

2013

STATE OF THE NATION

Where is bittersweet
Britain heading?

British
Future...

British Future...

A dark blue graphic element consisting of a vertical line on the left and a horizontal line at the bottom, meeting at a right angle, with a slight diagonal cut at the bottom right corner.

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.

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

That anxious, awkward stage?

Net optimism:

you and your family

2013: **+33%**
2012: **+26%**

Britain

2013: **-26%**
2012: **-51%**

As 2013 starts Britons show a glimmer of hope about the future, but will it hold out, asks Rachael Jolley

At the stroke of midnight on 1 January, the 21st century became a teenager. 2013 is not going to be the easiest year to celebrate in Britain; it might not enjoy the massive, communal, heart-warming moments that its predecessor had. It might, like an awkward teenager, be a year far harder to love.

Like any adolescent, 2013 Britain is going to be tugged in different directions by those who think they know best about the future. Those to the fore are: the different lobbies on the British relationship with the European Union; those on different sides on whether we need a slimmed down public sector; as well as forces lobbying for and against Scottish independence; those in favour of the government's current immigration cap and those that aren't; and those arguing that the "shirkers" have it easy and the workers need more support.

But despite the less glamorous image of the year ahead, Britons feel a touch more positive about their families and the places where they live at the start of 2013, compared with the same moment last year. We are even a little bit less pessimistic about the British economy than we were in New Year 2012.

And when it comes to future-gazing, nearly half of parents think the quality of life

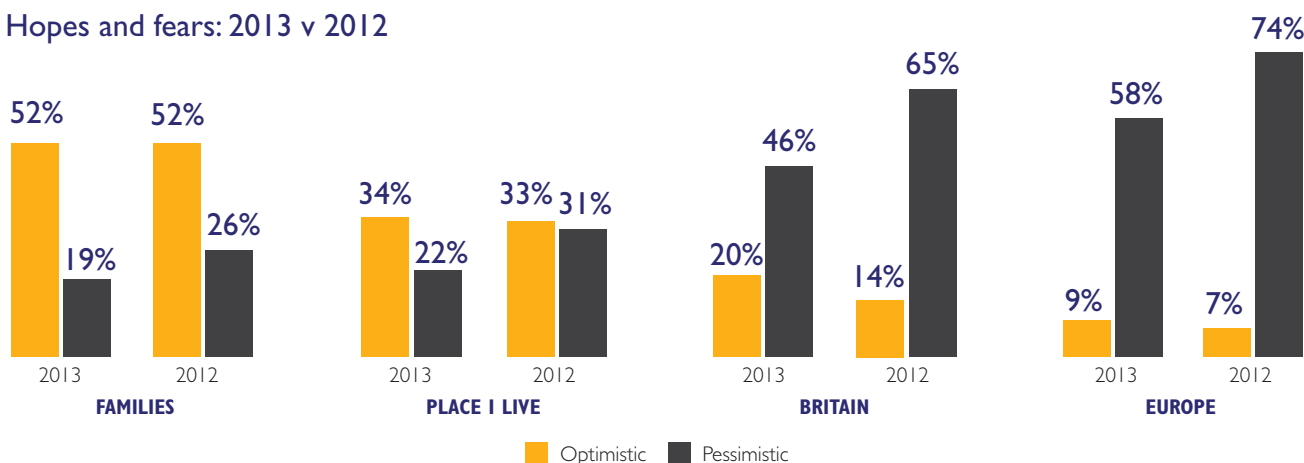
of their children will be better, or similar to, their own, in spite of the struggle many young people are encountering with entering the jobs market. On the other hand, a quarter think their children are going to take a shift down.

Even in tough times Britons in 2013 share a deep national pride, feeling strongly that they would "rather be a citizen of Britain than any other country in the world"

Previous research for British Future found that people who had a stronger connection to their community – England, Scotland, Wales as well as Britain – were more likely to feel optimistic, than those who did not. And this report discovered that those who had moved to Britain were most optimistic of all.

Even in tough times Britons in 2013 share a deep national pride, feeling strongly that they would "rather be a citizen of Britain than any

Hopes and fears: 2013 v 2012



3%
said 40th
anniversary of
Britain joining
the European
Community
made them
proudest to
be British

other country in the world". The nation we have a pride in values free speech for everyone, even if you don't agree with them, as the most important quality of being British, according to an Ipsos MORI poll of 16 to 75 year olds for this report, with respect for the law and speaking English the next highest values.

Our pride also stretches to our national institutions (the NHS, the armed forces, and Team GB polled as the top three). There is something else about these institutions that makes them special; they all represent modern Britain, and what we look and feel like today. Not only do they serve the country in diverse ways, they are made up of people from every corner of Britain, of different backgrounds, accents and ethnicities, and we see them, all three, as emblems of Britain at its best.

While we might be proud of some of our national institutions, we are critical of what hasn't changed

What we learnt last year was that a special occasion has the power to do more than just get us all watching television. Of all 2013's coming anniversaries – from the 150th of the opening of the London Underground, to the 50th of Dr Who, and the 60th of DNA's structure – the one that stands out to more of us than anything else is the 65th birthday of the NHS. The creation of the NHS changed Britain, by sweeping away systems that meant medical care was obtainable only by those who had money, and improved the lives of millions. The specialness of that sea-change moment appears to have stayed with us, making it the 2013 anniversary most likely to make us proudest to be British. The NHS with its offshoots and emergency rooms in every part of the country appears to have a special status, with 54% naming it the anniversary they most want to celebrate, while the one that polled the worst, at just 3%, was the 40th anniversary of Britain joining the EC.

But while we might be proud of some of our national institutions, we are critical of what hasn't changed. 100 years ago Britain's elite jobs were dominated by privately educated men. A century later education at a private school and being a man are still seen as

unfairly boosting chances of success. After a 12-month that contained plenty of headlines about old Etonian culture in the Cabinet, the perception that the old school tie still strangles opportunity might not cause a shock wave, but the real surprise is that gender divide is felt to be almost as significant in determining chances in life. Only 10% disagreed with the statement that you were much more likely to get to the top if you had been to a private school, and a similar statement about being a man giving you a boost, also drew just 10% disagreement. With just two women currently running FTSE 100 firms, and with 79 firms in the FTSE 250 which have male-only boards, it doesn't feel like the old male-dominated world has shifted as far as we expected it would have. We are hardly sending a confident signal to teenagers about their chances being fair and equal, if they put in the graft.

100 years ago, commentators might have thought that endless discussions about class would have disappeared by now. But in our Downton-obsessed world, the conundrum of if and when class matters continues to fascinate. Our poll shows that among the richest in society – the ABs to use the social scientists' classification – no fewer than a third choose to consider themselves working rather than middle class in 2013. While their grandparents might have felt that moving from working to middle class was a mountain worth climbing, there are those in Britain 2013 who feel that working class is the trendiest, most prestigious slot to choose. A class reversal of a kind.

Another great debate of the age is whether the 1707 Act of Union is about to be untied, and Britain will divide. But we can still find ties that bind, and connect, whatever the result. Even if Scotland becomes an independent nation at some point, the majority in the rest of the Britain (64%) feels it will never see the Scots as foreign, while the majority of the Scots (61%) say that whatever happens they will always feel British because of our shared geography, history and culture.

So the question for our century's first teenage year is whether it ushers in the kind of adolescence that remains sunk in gloom and introspection or the sort that prepares for a tough but healthy and creative future.

*Rachael Jolley is editorial director at
British Future*

The year ahead, our vision of 2013

Looking at 2013, three writers discuss what they see as the biggest challenges ahead for British society

► **It's the economy, mainly**

2012 put Britain under the spotlight as never before. The nation came together to celebrate the Diamond Jubilee and host the Olympic and Paralympic Games, but still faces deep economic, social and political challenges, says BEN PAGE.

Looking forward to how these might shape 2013, we cannot ignore the predominance of the economy – as Ipsos MORI's monthly Issues Index makes abundantly clear. This is by no means an abstract, technocratic concern – people are telling us that they are anxious about the real impact of the economic situation on their daily lives. And even on this key issue, we can see differences in how it is impacting British citizens – we have lost the sense (insofar as we ever had it) that we are “all in this together”. Women, for example, are especially concerned about being able to pay the bills, while social class plays a big part in framing people's views of the downturn. The middle classes are more likely to say they are worried about the economic situation per se, while the working classes highlight the difficulties of living life at the sharp end – being relatively more concerned

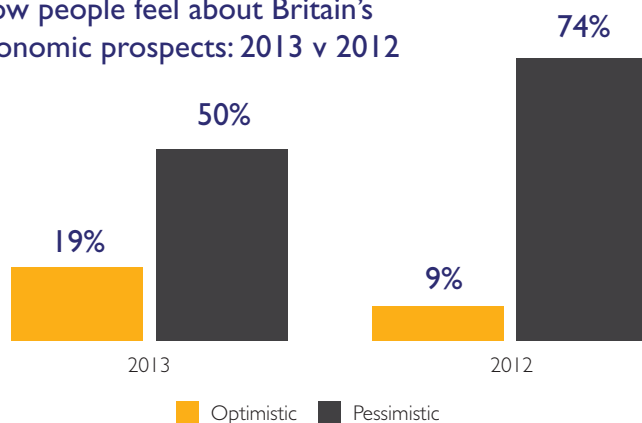
about unemployment (especially younger C2DEs), low pay and price rises.

Reviving economic growth is the Government's number one priority, but the resulting imperative to gain control of the public finances has brought with it public sector cuts, as any public sector employee will affirm. Again looking forward to 2013, our research suggests the impact of this may be at a tipping point. Despite all the cutbacks so far, satisfaction with some key services is just holding up. Yet while one in three say they have not been affected much by cuts so far, three in five are concerned about the effects on their family in the next year. The outlook for many feels bleak – perhaps not surprising when the Institute of Fiscal Studies is warning that austerity could now last until 2018.

And of course this is not the only issue. Three in four think Britain is in a housing crisis, and this issue is climbing up the agenda. Housing is important because it is strongly linked to the wider economy, society and its aspirations. The cost of housing also plays a central role in any household's finances; household wealth and debt is very often wrapped up in property. And we find that Britons' attachment to home ownership remains as steadfast as ever. All age groups, whatever their tenure, still describe buying rather than renting as their ideal.

Nevertheless, this very unanimity could point to problems ahead. Younger people (who want to get on the property ladder) want to see falls in property prices while the middle-aged (of course, more likely to be owners) want to see price rises. There's widespread agreement that it's harder for younger people to make a life for themselves than it used to be, but people are much less convinced that older people should make sacrifices to help them (including amongst younger people themselves, it must be said).

How people feel about Britain's economic prospects: 2013 v 2012



But that makes it much harder to bridge the gap between the generations.

Despite growing concerns of generational conflict, the biggest cause of tension in Britain is still perceived to be immigration (although it is interesting to see tension between tax payers and welfare claimants, rich and poor, and tax payers and tax avoiders come next on the list). Globally, European countries stand out as having a negative attitude towards immigration (and Britain especially so), and this appears to be linked to economic stagnation, high unemployment and public-sector cuts providing a framework in which immigrants are likely to be seen as a drain on limited resources and a threat to limited opportunities.

Younger people want to see falls in property prices while the middle-aged want to see price rises

Even more than for British-born citizens, Britons make a real distinction between “contributing” migrants who work and pay taxes here, compared to those who are not in work, which could be exacerbated as economic difficulties continue. At the same time, our conception of the underlying values of what it means to be British remains constant: respect for the law, freedom of speech, speaking English, respect for others whatever their sex, race or religion.

And, for all that we recognise that our society has many divisions, inequalities, drinks too much – perhaps is even broken? – when we look at ourselves we can find things to take pride in. This may be our great institutions, our past scientific, industrial or cultural achievements or even our sense of humour. 2012 has highlighted many of these as rarely before.

Two icons of British society – the monarchy and the NHS – go into 2013 as central to national pride as they have ever been. The Diamond Jubilee has left satisfaction with the royal family at a record high. Meanwhile the NHS played a key part in the Olympics opening ceremony that – to many people’s surprise – left them feeling here was a Britain that could confidently combine the best aspects of its traditional and modern culture.

It would be foolish to expect that an Olympic feel good factor can completely overcome people’s worries about the challenges facing Britain, especially given the gloomy economic backdrop. However, 2012 started a conversation about what it means to be British in the modern world, and not all the answers were bad. One of the aspects of Britishness that many of us do recognise is that we complain too much, focus on the negative, and do not talk enough about our achievements, so the first barrier to overcome may be simply keeping that conversation going.

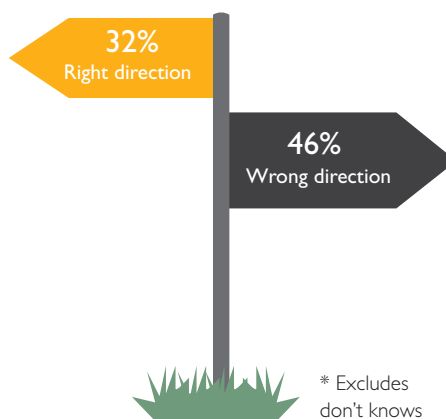
Ben Page is the chief executive of Ipsos MORI

Britain will be weaker in years to come

69%
Northeast

48%
Southeast

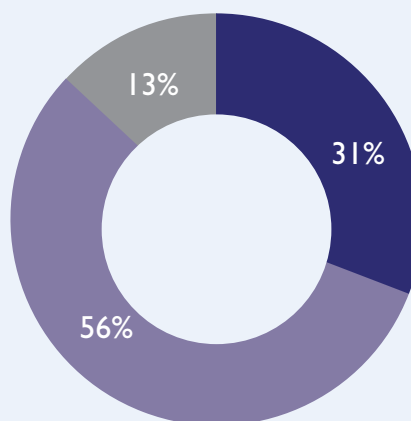
Direction Britain is heading in



Lasting damage?

Thinking about the economic downturn, do you think:

- Britain will be stronger when it gets through it
- Britain will be weaker because of it for years to come
- Don't know



► Disengaged, disenfranchised and in despair

As 2012 draws to a close democracy is in trouble. Like buses, big crises tend to come along in bunches, argues TIM CROSS.

Abroad, whilst Europe's inability to face up to the stark reality of the deep and enduring economic crises can only see social unrest and extremism worsening, Iran's nuclear programme could be the touch paper to ignite the Middle East powder keg. In the worst case military conflict converging with the crises in Syria and Egypt would produce some dreadful combined impacts, both across the globe and here in the UK. Both slow-burning fuses are potentially game changing.

Back at home more members of our society feel disengaged and disenfranchised, and more are in despair and potentially disloyal than for a very long time. Government is seizing up, distracted by issues of little or no concern or relevance to the vast majority. There is an ever widening gap between leaders and led; and large numbers – one might say a majority – of the UK feel increasingly betrayed.

At its heart is the need for morally courageous leadership

The government is right to seek to reset the balance between state, society and citizen. It did not get off to a good start – the 'Big

Society' was poorly presented and driven – but 2013 gives us all an opportunity to re-think. The arithmetic and economics tell us we cannot carry on as if it will all be fine in the end – continuing deficits and an ever increasing debt burden require not just better governance, but significantly more active citizenship and non-state provision.

At its heart is the need for morally courageous leadership, not just in politics but in the business/economic and broader social world. We should take note when eminent voices – Jonathan Sacks, Prince Hassan and Baroness Warsi amongst others – urge us to rediscover ourselves and get a grip. The cohesion of our society is the centre of gravity of our security, prosperity and long-term wellbeing. This is a much bigger "Heseltine to Liverpool" moment; we need to turn things around urgently.

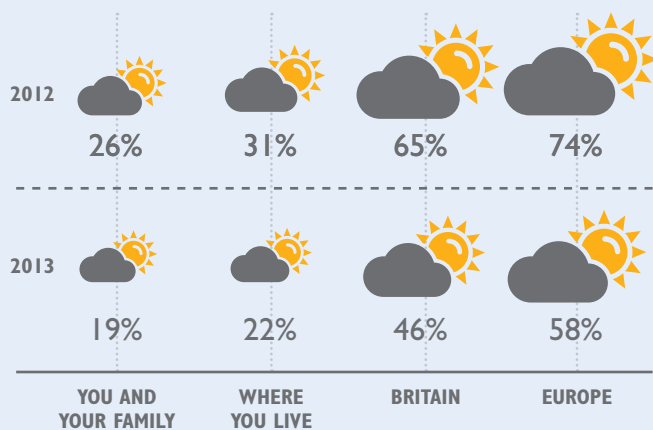
The government must become much more strategic. It clearly does not currently understand or do strategy – witness some arrogant and flawed evidence to the Public Administration Select Committee enquiry on National Security Strategy. It needs to do much more than set deficit reduction and manage all other business on the basis of each department's current "worry and do" lists; this is no substitute for tying together all major national activity within an approach that focuses on the long-term and the most important issues. Whitehall is repeatedly caught out by avoidable disaster; it should consider how Finland, Canada, Singapore and others have benefited by being much more strategically savvy. A senior cabinet minister, freed from departmental responsibilities owning the collective and long-term national interests, must be appointed as a 'go anywhere ask any question' independent stress-tester – someone with clout to drive the myriad initiatives and overcome the usual obstructions.

Secondly, we citizens must play our part. Democracy is not just about politicians – it is about us, the people; and we must engage. We can do vast amounts by giving just a few hours of voluntary service each month. That means everyone becoming actively engaged. Our future security and prosperity is at stake. It is time to bring on the coalition in waiting.

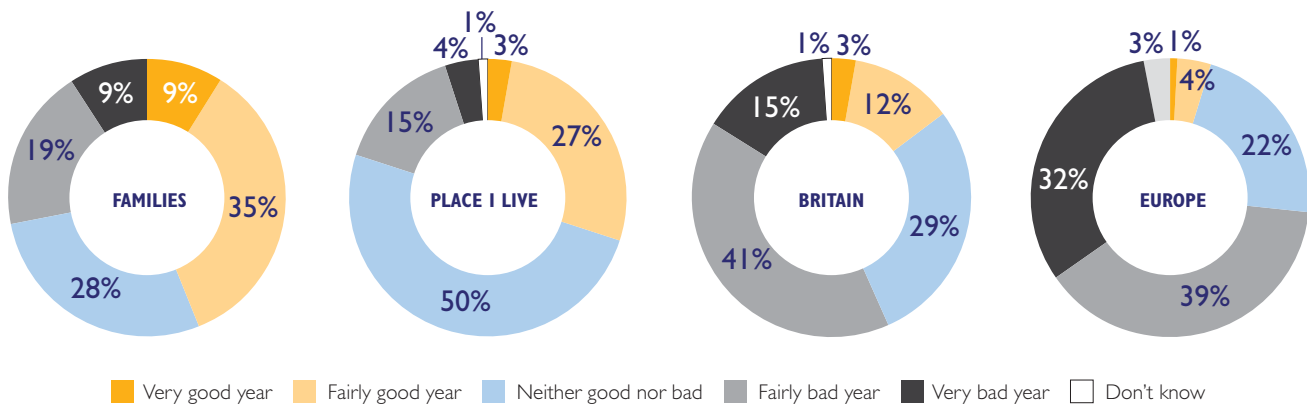
Major General Tim Cross, CBE, is a retired British Army officer. His last command was as General Officer Commanding Theatre Troops, Iraq, and is an advisor with NHJ Strategic Consulting

Seeing light on the horizon

Britons are little bit less pessimistic than they were last year



How good or bad was 2012 for...



► One Nation? Not Really

You can measure the extent to which Britain is no longer one nation by the frequency with which leading politicians call for a “return” to “One Nation” policies, argues ALEX MASSIE.

This autumn Ed Miliband and David Cameron were each at it. The Labour leader’s attempt to pinch a line from Benjamin Disraeli was mildly audacious but not, in the end, any more convincing than the Prime Minister’s own attempts to place himself squarely in that Tory tradition.

In some respects, Britain’s divides are just as stark as those American regional differences now made famous by the ubiquitous red-state, blue-state maps representing the results of Presidential elections. Southern England is a swathe of blue; northern England largely dominated by red. Neither Labour nor the Conservatives are, at least in terms of the seats they actually win, a truly national party. Scotland, of course, remains a place apart. And so does London which increasingly resembles an independent city state subject to its own laws, customs and culture.

Viewed from north of the Tweed, it is striking to observe how divided England has become. We think too often of Scotland and England and Wales and Northern Ireland, treating these four constituent parts of the United Kingdom as wholly separate, homogenous entities. Yet the census reminds us that the biggest differences of all may lie within England itself. But who speaks for England? And what is England’s story anyway? Where does her identity, her future, lie?

Consider London and the north-east. Notionally these share a country; in practical terms they are estranged and, increasingly,

scarcely recognisable as parts of the same nation. London, buzzing, polychromatic, multilingual, global; the north-east, white, stagnant, left behind. This is not a question of saluting diversity for the sake of diversity, merely an observation that London and Tyneside no longer think of themselves as being part of quite the same country.

This is evident in the previous British Future research. Asked to describe their nationality, some 80% of people in the north-east declared themselves “English”; only 45% of those in London did so. Only one in four north-easters said they were also “British”; nearly 40% of Londoners pledged themselves to Britannia. These are peoples who, increasingly, do not even agree on which country they inhabit.

From this, I think it possible to divine some broad trends. English is increasingly, I suspect, treated as an indicator of white; British as a sign pointing to a multi-ethnic Britain. If this is not new it is a distinction that appears to have sharpened in the last decade.

But London and the north diverge in other ways too. The pace of education reform is much faster in London than in the north of England. The Academy programme begun by Labour and Michael Gove’s Free Schools have had a greater impact in the capital than elsewhere. The result has been that children from poor backgrounds in London now perform much better than their peers in northern England. There is an “under-achievement” belt that stretches from Liverpool to Hull. If this persists the north-south divide, already perilously wide, can only lead to the further estrangement of north and south.

One Nation? If only.

Alex Massie is a freelance journalist

Britain will be stronger in years to come

39%
Southeast

23%
Northeast

Newcomers to Britain are more hopeful about economic recovery than those born here

Immigrants may see our enduring strengths more clearly
says Ian Birrell

It is always hard to determine the precise state of any nation, since it is difficult to see currents flowing fast through a society, especially at times like these of great change. Yet one of the many striking features about Britain's amazing year in 2012 was the way in which we took a look at ourselves and decided we rather liked what we saw. Amid the cheers and flag-waving was recognition that a rapid evolution had been handled rather well.

Nowhere was this quiet pride in a new-look nation more marked than among ethnic minorities. At the Olympics, it was not just expressed by medal-winning athletes but by the army of 70,000 volunteers, a high proportion of whom had immigrant backgrounds. "I felt it was my chance to give something back, to extend the welcome that I'd had to other people," one Ugandan-born usher told *The Observer*.

This was vivid illustration of a little-noticed facet of immigration: how incomers can end up having greater affection for their new home than those whose families have lived here for centuries. Previous opinion polls have found, for instance, the most patriotic people on these islands are the Muslim communities from Pakistan and Bangladesh, which surprises many when you point it out.

Now we see this optimism expressed in British Future's new poll. It finds significantly more confidence among immigrants gazing into crystal balls than among others more ground down by economic gloom. They are only slightly more positive about prospects for their own families and hometowns. The big difference comes when asked whether this country is on the right track or, most conclusively, how they feel about 2013 in Britain; those born outside the United Kingdom are an astonishing two and a half times more optimistic.

Why is this? It is hard to have a definitive answer. Perhaps our historic freedoms mean more when you have risked your life to come here from a birthplace ripped apart by war. Perhaps

our economic woes are put in perspective when brought up in a land scarred by extreme poverty and you have bet your lifetime savings on a stake in Britain's future prosperity. Or perhaps it is simply that sometimes it takes a newcomer to see most clearly our enduring strengths.

Yet integration is a two-way process. Amid the froth and fury of the immigration debate, it is important people understand this tide of patriotic fervour is waiting to be unleashed. We need to find as many ways possible to tap into it. Banish the hostile tone of so much discussion of immigration and integration; replace it with recognition of that millions of people are desperate to play as big a part as possible in the nation's economic, social and cultural growth.

Perhaps our historic freedoms mean more when you have risked your life to come here from a birthplace ripped apart by war. Perhaps our economic woes are put in perspective when bought up in a land scarred by extreme poverty

Study after study has shown immigrants driven to amazing degrees of success. Britain is fortunate that its foreign-born population has a higher level of education than in almost any other leading nation. These newcomers are not only well-educated, but as this new State of the Nation poll exposes, profoundly patriotic and positive about our island land. We should share their optimism and welcome their participatory desire to build a better future.

Ian Birrell is a journalist and former speechwriter to the Prime Minister

Born in UK

Born outside UK

Would you say things in Britain are heading in the right direction or off on the wrong track?

31%



Right direction

47%



Wrong track



40%



35%

How do you feel about 2013 for Britain?

19%



Optimistic

47%



Pessimistic



35%



33%

How do you feel about 2013 for Britain's economic prospects?

18%



Optimistic

52%



Pessimistic



30%



34%

How do you feel about 2013 for you and your family?

51%



Optimistic

19%



Pessimistic



59%



21%

How do you feel about 2013 for the town or village where you live?

33%



Optimistic

22%



Pessimistic



38%



22%

What's driving immigration concern?

Readers of tabloid and mid-market newspapers were more likely to cite immigration as their top source of local and national tensions than broadsheet readers

LOCAL TENSION

13%
Broadsheet

22%
Midmarket

25%
Tabloid

NATIONAL TENSION

22%
Broadsheet

35%
Midmarket

35%
Tabloid

(% of those who ranked immigration as number one concern)

Don't dismiss people's worries even if their local experience of immigrants is limited says Sunder Katwala

People worry more about immigration as a national than local issue. In the State of the Nation poll for this report, 19% choose it as a top local concern, while 30% placed immigration first when thinking about tensions facing British society as a whole.

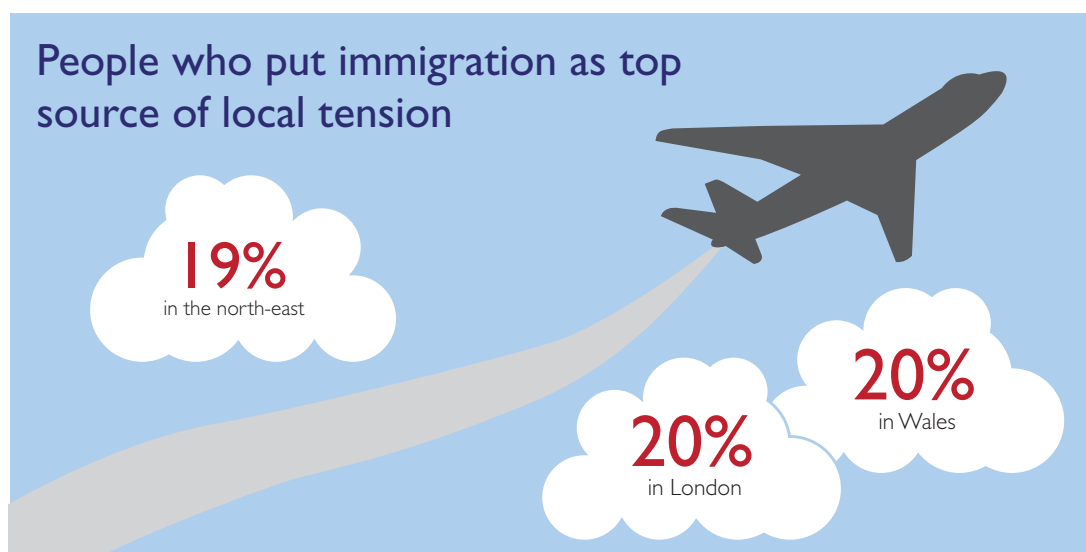
The point is underlined by how little the distribution of concerns about immigration as a local issue reflects the distribution of immigrants across Britain. Immigration was a top source of local tension for 19% of people in the north-east and 20% in Wales – where the 2011 census shows one in twenty people were born abroad – and for 20% of Londoners, where immigrants make up more than one in three of the population. There was distinctively more concern about local tensions in the east of England (31%; 11% foreign-born) but similar immigration levels evoked less concern in the south-east (17%) and West Midlands (24%). There was a remarkably similar pattern of attitudes across the country, with immigration cited as a top concern by between 17% and 20% in six of the nine English regions, though concern was lower in the south-west (8%).

Immigration levels differ rather more across the regions than immigration concerns do.

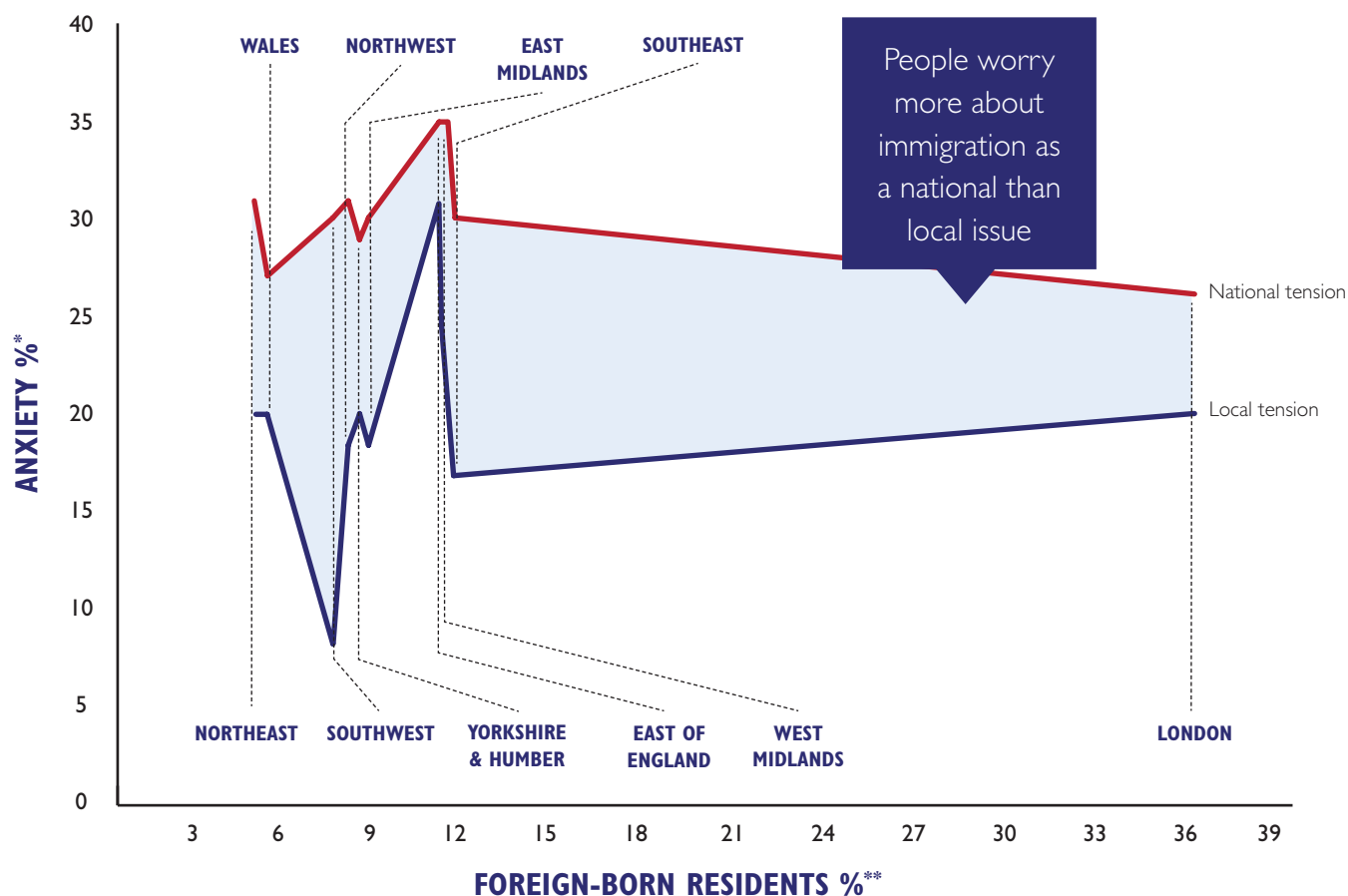
This suggests that there are limits to how far immigration anxiety can be addressed through a focus on practical responses to local pressures, such as on housing, schools and surgeries. Those responses matter in their own right; they may be an important antidote to prevent anxiety accelerating. But they may also often be the occasion as much as the cause of immigration anxieties.

The local-national gap may lead some to suggest that immigration anxiety is more about 'perception' than 'reality'. This does reflect the profile and dominance of negative narratives about migration in political and media discourse. Readers of tabloid (25% local; 35% national) and mid-market (22%/35%) newspapers were more likely to cite immigration as their top source of local and national tensions than broadsheet readers (13%/22%).

But it would be a mistake to regard "national" perceptions as imaginary and local perceptions as "real".



Comparing anxiety about immigration tensions with levels of immigration



Source: British Future/Ipsos MORI and Census 2011

* Anxiety is the % citing tensions between immigrants and the British-born as their number one national or local source of tension

** % of foreign-born residents in England and Wales, by region (2011 census)

Immigration anxiety involves a broadly equal mix of economic and cultural concerns. If a sense of national identity and social cohesion matters – and most people think that it does – then this, ultimately, is about a subjective perception of national well-being.

The regional pattern also suggests that immigration anxiety often reflects general economic insecurity more closely than the local scale of immigration. Immigration is more visible than changes in technology and trade – but suggesting the anxiety would be better relocated to broader globalising forces will not get anybody very far. Policy-makers, whose Treasury models show immigration contributing to growth and economic recovery, need to persuade a public which is sceptical about this. Broader agendas for growth, jobs and opportunity would do more than seeking to fact-check public perceptions

about correlations or causations between immigration and the availability of jobs. That will often be received as dismissing public concerns as wrong-headed, and that usually only persuades those already onside.

Concern about tensions between ethnic groups was lower, these were somewhat more likely to reflect the presence of ethnic diversity. Between 2% and 4% cited this as a top concern in the least diverse regions, the north-east, the south-west, Wales and Scotland. Concern about local ethnic tensions was higher in London than in the West Midlands or Yorkshire, with 12% of Londoners citing it as their top local concern and 35% of making it a top three concern in this poll.

“Third of top earners say they are working class”



Class is a subject that Britons famously discuss more than other nations. Who is middle class and what makes you working or middle class still bemuse and amuse commentators as well as the public themselves.

According to our polling 57% of the public consider themselves working class, and 36% consider themselves middle class..

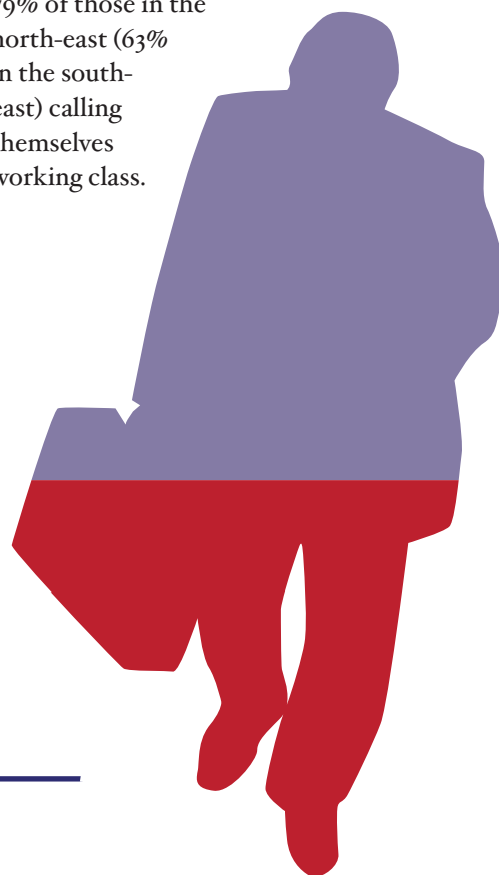
Wales and the north-east appear to have strongest working class culture

Of the highest earners in the land, those categorised as ABs, 33% say they are working class, while 46% of ABC1s also put themselves in the working class category. It begs the question: how do we classify class? Are people

judging themselves by their lifestyle, their ambition, their parents or just by the category they think is the most cool?

Wales and the north-east appear to have a strong working class culture, with 66% of Welsh people (57% in England, and 61% in Scotland) , and 79% of those in the north-east (63% in the south-east) calling themselves working class.

46% of ABC1s call themselves working class



“Being a man and going to private school still gives you boost up the ladder to success”

100 years after suffragette Emily Davidson threw herself to her death to get the vote, being a woman still holds you back much in your bid to be successful, say British people

Going to a private school and being a man give you big advantages in getting to the top in Britain, the public feels, even in 2013.

Our poll found 69% thought you were much more likely to get the top in Britain if you went to private school, while 64% felt being male meant you were much more likely to have an advantage.

Those with higher levels of education, were more likely (72%) than those with no formal education (64%) to feel that a private education helped boost your chances of getting to the top in 2013 Britain



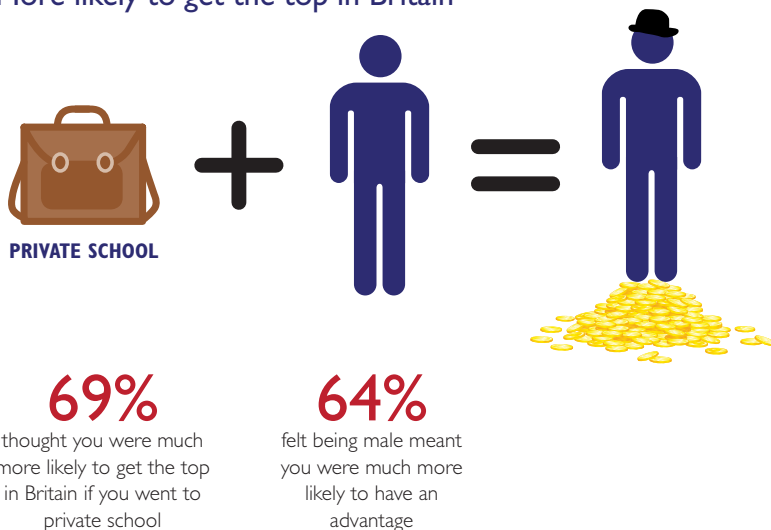
Being white was seen as a less influential factor than private education or gender on your ability to rise to a top job

According to our poll, those with higher levels of education, a degree or postgraduate degree, were more likely (72%) than those with no formal education (64%) to feel that a private education helped boost your

chances of getting to the top in 2013 Britain. Broadsheet newspapers readers were more likely (77%) to agree that a private school education helped you get to the top, than tabloid readers (64%). Those in the south east and West Midlands (66%) were less likely than those in Wales (72%) to think this was the case. Of those aged 55–75, 76% felt private school boosted your chances of getting to the top.

Being white was seen as a less influential factor than private education or gender on your ability to rise to a top job in today's society, with 39% agreeing that “you are much more likely to get to the top in this country if you are white”. Those aged 35–44 were most likely to agree (44%) and those aged 16–24 least likely (28%). High earning professionals, the AB group, were more likely (49%) to agree than those in the DE group, at 31%. But there was a major difference between ethnic groups, with 36% of white people agreeing, and 64% of black and Asians.

More likely to get the top in Britain



More likely to agree that a private school education helped you get to the top

77%
OF BROADSHEET
NEWSPAPER READERS

64%
OF TABLOID
READERS



Scots say they will always feel British whatever happens



PHOTO:
*The Scottish
Parliament*

British Future spoke with Scottish writer Hardeep Singh Kohli about why he feels the Scots will feel British even if the country gains independence and why he feels the big question is how the English will cope if the Union fragments



Hardeep Singh Kohli was born in London, and moved to Scotland, aged four. Having lived in London for two decades, he is moving back to Scotland, and will be a 2014 Commonwealth Games ambassador.

“Emotionally, I am Scottish. I support independence. That doesn’t mean I want border points at Gretna Green or want to treat the English as foreigners. I think there is a new political dawn in Scottish now; after 13 years of devolution, most impartial observers would applaud Scotland on the maturity of its democracy and political system.

“You can’t undo 300 years of the history, just as you couldn’t undo 1500 years of Scotland through the Union. Scotland has survived within the Union, with its own legal system, cultural values and football team.

That runs both ways. We have to accept the fact that the notion of Britain would remain in people’s heads and, to some extent, in their hearts too. It would be revisionist of Stalinist proportions to seek to rewrite the last 300 years of history. We have been part of a United Kingdom, for better or worse. We have had shared experiences. For people on the left-of-centre, for example, we suffered

together under Thatcherism. That binds people together too.

People need to stop being so hung up on the knee-jerk emotional responses to the Union. This isn’t about hating England or simply flying a Saltire. That would be infantile. Our two nations are still locked together by land. First and foremost we are Scots. Yet we would still be British, it may be British with a small rather than a large B.

I was born in London; I first moved to Scotland when I was four. I have lived and worked among the English for the last two decades, though I am moving back now. But, for me, the duality of being British and being Scottish is much less of a problem for the Scots as for the English. The words Scotland and Britain aren’t interchangeable for the vast majority of Scots. Those are two different things. The English will tend to use the two words as synonyms. My greatest concern is not Scotland after the union, but England. ‘Who is thinking about what will happen to England if the union no longer exists? No one.’

Hardeep Singh Kohli is a Scottish and British writer and broadcaster

► Scottish Independence

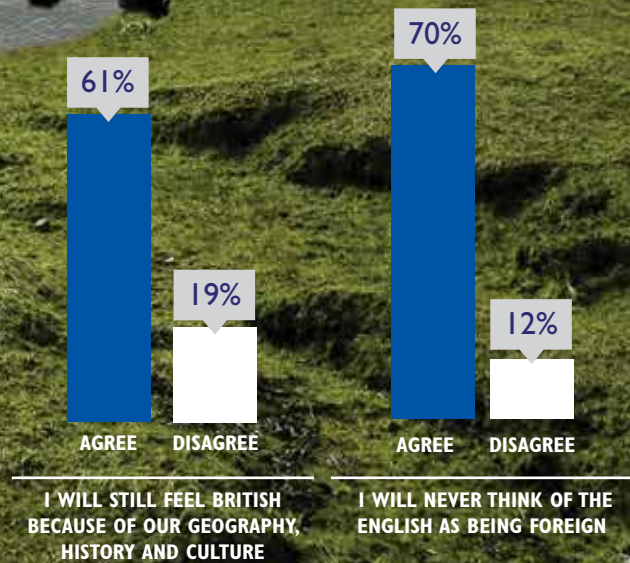
With the independence vote in Scotland 21 months away, Scots and the rest of Britain say the historic and geographic ties will mean they will always feel connected to each other whatever the result.

If Scotland becomes independent of the UK...

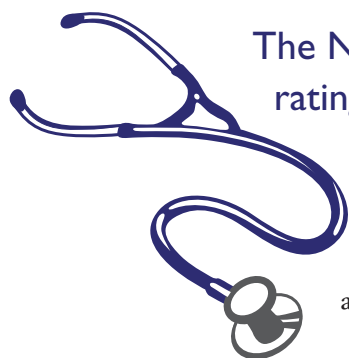
(% of all British respondents except Scottish)



(% of all Scottish respondents)



Public sees NHS as symbol of nation and anniversary to celebrate



The NHS will be 65 years old in July – and already the public is rating it as the anniversary they would most like to celebrate this year, says Alan Maryon-Davis

The NHS will be 65 years old this July – and already the celebrations are underway.

We love our NHS, despite its failings. We trust it, we depend on it and we know it will be there for us when we need it. We appreciate and respect its fundamental principles of fairness and universality – free to all at the point of use. And symbolically, we cherish it alongside the Army and the Royal Family as truly great British icons. The NHS is very much part of our nation's DNA.

Danny Boyle, in his brilliant opening ceremony for the 2012 London Olympics, memorably featured the NHS as a shining example of our national progress and prowess, alongside the Industrial Revolution, the suffragette movement and James Bond. But what is it about the NHS that makes it such a potent symbol of Britain? What does it say about who we are as a nation? How does it embody the essence of Britishness today?

To my mind, having spent over 40 years working for the NHS, as a hospital doctor, GP and public health specialist, seeing it from many angles and observing how it has adapted to the changing demands of patients and the vagaries of politics, the essence lies in its origins, its founding principles and its prevailing ethos of fair shares for all regardless of background or circumstances.

The birth of the NHS in 1948 was a major milestone in our history as a civilised socio-democratic society. It was a remarkable achievement born out of the social upheavals of the Second World War. The blueprint for the welfare state was set out in the 1942 Beveridge Report, and the NHS became its central pillar, the jewel in the crown of the new progressive, more inclusive, more egalitarian Britain. It was a root-and-branch transformation, truly radical. Funded out of general taxation, the entire nation would contribute to the NHS according to their ability, and benefit from it according to their need.

Importantly, its inclusivity not only applied to the patients it treated and cared for, but also its thousands of staff. From its earliest days there was a huge demand for nurses and ancillary staff, and the NHS looked to the Commonwealth for recruits. It was no coincidence that many of the Caribbeans walking down the gangplank of the Empire Windrush at Tilbury docks, just a few days before the NHS was launched, were destined to become part of the new health service's rapidly burgeoning workforce.

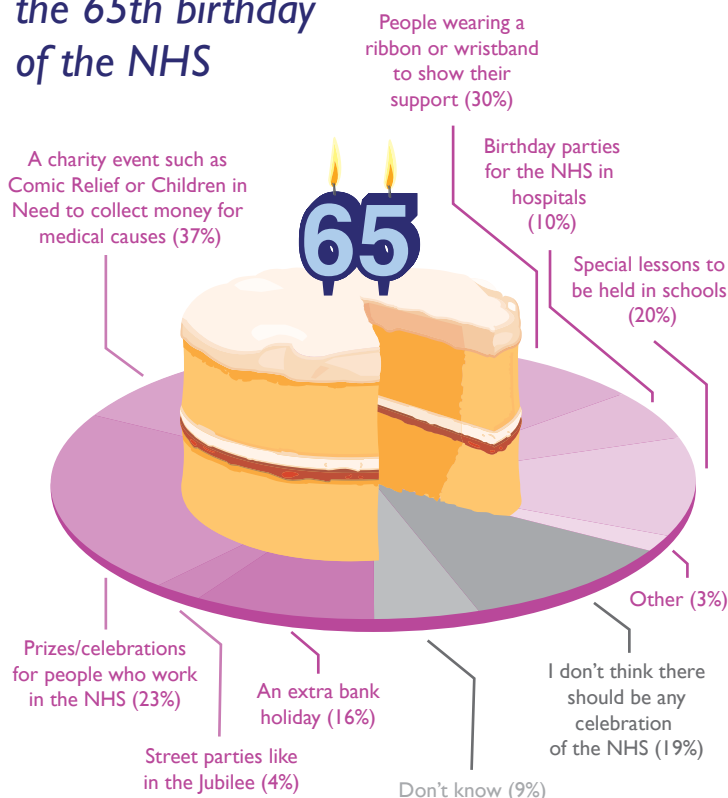
Today, the inclusivity and diversity of the NHS are among its greatest strengths. As the make-up of the UK population has changed over the decades, with a more varied ethnic mix, so too has the NHS workforce. Healthcare is all about responding to the

37%
of people aged
16–24 are proud
of the NHS

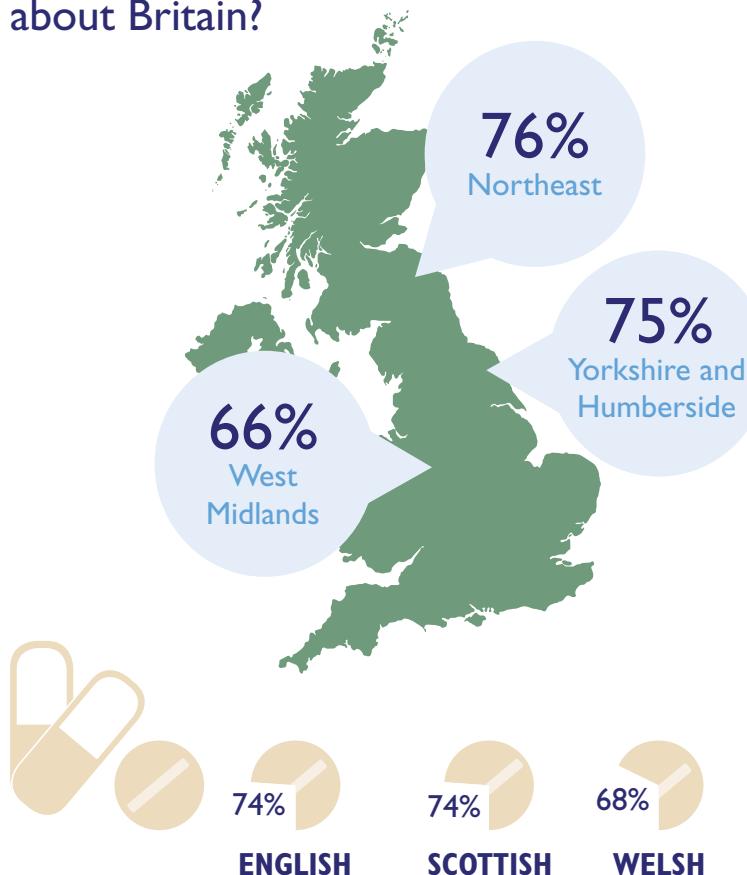
49%
of people aged
55–75 are proud
of the NHS



How would you like to celebrate the 65th birthday of the NHS



NHS: A symbol of what is great about Britain?



needs of the patient, and this task is very much enhanced by having a range of frontline staff who reflect the mix of the people they serve.

At its heart, healthcare is as much about empathy as about technology. Yes of course all those tests, scanners, monitors and operations are vitally important. But ultimately the real quality of care comes down to simple human interactions between patients and staff. And the NHS with its inclusive, diverse workforce is particularly well placed to provide the sort of compassionate, empathetic and culturally sensitive care that patients want and need.

Everyone involved in today's NHS, drawn as they are from all corners of the globe, can take pride in being part of this great British endeavour

Although its critics accuse it of being monolithic, lumbering and unsustainable, I believe they are failing to put sufficient value on its fundamental attribute – inclusiveness. It is healthcare of the people, by the people, for the people, all for one and one for all. This is why so many of us feel so passionate about it – and why we delighted in seeing it celebrated in the Olympics opening ceremony.

Everyone involved in today's NHS, drawn as they are from all corners of the globe, can take pride in being part of this great British endeavour. So much more than a national icon, it is a living, breathing, working model of how we can all strive together, whatever our background or belief, to help make the world a healthier, safer, better place.

And this July, on the occasion of the NHS's 65th birthday, I am sure we will see this collective spirit and pride reflected in celebrations at hospitals and health centres the length and breadth of the country – open days, health fairs, and plenty of bunting. It will, I hope and believe, be a wonderful opportunity to reaffirm the fundamental principles of universality, diversity, inclusiveness and above all fairness at the heart of our great National Health Service – and to let everyone know that we want it to stay that way.

Alan Maryon-Davis is honorary professor of public health at King's College London

Bittersweet Britain

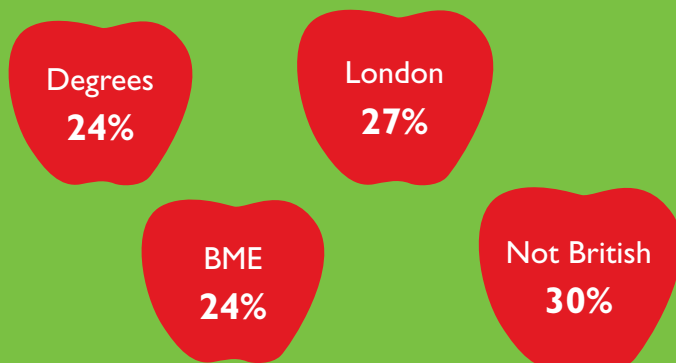
Sweet

Pride 6 out of 10 of us would rather be a citizen of Britain than anywhere else

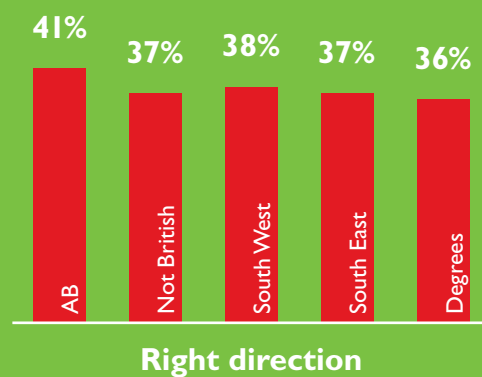


How do you feel about 2013 for Britain?

Optimism for Britain

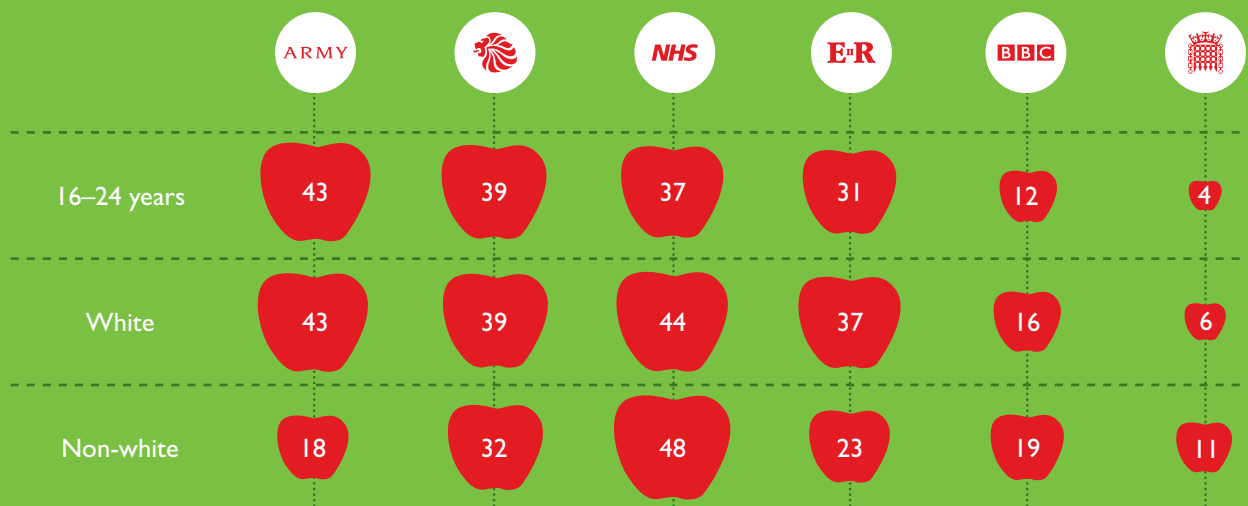


Is Britain heading in the right direction?*



What makes you proudest to be British?

White and non-white Britons agree it is the NHS that makes them proudest, but the armed forces are **5th** not **2nd** for non-white Brits. But the army did win among young Britons.

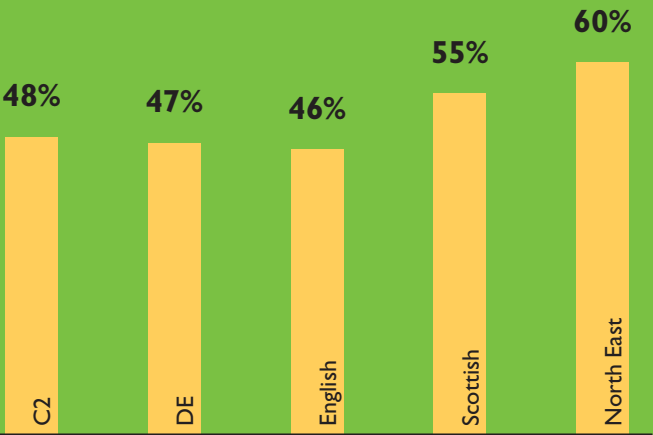


*Excludes don't knows
Source: Ipsos MORI/British Future

Bittersweet Britain

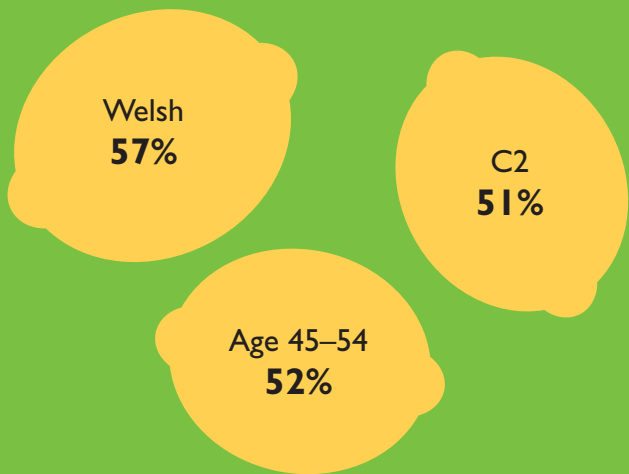
Bitter

Is Britain heading down the wrong track? 4.6 out of 10 say it is



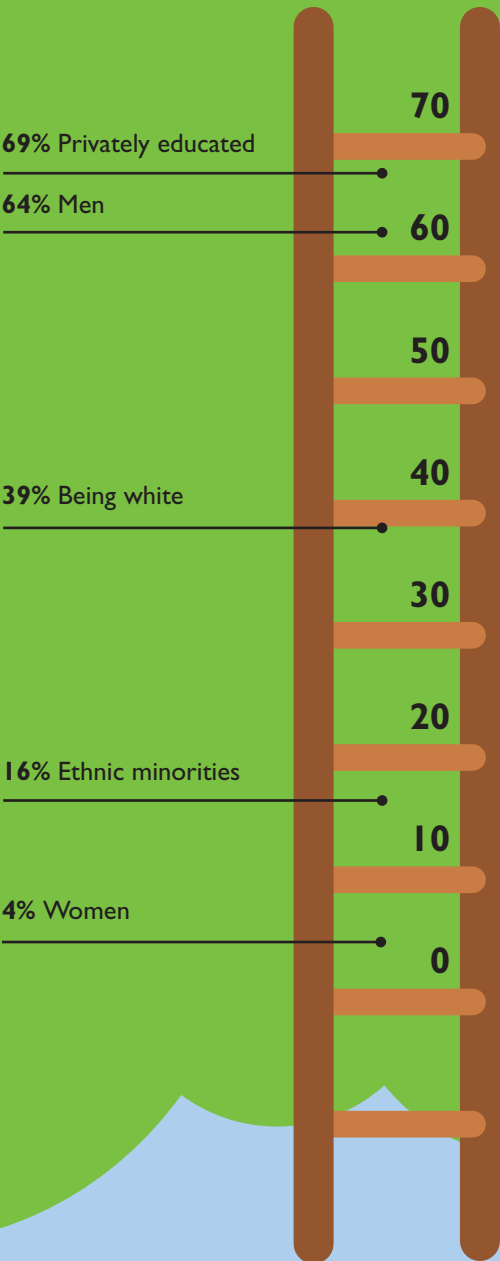
Wrong track

How do you feel about 2013 for Britain?
Pessimism for Britain



Ladder of Privilege

Who has an advantage in getting to the top?



Age versus youth?

Is it harder for young people than it used to be?

23%

agree it's harder and older people should make some sacrifices to help them

41%

agree it's harder but older people shouldn't be expected to make any sacrifices to help them

24%

disagree

Do the younger generation have it harder than their parents and grandparents? And is it fair that the older generations get universal benefits such as pensions or cold weather payments that don't relate to need? Binita Mehta speaks to the older generation and finds out what they think

Many people my age are struggling to find a job. But, do we actually have it harder than our grandparents? Considering the hardships my parents' and grandparents' generations faced when they were young (war, forced migration and limited opportunities) some people argue that the youth of today have it a lot easier.

British Future polling showed that 41% of people believe that it is harder than before for young people to make a life for themselves, but older people should not have to make any sacrifices to help them.

My grandfather, Navnit Barot, 80, from Croydon, said: "There's a lot of competition today therefore it is harder for young people. In my day, it wasn't so hard because after I had attained the equivalent of GCSEs, I was able to get a job and then completed my further studies whilst working."

He told me that, as a baby, he had lost his mother and from then on lived with his

grandparents. When he became a father at the age of 21 he had the responsibilities of raising a family and looking after his much younger siblings as well as his elderly grandparents.

My grandfather was sceptical of older people having to sacrifice their state benefits, for example the London Freedom Pass, for the younger generation. He believes that passes enable him and other pensioners to be secure in their lives, and without them, said he would be housebound, less mobile, and lose important aspects of his life.

However, my grandmother, Premila Barot, 79, despite having expressed how difficult it was to be the carer of a large family by the age of 20, would be happier to make sacrifices to give the younger generation more opportunities. She said it was necessary for those who can afford to go without certain benefits from the state to forfeit them in favour of the younger generation.

31% of people in the northeast say it isn't any harder for younger people to make a life for themselves than it used to be, compared to 20% in the northwest

31%
Northeast

20%
Northwest

When I was younger, if you had a degree, which I did, you were guaranteed a professional job

My mum, Rekha, at my age, 22, had married my father and was adjusting to life in a new country, having moved from Kenya to live with my dad in Britain. She said: "My main challenge was to integrate and deal with trying to be accepted in a new environment."

She said: "When I was younger, if you had a degree, which I did, you were guaranteed a professional job and if you weren't as highly educated you were able to get a low-skilled job very easily. Now a lot more people are going to university and getting a high level of education, so there are more people wanting

Older people should have to make some sacrifices to help young people

24%
of 16–24s
agree

25%
of 55–75s
agree



to enter the job market and fewer positions available to them. Young people also need more work experience in order to have a chance at become employed.”

Citing the lack of job prospects now, shop-worker Dorothy Lake, 85, who has worked with my dad for decades, has had to deal with war, recession and rationing as a youngster. She said that “it is harder for people today because there used to be plenty of work about”.

She said: “Some youngsters expect to live off others and unless it’s for the right reasons, education, apprenticeships and training, they shouldn’t expect older people to sacrifice. Only those who can afford it should be made to sacrifice.”

Edward House, 67, who has known my family for years, said young people “aren’t equipped individually for the workplace like they used to be.” He said he was married at 19, so his main challenges were “raising a family and working two or three jobs to cover the costs of our rented accommodation. I had to try and make money, not to buy a house or pay off a credit card bill, but to keep going.”

Regarding sacrifices, Edward said: “If you have worked from leaving school at 15 to 65, you have invested 50 years into the country. Therefore there should be some sort of pay-back.”

There is no doubt that the older generation faced tough challenges in their youth, albeit very different to those of today, making it all the more surprising that the ones I spoke with feel that young people have it tougher than they did.

When I asked them if they thought older people should make sacrifices to help young people have more opportunities, the answers were mixed. Our recent polling also shows 23% of people believe that it’s harder for young people, and therefore older people should make some sacrifices to help them.

24% of people believe it’s no harder for younger people to make a life for themselves than it used to be.

Long-time family friend Spencer Hagar, 70, from Cambridge, said: “It was a different world then. Now, expectations of quality of life are much higher. We lived much more simply.” He added: “Without question, better-off older people should make sacrifices. We have lived our lives, and young people are just starting theirs off. If you’re better off as an older person, you’ve lived a good life. Since the 2010 election, the retired have done the best. So the well off old should sacrifice, though it’s not even really a sacrifice if it’s for young people to make a life for themselves and to create a more harmonious society.”

Binita Mehta is an intern at British Future

Freedom of speech is top criterion “for being British”



The State of the Nation poll captures a broad social consensus that integration matters in our diverse society, but also on how much a liberal democratic society can legitimately demand in its name, says Sunder Katwala

Respect for the law, for the freedom of speech of others, and the ability to speak English are seen as the essential foundations of participation in a shared society. These were the top criteria across all ages and social classes. White and ethnic minority Britons, immigrants and the British-born all agree that they matter.

Another impediment to integration would be to make it impossible to belong. Exclusive conceptions of national identity are rejected by wide majorities. People are several times more likely to cite respect for all ethnicities and all faiths as important aspects of being British as to insist on being Christian (7%) or white (6%). A larger minority – one in four – think being born here is important to being British, but two-thirds of people see membership of the welfare “club” as equally open to those born abroad who have contributed and play by the rules.

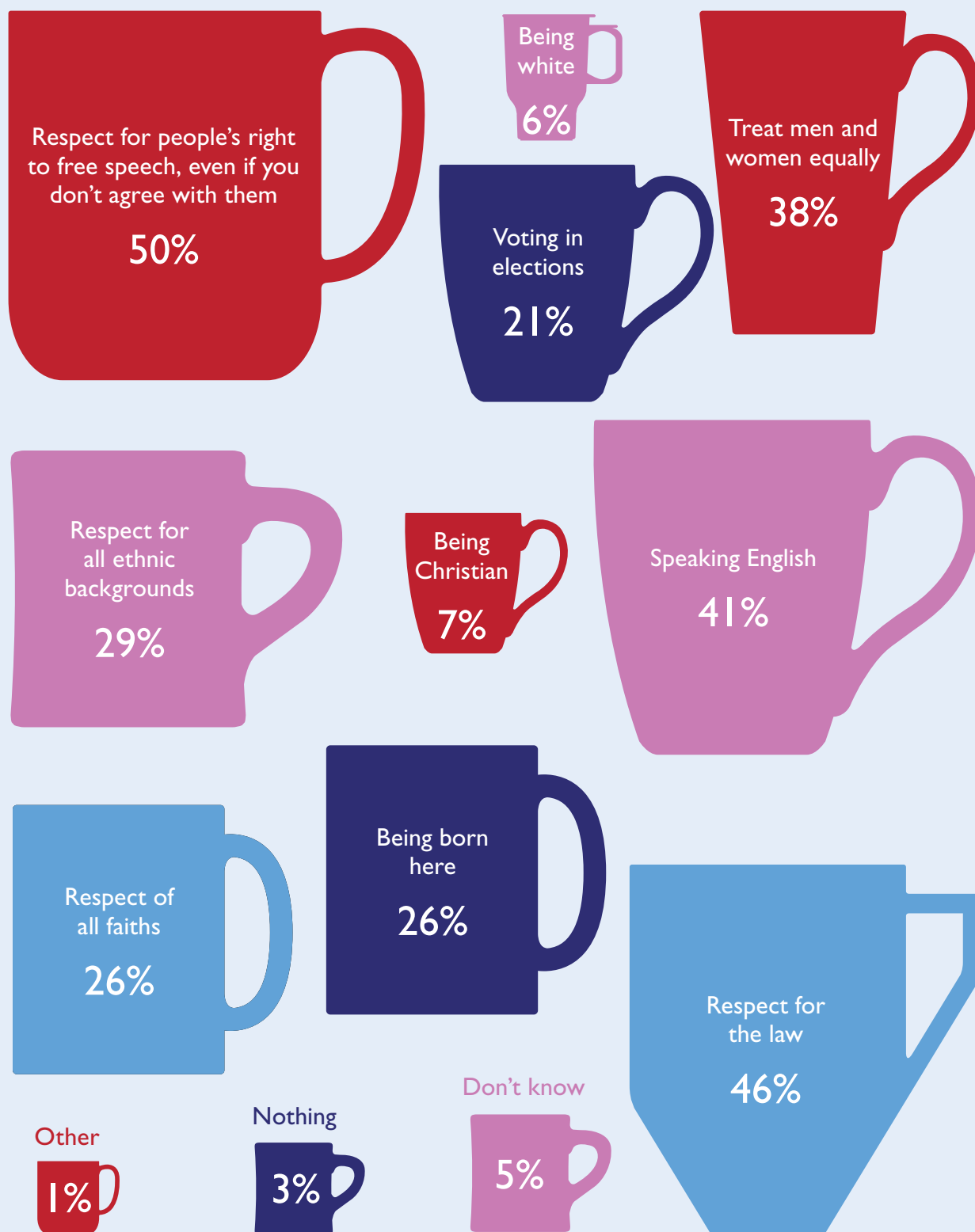
The liberal boundaries of the integration consensus are reflected in the majority seeing how cultural inheritances are mixed and balanced as a matter of personal choice. This echoes our 2012 State of the Nation poll finding, where seven out of ten people want to encourage schools to mix ethnicity, but the idea of a “cricket test” was dismissed by a wide four to one margin.

The 2011 census demonstrated that Britain is becoming increasingly diverse. These results suggest a nuanced public understanding of our shared moral responsibility to make sure this works.

Integration in Britain does mean a willingness to commit to shared rules and to democratic values, and we have seen a broad appetite for the shared experiences and institutions that bring us together. But, within the boundaries of our common citizenship, most Britons reject the idea that a shared society must demand cultural assimilation.

Find out what the public had to say about integration when British Future went to Leeds and Fareham, on www.britishfuture.org/blog/integration-attitudes

Which of the following, if any, would you say are the most important for being British?



Polling data

- Ipsos MORI conducted 2,515 interviews online with residents of Great Britain aged 16–75. Fieldwork took place between 23rd – 27th November 2012.
- Results are based on all adults unless otherwise specified. Data is weighted to match the profile of the population. The base size is indicated when a question was not asked of all adults. An asterisk (*) indicates a figure smaller than 0.5% but greater than 0. Where percentages do not sum to 100, this is due to computer rounding, multiple responses or the exclusion of ‘don’t know’ categories.

Q1. 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 2013 for...?

	YOU AND YOUR FAMILY		THE CITY/TOWN/VILLAGE WHERE YOU LIVE		BRITAIN		EUROPE	
	2013	2012*	2013	2012*	2013	2012*	2013	2012*
	%							
Very optimistic	12	13	4	4	2	2	1	1
Fairly optimistic	40	39	30	29	18	12	8	6
Neither optimistic or pessimistic	28	21	43	35	32	19	30	17
Fairly pessimistic	14	18	17	23	34	42	36	33
Very pessimistic	5	8	5	8	12	23	22	41
Don't know	1	1	2	1	2	1	4	3
Optimistic	52	52	34	33	20	14	9	7
Pessimistic	19	26	22	31	46	65	58	74
Net optimistic	+33	+26	+12	+2	-26	-51	-49	-67

*2012 results are answers to the same question asked by British Future between 30 Nov – 6 Dec 2011

Q2. And thinking about the year just gone and whether 2012 was a good or a bad year, how good or bad do you think 2012 was for...?

	YOU AND YOUR FAMILY	THE CITY/TOWN/ VILLAGE WHERE YOU LIVE	BRITAIN	EUROPE
%				
Very good year	9	3	3	1
Fairly good year	35	27	12	4
Neither good nor bad	28	50	29	22
Fairly bad year	19	15	41	39
Very bad year	9	4	15	32
Don't know	*	1	1	3
Good	44	30	15	5
Bad	28	19	56	71
Net Good	+16	+11	-41	-66

Q3. And thinking in particular about Britain's economy, how do you feel about Britain's economic prospects in 2013?

	2013	2012*
	%	
Very optimistic	2	1
Fairly optimistic	17	8
Neither optimistic or pessimistic	27	16
Fairly pessimistic	36	44
Very pessimistic	14	30
Don't know	4	1
Optimistic	19	9
Pessimistic	50	74
Net optimistic	-31	-65

*2012 results are answers to the same question asked by British Future between 30 Nov – 6 Dec 2011

Q4. Generally speaking, would you say that things in Britain are heading in the right direction, or are they off on the wrong track?

	%
Right direction	32
Wrong track	46
Don't know	22

Q5. When they reach your age, do you think your children will have a higher or lower quality of life than you, or about the same?

	%
Higher	19
Lower	25
About the same	25
Don't know	14
Not applicable	17

Q6. When your parents were your age, do you think they had a higher or lower quality of life than you, or about the same?

	%
Higher	26
Lower	42
About the same	26
Don't know	6
Not applicable	1

Q7. Thinking about the economic downturn, which of these statements comes closest to your view?

	%
Even though the recession has been tough, Britain will be stronger when it gets through it	31
The recession has been so tough that Britain will be weaker because of it for years to come	56
Don't know	13

Q8. Do you agree or disagree with the statement, “I would rather be a citizen of Britain than of any other in the world”?

	%
Strongly agree	26
Tend to agree	35
Neither agree nor disagree	20
Tend to disagree	10
Strongly disagree	4
Don't know	4
I am not British	2
Agree	61
Disagree	14
Net agree	+47

Q9. Which two or three of the following, if any, would you say makes you most proud to be British?

	%
The NHS	45
The armed forces	40
Team GB (the British and Northern Irish Olympics team)	38
The Royal Family	36
BBC	16
British business	6
Houses of Parliament	6
Marks & Spencer	4
John Lewis	4
Oxfam	3
Women's Institute	2
Tesco's	1
Other	6
Nothing	10
Don't know	5

Q10. Below are a number of anniversaries that are happening in 2013. Which two or three, if any, are you proudest to be British?

	%
65th anniversary of the establishment of the NHS	54
60th anniversary of Queen's coronation	43
60th anniversary of the discovery of the structure of DNA	29
150th anniversary of the opening of the London Underground	15
50th anniversary of the Beatles' first number one	11
200th anniversary of the publication of Jane Austen's Pride and Prejudice	8
150th anniversary of the founding of the Football Association	8
50th anniversary of the first Doctor Who	7
40th anniversary of Britain joining the European Community	3
Other	2
None of these	13
Don't know	7

Q11. What two or three issues, if any, do you think cause most division in your local area today? Please rank from the following up to three.

	FIRST	SECOND	THIRD	ANY
	%			
Tension between immigrants and people born in Britain	19	12	10	41
Tension between tax payers and welfare claimants	15	15	10	39
Tension between rich and poor	11	9	7	28
Tension between tax payers and tax avoiders	8	8	10	26
Tension between different ethnicities	6	8	8	22
Tension between old and young	6	5	6	17
Tension between different religions	4	6	6	16
Tension between different parts of the local area	3	5	5	13
Tension between different political views	3	4	5	13
Tension between men and women	1	1	2	3
Other	1	1	1	3
None of these	10	13	15	—
Don't know	13	13	16	—

Q12. What two or three issues, if any, do you think cause most division in British society as a whole today? Please rank from the following up to three.

	FIRST	SECOND	THIRD	ANY
	%			
Tension between immigrants and people born in Britain	30	14	13	57
Tension between tax payers and welfare claimants	14	19	14	47
Tension between rich and poor	14	10	10	35
Tension between different ethnicities	9	13	11	33
Tension between tax payers and tax avoiders	9	12	12	32
Tension between different religions	7	9	10	26
Tension between different political views	3	5	7	15
Tension between different regions such as north and south	2	4	5	12
Tension between old and young	2	2	3	7
Tension between men and women	1	1	1	3
Other	1	*	1	2
None of these	1	2	3	—
Don't know	8	8	9	—

Q13. Which of the following, if any, would you say are the most important for being British?

	%
Respect for people's right to free speech, even if you don't agree with them	50
Respect for the law	46
Speaking English	41
Treating men and women equally	38
Respect for all ethnic backgrounds	29
Respect for all faiths	26
Being born here	26
Voting in elections	21
Being Christian	7
Being white	6
Other	1
Nothing	3
Don't know	5

Q14. Many children born in Britain to parents who came to this country from abroad may face choices about the balance they want to strike between British culture and the culture from their parents' country of origin. Which of the following approaches do you think they should take?

	%
They should prioritise British culture over the culture from their parents' country of origin	37
They should combine British culture with the culture from their parents' country of origin any way they wish	51
They should prioritise the culture from their parents' country of origin over British culture	2
None of these	2
Don't know	8

Q15. Below are some examples of people living in Britain from different backgrounds and in different situations. Which do you think should be able to use public services and receive welfare benefits such as unemployment benefit, child benefit, housing benefit and so on, if they needed them? Please pick all that apply.

	%
Someone who was born in Britain and has worked and paid taxes in Britain for 15 years	75
Someone who was born abroad and has worked and paid taxes in Britain for 15 years	58
Someone who was born in Britain and is currently looking for work in Britain, but has never been employed here	40
Someone who was born in Britain and has never been employed here	23
Someone who was born abroad and is currently looking for work in Britain, but has never been employed here	6
Someone who was born abroad and has never been employed here	1
All of them	7
None of them	3
Don't know	8

Q16. Most people say they belong either to the middle class or the working class. If you had to make a choice, would you call yourself middle class or working class?

Q17. And which social class would you say your parents belonged to when you started at primary school?

	YOURSELF (Q16)	PARENTS (Q17)
	%	
Middle	36	26
Working	57	69
Don't know	7	4

Q18. Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion?

	%
It's harder for younger people to make a life for themselves than it used to be, and older people should make some sacrifices to help them	23
It's harder for younger people to make a life for themselves than it used to be, but older people shouldn't be expected to make any sacrifices to help them	41
It isn't any harder for younger people to make a life for themselves than it used to be	24
None of these	5
Don't know	7

Q19. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW
	%					
"You are much more likely to get to the top in this country if you've been to a private school"	33	36	19	7	3	2
"You are much more likely to get to the top in this country if you are a man"	18	46	23	7	3	2
"You are much more likely to get to the top in this country if you are a woman"	1	3	33	45	16	2
"You are much more likely to get to the top in this country if you are white"	10	29	36	16	6	3
"You are much more likely to get to the top in this country if you are from an ethnic minority"	5	11	37	31	14	3

Q20. Which of these would you most describe yourself as: English, Welsh, Scottish, Northern Irish or some other nationality?

	%
English	71
Welsh	5
Scottish	8
Irish	1
Northern Irish	*
Other – British	9
Other – not British	3
Other (specify)	3
Don't know	1

Q21. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	STRONGLY AGREE	TEND TO AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	TEND TO DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW
%						
<p>If Scotland becomes independent of the United Kingdom, being British (IN NI: part of the UK) will feel less special to me</p> <p>Base: All identifying as British except Scottish (1,948)</p>	6	13	31	24	22	4
<p>If Scotland becomes independent of the United Kingdom, I will still feel British because of our geography, history and culture</p> <p>Base: All identifying as Scottish (356)</p>	34	27	18	9	10	2
<p>Even if Scotland becomes independent of the United Kingdom, I will never think of the Scottish as being foreign</p> <p>Base: All identifying as British except Scottish (1,948)</p>	28	36	18	9	5	4
<p>Even if Scotland becomes independent of the United Kingdom, I will never think of the English as being foreign</p> <p>Base: All identifying as Scottish (356)</p>	40	30	16	7	5	2

NHS 65th birthday

Q22. Which of the following statements best reflects your thinking about the NHS?

	%
The NHS is a symbol of what is great about Britain and we must do everything we can to maintain it	72
The NHS was a great project for its time but we probably can't maintain it in its current form	21
Neither	4
Don't know	3

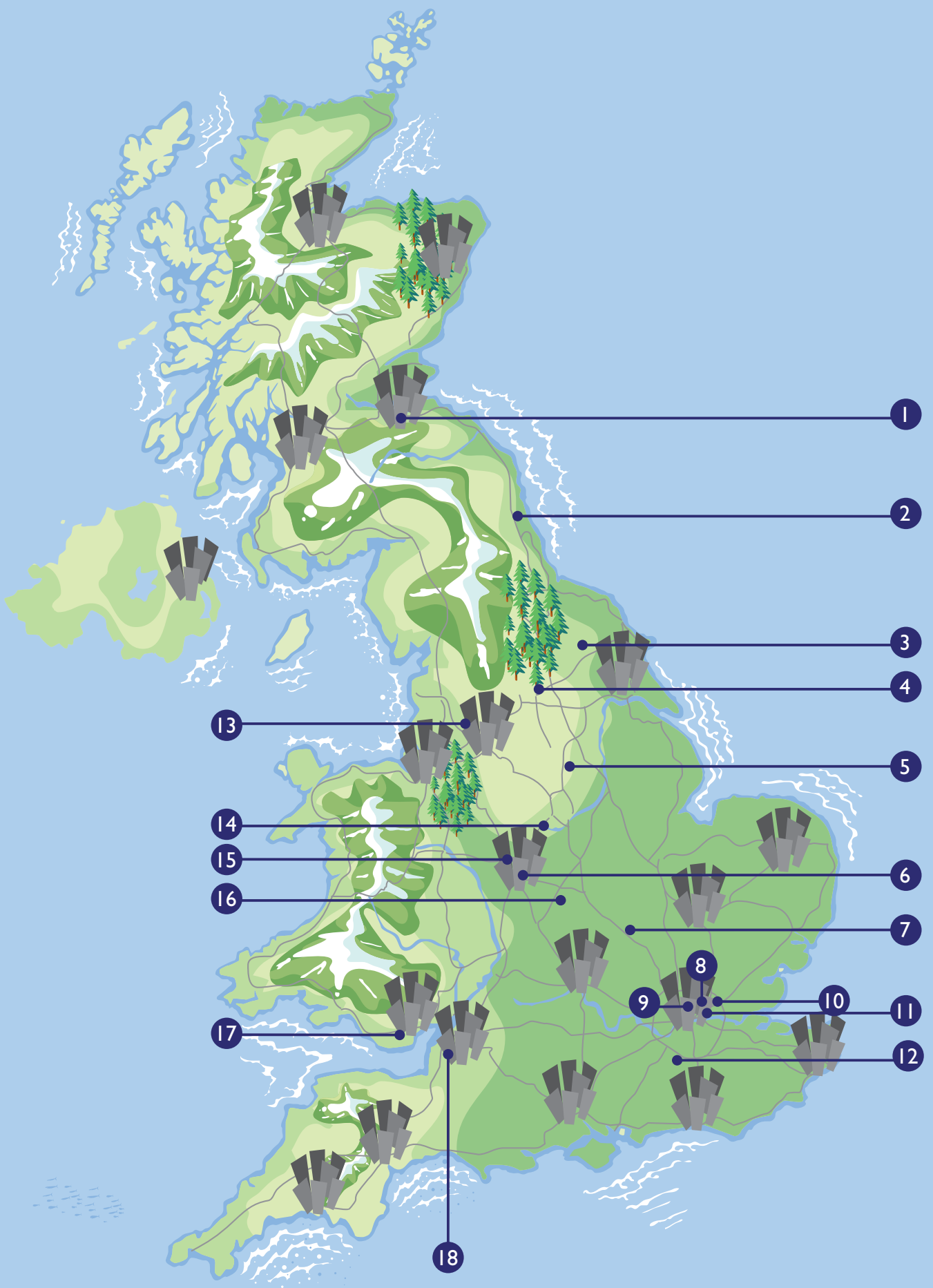
Q23. As you may know, 2013 will be the 65th anniversary of the establishment of the NHS. Which of the following, if any, do you think would be the best way to celebrate this?

	%
An extra bank holiday	16
Street parties like in the Jubilee	4
A charity event such as Comic Relief or Children in Need to collect money for medical causes	37
Prizes/celebrations for people who work in the NHS	23
People wearing a ribbon or wristband to show their support	30
Birthday parties for the NHS in hospitals	10
Special lessons to be held in schools	20
Other	3
I don't think there should be any celebration of the NHS	19
Don't know	9

Opportunities

Q24. As you probably know there has recently been discussion about how much tax is paid by large companies who operate in Britain and highly paid individuals who spend much of their time here, and the use of legal tax "avoidance" schemes. Some companies try to minimise their tax bill by using different tax methods including paying tax in other countries. Thinking about these companies and individuals, which of these do you think would make Britain's economy stronger in the future?

	%
These large companies and highly paid individuals should be allowed to avoid paying tax in this country, for example by finding countries where they can pay less tax	3
These large companies and highly paid individuals should pay more tax in this country rather than abroad	79
Neither of these would help	10
Don't know	8



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British Future: Where we were in 2012

- 1 EDINBURGH: SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT**
Who are Jock Tamson's Bairns?
Scottish Festival of Politics with Scottish Refugee Council
(August)
- 2 GATESHEAD: SAGE THEATRE**
Them and Us: Immigration and the problem of belonging
Sunder Katwala is speaker at BBC Radio 3 Freethinking festival
(November)
- 3 YORK: THEATRE ROYAL**
The Great British Debate
Panel debate following the play *Bed*
(March)
- 4 LEEDS: CARRIAGEWORKS THEATRE**
Are we still Leeds?
Panel debate following Anthony Clavane's *Promised Land* play
(June)
- LEEDS**
Workshop with Leeds residents on identity and integration attitudes
(October)
- 5 NOTTINGHAM**
Matthew Rhodes speaks at Nottingham University conference
(July)
- 6 BIRMINGHAM**
Immigration and Integration: Dragon's Den
Conservative Party Conference fringe event
(October)
- BIRMINGHAM**
Speakers at Migrant Voice Parliament Week event
(November)
- 7 NORTHAMPTON**
Rachael Jolley interviews the curator of the Northampton Museum
(June)
- 8 FLEET STREET, LONDON**
The Great British Breakfast debate
(May)
- 9 WESTMINSTER LONDON**
The New Patriotism Debate
(November)
- 10 STRATFORD, LONDON**
Generation 2012: A pre-Olympics debate
(July)
- 11 LONDON DOCKLANDS**
Launch of British Future at the Museum of London Docklands
(January)
- 12 BRIXTON**
British Future/Refugee Council Refugee Jubilee Street Party
(June)
- 13 MANCHESTER**
Immigration: The doorstep challenge
Facilitated by Andy Crane of BBC Manchester
Labour Party Conference fringe event with Progress
(October)
- 14 LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL**
Live broadcast of BBC Radio 4 Any Questions
Sunder Katwala participates in live broadcast
(February)
- 15 DUDLEY**
Speech for International Migrants' Day
(December 2012)
- 16 COVENTRY**
Workshop with Coventry residents on economic pressures
(October)
- 17 CARDIFF**
Sunder Katwala participated in The Changing Union conference
(September)
- CARDIFF BAY**
Sunder Katwala speaks at British-Spanish conference on identity and Europe
(September)
- 18 BRISTOL UNIVERSITY**
Sunder Katwala lecture
(September)
- BRISTOL**
The identity of global cities
Sunder Katwala speaks at Bristol Festival of Ideas
(February)

Since its launch British Future has been involved in 20 events around the country. To invite us to participate in your event please email info@britishfuture.org

British Future: What we did in 2012



Liberal Democrat Party Conference
BRIGHTON

Are We Still Leeds?
LEEDS



Hopes and Fears
The British Future State of the Nation Report 2012

An Anthem for England



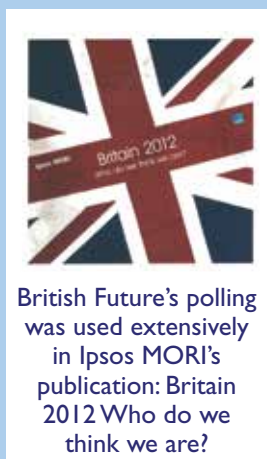
Team GB
How 2012 should boost Britain



The launch event: 2012
What's Our Story?
THE MUSEUM OF LONDON



Refugee Jubilee Street Party
BRIXTON



British Future's polling was used extensively in Ipsos MORI's publication: Britain 2012 Who do we think we are?



The Great British Breakfast
CITY OF LONDON



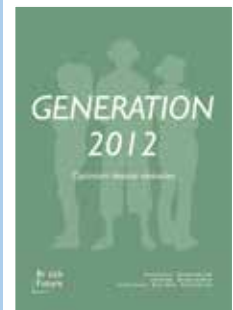
Conservative Party Conference **BIRMINGHAM**



The New Patriotism: Beyond the Spirit of 2012 **WESTMINSTER**



Labour Party Conference **MANCHESTER**



Generation 2012 Optimism despite obstacles



This Sceptred Isle Pride not prejudice across the nations of Britain



Generation 2012: What Are The Challenges Ahead? **STRATFORD**

Who Are Jock Tamson's Bairns? **EDINBURGH**



The Great British Debate **YORK**



How Should Sport Remember? A British Future essay



Remembrance



The Melting Pot Generation: How Britain became more relaxed on race



British Future in 2013

Some of the big questions British Future will tackle in the year ahead

IDENTITY

A SHARED HISTORY?

What will we want the centenary of the First World War to say about Britain? From schools and museums, to sport and family history, where are the most important opportunities to increase our understanding of a shared history that we seem to risk forgetting?

MIGRATION

ECONOMIC ANXIETIES

In an economic crunch, is migration an essential contributor to growth, or an increased source of public anxiety? We are carrying out an in-depth study into how people think and talk about immigration and the economy, why different arguments resonate or fall flat, and what this means for the choices and trade-offs that people want to make.

INTEGRATION

RACE IN BRITAIN

Twenty years after the murder of Stephen Lawrence, how much has Britain changed for better or worse? We will return to Eltham this spring, to find out about how 18 year olds see issues of identity, opportunity and race today.

OPPORTUNITY

WHAT DO THE NEXT GENERATION WANT?

Everybody is talking about the risk of a “lost generation” and about the challenges facing young people today. We will be following up our Generation 2012 work this year, by talking to them about how they see their lives; about whether they can increase their sense of voice and power; and to find out what demands they want to make on politics, society and older generations in the years ahead. We will also be asking them about what they think needs to change in society.

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Trustees

Wilf Weeks (chair), former director, European Public Affairs, Weber Shandwick and former private secretary to Sir Edward Heath; trustee, Trust for London.

Howard Jackson (treasurer), managing director and head of charities, FD Solutions.

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

Elizabeth Berridge, Conservative peer and barrister.

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 Saggar, 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.



From the director...

"2012: what's our story?" was the question with which British Future launched a year ago.

We wanted to bring new voices to our national conversations. So

we have heard refugees tell us about their journeys to being British at our Jubilee street party; the next generation in school and town hall events talk about what would help them feel they have a stake in society; and Britons who can trace their families back generations about how they feel we could build on the Olympic spirit of 2012 to deepen a shared pride in the society that we have become.

British Future's animating mission is to engage audiences that are anxious about identity, whether for cultural or economic reasons, so that we do not just talk to those who are already confident about the nature of modern Britain today.

The latest census results show that the diversity of our multi-ethnic and multi-faith society is an ineradicable fact. This is who we are. Some are enthused by the new opportunities this brings; others find the pace of change deeply unsettling. None of us can opt out of our shared responsibility to make it work.

Our challenge is to show how people with different views can work constructively, to spread the opportunities and manage the pressures and tensions, so that we can together imagine and work for a future that we will want to share. If 2012 gave many people an attractive glimpse of an inclusive Britain, there is more to do to make that a reality.

If you would like to work with us to explore these important issues, please do get in touch with us with your ideas.

Sunder Katwala

In our second State of the Nation report, thinktank British Future looks forward at how 2013 will unfold. In the past 12 months we have reconsidered what brings our nation together, but the task for the next 12 is to tackle divisions that have the power to drive us apart.

As we enter a new year, Britons are less gloomy about everything from the family to Britain itself. But will that glimmer of hope drift away or can it be built on?

This report charts how Britain's newest residents are the most optimistic about the future. Ian Birrell asks if this could be because they have overcome adversity, war and strife, to get here and start a new life. Sunder Katwala discusses why worries about immigration are not necessarily connected to living in a region with lots of diversity, but can be linked to people's emotional worries about what the future holds. It is important these worries are not ignored, he argues.

Also inside, Hardeep Singh Kohli argues that the Scots will always feel British whatever the result of the referendum in around 20 months' time, while our latest Ipsos MORI poll shows that the rest of Britain say they will never see the Scots as foreign, whatever happens.

Three writers – Ipsos MORI's Ben Page, retired army officer Tim Cross and Scottish journalist Alex Massie – argue for what they think has to change for Britain to make a transition to the next phase of its evolution.

In the year of the NHS's 65th birthday it turns out this is the anniversary that the public most wants to celebrate in 2013, and Alan Maryon-Davis argues that the NHS is a symbol of Britain as it is today.

As this report is published, British Future is about to celebrate its first birthday: also inside is an overview of events we have participated in this year, as well as its other work this year.

Other British Future publications available to read online



Hopes and Fears:
A look at the nation's national mood and concerns for 2012



Generation 2012:
What 18–25 year olds see as the biggest challenges ahead



This Sceptred Isle:
A report on national identity and pride in our flags



Team GB:
How 2012 should boost Britain



How Should Sport Remember:
A report looking at the relationship between sport and WWI



The Melting Pot Generation:
How the younger generation have a more relaxed attitude to race than their parents

**British
Future...**

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