

# HOPES AND FEARS

The British Future  
State of the Nation Report  
2012

British  
Future...

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British Future is an independent, non-partisan thinktank seeking to involve people in an open conversation, which addresses people's hopes and fears about identity and integration, migration and opportunity, so that we feel confident about Britain's future.



## Contents

Britain in 2012: what's our story? .....	2
A year of quiet hope ... ..	4
... but still plenty to worry about in 2012 .....	6
Has Britain changed? 1948 and 2012 compared .....	8
(Dis)united kingdom? .....	10
Mapping the nation .....	12
Don't segregate schools – but cheer who you want .....	14
Jubilee pride outstrips even Olympic spirit .....	16
What we like (and don't) about immigration .....	18
Can we avoid a lost generation? .....	20
The British Future State of the Nation poll in detail .....	21

**NOTE:** Numbers throughout this document do not always add to 100% because of rounding.

## Britain in 2012: what's our story?

### *Quiet hope in anxious times captures the British mood as we begin a year that we all expect to remember*

The British Future State of the Nation poll shows that we are fully aware of the perils facing the British and European economies, but refuse to let that entirely dominate the year ahead. We are pessimistic about where the country is heading yet confident that the places we live will be resilient and pull through. We expect bad news on the economy, but enter 2012 optimistic about what the year will bring to our families. This stubborn optimism reminds us that, when we look back, whatever happens on the world stage may be trumped by the personal milestones of births and weddings, pride in educational or career achievements, memories and loss at funerals too.

We believe that this will be a year of shared hope too, as we anticipate great national celebrations that will resonate for a generation. Olympic excitement is building across Britain – people do not see them as belonging only to London, with those in the West Midlands most excited of all – and people think the Queen's Jubilee may just surpass the Games in its boost to the national mood.

Popular interest in these great occasions are bound to make this a year when the British think about the society that we have become. The story that we want to tell a watching world about who we are will depend on what we want to say, here, to ourselves. Perhaps the greatest State of the Nation question for the British in 2012 is this: do we want to feel proud of the society that we have become?

Taking the long view, most of us think Britain has changed for better, and for worse, over six decades. We think they, then, were better parents than us (though we surely talk to, and hug, our own children more?).

We know women's opportunities are much improved, and that we discriminate much less against gay people, whom we used to imprison for their sexuality. But we think that Britain is less polite, as well as less racist. Black and Asian people are most likely to think race relations got better; relying more on the lived experience of everyday integration than the rarer flashpoints which inevitably catch headlines.

Strikingly, only a minority think Britain is more classless today, with just as many saying we are just as class-bound: a question which divides northerners from southerners, men from women, and the Scots and Welsh from the English. Older people are most likely to recognize that class has changed in Britain, but younger people think things are much the same as ever they were.

We often agree on issues we might expect to divide us. There is strong Scottish national pride, but Scots are as keen to stay in the Union as the English and Welsh are to keep them. (It turns out to be the Geordies, not the Scots or Welsh, who feel least British). Everyone, across the nations of Britain, agrees that the English need a stronger voice within devolution. Attempts to make us choose between identities may miss the point. In England, it is those who feel strongly British who feel English too, while others reject both identities. Feeling we belong to the neighbourhoods we live in is the best indicator of national pride across Britain. Many people wildly and worryingly exaggerate the scale of asylum, but believe that Britain is a country where we welcome new neighbours. Most of us think it takes less than three years for "them" to become "us" when somebody moves to a new area. Many people feel they belong within the first year.

The poll shows that we recognise benefits and pressures from immigration. It won't be enough to say that it has been great for food and football if people remain so concerned that impacts on jobs and housing aren't



addressed. People want integration to work – by concentrating on what matters. We don't want segregated schools in multi-ethnic towns but don't think which cricket team people cheer for is important. We find a strong strand of "immigrant optimism" – more optimistic about Britain than the native Brits – while settled minorities score highest for patriotic pride. That shows integration can work – as long as we must address what this says about those who fear being left behind.

British Future is determined to start from where people are. Our State of the Nation poll shows that what we think about these big questions of identity and integration, migration and opportunity, is usually more

nuanced than the snapshot headlines. Only a small minority of miserabilists think that Britain is going to hell in a handcart, but few think that we live in the best of all possible worlds either. Many think there are reasonable points on different sides of familiar arguments.

We find an appetite for a public debate which can reflect both our hopes and our fears, about who we are, how we got here, and how we can create the future that we want to share.

It is time to show that we can start a conversation, and not a shouting match. 2012 feels like a good year to begin ...

*Sunder Katwala, Director, British Future*

PHOTO:  
*Well-wishers await the appearance of Prince William and Kate Middleton after the Royal wedding in April 2011*



# A year of quiet hope ...

## Hopes or fears?

- +26%** family
  - +3%** place we live
  - 50%** Britain
  - 63%** economy
- (Net optimism)

### Women are Britain's optimists

Women are the nation's optimists, feeling more positive about their future than men. They are more confident than men that 2012 will be a good year for them and their families with 56% being optimistic, compared with 48% of men.

Women, often the ones with the links to local schools and village events, were also more optimistic (38%) than men (29%) about 2012 being a good year for their hometown, city or village.

Other factors also seem to have an impact. If you know your neighbours, take part in local events or know people to nod at in the street it may be you are more likely to feel optimistic about the year ahead.

Those who felt a strong connection to their neighbourhood were more likely to be optimistic, 57% felt the year ahead would be good for them and their family. There was also more likely to be economically optimistic; feel a strong connection to their neighbourhood and to Britain, and to feel immigration was necessary for economic recovery.

A strong sense of national identity does appear to make a difference to how positive or negative people feel, with 38% who felt

they had a strong sense of belonging to Britain feeling optimistic about the year for their home city, town or village, while only 24% of those who did not have a strong sense of belonging had the same optimism.

Despite high levels of youth unemployment, younger people are managing to hang on to a positive outlook when it comes to themselves and their families, with net optimism among 16-24s at 37%, while the most positive age group is the 25-34s with net optimism of 47%.

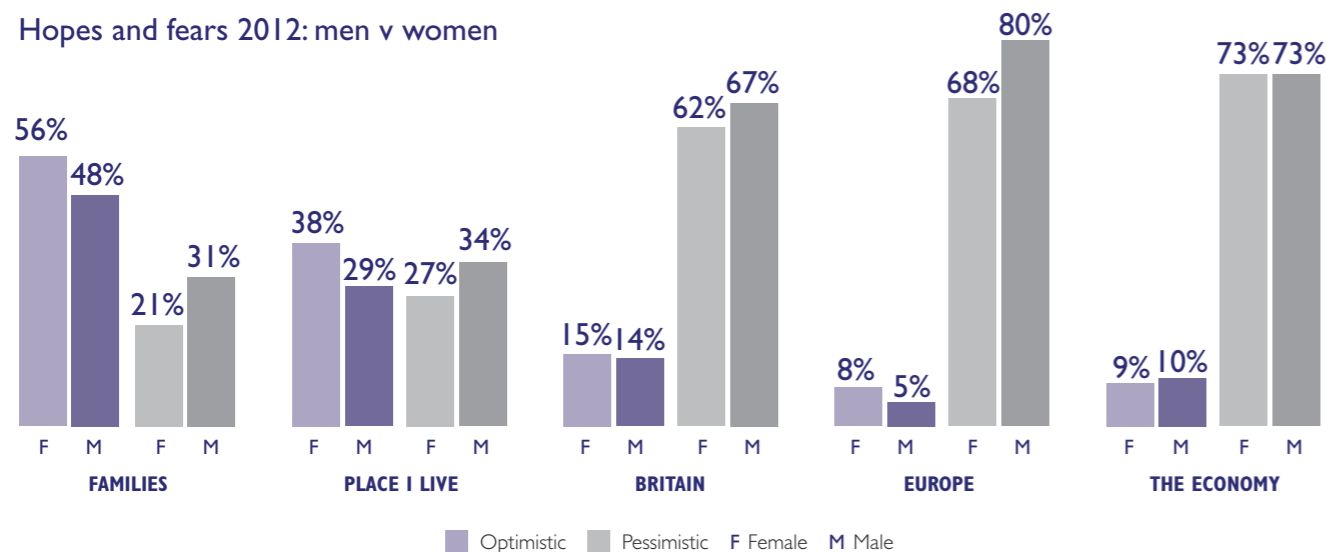
The people in Britain are surprisingly optimistic about the impact of 2012 on themselves and their families, with 52% feeling upbeat about the year ahead.

Despite the tough economic times, the British public feel upbeat around their personal lives, and their family's achievements for the year ahead.

Around Britain, the Welsh are the most positive group, with net optimism of 37%, compared to 24% in Scotland and 26% in England. Around the English regions, the East Midlands and the South East were the most positive about 2012 being good for their families, while West Midlanders had a bleaker view, scoring only 16% on net optimism.

Rachael Jolley

Hopes and fears 2012: men v women



### Optimism snapshots

- Not-white Britons are more optimistic about the places they live – with 41% optimistic and 31% pessimistic (+9%), compared to 32% optimism and 30% pessimism among white Britons (+2%).
- There is a north-south optimism divide on the places we live – with southerners on balance optimistic by 36% to 27% (+8%) and northerners overall pessimistic by 28% to 36% (-8%).

**Those who felt they had a strong connection to their neighbourhood were more likely to feel economically optimistic**

#### Around Britain: who's feeling hopeful?

- Londoners are a little optimistic about Britain, but there are still only 20% optimists, compared to 15% across the rest of England and Britain, so most Londoners (59%) are pessimistic, albeit at lower levels than in the north east (72%) and the west midlands (75%).
- Black and Asian Britons are most optimistic about Britain in 2012 with 25% of not-white Brits being optimistic about Britain with 55% pessimistic (-30) compared to 13% of white Britons, where 66% are pessimistic (-53).
- 57% of those who voted Conservative at the last election are pessimistic about Britain in 2012.
- People in the West Midlands (80%) are very pessimistic about Britain's economy, compared to 73% across Britain. Just 5% are optimistic compared to 12% in London.

- Those who felt they had a strong connection to their neighbourhood were more likely to feel economically optimistic. 13% of those who felt they strongly belonged to their neighbourhood were likely to feel optimistic about the economy, while this was only true of 6% of those who did not feel a strong connection to their neighbourhood.
- Those who did not feel a strong belonging to Britain were more likely (80%) to be pessimistic about the economy, than those who did (70%).
- The Welsh are the least pessimistic about the economy in 2012, with a net optimism level of -53%, compared to -74 in the West Midlands, and a national average of -63%.
- Those who voted LibDem are as pessimistic (84%) about the economy in 2012 as Labour voters (82%), compared to 65% of Conservatives.

Read more about British Future, a new identity, integration, migration and opportunity thinktank, on our website, [www.britishfuture.org](http://www.britishfuture.org). Here you can find our new video project, British Histories: What's Your Story? where we ask the public to submit their videos about their family history in Britain. Watch our latest videos from participants and submit your own. Also you can find our National Conversations section where we debate the issues of national and local identity in Britain today. Contribute a comment to the British Future blog dotdotdot, or email suggestions about the work we are doing.

Economy: optimistic or pessimistic?

#### WEST MIDLANDS

5% optimistic

80% pessimistic

#### LONDON

12% optimistic

67% pessimistic

### Immigrant optimism: how incomers are more hopeful than the British-born

	BORN OUTSIDE BRITAIN			BRITISH-BORN		
	Optimism	Pessimism	Net	Optimism	Pessimism	Net
Britain in 2012	25	51	-26	14	66	-52
My family	54	27	+27	52	26	+26
The place I live	36	30	+6	33	31	+2
The economy	18	61	-43	9	74	-65
Europe	13	64	-51	6	75	-69

# ... but still plenty to worry about in 2012

## Top three issues ranked as biggest challenges Britain will face in 2012

- 61% Prices and bills increasing
- 59% Unemployment
- 46% Cuts in spending on public services
- 24% Immigration
- 22% Opportunities for young people
- 18% Pressure on health services
- 16% Crime and disorder
- 13% Care for the elderly
- 10% Mortgage or rent payments
- 7% Population growth
- 5% Terrorist attacks
- 5% Racial or religious unrest
- 3% Environmental concerns
- 3% Don't know / Not stated

### ► Increasing prices and bills top the worry list for the year ahead

The British public see rising prices and increasing bills as their biggest challenge for 2012. As they look ahead to the year of the Jubilee and the Olympics, they put higher bills, unemployment and cuts in public services at the top of their list of worries. Around 28% ranked rising prices as their number one concern, 25% rated unemployment and 17% ranked cuts in public spending as top of their list of challenges for the year ahead.

With recent ONS figures<sup>1</sup> showing bills for electricity, gas and other fuels seeing a huge annual rise of 20.9%, the public is looking ahead at how those bills will affect their lives. The British Future *State of the Nation* 2012 poll showed prices and bills going up were a particular concern for those between 25 and

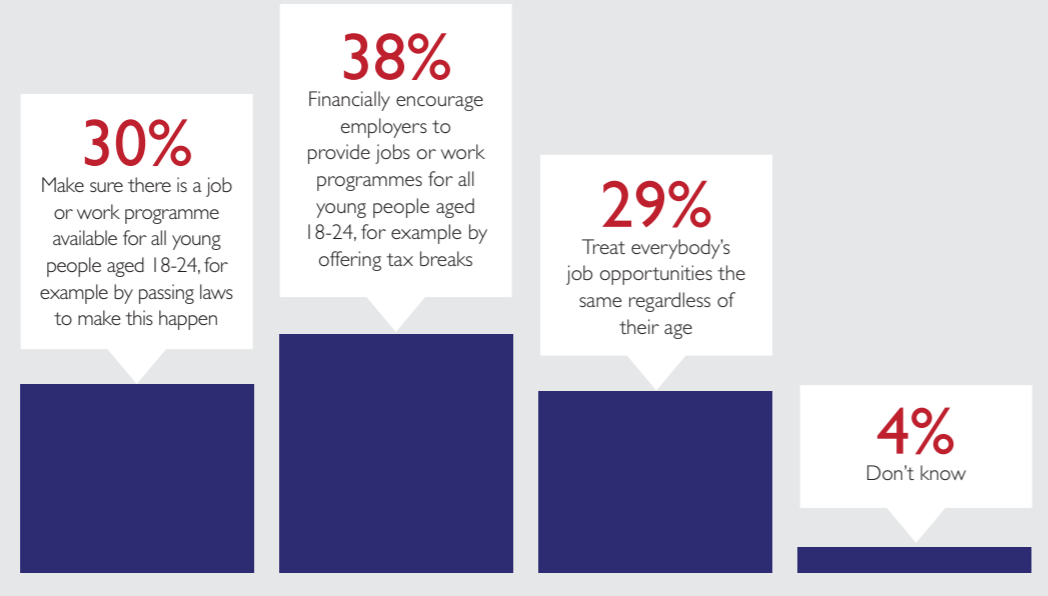
44, with 38% of those between 35-44 rating it as their number one worry, compared to 34% of 25-34s.

Unemployment was a major concern for 25-34s, with 31% naming it as their top challenge, compared to 21% of 55-64 year olds, and 29% of 16-24s.

Cuts in public services were a major concern for 45-54 year olds (24%), but only for 16% of the over 65s, an age group that you might expect to have a greater reliance on public services. Regionally the pattern illustrated differing levels of worry for different areas, 26% of East Midlanders, and 27% of people in Scotland felt cuts in public services were their number one challenge in the year ahead, compared with a national average of 17%, and only 10% of those in the West Midlands.

On unemployment worries, nationally one quarter of the population thought it was their

### What do you think the government's main priority should be in dealing with the effects of the economic situation on young people?



biggest challenge in 2012, but the region most worried was the West Midlands, where 34% ranked this as the number one issue.

Environment ranked last as a number one concern, while only 3% placed it in their top three worries.

Immigration, opportunities for young people and pressure on health services were all ranked in the top 3 by around one in five people. While 16% of the mostly retired 65 plus age group ranked immigration as their number one concern, half of that, 8%, of the 16-24s did, and only 5% of the 25-34 age group. Not surprisingly perhaps, opportunities for young people was ranked in the number one spot (12%) by far more of the 16-24 age group, than any other age group. In fact only 4% of the over 65s ranked it at number one.

### 45% say, on balance, immigration has been bad for the NHS

Conversely, care for the elderly ranked in the number one worry spot for 5% of the over 65s and only 1% of the 16-24s, perhaps showing that each generation was a little more concerned with their own problems than they were on those of others.

Population growth was ranked first by only 2% and mortgage and rent payments by only 1%.

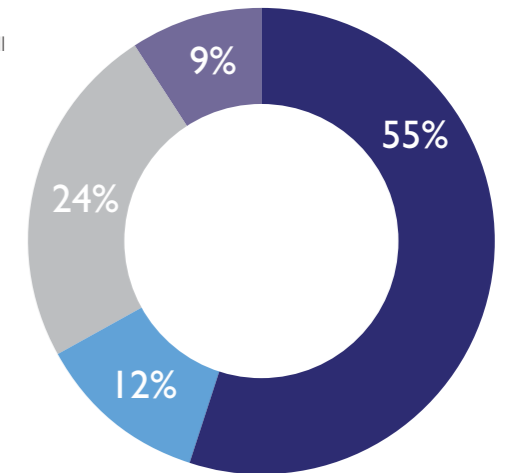
### ► Housing is where public fear impact of immigration has hit hardest

Most people across Britain think immigration has been bad for the availability of housing – with 69% thinking the effect has been negative, 9% that it has been positive, and 18% saying it has made no difference. One in three people say the effect has been very negative.

There are similar views about this across social classes, with middle-class professionals (net -60%), C1-C2s (net -63%) and unskilled workers (net -57%) all agreeing. Not-white Britons share the majority view (net -39%) though the view is held more strongly by white Britons (net

### Which of the following statements, if any, comes closest to your view?

- Immigration to Britain will damage economic recovery by taking away jobs from people already living here
- Immigrants' skills and labour are necessary to help Britain's economic recovery
- Immigration to Britain will make no difference to Britain's economic recovery
- Don't know



-63%), and by those who have come to Britain from abroad (net -41%) as well as the British born (net -62%).

Negative views are highest in the south west (77%) and are also held by majorities in Scotland (61%) and London (64%), where overall views of immigration are most positive.

### ► Public is divided about the NHS

One of the most striking disagreements in the British Future State of the Nation poll is about whether immigration has been good or bad for the NHS.

32% of people think the effect has been positive, reflecting that the NHS has depended on doctors and nurses from around the world. But 45% think the effect of immigration has been negative, perhaps because of the pressure on services from a rising population, while 18% think there has been no effect either way.

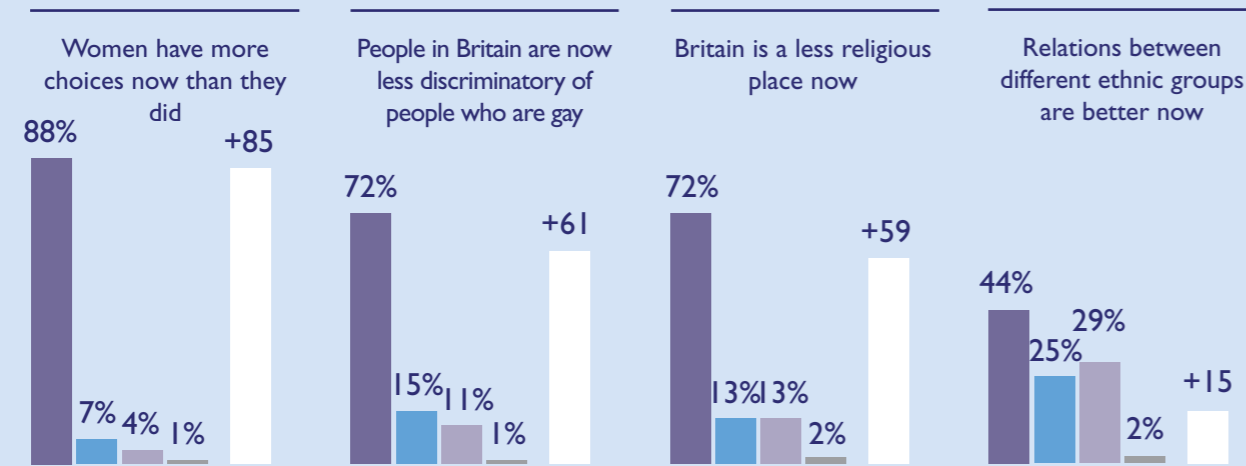
Not-white Britons think there has been an immigration boost to the NHS, with 38% thinking there has been a positive effect and 29% negative (+9%) while white Britons are more likely to think that the net effect has been negative, by 31% to 47% (-16%).

39% of those over 55 and over 65 think there has been a positive immigration effect on the NHS, compared to just 22% of the under 25s.

# Has Britain changed? 1948 and 2012 compared

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the way Britain has changed since 1948, the last time the Olympics was held in Britain?

Agree Neither agree nor disagree Disagree Don't know Net agreement



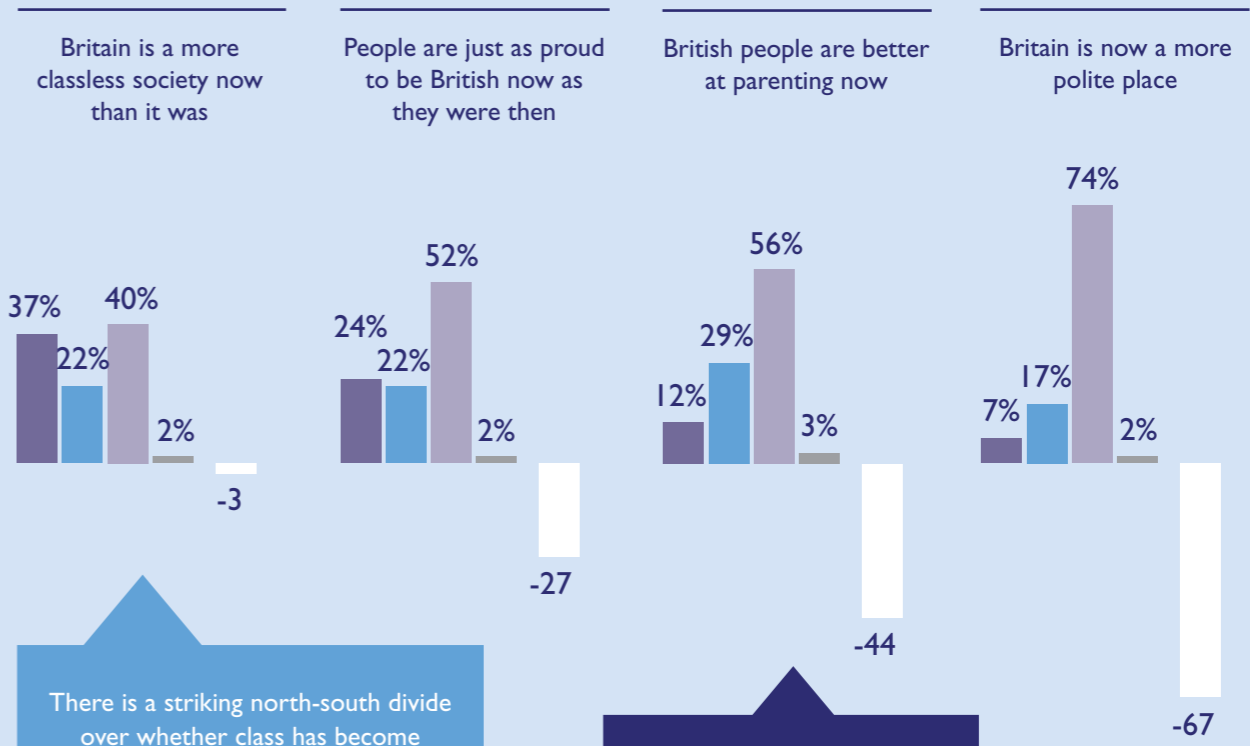
Northerners are a bit more skeptical about how much women's choices have improved, particularly in the north west, but 78% of people there do think women have more choices.

75% of women believe anti-gay discrimination has reduced, compared to 69% of men.

More people felt relations between different ethnic groups were better than they were in 1948, people in the north west were more likely to disagree (36%) of any region, but 41% agreed it had.

Middle-class professionals (AB) do believe Britain has become more classless, but only by 42% to 37%, while C1/C2 respondents disagree, by 34% to 42%. Working-class (DE) voters believe that class matters just as much too, but again by a slim margin of 36% to 39%.

The 16-24s are more likely to believe that Britain has become a politer place than in 1948, than other age groups, and 28% of British Asians thought it had (compared to 5% of white people). Does this show the country has become ruder over the decades?



There is a striking north-south divide over whether class has become less important in Britain since 1948. Londoners are confident that class matters less, by 41% to 29% (+13%). Southerners agree by 39% to 37% (+2). But midlanders tilt the other way, by 38% to 41%, as do northerners by 35% to 39% (-3), especially in the north east, where the idea that we are a more classless society is rejected by 48% to 34% (-14).

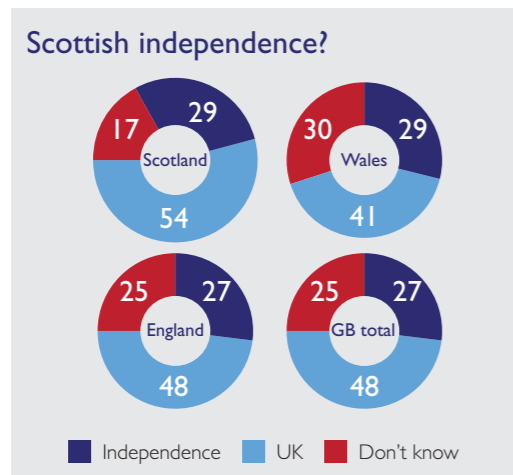
People over 54 felt the strongest about parenting being worse in 2012 than 1948, with 67% of 55-64s, and 63% of over 65s feeling that parenting had gone down hill. 44% of 16-24s thought it had.



# (Dis)united kingdom?

► People across Britain want Scotland to stay in the United Kingdom

Scotland will hold a referendum on whether to be independent before 2015. But what difference would it make if that were held across the UK? The British Future State of the Nation poll found that there are currently strikingly similar views opposing Scottish independence across Scotland, England and Wales (with the main difference being a lower proportion of don't knows in Scotland) and there are broadly similar views across Britain about English devolution too.



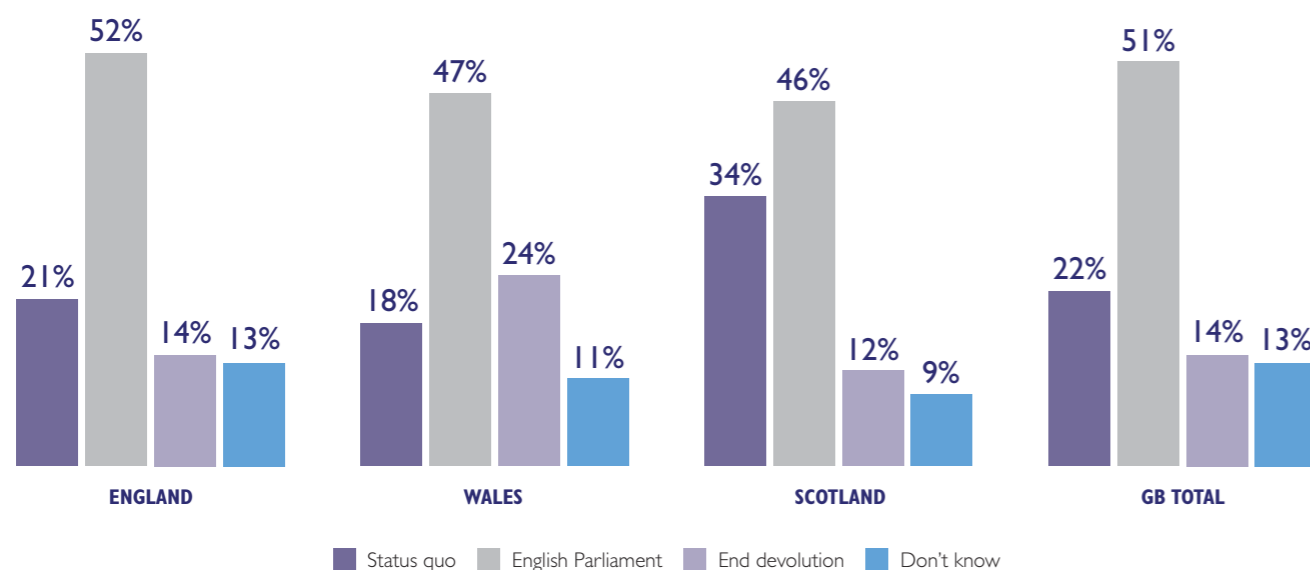
► Flying all the flags: why we don't want to choose between our identities

The poll suggests that there is no sharp clash between English and British identities – indeed quite the opposite.

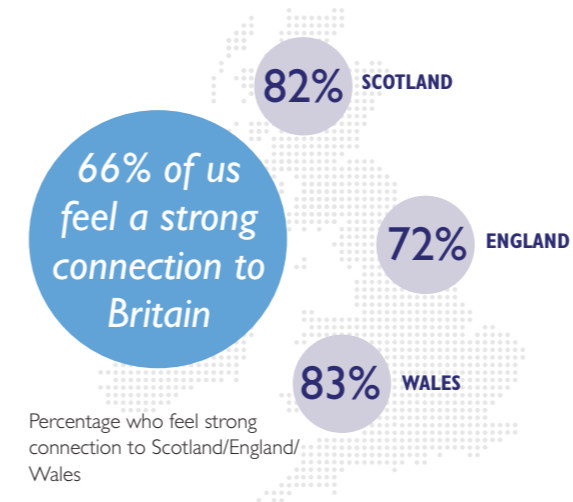
A sense of belonging to Britain and local pride goes together for most people – or tends to be weaker across the board – in England especially, while Scottish and Welsh identities are held strongly by those who feel British as well as by those who don't.

In England, those who feel that they belong to Britain and to their local areas have a strong sense of English identity too. 92% those who feel they strongly belong to Britain also say that they strongly belong to England, with only 8% of the strongly British saying they did not belong strongly to England too. But a strong sense of English identity fell to 27% among those who did not have a strong sense of being British, with 60% saying they did not feel strongly English. 83% of those who feel they have a strong sense of belonging to their neighbourhood had a strong sense of being English, falling to 44% among those without a strong sense of local belonging.

Who wants an English Parliament? How the nations agree



Pride of the nations



► Geordies feel less British than the Scots

Our poll found a weaker commitment to British identity in the north east of England than in Wales or Scotland. Only 49% of people in the north east feel strongly British, much lower than the 67% who feel strongly British across England as a whole. While 62% of Welsh people and 60% of Scots feel strongly British, with 37% and 40% disagreeing.

► Asians feel strongly British

Asians in Britain have the strongest sense of British belonging, with 70% saying they belong strongly, compared to 66% of white Britons.

English identity is slightly stronger among the white people in England, where 72% feel strongly English and 27% don't, but is not much lower among ethnic minorities in England, where 62% feel strongly English (including 69% of Asians) and 34% don't. Perhaps showing that Englishness is now considered a civic rather than an ethnically defined identity.

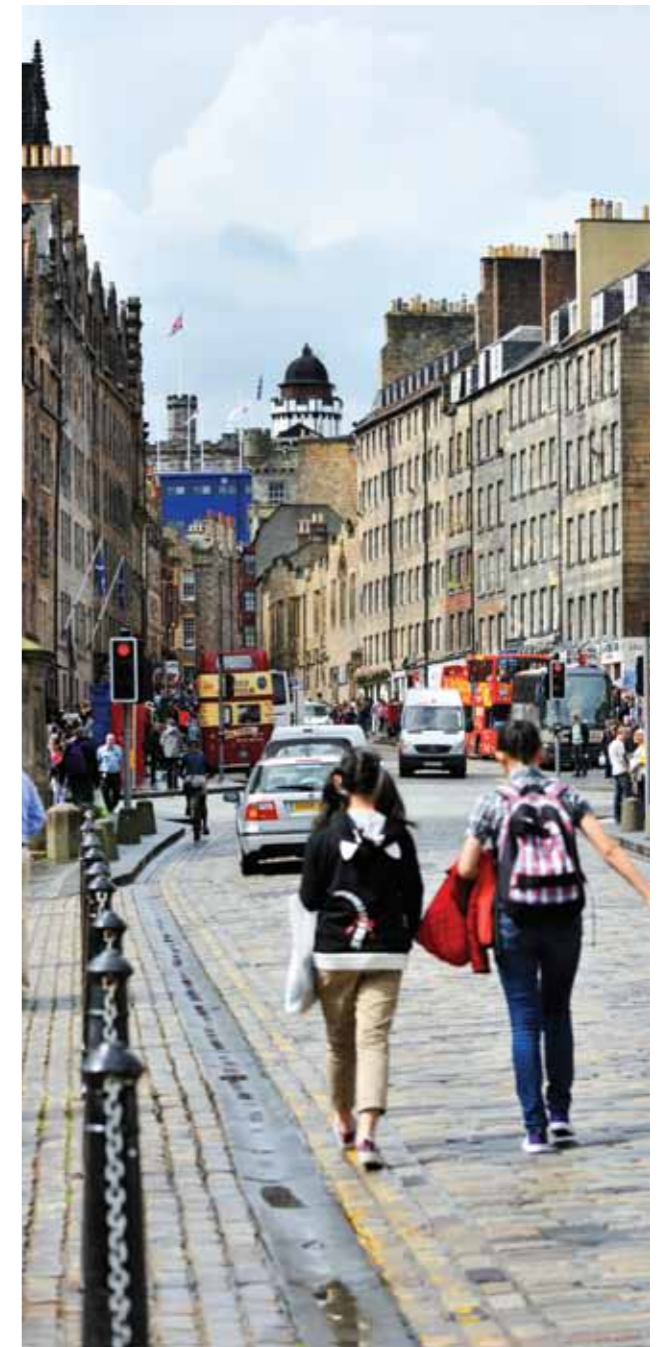


PHOTO: Tourists on the top section of Edinburgh's Royal Mile

How strongly do you belong to...

	BORN OUTSIDE BRITAIN			BRITISH-BORN		
	Strongly belong	Not strongly	Net	Strongly belong	Not strongly	Net
Britain	70	28	<b>+42</b>	66	33	<b>+33</b>
England/Scotland/Wales	68	31	<b>+37</b>	74	25	<b>+49</b>
England (in England)	68	31	<b>+37</b>	72	26	<b>+46</b>
Hometown	65	33	<b>+32</b>	61	38	<b>+23</b>
Neighbourhood	58	36	<b>+22</b>	57	42	<b>+15</b>

# Mapping the nation

## INTEGRATION ANXIETY

North west

- People in the north west are more likely to disagree with the idea that relations between ethnic groups are better today than in 1948, with 36% disagreeing, compared to 19% of people in London, though 41% of people in the north west do think things have got better.
- People in the north west are least likely to agree that women have more choices today, with 10% disagreeing, compared to 4% across Britain, though 78% in the north west do think women's choices have improved since 1948.

## WHITE ROSE PRIDE

Yorkshire and Humberside

- People in Yorkshire and Humberside are more likely to say that we're better parents today – 17% agree, compared to 12% across Britain – though 47% think people were better at parenting in 1948.
- People in Yorkshire and Humberside are the most likely to say that people today are just as proud to the British as we were in 1948, with 29% saying so, though 46% disagree.
- The least likely in England to say that they don't belong to their local neighbourhood – 37%, compared to 62% who do.

## GOOD NEIGHBOURS

Scotland

- 82% feel they strongly belong to Scotland, while 60% feel strongly British. Only 29% say they want Scotland to be independent.
- Scots are more likely to say that they felt part of a new neighbourhood immediately, 25% compared to 18% in England. 55% of Scots say that they strongly belong to their neighbourhood.

## REGIONAL VOICE

North east

- People in the north east are most likely to support an English Parliament (58%) despite being in the region with the highest population (40%) who don't feel strong belonging to England.
- Strongest support for the government making sure every 18-24 year old has a job, backed by 40% in the north east compared to 30% across Britain, with another 29% wanting government to incentivize employers to employ young people.
- Most likely to think we are worse parents today than 64 years ago – with only 3% saying we are better parents (12% across England) and 66% saying we are worse (national average 56%).

## HOUSING HEADACHES

East midlands

- People in the east midlands are most worried about the impact of immigration on housing, with 77% saying immigration has had a negative impact, compared to 69% across Britain. 9% of people in the east midlands think that most of the population of the UK has been granted asylum.

## BALTI NATION

West midlands

- People in the west midlands (76%) are very positive about the contribution that immigration has made to British food, reflecting regional pride in Birmingham's claim to have invented the Great British Balti, the average is 68% across Britain.
- Highest level of pessimism (80%) about the economy in 2012: Overall, people in the Midlands (77%) are more pessimistic than either the north (73%) or the south (70%) on the economy.

## THERE'S A WELCOME IN THE VALLEYS

Wales

- 57% of people said they belonged to a new neighbourhood within a year in Wales, compared to 37% in England and 43% in Scotland.
- The Welsh are least enthusiastic about immigration in football – with 42% saying it has made no difference, and 14% that it has made football worse, while 31% think the Premiership has improved. Swansea City have few foreign players in their Premiership team, though Dutch keeper Michael Vorm has been a star performer.
- Wales is least confident that race relations have improved in Britain, seeing progress by only 37% to 31% (+6%) compared to a GB average of (44% to 29%, +15%).

## FLYING THE FLAG

East of England

- People in the East of England are most likely to feel strongly English (80%), compared to 72% across England. Only 19% don't feel strongly English, compared to 40% in the north east. 73% feel strongly British too, again the highest of any region, compared to 66% across England and 67% across Britain as a whole.
- Only 2% of people in the East of England think the Jubilee celebrations will be bad for the British mood, compared to 11% of northerners and 7% of people across Britain.
- People in the east are most likely to say that Britain today is more classless today than in 1948, with 42% agreeing and 37% disagreeing.
- 63% say that they belong to their local neighbourhood, the highest proportion in England.

## INDEPENDENCE MINDED

South west

- Slightly more people in the south west (34%) than in Scotland would prefer an independent Scotland (29%), while 40% in the south west want the Scots to remain in the Union (compared to 54% of Scots).
- People in the south west are very pessimistic about the economic prospects for 2012, with 79% of people feeling pessimistic, compared to 73% across Britain as a whole, and 67-68% in London and the south east.
- 11% of people in the south west think most people in Britain today were born abroad, compared to 7% across Britain.

## CLASSLESS CAPITAL

London

- Only 29% of Londoners say that Britain is as class-bound as in 1948, the lowest in Britain, compared to 40% of people across Britain. 41% of Londoners say that Britain is a more classless society than it was.
- 57% of Londoners say immigration has been good for entrepreneurship and business start-ups, compared to 47% across Britain, with just 8% saying it has had a negative impact.

## QUITE ENGLISH

South east

- People in the south east are more likely to support an English parliament, with 57% support compared to 52% across England and 48% in London, but are also the most likely in England to oppose the 'cricket test' with 64% saying people who settle in Britain can cheer for the countries they came from if they want to.

\* Not all differences between sub-groups in this report are statistically significant but indicate differences between the relevant groups



# Don't segregate schools – but cheer who you want

## ► Why people don't want segregated schools

Who sits next to whom in the classroom, and who is available to play with whom in the playground, are notorious flashpoints in relationships between different ethnic communities. Lots of newcomers, particularly with different languages, can sometimes unsettle the pace of day-to-day learning. So, to make it work, schools have had to get better at identifying the contributions of immigrants and minorities, and folding these into the learning environment.

Of course, education largely reflects where different communities live. In some parts of Britain schools have been one of the first signs of white flight. Schools can quickly change in character and in ethnic make-up.

The new British Future *State of Nation* poll contains some eye-catching findings on public attitudes towards schools and ethnic mixing. Some 51% of us support the idea that government should encourage mixed schools, and not just leave parental choice unchecked. In fact only a fifth of us think that parental choice trumps everything else, even if that results in ethnic ghettos in some schools.

There is, in other words, a big chunk of support for more to be done to get the next generation to start mixing early. Interestingly,

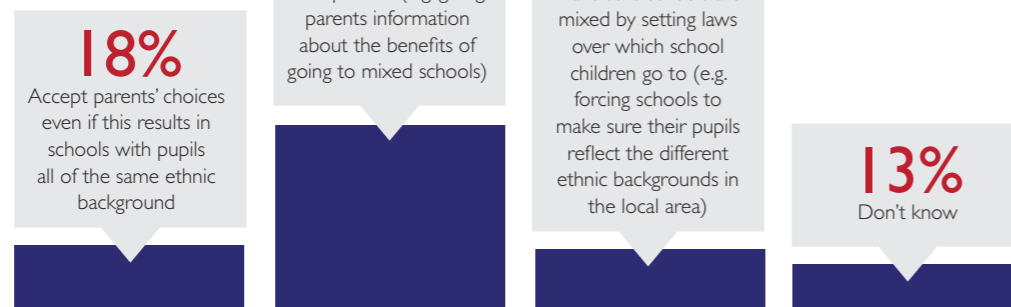
support rises among older people compared with younger ones – normally on attitudes towards ethnic mixing it is the other way around. Women, rather more than men (55% as against 47%), lead the way. Regionally, only the Welsh (43%) stand out in their lukewarm support, the Scots are more positive at 52%. And whilst blacks and Asians are keenest to encourage ethnic mixing (60%), the large white majority don't lag far behind (51%). Only 10% of the not white British group think that parental choices should be accepted even if it results in schools with the same ethnic mix, compared to 19% of white British.

These are encouraging findings for two main reasons. First, schools (and colleges and universities) are best placed to provide the knowledge and tools to allow young Britons to learn to navigate the ethnically mixed world they will occupy in the future. This is about soft knowledge about respecting and understanding cultural differences and working together as one.

Secondly, kids are sensitised early on to the idea that we can be different in some ways and yet solidly cohesive as a society. Having government give a fresh push to more ethnically mixed classrooms is a useful first step.

*Shamit Saggat*

In areas of Britain where there are substantial numbers of people from more than one ethnic background, do you think the government should...



## ► Cricket test hit for six

I took my Dad to the Oval last summer for the Sunday of the last final England v India test match. Each of us would be supporting the country in which we were born. I had booked the tickets last Christmas, expecting the series to be on a knife-edge. Instead, we English supporters had the strange experience of trying to remember not to gloat like an Australian. This was still cricket, after all

There were young British Asians in both England and Indian shirts near me, engaging in good natured banter as England's Ravi Bopara tried to concentrate on his fielding just over the boundary rope. One young Sikh in an India shirt, after a beer or two too many, struggled to get his chorus of "Ravi is an Indian, an Indian, an Indian" to take off.

## The Tebbit demand for assimilation went too far but the pro-integration motive was a good one

Naturally, my thoughts turned to what Norman Tebbit would have made of it all. I was sixteen when Tebbit famously asked: "Which side do they cheer for? It's an interesting test. Are you still harking back to where you came from or where you are?"

My problem in 1990 was that I passed the cricket test. Had cheering for Botham, Gower or Gooch become a question of politics? I carried on supporting England – it was too late to switch now - but I was offended at the idea that my Dad could work for the NHS for thirty years but still fail this loyalty test. For me, it was an example of how demands to integrate can also, if they are too polarising, risk repelling the thing that they want. My Dad carried on contributing – and failing the cricket test more spectacularly than most. "You aren't really supporting Australia, are you?" I asked him during the great Ashes summer of 2005. I think he does cheer for us against Pakistan.

The Tebbit test never made much sense. If sporting allegiance is the test of loyalty, it would have been a call for Scottish and Welsh independence.

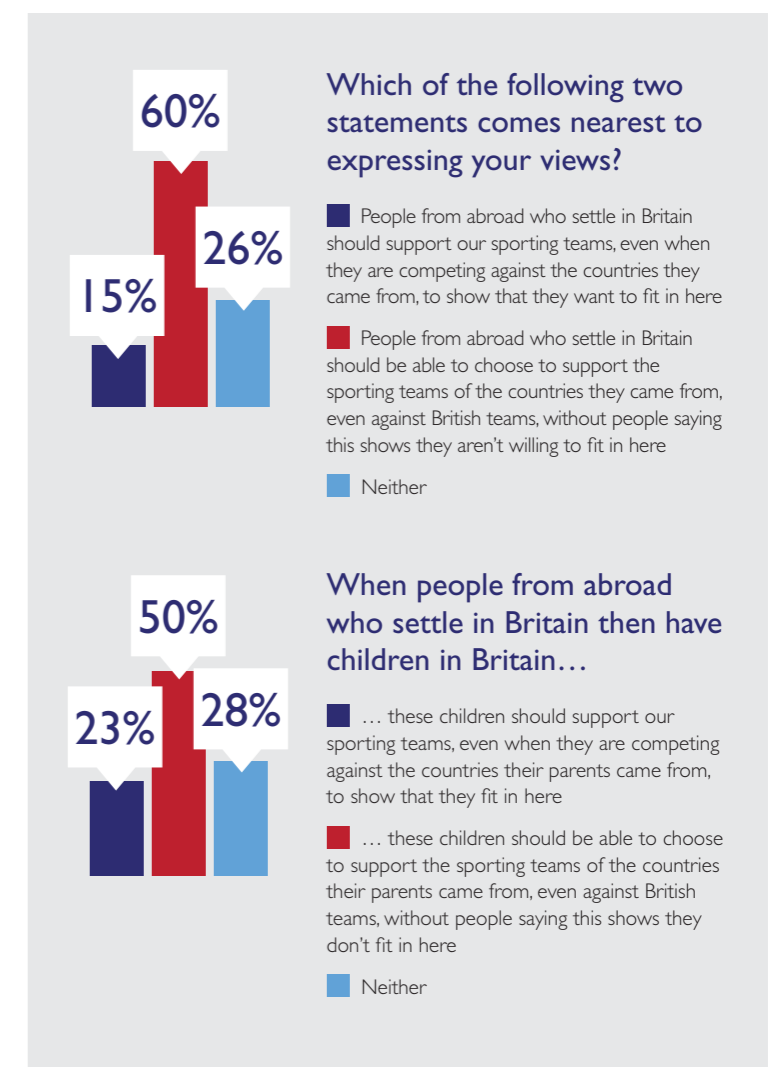
Now British Future's poll sees the public hit the cricket test for six as 60% of people

saying that immigrants should cheer for whoever they want to. If nobody expects Brits on the Costa del Sol to cheer for Spain, that seems a very British triumph for fair play.

But, as we banish the cricket test to history, I hope we won't go too far. The Tebbit demand for assimilation went too far but the pro-integration motive was a good one.

The poll shows that most people don't want to insist that the children of immigrants cheer for British teams either. But I doubt that I am alone in hoping that they will mostly want to do so, no doubt with a soft spot for their parent's country of origin too. Days after taking my Dad to the Test, I saw England's Twenty20 victory over India at Old Trafford greeted with the Daily Mail headline "Patel and Bopara lead England to victory". Now, surely that was something that both Lord Tebbit and I could celebrate.

*Sunder Katwala*



# Jubilee pride outstrips even Olympic spirit



PHOTO: Exmouth puts out the bunting

## Jubilation hits the south west

Street party fever is set to sweep across the south west to celebrate the sixty-year reign of Queen Elizabeth II as the region tops the lists for Jubilee pride.

People in the south west are the most excited region in Britain about the Queen's Diamond Jubilee, with 81% believing it will have a positive effect on the British mood, compared to an average of 68% across the realm, and just 62% of people in Yorkshire.

This makes the south west the Jubilee Capital of the 2012 celebrations, with the region outstripping the 69% of Londoners who believe the Jubilee will be good for Britain's mood.

*The west midlands is the region very excited by the Olympics with 75% believing it will boost the British mood compared to 63% of Londoners*

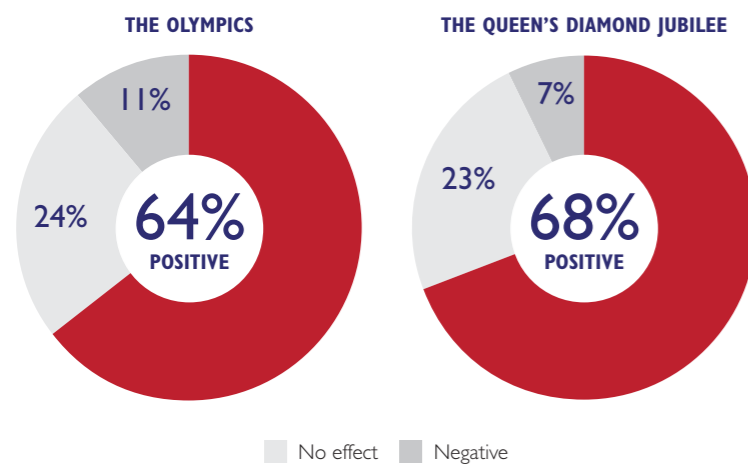
The south west is more excited about the Jubilee than the 2012 Olympics, though 61% of people are positive about the Olympics too.

People in the south west are also very positive about what the Jubilee will mean for how the rest of the world sees Britain, with 68% believing it will make a positive global impression and only 2% fearing it will be bad for Britain's image (topped only by the East of England, with 71%). Across the whole of Britain, 60% believe the Jubilee will be good for Britain's global image and 64% say the Olympics will too.

There is a positive mood about the Jubilee across Britain, though it is weakest in Scotland (55%) think it will be positive for the British mood, while half of Scots say the Olympics are good for Britain.

The south west is also the English region keenest on Scottish independence, with 34% backing Scotland to leaving the Union, but still 40% preferring them to stay. The poll found that support for Scottish independence is in fact stronger in the south west than in Scotland itself, where support registered at 29%, and a preference for Scotland to stay as part of the United Kingdom was at 54%.

What effect will these events have on the mood of the British public?



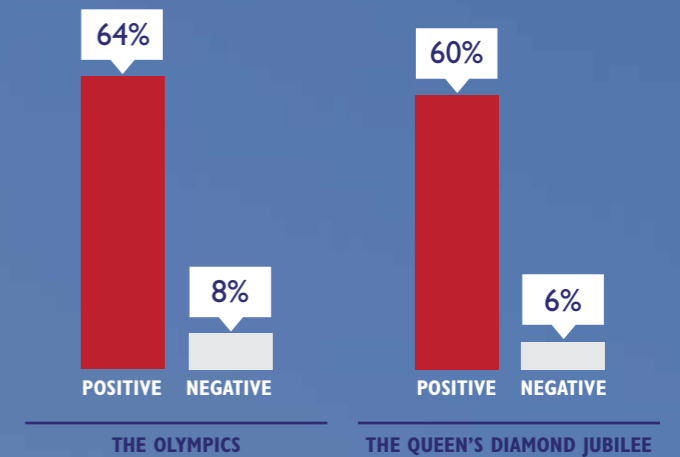
## Olympic pride is shared across Britain

The west midlands is most excited about Olympic mood – and the north sees as much to celebrate as Londoners.

Strikingly, the Olympics are just as popular outside London, particularly across the rest of England.

In fact, Londoners (15%) join Scots (15%) as the most likely to say the Olympics will be bad for the British mood, compared to just 9% in Wales, 7% in Yorkshire and 6% in the west midlands.

What effect will these events have on the way Britain is viewed by the rest of the world?





# What we like (and don't) about immigration

## ► Prince Philip and Trevor McDonald are nation's favourite immigrants

Prince Philip and much loved broadcaster Trevor McDonald were declared Britain's favourite immigrants in the British Future poll.

They tied for top position in our poll asking the public to vote for the person who had been born outside Britain, and made the biggest positive contribution to the country. Both received 19%, although Sir Trevor edged it with just a handful more votes.

The duo defeated a star-studded cast of sportsmen, pop stars, entrepreneurs and celebrities who have come to live in Britain.

The Prince, who recently celebrated his 90th birthday, has been well known for his gaffes in public life, but has obviously won round his critics. He found his biggest support base in Wales where 27% voted for him, compared to a national average of 19%.

## The Prince had a clear lead among everybody who was older than 45

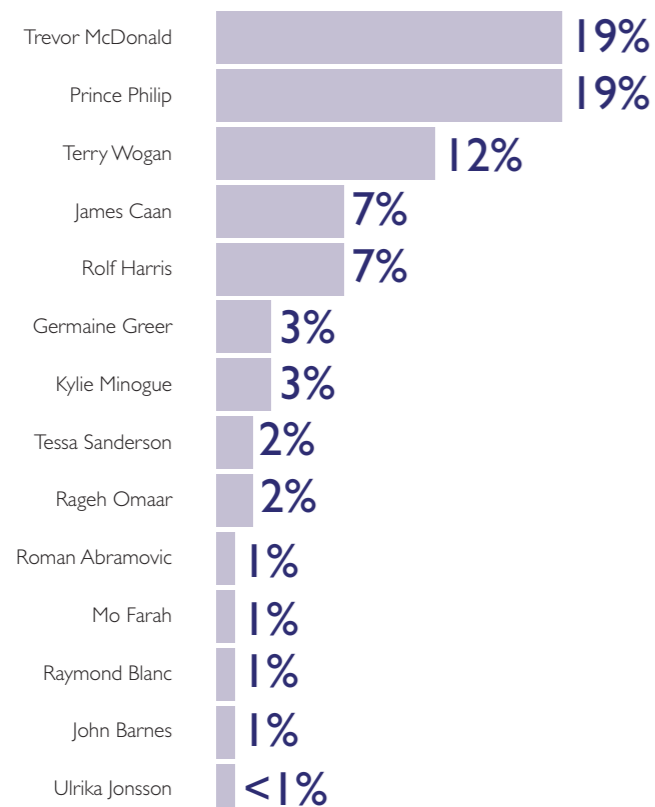
McDonald was the favourite choice among Britons under 45, but the Prince had a clear lead among everybody who was older than 44. Indeed, he was most popular of all with his fellow pensioners, where he scored 35% to McDonald's 20%.

The Duke of Edinburgh and broadcaster Trevor McDonald split the nation between them, with McDonald being the favourite of London, the south west, the north west and the west midlands, while the royal vote held up strongest in Yorkshire, the south east as well as Wales. Scotland favoured the broadcaster over the Prince by 20% to 15%, Philip's joint lowest score with the north east.

In the poll of Britain's favourite incomers, Terry Wogan, the long-time host of the Eurovision Song Contest and Children in Need, came in third position with 12% of the vote, and Dragon's Den entrepreneur James Caan as at number four. Wogan's long broadcasting career stood him in good stead, bringing support from all age groups.

Sports stars like John Barnes, Tessa Sanderson and Mo Farah couldn't keep up with the pace on the final lap as the poll shaped up as a three-horse race between broadcasters Terry Wogan and Trevor McDonald and Prince Philip, not usually thought of as the most popular of the Royals.

Of the following people who live in Britain but were born outside of the UK, which one of them would you say has made the biggest positive contribution to Britain?



## ► Getting it wrong: how people exaggerate the number of refugees

Most people don't do too badly when asked to estimate roughly how many people in Britain were born abroad – but they massively exaggerate the number of refugees in Britain. Only one in eight people got the right answer for the proportion of immigrants in the UK population: that, at 12%, it falls within the 11% to 15% category. Over half of people guess too high, while a quarter guess too low. But a third of people were fairly close – pitching their answers between 8% and 20%. Over half of the population can claim to have had a stab in the broad direction of the real world answer, aiming between 5% and 25%.

A quarter of people think that more than 30% of people are immigrants – if they were right, there would be 20 million immigrants in Britain, compared to the actual number of 7.4 million.

But if most people are not so badly far out on the numbers of immigrants, they

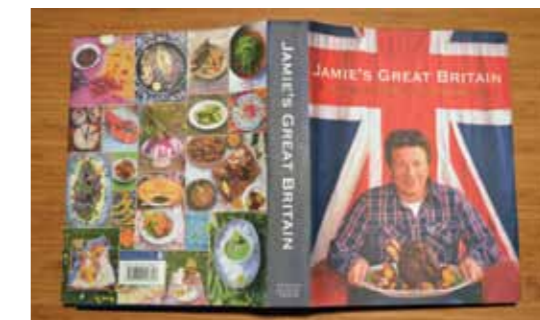
## Four out of ten people believe that more than 10% of the population are refugees. And one in 20 of us believe most people in Britain today have been granted asylum

massively overshoot when it comes to refugees and people granted asylum. Only 14% getting the right answer – of less than 1%. Three-quarters of people guess too high, while 11% admit they don't know. Only 27% estimate that the answer is less than 5% of the British population, with 62% thinking it is higher than that.

Four out of ten people believe that more than 10% of the population, six million people, are refugees. And one in 20 of us believe most people in Britain today have been granted asylum.

## ► Food glorious food

There is overwhelming agreement in every part of Britain that immigration has been good for British food, with 68% saying this has been a change for the better and 8% saying it has made things worse, while one in five say it has made no difference. This matters more to the middle-classes than the working-classes, with 79% enthusiasm among middle-class professionals, compared to 69% among C1C2s and a narrower majority of 56% of unskilled workers. But it is the oldest who are most positive – with 72% and 73% enthusiasm among the over 65s and over 55s, who have seen the change in post-war British cuisine happen in their lifetimes. That only 62% of those aged 16-24 agree suggests that they take pizza, curry and Chinese food for granted as staples of the British diet. There are similar levels of enthusiasm among white (68%) and not-white (72%) Britons. The West Midlands (76%) just pips London (75%) in enthusiasm for the immigration effect on British cuisine, reflecting regional pride in the invention of the Great British Balti around its spiritual home



of Sparkbrook's Balti Triangle. Enthusiasm is lower in the north east (59%) and Yorkshire (59%).

Those who voted Conservative (72%) are more enthusiastic than Labour supporters (66%), though those who voted Liberal Democrat at the last election (79%) are most enthusiastic of all.

Those who think that immigration damages the economy also strongly agree that it has had a positive effect on British food, with 60% agreeing and only 12% saying the effect has been negative, with 24% saying it has made no difference. Enthusiasm rises to 87% among those who think immigration is necessary to the economic recovery.

## For better or worse: the impact of immigration

Many people come to live in Britain. What effect, if any, would you say people born outside the UK who have moved to Britain have had upon the following?

### Net effect

+60

Food and restaurants

+36

Entrepreneurs / business starters

+29

Film and music

+27

Fashion and design

+26

Art and Literature

+25

Premier league football

-14

The NHS

-25

Schools

-48

Levels of crime and disorder

-56

Availability of jobs

-60

Availability of housing

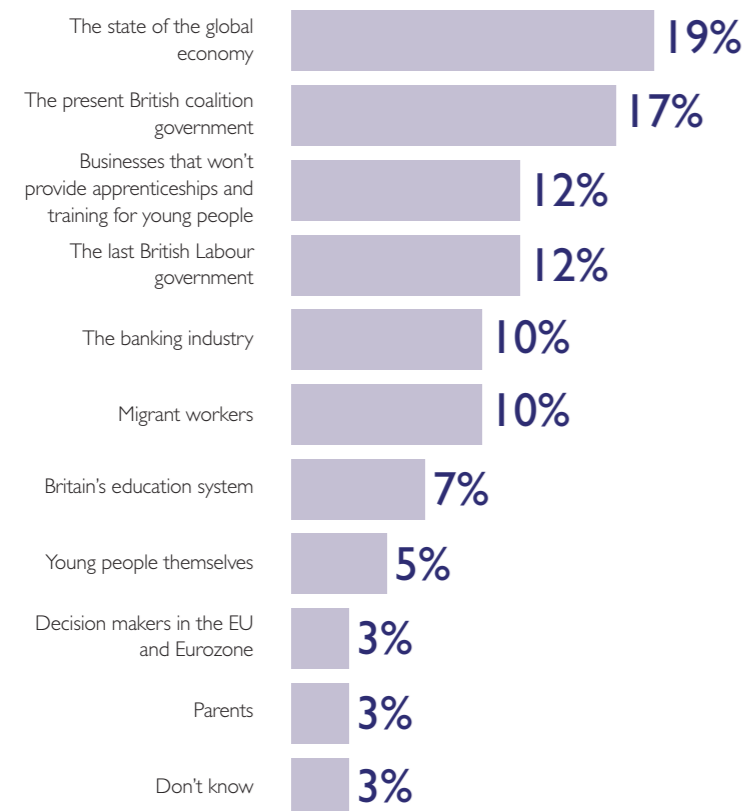


# Can we avoid a lost generation?



PHOTO:  
A protester in London,  
March, 2011

In the current economic situation, unemployment is particularly high among young people. Taking everything into account, who do you think is **most** to blame for the high numbers of young people being out of work?



## More must be done to help youth find jobs and opportunities

British people clearly want to see more opportunities for young people in 2012 and the years ahead, with 68% of the public supporting a job or work programme for 18-24s through legislation or encouraging employers with incentives.

After the global economic downturn, 39% of people blame businesses that won't provide apprenticeships and training for young people for high numbers of young people being out of work, ranking them in them in top three reasons why this situation exists.

In Wales 19% thought businesses that don't offer training were the top reason for the problem of unemployed young people, more than in England.

Around 22% of people ranked opportunities for young people in the top three challenges facing Britain in 2012.

And 38% of people felt that the government should encourage employers to provide jobs or work programmes for all young people aged 18-24, for example, tax breaks.

40% of 16-24 year olds wanted job guarantees compared to 29% of pensioners, but 46% of the over 65s did want government to incentivise employers.

# The British Future State of the Nation poll in detail

Ipsos MORI interviewed a representative sample of 2,320 adults aged 16 plus across Great Britain, including a boosted sample of 497 people in Scotland. Interviews were conducted online over the period 30th November to 6th December, 2011. Data is weighted to match the profile of the population. Further information on the poll can be found on the Ipsos MORI website, [www.ipsos-mori.com](http://www.ipsos-mori.com).

\* Not all differences between sub-groups in this report are statistically significant but indicate differences between the relevant groups

Looking ahead to next year, think about whether or not it will be a good or bad year. It doesn't matter if you're not sure; we are interested in how optimistic or pessimistic you are feeling about it.

How do you feel about 2012 for...?

	(A) YOU AND YOUR FAMILY	(B) THE CITY/ TOWN/ VILLAGE WHERE YOU LIVE	(C) BRITAIN	(D) EUROPE
	%			
Very optimistic	13	5	2	1
Fairly optimistic	39	29	12	6
Neither optimistic or pessimistic	21	35	20	17
Fairly pessimistic	18	23	42	33
Very pessimistic	8	7	23	41
Don't know	1	1	1	3
Optimistic	52	33	15	7
Pessimistic	26	31	65	74
Net optimism	+26	+3	-50	-67

And thinking in particular about Britain's economy, how do you feel about Britain's economic prospects in 2012?

	%
Very optimistic	1
Fairly optimistic	9
Neither optimistic or pessimistic	16
Fairly pessimistic	44
Very pessimistic	29
Don't know	1
Optimistic	10
Pessimistic	73
Net optimism	-63

Britain is likely to face a number of challenges in 2012. Please select from the following issues, which you think will be the biggest challenges facing Britain.

Please select up to 3 issues from this list and rank them in order (1st, 2nd and 3rd), with 1st being the biggest challenge facing Britain in 2012. (Ordered by 'Ranked in Top 3')

	RANKED 1ST	RANKED 2ND	RANKED 3RD	RANKED IN TOP 3
%				
Prices and bills increasing	28	20	14	61
Unemployment	25	19	14	59
Cuts in spending on public services	17	16	13	46
Immigration	9	6	9	24
Opportunities for young people	5	8	9	22
Pressure on health services	3	6	9	18
Crime and disorder	3	5	7	16
Care for the elderly	2	4	6	13
Mortgage or rent payments	1	4	4	10
Population growth	2	2	3	7
Terrorist attacks	1	2	2	5
Racial or religious unrest	1	2	2	5
Environmental concerns	*	1	2	3
Don't know / Not stated (2nd, 3rd rank)	3	3	5	3

In the current economic situation, unemployment is particularly high among young people. Taking everything into account, who do you think is most to blame for the high numbers of young people being out of work?

Please select up to 3 items from this list and rank them in order (1st, 2nd and 3rd), with 1st being most to blame. (Ordered by 'Ranked in Top 3')

	RANKED 1ST	RANKED 2ND	RANKED 3RD	RANKED IN TOP 3
%				
The state of the global economy	19	15	14	48
Businesses that won't provide apprenticeships and training for young people	12	15	13	39
The present British coalition government	17	9	6	33
Migrant workers	10	9	13	32
Young people themselves	5	11	14	30
The banking industry	10	9	9	28
The last British Labour government	12	9	6	27
Britain's education system	7	9	9	25
Decision makers in the EU and Eurozone	3	7	7	17
Parents	3	3	3	9
Don't know / Not stated (2 <sup>nd</sup> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> rank)	3	4	5	3

Some people are particularly worried about the effect of the current economic situation on the prospects of young people, particularly those aged 18-24. What do you think the government's main priority should be in dealing with the effects of the economic situation on young people?

The government should...

	%
Make sure there is a job or work programme available for all young people aged 18-24, for example by passing laws to make this happen	30
Financially encourage employers to provide jobs or work programmes for all young people aged 18-24, for example by offering tax breaks	38
Treat everybody's job opportunities the same regardless of their age	29
Don't know	4

Britain is to host several sporting and cultural events in 2012, including the 2012 Olympics and the Queen's Diamond Jubilee.

What effect, if any, do you think the 2012 Olympics will have on...?

	(A) THE MOOD OF THE BRITISH PUBLIC	(B) THE WAY BRITAIN IS VIEWED BY THE REST OF THE WORLD
%		
Very positive effect	22	23
Slightly positive effect	42	40
No effect either way	24	26
Slightly negative effect	8	5
Very negative effect	3	2
Don't know	2	3
Positive	<b>64</b>	<b>64</b>
Negative	<b>11</b>	<b>8</b>
Net effect	+53	+56

What effect, if any, do you think the Queen's Diamond Jubilee will have on...?

	(A) THE MOOD OF THE BRITISH PUBLIC	(B) THE WAY BRITAIN IS VIEWED BY THE REST OF THE WORLD
%		
Very positive effect	24	25
Slightly positive effect	44	35
No effect either way	23	32
Slightly negative effect	5	3
Very negative effect	3	2
Don't know	2	2
Positive	<b>68</b>	<b>60</b>
Negative	<b>7</b>	<b>6</b>
Net effect	<b>+61</b>	<b>+55</b>

As someone living in Britain, which of the following do you feel when you look ahead to a year that includes the 2012 Olympics in Britain and the Queen's Diamond Jubilee?

For each of the following, please indicate which of the emotions best describes how you feel by dragging the marker left or right towards the emotion.

	←—————→								DON'T KNOW	NET %	MEAN SCORE
	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3				
	%										
(A) Proud	7	11	21	20	21	11	8	Embarrassed	1	*	-0.03
(B) Excited	8	10	23	17	23	11	7	Bored	2	+1	+0.03
(C) That we're spending money on the right things	9	8	20	15	25	13	8	That we're wasting money	2	-9	-0.12
(D) Confident that everything will go well	5	10	26	18	23	10	6	Worried that things will go wrong	2	+1	-0.01

The Olympics was last held in Britain in 1948. From what you know or have heard, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the way Britain has changed since 1948?

	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW	AGREE	DISAGREE	NET AGREEMENT
	%								
(A) Britain is now a more polite place	2	5	17	39	35	2	7	74	-67
(B) Relations between different ethnic groups are better now	8	36	25	20	9	2	44	29	+15
(C) People are just as proud to be British now as they were then	6	18	22	37	15	2	24	52	-27
(D) Britain is a more classless society now than it was	6	30	22	25	15	2	37	40	-3
(E) Women have more choices now than they did	42	47	7	3	1	1	88	4	+85
(F) People in Britain are now less discriminatory of people who are gay	24	49	15	9	3	1	72	11	+61
(G) British people are better at parenting now	2	10	29	31	25	3	12	56	-44
(H) Britain is a less religious place now	29	43	13	8	5	2	72	13	+59

As you may know, there is going to be a referendum in Scotland in the next few years, which could lead to a change in the way Scotland is governed. One possibility from the referendum is that Scotland may become a fully independent country.

Which of the following comes closest to your view?

	%
I would prefer Scotland to leave the UK and be a fully independent country	27
I would prefer Scotland to stay as part of the UK	48
Don't know	25

Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland have had their own parliament or assembly for some years. Members vote on some issues that affect only their respective countries, for example, on issues about health and education. Issues affecting England can be voted on by all MPs sitting in Westminster. This means that English, Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish MPs can vote on issues that are only of relevance to England.

Which one of the following do you think should happen?

	%
We should keep things as they are	22
We should set up a new English Parliament to decide on England-only issues	51
We should do away with the Scottish, Welsh and Northern Ireland Parliaments and make all decisions in the UK Parliament at Westminster	14
Don't know	13

How strongly do you feel you belong to...?

	(A) YOUR NEIGHBOURHOOD	(B) YOUR HOME TOWN	(C) ENGLAND Base: All living in England (1,722)	(C) WALES Base: All living in Wales (101)	(C) SCOTLAND Base: All living in Scotland (497)	(D) BRITAIN
	%					
Very strongly	13	15	28	36	52	23
Fairly strongly	45	46	44	47	31	43
Not very strongly	30	26	20	15	11	23
Not at all strongly	11	11	7	2	6	10
Don't know	1	1	1	1	*	1
Strongly	57	61	72	83	82	66
Not strongly	41	37	27	16	18	33
Net belonging	+16	+24	+45	+67	+65	+33



## Roughly how many years have you lived in this neighbourhood?

	%
Less than 1 year	3
1 year or more, but less than 2 years	4
2 years or more, but less than 5 years	12
5 years or more, but less than 10 years	18
10 years or more	46
All my life, I was born here	16
Don't know	*

## How long did it take for you to feel a part of your neighbourhood?

Base: All who do not live in the same neighbourhood they were born in (1,976)

	%
It happened immediately	19
Up to 1 year	19
More than 1 but less than 3 years	18
More than 3 years but less than 5 years	10
More than 5 year but less than 10 years	6
More than 10 years	2
I don't feel a part of my neighbourhood	19
Don't know	7

## How long do you think it takes before people in your neighbourhood consider new people who have moved there to be 'one of them'?

	%
It happens immediately	11
Up to 1 year	19
More than 1 year, up to 3 years	17
More than 3 years, up to 5 years	10
More than 5 year, up to 10 years	6
More than 10 years	5
It never happens	12
Don't know	19

## In areas of Britain where there are substantial numbers of people from more than one ethnic background, do you think the government should...?

	%
Accept parents' choices even if this results in schools with pupils all of the same ethnic background	18
Encourage mixed schools by engaging with parents (e.g. giving parents information about the benefits of going to mixed schools)	51
Make sure schools are mixed by setting laws over which school children go to (e.g. forcing schools to make sure their pupils reflect the different ethnic backgrounds in the local area)	17
Don't know	13

## Many people come to live in Britain. What effect, if any, would you say people born outside the UK who have moved to Britain have had upon the following?

	VERY POSITIVE EFFECT	SLIGHTLY POSITIVE EFFECT	NO EFFECT EITHER WAY	SLIGHTLY NEGATIVE EFFECT	VERY NEGATIVE EFFECT	DON'T KNOW	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	NET EFFECT
%									
(A) Premier league football	14	24	33	7	5	16	38	13	+25
(B) Levels of crime and disorder	4	6	27	32	26	5	10	58	-48
(C) Schools	5	15	28	29	16	7	20	45	-25
(D) Food and restaurants	28	40	20	5	3	4	68	8	+60
(E) The NHS	13	19	18	24	22	5	32	45	-14
(F) Entrepreneurs / business starters	10	37	34	6	4	9	47	11	+36
(G) Art and literature	8	24	51	3	3	11	32	6	+26
(H) Television, radio and newspapers	6	19	53	10	4	8	25	14	+10
(I) Availability of housing	4	4	18	36	33	5	9	69	-60
(J) Film and music	10	26	48	4	2	9	36	7	+29
(K) Fashion and design	8	26	48	4	3	12	34	7	+27
(L) Availability of jobs	4	6	20	35	32	3	10	66	-56

## Which one of the following statements, if any, comes closest to your view?

	%
Immigration to Britain will damage economic recovery by taking away jobs from people already living here	55
Immigration to Britain will make no difference to Britain's economic recovery	12
Immigrants' skills and labour are necessary to help Britain's economic recovery	24
Don't know	9

## Roughly, what percentage of the UK population do you think...?

	(A) WAS NOT BORN IN THE UK BUT LIVES HERE NOW	(B) CAME HERE FROM ANOTHER COUNTRY AND HAVE BEEN GRANTED ASYLUM
%		
1% or less	1	14
From 2% to 4%	4	13
From 5% to 7%	9	12
From 8% to 10%	12	11
From 11% to 15%	13	8
From 16% to 20%	12	7
From 21% to 25%	8	5
From 26% to 30%	7	5
From 31% to 35%	5	2
From 36% to 40%	5	3
From 41% to 45%	4	1
From 46% to 50%	3	3
51% or more	7	5
Don't know	10	11

Of the following people who live in Britain but were born outside of the UK, which one of them would you say has made the biggest positive contribution to Britain?

	%
Trevor McDonald (broadcaster and journalist)	19
Prince Philip (consort to the Queen)	19
Terry Wogan (radio and television broadcaster)	12
James Caan (entrepreneur, Dragon's Den)	7
Rolf Harris (artist and entertainer)	7
Germaine Greer (author and academic)	3
Kylie Minogue (singer)	3
Tessa Sanderson (athlete and charity fundraiser)	2
Rageh Omaar (journalist and writer)	2
Roman Abramovic (Chelsea FC owner and businessman)	1
Mo Farah (athlete)	1
Raymond Blanc (chef)	1
John Barnes (footballer)	1
Ulrika Jonsson (presenter and author)	*
Don't know	22

Which of the following two statements comes nearest to expressing your views?

	%
People from abroad who settle in Britain should support our sporting teams, even when they are competing against the countries they came from, to show that they want to fit in here	15
People from abroad who settle in Britain should be able to choose to support the sporting teams of the countries they came from, even against British teams, without people saying this shows they aren't willing to fit in here	60
Neither	26

And which of the following two statements comes nearest to expressing your views?

When people from abroad who settle in Britain then have children in Britain...

	%
... these children should support our sporting teams, even when they are competing against the countries their parents came from, to show that they fit in here	23
... these children should be able to choose to support the sporting teams of the countries their parents came from, even against British teams, without people saying this shows they don't fit in here	50
Neither	28

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**Samira Ahmed**, journalist, visiting lecturer at Kingston University and former Channel 4 presenter.

**Ian Birrell**, freelance journalist; former deputy editor of *The Independent*; election speechwriter to David Cameron.

**David Isaac**, partner, Pinsent Masons; chair, Stonewall; trustee, Diana Princess of Wales Memorial Fund.

**Alasdair Murray**, senior adviser, Quiller Consultants; former director of CentreForum.

**Shamit Saggat**, professor of political science at the University of Sussex since 2004; chairman of the Legal Complaints Service of the Law Society 2005-11.

**Ayesha Saran**, migration & Europe programme manager, Barrow Cadbury Trust.

**Enver Solomon**, director of policy and public affairs, The Children's Society; chair, board of trustees, Asylum Aid.

# British Future...

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