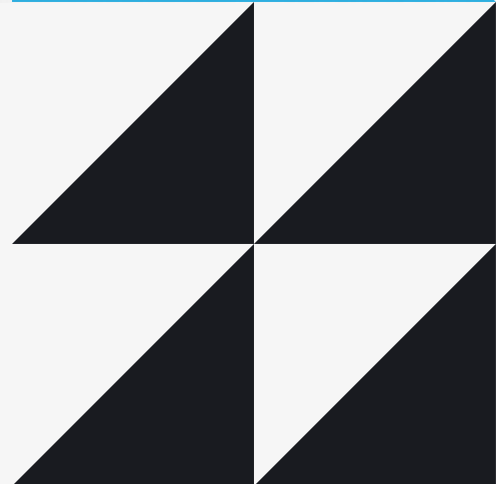




# What if there were no freelancers?





# “Can’t all of these freelancers just go and get jobs?”



**Gareth I. Jones**  
CEO and co-founder, TownSq

In our last two publications we asked, “What If Everyone Could Walk to Work?” and “What If Everyone Was an Entrepreneur?” These papers triggered a lot of debate and have enabled people to think more critically about their own individual behaviours, and within larger organisations. We hope this paper does the same.

The idea for “What If There Were No Freelancers” had already been circling, but the catalyst was hearing an unsympathetic quip from a Special Advisor in Whitehall, who after the announcement of furlough and emergency loan schemes for employees and businesses during the 2020 pandemic, was asked what the government was going to do to support freelancers. The response?

**“Can’t all of these freelancers just go and get jobs?”**

So that’s it. That’s the question. Can all of these freelancers just go and get jobs? What if there were no freelancers? Would we notice? Would our economy thrive, or crash?

**The invaluable role that freelancers play in our economy is often undervalued, underappreciated, and for governments and large organisations, seemingly invisible.**

There are more than 1.8 million freelancers in the UK in 2023 – a workforce larger than the 1.3 million employed by the UK’s largest employer, the NHS. They are the unseen pollinators in the economy: representative of a diverse group of highly skilled, well-networked, and niched members of our economy who do not feel fulfilled or content in the typical employment and enterprise environment.

However, this power of scale is undermined by its own diversity: the range of key issues, needs and priorities makes it difficult for them to form a collective and coherent message to be represented by a trade body or membership group. Can there be one authentic voice when every experience is so unique?

In this paper, we’ve captured case studies from freelancers sharing unique insights into their personal experience. We believe we need a new offer for freelancers from society. Freelancers deserve respect, security, parity, and community.

Now we want to know what you think. Do you treat freelancers with parity in your organisation? Do you think they get the respect they’re due? Or to frame it another way: would you encourage your child to pursue a freelance career?



# What if there were no freelancers?

TownSq is home to freelancers of all shapes and sizes. Some work locally and some internationally. Some have been doing their thing for many years and others are just getting started.

Collectively, their work encompasses all sectors, all industries, and day-to-day business is very different for each and every one of them. But there's one thing nearly all of them have in common: from time to time, every freelancer will have been asked – So what are you planning to do next?

The freelance life, rather than a positive career choice, can be seen as a stop-gap, a stepping stone, or a limbo space which fills the void between career moves. Whilst we quite rightly praise and reward our fastest growing firms, our best employers and our most innovative startups, our freelance population are more often than not supporting the lot, quietly getting on with the job behind the scenes.

## **This makes us wonder:**

- Is the value to the economy of our freelancer population adequately understood?
- Are the rights of our freelancer population adequately protected?
- Are we collectively doing enough to promote freelancing as a positive career choice?

And if the answer to any of these questions is no, then what are we going to do about it?

Our freelancers are our managers, directors and associated professionals: highly skilled, highly qualified, and with significant specialist expertise and experience.<sup>[1]</sup> There are estimated to be roughly 2 million such freelancers in the UK today.

So, our principal question is this: what if all of those highly skilled individuals, currently working as freelancers today, were to suddenly stop? What if they were all to become employed by one of their clients? Or what if they were to all grow their businesses, employing their own teams? What would change, and would that change matter?



In this short paper, we attempt to shed light on these questions by sharing the experiences of six members of the TownSq community, all working as freelancers in a variety of roles all over the UK today. Alongside this, we provide an overview of the great work others are doing to explore and bring attention to these same questions and look at case studies from around the world of the ways in which nations are strategically growing their freelance economies.

**What if all of those highly skilled individuals, currently working as freelancers today, were to suddenly stop?**

**What if they were all to become employed by one of their clients?**

**What if they were to all grow their businesses, employing their own teams?**

**What would change, and would that change matter?**

**It is probably helpful at this point to pin down exactly what we mean by a 'freelancer'.**

In line with organisations including the Association of Independent Professionals and the Self-Employed (IPSE) and the Centre for Research on Self-Employment (CRSE), we see freelancers as a sub-group of the total self-employed population, distinct from the 'gig-economies'.

# The freelance landscape in the UK today.

**One thing which is for certain is that there is a huge number of freelancers in the UK today, making a colossal contribution to the economy.**

Under the surface however, it's a complex picture:

- The number of freelancers is growing, but this is being disrupted by fallout from the pandemic, the cost-of-living crisis and off-payroll working (IR35) reforms.
- There was a 17% drop in the number of 30–39-year-olds freelancing between 2021 and 2022, but a 13% rise in the number of 16–29-year-olds taking the plunge.
- 25% of the UK's freelancers are based in London, but beyond the capital there is huge variation in the freelance population, growing in some places and declining rapidly in others.
- There is a broadly even gender balance amongst the freelance population, but women remain under-represented in more senior, managerial freelance roles. [2]

And freelancers work in all sorts of different ways: from delivering long-term projects one after the other, to managing a 'portfolio' of projects simultaneously and undertaking highly-skilled 'gig' work – each associated with completely different levels of economic impact. [1] Unsurprisingly, there is widespread agreement that continued work is needed to reveal exactly what is going on.

**“Freelancers are still largely under-analysed and unheralded economic agents in the modern British economy.”**

The role of freelancers in the 21st century British economy (CRSE, 2012) [2]

**1.86 million**

**There are 1.86 million freelancers working in the UK.**

**Growth**

**From 2008–2019 there was year-on-year growth of the self-employed population, driven by the expansion of freelancing.**

**15%**

**15% of the UK's freelancers are working mums.**

**49 years**

**The average age of a freelancer in the UK is 49.**

**17% drop**

**Between 2021–2022 Wales saw a 17% drop in its freelance population. Scotland saw an 8% increase.**

**£140bn**

**Freelancers contribute approximately £140 Billion to the UK economy each year.**

All statistics referenced on this page are taken from the 'Self-Employed Landscape Report 2022, published by The Association of Independent Professionals and the Self-Employed. [3]

# A freelancer revolution?

Around the world, more and more nations are opening their eyes to the importance of freelancing to their economies, and the simple things they can do to make things better for freelancers, and for everyone!

## USA

The 'Freelancing Isn't Free' law is a groundbreaking piece of legislation protecting freelancers in New York City from non-payment. [5]

## UK

Bodies including the All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) for Creative Diversity have called on the UK government to appoint a 'Freelance Commissioner', ensuring policies protect the rights of, and enhance opportunities for, freelancers. [4]

## GREECE

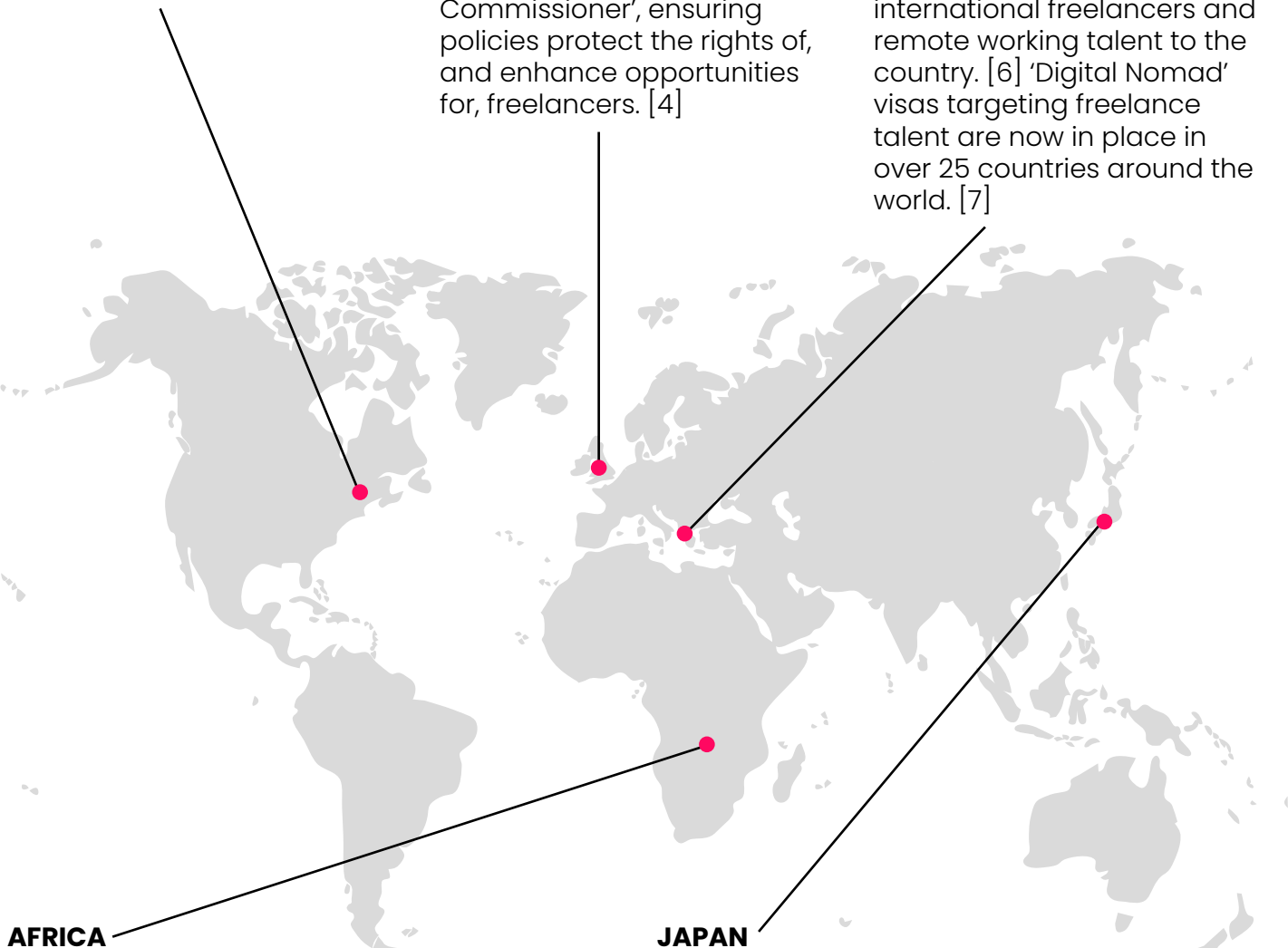
In January 2021, Greece's parliament passed a law allowing digital nomads to halve their income tax, with the aim of attracting more international freelancers and remote working talent to the country. [6] 'Digital Nomad' visas targeting freelance talent are now in place in over 25 countries around the world. [7]

## AFRICA

Over 10% of the world's freelancers are in Africa [9]. Bodies like the Southern African Freelancers Association are bringing together individuals and organisations from multiple nations to support freelancers and develop the freelance economy. [10]

## JAPAN

The Japanese Government has set out its intentions to create a law requiring companies to clearly state details of work payment amounts so that freelancers can work with greater peace of mind. [11]

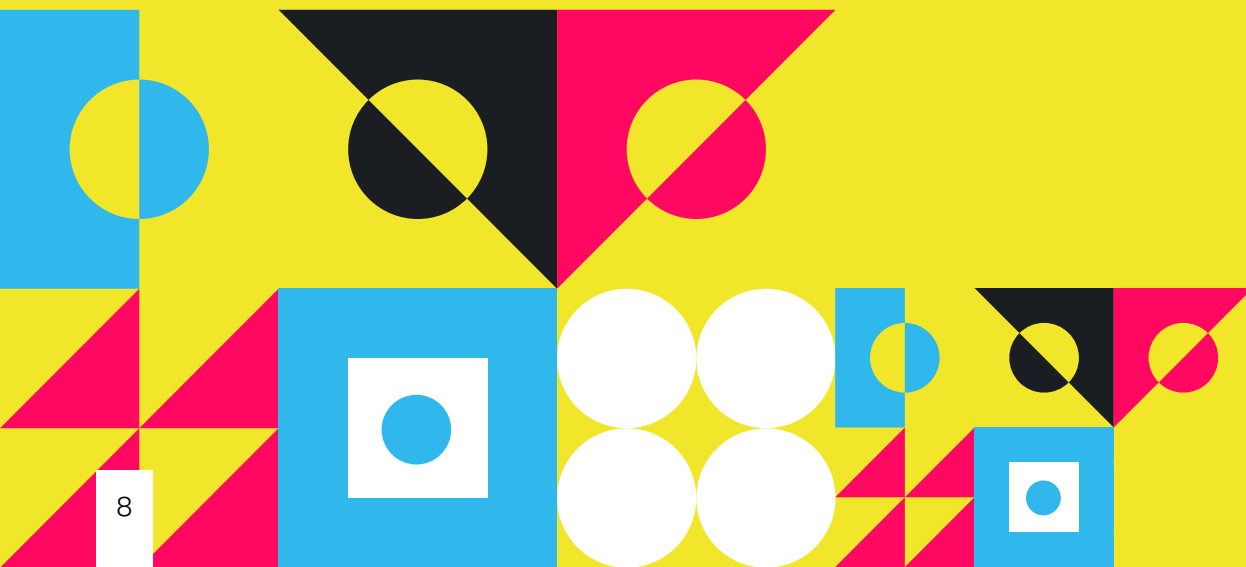


# What can we learn from stories?

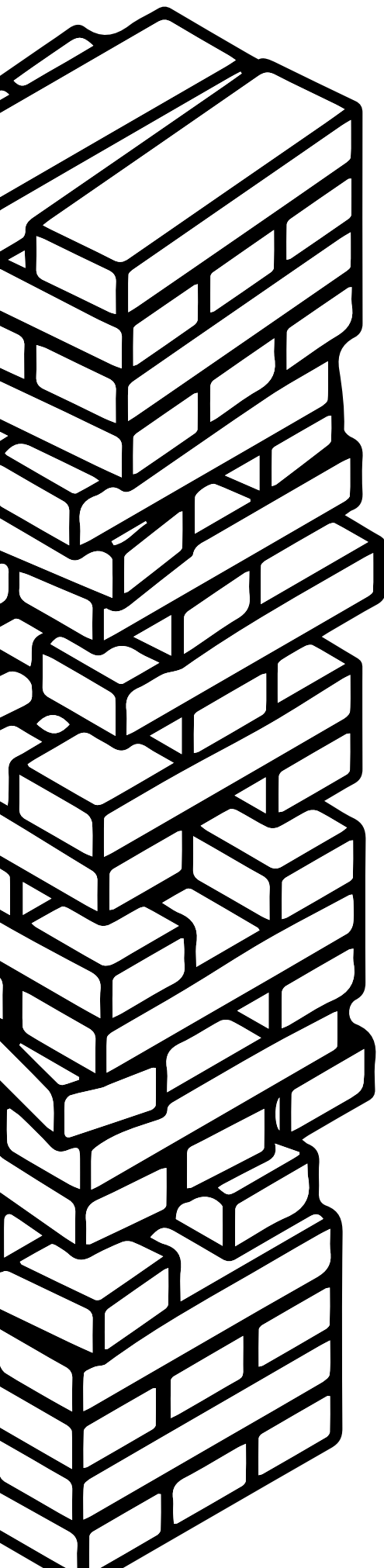
## Statistics alone can only ever tell half a story.

The six stories which follow are not intended to be fully representative of the freelance sector at large, or even of TownSq's own freelance community. Rather, they are the personal experiences of six individuals, each pursuing their own freelance journey, in their own unique way.

What they help to reveal however, is the story behind the numbers. They provide clues as to the nature of the value freelancers bring to their clients (i.e., how they do it), the nature of the motivations which attract certain people into freelancing and push others away (i.e., why they do it), and critically, the complex and delicate balance in which these multiple factors co-exist.







## How they do it

### **A human-centred approach**

To their clients, our storytellers and their businesses are one and the same. They build strong relationships underpinned by high levels of personal trust.

### **Agility**

Our storytellers make sure they are always the perfect fit for their clients. They shapeshift, bespoke their services to meet the needs of all those they work with, and they act fast - free from hierarchy or organisational politics.

### **Cross pollination**

Our storytellers have highly-specialised expertise, a unique and objective vantage point on their client's activities, and huge transferability of experience. They apply solutions developed in one place, to challenges encountered in another

## Why they do it

### **Scalability**

Our storytellers are attracted to opportunities beyond their doorstep, with the ability to work nationally or internationally.

### **Stimulation**

Our storytellers don't fit into a box, and don't want to. Their services are constructed around their unique selling points. This motivates them.

### **Flexibility**

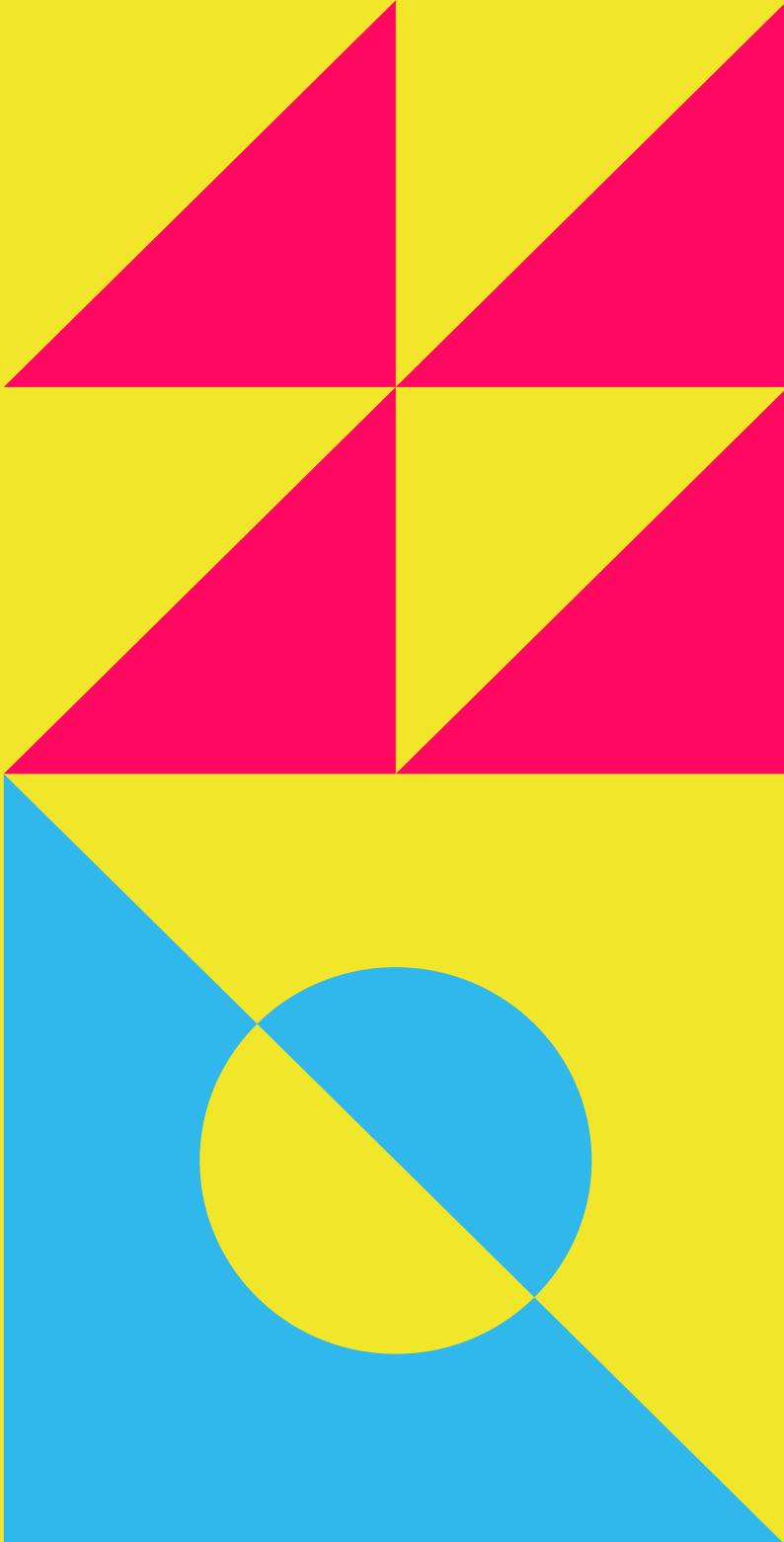
Our storytellers desire a way and quality of life not readily available through traditional models of employment. They want work to complement life without undue compromise.

### **Sense of purpose**

It's not just about the money. Our storytellers want to make a positive difference to the world.

These factors are best understood whilst experienced in full colour, in the pages which follow.

# Stories



## Sam's story

**Sam Harris is 'Silvester Road', providing organisational strategy, visioning and marketing communications services for charities, non-profits and for-purpose organisations of all sizes.**



"I started freelancing for health reasons back in 2017. I needed a job with a flexible working pattern. I was also bored of working for just one organisation, and looking forward to working with multiple clients, doing lots of different things.

"My work as a freelancer combines a mixture of regular work for some clients, with set hours every week, and project work for others, with chunks of activity. My typical day is 'unusual', but tends to involve work on several different projects, and a mixture of long-term, in-depth work (like strategy development) combined with short-term marketing and communications activities (like drafting PR statements.)

"I think people work with me because I can make things happen seamlessly. I have 20 years of experiences, knowledge of the sector, and contacts and relationships that my clients don't have. My clients are not just working with the business, my clients are working with me: it's a personal relationship. I know them all really well, and we have good inter-personal relationships: it's integral to the job.

"I find that strategic work is easier as a freelancer too. You can take a step back and look at things objectively. In house, it's harder to criticise your team and make those difficult choices. Being one step removed is an advantage.

**"I provide a better service freelance than I could in house. I can share learning across clients and connect them with each other, for their mutual benefit** – it's really important for the charitable sector.

"I'm happy as a freelancer; I've got everything I need. I did have a wobble about the word though – 'freelancer' implied 'junior' – an undervalued role. But **you couldn't run charities without freelancers, I can't imagine the sector without them.**

"We have a challenge to find the best way to describe the value of what we do."

Sam is a TownSq member at Cwrt Cowork, in Cardiff.

## Nick's story

**Nick Aldworth is the former national co-ordinator for UK counter-terrorism policing. Following over 30 years in the military and police, Nick founded Risk to Resolution Ltd, supporting governments, institutions and organisations as an exceptional threat, risk and security strategist.**



"I've been working as a freelancer since 2019. Initially, my motivation was intellectual stimulation, along with the good ethics of being able to pick and choose who I work with, and selecting work which fits around my other personal commitments and demands. There was a real sense of satisfaction when I collected my first freelance paycheck.

"I run the business as a not-for-profit. I work with many victims of terrorism, and any surplus the business generates I donate to charity. My clients are eclectic: nobody exists without risk. Very few companies would employ a full-time security professional [like me], as a lot of security risks are not ever-present. My expertise is not needed to manage risk, but to identify the threats, and plan the mitigations.

**"My clients don't invest in the business - they invest in me.** I have a national profile, and my USP is being the most credible person in the UK (along with one of the lowest prices.) **My value is in those high profile, more complex risk scenarios, where my personal liability is high.**

"There are organisations however, for whom my personal profile and experience are irrelevant. They don't need me to be there. Rather, they need a fresh graduate, working to a formula, and overseen by an experienced professional. This sits with my own ethical practice, and I plan to grow the business and employ people in the coming years – not a different service but delivered in a different way.

"The lot of the freelancer is bouncing between tasks. It's challenging but the benefit is cross pollination: you see solutions and are always meeting interesting people.

"I set up my business just before the pandemic. I was a legitimate freelancer, but existing outside of any government support. We're more vulnerable than established businesses. Freelancing can be a great professional career choice, but I don't have holidays anymore!"

[Nick is a TownSq member at Perch Eco Business Centre, in Bicester.](#)

## Roy's story

**Roy Magara is an Employment Law Solicitor Advocate who founded his own firm, Magara Law in 2020.**



"I was working for a law firm previously, before being made redundant in August 2020. I saw it coming and was already thinking about setting up my own company. I thought – if it works, great, and if it doesn't, at least I've tried! I'm pleased to say it's going really well – it's super busy and I really enjoy it. We've been going for about two years now.

"What I used to do as an employee is totally different to the work I do now. Yes it's the law stuff, but it's also the marketing, the business development and everything else in between. And the things you wouldn't think twice about as an employee – annual leave, sick leave, paternity leave etc. don't exist anymore. It's 24/7!

"A lot of our clients would say, 'We don't want to go with a juggernaut.'" We're not a charity, but I do keep the business lean, personal and client focused, and my clients can see that.

"The difference [between now and when I was an employee] is the lack of politics and hierarchy. **People come to me, I'm number one, I can make the decisions and I can get the job done. People appreciate that.**

"There is definitely great work done by larger firms, but there are lots of people who really value the 1:1 approach that might not come from a huge team within a corporate law firm. My clients value the straight forwardness I can provide as a freelancer – **there's no fluff**. Being a freelancer has also forced me to trust my instincts and intuitions more. I'm not working with other lawyers, and I have to trust in my own abilities – and that's okay!

"I don't think the word 'freelancer' is a de-valued term. I'm Roy Magara and the name of the firm is Magara Law. I work for myself and people receive that well.

"As a freelancer you only get out what you put in, but if the government wanted to encourage more people to become freelancers, they could reduce taxes. As a freelancer you look after your own taxes, pensions and so on, but you still pay the same tax."

[Roy is a TownSq member at Perch Eco Business Centre, in Bicester.](#)



# Claire's story

**Claire Antill is a Facebook and Instagram ads expert, social media consultant, and founder of the Little Olive Social creative agency.**



"I set up Little Olive Social about two and half years ago. I have a young family with three children, and I wanted a better work-life balance, with a business that worked for me.

"We decided to re-locate to the south coast, to escape the daily commute. It's a challenge, but I have support from online support groups, a coach, and face-to-face contact with other business owners in the same situation – that human element is important. You've got to have people around you; when you're on your own it can be a real slog.

"You're constantly learning and growing. You have to strike a balance of life-long learning, and feeling as if you always need to have more – but if I can specialise it really helps with the learning process.

"As a freelancer I'm in charge of all parts. I've got the agility to work across different projects, building teams and putting things together quickly. Compared to being an employee, whilst the concepts and the skills are the same, the context is different. In a corporate role, there would be lots more people involved. As a freelancer you're more adaptable and can provide a more bespoke solution.

**"Sometimes people think freelancers are some sort of disposable resource.**

We have insecure working conditions, and even getting paid on time can be a challenge. We need a shift in mindset – a respect for freelancers and the role that they play. **We're freelancers but we're not free!**

"I get the impression that more and more people are choosing to start their own businesses since the pandemic. From a female perspective in particular there's a lot of people for whom the traditional working model no longer works. It feels like the freelance sector is growing – thriving.

"The big decision for me is how I grow. You get to that point where there's only so many hours in the day. It is quite possible that in the future I will grow to become an agency, employing staff."

[Claire is a TownSq member at The\\_Track, in Bognor Regis.](#)

# Lyndsey's story

**Lyndsey Lee is 'LCL Virtual PA' supporting her clients with services ranging from email management and transcription, to event planning and social media marketing.**



"It all started following the birth of my second child. After our daughter was born, both my husband and I lost our jobs. It was my father who suggested that I set myself up to provide virtual admin support. It's not something I'd seriously looked into previously – I never thought that what I did for a job could be done as a business. Dad passed away in November 2018, and following his advice, I set up and have been freelancing as LCL Virtual PA since January 2019.

"Work now is completely different to when I was employed. Then, I had a structured 5-day week, where I was responsible for X, Y and Z. Now I have freedom to choose the tasks I undertake and turn down the work I don't like – it's the best thing I've ever done. The quality of my work is 100% better too. If I don't do the work, I don't get paid – it's motivating. You can't be the office slacker!

"As a virtual PA, most of my clients aren't local to me. For them, it's about the right person for the job, regardless of where they're based. People work with me because I know what I'm doing. I've got over 20 years' experience, and I can do the work quickly, efficiently, and properly. Most of my first clients are still with me and are with me for the long term.

"As a freelancer, you are your product. What I produce is different to what another person would produce. My clients are working with Lyndsey, not LCL Virtual PA. The business is growing, and I have associates, but for the people who want to work with me, we are not one and the same – the personality, and the individual, really matter.

**"Do I feel supported? From a government perspective, we're probably slipping through the net. You need to go and look for the support that you need, it's not going to fall into your lap.** I found that though professional networks, through a mentorship programme, and through The\_Track, where I can support and collaborate with my peers. My goal is to build a small team of mums with flexible hours – but no one is telling me how to get there. There's guidance to get from A to B, but not from B to C!"

Lyndsey is a TownSq member at The\_Track, in Bognor Regis

## Sarah's story

**Sarah Eynon is co-director of Fig Tree HR, a tech start-up and consultancy, providing support for start-ups, scale-ups and the small business community.**



"I've worked in HR for my entire career. Firstly with corporates, and then with not-for-profits – but it was during the pandemic that my partner and I had the idea for a start-up. We liked the idea of being creative and watching something grow, so we decided to quit our jobs and go for it!

"Many small businesses don't have access to external 'proactive' HR support, and we pitch ourselves as an approachable HR consultancy: providing products ranging from strategic toolkits to end-to-end strategies, and empowering business owners to deal with problems as (or before) they arise.

"So far, we're having great feedback. Our clients find us more accessible, and less intimidating than others. In these early days, my face is the face of the business, and my credibility as a person gives the business its credibility.

"If we were a larger organisation, I don't think our service would be the same. We can build better relationships and understanding and get to know the ins and outs of complex cases – which is super important. It's not formal, it's not impersonal, it's not off the shelf – everything we do is bespoke.


"Equally, I provide a different service than I could in house. Even if you're good at your job, you can still have blind spots. I don't just look at the problem, but at the whole picture. Not only

that, but you'd lose that entrepreneurial spirit. As a business owner myself, I can be more in tune with what other business owners need.

"Our industry's professional body, CIPD, is tailored towards supporting 'in-house' HR professionals – not freelancers or entrepreneurs. In fact, I hadn't realised the benefits of working for yourself until I was in it – I'm more aware now of why businesses run the way they run. **I don't have plans to grow the business and take on any staff. I'm comfortable in how we're going to grow, utilising other consultants and growing other freelance businesses."**

Sarah is a TownSq member at Cwrt Cowork, in Cardiff.





**"I provide a better service freelance than I could in house. I can share learning across clients and connect them with each other, for their mutual benefit."**

**"You couldn't run charities without freelancers, I can't imagine the sector without them."**

**"My clients don't invest in the business - they invest in me...My value is in those high profile, more complex risk scenarios, where my personal liability is high."**

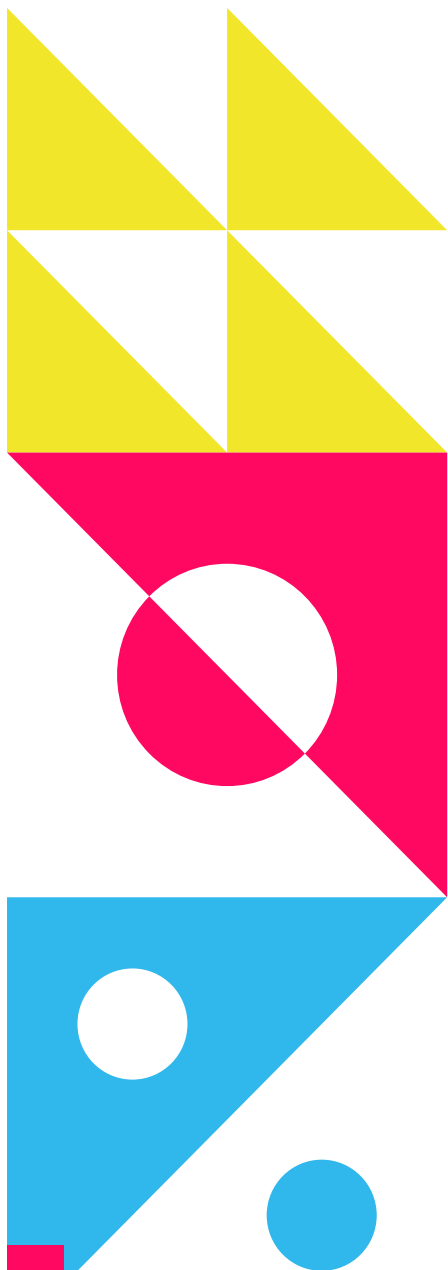
**"People come to me, I'm number one, I can make the decisions and I can get the job done. People appreciate that. - there's no fluff."**

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**"Do I feel supported? From a government perspective, we're probably slipping through the net. You need to go and look for the support that you need, it's not going to fall into your lap."**

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# What can our conversations with freelancers tell us about what needs to happen next?



Even through the handful of stories we share here, it's clear that the value freelancers bring to their clients is not just about what they do, but critically, about how they do it. No matter what their service, their sector or their location, our freelancers say that the magic lies in their relationships, their agile services, and their ability to connect people, and cross-pollinate ideas.

Some won't be freelancers forever, as they seek to grow their businesses, but acknowledge that this will fundamentally change what they do: delivering a different kind of value, to a different kind of client, in a completely new way. None feel the value they bring to their clients now could easily be replicated by an employee, or a larger organisation.

They are unique, and they are essential.

And without exception every single one is driven by a passion for their work, and their way of working!

But that is not, and cannot, be the end of the story. The life of a freelancer is precarious, and for every tenacious individual who successfully traverses the freelance tightrope, there will be many more who are not so fortunate. If the full potential of freelancing to our economy is to be realised, then this cannot be left to chance. Whilst across the stories we have shared, the extent to which our freelancers feel fully supported and equipped to achieve their full potential varies from person to person, common themes can be found which reveal the essential recipe for success.



# A freelance manifesto...

If the true value of freelancing is to be realised within our economies:

## **Freelancers need respect**

With their role and value acknowledged and understood – by their clients, their governments, and everyone in between. Young people need to grow up seeing freelancing as a positive career choice.

## **Freelancers need security**

With basic legal protections in place to ensure they can secure, deliver, and be paid for their work without fear and undue risk. Freelancers should not be treated like disposable resources.

## **Freelancers need parity**

With a level playing field to compete with employees and large organisations: delivered through the tax system, paternity/maternity rights, sickness leave or otherwise. Freelancers should not be unfairly disadvantaged by their employment status.

## **Freelancers need community**

With strong networks for peer support, and access to advice and guidance whenever and wherever they need it. Freelancing is a growing movement, and freelancers should benefit from that.

What can our conversations with freelancers tell us about what needs to happen next?

## Where do we go from here?

Across all of our TownSq spaces we are surrounded by freelancers every single day. We see the great work they do: the value they bring to their clients and the crucial role they play in their local economies.

We also see the opportunities which are being missed, and which would enable our freelancers to make an even bigger difference.

In this paper we have shared the voices of just six of our freelancers, but there are hundreds more just like them throughout our membership, and millions more like them across the UK.

Now, we want to build a dialogue, bringing together our legislators, educators, researchers and businesses, alongside freelancers themselves, to celebrate the good things that are already happening, explore what else needs to be done, and ensure that no opportunity is missed.

We hope you want to be part of that too!

To keep the conversation going, get in touch at [hello@townsq.co.uk](mailto:hello@townsq.co.uk), or following us on Twitter at [@TownSq](https://twitter.com/TownSq) and use the hashtag #WITWNF.

**“Without them [freelancers], it is likely that advances in productivity would collapse and we could be left behind by other nations.”**

The Freelance Project and Gig Economies of the 21st Century. (CRSE, 2019). [11]



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## **For legislators**

Do our economic policies recognise the essential role of freelancers and provide the necessary incentives, support and protections freelancers need to fulfil their potential?

*If not, what needs to change?*

## **For educators**

Do we sell freelancing as a positive career choice to our young people, and equip them with the skills they need to excel in the freelance workspace?

*If not, what needs to change?*

## **For researchers**

Do we fully understand the evolving role of freelancers within our changing economy, and the barriers and enablers that lie behind the complex freelance landscape?

*If not, what needs to change?*

## **For businesses**

Are we 'freelance friendly' organisations, equipped to take full advantage of the potential of freelancers to our businesses, and attracting the best talent through our working practices?

*If not, what needs to change?*

## **For freelancers**

Do we proactively champion the role of the freelancer, supporting our peers, inspiring the next generation and informing the public debate?

*If not, what needs to change?*



# About TownSq

**TownSq (the trading name for Town Square Spaces Ltd) was founded by Mandy Weston & Gareth I. Jones in 2017.**

We support our growing membership through our spaces, our business and admin support programmes, and our tireless work bringing communities together. We innovate to develop new products, services and approaches that help more people to benefit from the development of an entrepreneurial mindset and skillset, and more communities to benefit from the economic, social and environmental impacts this can deliver.

Since our first hire in 2017 we have:

- Become a certified B Corp.
- Expanded our team to employ over 30 community managers, assistants and support staff across the UK, supported by a network of over 100 expert coaches and mentors.
- Established a UK-wide network of 'TownSq Spaces', alongside our new Cowork Local platform and TownSq Admin Support service.

Prior to founding TownSq, Mandy and Gareth co-founded Welsh ICE (the Welsh Innovation Centre for Enterprise) – growing the business to become one of the UK's largest coworking communities – occupying a 35,000ft<sup>2</sup> innovation campus, supporting over 620 companies, and delivering over £50Million in positive economic impact to the Welsh Economy, whilst providing a £22 return on every £1 invested by the Welsh Government.

To date, our collective work across the UK has supported the creation of over 1,000 new jobs, provided support to over 1,000 new businesses, and delivered a £100M+ GVA uplift within the regions where we operate.

Our white papers are just one of the ways in which we share the experiences, and promote the interests, of our members and coworkers everywhere. What if there were no freelancers?' is the third in our white paper series, following What if everyone could walk to work?, and What if everyone was an entrepreneur?

The following papers, articles and webpages are referenced throughout this paper:

1. Burke (2012). The role of freelancers in the 21st century British economy. CRSE [ONLINE] Available at: <http://crse.co.uk/research/role-freelancers-21st-century-british-economy> [Accessed 08 May 2023].
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Endnotes:

1. CRSE define 'highly-skilled freelancers are those who can be defined as self-employed people in Standard Occupational Classifications (SOCs) 1-3.
2. Those classed as falling within SOC1.
3. Figures correct as of June 2022. Greece denoted by a pin. All other nations denoted by a star.





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