

New England, New Britain

"In England we've spent a bit of time being a bit lost as to what our modern identity is and hopefully people can connect with us. We have the chance to affect something bigger than ourselves."

Gareth Southgate



Executive Summary

- **Gareth Southgate's vision of England and Englishness is overwhelmingly backed by the English people**
 - English people who overwhelmingly share the Southgate values of diversity, tolerance and equality, with 75%+ seeing those values as critical components to their sense of national pride
 - This sense of inclusivity has only grown over the last decade
 - English people across political divides see uniting figures like public servants and Marcus Rashford as being more symbolic of Englishness than politicians like Boris Johnson
- **This runs contrary to the Nationalist interpretation of Englishness as being fundamentally opposed to Scottishness or Welshness**
 - Scottish and Welsh voters overwhelmingly share Southgate's values as applied to Welshness and Scottishness
 - When placed on a 10 point scale, the English, Welsh and Scottish electorates have remarkably similar values
- **Furthermore, each nation and region shares the same priorities in improving health and education, and managing the climate emergency and an aging population**
- **There is a New Britain waiting to be born with these shared values and priorities, but one that recognises and respects the increasingly important regional and national identities that have arisen in addition to Britishness**
 - *Economically Progressive*: Most voters – across political and national divides – are against austerity and in favour of the wealthy paying a fairer share towards a more equal economy
 - *Egalitarian on race, religion, sex & gender*: The UK has the *most tolerance for diversity* across Western OECD nations
 - *Culturally centrist*: on law & order, defence and our history and traditions
 - *Locally Manifested*: insistent that local communities be empowered with the control and resources to make levelling up a reality
- **Co-operation – not muscular Unionism – must become the de-facto lever for Westminster to unlock this**

Agenda

New England

New England and the Union
New Britain?

The 'Southgate Values' of diversity, tolerance and equality are overwhelmingly shared by England...

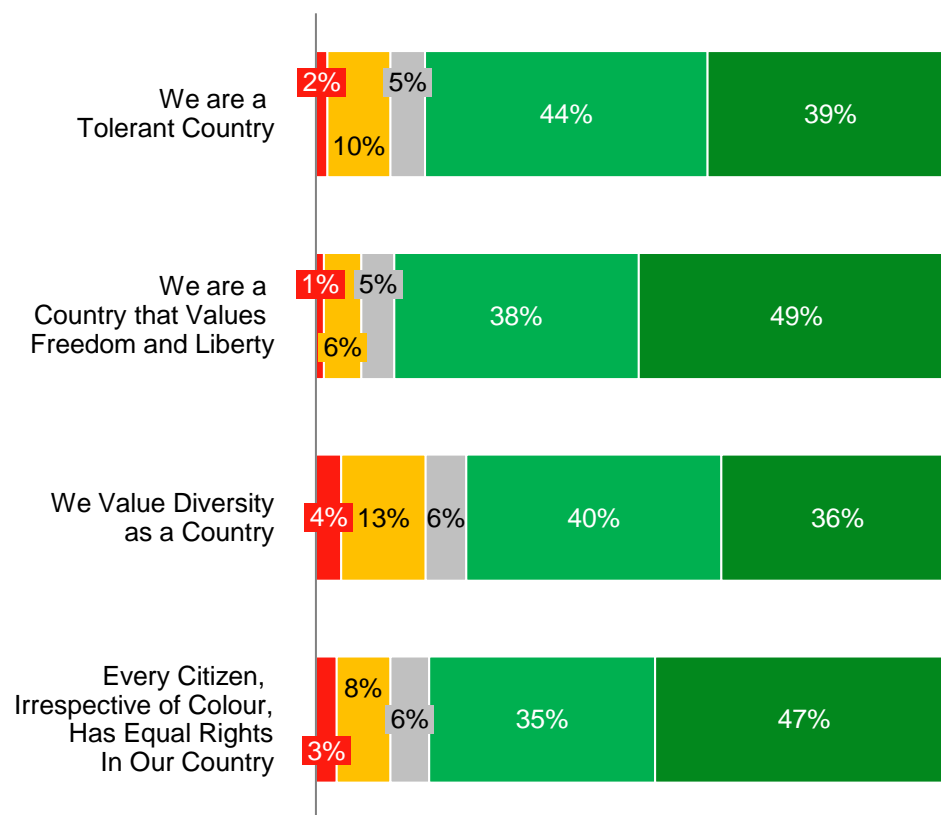
The 'Southgate Values' of Englishness



"I understand that on this island, we have a desire to protect our values and traditions — as we should — but that shouldn't come at the expense of introspection and progress."

I have a responsibility to the wider community to use my voice, and so do the players. It's their duty to continue to interact with the public on matters such as equality, inclusivity and racial injustice, while using the power of their voices to help put debates on the table, raise awareness and educate.

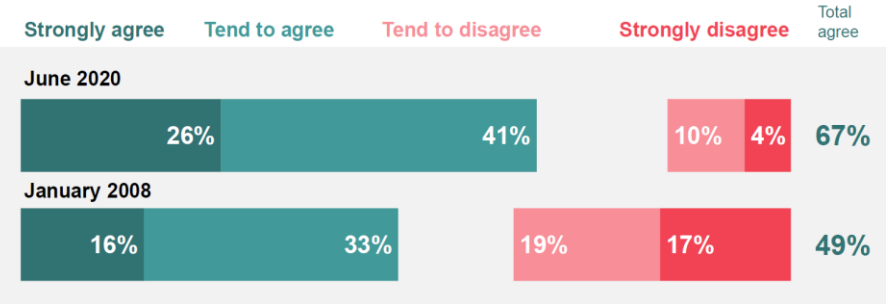
Below are a number of statements. For each, please say how important or unimportant those statements are to you feeling proud to be English



And – according to Ipsos Mori - this sense of inclusivity has strengthened over the last decade

Racial tolerance in Britain

To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements I am about to read out?
Would you say you strongly or tend to agree/disagree? I am broadly optimistic in 10 years Britain will be a more diverse and tolerant place to live



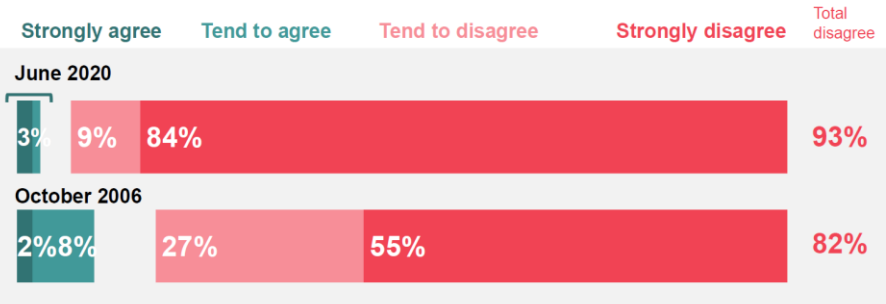
Base: 1,059 British adults 18+, 5-10 June 2020

7 © Ipsos | June 2020

Ipsos MORI Ipsos

Racial tolerance in Britain

To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements I am about to read out?
Would you say you strongly or tend to agree/disagree? To be truly British you have to be white

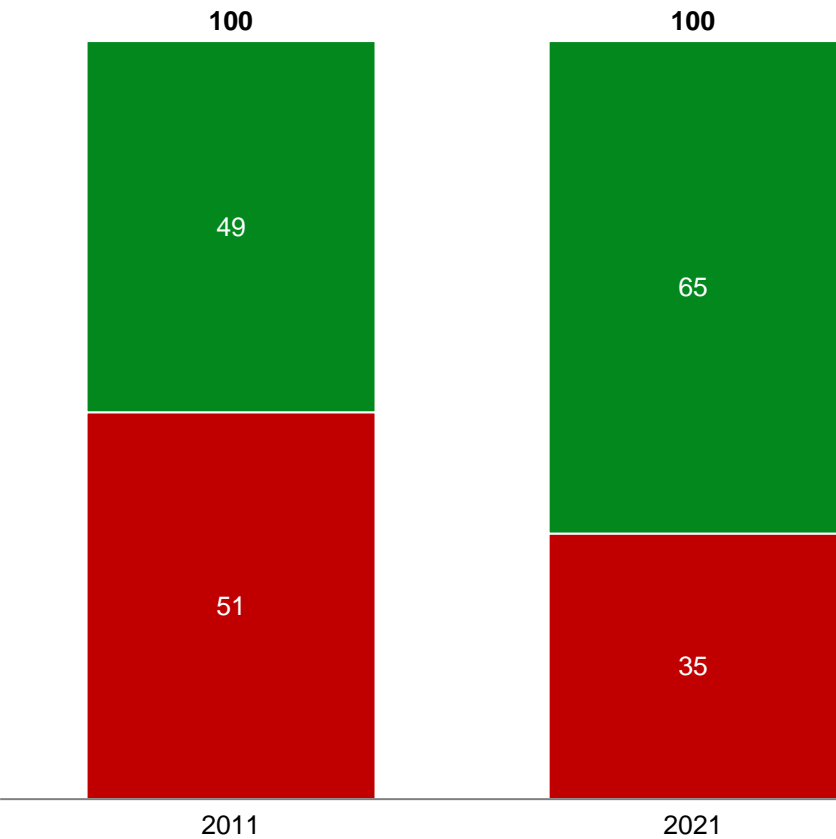


Base: 1,059 British adults 18+, 5-10 June 2020

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Ipsos MORI Ipsos

- A Wide Variety of Backgrounds and Cultures is Part of British Culture
- A Wide Variety of Backgrounds and Cultures has Undermined British Culture



English people across political divides see uniting figures like public servants and Marcus Rashford as being more symbolic of Englishness than politicians like Boris Johnson

Below is a list of 24 individuals and groups. Please select the three who you think best represent England as it is today
Top 7 out of 24 options, All English Voters (n = 2,000)

	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6	#7
All Voters	 <p>Doctors & Nurses in the NHS</p>	 <p>The Queen</p>	 <p>David Attenborough</p>	 <p>The armed forces</p>	 <p>Marcus Rashford</p>	 <p>Teachers</p>	 <p>Boris Johnson</p>
Leave	 <p>Doctors & Nurses in the NHS</p>	 <p>The Queen</p>	 <p>The armed forces</p>	 <p>David Attenborough</p>	 <p>Marcus Rashford</p>	 <p>Boris Johnson</p>	 <p>Diana, Princess of Wales</p>
Remain	 <p>Doctors & Nurses in the NHS</p>	 <p>The Queen</p>	 <p>David Attenborough</p>	 <p>Marcus Rashford</p>	 <p>The armed forces</p>	 <p>Teachers</p>	 <p>Gareth Southgate</p>

Agenda

New England

New England and the Union

New Britain?

The story of Scottish nationalism is that Scotland and the British state are fundamentally opposed to each other - and that we therefore have to choose one or the other



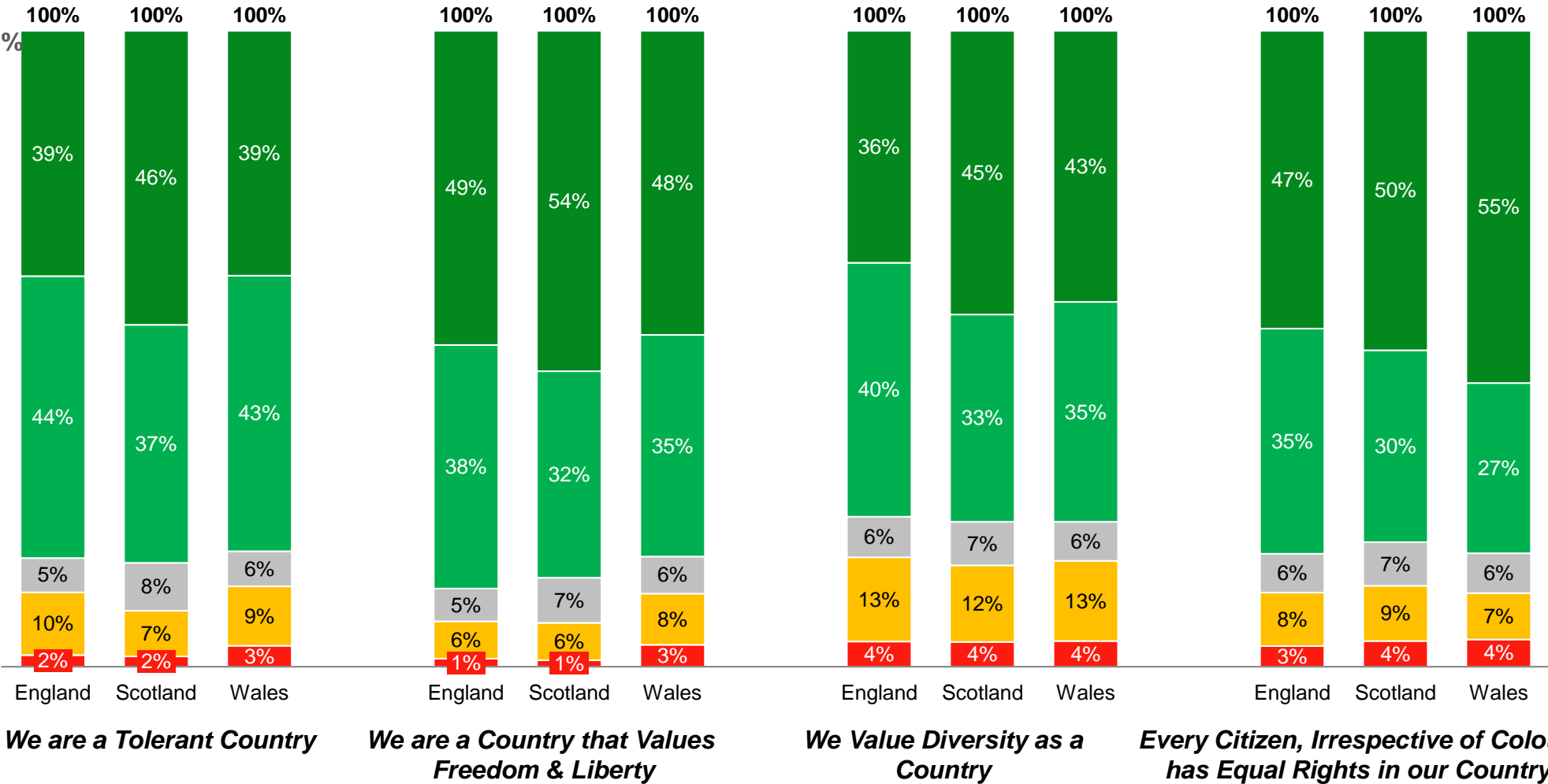
The Scottish people have ensured that different values are at the heart of governments in Scotland



"Our domestic debate isn't about whether we should live in an independent country, or organise the world on some other basis. It's the rather more prosaic, though still important, issue of which nation state we wish to have: Scottish or British. When it comes to nationalism, you pays your money and you takes your choice."

However, the Southgate Values of Englishness are equally applicable to Welsh- and Scottish-ness

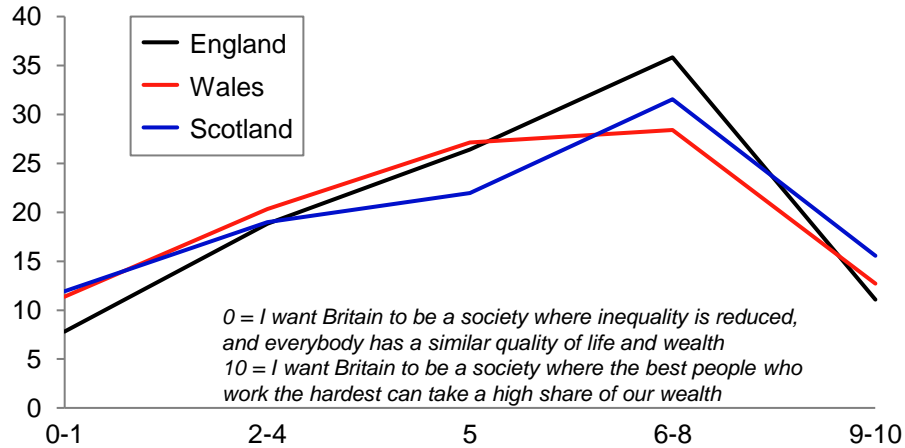
Below are a number of statements. For each, please say how important or unimportant those statements are to you feeling proud to be [English/Scottish/Welsh]



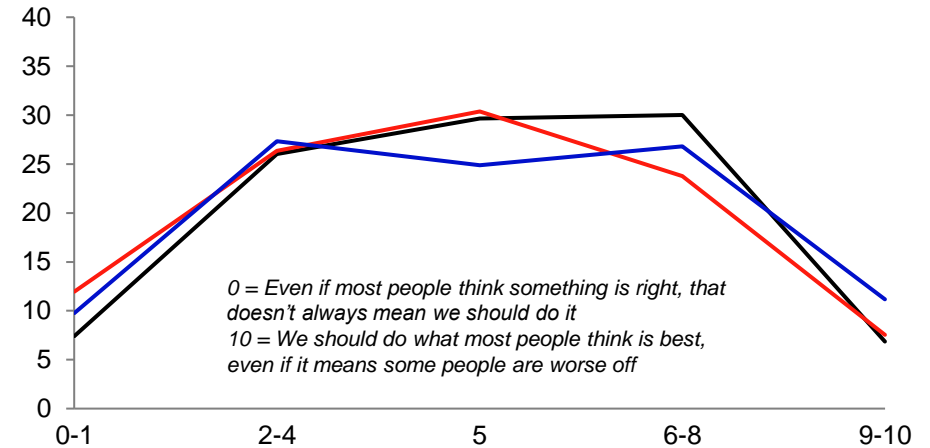
When placed on a 10 point scale, the English, Welsh and Scottish electorates have remarkably similar values

The UK's 'Ethos' (0=Left; 10 = Right)

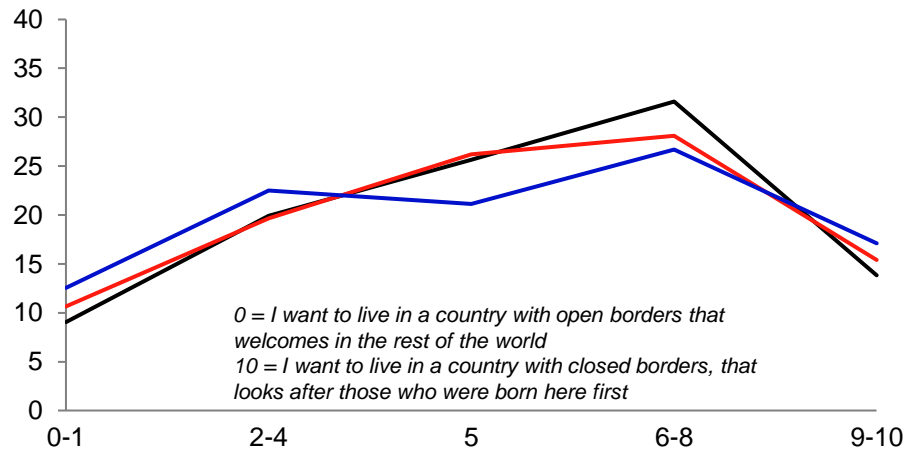
Equality vs Meritocracy



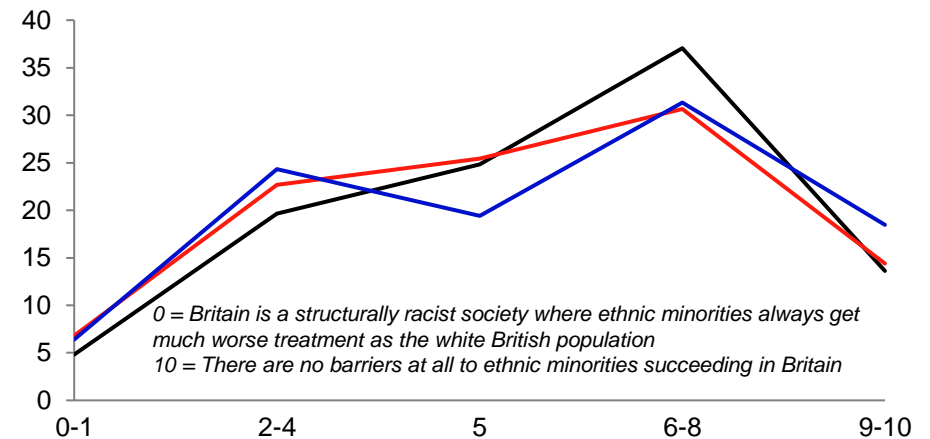
Pluralism



Borders



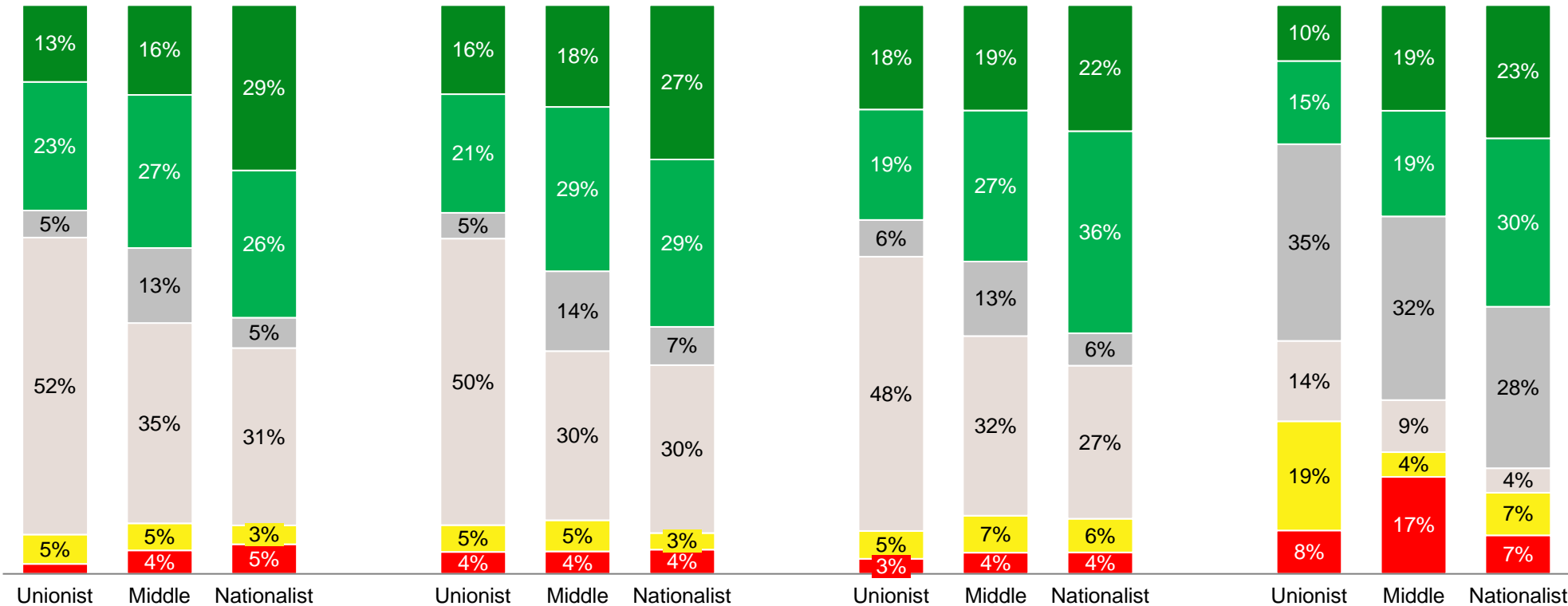
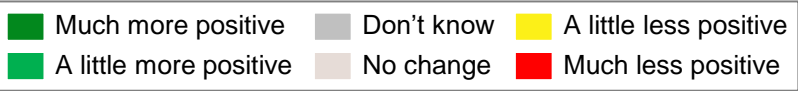
Race



An Englishness manifested with ‘Southgate’s Values’ is far more likely to be positively received by ‘Nationalists’ and ‘Middle Scotland’

Below are a number of scenarios about England. For each, could you say whether, if that scenario happened, you would feel more or less warm towards England?

% By ‘Scotland’



England was perceived as being more tolerant

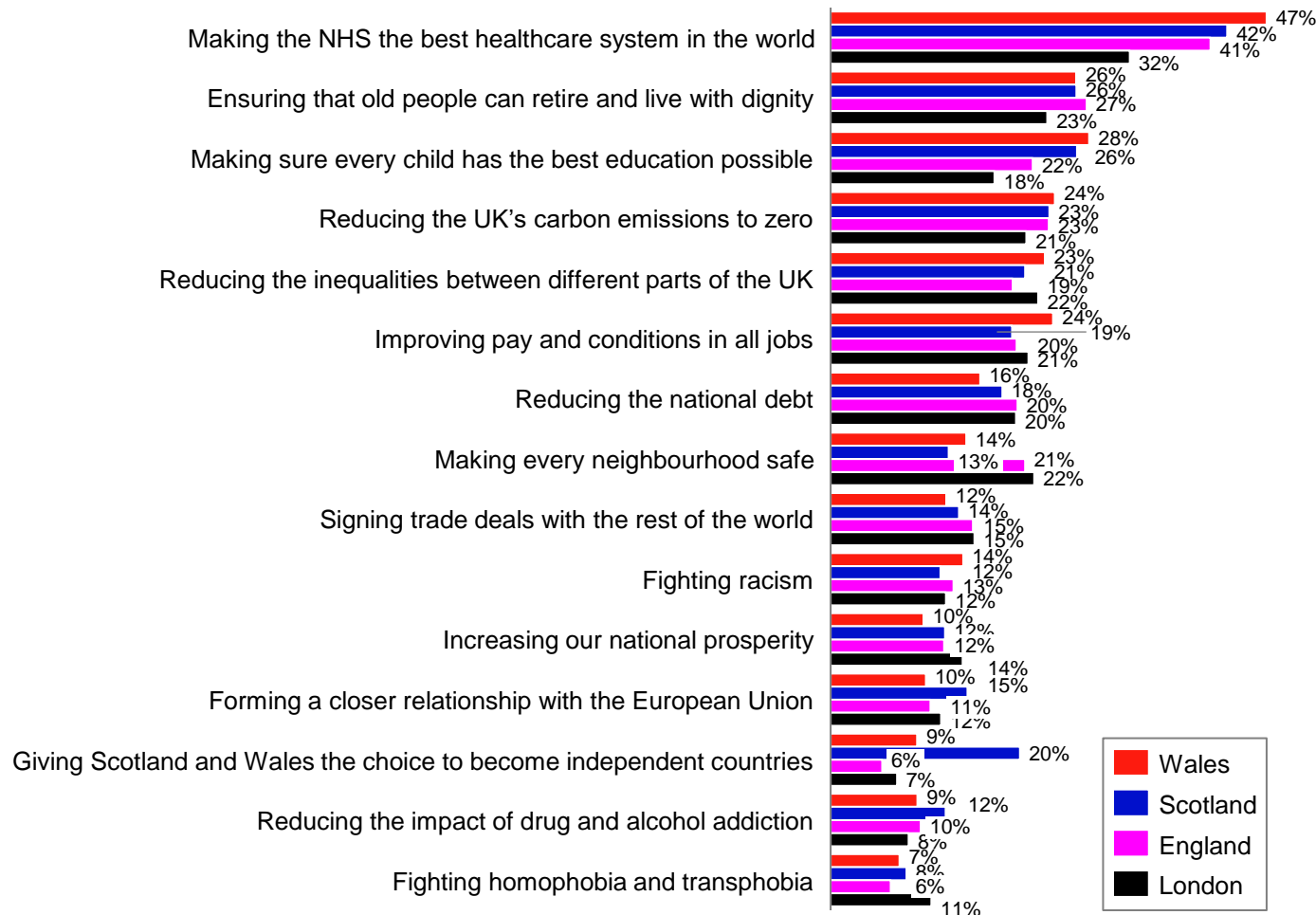
England was perceived as being more respectful of diversity

England was perceived as doing more to offer equal rights to all citizens irrespective of their race

England was represented by people like Gareth Southgate and Marcus Rashford, instead of the current U.K Government

Each of the regions and nations share common priorities of supporting the NHS, managing an aging population, educating the next generation, and fighting climate change...

Which of the following things do you think are the most important for Britain to focus on over the next decade?



Common Telos across the UK

- There are strong 'lowest common denominators' across all the regions and groups of the UK
 - Investment in the NHS
 - Dignified Retirement for Old People
 - Fighting Climate Change
 - Reducing inequality of opportunity and improving pay
- Whilst this could be true for all countries, the UK has several institutions that it can use to achieve these together – eg the NHS, the Pound, the Law Courts

Each of the regions and nations share common priorities of supporting the NHS, managing an aging population, educating the next generation, and fighting climate change...

Which of the following things do you think are the most important for Britain to focus on over the next decade? (% in Top 3)¹

	Wales	Scotland	England	East of England	East Midlands	London	North East	North West	South East	South West	West Midlands	Yorkshire and the Humber
1	Making the NHS the best healthcare system in the world	Making the NHS the best healthcare system in the world	Making the NHS the best healthcare system in the world	Making the NHS the best healthcare system in the world	Making the NHS the best healthcare system in the world	Making the NHS the best healthcare system in the world	Making the NHS the best healthcare system in the world	Making the NHS the best healthcare system in the world	Making the NHS the best healthcare system in the world	Making the NHS the best healthcare system in the world	Making the NHS the best healthcare system in the world	Making the NHS the best healthcare system in the world
2	Making sure every child has the best education possible	Making sure every child has the best education possible	Ensuring that old people can retire and live with dignity	Reducing the UK's carbon emissions to zero	Ensuring that old people can retire and live with dignity	Ensuring that old people can retire and live with dignity	Ensuring that old people can retire and live with dignity	Ensuring that old people can retire and live with dignity	Ensuring that old people can retire and live with dignity	Ensuring that old people can retire and live with dignity	Reducing the UK's carbon emissions to zero	Ensuring that old people can retire and live with dignity
3	Ensuring that old people can retire and live with dignity	Ensuring that old people can retire and live with dignity	Reducing the UK's carbon emissions to zero	Ensuring that old people can retire and live with dignity	Reducing the UK's carbon emissions to zero	Reducing the inequalities between different parts of the UK	Improving pay and conditions in all jobs	Making every neighbourhood safe	Reducing the UK's carbon emissions to zero	Reducing the UK's carbon emissions to zero	Making sure every child has the best education possible	Making sure every child has the best education possible
4	Reducing the UK's carbon emissions to zero	Reducing the UK's carbon emissions to zero	Making sure every child has the best education possible	Making every neighbourhood safe	Improving pay and conditions in all jobs	Making every neighbourhood safe	Reducing the national debt	Making sure every child has the best education possible	Making sure every child has the best education possible	Making sure every child has the best education possible	Ensuring that old people can retire and live with dignity	Reducing the inequalities between different parts of the UK
5	Improving pay and conditions in all jobs	Reducing the inequalities between different parts of the UK	Making every neighbourhood safe	Reducing the national debt	Making sure every child has the best education possible	Improving pay and conditions in all jobs	Making sure every child has the best education possible	Reducing the UK's carbon emissions to zero	Making every neighbourhood safe	Reducing the national debt	Reducing the inequalities between different parts of the UK	Making every neighbourhood safe

Issues not in Top 5 anywhere include: Forming a closer relationship with the EU, signing trade deals, Fighting racism, fighting homophobia and transphobia, Increasing national prosperity, Reducing the impact of drug and alcohol addiction, Giving Scotland and Wales the choice to become independent

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New England and the Union

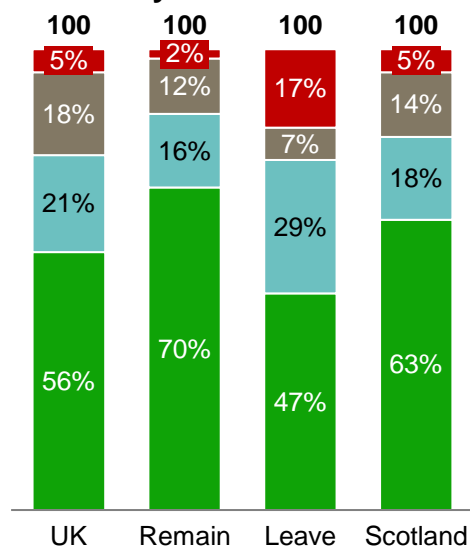
New Britain?

Economically Progressive: With its shared values and priorities, the New Britain waiting to be born is economically progressive...

Evidence for Economic Progressivity – UK (IPPR 2019 Evidence)

Universal Belief Economic Inequality Needs to Be Addressed

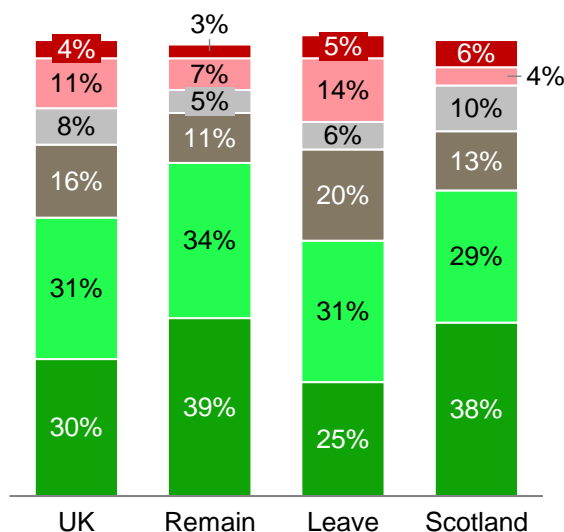
- Thinking about recent years, and the gap between wealthy people and the rest of the population, which of the following comes closest to your view?



■ It Hasn't Widened At All
■ DK
■ It Has Not Widened Very Much
■ It Has Widened Too Much

That the Rich should Pay their Fair Share

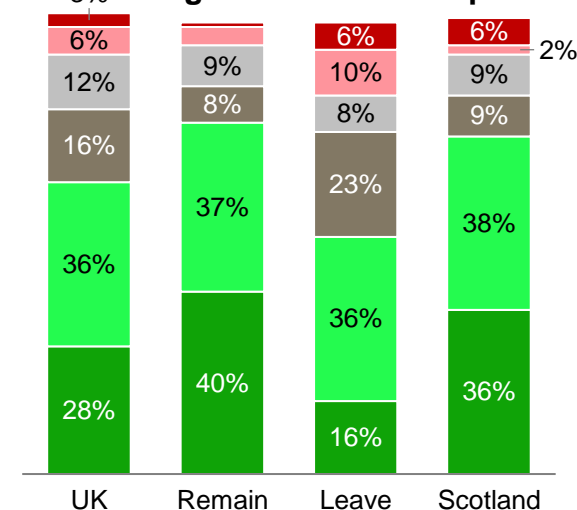
- To what extent do you support or oppose the increase of tax for those earning more than £100,000 a year?



■ Strongly Oppose
■ Tend to Oppose
■ DK
■ Neither
■ Tend to Support
■ Strong Support

And that the State Should Lead a Just Transition

- To what extent do you support or oppose a significant increase in public spending to invest in solutions to climate change including renewable energy, insulating homes and transport?

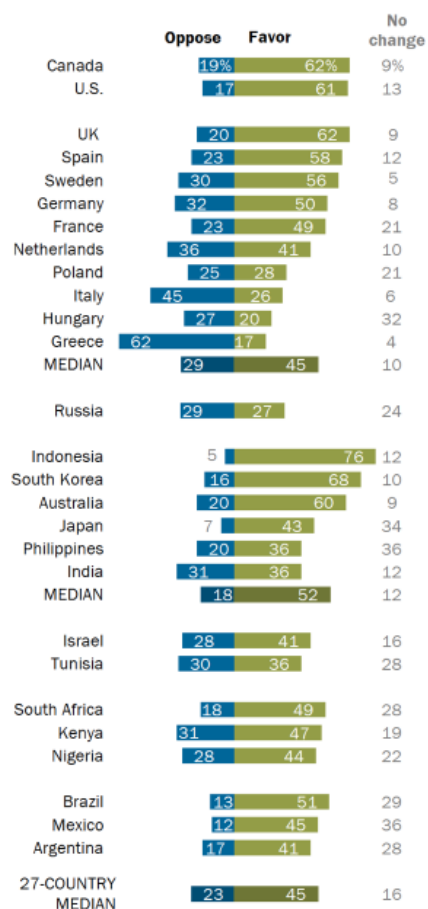


■ Strongly Oppose
■ Tend to Oppose
■ DK
■ Neither
■ Tend to Support
■ Strong Support

...Egalitarian on race, religion, sex & gender: The UK has the most tolerance for diversity across European OECD nations according to Pew

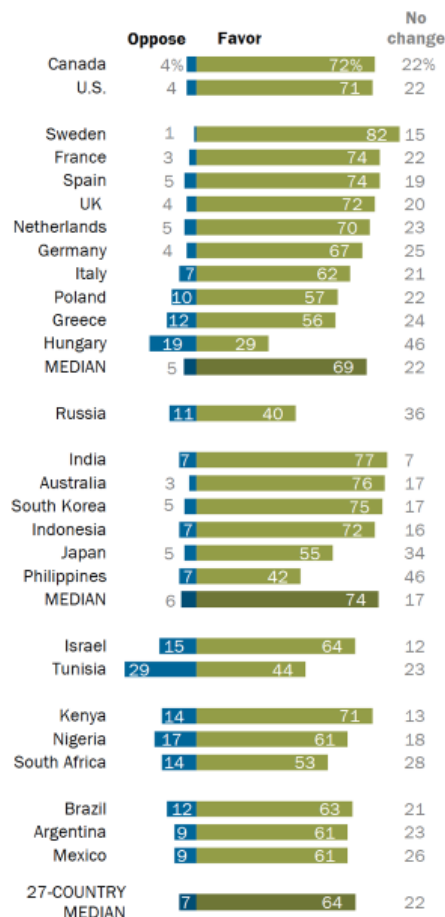
Many who see increasing diversity think it's a positive change

% who ___ increased diversity in their country



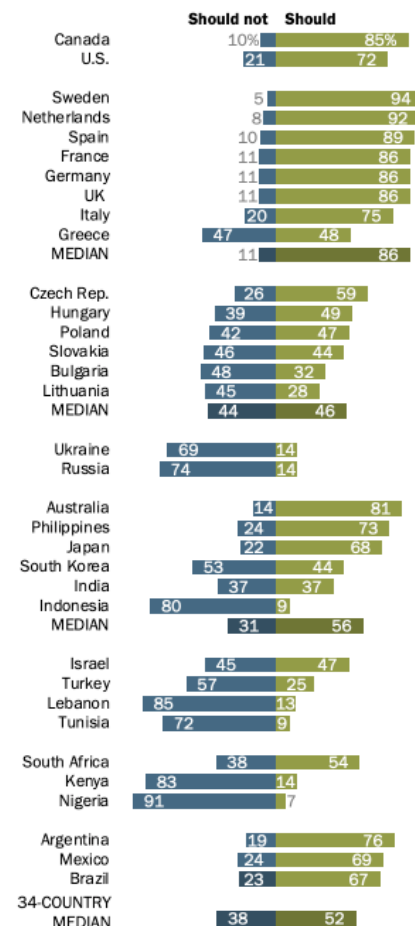
Most favor increasing gender equality

% who ___ increased gender equality in our country



Acceptance of homosexuality varies across the globe

% who say homosexuality ___ be accepted by society

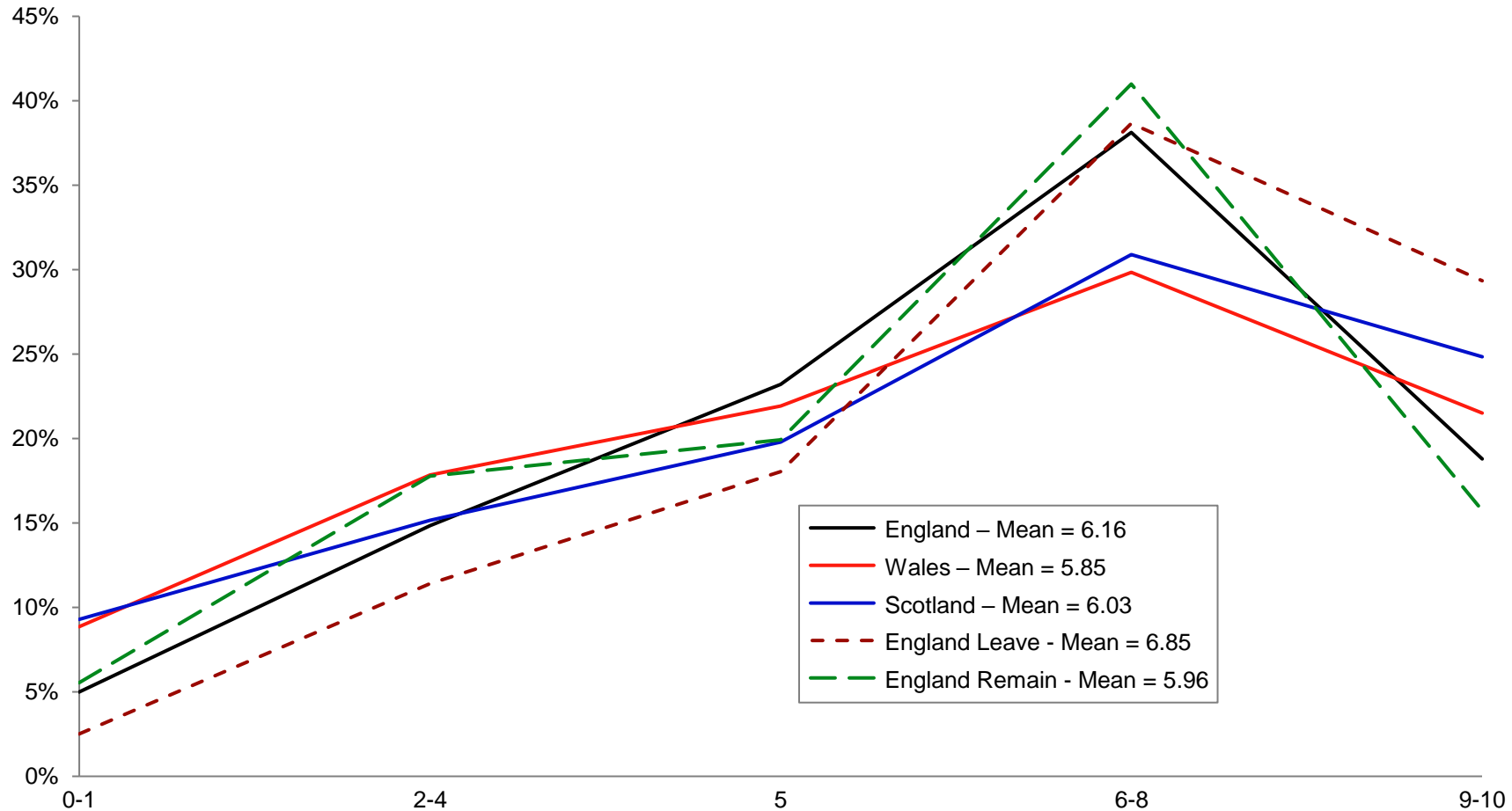


...Culturally centrist: in addition to centrist views on immigration, borders, and opportunity, British people across the regions and nations remain proud of their history

Where would you place yourself on the following scale?

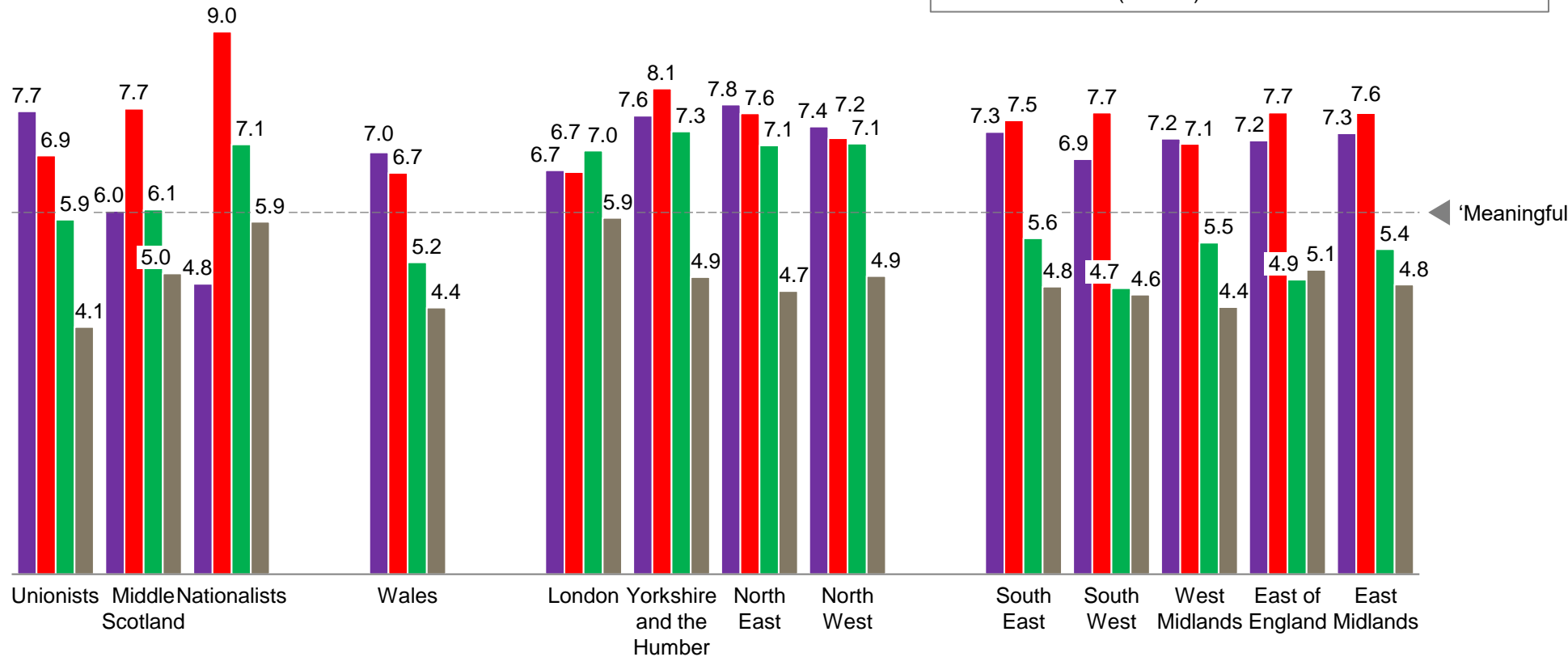
0 = Britain has a dark history due to things like colonialism and the slave trade – the country needs to atone for these.

10 = Britain's past is something we should be entirely proud of – to attack our past is to attack Britain as a country



Locally Manifested: We are seeing a far more plural sense of geographic identity right across the UK

Below is a list of different ways that someone might identify themselves. For each, could you give a score from 0 to 10 based on how you personally identify, where 0 = 'I do not identify with this at all', and 10 = 'This is an important part of my identity'



Middle Scotland has meaningful British, Scottish and Local Identity

In the North of England and London 'Tridentity' of 'Northern/Londoner + English + British' is common

Regions with less clear historical identity still see themselves as equally English and British (common across Brexit divide)

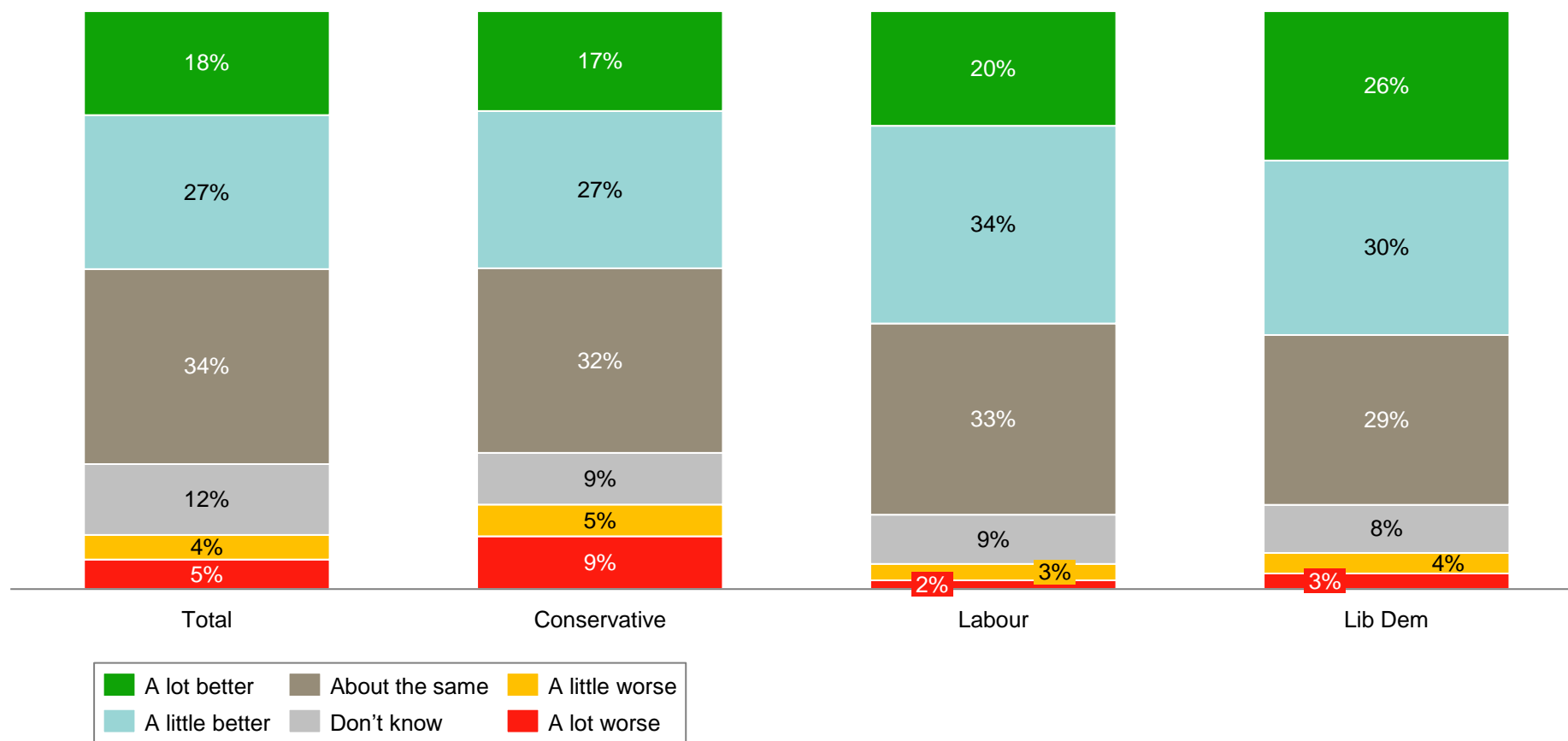
***Locally Manifested:* In the context of plural identities it is clear that 'muscular unionism' will not work**

- Internal market bill rides roughshod over local decision-making
- Shared prosperity fund ignores partnership between Scotland and UK
- Calling devolution a disaster alienates Scottish opinion that supports Scottish parliament
- Putting up more union jacks and labelling bridges British by Bypassing Scottish government backfires
- Failure to recognise that unity does not require uniformity or the elimination of regional and national sentiment
- Failure to recognise that People do not have to choose between being Scottish and British : they can be both

***Locally Manifested:* There is strong agreement – from all voters – that devolved Leaders understand and can represent them better than Westminster**

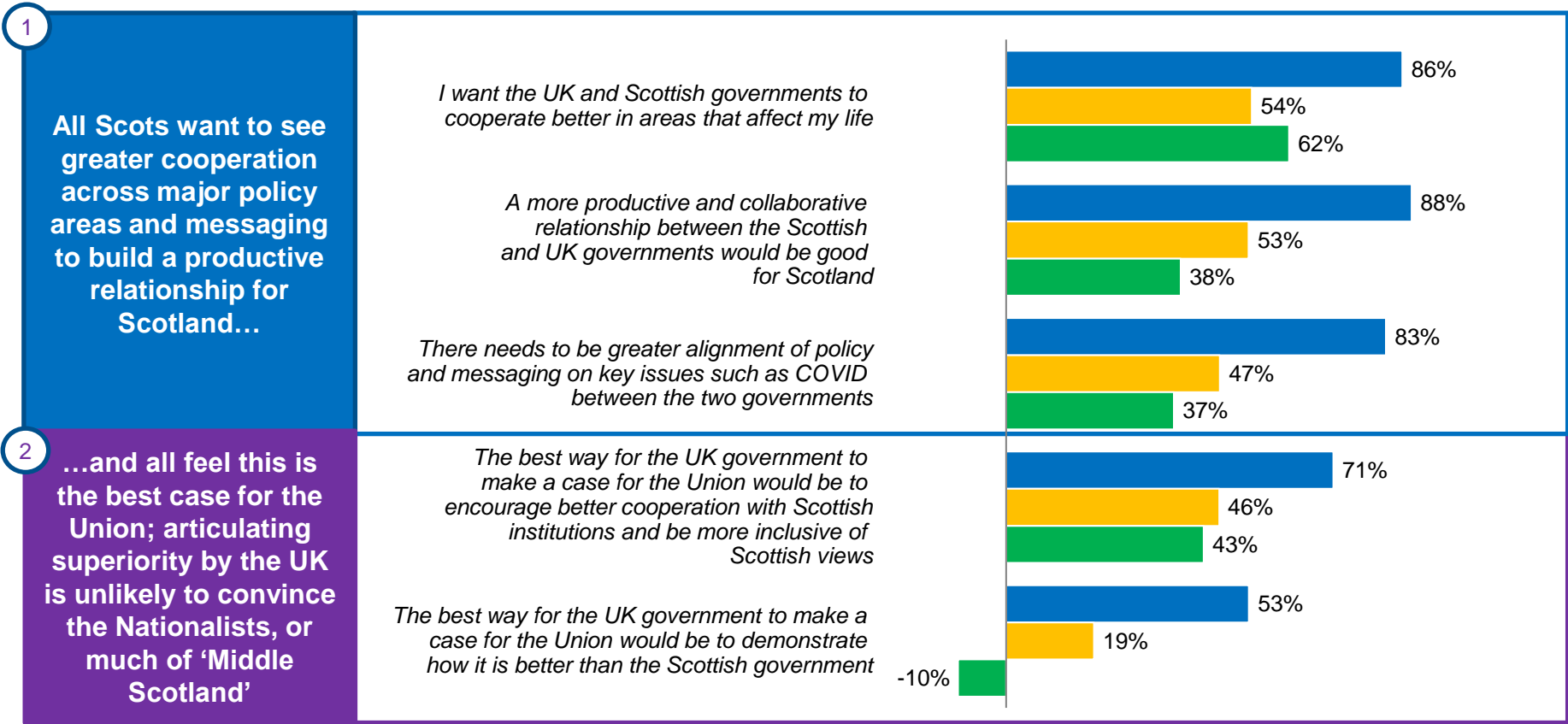
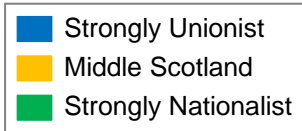
And would you say that your elected mayor understands you better or worse than national Members of Parliament in Westminster?

English Voters with an elected mayor, %



Co-Operation between UK and Devolved Institutions on shared priorities is what can save the Union – not confrontation...

To what extent do you agree with the following statement on cooperation?
 Net score (agree / disagree) with option, All Scots, %^{1,2}

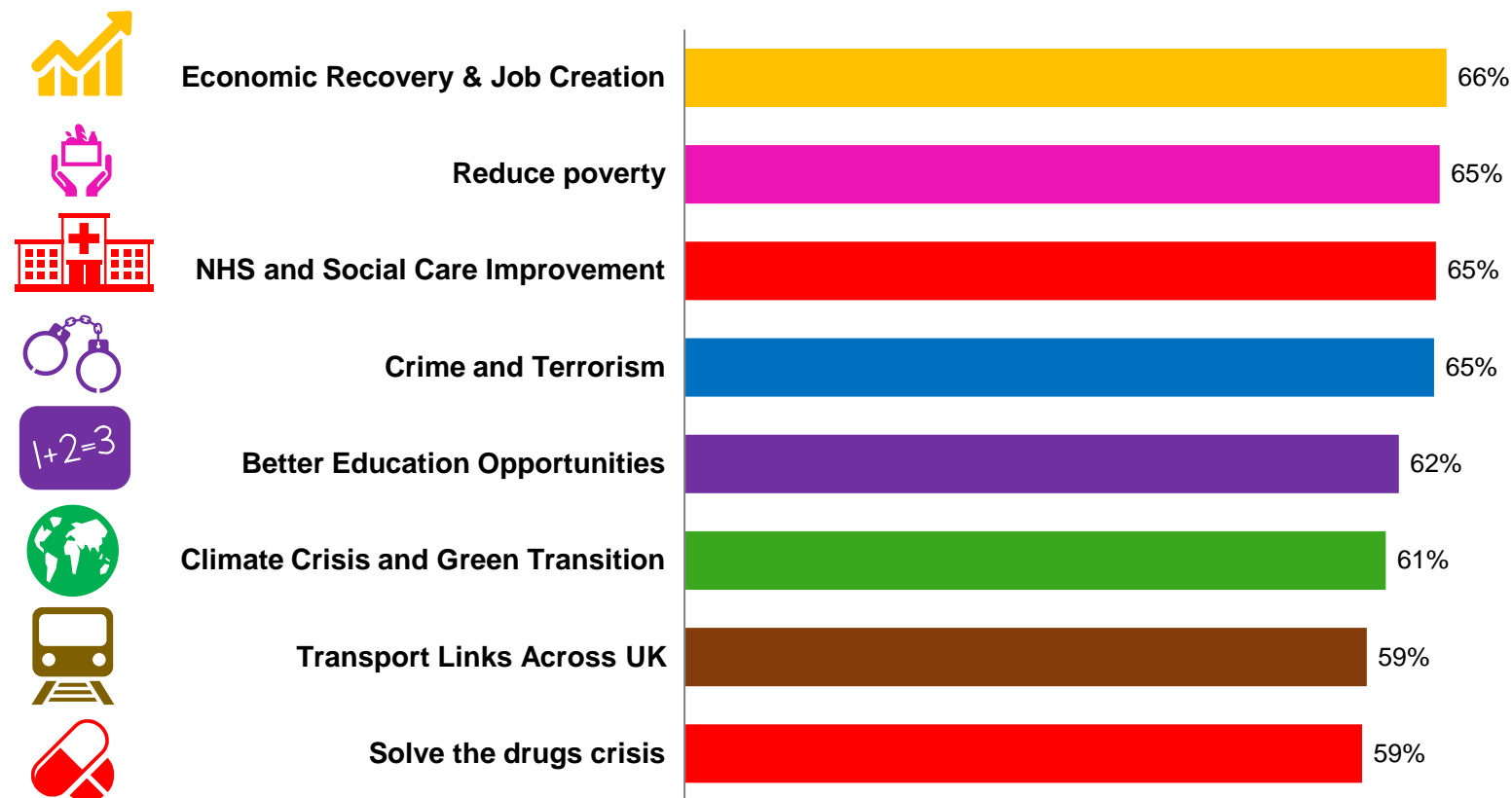


1. 1,000 Scots were polled between the 7th and 8th of May 2021. Responses were weighted to census figures on age, gender, education level, and recorded 2021 vote in the Scottish Parliamentary elections'
 2. Polling Question: To what extent do you agree with the following statement on cooperation; cross cut by Polling Question: 'On a scale of 0-10 where 0 is 'strongly against' and 10 is 'strongly in favour' what is your view on whether Scotland should be an independent country?'; Unionists = responses 0-1, Middle Scotland = responses 2-8, Nationalists = 9-10, excludes non respondents,
 Source: OSF Exit Poll May 2021, OSF Analysis

...Across all major policy areas

I want more cooperation to/for...

Net score (agree / disagree) with option, All Scots,^{1,2}



1. 1,000 Scots were polled between the 7th and 8th of May 2021. Responses were weighted to census figures on age, gender, education level, and recorded 2021 vote in the Scottish Parliamentary elections'

2. Polling Question: To what extent do you agree with the following statement that 'I want more cooperation for'; net score calculated as difference between % that agree and % that disagree

Source: OSF Exit Poll May 2021, OSF Analysis

As an Institution, the NHS is a symbol of what co-operation and solidarity can achieve

Sources of Pride vs Association with Britain vs Scotland (Middle Scotland Only)

