

What makes modern Britain great? It depends on which tribe you're in



POST-NATIONAL COSMOPOLITANS

10%

ICONS
JULIAN ASSANGE AND SHAMI CHAKRABARTI

What makes them proud?
The Human Rights Act – and not being silly enough to treat an accident of birth as a source of pride. (Except in Scotland, where most cosmopolitans would end the union and give Scottish independence a chance.)

Who do they cheer for?
Prefer the silliness of Eurovision to the jingoism of competitive sport. But may the best song win.

Whose pride makes them cringe?
The monarchists. It's a national embarrassment that we're not grown up enough to vote for our head of state. Try to escape to Paris for any major royal occasion.



METROPOLITAN PATRIOTS

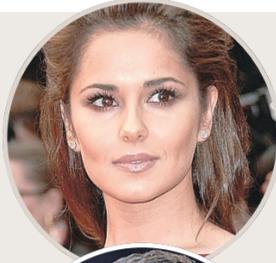
15%

ICONS
JESSICA ENNIS-HILL AND MO FARAH

What makes them proud?
Modern British diversity. They embrace change and are happy to wrap multi-ethnic Britain up in a union flag. Much preferred the Olympics to the jubilee, but wouldn't have objected to taking the kids to a jubilee street party.

Who do they cheer for?
Team GB, and that Danny Boyle, Mo Farah and Jessica Ennis gave us an Olympic patriotism they could (finally) attach to. Love the BBC too.

Whose pride makes them cringe?
St George. Still tend to associate the St George's flag with the EDL, or Ukip at best. It's fine while there's a World Cup on – but still worrying about whether Englishness can be inclusive.



NORTHERN SOUL

15%

ICONS
CHERYL COLE AND PETER KAY

What makes them proud?
The NHS – and the army. Won't hear a word against the Queen either, but would rather be stumping-up for fewer royal hangers-on.

Who do they cheer for?
The England football team. (Rugby in Wales.) Rugby league, too.

Whose pride makes them cringe?
Southern toffs – and the Bullingdon view of what makes people proud to be British. (Except Boris, because he's funny.)



JAM AND JERUSALEM

25%

ICONS
KATE MIDDLETON AND MARY BERRY

What makes them proud?
Bunting – for the jubilee street parties, the birth of Prince George and *The Great British Bake Off*.

Who do they cheer for?
Last Night of the Proms. Like to hear about England doing well at rugby and cricket.

Whose pride makes them cringe?
The miserable republicans who go around moaning instead of joining the party. Also worry about those poor women who hide away under the veil, but feel you can't really talk about it.

60% of women said they were interested in the birth of Prince George compared to 29% of men – YouGov.



GRUMPY NOSTALGICS

15%

ICONS
JEREMY CLARKSON AND NIGEL FARAGE

What makes them proud?
History. Military victories: not just two world wars but Waterloo and Agincourt as well. The Empire did a lot of good, as well as some bad.

Who do they cheer for?
Feel Nigel Farage is forcing some common sense on to the political agenda (but would never have touched the BNP). Liked David Cameron standing up to Putin's "little island" speech.

Whose pride makes them cringe?
Their right-on grandchildren. Making national pride about multi-culturalism (though they like a curry) and banging on about the NHS as if it's a leftwing religion, not a bloated nationalised juggernaut.



ANGRY REJECTIONISTS

10%

ICONS
EDL LEADER TOMMY ROBINSON

What makes them proud?
Nothing – the country has gone to hell in a handcart. Thought Winnie Jones was talking sense about emigrating, to get away from all the immigrants.

Who do they cheer for?
The EDL and the BNP. Still watch England at football, but uncomfortable with multi-ethnic team, as well as too many foreigners in the Premiership.

Whose pride makes them cringe?
Mo Farah draped in a union flag and the national reaction that proves they lost the argument long ago.

11% of people say they would consider joining the EDL – YouGov/Extremis

Ed Miliband's fight with the Daily Mail over his father's legacy has reignited the debate over what it means to be British. **Sunder Katwala** looks at what our country's divisions tell us about class, politics and place in modern Britain

There are different ways to express your pride and patriotism in Britain today. Some love a street party; others find the monarchy an embarrassment; the multi-ethnic story makes more sense in Birmingham than in Cornwall, Cumbria or Dundee. So the patriotism tribes of modern Britain tell a story about place, class and education (and politics too). The north mostly has a stronger sense of national identity than liberal London, but doesn't always recognise its patriotism in the official version of the governing classes.

Most Scots want the English to keep the angry rejectionists, while their referendum argument between two varieties of liberal patriotism is still being led by those who are proudly Scottish but wish to stay British too.

There is an enormous gulf in worldviews between the most and least liberal tribes. Yet both are tiny niches of the population and, curiously, the hyper-cosmopolitan tribe, who see no need for national identity at all, and the angriest rejectionists, with nothing to be proud of since their country was stolen from them, turn out to be curiously linked when they share an allergic reaction to those forms of patriotism and pride which do bring together most people in modern Britain.

Increasingly, the biggest divide is less class but age. One of the things that annoys Mr Grumpy Nostalgic is that his children aren't annoyed enough about the pressures they face. That is largely because the next generation grew up with the diversity that the over-60s experienced as new and unsettling change. Women are a little more optimistic too: Mrs Jam and Jerusalem, though often married to Mr Grumpy Nostalgic, thought young men in love being able to get married was rather nice, not a threat to civilisation.

No, no culture wars please, we're British. It is because we are a plural, changing and sometimes fragmented society that there is a growing popular appetite for things that bring us together.

Politicians and commentators may divide between a liberal celebration of the NHS and the BBC versus a traditionalist lauding of Shakespeare, the army and the monarchy, but most people embrace them as shared

It is because we are a plural, changing society that there is a growing appetite for things that bring us together

institutions that all represent the best of British. Only a small minority found Danny Boyle's Olympic opening ceremony, which included them all, politically contentious – and they would have enjoyed the Queen's jubilee more, anyway.

This surprising ability to unite traditional and modern will define next year's centenary of the first world war. Eight out of 10 of us believe it will be good for integration to commemorate the sacrifice of all those who died for Britain, including the Commonwealth soldiers who represent the forgotten, shared history of our multi-ethnic society.

Our patriotism tribes should talk to each other more. If the metropolitan patriots could embrace an inclusive Englishness too, they would find more common ground with most people who live outside London. Of course, the tribes want to argue their different visions out: we all agree that free speech is a big part of being British. But each of us could learn something if we sat down and listened to the tribe next door. Cup of tea, anyone?

Sunder Katwala is director of British Future, an identity and integration thinktank

British Future co-hosts a Festival of Englishness on Saturday 19 October. See ippr.org for tickets



SOUTHERN PRIDE

10%

ICONS
JAMIE OLIVER AND DAVID BECKHAM

What makes them proud?
Paying their way – even if they're squeezed to the hilt. These southern cousins of Northern Soul are a bit more about "me" than "we". They're fine with diversity, as long as it's "hard work, get on and fit in" diversity.

Whose pride makes them cringe?
Do-gooders, those without a "real job".

Who do they cheer for?
Eng-ger-land