

Global Future Foundation About Us

About Us

Global Future Foundation is a think tank dedicated to using psychology to provide fearless and original insight into the challenges of our times. We aim to guide leaders – from businesses to politics, arts and civil society – to ask bigger, deeper questions about how we can best serve our communities. Our work is oriented toward a vision of a global future in which greater empathy and tolerance builds more unified and prosperous societies.

This report was produced with polling from **More in Common** - an organisation established to provide a deeper analysis of the different factors contributing to polarization and social fracturing.

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Global Future Foundation Foreword

Foreword

Anand Menon

Director of UK in a Changing Europe



Over nine years ago, Britons voted for Brexit.
The vote certainly stemmed in part from a desire to leave the European Union. Equally, however, it reflected a desire that political leaders put Britain's interests first.

This report's is based on a survey that suggests that this sentiment persists. As the world becomes more unstable, calls to prioritise and celebrate Britain have only grown louder.

The language of 'Britain First', however, has largely been claimed by the right. It's become shorthand for exclusion and division. Indeed, patriotism has become politically polarising, often looked down on by those with a global and cosmopolitan outlook.

In many ways, this has been a loss for progressives. Celebrating your country and wanting to engage in the world openly are not mutually exclusive. In fact, people appreciate that the two can go hand in hand. They want Britain to be a leader in the world, to defend British values and even to engage more closely with the European Union.

While many Britons support the idea of putting Britain First, they don't want a carbon copy or the kind of narrow nationalism exemplified by America First. Yes, people want their leaders to prioritise the interests of their country. But this does mean they want to achieve this by isolating ourselves from the world.

Britain now has the chance to redefine patriotism — not as insular or exclusionary, but as confident, open and rooted in shared values. If our leaders can offer a vision that reflects pride at home and purpose abroad, they can reclaim national identity from the extremes. Britons don't want to be an island adrift and alone; they want to be a strong and steady anchor in a rapidly changing world.

Executive Summary

Amid a cost of living crisis and global uncertainty, we found that **63% of Britons support a 'Britain First' approach** – prioritising national interests, industries and identities. People want leaders to make their issues a top priority. This sentiment is largely driven by a desire for security, recognition, and national pride.

People don't want to follow in the footsteps of President Trump's 'America First'. Less Britons now think it's in the UK's best interest to be on the same side of the US, decreasing from 51% in February 2024 to 43% in June 2025. Meanwhile 56% of Britons think that the President's re-election has negatively impacted the United States; the public envision something

While Britons do show a desire to strengthen their borders, they haven't given up on building strong relationships abroad. A closer look into people's opinions still reveals a desire for openness, economically and socially. 46% say that closer engagement with the EU would make them more proud. Cooperation is seen as key to serving national interest.

different for 'Britain First'.

Domestic investment in areas that feel 'left behind' remains a top priority. 72% of Britons would feel prouder if we revived British manufacturing and industry. Part of this reflects a longing for a time when Britain was an economic powerhouse, and part of this represents a very real concern for struggling industrial areas. People want job creation, and more attention given to the working class.

The desire for altruism and broadmindedness still burns bright. 43% of Britons want Britain to lead the way on global issues. People want Britain to maintain its principles and moral compass. 49% would feel prouder if Britain led the way on climate change agreements and more than a third would feel proud about increasing international development and aid spending. Far from retreating from the world stage, most Britons see their country as a force for good that can help overcome international challenges.

Britain wants to stand with Ukraine. Almost half (46%) say that doing more to support Ukraine resisting Russia's invasion would boost their sense of pride. Active international involvement and strong moral leadership remain strong elements of people's sense of pride.

A majority of Britons (63%) say they would take greater pride in their country if its culture and history were more openly celebrated. People have an instinctive psychological desire for patriotic pride, and want to celebrate their nation without shame or disdain. This reflects an opportunity and need for a new narrative for Britain First: one that honours the full richness of our diverse nation.

The main report starts here. The following polling research was conducted by More in Common between the 30th May and 2nd June 2025. It used a weighted sample of 2,016 respondents from across Great Britain (excluding Northern Ireland). Respondents were weighted according to age/sex interlocked, 2024 General Election vote, Ethnicity and education level. Rounding decisions may impact totals.

Global Future Foundation The Changing Tides

1. The Changing Tides

We are living through a period of global instability. Many claim that the old-world order is dead¹. In this period of transition and tumult, there arises the question – what is our place in the world?

The challenge is, that while power-balances are in-flux, and opportunities may be opening on the global stage, there has been a rise of nationalist and isolationist politics.

Across the Atlantic, we've witnessed the impacts of Trump's 'America First' campaign. We've seen America withdraw from international commitments and impose sweeping tariffs on allies. For some, this has served as a cautionary tale, casting doubt on protectionist policies. But for others, this kind of leadership remains aspirational.

Closer to home, similar cries to prioritise national self-interest are gaining momentum. Echoes of putting 'Britain First' and making 'Britain Great Again' can be heard in Nigel Farage's speeches at recent Reform UK conferences² - the party that is leading in current polls³. Clearly, there's a growing movement of people who, in a time of scarcity and instability, want a government who, above all else, promises to put 'the people' first.

There's legitimate and understandable reasoning behind these desires. Beneath the surface of political slogans lie feelings of loss and longing – for control, for recognition, for dignity. In a world that feels increasingly unstable and competitive, the instinct to turn inward – to protect what is 'ours' – is understandable. It speaks not just to economic worries but to a deeper sense of

nostalgia that Britain is not what it once was. Further, the idea that a political leader would put the people they represent first, is not necessarily problematic. In many ways it's natural.

But this isn't the full story. Alongside impulses of retreat are aspirations of leadership, cooperation, and pride in our global contribution. Many do not yearn for isolation, but for renewal – for a Britain that is respected abroad and confident at home. The question is not really about whether we should put Britain first, but what putting Britain first looks like. Where Britain is a country defined by liberal values, putting Britain first could mean defending and championing these principles in a positive way.



^{1.} https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2025/04/world-order-europe-trump/682639/

^{2.} https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I0j4NY6OYSM

^{3.} https://www.ipsos.com/en-uk/reforms-ipsos-record-9-point-lead-over-labour-public-satisfaction-government-nears-lowest-point

Global Future Foundation The Changing Tides

This report explores the psychological landscape beneath Britain's global attitudes today. It examines how political leaders can shape a positive message for patriotism, one that remains committed to values of openness, fairness and inclusivity. Ultimately, we argue that Britain first does not have to mean Britain alone. Most Britons don't want to turn their backs on the world - they want to lead in it. What emerges from the data is a global vision of national pride, defined by principled leadership, strong alliances and a renewed sense of domestic confidence.

In this report we challenge the divisiveness of contemporary patriotism. While national pride has in many ways become a source of political polarisation, here we propose a new narrative for 'Britain First' - one that is distinct from extremist associations, that addresses people's needs at home while understanding that openness is opportunity.

As an organisation, we are driven by the desire to use psychology for the common good. We are motivated by the hope of establishing a 'Global Future' defined by openness, tolerance and understanding. With this report we commit to these visions, building a path for leaders to address people's desire for belonging and pride while remaining committed to global responsibilities and relationships.

Most Britons don't want to turn their backs on the world - they want to lead in it.



^{3.}https://www.lse.ac.uk/business/consulting/assets/documents/how-poverty-affects-peoples-decision-making-processes.pdf 4. https://www.geos.ed.ac.uk/~tslater/assets/terstig_handbookurbanstudies.pdf

2. People want to put Britain First

When we asked people if they would support the UK adopting a 'Britain First' approach, that prioritises national interests, industries and identity, 63% said yes. Across the country, there seems to be a strong sense that political leaders should focus their attention inward.

To those who are aware of the term's roots, this statistic might sound troubling. Indeed, the phrase 'Britain First' has dark affiliations⁴ - being the name of the far-right political party guilty of inciting acts of xenophobic violence, terror and promoting exclusionary nationalism. These associations cannot be ignored, but on closer inspection, it appears this is not how the majority of people interpret the idea of putting Britain first. In fact, while the term 'Britain First' may seem to indicate a narrow nationalism, perhaps the sentiment aligns more closely with Caroline Lucas' chosen definition of patriotism - that simply means "giving a shit about your country. Wanting it to be as good and fair as it can be." ⁵

In that light, the idea of political leaders putting their people and country first is understandable – especially in difficult times. When we asked people to, in a word or two, describe how they view Britain's place in the world, despite the dominant word 'good', the sentiment was otherwise negative.

Many feel that Britain is "declining," "struggling," or "lost." The word cloud (right) reflects this mosaic of concerns about Britain going "downhill".

"falling" or "losing". When one of the most common descriptors is "poor," it becomes clearer why people might want to focus on domestic challenges before turning attention abroad.

Psychological research on scarcity anxiety can help us develop a deeper understanding of this sentiment. When people experience 'threat conditions' they are less likely to want to share resources as they would in 'safe conditions'. With the present cost-of-living crisis, and levels of global instability, it's understandable that people are becoming more inclined to support putting themselves first. Here, we can have some empathy for the desire to put your own life jacket on first, before helping others.

That being said, while there are clearly psychological undercurrents driving the generalised support for putting Britain first, the

In a word or two, how would you describe Britain's place in the world in 2025?



^{4.} https://hopenothate.org.uk/case-files-britain-first/

^{5,} https://www.theguardian.com/food/2025/feb/23/lunch-with-caroline-lucas-parents-voted-green-patriotism-protest-parliament

^{6.} https://pmc.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/articles/PMC10203809/

sentiment is split along political divides. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the segments of the population that were most in favour of taking a 'Britain First' approach were those who voted Reform UK in the last election (85%) and those who voted to Leave the EU in the 2016 referendum (82%). This reflects, in part, Nigel Farage's effective mobilisation of nationalistic rhetoric – but it also shows that the sentiment behind Brexit remains very much alive. A significant cohort of voters are still galvanised by a desire for Britain to reclaim control, restore pride, and reassert sovereignty.

However, even among these groups, 'Britain First' may not mean insularity – it may represent a belief that the country has looked outward for too long while neglecting problems at home. It can be understood as a call for visibility, recognition, and renewed investment

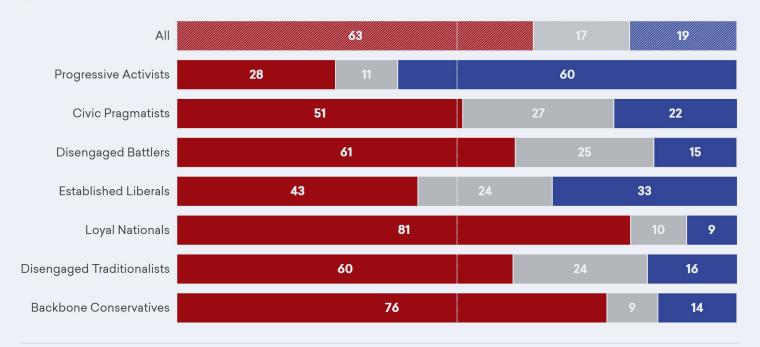
- especially from communities that feel left behind.

Ultimately, while support for a 'Britain First' approach is widespread, there is one notable outlier. Among progressive Activists, significantly more people oppose taking a 'Britain First' approach (60%) than are in favour of it (28%). What's more, across the board there is a certain level of awareness that putting Britain first must be balanced with prioritising Britain's global relationships and reputation. While there may be some level of interest in protectionism and prioritisation, there remains a level of fear about abandoning the openness many see as core to Britain's identity.

63% of the public want a 'Britain First' approach

Some countries take a "my country first" approach – prioritising national interests, industries, and identity over international cooperation and shared global responsibilities. Which of the following comes closest to your view?

● I would support the UK adopting a "Britain First" approach, in order to protect national interests, industries and identity ■ Don't know ■ I would not support the UK adopting a "Britain First" approach, in order to protect Britain's international relationships and reputation





Source: More in Common • June 2025

3. America First - A Cautionary Tale

While Britons may want to put Britain first, they don't see this as a vote for insularity. They don't see putting Britain first as mutually exclusive with global engagement.

In fact, 43% want to see Britain do more to lead the way on global issues. Further, while there is the greatest support for global leadership among Progressive Activists (63%) and Civic Pragmatists (51%), with the exception of disengaged battlers, among all segments more people think Britain should lead than not.

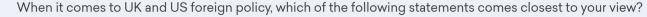
While the desire to put Britain first and be a global leader may seem contradictory - in many ways this dualism makes sense, reflecting an innate tension between balancing self-interest and cooperation. Indeed, through the lens of evolutionary psychology we can appreciate that throughout history, survival depended not only on looking out for yourself and your tribe, but also working with others. Cooperation enhanced collective strength, status and

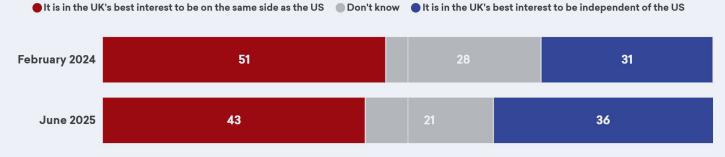
access to resources. At their core, people recognise that sustainable influence requires balanced interdependence, because principled cooperation with other nations bolters Britain's status and survival in a complex world.

Further, from a political standpoint - these statistics are also compatible. For many, putting Britain first means upholding and projecting ideals like fairness, democracy, and principled leadership. It's not about turning away from the world, but about defending what Britain stands for. In this sense, 'Britain First' doesn't mean closing doors - it means standing tall for what Britain should represent.

This truth is affirmed by the fact that while people support the idea of putting Britain first, they don't want to take the same path as Trump. In fact, it would seem that Trump's 'America First' policies have served as a cautionary tale, dampening the appetite for similar policies here.

More Britons now want greater independence from the US







Source: More in Common • June 2025

The data shows that since February 2024, fewer Britons now believe it is in the UK's best interest to be independent from the US, a decrease from 51% to 43%, while a growing proportion (31% to 36%) think it is in our best interest to be independent from the US. Indeed, Trump is broadly unpopular in the UK – 64% of Britons have a negative view of Trump, and 61% of voters want Keir Starmer to show he is different to Donald Trump⁷. Here, there is a widespread

belief that Trump's tariffs and international negotiations have damaged America's relationships with global partners, harming (rather than helping) its own economy and people: a majority of Britons (56%) believe that President Trump's re-election has been bad for the United States⁸.

While most people in Britain want national interests to be prioritised, many also believe that protectionism carries risks and see global leadership as a part of the British identity they want to protect. While many want to put Britain first, this shouldn't be mistaken for a desire to align with the term's American equivalent.





7. https://www.moreincommon.org.uk/media/a55laxea/change-still-pending-mic-ucl-policy-lab.pdf 8. More in Common - Polling Data - Fieldwork 25-27th April, Sample Size 2,009

4. Beyond Britain First: A Global Outlook

When we look a level deeper, we see that there remains an appetite for openness. It's not only that people want Britain to lead on global issues, they also show a deeper belief in the value that internationalism brings. It seems that many Britons feel that Britain can't achieve greatness alone, and they remain committed to defending British values at a global level.

Here, if we understand 'Britain First' as an expression of patriotism – and if patriotism is rooted in national pride, then it follows that to understand the true meaning of 'Britain First', we must examine what exactly it is that makes people proud to be British.

When we put this question to people in our survey, we found an array of evidence to suggest that pride is rooted both in national renewal and international cooperation. Across political segments, the desire to engage globally was striking – even among those traditionally more sceptical of internationalism. For instance, while Progressive Activists and Civic Pragmatists were predictably proud of global leadership on issues like climate, aid, and Ukraine, we also saw moderate levels of pride among Backbone Conservatives and Loyal Nationals in defending democratic values abroad and maintaining strong international alliances.

To begin, 49% of respondents said that leading global climate agreements would make them feel more proud to be British. This evidence is

compelling not only because it indicates Britons desire to take a directive role on the global stage, but because it reflects a consensus on the need for leaders to pursue decisive climate action.

Further, there is a sizable minority for whom an increase in aid spending would make them more proud, demonstrating a public commitment to uphold Britain's roles and responsibilities on the global stage. Importantly, this marks a distinct move away from a Trump-style 'America First' policy, indicating an awareness of the fact that while cuts to USAID⁹ may make savings in the short-term, the repercussions are felt not only by communities reliant on aid, but also on America's global reputation and influence¹⁰.

Additionally, it's clear that Britons are firmly committed to defending democratic principles and maintaining influence on a global stage. This sentiment has deep roots in British history; from standing defiantly against German aggression in two World Wars, to supporting Ukraine against Russia's invasion, pride and patriotism have long been intertwined with the nation's willingness to fight for liberal values.

Here, almost half of those surveyed (46%) told us that doing more to support Ukraine resisting Russia's invasion would make them more proud to be British. This aligns with recent More in Common polling¹¹, which showed that 79% of the public believe protecting Ukrainian sovereignty matters to the UK. This sense of duty transcends

political and social segments, including 43% of those who backed Reform UK in the last election, a majority of Progressive Activists, Civic Pragmatists and Backbone Conservatives.

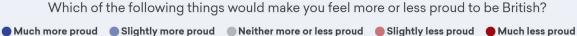
Adding to this, our polling found that a majority (51%) of Britons think increasing defence spending and national security would bolster their sense of pride. Even in times of relative scarcity, in a world that feels unstable, Britons show an unwavering commitment to defending Britain, and upholding British values on the global stage.

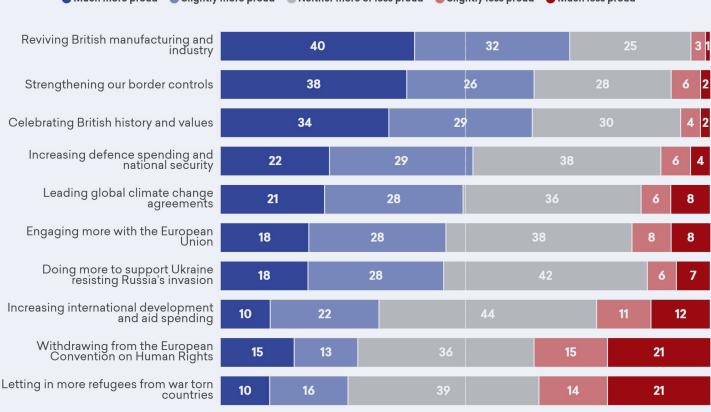
Lastly, even in a society that opted to leave the European Union, there remains a powerful desire for international collaboration and engagement with the EU. This isn't just a quiet hope, it's a

source of national pride. Nearly half of all Britons (46%) believe that closer engagement with the EU would make them more proud to be British, a sentiment that significantly outweighs the 16% who would feel less proud. This demonstrates a strong public mandate for strengthened international partnerships and a more collaborative global role for Britain.

Ultimately, the evidence suggests that for many Britons, true national pride isn't about isolation or retreating inwards; it's about actively engaging with the world. From upholding climate commitments to defending democratic values, a deep-seated internationalist spirit continues to define what it means to be proudly British.

What would make Britons feel more proud?





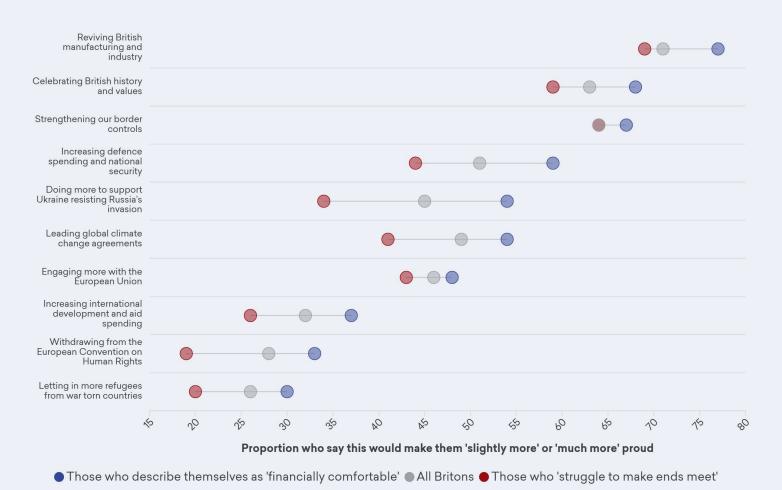
That being said, it's important to note that across all of these questions, there exists a greater appetite for outward-looking policies among those who are financially comfortable. For those struggling to make ends meet, the idea of spending more on defence, Ukraine or international aid feels misplaced. For these communities, pride rests on investing at home, not spending abroad.

With the psychological lens of scarcity anxiety, we can understand this as entirely rational. When meeting basic needs is a daily struggle,

abstract ideas of global leadership are harder to prioritise. So, if we want to build a truly outward-looking Britain, we must first ensure people feel secure at home. That means tackling economic precarity, investing in communities and restoring trust that global leadership does not come at the expense of domestic wellbeing. Only then can we lay the foundations for a shared, confident and open vision for Britain's place in the world.

What would make Britons feel more proud?

Which of the following things would make you feel more or less proud to be British?



5. A Desire for Patriotism and Pride

Even where British pride isn't rooted explicitly in outward-looking policies, we found that patriotism is found mostly in a positive desire to invest in and celebrate Britain. Indeed, while national pride has become something the left have tended to steer clear of – cautious of its exclusionary undertones and far-right associations – it's clear that there's an appetite for re-imagining British patriotism.

Our data shows that 63% of Britons believe celebrating British culture and history would make them feel more proud of their country. People are yearning to think of their country with a sense of pride, rather than shame or disdain. Through the lens of psychology, we can understand this appetite for patriotism which provides people a sense of collective identity and belonging. As described by Paul Kingston, patriotism importantly makes people feel like they are part of something bigger than themselves - it offers people a 'mooring in space and time' 12, bridging the past and the future.

Indeed, where patriotism fulfills people's psychological longings for connectedness, security and identity¹³, it's understandable that many have reacted badly to the postcolonial narrative that Britishness is synonymous with racism and oppression¹⁴. There is a sense of

frustration among many who feel like they have lost their right to express their national pride, who feel that even mild acts of patriotism, like hanging a Union Jack outside their home, is frowned upon. In part reactance, and in part an innate desire to feel proud of oneself and one's people - we can appreciate why so many people want to be able to celebrate their culture and history.

Further, while it's absolutely imperative that we acknowledge and account for the dark parts of Britain's history, it's also important that we celebrate all that is great about Britain - including its values of compassion, tolerance and fairness. These principles are not abstract ideals, but part of a living tradition. As Lisa Nandy and others have pointed out, the history of Britain is not only one of monarchs and empires, it's one of ordinary people: workers, immigrants, creatives and campaigners who have shaped our democratic institutions and liberal values.¹⁵ In this light, national pride is not about superiority but solidarity. Indeed, an important part of Britishness is diversity, multiculturalism and openness. Accordingly, 69% of Britons believe that a person can be British regardless of their ethnic background. So, when we talk about patriotism and national pride, it's important to note that the majority don't envision that as

12. https://www.theguardian.com/books/2015/mar/13/englands uncertain-future
13. https://www.jstor.org/stable/204/2048
14. https://www.jstor.org/stable/204/2048
15. https://www.jstor.org/stable/204/2048
16. https://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2015/03/patriotism-and-left
16.

Global Future Foundation A Desire for Patriotism and Pride

something exclusionary. They include diversity in their collective identity.

In fact, while attention is (rightly) given to whether British society has embraced multiculturalism, it's also important to ask whether multicultural and cosmopolitan communities have embraced Britishness. Caroline Lucas, among others, has pointed out that cosmopolitan middle classes - who have often benefited most from globalism - have not always worked to share those gains fairly, "and often sneered at those with a more traditional view of England"16. As a result, many traditional communities feel excluded from the story of modern Britain. They feel a sense of resentment at being denied pride in their own culture and history, especially while missing out on the benefits that globalisation has brought to others. Here, we see that patriotism has become a source not of unity, but polarisation. Here, we see the need for a new vision, a 'rebrand' of patriotism that is inclusive, principled, and unifying.

Additionally, 72% of Britons said reviving British manufacturing and industry would make them feel prouder to be British. This points to a deeprooted desire, not just for economic transition, but for a broader restoration of identity and pride - particularly in industrial communities that have long felt 'left behind' by the transitions of globalisation. In a globalised world of intense competition and uncertainty, there is a sense of deep longing for the past - people want to return to the days where Britain was an industrial powerhouse, where society felt stronger, more self-sufficient and stable.

Psychologically, this sentiment can be understood as a form of loss aversion and nostalgia. Indeed, while life was not necessarily better in the era of factory dominance, loss aversion explains that people experience the pain of a loss more intensely than the pleasure of an equivalent gain. While people may have gained many comforts as communities have moved away from primary industries, these are clouded by a sense of lost occupation.

Further, nostalgia comes into play as it helps

Cosmopolitan middle classes who have often benefited most from globalism—have not always worked to share those gains fairly, "and often sneered at those with a more traditional view of England".

- Caroline Lucas

people to process change. The idea of a nation's former glory becomes a psychological anchor for people to tie their sense of personal and collective identity. The issue is - while this is comforting for some, nostalgia can be divisive, as those who long for the 'good old days' become separated from those who do not. While national nostalgia results in positive attitudes for the national in-group, it can also fuel exclusionary rhetoric, as negative attitudes are directed toward immigrant out-groups that may not be included in the imagined 'better times' of the past

We found evidence of this sentiment, with 64% of respondents saying they would be more proud if Britain were to strengthen its borders. This reflects concerns about rising levels of immigration and the need to properly support newcomers as they integrate into our society. But it also speaks to a broader desire for control. In an uncertain world, people want to feel that the country is making deliberate, confident choices about who comes to live and work here. Accordingly, studies show that people are more accepting of situations that cause discomfort, when they feel they have agency over it18. As such, this desire for stronger borders may reflect as much a concern about immigration levels as a desire for a more orderly, controlled system.

^{16.} https://cdn.penguin.co.uk/dam-assets/books/9781529153064/9781529153064-sample.pdf

^{17.} https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1002/jts5.78

^{18.} https://psycnet.apa.org/record/1969-13549-001

Further, part of the desire for stronger borders can be explained by the psychological tendency for zero-sum thinking - the belief that immigration threatens resources because someone else's gain must come at the expense of another's loss. Again, we know this kind of thinking is especially common in times of scarcity like the cost-of-living crisis that Britain is currently experiencing. To minimise this divisive heuristic, leaders must do more to ensure Britons feel like their needs are being met. To build the foundations for inclusive patriotism, leaders must reassure people that we have control, and that, when distributed correctly, there's more than enough resources to go round.

Ultimately, while migration remains a divisive issue, across the board, there is a longing to restore a sense of strength, stability and pride in Britain's national story. Today's patriotism appears less about exclusion and more about investment - about supporting 'forgotten' industries and remembering British values. Indeed, to love your country, is to be proud of what it stands for, not what it stands against. If effectively harnessed by those on the left, this genuine and grounded patriotism could serve as a unifying force to bring people together not drive people apart; to move the country forward and not retreat into the past.



6. A New Narrative for Britain First

In times of uncertainty, the instinct to prioritise your country is deeply human, it transcends political and social divides.

Indeed, while the term 'Britain First' is associated with the rhetoric of the far-right, we found that the idea of prioritising national interests, culture and identity resonates across the spectrum. Our data shows that 65% of labour voters support the idea of putting Britain First. As such, perhaps political debate would be more constructive if it moved away from the binary framings that divide people into opposing camps – if it appreciated the sentiment behind prioritising your country at a deeper level.

Too often, progressive politics has abandoned the language of national belonging — allowing patriotism to be hollowed out and captured by those who wield it to divide. But true patriotism, isn't about superiority or exclusion. It's a commitment to a shared future, rooted in a love of country and desire to make that country better. Properly understood, patriotism provides a sense of shared belonging — a bridge between the past and future, an anchoring set of values to bind people across generation and geography.

As such, it's time that the left addresses patriotism, because, as argued by Lisa Nandy – now ten years ago - like it or not, "patriotism is a force. It's up to us whether we allow it to be defined in a narrow, backward-looking, divisive way, or seek to harness and shape it in support of the things we most value." 19

Ultimately, to reject the idea of putting 'Britain First' solely because of the term's exclusionary connotations, concedes its meaning to the far right – missing a vital opportunity for the left to

reclaim and redefine it in more inclusive terms. Further, when we depoliticise the idea, we can resist polarisation, we can use patriotism as a powerful force to inspire unity rather than drive division.

Importantly, wanting global engagement and putting Britain First are not mutually exclusive; it's possible and reasonable to want both. While most people identify with "Britain First' as a sentiment and an idea, when it comes to individual policies they also support an altruistic and open approach. People don't want an approach that apes that of Trump. They just want to feel seen, recognised, celebrated.

This presents a valuable lesson and opportunity for liberal leaders to appeal to the sentiments the far-right has captured so effectively. People have an emotional need for financial security and civic pride, once these needs are satisfied the prospect of internationalism becomes more appealing. Once people feel like they are a priority, like their position is not at risk, they start to recognise the tangible benefits attached to economic openness, like job opportunities, a more manageable cost of living and global safety nets. Ultimately, to pursue a global future, liberal leaders must first make sure people feel like their needs are being met, like their interests are being prioritised.

Along with this comes satisfying people's inherent desire for collective identity and sense of belonging, which is what fuels the strong appetite for patriotism present among British people. Caroline Lucas writes that those on the left must "stop seeing Englishness as something to be scared of, but to be understood, explored and valued."²⁰

Global Future Foundation A New Narrative for Britain First

The phrase 'Britain First' has been used – often deliberately – to conjure a politics of division. But we don't have to surrender the words to that vision. Indeed, we cannot concede these terms to extremism. Instead, we must reclaim them, redefine them, and remind people that loving your country doesn't mean turning your back on the world or each other. Patriotism can mean having pride in British diversity, cultural richness and liberal democratic values. It can mean showing up in the world with integrity and strength.

At a time when patriotism has become a source of division, it is more important than ever to reclaim it as a force for the common good. To win it back, progressives must not abandon national pride — they must reimagine it. 'Britain First' can mean Britain leading — not with fear, but with fairness; not by turning inward, but by standing tall.

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