

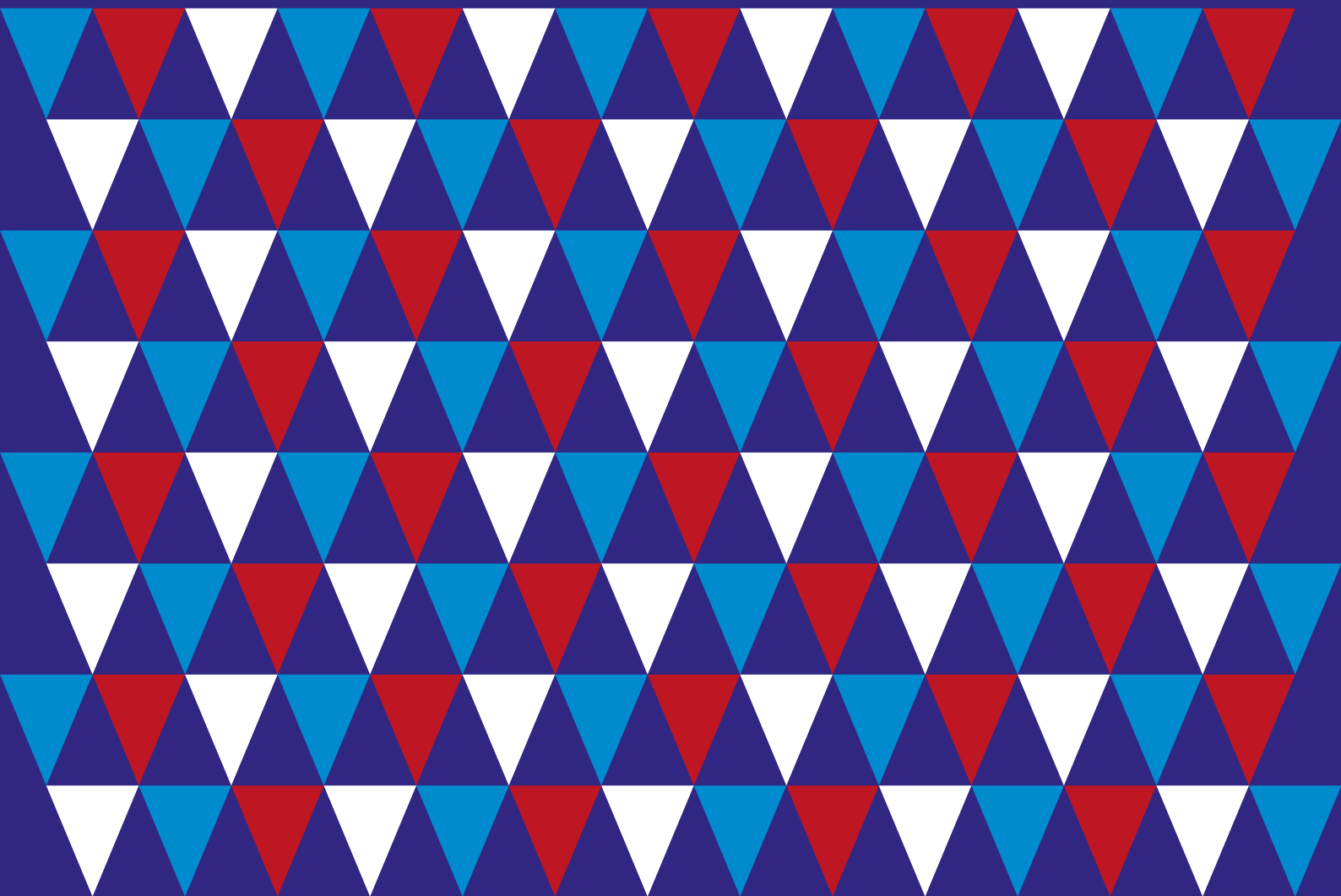
British  
Future...

# JUBILEE BRITAIN

After a decade of upheaval,  
where are we going now?

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and Heather Rolfe

British Future 2022



## **About British Future:**

British Future is an independent, non-partisan think tank engaging people's hopes and fears about integration and migration, identity and race, so that we share a confident and welcoming Britain, inclusive and fair to all.

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

## CHANGING TIMES

The Queen's Platinum Jubilee in June 2022, marking seven decades on the throne, offers a rare opportunity to examine how our society has changed so very significantly in that time – and also to understand what has remained constant.

British Future was founded 10 years ago in 2012, as the nation came together to mark the Queen's Diamond Jubilee and looked ahead to the London Olympics. Since then we have developed a uniquely detailed understanding of public attitudes, earning a position as a thought leader on issues of identity and migration, integration and race.

This new report explores where the public is on some of the key issues facing Britain in 2022 and beyond. Much has happened over the course of a volatile decade since the last Jubilee. Those 10 years have encompassed three general elections and two referendums, one leading to the UK leaving the European Union. A pandemic brought our economy and society to a near-standstill, and war in Europe has sparked new global instability and economic uncertainty.

But how much have we changed as a society? *Jubilee Britain* looks at the state of the nation in 2022 – at the issues that most concern us and our attitudes to them. And it then casts ahead to the challenges we may face in the future – and how we can navigate them together.

### **About the research for this report**

To inform this report, British Future commissioned Focaldata to conduct new, nationally representative research into public attitudes in Britain. We repeated some of the questions that British Future first asked people when we launched back in 2012, to assess how attitudes have shifted over the last decade. We also asked new questions to find out what people think about topics that weren't on the agenda 10 years ago.

Focaldata surveyed a main sample of 2,006 GB adults between 28 February – 7 March 2022, with a boosted sample of 636 people in Scotland and 683 people from an ethnic minority background. They also polled an additional sample of 302 people aged 16-18, to offer a rare snapshot of what the voters of tomorrow are thinking. Unless stated otherwise, all poll findings cited in this report refer to this 2022 Focaldata poll. Data tables for each of the graphics featured in this report can be found in the appendix.



Refugee Jubilee street party, London, 2012

Around half  
of us,  
**48%**  
feel pessimistic  
about 2022 for  
Britain

Only around  
a quarter,  
**27%**  
feel more  
upbeat

## 2. HOPES AND FEARS: HOW DO WE FEEL ABOUT BRITAIN IN 2022?

*Hopes and fears*, the report with which British Future launched ten years ago in 2012, feels as apposite a title today as it was a decade ago, encapsulating the public's nuanced feelings about Britain in 2022. Emerging at last from a two-year global pandemic, there is hope that life may now start returning to some degree of normality: family holidays, chatting with colleagues face-to-face at work and with friends in the pub.

Yet we remain worried for the future too: not only for our health and that of those close to us, but also how we are going to afford 'normal life' as bills and inflation continue to rise. Less than half of the public (44%) say they feel optimistic for themselves and their family in 2022. Some 3 in 10 (30%) feel pessimistic today.

The cost of living worries us more than anything else, with 70% of people citing 'increasing prices and bills' as one of their top three issues of concern (and 37% ranking it first, well ahead of any other issue). It's the Number One concern for teenagers and pensioners, Conservative and Labour voters, Remainers and Leavers.

### 2.1 What issues worry people most for 2022?

|                                     |     |
|-------------------------------------|-----|
| Prices and bills increasing         | 70% |
| Pressure on health services         | 41% |
| Continuing presence of Covid-19     | 28% |
| Climate change / environment        | 26% |
| Cuts in spending on public services | 21% |
| Immigration                         | 18% |
| Crime and disorder                  | 15% |
| Terrorist attacks                   | 14% |
| Availability of housing             | 13% |
| Unemployment                        | 13% |
| Care for the elderly                | 12% |
| Mortgage or rent payments           | 11% |
| Population growth                   | 7%  |
| Opportunities for young people      | 6%  |
| Racial or religious unrest          | 5%  |

So there are anxious times ahead. But a glance back at the *Hopes and fears* of 2012 reminds us that we have been here before.

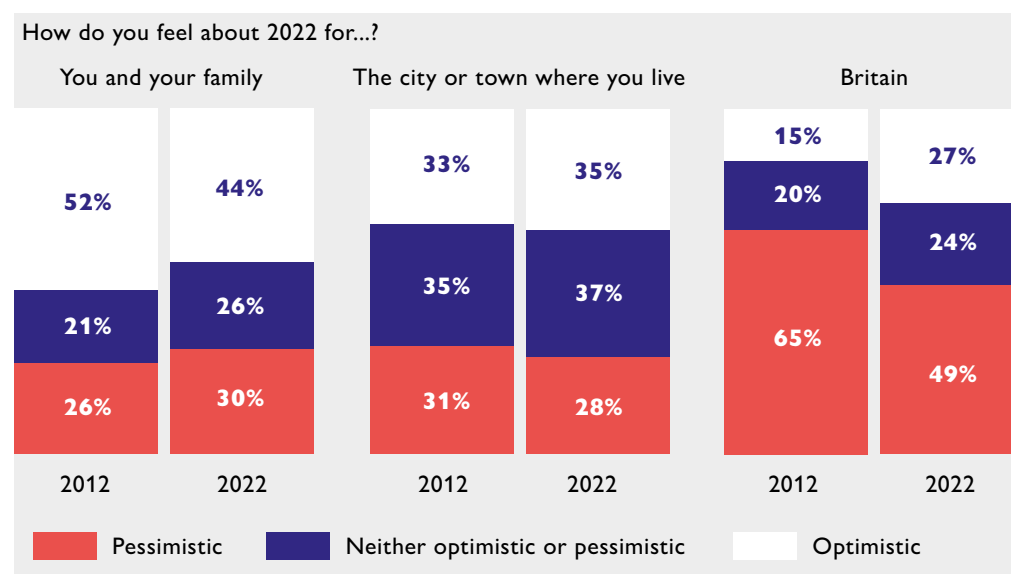
Britain in 2012 was coming out of a different period of turmoil that affected people across the world, the global financial crisis. The cost of living was again our greatest worry, topping our poll at 61%. While most people (52%) were

feeling reasonably positive about the prospects for themselves and their family, their outlook for the nation was more downbeat, with two-thirds (65%) saying they felt pessimistic about the country in 2012.

With Britain still emerging from the financial crash, in 2012 59% cited unemployment as one of their greatest concerns. Ten years on, today's more buoyant jobs market means unemployment has fallen way down the list, with just 13% mentioning it in their top three worries.

Ethnic minority Britons, however, are nearly twice as likely to be worried about unemployment today as white respondents, by 23% to 12%. They are also twice as worried about opportunities for young people. Both findings may reflect ongoing inequalities, in recruitment and progression at work, that must be addressed.

## 2.2 Optimism and pessimism: comparing 2022 and 2012



Of course, 2022 also looks very different to 2012. The pandemic has brought into sharp relief the fragility of our own health and that of the nation as a whole. Pressure on health services is second in our 2022 table of worries, cited by 41% of the public, up from 18% in 2012. This is followed in third by the continuing presence of Covid-19 at 28%.

And in fourth place, 26% of people cite climate change and other environmental crises as one of their greatest worries. This barely featured in 2012, when just 3% prioritised 'environmental concerns' as one of their key issues. Older people – more likely to be grandparents – are the most worried of all about the planet, with 29% citing climate change in their top three issues. That's higher than the 23% of 18-24s who voice concern about the environment; or indeed the 23% of over-65s who are worried about immigration.

Surprisingly it is young people – who bore much of the brunt of the lockdown restrictions as workplaces, universities and social life all shut down – who are the most optimistic about their own prospects and those of their family in 2022. Those aged 18-24 are more concerned about housing, unemployment, opportunities and paying rent, than older Britons. But a majority (57%) feel positive about the year ahead and getting their lives back on track. Those aged 16-18, who will come of age in time for a likely general election in 2024, feel more positive still, as we explore in the chapter to follow.



Just

**36%**

of 16-18 year olds think we should keep the monarchy for the foreseeable future.

**27%**

feel that the end of the queen's reign would be the right time to move on and become a republic.

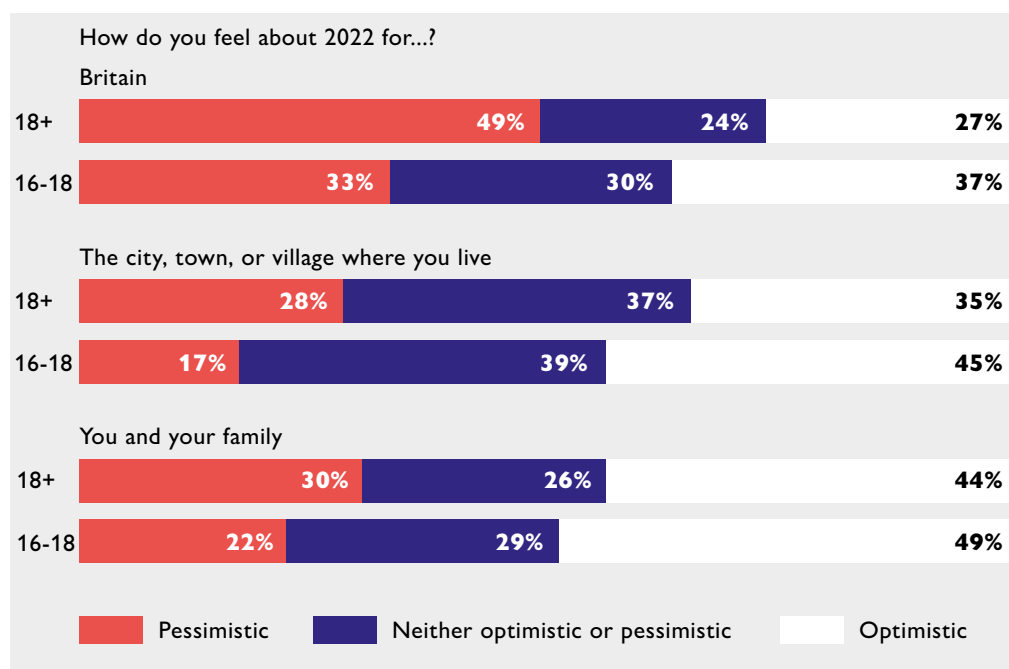
### 3. REASONS TO BE CHEERFUL: WHAT TOMORROW'S VOTERS THINK OF TODAY'S BRITAIN

When Britain marked the last Jubilee 10 years ago, today's 16-18 year olds were still at primary school. Their lives have been more affected than most by Covid-19, reducing their exposure to other social and political issues. Yet with a 2024 general election now looking more likely than an earlier date, this group – if they vote – will help decide our next government.

Across the questions covered in our 10<sup>th</sup> Birthday poll, this youngest group respond in similar ways to their older counterparts, though with some exceptions. There is much less support from younger people, for example, for retaining the monarchy in its present form: just over a third (36%) of 16-18 year olds agree that "We should keep the monarchy for the foreseeable future," compared to almost six in ten (58%) for all ages. A quarter would choose a Republic, while another quarter say they don't know. This may explain in part why this group is the least interested in the Jubilee and the Commonwealth Games, though responses suggest a lack of engagement rather than opposition.

In other ways, our poll tells a story of a younger generation with a more upbeat outlook than older Britons: more optimistic than others about their own prospects and those of their family, the town or city where they live and about Britain too. They are also more optimistic in believing that 'culture war' divisions will reduce in the future – an encouraging finding on a debate that is sometimes portrayed as a clash of generations.

#### 3.1 A more optimistic generation: attitudes to the year ahead, 16-18s

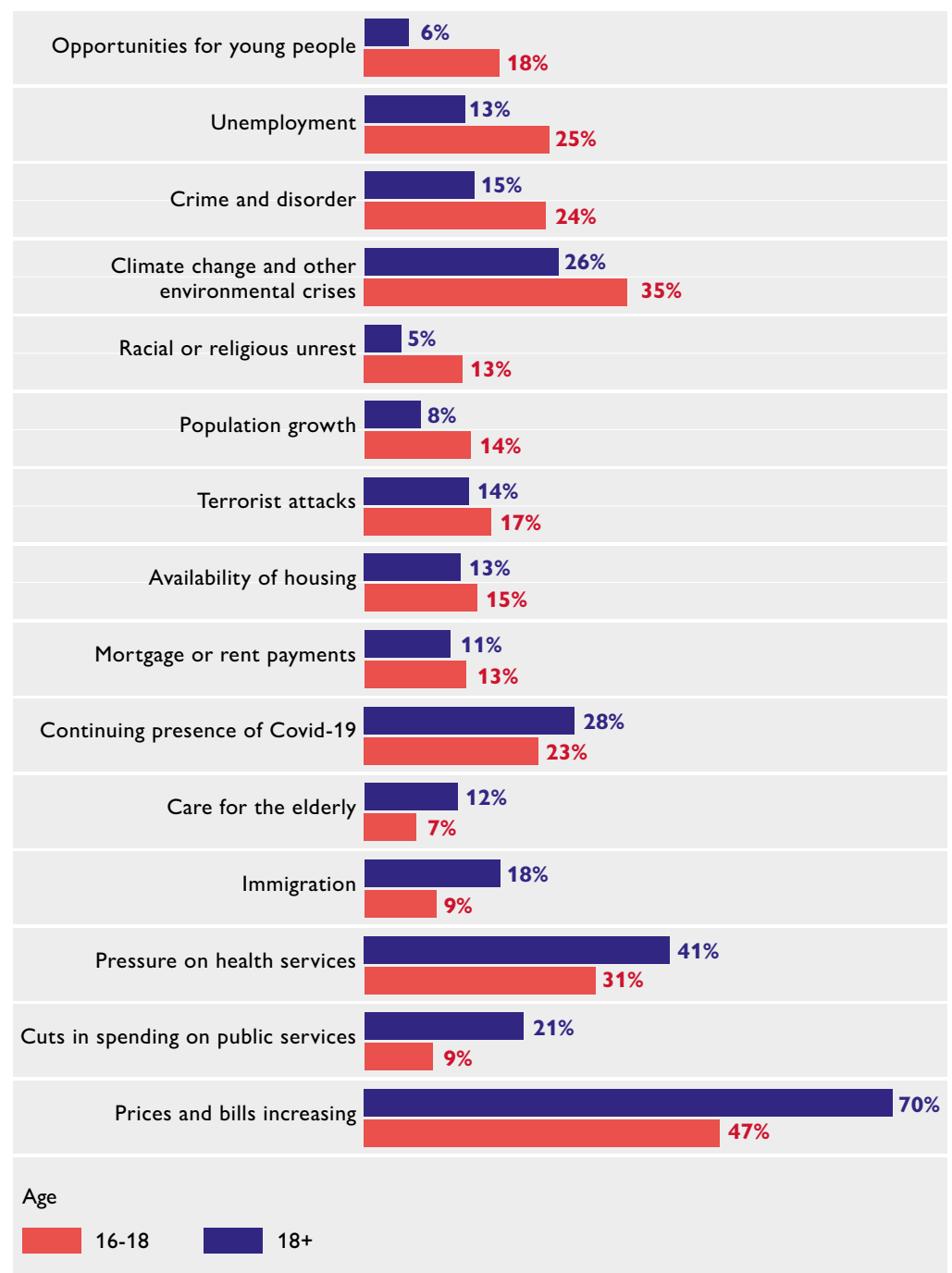




These 16-18 year olds do worry about their future, however. They are more concerned than older people about issues that may affect them directly, such as unemployment, opportunities for young people, crime and climate change. Topics such as immigration and pressure on health services concern them less than older citizens.

This mix of optimism and concern is not surprising among a group whose early adult lives have been so dominated by Covid-19 and with fewer opportunities for meaningful debate. The picture presented by our poll of tomorrow's first-time voters is one of an optimistic group with some concerns about their future, especially around issues that will affect the adult lives on which they are about to embark.

### 3.2 Most pressing issues in 2022 for 16-18 year olds



Three-quarters  
of us

77%

feel the Jubilee  
is important for  
Britain

Nearly half

48%

say it is very  
important

## 4. IS 2022 A YEAR THAT WILL BRING US TOGETHER?

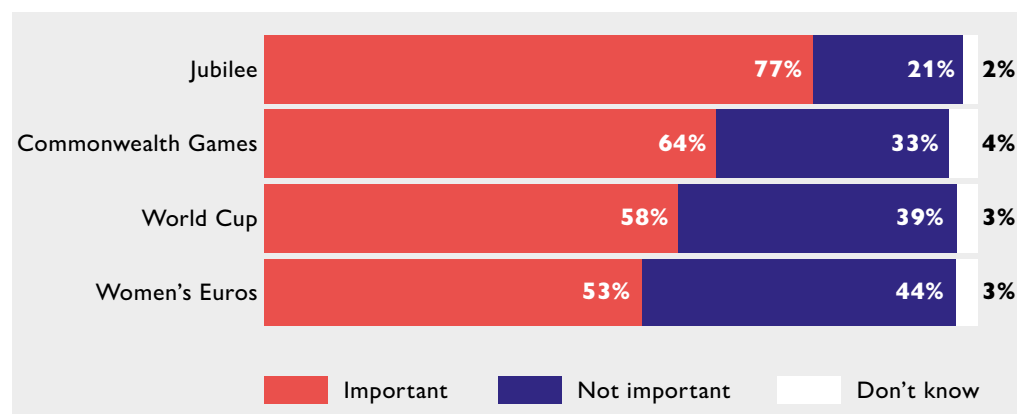
The year ahead sees a packed calendar of sporting and cultural events. Such shared, national moments can play an important part in bringing people from different backgrounds together, as we saw with 2020's VE Day celebrations and last year's Euros football tournament.

This year, towns and cities across England, from Southampton to Wigan and Leigh, host the women's Euros football tournament in July, before Birmingham takes centre stage as it hosts the Commonwealth Games. A winter football World Cup rounds off the year, with Gareth Southgate's England team facing a potential home nations tie with Scotland or Wales in the November group games in Qatar. The BBC's centenary and the Unboxed Festival of creativity will seek to open national conversations about who we are as a nation.

But it is the Queen's Platinum Jubilee in June, marked with a four-day bank holiday, that enjoys the highest profile. Our new research finds that two-thirds of the British public are interested in the celebrations taking place across the country. Three-quarters of us (77%) feel the Jubilee is important for Britain, with nearly half (48%) saying it is very important. Majorities agree across all age groups and across political divides. At a time when the monarchy needs to speak to Britons of all backgrounds, some 73% of ethnic minority Britons feel the Jubilee is an important moment for the country.

People recognise that the major cultural and sporting events taking place across Britain this year are more than just entertainments and public holidays, with majorities agreeing that they are important for the country. Nearly two-thirds of people (64%) feel that Birmingham's hosting of the Commonwealth Games this summer is important for Britain, with 40% of people in the West Midlands saying it is 'very important'. Unboxed, while it has lost the divisive 'Festival of Brexit' title, may also have lost some of the public recognition that came with it: only 9% of those polled had heard of it.

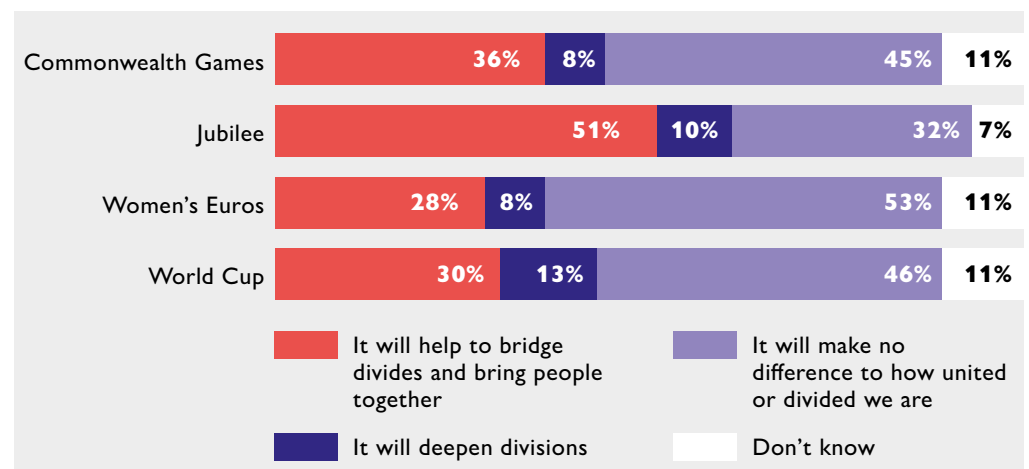
### 4.1 Are national sporting and cultural events important for Britain?



In 2020, when British Future conducted the Talk/together research project, asking people what unites and divides our society, many of those we spoke to in discussions across the UK harked back to the spirit of togetherness they had felt during the London Olympics of 2012. Can the national events of 2022, a decade later, do the same?

The Platinum Jubilee could have a similar effect, with a majority of respondents (51%) feeling that the June celebrations, with street parties and official events attracting large crowds, could be a unifying event which bridges divides. Marking 70 years of the Queen's reign, the Jubilee will also share many of the qualities of previous major anniversaries, like the 2014-18 centenary of the First World War: an opportunity to look back at seven decades of our shared history and understand what has remained constant in a long period of significant change in British society.


#### 4.2 Can events unite our society?



Those June celebrations will take place in a sea of red, white and blue, as the Union Jack is flown far and wide – a symbol of the United Kingdom that 7 in 10 people also associate closely with the monarchy. Yet perceptions of the Jubilee differ significantly between our different nations. People in Wales are the most engaged of all, with 73% interested in the Jubilee. The picture in Scotland is rather different: only 48% of Scots are interested in the Jubilee, while 49% say they are not. Only 37% of people in Scotland feel that the Jubilee can help unite people in our society, while 42% think it will make no difference. More Scots (52%) are interested in the World Cup and both Wales and Scotland may be gripped more by the World Cup play-offs during the week of the Jubilee, perhaps culminating in a head-to-head match in Cardiff.

So events, sporting or otherwise, cannot do all of the heavy lifting to bridge divides in our society. Conversations about what it means to be British – or Scottish, Welsh, English or Northern Irish – take place too seldom outside of such national occasions. We must do more to broaden these discussions. Annual moments – such as when we pause for Remembrance each November to reflect on the sacrifices of those who served in the World Wars – offer such an opportunity, and need to feel relevant and inclusive for Britons of all ethnic and faith backgrounds. But when a global pandemic has forced us apart for so long, and our screens and social media feeds distract us from the other people we live alongside, we should not underestimate the value of national events in helping promote social contact and a broader sense of an identity that we all share.

**46%**  
of respondents  
feel that Britain  
is now more  
divided than it  
was ten years ago



**15%**  
disagree



## 5. HAVE BREXIT AND COVID CHANGED BRITAIN?

None of us had heard of Brexit or Covid in 2012, yet together these issues dominated the last five years. How far have these two seismic events changed Britain?

A knife-edge referendum on a high stakes issue was always likely to divide. The surprise was that Brexit identities divided people more sharply by 2019 than they had in 2016, with the new “Leave” and “Remain” tribes disagreeing over who and what was to blame for three years of exhausting stalemate. Today, the public salience of Brexit is at its lowest since 2015, as those identities slowly deflate. It is now those on the losing side who are finding it harder to let go. Yet it is the Prime Minister who intends to bring Brexit back as a theme, given its role in securing swing votes in 2019. That may be swimming against the tide. A big part of the appeal of his winning slogan – “Get Brexit Done” – was the offer that we could finally think and talk about something else.

What that turned out to be was Covid. The tragedy of the pandemic proved an unlikely source of unity at first. That Covid consensus was not inevitable. In America, even a pandemic divided the political tribes, so that whether or not to wear a mask became like strapping your Presidential ballot paper to your face. In Britain, the case for lockdown, the fairness of furloughing and the power of vaccines each generated a strong social consensus, the broadest seen on any issue for decades<sup>1</sup>.

But Britain’s surge of pandemic unity did not last. A year into the pandemic, people felt the experience had done more to unite than divide us; but that perception had faded and flipped another year later, shifting to a sense that Covid had illuminated our divisions more. That trust in national government fell sharply made a major contribution. North-South arguments about fairness had a corrosive impact, as well as controversies about following the rules. Ironically, anger at parties by those making the rules did prove one final way to unite the vast majority, transcending party political views.

The local gains did prove more resilient. Even at a distance, many people got to know their neighbours better, and became better connected locally through Facebook and WhatsApp groups. The surge in community spirit and volunteering has helped to extend the scale of public response to welcome refugees from Ukraine.

It will now take active work to secure the few precious gains from this extraordinary period in our history. Increased working from home, for those whose job makes that possible, increases autonomy – but we will need to take care to limit its unintentional negative impact of reducing contact between people in the workplace, across generations and social groups.

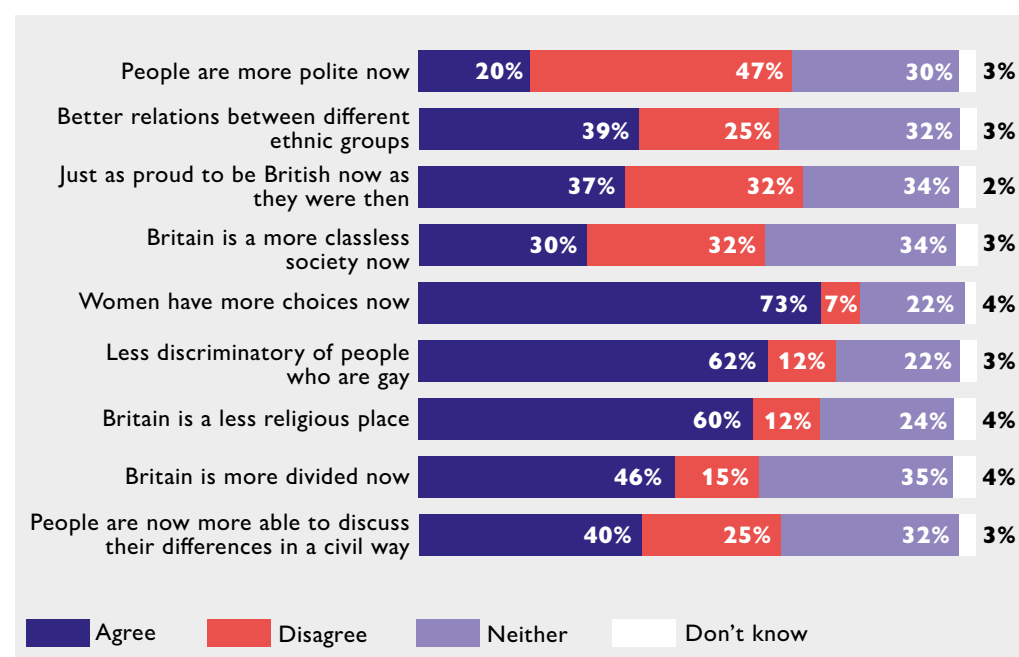
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1 Shown across public polling throughout the pandemic. See, for example, Ipsos polls on attitudes during Covid at <https://www.ipsos.com/en-uk/public-opinion-covid-19-coronavirus-pandemic>

Nearly half (46%) of respondents in our Focaldata poll feel that Britain is now more divided than it was ten years ago. Just 15% disagree. Yet political divisions are only in third place when people are asked about the divides they most worry about. That divides between rich and poor take top place is now a shared perception among those who voted Remain and Leave. Divides between ethnic groups moved ahead of political divides after the 2020 anti-racism protests, which sparked overdue conversations within institutions but also some risk of greater social polarisation.

We can risk exaggerating our divides too. Perhaps counter-intuitively, 40% of the British public – possibly those spending less time on Twitter – feel that we are more able, today, to discuss our differences in a civil way, than we were 10 years ago. A quarter disagree.

### 5.1 How has Britain changed in the ten years since the Diamond Jubilee of 2012?



The Talk Together project<sup>2</sup>, conducted by British Future for the Together Coalition, was the largest-ever public engagement exercise on what unites and divides our society. It captured how narratives that emphasise what we share can resonate broadly – but that they will do so, across these divides, only when they are combined with a clear plan about what needs to change in policy and practice. Civic, business and faith leaders would still like to evoke the lessons of how we pulled together – but both tone and content are central to ensuring that this is not received as complacent endorsement of the status quo, resonating only with a narrower middle-class audience in tougher economic times.

The lessons of Brexit and Covid are that those working for social connection now need not only a stronger public story but also a clearer practical agenda for change to join the dots. We should lean into shared national experiences, and use them to forge a sustained movement: one which also clearly recognises the divides in our society and challenges us all to play our part in bridging and reconnecting.

<sup>2</sup> See <https://www.britishfuture.org/publication/our-chance-to-reconnect/>

In 2012 only  
**32%**  
saw migration as  
having a positive  
effect on the  
NHS.

Now  
**53%**  
see its impact as  
positive.

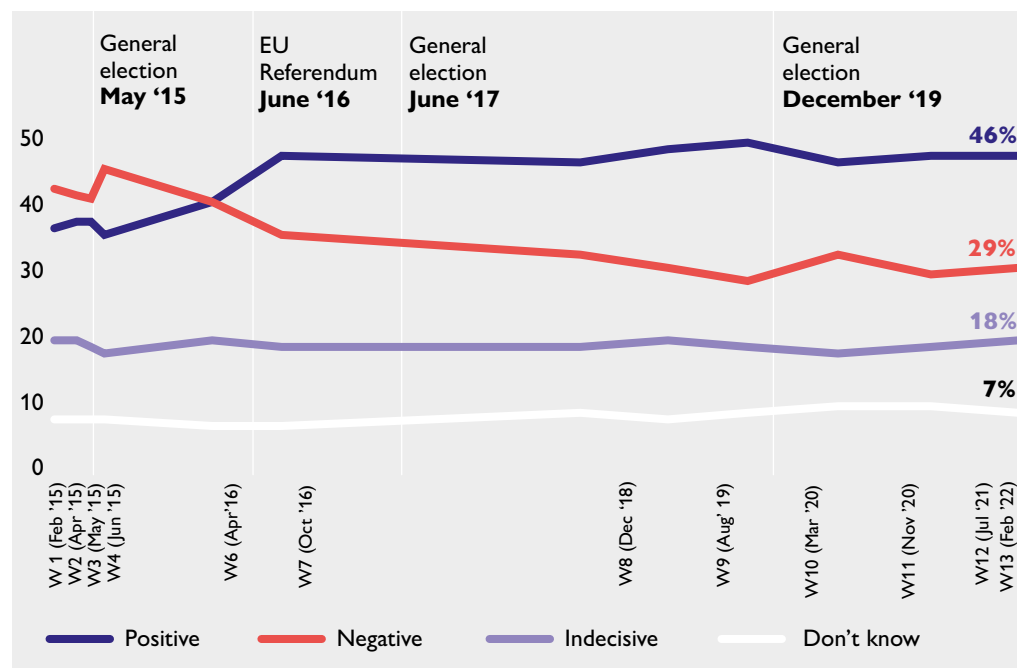
## 6. IMMIGRATION ATTITUDES: A DECADE OF TWO HALVES

Britain's immigration debate in the last decade has been a tale of two halves. Having risen to become a top political issue, playing a key role in the 2016 EU referendum decision, its salience has since fallen.

Our 2012 polling on hopes and fears found almost one in four people worried about immigration. In 2022 concerns about prices, bills and pressure on the health service loom much larger. Older people, who have traditionally been the most concerned about immigration, now list climate change as a more pressing concern, worried about the planet that their grandchildren will inherit.

This trend reflects a marked shift in attitudes: immigration still matters, but fewer people see it as negative for Britain, and those who would like numbers to be reduced are now in a minority. Our Ipsos Immigration Attitudes Tracker in early 2022<sup>3</sup> found that 46% of the public believes the impact of immigration to be positive, while less than a third consider it negative. This is almost a mirror image of the first tracker in February 2015, when 41% believed its impact to be negative, and just under a third to be positive.

### 6.1 Most people now think immigration has a positive impact on Britain



Source: Ipsos immigration attitudes tracker with British Future, 2015-2022.

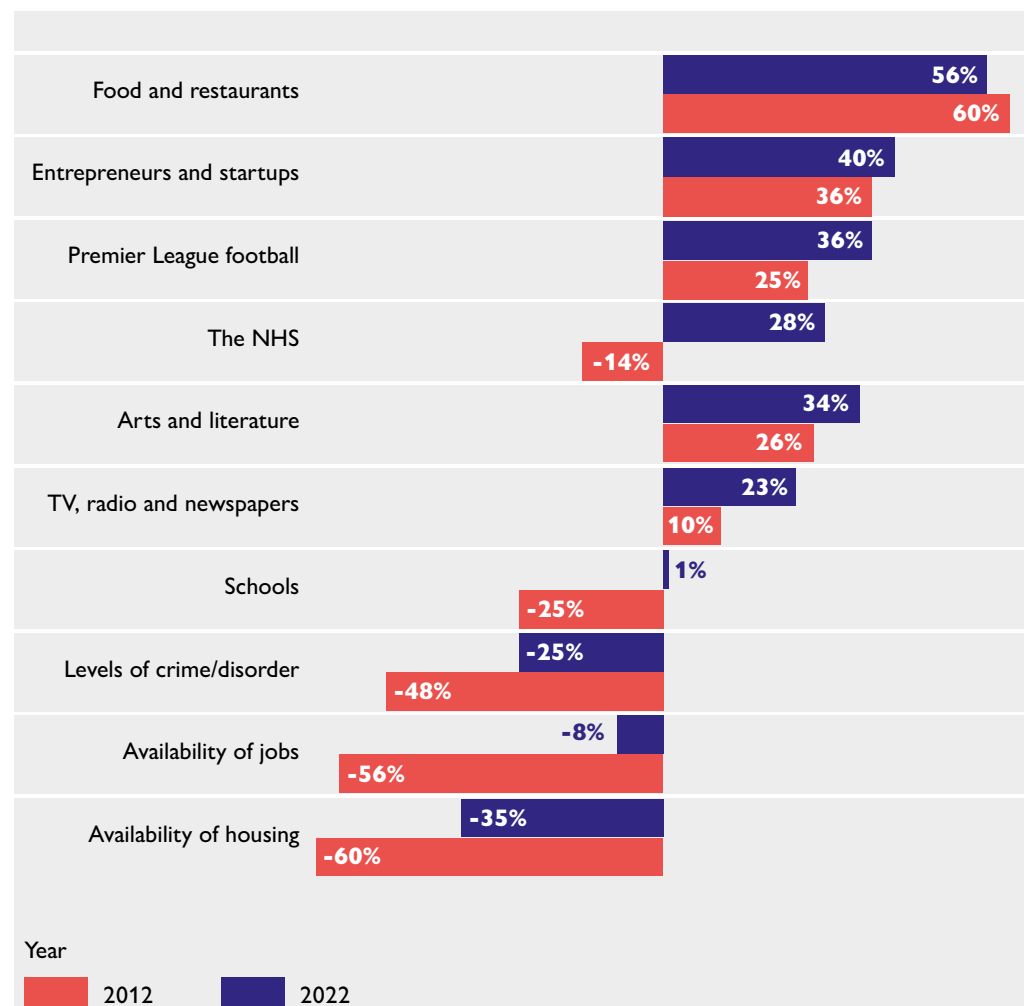
3 Ipsos for British Future, fieldwork Jan/Feb 2022. See: <https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/ct/news/documents/2022-03/attitudes-towards-immigration-british-future-ipsos-march-2022.pdf>

Between 2012 and today, the public changed its mind on the impact of migration on areas of UK life. The biggest change in attitudes involves the NHS: in 2012 more than four in ten (45%) saw migration as having a negative impact, and only a third saw it as positive. Now, more than half see its impact as positive: certainly in part due to the role played by migrant healthcare workers during the pandemic.

While concerns that migrants take jobs from British workers were widespread in 2012, these have subsided over the years: only a third now see migration as having a negative impact on jobs, compared to two-thirds in 2012. A quarter sees its impact as positive.

Anxieties and challenges remain. People are still more likely to perceive a negative impact of migration on the availability of housing and on levels of crime. Concerns about the children of new arrivals taking up school places have fallen significantly, however.

## 6.2 Have people moving to the UK from overseas had a positive or negative impact on aspects of life in the UK? Public perceptions in 2012 and 2022



People now believe that migrants have a role to play in Britain's economic recovery. In 2012 only one in four people agreed that migrants' skills and labour were necessary to help the economy. More than half believed migration would damage economic recovery by taking jobs away from people already living in Britain.

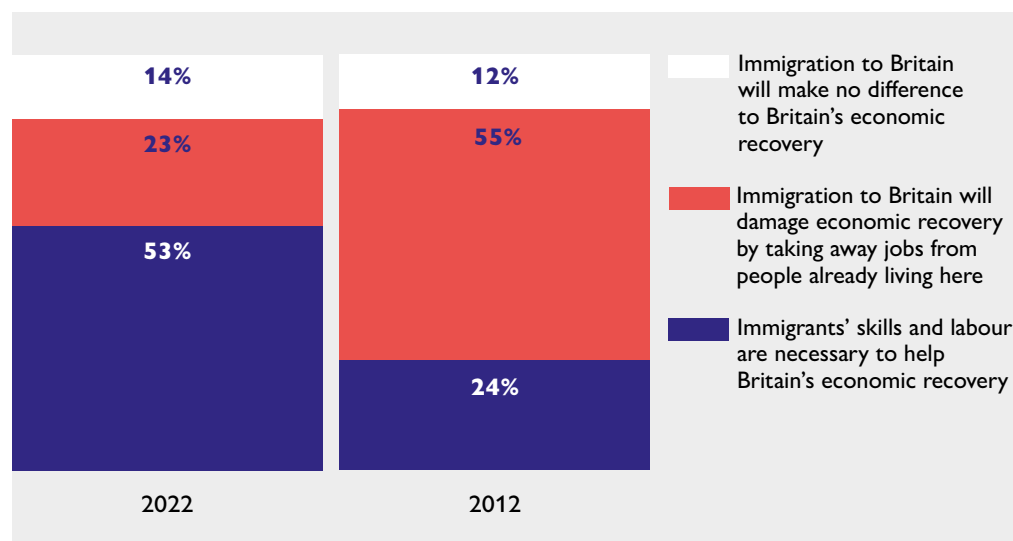


In 2022,  
**53%**  
of the public feel  
that immigrants' skills and labour  
are necessary to  
help Britain's  
economic  
recovery.

In 2012, only  
**24%**  
felt that way  
– most said  
immigration  
would damage  
the recovery.

In 2022 these views on the role of migration in economic recovery are reversed: a majority of people now see migration as necessary to help the recovery. Fewer than one in four believe immigration damages economic recovery by taking jobs away from people already living here.

### 6.3 Will migration help or hinder economic recovery? Comparing 2012 and 2022



Labour shortages resulting from the pandemic and Brexit have played a part in these attitude shifts, highlighting migrants' role in key sectors such as delivery, food production, agriculture and social care. A large majority of people believe that employers should be allowed to recruit from overseas to fill job vacancies, at all skill levels, if they can't be filled within the UK<sup>4</sup>.

The twin principles of contribution and control have featured strongly in the immigration debate since 2012. The end of free movement has helped to address the concerns of those who wanted more control over immigration. While some politicians have stoked fears over migrant numbers, the public prioritises control and fairness over reducing numbers<sup>5</sup>.

Issues of principle also underlie attitudes towards asylum seekers and refugees. There is strong support for refugee protection: three-quarters of people (75%) agree that 'People should be able to take refuge in other countries, including in Britain, to escape from war or persecution,' while 16% disagree<sup>6</sup>. The public response to the war in Ukraine, with tens of thousands of Britons offering to house refugees, showed that they are willing to put these principles into practice (see box below).

The direction of change in attitudes is uncertain, yet it is likely that current steps to welcome Ukrainians, Afghans and others seeking sanctuary could shift opinion in similar ways to migration for work. Here, being seen to be fair, and for new arrivals to settle, integrate and contribute, will be important in shaping public perceptions and support.

4 Ipsos for British Future, fieldwork Jan/Feb 2022.

5 <https://www.britishfuture.org/public-support-for-ukrainian-refugees-reflects-underlying-positive-views-on-immigration-finds-new-research/>

6 Ipsos for British Future, fieldwork Jan/Feb 2022.

## A new era of welcoming

The huge public response to the need for homes for Ukrainian refugees may just be the tip of the iceberg of public generosity, according to ICM research for British Future and the Welcoming Committee for Hong Kongers<sup>7</sup>. More than half the GB adult population say they would be interested in taking part in welcoming activities for refugees and other new arrivals.

The research shows we are a nation ready and waiting to play our part in welcoming those looking to settle and integrate into British life.

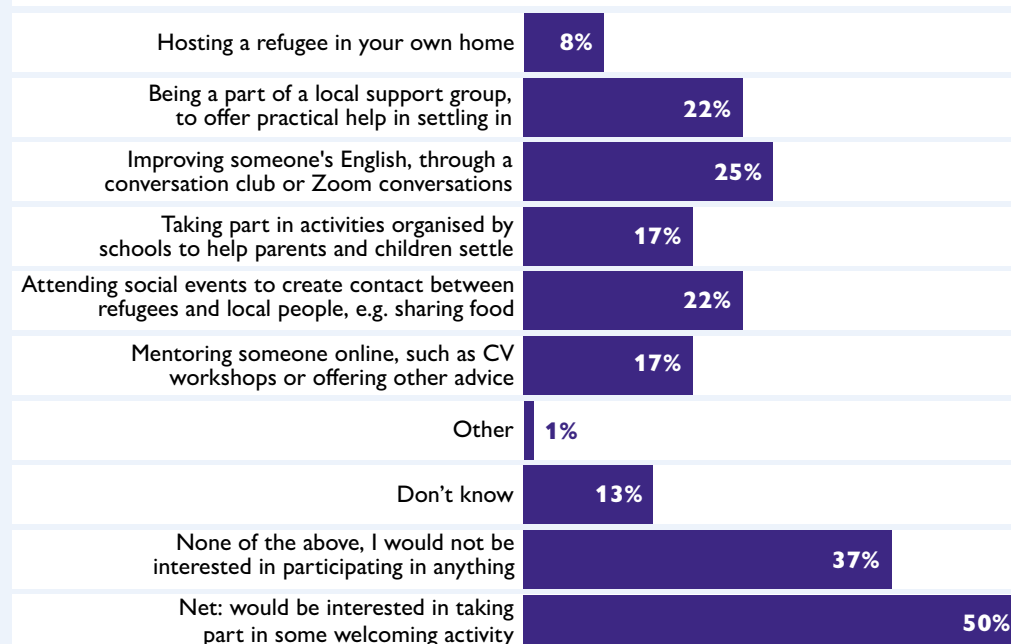
Nearly 13 million people (25% of GB adults) say they would be interested in helping someone improve their English, through a conversation club or Zoom conversations. Some 11 million (22%) would be interested in becoming part of a local support group to offer practical help in settling into life in the UK. A similar number (22%) would be interested in attending social events to create contact between refugees and local people. Some 17% would be open to mentoring somebody online, in the form of CV workshops or other advice.

Most of the public (54%) would be supportive if the British government created a welcoming programme linking British people with newly arrived migrants to help them settle and integrate in to Britain.

We should now be ambitious and put in place the infrastructure that could unlock this civic energy. If we get this right, making welcoming work well for all could become a national mission for our times.

### 6.4 Support for welcoming stretches beyond offering people a room

There are many different ways that people could take part in a migrant or refugee welcoming programme. Which, if any, would you be interested in participating in?



<sup>7</sup> Polling by ICM Unlimited for British Future and the Welcoming Committee for Hong Kongers, fieldwork 25-28 March 2022, sample size 2,012 GB adults online

**52%**  
agree the  
monarchy can  
play an  
important part  
in bridging divides  
in Britain.

**26%**  
say it is not their  
role to do so.

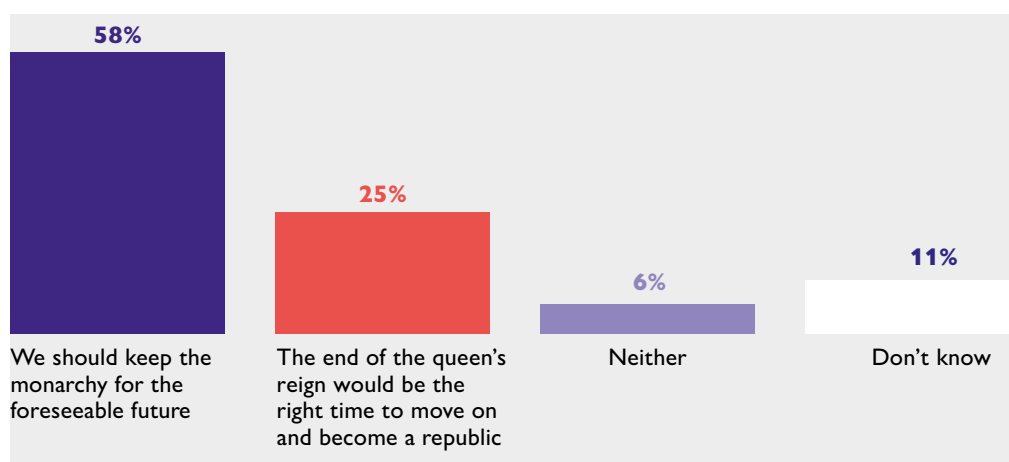
## 7. CAN THE MONARCHY HELP TO BRIDGE OUR DIVIDES?

As the Platinum Jubilee marks seven decades of the longest reign in Britain's history, we find a vote of confidence in the monarchy, a sketch of the challenges ahead, and an invitation as to how to rise to meet them too.

It may seem paradoxical, but the strongest argument for a constitutional monarchy in modern Britain is a democratic one. There is no barrier to establishing a republic for those who seek one, save for securing democratic consent for making that change. The royals now embrace this principle across the Commonwealth, from Jamaica to Australia, and it applies to Britain too.

The first modern poll on this question found 19% support for a republic back in 1969. That 'one in five' view stayed remarkably steady, decade after decade, despite enormous social shifts and tumultuous personal dramas within the royal household. Now one in four tell British Future that they would let the monarchy go when the Queen's reign comes to an end. But six out of ten people would want it to continue for the foreseeable future – and 85% expect the Monarchy to still be with us in 2032.

### 7.1 Attitudes to the monarchy in 2022



Support is rock solid among older people in the south of England while only a minority of Scots, ethnic minority citizens and the youngest adults are actively in favour. So the monarchy will be wise to resist efforts, from those who feel they are its most vocal champions, to turn it into ammunition in the so-called 'culture wars', a symbol of tradition to see off emerging 'woke' generations.

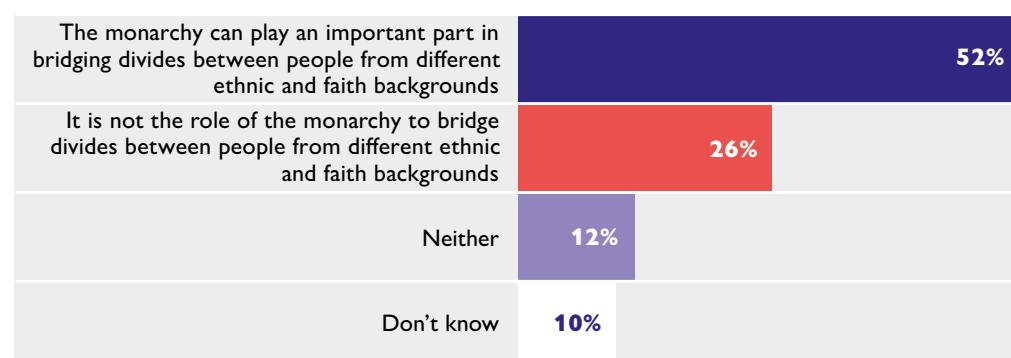
The crown's bridging challenge is to show how it can bring us together. How can it transcend our political tribes, extend its reach across nations and regions, generations and ethnic groups, given that modern Britain is more self-consciously multinational than a generation ago, and more fractious and fragmented than any of us want?

That ethnic minority Britain is now on the fence reflects generational shifts. For Commonwealth migrants arriving after Windrush, allegiance to the Queen symbolised a long history that explained their British identity and presence in this country, an instinct reinforced by the surprise of discovering how little understood this shared history was over here. The relevance of the crown feels more distant to their British-born grandchildren, a challenge exacerbated by the unhappy departure of Prince Harry and Meghan Markle. That was, at the very least, a missed opportunity – yet it was surely never the job of just one mixed-race princess, but rather the national institution itself, to engage more confidently with modern Britain’s growing diversity.

2022 brings opportunities for a bridging monarchy. Our poll finds that the public see the Jubilee as not just the event of this year, but the one most relevant to bridging our divides.

In this year of welcoming, the Royal Estates should be part of Homes for Ukraine – and celebrate the contribution of hosts and guests, the welcomers and the welcomed, from Ukraine, Hong Kong and Afghanistan today. This marks the latest chapter in seven decades of change during which Hungarians, Ugandan Asians and Poles have become proud new Britons. Since the British monarchy is itself the product of a thousand years of migration and integration, recasting Norman, Dutch and German origins into sturdy Windsor oak, it should be a natural champion of new citizens who choose to become British, such as by hosting an annual citizenship ceremony at the Palace.

## 7.2 Could the monarchy help to bridge our divides ?



The monarchy has engaged more proactively with diversity abroad, in the Commonwealth, than at home here in Britain. Birmingham hosting the Commonwealth Games is an ideal moment to start closing that gap. Reflecting on how powerful a symbolic role the monarchy played in reconciliation in Ireland, north and south, the royals should not be too daunted to engage with the sharper edges of the history of race and empire, as well as the shared sacrifices we mark every Remembrance Sunday.

The Queen opened this Platinum Jubilee year by conveying her wishes for what should happen beyond her reign: that when Charles is King, Camilla should be Queen. In doing so, the 96-year-old monarch gave tacit consent for a tactful discussion of the sensitive topic of the institution’s future beyond her reign. Beyond this Jubilee year, the monarchy will shape the two most momentous public events of the decade to come – once in mourning and later in how a future coronation is celebrated. How far that occasion rises to the expectations of a new bridging monarchy may do much to determine how confidently the monarchy navigates the changes of the decades to come.

## How do we feel Britain has changed in the 70 years of the Queen's reign?

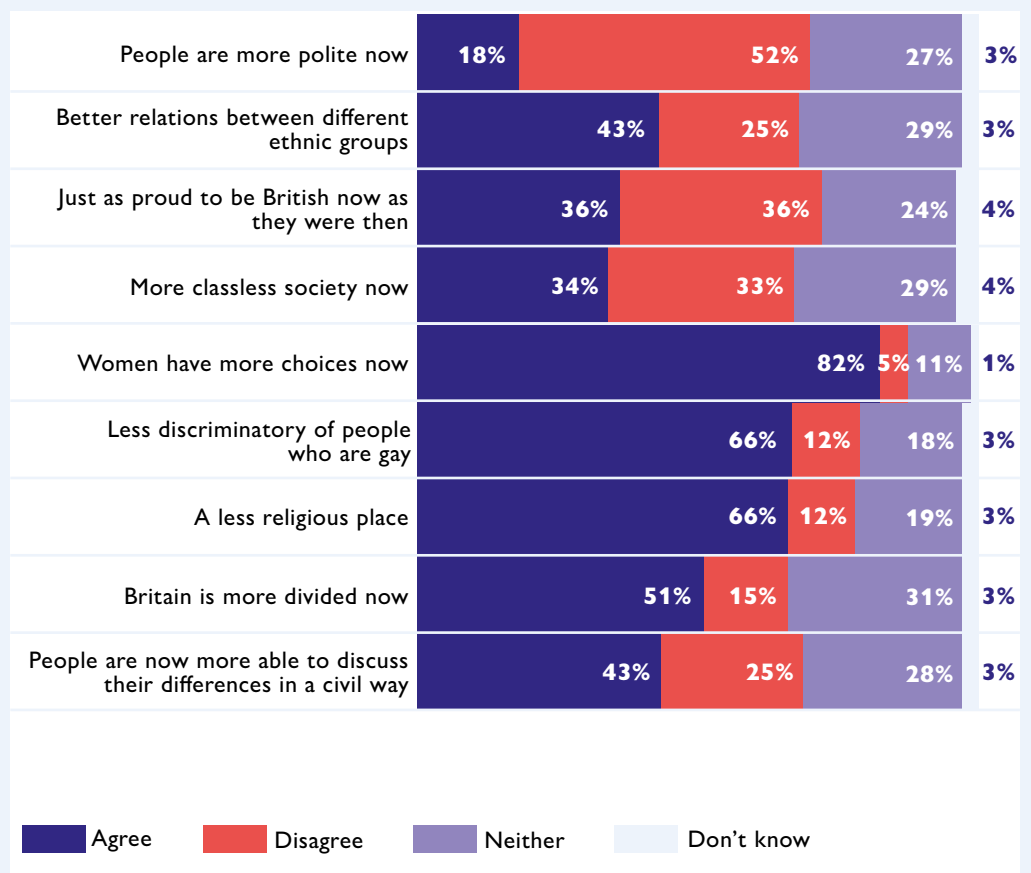
Most people recognise the significant changes that our society has undergone in the 70 years since a young Queen Elizabeth was crowned. Strong majorities acknowledge progress in women having more choices and society moving on from discriminating against people who are gay. They are less certain about class: a third feel our society is more classless today, a third disagree.

Half of us feel that Britain is a more divided place today, with only 15% in disagreement – but four in ten feel that we are now more able to discuss our differences civilly, versus a quarter who feel we cannot.

Four in ten feel there are better relations between people of different ethnic backgrounds, while a quarter disagree. Ethnic minority respondents feel this slightly more strongly: 46% say that race relations have got better, while 19% disagree.

People feel that we are less polite to each other today, and less religious too. And the jury is out on whether we are as proud to be British today as we were back in 1952: around a third say we are and a third disagree. Images from The Mall over the Jubilee bank holiday weekend may answer that question more emphatically.

### 7.3 How do people feel Britain has changed in the 70 years since 1952?



## 8. FLYING OUR FLAGS: IDENTITY, BELONGING AND ITS SYMBOLS

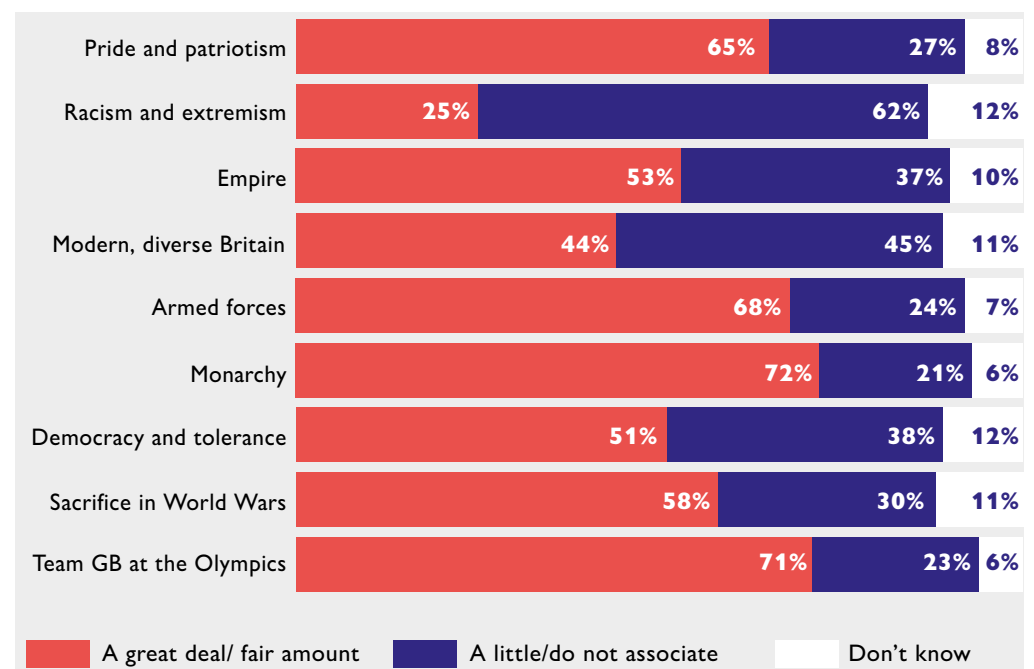
We are going to see a lot of flags this year. From Union Jacks lining The Mall for the Jubilee in June to the emblems of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland at the Women's Euros, Commonwealth Games or the World Cup.

Most people in Britain identify with more than one flag – and with more than one national identity too. There is a much wider consciousness that being British is the shared civic identity of a multi-national state than a generation ago. But our new findings also capture why conversations about British identity can be heard differently across the different nations in the UK, representing different ideas in Northern Ireland and England, Wales and Scotland.

Feeling 'more British' in England is a predictor of liberal, pro-Remain views, more likely to be held by young graduates in major cities and those from ethnic and faith minorities. In Scotland it has precisely the inverse sociological correlations: being older, more Christian, whiter, more right-leaning and more Eurosceptic.

The Union Jack is still associated mostly with the Monarchy (72%) Team GB (71%), the armed forces (68%) and pride and patriotism (65%) though in all cases more weakly than in 2012, partly reflecting a challenge of reaching younger generations.

### 8.1 What do people associate with the Union Jack in 2022?



Shifts in identity over the decade are most striking in Scotland, where nine out of ten have a strong sense of belonging to Scotland, but British identity became more politically polarising again in the wake of the 2014

# 60%

of the English  
associate  
England's flag  
with pride and  
patriotism.

# 32%

associate it with  
racism and  
extremism.

independence referendum. So 54% of Scots see the Union Jack as a symbol of pride and patriotism, while 44% now identify as Scottish not British. Even the broad 70% expressing pride in the Saltire has narrowed over the decade.

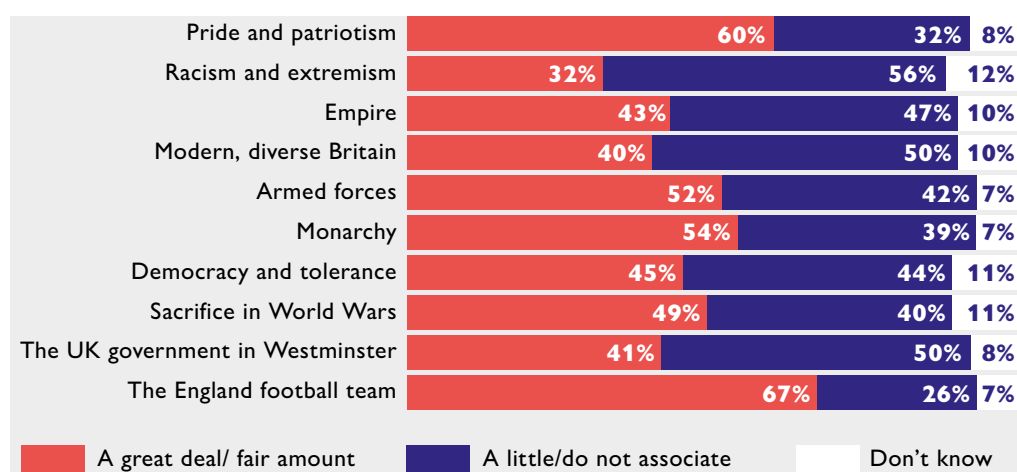
These findings present distinct challenges to Scotland's political tribes. Supporters and opponents of Scottish independence will often focus on how to persuade 50.1% of Scots to vote their way in any future referendum. The 44% of Scots who feel 'more Scottish than British' will largely determine the outcome, amid fierce arguments about democracy and identity, as well as currency and pensions. Civic Scotland will want to invest some energy in how a society keeps living and working together as it debates the types of existential democratic choices that can split the political nation down the middle. The United Kingdom has created space for a stronger Scottish political voice and much more Scottish cultural confidence since the 1990s. Advocates of independence would also need a post-independence national reconciliation plan that recognises how the symbols of British identity matter to many Scots too.

Our Focaldata poll finds that two-thirds of people in Britain think that the union of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland will still be in place in 2032 – including a majority (54%) of Scottish respondents too. In Scotland, 51% of respondents say they would prefer Scotland to stay as part of the UK, while 42% say they would prefer Scotland to leave the UK and be a fully independent country.<sup>8</sup>

The English want Scotland to stay: some 60% of people in England say they would prefer Scotland to remain as part of the Union, while 19% would prefer Scotland to leave and 20% don't know.

Each of the home nations associates its flag, more than anything else, with its national football team. Yet the meaning of England's flag remains more contested: while two-thirds of the English, across majority and minority groups, see it as representing pride, for a third it represents prejudice, including for 43% of ethnic minority respondents. England's young footballers shifted middle England last summer towards understanding why they take the knee. We saw how, despite the progress we have made, they face an outsize share of the racism that remains. Yet the booing and polarised arguments dented the journey to an inclusive Englishness. It will be important to project, once again, the inclusive 'England Together' message before the World Cup kicks off in November.

## 8.2 What do people associate with the England flag in 2022?



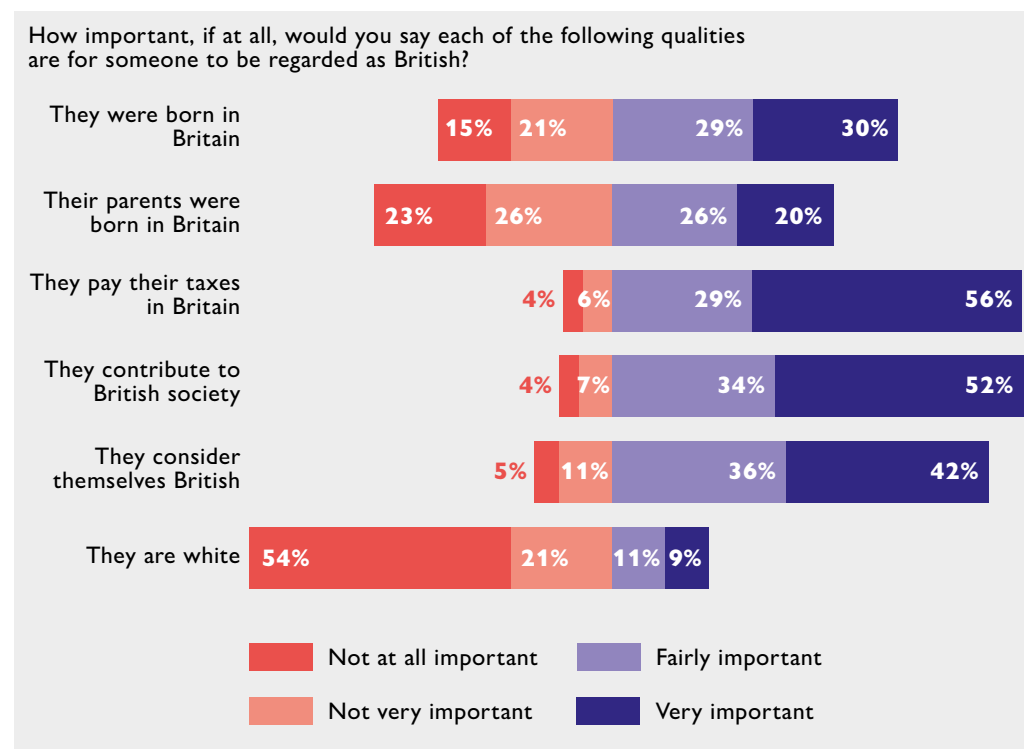
<sup>8</sup> See appendix for the full findings on this question.



Major institutions should not leave sport to do the important work of building an inclusive English identity alone. If London-based national institutions recognise Scottish and Welsh identities, yet talk to England only about Britain, that asymmetric approach makes this task harder, especially when only one in six people in England feel more British than English. Three-quarters of ethnic minority respondents express a strong sense of belonging to both England and Britain.

The good news is that each of the national identities across these islands has become more civic and inclusive over the last decade, though this journey remains a work in progress. A fifth think ethnicity still matters to national identity, though its importance diminishes, while three-quarters see civic aspects of belonging and identification as more important. There has been a significant reduction in the importance of birthplace, and especially parental birthplace. Yet those can also be credentials of national belonging without setting exclusive boundaries. Think of how diaspora English, Scots or Irish born in the US or Australia could still qualify via parentage and identification, while the birthright claims of the children of Commonwealth migrants born here proved decisive in how the “new us” of national identity transcended ethnic lines.

### 8.3 What does it mean to be British today?



National symbols also work best when they transcend our social tribes. That gets harder when identity, culture and national symbols are deployed in contested political arguments. So a civic response of inclusion, not avoidance, matters. Let us fly our flags this year with pride, and be clear what they symbolise – a nation and a society that we all share.

## 9. RACE TO THE TOP: FINDING COMMON GROUND ON RACE AND PREJUDICE

**26%**

**of the public  
would welcome  
an ethnic  
minority UK  
Prime Minister  
as a positive sign.**

**58%**

**feel the PM's  
ethnicity doesn't  
matter.**

**A prejudiced**

**10%**

**would feel  
uncomfortable  
with this  
outcome.**

This year's census results will show why every institution in Britain needs to become more confident in talking about race if we are to unlock the opportunities of our society's growing diversity for the benefit of all.

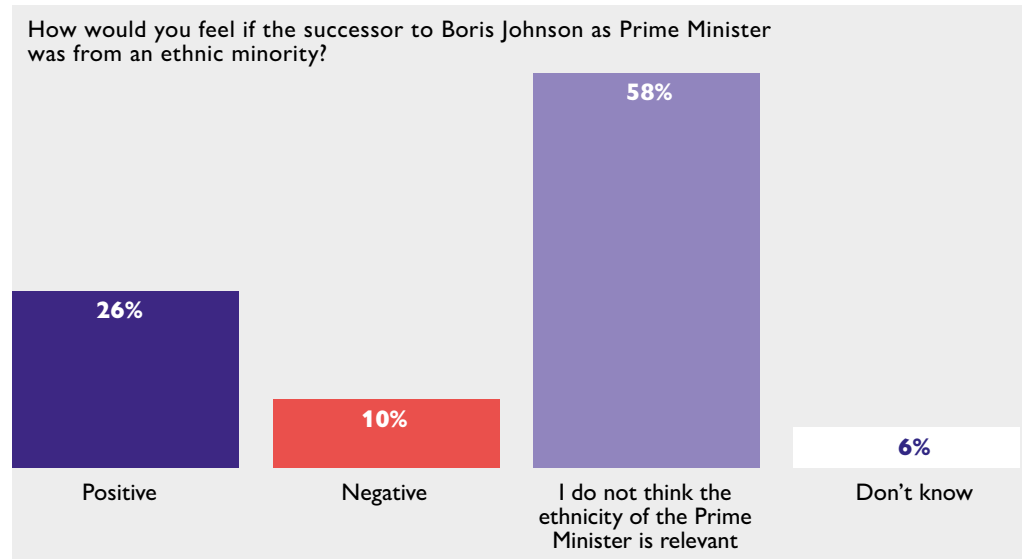
Our heated media and political debates about race obscure the fact that most of the British are balancers on the issue – with narrower divides across political tribes and ethnic groups than in the USA. This survey finds ethnic minorities mildly more confident than white Britons that there has been progress over the last decade. One early legacy of the anti-racism protests of 2020 has been a broader sense among Black and Asian Britons of overdue conversations beginning to take place, especially at work. The jury remains out on how far talk will turn to action. Only a third of us think things will improve on race in this decade. Similar proportions among ethnic minorities and the majority group are optimistic, while a quarter of ethnic minority adults and a fifth of white respondents fear things will get worse.

Britain can find common ground on race but so much depends on how our public conversations are led. There is often a latent consensus on the principles – such as fair chances for all and tackling unfair barriers. But our life experiences generate different perceptions – by age, education and ethnic group – of the balance between past progress and the need to speed up change.

Shifting patterns of opportunity and outcome have never been more complex. There are now distinct social challenges at the bottom, middle and top, across minority and majority groups. There is persistent social exclusion in criminal justice and poverty rates. The rising educational success of new generations of graduates makes it ever more urgent to tackle ethnic penalties in recruitment based on the name on your CV. The 2020s can be the decade when ethnic diversity becomes a norm, not the exception, at the top table too.

That could begin in Downing Street. Nobody knows if we will have a new Prime Minister before the next General Election but if we do, Rishi Sunak has long been the early frontrunner while Nadhim Zahawi, Sajid Javid and Kemi Badenoch could be among the candidates too in an unpredictable contest. Ethnic diversity has become a new norm in British politics, on both left and right.

## 9.1 Ethnicity is no barrier to becoming the next UK Prime Minister



The vast majority (84%) of the public would not have any problem with an ethnic minority PM. Six out of ten say that the ethnicity of the Prime Minister shouldn't matter — as, of course, it should not. A quarter of the white British think this would be an actively positive outcome. Some 43% of ethnic minority Britons say it would be a positive sign of social progress, while 39% say ethnicity is irrelevant to who gets the job. Those two intuitions may partly overlap for many.

A prejudiced rump of one in ten people say they would feel uncomfortable with this outcome – a similar proportion to those who would be unhappy to find that they have an ethnic minority neighbour or boss.


National politics has set the pace ahead of other spheres of economic, social and cultural power in British society. Progress in one sphere can catalyse pressure to emulate it. Major companies have shown that public commitments to voluntary targets can dramatically accelerate progress. The proportion of all-white FTSE 100 boards fell from 50% to 3% over the last three years with the FTSE 250 on course to emulate this by 2024<sup>9</sup>. This must now carry through into broader shifts in corporate culture. Corporations have appointed ethnic minority CEOs with a track record overseas but, remarkably, none of our top 100 firms has ever yet promoted a British-born ethnic minority employee to the top job.

The third sector lags third behind the public and private sectors on ethnic diversity across most indicators of recruitment, retention and leadership<sup>10</sup>. There are no comparable sector-wide commitments, with less frequent data captured to enable transparency and scrutiny. The challenge for charities is still to turn the increasing number of anxious, overdue conversations about long-standing diversity deficits into clear analysis of the causes and action plans to address them. Expectations are rising fast. To join the race to the top, race equality talk must turn into sustained plans for action across all sectors.

<sup>9</sup> *FTSE 100 companies hit boardroom diversity targets*, FT March 2022 <https://www.ft.com/content/a69e016d-0d10-45a8-bd95-76e314a14f38>

<sup>10</sup> See NCVO survey 2019: <https://blogs.ncvo.org.uk/2020/03/04/equity-diversity-and-inclusion-our-journey-so-far-part-1/>

**36%**  
of the public  
expect progress  
on combating  
racism in the  
next ten years.



**19%**  
predict that  
things will get  
worse.



## 10. LOOKING TO THE FUTURE: BRITAIN IN 2032

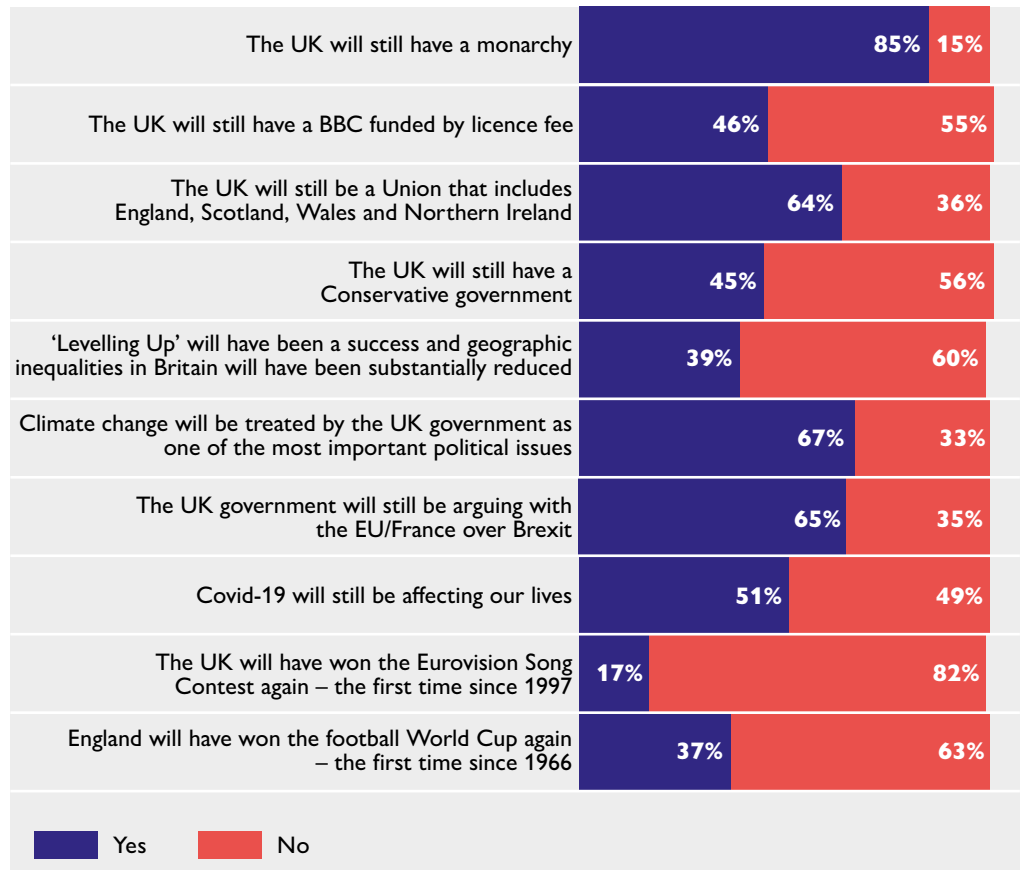
The decade since 2012 was characterised by things that most of us didn't see coming: Britain leaving the EU, a global pandemic and a major war in Europe. So few people would now wish to chance their arm at making predictions for the 10 years to come. Nevertheless, having begun this report with an assessment of how people feel about 2022, we close it with a glimpse of their hopes and fears for the next decade, and how Britain might look by 2032.

Many of us are probably hoping for a less volatile decade to come. And while most predict that key foundations will remain unchanged, they also expect more changes ahead.

A strong majority of 85% feel that Britain will still have a monarchy in 2032, and two-thirds think that the union of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland will still be in place – including a majority (54%) of Scottish respondents too. Yet there is less confidence in the future of another British institution: 55% predict that we will no longer have a BBC funded by licence fee by 2032.

Most people do expect to see a change in government in the next ten years. Some 56% think the Conservative Party will no longer hold the keys to Number 10 in 2032, breaking a grip on power that has already lasted 12 years since David Cameron's coalition government. There is scepticism, too, about the Prime Minister's flagship 'Levelling Up' agenda: while 39% expect geographic inequalities in Britain to have been substantially reduced by 2032, six in ten people – including 56% of 2019 Tory voters – disagree. Young people are more positive about Levelling up, however, with a majority (56%) predicting that it will succeed in reducing inequalities.

## 10.1 How will Britain look in 2032? Public predictions



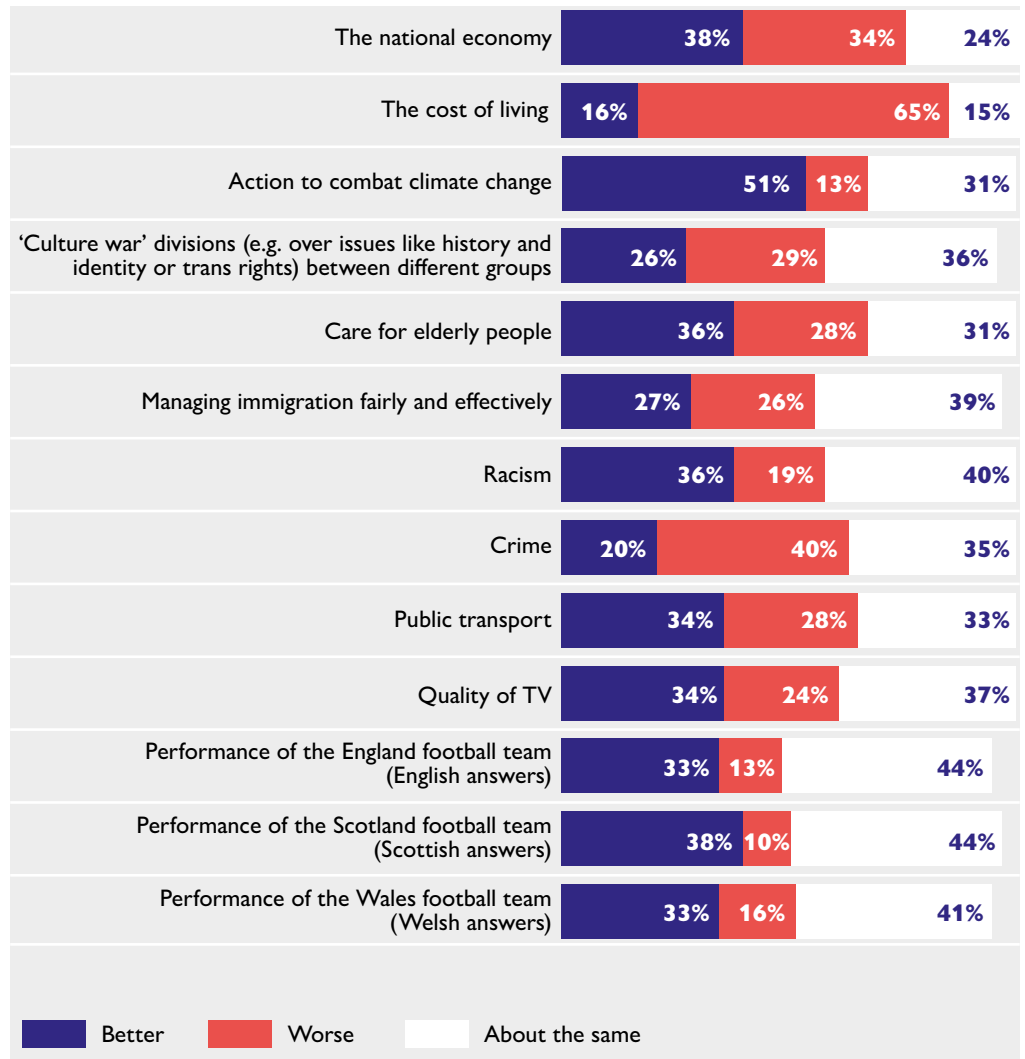
Whoever is in charge, people expect them to face many of the same issues. Two-thirds of us think problems with the cost of living are going to get worse over the next ten years and, asked which divides worry them most for the future, most people (52%) cite those between rich and poor. Half of us think that Covid-19 will still be affecting our lives in ten years' time, while a hopeful half do not.

We also asked people whether they think Britain will be better or worse off in years to come as a result of leaving the EU. Here the public is, predictably, split by referendum vote, with two-thirds of Remain voters feeling we will be worse off and two-thirds of Leave voters saying we will be better off. Age divides are apparent too on this question: while 18-24s are twice as likely to think Britain will be worse off because of Brexit, by 49% to 20%, those over-65 are twice as likely to think we will be better off, by 53% to 26%.

Two-thirds of the public predict that the government will still be arguing with France and the EU over Brexit in ten years' time.

The Black Lives Matter anti-racism protests of 2020 brought fresh demands to accelerate the pace of change on racism in our society. And while people are more likely to expect progress in the next decade than to feel that things will get worse, we are not as confident of progress as one would hope. Around a third of the public as a whole (36%) and of ethnic minority respondents too (35%) expect things to get better, but 40% expect no change. A fifth of the general public (19%), and a quarter of ethnic minorities (26%), think racism will get worse over the next decade. More hope can be found among the half of 18-24s who do expect things to get better on race (compared to just 28% of over-65s). It is important that this hope is not allowed to curdle into discontent at promises unkept.

## 10.2 What will get better or worse by 2032?



While arguments over so-called 'culture war' issues, such as history and identity or trans rights, can feel polarising today, there is no strong feeling that they will grow to dominate our politics in years to come. While 29% feel these divides may deepen, a similar 26% think things will get better. Young people are the most positive, with 36% expecting things to get better and only a quarter predicting that divides will worsen.

We feel more positive, too, that climate change will be taken seriously in the years to come. A majority expect things to get better in terms of action to combat climate change and two-thirds of respondents predict that it will be one of the most important issues for the government.

Our society has seen more volatility than most of us would have liked over the last decade and while we expect more to come, some things are not expected to change. Some 6 in 10 people in England expect yet another 10 years of hurt without winning the World Cup. And 82% of Britons expect that the UK will not win the Eurovision Song Contest in the next 10 years. After a decade of uncertainty, there are still some things that we can all predict with some confidence.

# APPENDIX:

## NATIONALLY REPRESENTATIVE RESEARCH FINDINGS

Focaldata surveyed a main sample of 2,006 GB adults between 28 February-7 March 2022, with a boosted sample of 636 people in Scotland; 683 people from an ethnic minority background; and an additional sample of 302 people aged 16-18, to offer a rare snapshot of what the voters of tomorrow are thinking too. All figures are drawn from this research, unless stated otherwise. Where percentages do not add up to 100%, this is due to rounding.

### 2.1 What issues worry people most for 2022?

Britain is likely to face a number of challenges in 2022. Please select from the following issues which you think will be the biggest challenges facing Britain.

| Issues  | 2022: % who put this in their top 3 worries | 2012  |
|---|---|---|
| Prices and bills increasing                   | 70%   | 61%   |
| Pressure on health services                   | 41%   | 18%   |
| Continuing presence of Covid                  | 28%   | n/a   |
| Climate change and other environmental crises | 26%   | 3% (Listed in 2012 as 'environmental concerns') |
| Cuts in spending on public services           | 21%   | 46%   |
| Immigration                                   | 18%   | 24%   |
| Crime and disorder                            | 15%   | 16%   |
| Terrorist attacks                             | 14%   | 5%  |
| Availability of housing                       | 13%   | n/a   |
| Unemployment                                  | 13%   | 59%   |
| Care for the elderly                          | 12%   | 13%   |
| Mortgage or rent payments                     | 11%   | 10%   |
| Population growth                             | 7%  | 7%  |
| Opportunities for young people                | 6%  | 22%   |
| Racial or religious unrest                    | 5%  | 5%  |

2012 scores taken from 'Hopes and Fears' report by British Future. Polling by Ipsos MORI, who interviewed a representative sample of 2,320 adults aged 16+ across Great Britain, from 30th November to 6th December 2011.



## 2.2 Optimism and pessimism: comparing 2022 and 2012

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 2022 for....?

|                          | Optimistic |      | Pessimistic |      |
|--------------------------|------------|------|-------------|------|
|                          | 2022       | 2012 | 2022        | 2012 |
| You and your family      | 44%        | 52%  | 30%         | 26%  |
| Town/city where you live | 35%        | 33%  | 28%         | 31%  |
| Britain                  | 27%        | 15%  | 49%         | 65%  |

2012 scores taken from 'Hopes and Fears' report by British Future. Polling by Ipsos MORI, who interviewed a representative sample of 2,320 adults aged 16+ across Great Britain, from 30th November to 6th December 2011.

## 3.1 A more optimistic generation: attitudes to the year ahead, 16-18s

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 2022 for....?

|                          | Optimistic | Pessimistic |
|--------------------------|------------|-------------|
| You and your family      | 49%        | 22%         |
| Town/city where you live | 45%        | 17%         |
| Britain                  | 37%        | 34%         |

## 3.2 Most pressing issues in 2022 for 16-18 year olds

Britain is likely to face a number of challenges in 2022. Please select from the following issues, which you think will be the biggest challenges facing Britain.

| Issues  | % who put this in their top 3 worries |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| Prices and bills increasing                   | 47%                                   |
| Unemployment                                  | 24%                                   |
| Cuts in spending on public services           | 9%                                    |
| Immigration                                   | 9%                                    |
| Opportunities for young people                | 18%                                   |
| Continuing presence of Covid-19               | 23%                                   |
| Pressure on health services                   | 31%                                   |
| Crime and disorder                            | 24%                                   |
| Care for the elderly                          | 7%                                    |
| Mortgage or rent payments                     | 13%                                   |
| Population growth                             | 14%                                   |
| Terrorist attacks                             | 17%                                   |
| Racial or religious unrest                    | 13%                                   |
| Climate change and other environmental crises | 35%                                   |
| Availability of housing                       | 15%                                   |

#### 4.1 Are national sporting and cultural events important for Britain?

This year sees several major sporting and cultural events hosted in Britain or with British teams taking part. How important, if at all, do you think each of the following events are for the country?

|                    | Important for Britain | Not important for Britain |
|--------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| Jubilee            | 77%                   | 21%                       |
| Commonwealth Games | 64%                   | 33%                       |
| World Cup          | 58%                   | 39%                       |
| Women's Euros      | 53%                   | 44%                       |

#### 4.2 Can events unite our society?

This year sees several major sporting and cultural events hosted in Britain or with British teams taking part. For each of the following events, which option comes closest to your view on whether it will unite or divide people in the UK?

|                    | It will help to bridge divides and bring people together | It will deepen divisions | It will make no difference to how united or divided we are |
|--------------------|--|--------------------------|--|
| Commonwealth Games | 36%  | 8%                       | 45%  |
| Jubilee            | 51%  | 10%                      | 32%  |
| Women's Euros      | 28%  | 8%                       | 53%  |
| World Cup          | 30%  | 13%                      | 46%  |

#### 5.1 How has Britain changed in the ten years since the Diamond Jubilee of 2012?

This year, the Platinum Jubilee marks 70 years since Queen Elizabeth II acceded to the throne in 1952. From what you know or have heard, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the way Britain has changed in the 10 years since the last jubilee of 2012?

|  | Agree | Disagree |
|--|-------|----------|
| People are more polite now   | 20%   | 47%      |
| Better relations between different ethnic groups                     | 39%   | 25%      |
| Just as proud to be British now as they were then                    | 37%   | 32%      |
| Britain is a more classless society now                              | 30%   | 32%      |
| Women have more choices now  | 73%   | 7%       |
| Less discriminatory of people who are gay                            | 62%   | 12%      |
| Britain is a less religious place                                    | 60%   | 12%      |
| Britain is more divided now  | 46%   | 15%      |
| People are now more able to discuss their differences in a civil way | 40%   | 25%      |

## 6.1 Most people now think immigration has a positive impact on Britain

On a scale from 0 to 10, has migration had a positive or negative effect on Britain? (0 is very negative and 10 is very positive)

|                  | Negative (0-4) | Indecisive (5) | Positive (6-10) | Don't know |
|------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|------------|
| Wave 1 (Feb '15) | 41%            | 18%            | 35%             | 6%         |
| W2 (Apr '15)     | 40%            | 18%            | 36%             | 6%         |
| W3 (May '15)     | 40%            | 17%            | 36%             | 6%         |
| W4 (Jun '15)     | 44%            | 16%            | 34%             | 6%         |
| W6 (Apr'16)      | 39%            | 18%            | 39%             | 5%         |
| W7 (Oct '16)     | 34%            | 17%            | 46%             | 5%         |
| W8 (Dec '18)     | 31%            | 17%            | 45%             | 7%         |
| W9 (Aug' 19)     | 29%            | 18%            | 47%             | 6%         |
| W10 (Mar '20)    | 27%            | 17%            | 48%             | 7%         |
| W11 (Nov '20)    | 31%            | 16%            | 45%             | 8%         |
| W12 (Jul '21)    | 28%            | 17%            | 46%             | 8%         |
| W13 (Feb '22)    | 29%            | 18%            | 46%             | 7%         |

Data from the Ipsos immigration attitudes tracker survey,<sup>11</sup> which has tracked public attitudes to immigration since 2015.

## 6.2 Have people moving to the UK from overseas had a positive or negative impact on aspects of life in the UK? Public perceptions in 2012 and 2022

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

|                            | 2022 (net score) | 2012 (net score) |
|----------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Food and restaurants       | <b>+56%</b>      | +60%             |
| Entrepreneurs and startups | <b>+40%</b>      | +36%             |
| Premier League football    | <b>+36%</b>      | +25%             |
| The NHS                    | <b>+28%</b>      | -14%             |
| Arts and literature        | <b>+34%</b>      | +26%             |
| TV, radio and newspapers   | <b>+23%</b>      | +10%             |
| Schools                    | <b>+1%</b>       | -25%             |
| Levels of crime/disorder   | <b>-25%</b>      | -48%             |
| Availability of jobs       | <b>-8%</b>       | -56%             |
| Availability of housing    | <b>-35%</b>      | -60%             |

2012 scores taken from 'Hopes and Fears' report by British Future. Polling by Ipsos MORI, who interviewed a representative sample of 2,320 adults aged 16+ across Great Britain, from 30th November to 6th December 2011.

11 See [https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/ct/news/documents/2021-09/21-018772-01\\_Unbound\\_Longitudinal\\_Study%28W12%29\\_V6\\_PUBLIC.pdf](https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/ct/news/documents/2021-09/21-018772-01_Unbound_Longitudinal_Study%28W12%29_V6_PUBLIC.pdf)

### 6.3 Will migration help or hinder economic recovery? Comparing 2012 and 2022

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

|  | 2022 | 2012 |
|--|------|------|
| Immigrants' skills and labour are necessary to help Britain's economic recovery                          | 53%  | 24%  |
| Immigration to Britain will damage economic recovery by taking away jobs from people already living here | 23%  | 55%  |
| Immigration to Britain will make no difference to Britain's economic recovery                            | 14%  | 12%  |

2012 scores taken from 'Hopes and Fears' report by British Future. Polling by Ipsos MORI, who interviewed a representative sample of 2,320 adults aged 16+ across Great Britain, from 30th November to 6th December 2011.

### 6.4 Support for welcoming stretches beyond offering people a room

There are many different ways that people could take part in a migrant or refugee welcoming programme. Some of these possible activities are listed below. Which, if any, would you be interested in participating in?

|  | % interested in participating |
|--|-------------------------------|
| Hosting a refugee in your own home   | 8%                            |
| Being a part of a local support group, to offer practical help in settling in                  | 22%                           |
| Improving someone's English, through a conversation club or Zoom conversations                 | 25%                           |
| Taking part in activities organised by schools to help parents and children settle             | 17%                           |
| Attending social events to create contact between refugees and local people, e.g. sharing food | 22%                           |
| Mentoring someone online, such as CV workshops or offering other advice                        | 17%                           |
| Other  | 1%                            |
| Don't know   | 13%                           |
| None of the above, I would not be interested in participating in anything                      | 37%                           |
| Net: would be interested in taking part in some welcoming activity                             | 50%                           |

Polling by ICM Unlimited for British Future and the Welcoming Committee for Hong Kongers, fieldwork 25-28 March 2022, sample size 2,012 GB adults online

### 7.1 Attitudes to the monarchy in 2022

Queen Elizabeth II has now reigned as monarch for 70 years. When her reign comes to an end, which of the following comes closest to your view of the monarchy?

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| We should keep the monarchy for the foreseeable future                                | 58% |
| The end of the queen's reign would be the right time to move on and become a republic | 25% |
| Neither   | 6%  |
| Don't know  | 11% |

## 7.2 Could the monarchy help to bridge our divides?

UK society has changed significantly over the course of the Queen's 70-year reign. Which of the following comes closest to your view of the role of the monarchy in a changing Britain?

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| The monarchy can play an important part in bridging divides between people from different ethnic and faith backgrounds | 52% |
| It is not the role of the monarchy to bridge divides between people from different ethnic and faith backgrounds        | 26% |
| Neither  | 12% |
| Don't know   | 10% |

## 7.3 How do people feel Britain has changed in the 70 years since 1952?

This year, the Platinum Jubilee marks 70 years since Queen Elizabeth II acceded to the throne in 1952. From what you know or have heard, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the way Britain has changed in the last 70 years since 1952?

|  | Agree | Disagree |
|--|-------|----------|
| People are more polite now   | 18%   | 52%      |
| Better relations between different ethnic groups                     | 43%   | 25%      |
| People are just as proud to be British now as they were then         | 36%   | 36%      |
| Britain is a more classless society now                              | 34%   | 33%      |
| Women have more choices now  | 82%   | 5%       |
| Less discriminatory of people who are gay                            | 66%   | 12%      |
| Britain is a less religious place                                    | 66%   | 12%      |
| Britain is more divided now  | 51%   | 15%      |
| People are now more able to discuss their differences in a civil way | 43%   | 25%      |

## 8.1 What do people associate with the Union Jack in 2022?

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

|                         | A great deal/ fair amount | A little/do not associate | Don't know |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|------------|
| Pride and patriotism    | 65%                       | 27%                       | 8%         |
| Racism and extremism    | 25%                       | 62%                       | 12%        |
| Empire                  | 53%                       | 37%                       | 10%        |
| Modern, diverse Britain | 44%                       | 45%                       | 11%        |
| Armed forces            | 68%                       | 24%                       | 7%         |
| Monarchy                | 72%                       | 21%                       | 6%         |
| Democracy and tolerance | 51%                       | 38%                       | 12%        |
| Sacrifice in World Wars | 58%                       | 30%                       | 11%        |
| Team GB at the Olympics | 71%                       | 23%                       | 6%         |

## Would people prefer Scotland to stay in the Union or become an independent country?

Which of the following comes closest to your view?

|  | Scotland | England |
|--|----------|---------|
| I would prefer Scotland to stay as part of the UK                          | 51%      | 60%     |
| I would prefer Scotland to leave the UK and be a fully independent country | 42%      | 19%     |
| Don't know   | 7%       | 20%     |

## 8.2 What do people associate with national flags in 2022?

To what extent, if at all, do you associate each of the following things with the England/Scotland/Wales flag?

|  | A great deal/ fair amount |          |       | A little/do not associate |          |       |
|--|---------------------------|----------|-------|---------------------------|----------|-------|
|  | England                   | Scotland | Wales | England                   | Scotland | Wales |
| Pride and patriotism   | 60%                       | 70%      | 68%   | 32%                       | 24%      | 24%   |
| Racism and extremism   | 32%                       | 20%      | 15%   | 56%                       | 71%      | 72%   |
| Empire   | 43%                       | 23 %     | 33%   | 47%                       | 68%      | 58%   |
| Modern, diverse Britain  | 40%                       | 42%      | 38%   | 50%                       | 49%      | 53%   |
| Armed forces   | 52%                       | 41%      | 50%   | 42%                       | 55%      | 44%   |
| Monarchy   | 54%                       | 29%      | 40%   | 39%                       | 65%      | 55%   |
| Democracy and tolerance  | 45%                       | 54 %     | 40%   | 44%                       | 37%      | 45%   |
| Sacrifice in World Wars  | 49%                       | 47%      | 51%   | 40%                       | 45%      | 39%   |
| The UK government in Westminster/ Devolved govts in Scotland/Wales | 41%                       | 63%      | 60%   | 50%                       | 32%      | 32%   |
| The England/Scotland/ Wales football team                          | 67%                       | 76%      | 78%   | 26%                       | 21%      | 18%   |

## 8.3: What does it mean to be British today?

How important, if at all, would you say each of the following qualities are for someone to be regarded as British

|                                    | Not at all important | Not very important | Fairly important | Very important | Don't know |
|------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|------------------|----------------|------------|
| They were born in Britain          | 15%                  | 21%                | 29%              | 30%            | 5%         |
| Their parents were born in Britain | 23%                  | 26%                | 26%              | 20%            | 5%         |
| They pay their taxes in Britain    | 4%                   | 6%                 | 29%              | 56%            | 5%         |
| They contribute to British society | 4%                   | 7%                 | 34%              | 52%            | 4%         |
| They consider themselves British   | 5%                   | 11%                | 36%              | 42%            | 6%         |
| They are white                     | 54%                  | 21%                | 11%              | 9%             | 5%         |

## 9.1 Ethnicity is no barrier to becoming the next UK Prime Minister

How would you feel if the successor to Boris Johnson as Prime Minister was from an ethnic minority?

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Positive   | 26% |
| Negative   | 10% |
| I do not think the ethnicity of the Prime Minister is relevant | 58% |
| Don't know   | 6%  |

## 10.1 How will Britain look in 2032? Public predictions

Looking ten years into the future to Britain in 2032, do you think that...?

|   | Yes | No  |
|---|-----|-----|
| The UK will still have a monarchy   | 85% | 15% |
| The UK will still have a BBC funded by licence fee  | 46% | 55% |
| The UK will still be a Union that includes England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland                            | 64% | 36% |
| The UK will still have a Conservative government  | 45% | 56% |
| The UK government will still be arguing with the EU/France over Brexit  | 65% | 35% |
| Covid-19 will still be affecting our lives  | 51% | 49% |
| 'Levelling up' will have been a success and geographic inequalities in Britain will have been substantially reduced | 39% | 60% |
| Climate change will be treated by the UK government as one of the most important political issues                   | 67% | 33% |
| The UK will have won the Eurovision Song Contest again - the first time since 1997                                  | 17% | 82% |
| England will have won the football World Cup again - the first time since 1966                                      | 37% | 63% |



## 10.2 What will get better or worse by 2032?

Do you think things will get better or worse in Britain by 2032 with regard to...?

|   | Better | Worse | About the same |
|---|--------|-------|----------------|
| The national economy  | 38%    | 34%   | 24%            |
| The cost of living  | 16%    | 65%   | 15%            |
| Action to combat climate change   | 51%    | 13%   | 31%            |
| 'Culture war' divisions (e.g. over issues like history and identity or trans rights) between different groups | 26%    | 29%   | 36%            |
| Care for elderly people   | 36%    | 28%   | 31%            |
| Managing immigration fairly and effectively   | 27%    | 26%   | 39%            |
| Racism  | 36%    | 19%   | 40%            |
| Crime   | 20%    | 40%   | 35%            |
| Public transport  | 34%    | 28%   | 33%            |
| Quality of TV   | 34%    | 24%   | 37%            |
| Performance of the England football team (English answers)  | 33%    | 13%   | 44%            |
| Performance of the Scotland football team (Scottish answers)  | 38%    | 10%   | 44%            |
| Performance of the Wales football team (Welsh answers)  | 33%    | 16%   | 41%            |

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The Queen's Platinum Jubilee in 2022 offers a rare opportunity to examine how our society has changed and what has remained constant over the last seven decades, and indeed the ten turbulent years since the last Jubilee.

This new report explores what the public thinks about some of the key issues facing Britain in 2022 and beyond. Much has happened over the course of a volatile decade –including three general elections and two referendums, one leading to the UK leaving the European Union, and a pandemic that brought our economy and society to a near-standstill.

But how much have we changed as a society? *Jubilee Britain* looks at the state of the nation in 2022 and how we feel about the issues that most concern us. It casts forward, too, to the challenges we may face in the future – and how we can navigate them together.

British Future is an independent, nonpartisan thinktank and registered charity engaging people's hopes and fears about integration and migration, identity and race, so that we share a confident and welcoming Britain, inclusive and fair to all.

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