former assistant, Robert Olney, and Shukri Walker, who claims to have seen Andrew in the Tramp nightclub, were to give their depositions following Andrew's in March. Giuffre had not yet set a date in court for when she would give a detailed account of what happened.

Andrew's legal team had asked to question Giuffre's husband and her psychologist, claiming that she "may suffer from false memories". Giuffre's lawyer has said separately that their strategy was "to attack her character, her moral credibility".

A date in March had been set for Andrew to give evidence under oath.

Was this expected?

Absolutely not. Andrew has strenuously denied the accusations until this point and has said he would never settle. Last month, his lawyers said he was not a co-conspirator of Epstein,

demanded a jury trial and listed several reasons why they believe Giuffre's case should not stand.

Giuffre's lawyer had also insisted she wanted the case heard in court and that she would be unlikely to accept a "purely financial settlement". He added that any resolution must "vindicate her and vindicate the other victims".

It is thought the settlement will come as a relief to the Queen, since the royal family had feared the court case would overshadow platinum jubilee celebrations this year.

What does the settlement entail?

The full details, including the sum that Andrew will pay out, are not disclosed in the document, but Andrew has agreed to make a "substantial donation" to a charity supporting victims' rights, and has accepted that Giuffre "suffered as an established victim of abuse". He makes no admission of liability.

In the document he also commends Giuffre's bravery and regrets his association with Epstein, stating that Andrew will demonstrate this "by supporting the fight against the evils of sex trafficking, and by supporting its victims". The text further outlines how Giuffre will dismiss the case once she receives the settlement.

What has the fallout been for Andrew so far?

Andrew's reputation and standing within the royal family have taken a serious beating.

Andrew stepped back from his public duties as a member of the royal family in 2019 after a disastrous BBC TV interview where he claims he could not have had sex with Giuffre because he was at home after a visit to Pizza Express in Woking. He also attempted to refute Giuffre's claim that the royal was "sweating profusely all over me" when they met at Tramp,

stating he had a “peculiar medical condition which is that I don’t sweat or I didn’t sweat at the time”.

The Queen stripped her son of a range of military affiliations and royal patronages.

Appendix 10 (Parsing Example)

Sheet 1: ACTOR

Virginia Giuffre			
Reference	Strategy	Justification	Frequency
she	Personalisation	Definite Pronoun	6
Ms Giuffre*	Formal Nomination	Titulated, Surname	4
they (Virginia Giuffre + Andrew)	Collectivisation	Definite Collective Pronoun	3
Miss Roberts	Formal Nomination	Titulated, Surname	2
her	Personalisation	Definite Pronoun	1
sex accuser Virginia Roberts*	Functionalisation, Semi-Formal Nomination	Role, Forename, Surname	1
'sex slave' Virginia Roberts*	Functionalisation, Semi-Formal Nomination	Role, Forename, Surname	1
one of the US financier's 'sex slave' victims*	Aggregation, Association, Functionalisation	Assimilated (quantified), Alliance, Role	1
Virginia Roberts Giuffre	Semi-Formal Nomination	Forename, Middle Name, Surname	1
Virginia Giuffre	Semi-Formal Nomination	Forename, Surname	1
mother-of-three*	Functionalisation, Relational Identification	Role, Kinship	1
the then 17 year old	Classification	Age	1

Andrew			
Reference	Strategy	Justification	Frequency
he	Personalisation	Definite Pronoun	51
his	Personalisation	Definite Pronoun	16
Andrew	Informal Nomination	Forename	13
I	Personalisation	Definite Pronoun	12
him	Personalisation	Definite Pronoun	8
Prince Andrew*	Honorific Nomination	Unique Titulation, Forename	6
the Prince*	Functionalisation	Role	5
they (Andrew + Virginia Giuffre)	Collectivisation	Definite Collective Pronoun	3
the Duke of York*	Functionalisation	Role	2
the Duke*	Functionalisation	Role	2
the Queen's second son	Relational Identification	Kinship	2
we (Andrew + Jeffrey Epstein)	Collectivisation	Definite Collective Pronoun	2
me	Personalisation	Definite Pronoun	1

His Royal Highness*	Honorific Nomination	Unique Titulation	1
a senior Royal*	Functionalisation	Role	1

Other (Specified)			
Reference	Strategy	Justification	Frequency
Jeffrey Epstein			
Epstein	Formal Nomination	Surname	11
him	Personalisation	Definite Pronoun	5
his	Personalisation	Definite Pronoun	2
Jeffrey Epstein	Semi-Formal Nomination	Forename, Surname	2
the US financier	Classification, Functionalisation	Nationality, Role	2
they (Jeffrey Epstein + Andrew)	Collectivisation	Definite Collective Pronoun	2
he	Personalisation	Definite Pronoun	1
we (Jeffrey Epstein + Andrew)	Collectivisation	Definite Collective Pronoun	1
the financier	Functionalisation	Role	1
his paedophile friend*	Classification, Relational Identification	Criminal, Friendship	1
the billionaire paedophile*	Classification	Social Class, Criminal	1
a child sex offender*	Classification	Criminal	1
a convicted sex offender*	Classification	Criminal	1
Emily Maitlis			
Maitlis	Formal Nomination	Surname	9
Emily Maitlis	Semi-Formal Nomination	Forename, Surname	1
Ms Maitlis*	Formal Nomination	Titulated, Surname	1
the BBC's Emily Maitlis	Relational Identification, Semi-Formal Nomination	Belonging, Forename, Surname	1
The Newsnight presenter	Relational Identification, Functionalisation	Belonging, Role	1
she	Personalisation	Definite Pronoun	1
Elizabeth			
the Queen	Functionalisation	Role	1
she	Personalisation	Definite Pronoun	1
her	Personalisation	Definite Pronoun	1
his mother*	Relational Identification	Kinship, Forename	1
93-year-old-woman*	Classification	Age, Gender	1

Ghislaine Maxwell			
Ghislaine Maxwell	Semi-Formal Nomination	Forename, Surname	2
then Epstein's girlfriend	Relational Identification	Kinship	1
Richard Fitzwilliams			
Royal commentator Richard Fitzwilliams*	Functionalisation, Semi-Formal Nomination	Role, Forename, Surname	1
royal commentator	Functionalisation	Role (cataphoric reference)	1
Christopher Wilson			
royal expert, Christopher Wilson*	Functionalisation, Semi-Formal Nomination	Role, Forename, Surname	1
I	Personalisation	Definite Pronoun	1
Ingrid Seward			
Ingrid Seward, Editor of Majesty Magazine*	Semi-Formal Nomination, Functionalisation	Forename, Surname, Role	1
Penny Junor			
Royal author Penny Junor*	Functionalisation, Semi-Formal Nomination	Role, Forename, Surname	1
Beatrice			
his daughter Beatrice	Relational Identification, Informal Nomination	Kinship, Forename	1
Brad Edwards			
her lawyer Brad Edwards	Relational Identification, Functionalisation, Semi-Formal Nomination	Contractual, Role, Forename, Surname	1

Other (Unspecified)			
Reference	Strategy	Justification	Frequency
friend of sex accuser Virginia Roberts*	Relational Identification, Indetermination	Friendship, Anonymous	1
source close to 'sex slave' Virginia Roberts*	Indetermination	Anonymous	1
a source close to the now mother-of-three*	Indetermination	Anonymous	1
the source close to Ms Giuffre	Indetermination	Anonymous	1
the source	Indetermination	Anonymous	1
sources	Indetermination, Collectivisation	Anonymous, Assimilated (not quantified)	1
her legal team	Relational Identification, Functionalisation, Collectivisation	Contractual, Role, Assimilated (not quantified)	1
lawyers	Functionalisation, Collectivisation	Role, Assimilated (not quantified)	1
a US court	Objectivation	Metonymical Reference	1

the palace*	Objectivation	Metonymical Reference	1
Buckingham Palace*	Objectivation	Metonymical Reference	1
the children	Classification, Collectivisation	Age, Assimilated (not quantified)	1
Epstein's multitude of victims*	Association, Aggregation	Alliance, Assimilated (quantified)	1
them (Epstein's multitude of victims)*	Indetermination, Collectivisation	Indefinite Collective Pronoun, Assimilated (not quantified)	1
Epstein's victims*	Association, Collectivisation	Alliance, Assimilated (not quantified)	1
the billionaire paedophile's victims*	Association, Collectivisation	Alliance, Assimilated (not quantified)	1
any young woman trafficked by Jeffrey Epstein*	Indetermination, Classification, Functionalisation	Anonymous, Age + Gender, Role	1
an under-age girl*	Indetermination, Classification	Anonymous, Age + Gender	1
a young woman*	Indetermination, Classification	Anonymous, Age + Gender	1
any human being	Indetermination	Anonymous	1
Experts*	Functionalisation, Collectivisation	Role, Assimilated (not quantified)	1
those who know the facts*	Collectivisation, Functionalisation	Assimilated (not quantified), Role	1
social media*	Objectivation	Metonymical Reference	1
millions*	Indetermination, Aggregation	Anonymous, Assimilated (quantified)	1
people*	Indetermination, Collectivisation	Anonymous, Assimilated (not quantified)	1
honourable people	Appraisal, Indetermination, Collectivisation	Attribute, Anonymous, Assimilated (not quantified)	1
a man	Indetermination, Classification	Anonymous, Gender	1
somebody	Indetermination	Indefinite Pronoun	1
anybody	Indetermination	Indefinite Pronoun	1

Sheet 2: ACTION

Virginia Giuffre									
Clause	Process	Mat	Men	Ver	Rel	Beh	Exi	A	P
1*	Virginia Roberts Giuffre [Sayer] – who claims [Verbal]			X				X	
2	she [Goal] [Existent] was forced [Material] to	X							X
3	have [Material] sex [Goal] with Andrew [Circumstance: Accompaniment] three times between 1999 and 2002 [Verbiage] –	X						X	
4	was said to be [Existential] 'furious' over the interview.						X	X	
	Ms Giuffre [Sayer] outlined [Verbal] her claims against Andrew [Verbiage]			X				X	
*	they [Actor] had [Material] sex [Goal] in 2001	X						X	

*	they [Actor] had [Material] sex [Goal]	X						X	
	they [Actor] had earlier danced [Material] together	X						X	
1*	Miss Roberts [Sayer] alleged [Verbal]			X				X	
2	she [Actor] was nightclubbing [Material]	X						X	
3	and later having [Material] sex [Goal] with him [Circumstance: Accompaniment] [Verbiage].	X						X	
	meeting [Material] her [Goal] [Phenomenon]	X							X
*	she [Sayer] is lying [Verbal].			X				X	
*	what she's [Behaver] trying [Behavioural] to achieve [Goal],'					X			X
	Virginia Giuffre [Sayer] did not immediately comment [Verbal]			X				X	
1	she [Actor / Sayer] was ' taking [Material] her time [Goal]	X						X	
2	to consult [Verbal] with her legal team [Receiver]'			X				X	
3	before making [Verbal] a public statement [Verbiage].			X				X	
1*	Miss Roberts [Sayer] has claimed [Verbal]			X				X	
2	that she [Goal] was forced [Material] to	X							X
3	have [Material] sex [Goal] with the prince [Circumstance: Accompaniment] [Verbiage]	X						X	
	Total	11	0	8	0	1	1	17	4

Andrew									
Clause	Process	Mat	Men	Ver	Rel	Beh	Exi	A	P
	Friend of sex accuser Virginia Roberts [Sayer] hits [Verbal] out at Prince Andrew [Receiver]			X					X
	Duke of York [Sayer] answered [Verbal] questions from Emily Maitlis [Verbiage]			X				X	
*	The Duke of York [Senser] was humiliated [Mental] by a disastrous TV interview [Phenomenon]		X					X	
	he [Behaver] showed [Behavioural] no sympathy					X		X	
1	Prince Andrew [Senser] looked [Mental] deeply uncomfortable [Phenomenon] as		X					X	
2	he [Senser / Sayer] faced [Mental] a barrage of probing questions [Phenomenon],		X					X	
3	offering [Verbal] evasive and sometimes contradictory responses [Verbiage].			X				X	
1	his [Actor / Sayer] glaring failure [Material] to	X						X	
2	express [Verbal] a single note of regret [Verbiage]			X				X	
	He [Sayer] also claimed [Verbal] it was because he was 'too honourable' [Verbiage]			X				X	

	he [Senser] decided [Mental] to stay with Epstein after the financier's release from jail [Phenomenon].		X						X
	he [Sayer] did not utter [Verbal] a word of remorse [Verbiage]				X				X
1	he [Behaver / Actor] tries [Behavioural]						X		X
2	to make [Material] the interview [Goal] all about him.'	X							X
	the Queen's second son [Receiver] was asked [Verbal] if he felt any sense of guilt [Verbiage]				X				X
1	To Maitlis's [Receiver] obvious incredulity, he [Sayer] replied [Verbal]:				X				X
2	'Do I [Senser] regret [Mental] that fact [Verbiage] [Phenomenon]		X						X
1	his [Sayer] use [Verbal] of the word 'unbecoming' [Verbiage]				X				X
2	to describe [Verbal] the actions of a child sex offender [Verbiage]				X				X
3	and the Duke [Sayer] apologised [Verbal]				X				X
1	Astonishingly, he [Senser / Sayer] went [Mental] out of his way [Phenomenon]		X						X
2	to say [Verbal] of Epstein that the				X				X
3	'opportunities that I [Senser / Actor] was given [Material]	X							X
4	to learn [Verbiage] [Mental]		X						X
1	Maitlis [Sayer] also asked [Verbal] the Duke [Receiver]				X				X
2	if he [Senser / Sayer] would be willing [Mental]		X						X
3	to testify [Verbal] or give a statement to an FBI inquest [Verbiage] [Phenomenon]				X				X
1	He [Sayer] replies [Verbal]:				X				X
2	'I [Actor] will have to take [Material] all the legal advice that there was [Goal]	X							X
3	before I [Actor] was to do [Material] that sort of thing [Goal] [Verbiage].	X							X
	I [Actor] would be duty bound to do [Material] so [Goal].'	X							X
1	He [Senser] only regrets [Mental] visiting Epstein [Phenomenon]		X						X
2	to tell [Verbal] him he [Sayer] was breaking contact with him [Verbiage].				X				X
1	He [Senser / Sayer] can't see [Mental]		X						X
2	that he [Actor] did [Material] anything [Goal] wrong and	X							X
3	admits [Verbal] to no wrongdoing [Verbiage].				X				X
1*	The question must be whether he [Actor] will keep [Material] his more than 200 patronages [Goal] and	X							X
2	what royal engagements [Goal] he [Actor] will do [Material] in the future.	X							X

	He [Behaver] won't recover [Behavioural] from this.'					X		X	
1	that the Queen's second son [Actor / Sayer] has put [Material] himself [Goal] in a position	X						X	
2	to have to answer [Verbal] such questions [Verbiage].			X				X	
1	He [Sensor] has to take [Mental] responsibility [Phenomenon] for		X					X	
2	the situation he [Actor] has put [Material] himself [Goal] in.'	X						X	
1*	He [Sayer] is either not telling [Verbal] the truth [Verbiage] or			X				X	
2	he [Existent] is [Existential] really rather extraordinarily stupid.						X	X	
	he [Actor] could help [Material] the FBI investigation into Epstein [Goal].	X						X	
1*	that Andrew [Existent] is [Existential] guilty of anything ...						X	X	
2	but unless he [Existent] really is [Existential] incredibly stupid						X	X	
3	he [Actor] must have noticed [Material] something going on [Goal] –	X						X	
4	and could be [Material] helpful [Goal] in the investigation.'	X						X	
*	'He [Behaver] should have kept [Behavioural] his trap shut.					X		X	
	- and the one [Goal] Prince Andrew [Actor] should be looking [Material] at very closely	X						X	
*	She [Actor] has wrapped [Material] a security blanket around him [Goal]	X							X
*	it was these alleged encounters [Verbiage] - fiercely and repeatedly denied [Verbal] by Andrew [Sayer]			X				X	
1	Asked [Verbal] if			X				X	
2	they [Actor] had [Material] sex [Goal] in 2001 [Verbiage]	X						X	
3	the Prince [Receiver / Sayer] replied [Verbal]: 'It didn't happen.' [Verbiage]			X				X	
1	She [Sayer] went on to press [Verbal] him [Receiver] four more times on whether			X					X
2	they [Actor] had [Material] sex [Goal] [Verbiage]	X						X	
1	Andrew [Sayer] replied [Verbal]:			X				X	
2	'I [Sayer] can absolutely categorically tell [Verbal] you that it never happened [Verbiage].'			X				X	
1*	Elsewhere he [Receiver] is asked [Verbal] if			X					X
2	he [Actor] could have had [Material] sex [Goal] with 'any young woman trafficked by Jeffrey Epstein in any of his residences' [Verbiage]	X						X	
3	and issues [Verbal] a rambling response [Verbiage]			X				X	
	I [Sensor] do not remember [Mental] anything [Phenomenon].'		X					X	

	they [Actor] had earlier danced [Material] together	X						X	
	he [Sayer] said [Verbal] simply: 'No [Verbiage].'			X				X	
1	He [Receiver] was then questioned [Verbal] about the then 17-year-old's recollection of how			X					X
2	he [Actor] had sweated [Material] profusely [Verbiage].	X						X	
1	Andrew [Sayer] insisted [Verbal]			X				X	
2	he [Carrier] has [Relational] 'a peculiar medical condition which is that [Attribute]				X			X	
3	I [Actor] don't sweat [Verbiage] [Material]	X						X	
4	or I [Actor] didn't sweat [Material] at the time [Goal] [Verbiage].	X						X	
1*	This, he [Sayer] explained [Verbal], was because			X				X	
2	he [Actor] suffered [Material] 'an overdose of adrenalin' [Goal]	X						X	
3	after being shot [Material] at during the 1982 Falklands conflict	X							X
4	while servicing [Material] aboard HMS Invincible [Goal] [Verbiage].	X						X	
1	In any case, he [Sayer] insisted [Verbal],			X				X	
2	he [Actor] was [Material] 'at home with the children' [Goal] [Verbiage]	X						X	
1	Andrew [Sayer] volunteered [Verbal] that			X				X	
2	he [Sender] could remember [Mental] taking his daughter Beatrice to a Pizza Express [Verbiage] [Phenomenon]		X					X	
1	Maitlis [Sayer] asked [Verbal]			X					X
2	why he [Receiver / Sender] would remember [Mental] that so specifically [Verbiage] and		X					X	
3	he [Sayer] replied [Verbal]:			X				X	
4	'Because going [Material] to Pizza Express in Woking [Goal] is an unusual thing for	X						X	
5	me [Actor] to do [Material], a very unusual thing...	X						X	
6	I've [Actor] only been [Material] to Woking [Goal] a couple of times and	X						X	
7	I [Sender] remember [Mental] it [Phenomenon] weirdly distinctly [Verbiage].'		X					X	
1	After repeatedly denying [Verbal] any sexual contact with Ms Giuffre [Verbiage] –			X				X	
2	and saying [Verbal] he [Sayer / Sender]			X				X	
3	can't recollect [Mental]		X					X	
4	meeting [Material] her [Goal] [Verbiage] –	X						X	
5	he [Receiver] was asked [Verbal]			X					X

6	if he [Senser] thinks [Mental] she is lying [Verbiage] [Phenomenon].		X					X	
1	Andrew [Receiver / Existent / Sayer] will almost certainly have warned [Verbal] by lawyers [Sayer]			X					X
2	not to be [Existential] accusatory						X	X	
3	for fear of facing [Mental] a possible defamation claim [Verbiage] [Phenomenon].		X					X	
1	I'm [Carrier / Sayer] not in [Relational] a position [Attribute]				X			X	
2	to know [Mental]		X					X	
	he [Sayer] said [Verbal].			X				X	
1	Ms Maitlis [Sayer] asked [Verbal] if			X					X
2	he [Actor / Receiver] threw [Material] a birthday party [Goal] for Ghislaine Maxwell [Client] [Verbiage]	X						X	
	He [Sayer] replied [Verbal]:			X				X	
	Andrew [Sayer] added [Verbal]:			X				X	
1	In one image Andrew [Actor] is seen waving [Material] off a young woman [Goal]	X						X	
2	while standing [Material] at the front door [Goal].	X						X	
1*	'His Royal Highness [Senser] deplores [Mental] the exploitation of any human being [Phenomenon] and		X					X	
2	the suggestion he [Behaver] would condone, participate in or encourage [Behavioural] any such behaviour is abhorrent.'					X		X	
	He's [Senser] worrying [Mental] about himself [Phenomenon].		X					X	
	being [Existential] too honourable may have coloured his [Existent] judgment.						X	X	
1	If Prince Andrew [Senser / Existent] wants [Mental]		X					X	
2	to be [Existential] honourable						X	X	
1	If he [Existent] is being [Existential] truthful, then						X	X	
2	that process will serve [Material] him [Goal] best as well.'	X							X
	'Why were you [Actor] staying [Material] with a convicted sex offender [Goal]?'	X						X	
1	Andrew [Sayer] said [Verbal]			X				X	
2	he [Actor] went [Material] there [Goal] with 'the sole purpose of	X						X	
3	saying [Verbal] to him [Receiver]			X				X	
	for us [Goal] to be seen [Material] together'.	X							X
1	Andrew [Sayer] said			X				X	
2	he [Sayer] broke [Verbal] the news [Verbiage]			X				X	

3	as they [Actor] walked [Material] through Central Park [Goal],	X						X	
4	where they [Goal] were pictured [Material] together [Goal],	X							X
5	adding [Verbal]:			X				X	
6	'We [Senser] decided [Mental] that		X					X	
7	we [Actor] would part [Material] company [Goal]	X						X	
8	and I [Actor] left [Material].	X						X	
	I [Senser] think [Mental] it was the next day [Phenomenon].'		X					X	
1	Andrew [Actor] stayed [Material] with his paedophile friend [Goal] for six days in total [Verbiage] –	X						X	
2	a fact put [Verbal] to him [Receiver] by Maitlis [Sayer].			X					X
1	Andrew [Sayer] [Actor], later added [Verbal] that			X				X	
2	the mansion [Goal] was a 'convenient' place to stay [Material] in New York [Verbiage].	X						X	
1*	Now he [Sayer] says [Verbal]			X				X	
2	he [Senser] recognises [Mental] it was wrong [Verbiage] [Phenomenon]		X					X	
3	'But at the time I [Senser / Actor] felt [Mental]		X					X	
4	it [Goal] was the honourable and right thing to do [Material] [Phenomenon] and	X						X	
5	I [Sayer] admit [Verbal] fully that my judgement was probably coloured by			X				X	
6	my [Existent] tendency to be [Existential] too honourable [Verbiage]						X	X	
	Total	45	26	52	2	5	8	122	16

Other (Specified)									
Clause	Process	Mat	Men	Ver	Rel	Beh	Exi	A	P
Jeffrey Epstein									
1	the US financier [Goal] [Actor], jailed [Material]	X							X
2	for procuring [Material] an under-age girl [Goal] for prostitution.	X						X	
	he [Behaver] has quite obviously conducted [Behavioural] himself in a manner unbecoming [Behaviour]					X		X	
	'any young woman [Goal] trafficked [Material] by Jeffrey Epstein [Actor]	X						X	
1	At the time Epstein [Goal / Actor] – who was found [Material] dead in his New York prison cell in August	X							X
2	while awaiting [Material] trial for sex trafficking [Goal] –	X						X	
3	was newly released [Material] from prison [Goal].	X							X

1	'the sole purpose of saying [Verbal] to him [Receiver]			X					X
2	that because he [Goal] had been convicted [Material]	X							X
3	it was inappropriate for us [Actor] to be seen [Material] together [Verbiage]’.	X						X	
	they [Actor] walked [Material] through Central Park [Goal],	X						X	
	they [Actor] were pictured [Material] together [Goal],	X						X	
1	‘We [Senser] decided [Mental] that		X					X	
2	we [Actor] would part [Material] company [Phenomenon]	X						X	
	Total	11	1	1	0	1	0	9	5
Emily Maitlis									
	The Newsnight presenter [Sayer] immediately challenged [Verbal]			X				X	
	Maitlis [Sayer] also asked [Verbal] the Duke [Receiver]			X				X	
	She [Sayer] went on to press [Verbal] him [Receiver] four more times			X				X	
	Exploring this alibi, Maitlis [Sayer] pressed [Verbal] further			X				X	
	Maitlis [Sayer] asked [Verbal] why he would remember that so specifically [Verbiage]			X				X	
	In one exchange Ms Maitlis [Sayer] asked [Verbal]			X				X	
	Maitlis [Sayer] questioned [Verbal]			X				X	
	‘Why were you staying with a convicted sex offender?,’ [Verbiage] asked [Verbal] Maitlis [Sayer].			X				X	
	– a fact [Verbiage] put [Verbal] to him by Maitlis [Sayer].			X				X	
	Total	0	0	9	0	0	0	9	0
Penny Junor									
1	Royal author Penny Junor [Sayer] added [Verbal]			X				X	
2	‘I [Senser] think [Mental] that this protestation [Phenomenon]		X					X	
	‘I’m [Existent / Existential] sure						X	X	
	I’m [Sayer] not suggesting [Verbal]			X				X	
	Total	0	1	2	0	0	1	4	0
Elizabeth									
1*	what impact it [Actor] will have [Material] on his mother [Goal] and her reputation.	X							X
2	She [Actor] has wrapped [Material] a security blanket [Goal] around him through all the best intentions [Circumstance: Contingency]	X						X	
*	there is 93-year-old woman [Senser] who has lost [Mental] her judgment [Phenomenon].’		X					X	

	Total	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	1
Richard Fitzwilliams									
	royal commentator [Sayer] said [Verbal]			X				X	
	Royal commentator Richard Fitzwilliams [Sayer] said [Verbal]			X				X	
	Total	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0
Christopher Wilson									
	Another royal expert, Christopher Wilson [Sayer], said [Verbal]			X				X	
	I [Senser] think [Mental] the long-term impact [Phenomenon]		X					X	
	Total	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	0
Brad Edwards									
1	But her lawyer Brad Edwards [Sayer] told [Verbal] this newspaper [Receiver]			X				X	
2	'I [Senser] was confused [Mental] by his comment [Phenomenon]		X					X	
	Total	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	0
Ingrid Seward									
	Ingrid Seward [Sayer], Editor of Majesty Magazine, said [Verbal]			X				X	
	Total	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Beatrice									
	he [Actor] could remember taking [Material] his daughter Beatrice [Goal] to a Pizza Express	X							X
	Total	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

Other (Unspecified)									
Clause	Process	Mat	Men	Ver	Rel	Beh	Exi	A	P
	Source close to 'sex slave' Virginia Roberts [Sayer] said [Verbal] interview 'lacked in empathy' [Verbiage]			X				X	
	A source close to the now mother-of-three [Sayer] told [Verbal] The Mail on Sunday [Receiver]			X				X	
	The source [Sayer] added [Verbal]:			X				X	
*	Friend of sex accuser Virginia Roberts [Sayer] hits [Verbal] out at Prince Andrew [Receiver]			X				X	
	The source close to Ms Giuffre [Sayer] said [Verbal]			X				X	
	sources [Sayer] saying [Verbal]			X				X	
	Andrew [Receiver] will almost certainly have warned [Verbal] by lawyers [Sayer]			X				X	

*	ruled [Material] inadmissible by a US court [Actor] in 2015	X						X	
*	93-year-old woman [Senser] who has lost [Mental] her judgment [Phenomenon]		X					X	
	The palace [Sayer] did not ask [Verbal] for any questions [Goal]			X				X	
	procuring [Material] an under-age girl [Goal] for prostitution.	X							X
	waving [Material] off a young woman [Goal]	X							X
	the exploitation [Material] of any human being [Goal]	X							X
*	Experts [Sayer] said [Verbal] this explanation was plausible [Verbiage].			X				X	
*	watched [Material] by millions [Actor]	X						X	
*	The Prince's often bizarre responses were greeted [Verbal] with howls of horror, incredulity and mockery [Verbiage] on social media [Sayer].			X				X	
	'If you're a man [Actor] it is a positive act to have [Material] sex [Goal] with somebody.	X						X	
	His self-serving statements and controlled interviews [Actor] do [Material] absolutely nothing for anybody [Goal].	X							X
1*	people [Actor / Sayer] will look [Material] at her [Goal]	X						X	
2	and say [Verbal]			X				X	
1*	do [Material] what honourable people [Actor / Sayer] really do	X						X	
2	and answer [Verbal] questions [Verbiage] from			X				X	
3	those [Senser] who know [Mental] the facts [Phenomenon]		X					X	
	Total	9	2	12	0	0	0	19	4

Sheet 3: ATTITUDE (J)

Attitude (Judgement)				
Extract	Appraised	Lexical Item	Valence	Orientation
'But at the time I felt it was the honourable and right thing to do	Andrew	honourable and right	Positive	SS Propriety
I admit fully that my judgement was probably coloured by my tendency to be too honourable	Andrew	too honourable	Positive	SS Propriety
'His Royal Highness deplores the exploitation of any human being'	Andrew	deplores	Positive	SS Propriety
'Not a single word of remorse'	Andrew	a single word	Negative	SS Propriety
'total lack of empathy '	Andrew	lack of empathy	Negative	SS Propriety
he showed no sympathy for the billionaire paedophile's victims	Andrew	no sympathy	Negative	SS Propriety
' Where is the sympathy this time?'	Andrew	Where is the sympathy	Negative	SS Propriety
his glaring failure to express a single note of regret	Andrew	glaring failure	Negative	SS Propriety

provoked the most outrage				
'he did not utter a word of remorse for any of Epstein's multitude of victims'	Andrew	did not utter a word	Negative	SS Propriety
'he tries to make the interview all about him '	Andrew	all about him	Negative	SS Propriety
overall his tone was far from regretful	Andrew	far from regretful	Negative	SS Propriety
Now he says he recognises it was wrong	Andrew	wrong	Negative	SS Propriety
'He's worrying about himself. It's shameful '	Andrew	shameful	Negative	SS Propriety
'His self-serving statements and controlled interviews do absolutely nothing for anybody'	Andrew	self-serving	Negative	SS Propriety
The Prince's often bizarre responses	Andrew	bizarre	Negative	SE Capacity
'Who will believe him after this bizarre ramble?'	Andrew	bizarre	Negative	SE Capacity
'It is disappointing that the Queen's second son has put himself in a position to answer such questions'	Andrew	disappointing	Negative	SE Capacity
'It is telling that the Prince is so out of touch '	Andrew	out of touch	Negative	SE Capacity
'He is either not telling the truth or he is really rather extraordinarily stupid '	Andrew	extraordinarily stupid	Negative	SE Capacity
'unless he really is incredibly stupid he must have noticed something going on'	Andrew	incredibly stupid	Negative	SE Capacity
issues a rambling response	Andrew	rambling	Negative	SE Capacity
The Prince often came across as absurdly out of touch	Andrew	out of touch	Negative	SE Capacity
To Maitlis's obvious incredulity , he replied	Andrew	incredulity	Negative	SE Capacity
were greeted with howls of horror, incredulity and mockery on social media	Andrew	horror, incredulity and mockery	Negative	SE Capacity
'I think this protestation of knowing nothing, seeing nothing, not remembering anything, defies belief '	Andrew	defies belief	Negative	SE Capacity
evasive and sometimes contradictory responses	Andrew	evasive and sometimes contradictory	Negative	SS Veracity
'the suggestion he would condone, participate in or encourage any such behaviour is abhorrent .'	Virginia Giuffre	abhorrent	Negative	SS Propriety
he was asked if he thinks she is lying . His response was considered.	Virginia Giuffre	lying	Negative	SS Veracity
'I'm not in a position to know what she's trying to achieve '	Virginia Giuffre	trying to achieve	Negative	SS Veracity
'She has wrapped a security blanket around him through all of the best intentions '	Elizabeth	the best intentions	Positive	SS Propriety
'there is 93-year-old woman who has lost her judgement '	Elizabeth	lost her judgement	Negative	SE Capacity
fierce questioning from Maitlis	Emily Maitlis	fierce	Positive	SE Tenacity
intensive questioning from Maitlis	Emily Maitlis	intensive	Positive	SE Tenacity
'he has quite obviously conducted himself in a manner unbecoming '	Jeffrey Epstein	unbecoming	Negative	SS Propriety

Attitude (Appreciation)				
Extract	Appraised	Lexical Item	Valence	Orientation
'Forensic' BBC Newsnight interview with Prince Andrew	BBC Interview	'Forensic'	Negative	Valuation
The Duke of York was humiliated by a disastrous TV interview	BBC Interview	disastrous	Negative	Reaction
In an unprecedented public grilling of a senior Royal	BBC Interview	unprecedented	Negative	Composition
he faced a barrage of probing questions	BBC Interview	barrage	Negative	Composition
Some of the interrogation focused on the most intimate aspects of his private life	BBC Interview	interrogation	Negative	Composition
interview ' lacked in empathy '	BBC Interview	'lacked in empathy'	Negative	Composition
'The interview was totally lacking in empathy '	BBC Interview	totally lacking in empathy	Negative	Composition
'most bizarre royal interview ever given'	BBC Interview	bizarre	Negative	Composition
'most bizarre royal interview ever given'	BBC Interview	bizarre	Negative	Composition
'This must be the most bizarre royal interview ever given'	BBC Interview	bizarre	Negative	Composition

Sheet 5: ENGAGE (M)

Engagement (Monogloss)
Proposition
The Duke of York was humiliated by a disastrous TV interview last night about his friendship with Jeffrey Epstein – in which he showed no sympathy for the billionaire paedophile's victims.
In an unprecedented public grilling of a senior Royal, Prince Andrew looked deeply uncomfortable as he faced a barrage of probing questions, offering evasive and sometimes contradictory responses.
Yet overall his tone was far from regretful .
The Prince's often bizarre responses were greeted with howls of horror, incredulity and mockery on social media.
The Prince often came across as absurdly out of touch .

Sheet 6: ENGAGE (H)

Engagement (Heterogloss)									
Proposition	Stance Marker/s	Exp	Con	Ent	Att	Dis	Pro	Subcategory	
'Not a single word of remorse': Friend of sex accuser Virginia Roberts hits out at Prince Andrew for 'total lack of empathy' in 'most bizarre royal interview ever given'	scare quotes, hits out	X			X				Distance
Source close to 'sex slave' Virginia Roberts said interview 'lacked in empathy'	scare quotes, said	X			X				Distance
While royal commentator said it was 'most bizarre royal interview ever given'	said, scare quotes	X			X				Distance

But, watched by millions, it was his glaring failure to express a single note of regret over what happened to Epstein's victims that provoked the most outrage.	But, the most	X		X					-
He also claimed it was because he was 'too honourable' that he decided to stay with Epstein after the financier's release from jail.	claimed, scare quotes	X				X			Distance
Last night one of the US financier's 'sex slave' victims, Virginia Roberts Giuffre -	scare quotes	X				X			Distance
Virginia Roberts Giuffre - who claims she was forced to have sex with Andrew three times between 1999 and 2002 -	claims	X				X			Distance
was said to be 'furious' over the interview.	said to be, scare quotes	X				X			Distance
A source close to the now mother-of-three told The Mail on Sunday	told	X				X			Acknowledge
To Maitlis's obvious incredulity, he replied	obvious incredulity			X			X		Counter
Astonishingly, he went out of his way to say of Epstein that	astonishingly			X			X		Counter
He replies: 'I will have to take all the legal advice	replies	X				X			Acknowledge
Royal commentator Richard Fitzwilliams said	said	X				X			Acknowledge
Last night, Ingrid Seward, Editor of Majesty Magazine, said	said	X				X			Acknowledge
Royal author Penny Junor added	added	X				X			Acknowledge
Another royal expert, Christopher Wilson, said	said	X				X			Acknowledge
Ms Giuffre outlined her claims against Andrew	outlined her claims	X				X			Distance
And it was these alleged encounters -	alleged			X		X	X		Distance / Deny
- fiercely and repeatedly denied by Andrew and	denied			X			X		Deny
ruled inadmissible by a US court in 2015 -	ruled inadmissible			X			X		Counter
that produced some of the most fierce questioning from Maitlis last night,	some	X		X					-
the Prince replied: 'It didn't happen.'	replied	X				X			Acknowledge
Andrew replied: 'I can absolutely categorically tell you that it never happened.'	replied	X				X			Acknowledge
Elsewhere he is asked if he could have had sex with 'any young woman trafficked by Jeffrey Epstein in any of his residences' and issues a rambling response	issues a rambling response	X				X			Distance
Ms Giuffre's claim that they had earlier danced	claim	X				X			Distance
he said simply	said	X				X			Acknowledge
Andrew insisted	insisted	X				X			Acknowledge

This, he explained, was because he suffered ‘an overdose of adrenalin’	explained, scare quotes	X	X		X		X	Endorse / Distance
In any case, he insisted, he was ‘at home with the children’ on	insisted, scare quotes	X			X			Acknowledge / Distance
the night Miss Roberts alleged she was nightclubbing and later having sex with him.	alleged		X		X	X		Distance / Deny
Andrew volunteered that he could remember taking his daughter Beatrice to a Pizza Express in Woking,	volunteered	X			X			Acknowledge
he replied: ‘Because going to Pizza Express in Woking is an unusual thing for me to do	replied	X			X			Acknowledge
After repeatedly denying any sexual contact with Ms Giuffre –	denying		X			X		Deny
and saying	saying	X			X			Acknowledge
he can’t recollect meeting her	can't recollect		X			X		Deny
His response was considered.	considered		X				X	Endorse
Andrew will almost certainly have warned by lawyers not to be accusatory for fear of facing a possible defamation claim.	almost certainly, possible	X		X				-
‘I’m not in a position to know what she’s trying to achieve,’ he said.	said	X			X			Acknowledge
He replied: ‘No, it was a shooting weekend.’	replued	X			X			Acknowledge
Andrew added: ‘Just a straightforward, a straightforward shooting weekend.’	added	X			X			Acknowledge
The source close to Ms Giuffre said last night’s interview was in marked contrast to a statement released by Buckingham Palace in August	said	X			X			Acknowledge
The statement said: ‘His Royal Highness deplores the exploitation of any human being	said	X			X			Acknowledge
The source added: ‘Where is the sympathy this time?’	added	X			X			Acknowledge
But her lawyer Brad Edwards told this newspaper: ‘I was confused by his comment that being too honourable may have coloured his judgment.	But, told	X	X		X	X		Acknowledge / Counter
Andrew said he went there with ‘the sole purpose of saying to him that because he had been convicted it was inappropriate for us to be seen together’.	said, scare quotes	X			X			Distance
Andrew said he broke the news as they walked through Central Park, where they were pictured together,	said	X			X			Acknowledge
adding: ‘We decided that we would part company and I left.	adding, scare quotes	X			X			Distance
But as this newspaper has previously revealed, Andrew stayed with his paedophile friend for six days in total – a fact put to him by Maitlis.	But		X			X		Counter

Andrew, later added that the mansion was a 'convenient' place to stay in New York.	added, scare quotes	X			X			Distance
Now he says he recognises it was wrong	says	X			X			Acknowledge
Miss Roberts has claimed that she was forced to have sex with the prince on three separate occasions	claimed	X			X			Distance
Virginia Giuffre did not immediately comment with sources saying she was 'taking her time to consult with her legal team'	saying, scare quotes	X			X			Distance