

# TEAM GB

How 2012 should  
boost Britain



British  
Future...

Rachael Jolley • Sunder Katwala

# 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-angled corner. The horizontal line extends further to the right, ending in a slight upward curve.

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.

Editors: Rachael Jolley and Sally Gimson

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**NOTE:** British Future carried out polling with Ipsos MORI and YouGov earlier this year, and then revisited in the post Olympic period, to see if there had been significant change in attitudes. All previous polling can be found in our Hopes and Fears and our This Sceptred Isle reports on [www.britishfuture.org](http://www.britishfuture.org).

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# Britons support a lasting Olympic legacy

Which Olympic athletes have made you proudest to be British?

50%	Jessica Ennis
43%	Mo Farah
29%	Bradley Wiggins
25%	Sir Chris Hoy
15%	Andy Murray
12%	Nicola Adams
9%	Ben Ainslie
9%	Laura Trott
8%	Katherine Grainger
5%	Jade Jones
5%	Alastair Brownlee
5%	Greg Rutherford
3%	Charlotte Dujardin
10%	No athlete made me proud

Britain surprised itself with its happy self-confidence during the London 2012 Olympics and Paralympics – the most inclusive celebration of who we are that anybody can remember.

Hosting the world meant telling it a story – and so we had to decide what we wanted to say, and to believe, about ourselves. Our hopes and fears jostled for supremacy, in a year mixing economic anxiety with great national events. Yet, the nearer that the moment came, those often dominant national narratives of British decline – that ours is a broken society, heading towards the break-up of Britain, as our unhappy, overcrowded island goes to hell in a handcart – felt just a little too miserable to fit the bill.

Still, the commentarian jury umm'd and ahh'd to the eve of the Games. Was Britain capable of putting the Games on without transport and security disasters? Would anybody outside London give a damn if they did? A would-be American President, who had hosted a B-list Olympics somewhere in Utah was, naturally, savaged for voicing similar concerns.

Yet, all along, something else had been bubbling up from below. The trail of clues had been there if you had wanted to notice. There had been the (surprisingly) enthusiastic public participation in June's Jubilee festivities, then the (surprisingly) large crowds who had greeted the Olympic flame hundreds of miles from London, the (surprising) number of applicants to be among tens of thousands of volunteers, and the (surprisingly) strong desire to say "I was there" which saw every ticket for handball, taekwondo and Greco-Roman wrestling eagerly snapped up. There were even thousands of Union Jacks being waved in Paris as an Englishman in a yellow jersey rode his bicycle up the Champs Elysees to clinch the Tour de France, generously sharing the pre-Olympic spirit with the would-be hosts who were pipped at the post.

Still we wondered whether people really wanted to embrace the Olympics.

It began with the (gobsmackingly) brilliant opening ceremony, watched with awe by a (surprisingly) massive audience of 27 million, as Danny Boyle responded to the scale of Beijing's spectacle with our British celebration of democratic dissonance, never afraid to mildly baffle the global audience as we used the moment to have that conversation, by ourselves, about ourselves and for ourselves, that we have really meant to get around to for many years.

*So let's bring back Grandstand on Saturdays (and Superstars too)*

Then, the sport. We talk about our tradition of heroic sporting failure, though Team GB had done (surprisingly) much better in Beijing four years before, and English cricketers have been beating the Australians too. But nobody expected Britain to be quite this (surprisingly) good at sport, so that it sometimes seemed that you could barely risk putting the kettle on without missing the next athletics or cycling gold medal.

67% of the British public have been surprised by how much it brought us together. But do spare a thought for the miserabilists. Those who made a point of getting out of the country to avoid the whole Olympic nightmare have returned to a country they struggle to recognise. They are keeping their heads down through the popular Paralympics and the Victory Parade, and expect to get their country back by October.

Perhaps the spirit of 2012 will be a mirage, never to be repeated until, several decades from now, a big Royal celebration and a great sporting event happen to coincide



again. But there is a public appetite.

So let's stop talking as if we need to "reclaim the flag" from the extreme fringe, when the inclusive meaning of the Union Jack today is better represented in children's face-paint than flailing neo-fascism. Let's remember that everybody British has more than one flag – and fly Saltires, Welsh Dragons and St George's Crosses too.

And let's treat Humphrey Keeper's singing in the opening moments of the opening ceremony as the cultural moment that Jerusalem became the English anthem that it has been missing – and ask the sports' governing bodies to catch up.

Let's welcome new citizens with what we all want to share. Why not have a day each year when 18-year-olds and new Britons from overseas come together in town halls to celebrate becoming citizens. It could give the rest of us a chance, too, to "renew" vows to our country that we have never got to make in person.

Let's treasure the BBC, the institution which can still, in this age of the ipod and ipad, bind tens of millions of us into national moments that we share. And let's seek from it a real public service commitment to building proactively audiences for women's sport, so it is not just in primetime once every four years, but can help schools and sports clubs to inspire our daughters too with sporting heroines to emulate. So let's bring back Grandstand on Saturdays (and Superstars too).

And let's talk frankly about every difficult issues our societies face, from immigration to opportunity for the next generation. But we need never again take seriously anybody who produces miserabilist polemics declaring Britain a "third world country".

We liked being the people that we were this Olympic year. For it to change our society for good would be an unexpected surprise. But if we really wanted it too, it could.

*Sunder Katwala is director of British Future*

PHOTO:  
*Jessica Ennis after  
winning gold in the  
women's heptablon  
at the London 2012  
Olympic Games  
© Streeter Lecka /  
Getty Images Sport*

# Team GB: A proud portrait of our modern nation

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Britain took pride in its best Olympic performance for a century, not just because of the record medal haul of 65 medals – 29 gold, 17 silver and 19 bronze – but because Team GB offered us a snapshot of the society that we are proud to have become.

Team GB has changed since the Olympics last came to London in 1948, because Britain has changed. Then, Trinidad-born sprinter McDonald Bailey stood out in a team photo as the sole black athlete in the 300-strong team. In 2012, more than a third of the Team GB medals reflected the positive contribution of immigration and integration in the three generations since the Olympic flame last flickered in London.

Their sporting achievements are extraordinary, but the family backgrounds of our medal-winning athletes offer an everyday snapshot of the many different family journeys to being and becoming British.

Cycling champion Victoria Pendleton is among those whose family roots can be traced back two hundred years. While she is descended from several generations of Leicester and Nottingham needlemakers, fellow medalists Laura Bechtolsheimer, Mo Farah and Laura Robson all arrived in Britain as children. Tour de France champion Bradley Wiggins was born in Belgium to an Australian father and English mother, though his medal has been proudly claimed by both Chorley, Lancashire and Kilburn, London.

Christine Ohurugu, winning a silver medal in the 400 metres, staked a proud claim to be the most local of Team GB's Olympians in Stratford, being born minutes from the Olympic stadium four years after her parents came from Nigeria in 1980, while Lowestoft in Suffolk celebrated the Olympic medal won by Anthony Ogogo, born in 1988 to an English mother and Nigerian father. High jumper Robert Grabarz, born in Enfield in 1987, talks with pride of his Polish heritage through his grandfather.

Scotland and Wales claimed their greatest ever medal haul. There were fourteen Scottish medalists and seven Welsh medalists,

though all except three Scottish medals and two Welsh medals were won as part of teams containing English team-mates too.

Britain's history of emigration contributed to the hockey bronze for Crista Cullen, nicknamed the "Kenyan warrior" by GB teammates, and to the rowing medal for San Francisco-born Alex Partridge, who grew up in Indonesia and Texas after his parents emigrated from Britain. His men's rowing eight teammates included Oxford classics student Constantine Louloudis, born in Britain to his Greek father and Irish mother, and Mo Sibhi, the British Muslim rower whose Olympic preparations included organizing charitable donations to feed children in his father's native Morocco, as an alternative to fasting for Ramadan during the Games.

## *The flames of the Stratford torch told a different story, of shared pride across a diverse nation*

42 of these medals were won by individual competitors, with six medals (14%) four gold and two silver medals won by Team GB members born abroad, with at least another nine (21%) won by Brits with a parent or grandparent born outside Britain.

Of the 23 medals won by teams of two or more competitors, four involved a Team GB competitor born abroad (23.5%), and, overall, ten of the team medals (59%) involved a positive contribution from immigration and integration to Team GB's success.

Of course the outpouring of support as Mo Farah won two gold medals does not

transform the way we talk about legitimately contested policy debates about immigration or multiculturalism.

But nobody can seriously ask now whether you can be black or British. In 1968, the year that my father came from India, Enoch Powell warned that the creation of a multi-ethnic society would mean Britain “madly building its own funeral pyre”. The flames of the Stratford torch told a different story, of shared pride across a diverse nation. Britain has a long history of integration, where those like the Jews, Afro-Caribbeans and Ugandan Asians, whose arrival was feared, are now fully part of our island story, even as we remain wary of the next to arrive.

Those who wanted to create controversy about “plastic Brits” misread a public mood much keener to wave the flag for everyone on our team than to question their parentage.

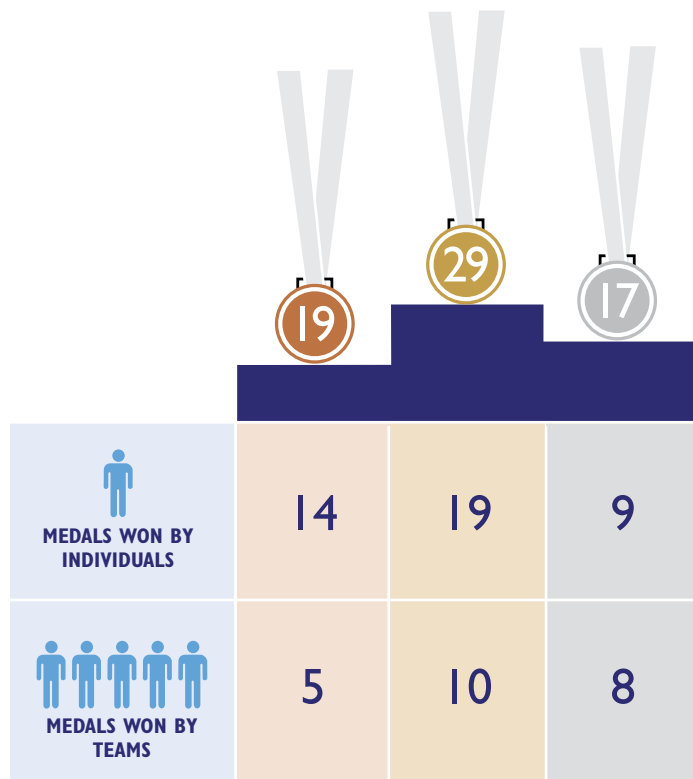
Our remarkable medal winners were also an everyday reflection of who the British now are. That one in three medals reflected a contribution from immigration and integration is what we might have expected. ESRC research by academic Lucinda Platt has shown that 29% of us have parents or grandparents who were immigrants to Britain, or were born abroad, while 49% of the English population can go back three generations without crossing outside of England, even to the other UK nations. The Olympics showed why most of us believe that those are different routes to being equally British.

Team GB’s medalists are not a precise microcosm of British society. We should keep talking about sporting opportunity between state and private schools, how we can continue to give greater profile to women’s sport, and give gay athletes the chance to come out with confidence. British Asians are all but absent from Team GB, though there were plenty of young fans in the stadia who might be inspired to be a next generation of Olympians.

But put our team alongside the torch carriers, the volunteers and the crowds, and it offered a snapshot of an Olympic Britain, never more confident about our shared pride in this multi-ethnic and multi-faith society. Team GB was cheered to the rafters because we found that we like being proud of who we have become.

*Sunder Katwala is director of British Future*

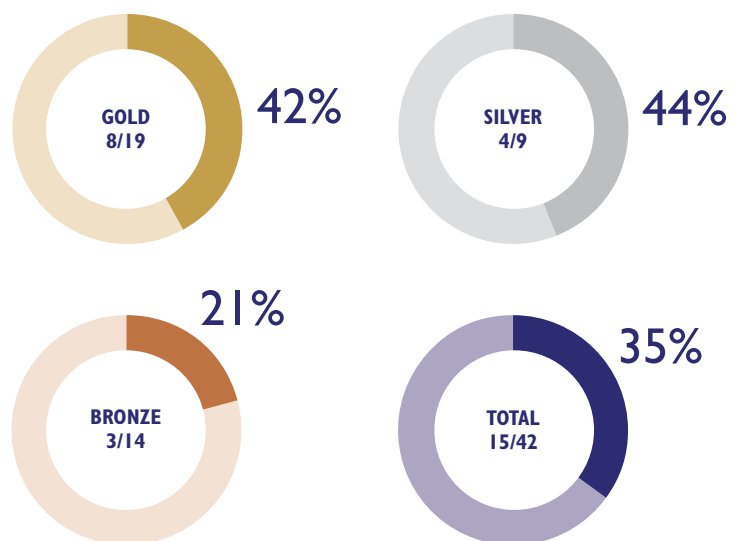
## TEAM GB



Source: British Olympic Association  
Research by Binita Mehta

## INTEGRATION

Medals won by individuals who were born abroad, or whose parents or grandparents were



Source: Analysis by British Future  
Research by Binita Mehta

# Our island story

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27 million of us watched Danny Boyle retell the British story, showing how a modern patriotism can be rooted in our history of change and dissonance, and the shared national experiences which make us British.

“The isle is full of noises,” read the tempestuous pledge on the giant Olympic bell. From the moment that our latest British sporting great, the Belgian-born cycling hero Bradley Wiggins, rang the giant Whitechapel bell, and Kenneth Branagh began to narrate a story of this sceptred isle, Danny Boyle’s opening ceremony certainly delivered on the promise.

Here was our island story of how we, the British, became us, the people we now are. Its emotional punch and power arose from its animating the long history of our British nations, centred on an industrial revolution which remade the world. Yet it also connected this world with the intergenerational iconography and soundtrack of our lived experience across the last few decades in a society so much transformed, in the sixty-four years since an Olympic flame was last lit in London.

There were plenty of famous British icons – the Queen, James Bond, the Beatles, David Beckham and Mr Bean – who would be recognised by the global TV audience, but many of the ceremony’s references and allusions will have passed international viewers by. This was an opening ceremony by the Brits, for the Brits, packed with the in-jokes of our national consciousness. It may be that the show’s overall sensibility – a showmanship never afraid of a little silliness too – could disrupt and challenge, and maybe even change, the impressions that some overseas have of the Brits. But that was not the point. This was not an exercise in external rebranding along the lines of ‘cool Britannia’ a generation ago. The motivation today is a more insular one: the need to project a story to the world offered a catalyst for a conversation that we have needed to have here, about how we want to think about who we are, how we live together, and what we share as modern Britons.

The voice of one young child singing in the opening moments may soon come to be recognised and remembered as the day which inaugurated Jerusalem as the national anthem that the English have been lacking. (The medley of songs from across the UK’s nations which followed did, though, prefer the great Welsh rugby anthem, Bread of Heaven, to the Welsh-language national anthem). As green and pleasant countryside gave way to dark, satanic mills, perhaps the most stunning moment of all was the forging of five Olympic rings as Britain became the workshop of the world.

This was a ceremony bursting with warmth and infused in a gently fierce national pride of as inclusive a variety as might ever be imagined. Here was the patriotism of care and service – symbolised by remembrance of the war dead and the British secular religion of the NHS. What the show captured is that national pride also resides in our shared cultural experiences. The ceremony offered a celebration of the shared belonging and allegiance forged by children’s books and the films we love to rewatch, by iconic sporting moments which we have experienced together, by the everyday resonance of the shipping forecast, or the theme tune from *Eastenders* or the *Archers*, and a veritable wedding playlist-style celebration of a great pop tradition which has provided the soundtrack to our lives. There are a few, though a minority, who worry about what sentiments like being “proud to be British” could mean or might lead to. But few could have watched the ceremony without at least a little buzz of recognition or nostalgia, or belonging, or a civic pride in at least some of the inheritance we were reminded of. Olympic cynics were best advised to steer clear: they may have found a contagious bit of dust in the eye at one point or other.





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The Boyle spectacular especially pitched for something the British believe – that we have a distinctive sense of humour, which helps to define how we think about who we are. If that’s mistaken, then another country will have to prove it, by deciding to tell its own story on the grandest of stages with a mould-breaking ceremony like that.

The Chinese media were keen to question whether London 2012 could match the scale of Beijing’s achievement in hosting the 2008 games. London could not emulate Beijing when it came to choreography on a massive scale, of the kind intended to send a signal that a rising power is very well organised. But nor could Beijing match London as an Olympics host, in our ability to look ourselves in the mirror, to tell a true ‘warts and all’ story about the host city which has genuine popular resonance, because it contains dissent and conflict, and room for argument. There were certainly no allusions to Tianamen Square in the 2008 ceremony. So it was not for London to emulate Beijing, but perhaps the hope that one day Beijing might still emulate London. If it follows the pattern of London since 1908, and so gets to host further Olympic Games in, say, 2048 and 2112, then it would be good to think that China may also have become a society which could celebrate

popular struggles to achieve liberty and democracy.

So it was that Danny Boyle achieved something with which politicians have struggled (and have even been told is impossible): he told the story of what Britishness means today.

How? “Show, don’t tell” was the simple core principle.

That matters because it is possible to intellectualise national identity, and to articulate what it means and why, but any authentic version depends on feeling it first.

And his show finally exploded the common, but rather thin, objection that there is little to be said about what Britishness is, because it contains nothing that is truly unique. Modern, industrialised western societies have a good deal in common with each other. Every country faces outwards and inwards, and thinks about how to reconcile its past with its future.

Almost every liberal democracy is grappling with the challenge of how national identities which were once largely ethnically defined can become civic and inclusive, while retaining an authentic sense of belonging. But those shared challenges do not mean that our distinct identities are somehow fake, nor do they make our histories or our futures identical. Emotional commitment comes >>

>> from the particular, not the abstract. Of course, other countries have democracy and human rights, trade links around the world, language and literature, culture and film, science, technology and the internet, and all the rest of it. So Shakespeare and the suffragettes, the Beatles and James Bond, Harry Potter and Tim Berners-Lee are our story, our icons, before we share them with the world too.

The show also succeeded through a generous pluralism, which refused stale polarisations. Debates about British identity have sometimes got stuck around issues of whether we think of ourselves as an insular or a global nation; whether we need to recall and strengthen our traditions, or focus on the future in a fast-moving world; whether we are really a rural or urban nation. The truth is that we are all of these things, so that many would feel a sense of loss if forced to make a stark choice between them. The Christian heritage can form the inheritance of a multi-faith and secular society too, as the moving use of *Abide With Me* to remember quietly the atrocity of 7/7, the day after London was awarded the Games, showed. The ceremony as a whole ratified a resolution which London made, collectively, by 8/7 and 9/7 that year; that we wanted to remain true to the hopeful

story that had been told in our name on 6/7 in Singapore when we invited the world to our capital.

If Boyle kept that promise, he also finally laid the ghost of the Millennium Dome too. It was a project that never established the suspension of disbelief that a major moment of national communion requires. We declared we would tell a story about our nation for a once in a thousand years occasion, but somehow failed to find the voice to do it. The Dome felt spiritually empty for most, in large part because it seemed part of a project which regarded British history and tradition as an impediment to the brave, young modern country that we needed to become. But that was probably never the route to modernity that the British would want to take. It is to misunderstand entirely the internationalism of London too to regard it as representing a cosmopolitan, post-national escape from history. London's identity is the product of Britain's history, not an escape from it, and is deeply rooted in the history of London itself, in its river, in its literature, in its shifting patterns of trade and population.

Being the most open city in Europe can give it more to be proud of, not less, though that has depended on opening up



PHOTO:  
*A Team GB photo  
from 1948*

the identification with London, and being a Londoner, to those who have come to contribute, from around the UK and overseas too, despite being born well out of earshot of Bow Bells. That is how London has built perhaps the leading claim to be the city in the world which is most confident about its identity and its future, even in these anxious times.

Though the Olympic ceremony, by contrast with the Dome, largely succeeded in linking the ancient and modern, it did not quite manage to join the dots between them quite as well as it might have done.

## *In 1948 the NHS was created and Windrush arrived*

Boyle's history lesson included the SS Windrush to represent how post-war immigration, and the rise of multi-ethnic Britain, would change our ideas of who counted as British, and on what terms. So the show did capture the last London Olympic year of 1948 as the foundational moment of post-war Britain: the year, too, in which the NHS was created, and the Windrush arrived. But one other epoch-making moment was missing: the independence of India. Danny Boyle was committed to a 'warts and all' history – of patriotism, pride and sacrifice, and of struggle and dissent too. That Empire and decolonisation seemed to be skipped over entirely suggests, perhaps, that they may be considered still too sensitive a topic for the diplomatic sensitivities of an international sporting jamboree, attended by over 200 nations, around a quarter of whom will have, at some point, sought and achieved independence from British rule. I suspect there could have been civil and inclusive ways to include that story too – to show the symbolic lowering of a Union Jack as a clock struck midnight, and perhaps to link the political change to the infusion of new influences in English literature and language.

There are two distinct stories about Britain's place in the world – and this show chose to prioritise one of them, the forge of the industrial revolution, but perhaps to duck the other, the story of a global island's imperial expansion and Commonwealth contraction, and how that was to change

Britain irreversibly. The problem with skipping over it all is that it leaves a crucial gap in explaining how we got here. But we miss out a lot of shared history if we see the post-war arrival of Windrush only as the start of a story, rather than a new chapter in a history which stretches much further back. Many of those arriving with their suitcases on a boat knew everything about a shared British cultural inheritance of Shakespeare and all that. The bemusement of those who arrived on Windrush and after, as with many of the Asians who fled Uganda's Idi Amin a generation later, was often of how this metropolitan 'mother country' about which they knew so much turned out to have so little awareness of them, as the island chose to look inwards again in the immediate post-war decades.

There has certainly been more anxiety, outside London, as to whether diverse, multi-ethnic societies can have a shared pride that is authentic.

Yet we should now see that the answer to the question 'what makes you British?' was staring us in the face all the time.

It is Britain that makes you British.

It is strange, but it happens to be true, that some of those who have proclaimed themselves proudest to be British have sometimes been those with surprisingly little confidence in British culture and identity, seeing it as a brittle and fragile thing, easily lost and swamped by newcomers arriving; talking even of the building of funeral pyres so that Britain would not be Britain anymore, not recognising that the majority of newcomers do want to celebrate a sense of identification with their new society, and its longer history too, as they seek to contribute to another chapter in it.

Boyle showed us how much Britain has changed – and why it is still Britain too. The core message was one of hope as well as pride.

Here was a Britishness with deep roots and a warm ability to adapt, to absorb, and to include too. Boyle showed us why, once we understand Britishness like that, most of us feel it deeply, and so want to keep it and share it too.

On a night like that, our Britishness seemed irresistible.

*Sunder Katwala is director of British Future*

# Olympics brought pride to whole nation

## Public think volunteering will increase following London 2012.

Images of Scots such as Sir Chris Hoy winning multiple gold medals at the heart of a united Team GB and happy volunteers guiding thousands of visitors to the Olympics have had a positive impact on the nation, according to new research by British Future.

The research, carried out by Ipsos MORI on behalf of the think-tank, found that 82% of people believe the 2012 Olympics will make people more proud of being British. Those in East Anglia were most likely to believe this, with 87% saying they believed British pride would increase, compared with 73% of those in Scotland. Women were more likely (84%) than men (80%) to believe this.

The high profile of the near 70,000 Games Makers in their purple and red uniforms, 40% of whom had never volunteered before, has also struck a chord. Half of those surveyed believe that the level of volunteering will increase as a result of the Games. People aged 16 to 24 were most likely to feel that volunteering would benefit from the Games, with 56% predicting a positive effect.

Respondents in Greater London were the biggest believers in the halo effect of the Games on giving up time for a good cause. 60% of those polled in the capital believed there would be more volunteering as a result.

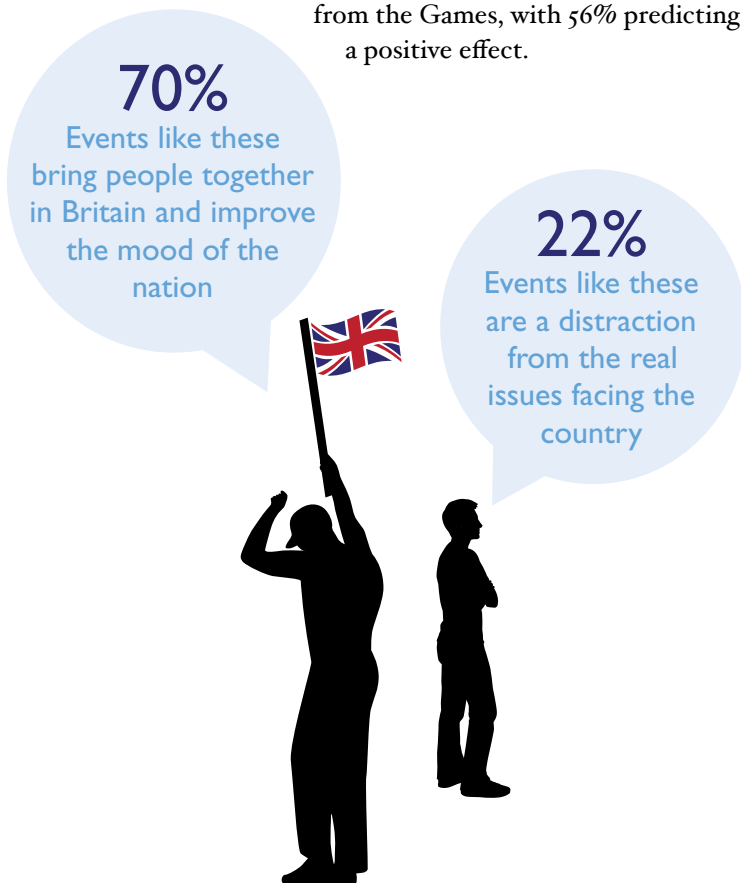
The success of Edinburgh-born Sir Chris Hoy and other successful Scottish Olympians may be the driver behind one of the findings of our survey. 19% of those polled believed that support for Scottish independence had fallen as a result of the Games. Those aged over 45 were most likely to believe this to be a by-product of the 2012 Olympics. However, three out of five people (61%) felt they had made no difference on the issue.

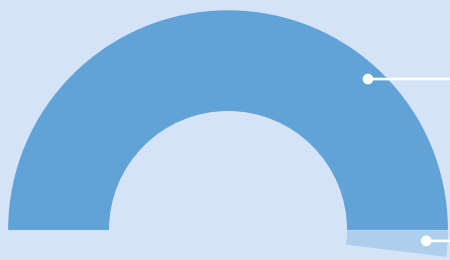
There were distinct differences on a regional basis. A third of Scots polled believed support for Scottish independence would decrease as a result of the Games, compared with the 12% who believed support would increase. Of the English regions, those in East Anglia and the south-west were most likely to see a decrease in support for Scottish independence; a quarter of respondents in each of these regions said they expected a decrease in support for a break-up of the Union.

In our Hopes and Fears survey carried out earlier this year, the south-west was the English region keenest on Scottish independence, with 34% backing Scotland to leaving the Union and 40% preferring them to stay. Some 29% of those in Scotland were pro-independence and 54% against.

The survey by Ipsos MORI also found that 78% of people expect the Games to increase the amount of sport that people play.

Our survey also found that women were the most likely (80%) to believe that the Olympics would increase the level of sport played in Britain, against 77% of men. People in the north-east were least convinced of the sporting benefits – just 70% felt participation would increase compared with 81% in Yorkshire and Humberside and the East Midlands.



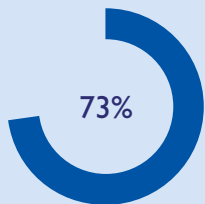


**50%** say they expect to see level of volunteering increase, and only **2%** expect to see it decrease

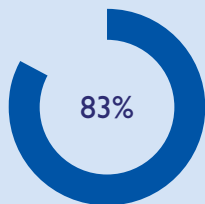


66% say that the Olympic opening ceremony reflected the best of traditional and modern Britain. That includes 56% of Scots and 62% of Welsh respondents

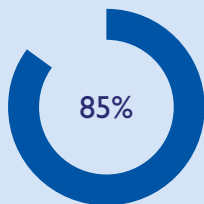
86% of people said the 2012 Olympics has had a positive effect on the mood of British public, including 87% of respondents in Scotland and 88% in Wales



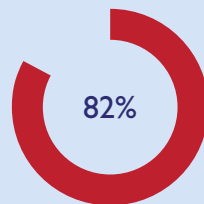
SCOTTISH



WELSH

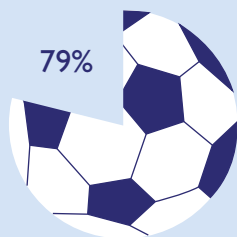


LONDONERS



UK

Respondents said the Olympics would increase how proud people are to be British



79%

Think the Olympics will increase the amount of sport people in Britain play, including 80% of Welsh respondents and 79% in Scotland

Scots were most divided, with 53% saying the events had brought people together and improved the mood of the nation, but with 35% saying there are a distraction from the real issues facing the country

# Flags fly for national moment

We don't do flags in my family, but the Olympics changed all that, writes Rachael Jolley.

Despite living for a while in a small American town where every home had a flagpole on the front lawn, and flags came out regularly for every Memorial Day or July 4th, it never seemed very British to do the flag thing.

It came as a bit of a surprise to find myself at a flag stall in Covent Garden during the Olympics, lining up to buy a Union Jack. But the Olympics made the flag much more appropriate. Suddenly they were everywhere in the stadium, being worn as capes and flying from the back of backpacks and being draped over the shoulders of spectators.

And it seemed sort of churlish not to wear one too as we set off for the stadium to enjoy a day of athletics among the throngs of happy people.

Across the Stratford landscape there were flags everywhere and it didn't feel odd or like we were trying to ape another country, just like this was how we were. It felt like a 2012 British way of enjoying ourselves.

Having the flag flying created a bond between the British supporters that I've never seen before, it broke the ice, so we could start talking to each other, and somehow that was a new British thing too.

Suddenly all those stereotypes about British calm, stiff upper lips, and not chatting to strangers flew out of the stadium, and it was more natural to just start asking the bloke in the queue next to me, what event he had seen, and what had he thought of the swimming as if I had known him all my life.

The flag thing was working for all the British supporters, not just English ones, who previously had a rather more positive relationship than the Welsh or Scots with the Union flag. Back in April when British Future asked YouGov to poll for us on attitudes to the Union Jack, for our report *This Sceptred Isle*, we found that the English connected it more with pride and patriotism, than the Welsh or the Scots. Back then 80% of English respondents associated the Union Jack with pride and patriotism, along with 68% of Welsh respondents and just over half of Scots (56%). But the Olympics changed that, Scots' pride has now gone up to 64% and Welsh rocketed to 83%, perhaps reflecting the Jade Jones effect. It was a moment when the whole country could join together, and those are rare. Usually it is something to do with the English football team, or the Welsh rugby team, or some other sporting moment that feels more owned by one part of Britain than another. What was great about the Olympics was that it felt shared by all. We all wanted a part of it, whether we were sitting at home watching the television, watching a big screen or out at the Olympic park. There were sports heroes from all corners of the country, from Chris Hoy to Jade Jones to Jessica Ennis. And we could all share them, and flying that flag seemed to fit right in.

*Rachael Jolley is editorial director of British Future*

	PRIDE AND PATRIOTISM	TEAM GB	MONARCHY	ARMED FORCES
England	80 (-)	85 (+10)	84 (-)	79 (-1)
Scotland	64 (+8)	80 (+15)	90 (+14)	78 (+8)
Wales	83 (+15)	91 (+20)	94 (+8)	90 (+13)
White	80 (+1)	84 (+9)	86 (+2)	81 (+1)
Non-white	72 (+4)	85 (+19)	74 (+3)	70 (+4)
GB total	79 (+1)	84 (+10)	85 (+2)	80 (+1)

\*\* Polling was carried out by YouGov on 13-14 August 2012 with a representative group of 1758 adults, and repeated polling questions carried out from March 30-April 2 2012, with 2600 adults aged 18 plus..

\*\*\*Ethnic minority samples are of a small statistical size, and may not be statistically significant.

Associate the flag with



- MONARCHY 85%
- TEAM GB 84%
- ARMED FORCES 80%
- PRIDE AND PATRIOTISM 79%

## Attitudes to Union Jack alter After Olympics:

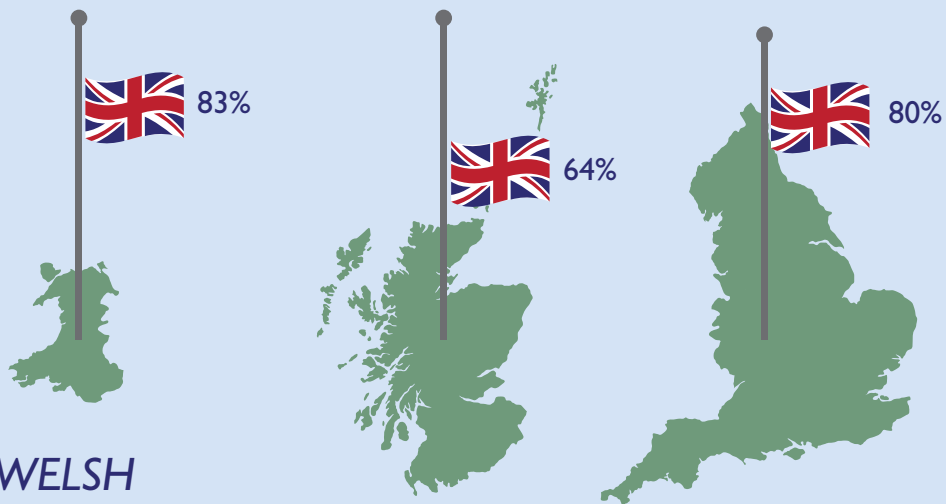
The public now see Team GB and the monarchy as having the strongest associations with the Union Jack. The number of people associating the Union Jack with a modern, diverse Britain rose, from 36% to 40%.



Only 4% of Britons do not associate the Union flag with Team GB (down from 8% before the Games).

More Welsh (+20%, up to 91% from April 2012), Scots (+15%, up to 80%) and non-white Britons (+19%, up to 85%) now associate Team GB with the Union Jack, showing the Olympics' distinctive power to bring people together, reaching those who may be wary of some traditional patriotic symbols while retaining an equally strong appeal to traditionalists. Across England, those associating Team GB with the Union Jack rose by 10 % to 85%

There has been a striking rise in Wales and Scotland of those seeing pride and patriotism in the Union flag



Source: YouGov Polls April and August 2012

# British Future 2012 – our first year in pictures

Photos from British Future's launch/pre-Olympic debate at Stratford Town Hall/Jubilee street party.



## Pride in St George is flagging

**ASPER COOPER**

England needs a national identity during the Commonwealth 50th anniversary, and in 2012 it should be a national identity that is not just a collection of flags, but a sense of shared history and values. The report, 'An Anthem for England', suggests that the Union Jack is not the best symbol for the country's diverse population. It proposes a new flag that incorporates elements of the various regional flags, such as the White Horse for Wessex, the Red Dragon for Wales, and the Saltire for Scotland. The report also calls for a new national anthem that is more inclusive and representative of the modern United Kingdom.



## An anthem for England

**By Ryan Kistler**

**Patriotic fans could sing Jerusalem or Land of Hope and Glory, suggest MPs**

ENGLAND needs a rousing national anthem of its own to help restore pride in the country, say campaigners. They have written to the Prime Minister recommending a popular vote to pick a song such as Jerusalem or Land of Hope and Glory to be used at sporting and national events instead of God Save the Queen. MPs and academics claim that treating the anthem as if it belongs to England 'undermines an equal status to Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Wales'.

While 80 per cent of those questioned linked the British flag to patriotic feelings, only 61 per cent associated such emotions with the English flag. The Welsh and Breton, in contrast, were far more likely to feel pride in their flags of Y Ddraig Goch, the Red Dragon, and St Andrew's Cross.

Others' If the Union of countries is to continue. The think-tank report, 'This Scot's Tale', blames the 'extreme street hooliganism of the English Defence League' for 'toxicifying' the St George's Cross, although it also criticises politicians for not speaking up for 'inclusive patriotism'.



## THE SCOTSMAN

**Blue Knights' Rangers D-Day** **Election blow for Sarkozy**

**Scots snub Queen as symbol of national identity**

**The Donald' has landed**

**1,000% rise in young Scots out of work for over 12 months**

**Unseen Fab Four photos up for grabs**

The Scotsman newspaper front page features several headlines related to Scottish news and politics. The main headline is 'Scots snub Queen as symbol of national identity', which discusses the controversy surrounding the Queen's visit to Scotland. Other headlines include 'The Donald' has landed, referring to Barack Obama's visit, and 'Unseen Fab Four photos up for grabs', referring to the Beatles.

## Jubilation for the new Britons who made monarch their own

**By CHARLIE COOPER**

When Paul Sathianesan got off the plane at Gatwick Airport to begin a new life in a new country, all he had with him were two shirts, two pairs of trousers, a sarong and a container of soil from his homeland, Sri Lanka. Mr Sathianesan, 51, was an asylum seeker in 1985. Twenty-three years later he became mayor of the London borough of Newham and today, he says, he presides over 100 citizenship ceremonies every week. Yesterday Mr Sathianesan was one of dozens of former refugees who came to Brixton, in south London, for what was billed as the first of hundreds of Jubilee street parties, organised by the Refugee Council and the think-tank, British Future.

**Ugandan refugees enjoy a jubilee street party in Brixton, south London**

## PERFECT MIX TEAM GB'S ETHNIC MAKE-UP

**UK-born** 60% (220 medals)

**White** 89% (282)

**UK-born 2nd/3rd gen father** 27% (89)

**British ethnic ethnicity** 16.5% (54)

**Foreign born** 14% (46)

**Britain's double gold medalist Mo Farah was born in Somalia**

Team GB's medal haul at the London 2012 Olympics was a record for the team, and the ethnic diversity of the athletes was a key factor in their success. The infographic shows that 60% of the medals were won by UK-born athletes, with 89% of those being white. However, 16.5% of the medals were won by athletes of British ethnic ethnicity, and 14% were won by foreign-born athletes. Mo Farah, who won two gold medals, is highlighted as a key example of a foreign-born athlete who became a British champion.





# Games more impact than public expected

The success of the 2012 Olympics and Paralympics had a marked effect on the way the British public believes that the country is perceived by the rest of the world and also on the nation's mood.

In our Hopes and Fears survey carried out before the Games, just under two thirds (64%) of those polled believed the London Olympics would improve the mood of the nation. Whether it was the impressive haul of medals or just the visible improvement in the weather after several months of rain, our mood has improved substantially.

In an Ipsos MORI poll carried out for British Future post-Games, 86% of respondents said it had had a positive effect on their mood, with more than half believing that it had a very positive effect.

People in Yorkshire and Humberside were the most upbeat about the effect of the Games on the nation – 89% were positive about the Olympics, perhaps because of Yorkshire's impressive showing in the Games; its seven golds, three silvers and two bronzes would have put it 12<sup>th</sup> in the medal table if it were an independent nation.

A successful Games in the British capital also saw the percentage of Londoners who believed it would have a positive effect on the nation's mood rise from 63% before to 86% afterwards.

People who voted Conservative at the last General Election were the most positive about the effect of the Olympics on the nation. 93% of Tory voters felt the Games were beneficial for the mood of the British public, compared with 85% of Labour and 89% of Lib Dem voters.

Older people also believed that the Games had improved our mood – 91% of 55 to

75-year-olds said the sporting fortnight had had a positive effect.

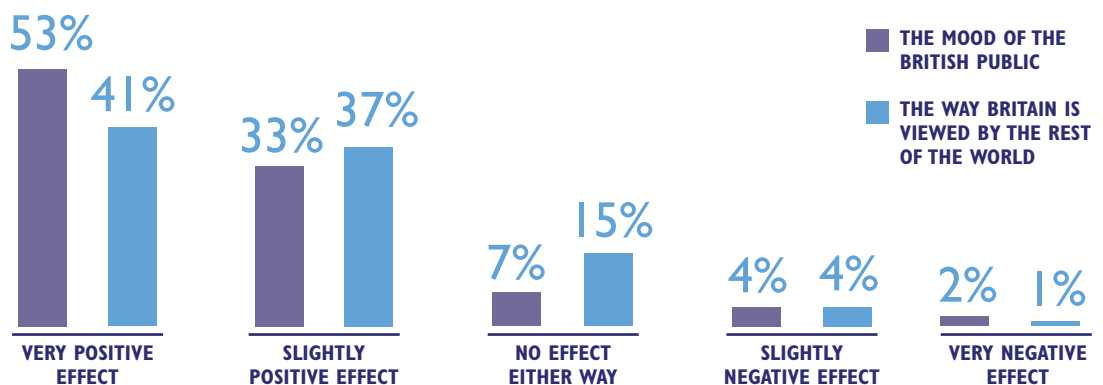
As well as improving how British people felt about themselves, there was also a strong feeling that the country's standing around the world had been improved by the Olympics, with its 4 billion plus global audience of television and online viewers.

After a period of years in which Britain has tended to downplay national pride and its standing has been dented by poor showings in globally watched events such as the Eurovision Song Contest, the British public felt it was able to take pride in the Olympics and that we would be perceived in a more positive light around the world as a result.

In our Hopes and Fears survey carried out earlier this year, 64% of those polled believed that London 2012 would help us being viewed in a positive light by other countries. In our post-Games survey, nearly eight out of ten people (78%) believed that the Games have improved the way Britain is perceived.

Older generations proved more likely to see this shift in perception by other countries. 82% of 55 to 75-year-olds said they felt that the Games had had a positive effect against 70% of 16 to 24-year-olds.

Respondents in East Anglia saw the most positive effect on Britain's perception around the globe. 84% of respondents felt our country's standing had improved. The Scots – furthest from the action – were less positive; 71% felt the Olympics had seen Britain's profile around the world improve.



# Keep the Olympic spirit alive

Back at the end of 2011 when British Future discussed what an important year 2012 was going to be, other people were sceptical, writes Rachael Jolley.

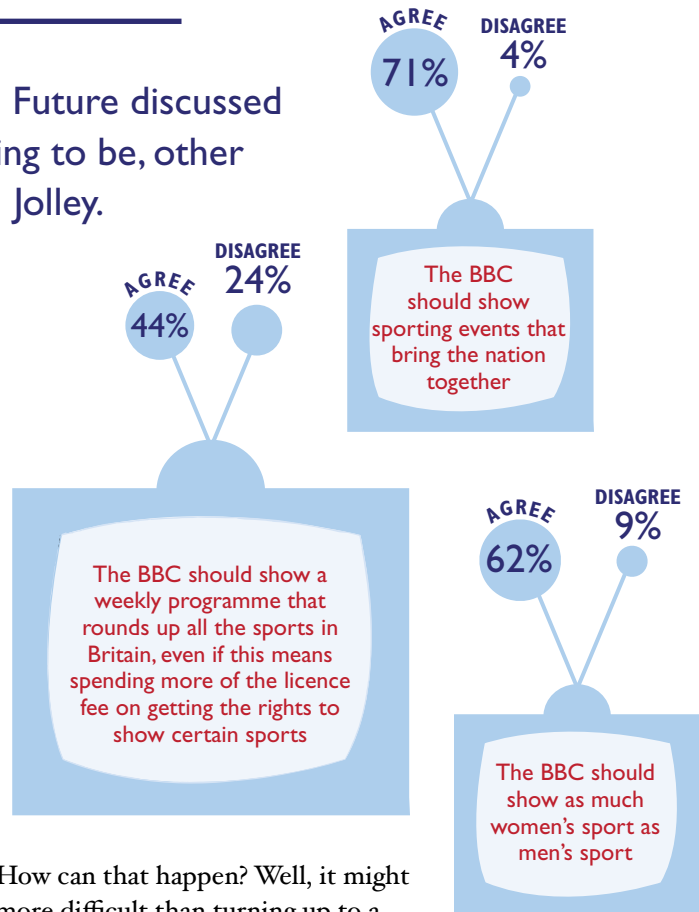
“Oh the Jubilee no one is going to care about that,” said one, and “Do you think it will be a big deal? I think a lot of people will just go away”. In a country of sceptics, where we are more likely to think things will go wrong than right, it is easy to get carried away by a wave of disbelief. And just two weeks before the Olympics the newspapers were still stuffed with scare stories. Often it felt like the rare few of us who were hopeful were living in a special rose-tinted place. The cynics were winning, the offices were closing, we were moaning about how awful the trains were going to be, and no one appeared to have a positive thought in their head.

But often the commentariat are out of tune with society at large, but they just don't know it, when British Future published its State of the Nation 2012 report in January, we found there was still optimism out there when it came to people's views about their families and even the place where they lived. Londoners were slightly more optimistic than other parts of Britain and Black and Asian Britons were most optimistic about 2012.

But then the rollercoaster of gloom swept through the dark months of winter and it seemed things could not get any worse. Despite this when we published our *Sceptred Isle* report in April, we found many things that the English, Scots and Welsh said made them proud.

The Olympic ceremony and then the Olympics itself propelled us out of our gloom, and we just don't want to go back. That happy feeling was a bit addictive. It was nice to feel that Britain could be a happy place where people chatted in the streets, and we had more to share, than divide us.

So how can we keep the spirit going? Our new polling certainly shows there is a will to do so, not only do the British public agree that as a nation we don't talk enough about our achievements, but 58% say the Olympics will have a lasting positive impact on British society.



How can that happen? Well, it might be more difficult than turning up to a party and cheering on a gold medal winner, but everything is possible if we want to try. So let's say "yah boo sucks" to the cynics, who firstly didn't think the Olympics, or the Jubilee, come to that, could make Britain feel good, and now at speedily moving to a position of denying it can make any difference to Britain in the long run.

So Britain can be proud of its volunteers, and keep on volunteering. It can take pride in its national moments without feeling guilty. It could feel a little bit more acceptable to say there are good things about this country as well as focussing on what needs to change. We can do a bit more sport, and get the good-feeling buzz from that. Overall we should stop feeling we are an unlucky people, and envy the French, Italians or Americans for having it that little bit better.

We don't like to show off, but even with all that in-built scepticism, taking time out to feel good about Britain is never a waste of time.

*Rachael Jolley is editorial director of British Future*

# Online poll – data in detail

- Results are based on 1,015 online interviews with people aged 16–75 in Great Britain as part of Ipsos MORI's online omnibus;
- Fieldwork took place between 10-13 August 2011;
- Where results do not sum to 100, this may be due to multiple responses, computer rounding, or weighting;
- Results are based on all respondents unless otherwise stated;
- Please note that data have been weighted to the known profile of the population; and
- An asterisk (\*) represents a value of less than one half of one per cent, but not zero.

Thinking about the year so far and whether 2012 has been a good or a bad year, how good or bad do you think 2012 has been so far for...

Base: 1,015 British Adults 16–75

	VERY GOOD YEAR	FAIRLY GOOD YEAR	NEITHER GOOD NOR BAD	FAIRLY BAD YEAR	VERY BAD YEAR	DON'T KNOW	GOOD	BAD	NET
	%								
You and your family	10	37	28	17	17	1	48	23	+24
The city/town/village where you live	5	32	48	11	2	3	37	13	+24
Britain	9	21	21	35	12	2	30	47	-17
Europe	1	4	17	39	36	3	5	75	-70

As you may know, Britain has been hosting the 2012 Olympics. What effect, if any, do you think the 2012 Olympics has had on...?

Base: 1,015 British Adults 16–75

	VERY POSITIVE EFFECT	SLIGHTLY POSITIVE EFFECT	NO EFFECT EITHER WAY	SLIGHTLY NEGATIVE EFFECT	VERY NEGATIVE EFFECT	DON'T KNOW	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	NET
	%								
The mood of the British Public	53	33	7	4	2	1	86	6	+80
The way Britain is viewed by the rest of the world	41	37	15	4	1	2	78	5	+73

And still thinking about the British public, what effect, if any, do you think hosting the 2012 Olympics will have on...?

Base: 1,015 British Adults 16–75

	INCREASE A LOT	INCREASE A LITTLE	MAKE NO DIFFERENCE	DECREASE A LITTLE	DECREASE A LOT	DON'T KNOW	INCREASE	DECREASE	NET
	%								
How proud people are to be British	38	44	15	1	1	1	82	1	+81
How much sport people in Britain play	21	58	19	*	*	2	78	1	+78
Level of volunteering	12	38	44	1	1	4	50	2	+48
Support for Scottish independence	2	5	61	13	7	12	7	19	-12

This year, Britain has held the Queen's Diamond Jubilee and hosted the 2012 Olympic Games. Thinking about these events, which of the two statements below best reflects your opinion?

Base: 1,015 British Adults 16–75

	%
Events like these bring people together in Britain and improve the mood of the nation	70
Events like these are a distraction from the real issues facing the country.	22
Neither	6
Don't know	3

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

Base: 1,015 British Adults 16–75

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW	AGREE	DISAGREE	NET
	%								
British people don't talk enough about Britain's achievements	22	43	23	8	3	1	66	11	+55
I've been surprised by how much the Olympics has brought Britain together	23	44	22	9	2	1	67	11	+56
The Olympics will leave a lasting positive impact on British society	17	41	25	12	3	2	58	15	+42
The British media tends to focus too much on the negative aspects of British society	24	40	23	9	3	1	63	12	+51
The Olympics opening ceremony reflected the best of traditional and modern Britain	28	38	19	7	5	3	66	12	+54
The Olympics have shown Britain to be a confident, multi-ethnic society	27	48	17	5	2	1	75	7	+69

As you may know, the British Olympic team (Team GB) includes some athletes who were born outside the UK (but who are now British citizens), as well as those born inside the UK. Which of these statements is closest to your opinion?

Base: 1,015 British Adults 16–75

	%
I support Team GB athletes born inside the UK more than those born outside the UK	13
I support all Team GB athletes equally, regardless of where they are born	75
I don't support Team GB at all	9
Don't know	4

# Additional polling

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- Research carried out for British Future;
- Results are based on 1,025 online interviews with people aged 16–75 in Great Britain as part of Ipsos MORI's online omnibus;
- Fieldwork took place between 18–22 August 2012;
- Where results do not sum to 100, this may be due to multiple responses, computer rounding, or weighting;
- Results are based on all respondents unless otherwise stated;
- Please note that data have been weighted to the known profile of the population; and
- An asterisk (\*) represents a value of less than one half of one per cent, but not zero.

As you may know, Britain has been hosting the 2012 Olympic Games. Thinking about what you have seen or have heard about Britain's performance in the Olympic Games, which two or three of the following athletes, if any, have made you proudest to be British?

Base: 1,025 British Adults 16–75

	%
Jessica Ennis in the heptathlon	50
Mo Farah in the 5,000 or 10,000 metres	43
Bradley Wiggins in the cycling	29
Sir Chris Hoy in the cycling	25
Andy Murray in the tennis	15
Nicola Adams in the boxing	12
Ben Ainslie in the sailing	9
Laura Trott in the cycling	9
Katherine Grainger in the rowing	8
Jade Jones in the taekwondo	5
Alastair Brownlee in the triathlon	5
Greg Rutherford in the long jump	5
Charlotte Dujardin in the dressage	3
Other	3
No athlete made me proud	10
Don't know	8

I'd now like to ask you some questions about the BBC's coverage of sport. As a publically-funded, free-to-view broadcaster, do you agree or disagree that the BBC should do each of the following?

Base: 1,025 British Adults 16-75

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW	AGREE	DISAGREE
%								
The BBC should show less sport	7	11	32	26	20	3	18	46
The BBC should concentrate on sports that are not shown elsewhere	9	25	42	15	5	4	34	20
The BBC should show as much women's sport as men's sport	26	36	25	7	2	3	62	9
The BBC should show sporting events that bring the nation together	36	35	21	2	2	4	71	4
The BBC should show the sports that most people want to watch	20	37	29	6	3	3	57	9
The BBC should show a weekly programme that rounds up all the sports in Britain, even if this means spending more of the licence fee on getting the rights to show certain sports	16	28	28	15	9	5	44	24

# YouGov polling in detail

The survey was carried out online. The figures have been weighted and are representative of all GB adults (aged 18+). Polling data will be found on [www.yougov.co.uk](http://www.yougov.co.uk).

- Sample Size: 1758 GB Adults
- Fieldwork: 13th – 14th August 2012

To what extent, if at all, do you associate each of the following things with the Union Jack?

	MARCH 30 – APRIL 2	AUGUST 13–14
	%	
<i>Pride and patriotism</i>		
Associate a great deal	50	54
Associate a fair amount	28	25
TOTAL ASSOCIATE	78	79
Associate a little	12	12
Do not associate at all	7	6
TOTAL ASSOCIATE A LITTLE / NOT AT ALL	19	18
Don't know	3	3
<i>Racism and extremism</i>		
Associate a great deal	7	5
Associate a fair amount	8	10
TOTAL ASSOCIATE	15	15
Associate a little	20	19
Do not associate at all	59	61
TOTAL ASSOCIATE A LITTLE / NOT AT ALL	79	80
Don't know	6	6
<i>The empire</i>		
Associate a great deal	37	31
Associate a fair amount	26	23
TOTAL ASSOCIATE	63	54
Associate a little	17	23
Do not associate at all	15	17
TOTAL ASSOCIATE A LITTLE / NOT AT ALL	32	40
Don't know	4	6
<i>Modern, diverse Britain</i>		
Associate a great deal	14	15
Associate a fair amount	22	25
TOTAL ASSOCIATE	36	40
Associate a little	26	28
Do not associate at all	32	26
TOTAL ASSOCIATE A LITTLE / NOT AT ALL	58	54
Don't know	6	6
<i>British pop music</i>		
Associate a great deal	13	16
Associate a fair amount	22	20
TOTAL ASSOCIATE	35	36

Do not associate at all	36	34
TOTAL ASSOCIATE A LITTLE / NOT AT ALL	61	59
Don't know	5	5
<i>The armed forces</i>		
Associate a great deal	54	54
Associate a fair amount	25	26
TOTAL ASSOCIATE	79	80
Associate a little	13	10
Do not associate at all	6	7
TOTAL ASSOCIATE A LITTLE / NOT AT ALL	19	17
Don't know	2	3
<i>The monarchy</i>		
Associate a great deal	59	61
Associate a fair amount	24	24
TOTAL ASSOCIATE	83	85
Associate a little	10	8
Do not associate at all	5	4
TOTAL ASSOCIATE A LITTLE / NOT AT ALL	15	12
Don't know	3	3
<i>Democracy and tolerance</i>		
Associate a great deal	25	24
Associate a fair amount	28	28
TOTAL ASSOCIATE	53	52
Associate a little	23	23
Do not associate at all	18	19
TOTAL ASSOCIATE A LITTLE / NOT AT ALL	41	42
Don't know	6	5
<i>Sacrifice in the world wars</i>		
Associate a great deal	42	38
Associate a fair amount	24	24
TOTAL ASSOCIATE	66	62
Associate a little	16	18
Do not associate at all	13	15
TOTAL ASSOCIATE A LITTLE / NOT AT ALL	29	33
Don't know	5	5
<i>Team GB at the Olympics</i>		
Associate a great deal	46	65
Associate a fair amount	28	19
TOTAL ASSOCIATE	74	84
Associate a little	15	8
Do not associate at all	8	4
TOTAL ASSOCIATE A LITTLE / NOT AT ALL	23	12
Don't know	3	3





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When British Future launched in early January, we asked “2012: What’s Our Story?”. It has turned out to be a year with an amazing story. Despite the economic hard times, we have managed to celebrate the Jubilee before the whole world’s attention turned to London 2012. For many of us we were gripped from the moment the torch was lit, for others the fascination came later. From our launch debate with a 1948 Olympics torch at the Museum of London, to our Jubilee street party, and then to the post Olympic parade, British Future’s first year has been packed with eventful moments.

In *Team GB: How 2012 Should Boost Britain*, we argue that the post-Olympic bounce has the potential to do more than provide a feelgood moment, but we have to seize the opportunity

before it slips away. We have revisited polling that we did earlier in the year with YouGov and Ipsos MORI to see if London 2012 has changed public attitudes to pride and identity.

We found that the public were eager that London 2012 had a lasting impact and that there was a strong feeling that the BBC, as a publically funded broadcaster, had a responsibility to do more to show sporting events that bring the nation together.

The faces of Team GB, the team, the volunteers and spectators, have shown us a confident, modern nation that represents all of us in 2012. We can take pride in that, but the legacy of Team GB should be greater than just that.

## British Future...

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Other British Future publications available to read online



**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



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