FOOTBALL AS A BATLEFIELD OF COSMOPOLITAN AND NATIONAL IDENTITIES:

The formation of English national allegiance through football

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Abstract

The thesis has dealt with the interrelation between English football and English national allegiance. The main aim has been to find out the merit of football's influence in the development of English identity, and the means the English has used to reinforce their affiliation towards the nation. England is considered to be the home of football, thus it offers an interesting study to find out its place within English society. Football has a unique value to operate on local, regional and national levels, and it is capable to evoke nationalistic sentiments in the society. The study implements narrative analysis of key historical events in English football, and also uses comparative approach in the analysis of the levels football operate on. Moreover, the study deals with the contemporary issue of xenophobia which has appeared also in English football. The major findings this study identified are primarily attached to the historical sporting successes of the English national football team and to the tendencies of the English to misuse stereotypes in negative connotation. The English fans and the press are prone to evoke nationalistic sentiments and hatred among the fans during international football competitions, by referring to historical military successes, or failures in war. The findings also acknowledged that there are tendencies in the English press and among the football fans to primarily blame and criticize foreigners for the team's poor performance, by which they seek to reinforce feelings of national allegiance.

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Introduction

„Sports have enhanced the social acceptance of diversity, while at the same time remaining a battlefield of primordial identities, exclusive nationalism, and localism"

(Andrei S. Markovits,) [1]

Research Question: how has football been serving as an instrument for the formation of collective English affiliation since the end of the Second World War

Sports, especially football had played a crucial role in the formation of English/British identity since its emergence in the 19th century. Throughout the years, football became the most popular sport on the planet, a battlefield of local clubs and nations on all levels. Football has contributed to the development of English society through its ability to operate at the local, regional and national level, as well as its impact on providing sustenance to primordial and contemporary identities. In the case of England, football has been one of the most significant driving forces behind the way people shape and frame their national identity and loyalty. This phenomenon in national identity has prompted my desire to explore further the depth to which football has framed English identity. The English provides an ideal case study for two main reasons. Firstly, England is considered to be the "homeland" of football, thus football has always played a unique role in debates regarding nationalism and national affiliation. This strong connection between English affinities with football will be presented in several case studies, to better explore their relationship to national and regional identities. Secondly, due to changes that occurred in the international arena in the post-Cold War era, which have impacted not only the way we view football but also global politics as a whole, England plays a unique role in Europe

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[1] Markovits, A. (2010). *Gaming the world : how sports are reshaping global politics and culture .* Princeton: Princeton University Press. Page 35

as a leader in this new era. Within football, these changes have also particularly influenced England, as it has built up the strongest league on the European continent, thus the changes globalization have brought have created various challenging situations for English football. Due to the combination of the above mentioned factors, English football provides a fascinating case study to portray the affiliation within English society and their complicated national identity.

Eric Hobsbawm has already mentioned football, as an important part of the development in English society in the nineteenth century. Football rapidly acquired professionalism, League and Cup levels, notorious rivalries, Saturday games, derbies. Since football gained acceptance and became the most popular sport, it operated on two levels, the local and the national, which provided a common ground for conversation between local people as well as Englanders overall[2]. Another crucial element that football brought to strengthen national affiliation is the symbols. Michael Billig emphasizes in his writings the importance of flags and national symbols as a positive and non-violent form of an everyday nationalism. When it comes to national competitions, flags, face paintings, scarves and all little symbols that identify national affiliation are there to show the unity of the supporters and the national team.

"The secret of football's success was that it could amalgamate with extraordinarily strong local and regional cultural traditions"[3]. Football, developing predominantly as middle-class sport in the nineteenth century, having strong fan bases mainly among the local people started to develop and emerge very fast to gain acceptance on regional, national and slowly in upper class levels. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the oldest and the most successful football clubs maintain strong local traditions, they subsequently gained global acceptance. The dynamics of

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[2] Hobsbwam, Eric. Ranger. 1992. *The invention of Tradition.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

[3] Tomlinson, Alan, and Christopher Young. *German Football: History, Culture, Society*. London: Routledge, 2006. Page 5

various relationships in football started to operate on several levels, such as players, teams, clubs, and also on national level.

Richard Giulianotti argues that football has a specific place in the formation of national identities, and that football clubs contributes to the promotion of "deeper forms of shared identity" at two levels: the local civic and the national.[4] Regarding the topic of this thesis, the main focus will be into looking the shared identity on the national level in the English national team, even though, it has to be admitted that there are strong ties between the local and national level in the English case. The study will derive from the specific ties between strong local football clubs, such as Manchester United, and its connection to the nation, as well as the English National Team itself, hence the one level has a huge impact on the other, especially in such clubs where the majority of the players constitute the National Team as well.

This work seeks to examine how Englishness is constructed based on historical narratives and historical rivalries, and subsequently also on the ways English society dealt with the influx of non-English individuals into English football. A key aspect in imagining a nation and its sense of collective identity lies in the construction of shared history – for which football presents a perfect example, as it had been deeply embedded in the English history. In order to see how English collective identity is depicted, case studies will be used to show the way identity is constructed in opposition to various factors. Firstly, the study will observe historical national rivalries as they play out in international sporting events, using the case study of the German-English rivalries from the World Cup of 1966 held in England and the World Cup of 2006 held in Germany. The English – German rivalry is notoriously known as one of the biggest clashes of nations, marked by their long war history. It is precisely the military history, especially the Second World War that is very often the main theme during their football games. Secondly,

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[4] Giulianotti, Richard. *Football: A Sociology of the Global Game*. Cambridge [u.a.: Polity Press, 2007.

the study will examine the dichotomy of "us" vs. "them" meaning the "local" vs the "global" illustrating it on the case of one of the most successful English football clubs, Manchester United. The foreign ownership of the English teams will also be portrayed on the example of Manchester United, as the first team to be owned by an American family. The ownership of the club by Glazer family caused an outrage among fans as well as the media, as it was the first time someone got full ownership rights over the club of Manchester United. Thirdly, the study will deal with the diverse composition of clubs, with an example of criticism addressed towards Arsene Wenger for fielding a non-British team in the Champions League game between Arsenal and Real Madrid in 2006. Arsene Wenger was held responsible for his choice of fielding a completely "foreign" team, and thus was blamed for Arsenal's loss. This event led Wenger to call upon the English public, and those who criticized him, that there is a serious problem of racism and xenophobia in England, and it should be solved.

Methodology:

Collective identities, such as football supporter cultures are widely recognized as difficult to empirically measure. However, several studies within the field of social sciences has acknowledged football's impact on the society. There has been considerable evidence of this issue among sociologists and psychologists, which provided strong basis to work with. Since society consisting of collective identities can be perceived from various perspectives, I have decided to work with the perception of a society through symbolic activities.

This study will adopt Narrative analysis, focusing on precise events which have been important for the understanding of English society thought football. The aim of this analysis is to examine the way English society have created ties to football through historical military and sporting references, in order to gain a wider picture and to see the merit of football's influence in the lives of English. This study will derive from two crucial historical sporting events, the World Cup of 1954 and of 1966, which significantly affected the development of the German and English collective memory. Germany's victory in 1954 and the victory of English in 1966 will be the core events the narrative analysis is built on. The reason behind this choice lies in the long military history of these two countries, which affected their football clashes as well. Furthermore, fusing the way people perceive collective memories such as historical football victories with the memories of war, presents the objective for the first half of the thesis.

Furthermore, the study will derive from sports journals and periodicals to examine the way sports shapes national identities. The study will conduct the research based on already completed studies, with the focus on the main driving forces behind construction of national identity and the importance of football in this regard. The results of the collected data will be analysed by comparative analysis.

The study will further implement comparative analysis, researching football club forums, officials and non-officials as well, in order to see how fans react to various situations. Newspapers and academic journals will also be used as key sources to show the means the press operates with historical references, while dealing with the contemporary football in England. The case study of Manchester United provides an example to illustrate the way fans and the press misuse concepts of nationality, and to what extent they contribute to raising xenophobic sentiments which has emerged since the Premier League became one of the most multicultural leagues in Europe. The study will compare the behaviour of English fans, and the contribution of the press at this time, in three major periods: firstly, at the time of the biggest success of Manchester United, secondly, the time the Glazer family took over Manchester United, and lastly, the era in English football when non-English players joined the national team squad led by a non-English manager.

CHAPTER 1 – Theoretical background

This part deals with the ways nationalism and patriotism appear in English society since the emergence of football in the nineteenth century, and the reasons and impacts of its subsequent popularization. Nationalistic sentiments in sport generally can be expressed in many ways, nevertheless, since football became the most popular sport in the planet, the football fans became the notoriously known groups who are wrapping themselves into flags, carrying symbols and chanting songs. It is claimed by Nicholas Dixon that the success of the national teams reflects well on a country and the fans feels they are contributing to the success of the country in sports events, and that the victories of the national teams are increasing the worth of the country [5]

Unfortunately, sometimes we cannot avoid the connection between sports and politics, which can result in outrageous behaviour of the fans. Some like to portray their nation as opposed to another nation, or proving the dominance of one nation through success of their national football teams. As Dixon claims, politicians and media could wrongly fuse sport with politics that can end up as a contest of a test of national inferiority or superiority. Therefore, the role of the players who compete either on league or national level should be to make clear that they are participating in a sporting event and not in a battle of world views.

This part of the thesis in thus going to look at three major areas regarding the emergence and perception of nationalism: Hobsbawm's explanation of the emergence of football, Anderson's vision about the imagined communities and Billig's elucidation about the importance of national flags and symbols. All of these will provide us the key theoretical elements for this work, as it will build its case studies about English football on the nationalistic sentiments.

[5] Dixon, Nicholas. "A Justification of Moderate Patriotism in Sport." In *Values in Sport: Elitism, Nationalism, Gender Equality and the Scientific Manufacture of Winners*, 74-87. London: T. Tännsjö and C. Tamburrini, 2000.

1.1 Nationalism and Football

Eric Hobsbawm in his book "The invention of Tradition" mentions football as the core element of formation of the British middle class, and its power of bringing the population together and thus a formation of groups and classes.[6] Football became identification for a mass proletarian cult, and by the end of the nineteenth century, football acquired the most of the institutional characteristics that are still present today. Moreover, football has given reasons and still gives an impetus to dress into national colours, be proud for country and celebrate the victories of a national football team as a victory of the country. Flags and national colours play an essential role for the fans, who wants to show support. The choice of the flag the English fans prefers, either the Union Jack or the flag of the St. George has been changing throughout the history, usually influenced by the relations within the United Kingdom.

Anderson in his explanation of the emergence of nation relies on its historical importance, thus to see the development phase of the emergence of a nation. For his vision, the term "imagined" has an utmost importance. The explanation he gives for his idea about imagined communities is that there is no possibility that the members of each nation would ever know all of their fellow members, meeting them and knowing them. Nevertheless, he points out that through imagination people are capable of making sense of the nation as a unity of people. The metaphoric imaginary, historical narratives, shared history, notion of a common present and future are the essential features of a nation as imagined community. Another essential factors for the nation is to have a sense of collective identity and symbols that embodies the nation and national unity.[7]

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[6] Hobsbawm, Eric Ranger. *The invention of Tradition.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992
[7] Anderson, Benedict R. O. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. and Extended ed. London: Verso, 1991.

The aspect of Billig's book about banal nationalism lies in his explanation of flagging, which means a constant reminding of the established nation about its nationhood by various symbols. The citizens of the countries are daily reminded of their nationess by various little unnoticeable ways. The essential point Billig makes in his study is that these little reminders, like an unnoticed flag is important for the citizens, since "national identity embraces all these forgotten reminders"[8]. In football, flags and symbols represent an utmost importance, and it is a part of the popular culture to maintain these symbols. Even though it is true that football might represent rather "hot" nationalism rather than banal, it is still perceives as a part of banal nationalism. In this regard it is also crucial to mention the differentiation of "us" and "them" as a sense of pointing out one's belonging to the nation or a club.

1.2 Militarism and Football

The football field is very often referred to as a battlefield, of course not as a battlefield of bloody wars between the nations, but as a battlefield of fair and glorious victory of the best. However, sport and militarism have much in common. Both demonstrate a legitimate patriotism, while sustaining an image of a powerful nation by victories. They are one of the most powerful creators of national identity and national belonging, by celebrating war and sport heroes who are portrayed as the symbols of national power and virtue. Nevertheless, the fade-over of war into sporting competitions proved to be rather dangerous in the past years, as the respect towards the legacy of wars has faded and the usual outcome of "historical rivalries" was disastrous.

"The memory of war is one of the most significant ways of shaping national identity: images of sacrifice, heroism, mourning and loss provide symbols of unity in suffering, in sadness, in

[8] Billig, Michael. *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage, 1995. P. 8

valediction"[9]. This is the way war supposes to be remembered, the way it should shape society and national feelings. Sadly, factors such as football hooliganism and disappearing respect for the war tragedies, contributes to disrespectful and outrageous actions among the football fans. The way how military history affects national football competitions in a negative way will be the issue of this chapter. It will elaborate on the example of German-English rivalry, as both nations have rich military and football history, and their clashes are notoriously known.

To understand to rivalry between Germany and England, it is essential to point out the main driving forces behind the formation of the post national German identity, among which one of the crucial parts was football. The very first event to mention in this regard is the victory of the German National team in Bern in 1954. After the end of Second World War, Germany was among all other destroyed mainly as nation, whose people were blamed for the atrocities committed during the war and who were judged based on collective guilt. At that time, it was rather shameful than proud to feel affiliation for your country and its symbols. Nevertheless, football exemplifies the power of re-construction of national identity[10]

Football, as a tool of re-creation of the identity after the war, proved to play a specific role in the case of Germany. It succeeded to fill the gap that has been left after the symbolic devastation caused by the war, thus it was one of the pillar Germans could build on in opposition to the war legacies. Presenting football as opposing example to the war had been a significant change in understanding and building German identity. Therefore, the clashes between Germany and England became so notorious, as the English fans take advantage of all the possibilities to remind the German of the Second World War. The War, they try to forget and use footballs as tool to omit it[11]

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[9] Mangan, J.A. 2006. "Sport and War: Combative Societies and Combative Sports." *SGI Quarterly*, July.
[10] Tomlinson, Alan, and Christopher Young. *German Football: History, Culture, Society*. London: Routledge, 2006.
[11] Ibid.

The 2006 FIFA took place in Germany, so it was another opportunity for the Germans to present a new Germany, their hospitality and openness. However, the impact of negative war memories was somehow still present. One of such an example is the title of this world cup: *"A time to make friends"*, by which the Germans wanted to reaffirm their position in Europe as a friendly nation. However, the visiting English fans took the opportunity to undermine this attempt.

The English obsession with the Second World War when it comes the mentioning anything about Germany, has been already the biggest fear of the British government and the English Football Association before the kick-off of the World Cup in 2006 in Germany. Their appeals towards the English fans arriving to Germany to refrain from Nazi salutes, goose-stepping, imitating Hitler and chanting war songs was rather unsuccessful. The English fans arrived to Germany in army helmets, holding up inflatable Spitfires[12]

The English media has played an important role in this respect as well. The newspaper narratives were predominantly focused on former war heroes of England, mentioning the Lion's heart spirit, St. George's cross, Admiral Nelson, drawing on the collective English identity, reminding the players as well as the fans of "your country needs you"[13]. The historical narratives were an attempt to remind English of their hegemony in the previous centuries, and fuse it with the high expectations towards the English team, which was called "a new gold generation" at this time. Also, it was a way to show the strength of English national identity through football, which has been challenged by the globalized era in the past years.

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[12] Crossland, David. 2006. "There Were 10 German Bombers in the Air": German Fans Trying to Rival English Chanting " *Spiegel* See in: http://www.spiegel.de/international/there-were-10-german-bombers-in-the-air-german-fans-trying-to-rival-english-chanting-a-422820.html
[13] Vincent, J., E. M. Kian, P. M. Pedersen, A. Kuntz, and J. S. Hill. "England Expects: English Newspapers' Narratives about the English Football Team in the 2006 World Cup." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 2010, 199-223.

1.3 English football in the global era

Before proceeding to the specific case studies, it is crucial to explain the important of the Bosman ruling, which has changed the football rules and contributed to a more multicultural and global development of football in Europe. In order to understand the effect of cosmopolitanism in football, and the reasons why it was possible, it is essential to mention this important court case that has changed football. The court case victory for a Belgian player Bosman affected the transfer windows in European football from its core. The rather restrictive conditions ruling European football, like restriction on fielding foreigner players per game, or signing of a certain number of foreigners per season, has changed forever. The new rules adopted after Bosman's victory in 1990 changed the balance of power between the players and the clubs, granting more rights to the players. There were two major outcomes from the court decision: firstly, a player could freely move without charges within European football clubs once his contract ended, secondly, the quota system targeted against foreign players was completely changed[14].

In the past thirty years, football has experienced significant changes within the nation and international level. These changes can be mainly attributed to the emergence of globalization, growing importance of marketization and push towards a stronger common European competition. The case of Manchester United (Man U) provides us a very good example of how local and nationalistic sentiments can shift, especially when it comes to the impact of globalization on a larger scale. This case is particularly interesting for several reasons.

First of all, Man U is one of the oldest football teams in the United Kingdom, with an extremely huge fan basis all over the world. Secondly, during the nineties the superiority of Man U was

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[14] LawTeacher, UK. (November 2013). *The Bosman Ruling.* Retrieved from http://www.lawteacher.net/free-law-essays/sports-law/the-bosman-ruling.php?cref=1

so eminent that it caused huge outrage among other Premier League fan clubs, which resulted in expressions of "othering" that slowly transferred into the English national team as well. Davies and White express two significant factors that contributed to the alienation of Man U club from other Premier League clubs. Firstly, there was a lack of access on the local level to the sporting institutions of Man U. The second argument leads to the impact of globalization, which draw a line between the "local" vs. the "global" – meaning "us" and "them", the local fans loyal to the English league, and the others, who became open towards Europe. In this case we can witness a certain an emergence of a middle class British chauvinism, people full of prejudices towards the team that becomes successful on a global scale, perceiving a global success as a threat towards traditions and local identities [15]

Thirdly, a new enemy that threatened English society, the "force of global capital" which firstly affected the Man U intensified in few years when Man U became the first English club fully owned by a "foreigner" - American family Glazer. It was claimed by the fans that lack of regulations caused that the Glazer family could purchase the club, which had disastrous economic impact on the club[16].

The issue of xenophobia in football has increased since the opening of the transnational football labour market. One of the driving forces to deal with the issue of racism and xenophobia in football was Arsenal's Champions League defeat against Real Madrid in 2006, when Arsene Wenger was harshly criticized by fellow managers, media and supporters for setting up a completely non-British team. This situation led Wenger to call for dealing with the problem of xenophobia in English football. He claimed such an experience is very disappointing and it is

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[15] Brick, Carlton. "Can't Live With Them. Can't Live Without Them: Reflections on Manchester United." In *Fear and Loathing in World Football*, 9-21. Oxford: Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti, 2001.
[16] "Manchester United Fans Still Bitter over Malcolm Glazer Takeover of the Famed Premier League Club in 2005." *NY Daily News,* May 29, 2014, Sports sec. http://www.nydailynews.com/sports/soccer/manchester-united-fans-bitter-glazer-takeover-article-1.1809663.

a regressive way of thinking and he would never say to a player: "You are better but you do not have the right passport"[17].

In this respect, it is necessary to look at various policies regarding the signing of foreign as well as local players. By 2009 the average Premier League team had an average of 13 foreign players with fewer than 40% of the players being English. Nevertheless, the number of foreign players within the English national football team has provoked several debates and it has become a subject of long standing debate, where one side claimed that a high number of foreigners is the reason for low success of the English football on international level[18]. There are several important criteria which have been changed for the last time in 1999, which are modifying the possibilities especially of non EU players. *Currently a non-EU player applying for the permit must have played for his country in at least 75 per cent of its competitive 'A' team matches for which he was available for selection during the previous two years, and his country must have averaged at least 70th place in the official FIFA world rankings over the previous two years. If a player does not meet those criteria, the club wishing to sign him may appeal if they believe that he is a special talent[19].*

Another rule that is important to clarify in this regard is the "Home grown player rule" which was introduced in the beginning of 2010/2011 season and it states: Each Premier League team can only register 25 players over the age of 21 for that season's first-team matches. Of those 25 players, no more than 17 can be non-Home Grown Players. That means in order to fulfil this rule, each team has to have at least 8 home grown players. To clarify who is a home grown player, one does not have to possess English citizenship, he just need to fulfil two criteria:

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[17] Millward, Peter.2007. True Cosmopolitanism or Notional Acceptance of Non-National Players in English Football: Or, why 'bloody foreigners' get blamed when 'things go wrong', *Sport in Society: Cultures, Commerce, Media,Politics*, 10:4, 601-622

[18] Jackson, Jamie. 2010. "World Cup 2010: England are 'paying price of foreign Premier League'." *The Guardian*, July See in: http://www.theguardian.com/football/2010/jul/08/jose-luis-astiazaran-la-liga-england

[19] Premier League Handbook, Season 201415 See in: /m.premierleague.com/en-gb/about/handbook-2014-15.html

firstly, he has to reach the age 21 on 1st of January in which the season begins, secondly, he

spent three years between the ages of 16 and 21 with a team in the English football League [20].

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[20] European Professional Football Leagues: Home grown quota for Premier League. See in: http://www.epfl-europeanleagues.com/quota_for_Premier_League.htm

CHAPTER 2 - Nationalism and sport and the portrayal of the nation through football

"Sports shape and stabilize social and political identities around the globe".[21] Undoubtedly, sports have become one of the major part of people's lives in the past decades, whether in a passive or active form, and its popularity is constantly growing. Thus, it has slowly become a feature through which people could identify, it promoted socialization, leisure time activities, but also, internationally and politically sports has gained an utmost importance and influence.[22] As much as it has affecting people's everyday life, it does have an impact on world politics and international relations. For both reasons, national affiliation and national consciousness will be the central terms to operate with, while dealing with the relations of English society towards the English national football team.

In the past years, sports have evolved into an integral part of various industries, such as television broadcasting, marketing, business and several other international and national industries. All of these factors are essential contributors in bringing sports, especially football, into the lives of people. Ultimately, it has been mainly the press, TV broadcasting and social media which contributes to the spread of various fan sites and fan clubs, where fans can communicate and where negative and positive nationalistic sentiments emerge. Moreover, the spreading of news about the players and teams keep the fans and population updated, thus they can always feel a certain affiliation and belonging to them.

Markovits argues that football operates on two levels: below and above the national level. While on the one hand since the emergence of football in the late nineteenth century, and

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[21] Markovits, Andrei S., and Lars Rensmann. *Gaming the World: How Sports Are Reshaping Global Politics and Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010. Page 3
[22] Sport has become an integral part of press coverage, it appears in films and the sporting events are the most watched programs in the world. The World Cup in 2006 had more than thirty billion viewers, and the final match had over two billion viewers.

throughout the twentieth century, football primarily operated only on the national level with a more local focus, where team within a country or a region met. However, entering the global era in the nineties of the twentieth century, transnational contests appeared in European football, such as the UEFA Champions League[23], which are enjoying growing popularity in the past years. In this regard, we can talk about a certain local patriotism towards one's football team, which has also changed over the years. In the beginning of the club era, the local clubs and fans preferred to have the players from their own town or city. Such preferences demonstrates nationalistic and patriotic sentiments on the club and league level, and was more widespread before the popularization of the World Cup, Euro Cup or the Champions league.

There is no doubt that nationalistic sentiments have always existed when it comes to football, but there is also a difference when it comes to the patriotism of the local team, and the nationalism of the national team. The latter is claimed to have specific influence on shaping the most of the sports, especially football. [24] Football nationalism used to be very widespread in Europe, based on ethnic inclusiveness. The emotive supporting of the players by fans and sometimes an unusual way of expressing one's feelings towards the team or club plays a crucial role when it comes to nationalism. As it will be showed later, everyday nationalism could actually be seen as a positive element, nevertheless, it has also its limits.[25] Playing of the national anthem, raising the flags and waving national symbols have strong cultural nationalistic roots and it's contributed to the notion of "we", the ones who embodies the nation.

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[23] The Champions League, organized by the UEFA (Union of European Football Association, originally founded in 1955, but the way European people know it nowadays was rebranded in 1992), is the most prestigious football competition for the European clubs. The best teams of the national leagues are eligible to qualify, while each national league has limits how many clubs are let to participate in the qualification rounds.
[24] The first such example on the international scale can be seen in the first international game between England and Scotland in 1872, where the best of the English and Scottish players clashed. This competition at that time lacked regularity, structure, and it was just an emergence based on country national players. Thus in this respect, we can see a different emergence in the patriotic scheme, and on the national level.
[25] Markovits, Andrei S., and Lars Rensmann. *Gaming the World: How Sports Are Reshaping Global Politics and Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010., p.71

The identity and identification question based on the football national teams is a very common way to identify, and it also shows that football has gone beyond just "being a sport". Alan Bairner, a Scottish born author remembers the times in the 1950s in Scotland, when England and Scotland met on the football field, admitting in this case it was obvious that there was more than just a pure sports competition. The peculiar case of these two teams are primarily driven by historical precedence, where the identity question is essential in order to show affiliation, which in this regard can be done by football. A very common way to demonstrate the importance of the nation and to highlight the upcoming game is the media, most commonly a newspaper coverage. How one names the other team is also essential in understanding the identity and national question of the teams. From the experience and memories of Brainer, how the Scottish portrayed the English before the upcoming football clash was the „Auld Enemy". [26] The image of the English in this regard was the ones who have been arrogant, with a larger and more powerful contry, so they deserved to lose. Victory for Scottish against the English meant something special, something about which they could feel especially good and it gave them hihg self esteem. On the other hand, loss meant loss of self esteem and the nation fell into a collective despair[27]. However, all of the previosuly mentioned feelings were present on the Scottish side, the English felt about their game a way different. In fact, the English did not put any importance to games against Scotland[28], as it was just one of the weaker teams, and they perceived Scotland as a team against which is a duty to win.

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[26] Bairner, Alan. *Sport, Nationalism, and Globalization European and North American Perspectives*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001.

[27] A loss in an international tournament is often perceived very negatively by the fans, and quite often also by the population normally not involved in football. The pictures and videos of crying, angry and sentimental fans who take the loss of their national team to their heart is commonly seen. The way the fans behave shows how important can football be for their national pride, especially when it comes to such games where former "old enemies" meet. The press and the TV likes to sometimes exaggerate these events, so the terms as despair or failure of the nation to protect its pride are very commonly used.

[28] Based on the FIFA rankings, there is a high gap between the English national team and the Scottish, England is appearing the past years among the first ten best clubs of the world, while the average position of Scotland is 40. Winning against a weaker team is rather considered as duty than recognition. See in: http://www.fifa.com/fifa-world-ranking/associations/association=eng/men/index.html

On this example from Bairner, we can see how the political and cultural power relations influence football, or vice versa. Scottish[29] used football, and especially cases of victory, to show English they maintain a separate identity. While the English, as one of the superpowers, they did not consdier Scotland as a threat on the football field, due to their low performance. Thus, the English victory over the Scottish football team never meant a specific issue for the English, at least not that specific as for the Scottish. The power and identity relations play here a very interesting and key role, and it is important to see on such examples how football is indeed fused with identity and political questions.

"Football's dyadic relationships operate at all levels- player, team, club and nation, and that they are effectively rooted in the game's social ontology"[30]. The importance of all the mentioned features was presented by cases in the above mentioned paragraphs, therefore we can see on how many levels football operates in real. Due to significant changes in the international sphere, such as the end of the cold war, rising importance of the European Union, changing world views and emerging processes of international cooperation and integration[31], football has started to change as such factors had an effect on it. It is still interesting to see, that despite of the changes throughout the past decade that led to globalization, football still functions on all the levels, and that its popularity constantly grows.

When it comes to the debate regarding football's emergence and the question which nation is one of the pioneers in this game, it is undoubtedly England. Moreover, the construction and deconstruction of the English national identity can be perfectly portrayed through football. One of such a study has been made from the sociological perspective by Richard Giulianotti, who

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[29] Naming the nation as "Scottish, or the English" is very commonly used is sports journalism as a reference to the national teams, together with the fans and people participating in football – as a group of people presenting the whole nation

[30] Giulianotti, Richard. *Football: A Sociology of the Global Game*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press ;, 1999. Page 13

[31] Entering a more global era

traced the key events in English history as the crucial factors in their identity building. The emerging „traditional" period in English football was characterized by huge working class population, class conflicts, and isolationist policy abroad[32]. There was a certain „secret expectation" from English society to keep the high level of football they have played, and to remain the masters of it, as no one knew the game longer than they. Nevertheless, the starting decline[33] appeared in the interwar period, and subsequently continued after the Second World War, with only one remarkable victory on the home soil in the World Cup in 1966. The modern era was marked rather by the notorious English hooliganism, when the football stadiums looked more like a battlefields than sporting competitions.[34] The post-modern era did not bring bigger success for the English national team, thus their attempt to become once again the masters of football was dwelling on traditions. This was done through jingles on the international tournaments by calling for the return of the football home. There are several chants and songs, myth and memories referring to the golden generation of English football, the team of 1966 when the English team won the World Cup on the home soil. The fans like to remember these times, when the English team was the only master of football, thus by calling for football to return home they are encouraging the English national football team to bring the trophies "home" to England from international tournaments.

2.1 Eric Hobsbawm: The emergence of football in the British Middle class

Eric Hobsbawm draws a very unusual and interesting line between football and the interpretation of class in the British society in the second half of the nineteenth century. He claims the emergence of football was very rapid among the proletarians, and that by the 1880s,

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[32] Giulianotti, Richard. *Football: A Sociology of the Global Game*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press ;, 1999. Page 28

[33] The decline of the national football team is measured based on its performance on the international level, by the number of victories, and also by important factors such as the ball possession, number of scored and gained goals, fouls, number of received cards etc.

[34] Due to this terrible image of the English football during the seventies and the eighties, the English football associations implemented later in the nineties strict rules in the football stadiums in order to rise protection.

football had all the significant institutional characteristics that we know until nowadays, such as the League, the Cup, regular attendances of Sunday games, ritual rivalries between industrial cities. Since football has had a local and regional proletarian base, it operated on both national and local level, which gave a common topic for male workers from all over the region.[35]

Football, originally emerging as an amateur sport among the middle class students of public schools, it was very quickly proletarianized, and therefore professionalized by 1885. One of the major reasons it got so quickly professionalized is that football got financial support from the local businessmen, whose main expectation was to become famous as a leaders of the clubs. While it is observed that the most of the football players tended to be drawn from the skilled workers, it is less clear how the development of the supporters' culture has emerged.

Hobsbawm sees in sport as one of the newest social practices of our period, while proclaiming that the social history of the upper and middle class sport is very well documented, nevertheless keeping in mind three crucial points. Firstly, the last thirty years of the nineteenth century were marked by huge transformations "in the spread of the old, invention of new and institutionalization of most sports on the national and even international scale"[36]. Secondly, thanks to institutionalization, sports have become noticed and showed in public, which contributed to the assimilation of the upper class life style to the emerging middle class life style. Lastly, sport provided a new kind of social interaction among people of the same class, who had no chances to meet before.

It can be concluded based on the arguments of Hobsbawm, that the middle class sport combined two elements of the invented tradition: [37] the political and the social. On the one hand middle

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[35] Hobsbawm, Eric. "Mass Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914." In *The Invention of Tradition*, 263-309. Cambridge, UK: Eric Hobsbawm, Terance Ranger, 1992. P. 288-89
[36] Ibid. Page 298
[37] The heightening of rather recent phenomena to traditions, giving them the impression of a well-routed, ancient ritual. These invented traditions often coincide with phases of nation building, especially in 19th century Europe. Classic examples are national holidays

class sport attempted to form a new "ruling elite", to replace the old aristocratic model, while depending on the local situation, cooperating with liberals and conservatives within the middle and upper class. On the other hand it strongly relied and built on its amateurism emerging from the public schools, attempting to spontaneously draw lines against the masses. Regarding the identity question, there is one more important factor to mention. The combination of political and social invented traditions provided a medium for national identification for mass and middle class sports. The national identification became very important, especially when it came to identification through sport. It bounded the inhabitants of the national state together, regardless of their local origins. The rapid spread of the international competitions supplemented the national ones, which was not like this before 1914. International competitions were primarily there to underline the unity of the nations, as for instance the British international contest meant before 1914 a competition of the national teams within the British Isles, against each other, and later on also the nations of the British Empire were invited to compete[38].

2.2 Benedict Anderson: Imagining the nation

According to Anderson, nation "is the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time", and he proclaimed that the nation was imagined because the members of even the smallest nations will never know their fellow citizens, meet them or hear from them, but despite of that, in the minds of each lives the image of their communion[39]. It is a socially constructed idea of one another, sharing a nation and a country, creating an image of community in one's mind. Anderson also addressed an issue of how the media can promote and contribute to this

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[38] Ibid. 301
[39] Anderson, Benedict R. O. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. and Extended ed. London: Verso, 1991.

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"awareness of each other", as the high number of population reading newspaper who are thus aware of the collective existence of each other despite of never meeting its fellow citizens.

This particular role of the media is crucial during the biggest sporting events in the world and Europe, including the FIFA world cups and the Euro Cups as well. Football fans belong to an imagined community of fan bases[40], as there is just a little possibility that all of them met. However, the media is a significant element in bringing them together, especially nowadays the social media and various funzine sites designed for the fan bases. The past years showed how the influence of the newspapers and TV rapidly grew, and what important role have they played before, during, and after international sporting events. Particularly in the case of the English, the media often showed high expectations towards their national team, and by this creating a certain pressure on their players and also the fans, who identified with the players, which resulted in sharing the disappointment of losses and celebrations of victories. In this respect, it can be claimed that the media is one of the key contributors to the creation of imagined communities among the fans, but by supporting and demanding results from their national players, they create a particular tie between the English people and the players. In fact, imagined community created by the media in this respect is a "socially constructed mental image that people have in their minds"[41], a way fans imagine their affiliation and belonging to the nation, in this case through football.

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[40] Anderson's theory of imagined communities does not mention any role of football or sports at all, however, his concept is very commonly used among academics and sports journalists in order to understand sports culture. Tom Gibbons borrows the term to show regional division within England, claiming each region (southern, or northern) creates its own image by which their conceptions of Englishness varies. See in: Gibbons, Tom. "English National Identity and the National Football Team: The View of Contemporary English Fans." *Soccer & Society*: 865-79. In sports journalism, the term imagined community is referred to as a *national sense or consciousness of connectedness can be developed through the mass consumption of mediated reports,* articles or TV broadcast, that are followed by millions of people at once, creating an image of connectedness. See in: Vincent, J., E. M. Kian, P. M. Pedersen, A. Kuntz, and J. S. Hill. "England Expects: English Newspapers' Narratives about the English Football Team in the 2006 World Cup*." International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 2010, 199-223.
[41] Vincent, J., E. M. Kian, P. M. Pedersen, A. Kuntz, and J. S. Hill. "England Expects: English Newspapers' Narratives about the English Football Team in the 2006 World Cup*." International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 2010, 199-223. P. 205

There are various ways how fans can show support and also to show identification with the national team. One of such instances how the team embodies the "modern nation" is that it wraps itself into national flags, which is also often practiced by the fans. Football captures the notion of imagined community precisely by such acts on the side of the team as well as the fans. Duke and Crolley claims that it is a very easy way to show support for a nation and confirm national identity when one has to cheer for eleven players representing their country in a match against another nation [42]. Another group of sociologist, Bouchard and Constant came to a conclusion that football remained one of the few areas where it is acceptable to openly express patriotic sentiments. In a study of the English national pride and sentiment conducted by psychologists and sociologists in 2007, they came to a conclusion that people associated with far right political groups perceived football as a way to identify nationally while having a sentimental attachment to it, and thus being a part of the imagined community. Nevertheless, the research also showed that there are groups of people who do not need to identify with the nation when it comes to football, and there does not necessarily have to be strong national sentiments. It has to be admitted, that people can display emotional involvement concerning the English national team, while not necessarily be concerned about being a part of the nation as an imagined community[43].

2.3 Michael Billig: flagging

A piece written by Michal Billig called "Banal nationalism" represents a different view on everyday nationalism, differentiating it from the xenophobic and extreme forms of nationalism. His presentation of daily nationalism was important in order to show people a positive connotation of the term, and remind them that practically all the symbols around us are a part

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[42] Abell, Jackie, Susan Condor, Robert D. Lowe, Stephen Gibson, and Clifford Stevenson. "Who Ate All the Pride? Patriotic Sentiment and English National Football Support." *Nations and Nationalism*: 97-116.
[43] Ibid.

of nationalism. Thus, it is no wonder that sporting events belong to this part of nationalism, since the symbols are the key figures to identify with a team or a club. The term itself refers to an imagined sense of national solidarity and national belonging, which are enforced and supported by symbols of everyday nationalism, of which the most known are flags, national symbols and the national anthems.

Billing claims that if there is a section in the newspaper where the flags are waved with a regular basis, then it must be the sports section. When it comes to sport in connection of expressing banal nationalism, the media and politicians are the key mediators. "The sports pages, in inviting us readers to wave flags" [44]. Nevertheless, the way the media present such "invitations" does not always coincides with the real idea of peaceful nationalism. One of the examples where football could be fused with even warfare is the case of football matches between the Falklands and England. It is a certain symbolic model of the war in this regard. During the Falklands war, cartoonists used to portray the war as a football game. When the English troops were returning from the war, they were greeted with the people as if a football team would have return with a trophy, while the people greeted them with waving flags and chanting. Moreover, many similarities could be found between football events and war events. People, as well as the players or the soldiers express their fighting passion, and they are determined to go for the victory, often referring to the football pitch as to the war field.

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[44] Billig, Michael. Banal Nationalism. London: Sage, 1995.

CHAPTER 3 - Nation – Imagined through historical sporting and military references

Football is central to English identity and one of the means to illustrate it is by rivalries. Thus, this chapter seeks to portray the fusion of sport and politics, together with identity building processes within English society, clarified on the historical football successes and notorious clashes of the English national team. In this regard, this chapter elaborates on the rivalries between England and Germany. The reason behind this choice lies in the fact that both of these countries have rich history and have been hegemonic powers throughout European history. In our case, the legacy of the world wars plays the most important role, as the war memories are the ones constantly appearing during the clashes on the pitch when these two nations meet. When it comes to international football meetings between England and Germany, it is very common to spot in several English tabloid press referring to Germans as the "Old Enemies", "Lets Blitz Fritz". [45] The previously mentioned examples are the outcomes of the historical relationship between England and Germany, and the task of this chapter is to look behind the reasons why the English people maintain predominantly war memories when it comes to Germany.

3.1 Germany's negative image in English society

There is no doubt that the Germans have been struggling with negative stereotypes and negative images especially since the end of the First World War. The war has left deep scars in the German society, and the legacy of the Third Reich has etched itself into the minds of foreigners as well as Germans themselves. The negative German stereotypes seems to persist in English society, and the "British opinion has remained fixed in the stereotypes established in two world

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[45] Low, Cassel, and Laura Stevens. "No Love Lost Here: England Meets Germany Yet Again." *The Wall Street Journal* See in: http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052748704569204575329031021023448

wars"[46]. One of the major areas where such stereotypes often appear is the British press, usually before international football tournaments.

Even though the press plays a significant factor in this regard, there are nonetheless other factors contributing to the negative image of German, starting already in schools. The one sided history curriculum in schools contributes from the early age of the students to believe in the negative stereotypes. The history classes are predominantly designed to focus on the world wars, rise of Nazism and the holocaust, while leaving little space to discuss the post war period in the German history. The print and television have their fair proportion in promoting the stereotypes as well, for instance by devoting significant amount of time to war related documentaries and films [47]

The way people interpret other nations can hardly be called objective, the visions of people are always determined to some extent by history and prejudice. Tony Baldry, minister of state at the Foreign and Commonwealth office proclaimed in 1995 that "British thinking about Germany often seems stuck in a time warp"[48]. One may look for several reasons why the English seem to fail to move from the historical references of the war, to the current era, where the German are ultimately their European partners. Beck argues that Britons are rather afraid of German dominance in Europe, claiming that they use the European Union as a tool for attempt to dominate Europe. The hegemonic decline of Britain and the fear of being overtaken as a dominant power in Europe could also be a leading factor promoting negative stereotypes. English, building their hegemonic power upon their strength from the colonial times, on myths

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[46] Grix, Jonathan, and Chantal Lacroix. "Constructing Germany's Image in the British Press: An Empirical Analysis of Stereotypical Reporting on Germany." Journal of Contemporary European Studies: 373-92. *Page 373*

[47] A research conducted and supported by the German ambassador in the UK proved that the history class curriculums in the British schools are focused on the Nazi era and Second World War, thus the children are familiarized with the atrocities committed during this time in an early age.

[48] Beck, Peter J. "The Relevance of the 'Irrelevant': Football as a Missing Dimension in the Study of British Relations with Germany." *International Affairs Int Affairs*: 389-411. Page 396

and images, has faded since the 1930's. Admitting such a decline of a nation, while living through the devastation of the Second World War, constant reminding the society of Hitler, who is far the best known German among Britons, fosters the negative attitudes and fears towards Germans. Undoubtedly, there is a certain ignorance from the British side when it comes the education of post war era, which has been addressed by German ambassadors in the UK[49].

Markovits argues that the mapping between football and political history is not necessarily simple[50], nevertheless, the German-English rivalries illustrate how complex the relation between society and sport can be. As many scholars have dealt with this issue, there are several studies conducted on this peculiar relationship between England and Germany, where most of the conclusions are based on the promotion of negative stereotypes primarily by the tabloid press. There is no need to stress the importance of sport in the society, how it shapes it and how it contributes to its coherence, however, football cannot be seen merely as the contributor, but in this case football provides a lens through which the rivalries can be examined. The question is, how can football turned to be a solution for such rivalry.

A vision appeared in the 1990's, seeing football as a modernization tool in Germany, providing a new way of perceiving themselves as Germans.[51] Football has been presented as a certain salvation, tearing Germans out from the Nazi stereotypes. However, this assumption proved to be wrong, when a survey conducted among young people in the UK revealed that they would mention football as the main negative category when considering Germans. Let us now consider more survey data, which shows the knowledge of young people in both countries.

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[49] Ibid.

[50] Markovits, Andrei. "A Red Card for England?" *Foreign Policy*, November 9, 2008.

[51] Germans perceived themselves for a long time as the perpetrators of the war crimes, and this image has long been established in other European countries, in England as well. Germans believed they can build a new image by contributing and taking part in sporting events, especially in football since its popularity has been constantly growing, and also the political significance of football could grant them a new image in the eyes of other European countries.

22% of Britons have knowledge about the German language, compared to 97% of German being comfortable with English. Around one-third of British think positively about Germans, however, half of the Germans think positively about the UK. The list of the negative features about the other country speak for itself. For the Germans, the reasons behind negative attitudes lie mainly in the following factors: close relationship with the USA, negative attitude towards the EU, involvement in the war in Iraq and in the conflict in Northern Ireland. While on the other side, the answers of the Britons are rather surprising: the role of the Germans in the Second Word War, language barrier, bad food, National Socialist past, and also bad football. [52] These findings shows us primarily that the British are rather leaning towards historical references, and the stereotypes created decades ago, while the Germans proved to be more updated and creating a worldview based on current situation. The mention of bad football on the German side is rather surprising, as in the past decades German football teams proved to be successful (word cup final appearance in 2002), and even eliminated the English national team from international competitions several times.

Taking into consideration the past 70 years, except of the war in the Balkans, it can be claimed that Europe had been experiencing rather peaceful decades. Could sport be one of the features substituting militarization and war? George Orwell himself called sport war minus the shooting [53], and even though it was several decades ago and this statement could be marked as outdated, some common features can be spotted between them. Young claims sport could replace some benefits previously acquired by military conquest, such as "honour at home, prestige abroad

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[52] Young, Christopher. "Two World Wars and One World Cup: Humor, Trauma and the Asymmetric Relationship in Anglo-German Football." *Sport in History*: 1-23.
[53] Even though George Orwell predominantly wrote about different political issues rather than sport, his term "was minus the shooting" by which he referred to the Olympic games, is often quoted in academic and journal articles writing about sport. Primarily it was mentioned in his essay written after the visit of the Dynamo Moscow football team in the UK, as a critical response to the Anglo-Soviet relations. Orwell himself did not have a high opinion about football, the linkage to war expresses his vision of football being predominantly nationalistic, where people want to see the other team being humiliated, bounded up with jealousy, hatred and playing for having sadistic pleasure while witnessing violence.

and the proof of one system's legitimacy over the other". [54]Based on a study conducted by J.A. Mangan, his analysis shows linkages between sport and militarism. Similarities in the language of the British colonial soldier and the sporting metaphors shows that there is certainly a connection in the idea of the game and fighting for a nation. It is the values that are essential to the sport and warfare, such as fair play, playing field, discipline and teamwork[55]. The warrior from the times of British Empire, fighting for the nation and his engagement in the colonial war gave man an image of a strong masculine individual, who is ready to die for the nation. The celebration of war and masculinity, battle for the nation are the features that are central to football as well. We can witness often such an image of the football players, compared to warriors, predominantly in English media. The question that emerges from this is whether sports can offer an adequate substitution for militarism, and whether is it necessary. If the role of the nation still plays a role in the contemporary society, and as long as there is a need to compete with one another, football proves to be a medium where the society can identify with their nation and show their strength without being militarily involved. The political influence of football seems to be undermined, especially in the past decades when football has gained more international importance, while it is very common that national prestige and power are measured by such means.

3.2 The Miracle of Bern

In order to fully understand the role of the football and war in the rivalry between England and Germany, it is essential to get an insight into one of the most important moments in the German sporting history, which is the FIFA World Cup of 1954. This part will demonstrate the

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[54] Young, Christopher. "Two World Wars and One World Cup: Humour, Trauma and the Asymmetric Relationship in Anglo-German Football." *Sport in History*: 1-23. Page 7

[55] Garland, J., and M. Rowe. "War Minus the Shooting?: Jingoism, the English Press, and Euro 96." *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, 1999, 80-95.

importance of the world cup in the identity and nation-building process in the post-war Germany.

The FIFA World Cup in 1954 was held in Switzerland and it is known as "Das Wunder von Bern"[56], which was the fifth FIFA World Cup and the finals were held between West Germany and Hungary on 4th of July. The Hungarians were highly dominating football in this era and it was expected from them to win this title, while remaining unbeaten in 32 consecutive games, winning the Olympic championship and beating West Germany already in the group stage 8-3. While on the other hand, it was rather a surprise to see the West German team in the finals, who ultimately became the winners of this World Cup. This victory has been one of the greatest and most surprising in the World Cup history, creating life time heroes for the Germans. "Never has there been another football match with so many legends and stories attached as the 1954 FIFA World Cup Final". [57]

The triumph in Bern shows how powerful sports can actually be in the process of remaking a national identity.[58] Some scholars and journalists see this sporting triumph so powerful that they state that actually Germany was re-established in 1954, and not in 1949[59]. This victory certainly brought Germany back into the international sphere, gaining more acceptance, while being able to identify themselves as the World Cup winners rather than the culprits of the two world wars. The need to overcome the memories of the war era has been one the objectives for the Germans since the end of the war, and this triumph nine years after the end of the war proved to be a cornerstone in their history on which they could build on. Tomlinson and Young

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[56] The Miracle of Bern

[57] Surprising results usually tend to be remembered better than the expected ones, and this was one of the special moments which has long been debated. From international perspective, it provided an opening gate for Germans, and the first time since the end of the war gained recognition in Europe. Retrieved from the official FIFA site: http://www.fifa.com/classicfootball/matches/world-cup/match=1278/

[58] Tomlinson, Alan, and Christopher Young, eds. *German Football: History, Culture, Society*. London: Routledge, 2006.

[59] Germany was re-established in 1949 after the Second World War, and divided into two parts: West Germany and East Germany.

assume that thanks to this victory, in Germany more than in any other European country, football served to be a focus in the debates about national identity and the way stereotypes and national characters are constructed and represented.

The aftermath of the World Cup was marked by celebrations of the unexpected victory; moreover, there started to appear questions regarding the possible comeback of the Germans on the international sphere as a powerful player. A few days before the world cup finals, a poll conducted by Allenschabach showed 38% of people believed Germany will once again belong to the world's most powerful states, while 41% did not believe it[60]. A slight wave of nationalism appeared after the German team returned home, mainly promoted by the press and TV. The focus of the Germans was at this time completely overwhelmed by their national football team, and appeals such as "let's not talk about war but about football" and let's overcome the war era had been favoured. It can be stated that the triumph of the German team led people to be proud of their national symbols once again. This phenomenon can be seen for instance in the singing of the nationalist pre-war first verse[61] of the German anthem at the closing ceremony in the stadium, or in the praising of the German God of War Wotan in the beer fest two days after the victory by the president of the German Football Association.[62] On the contrary, the foreign echo was not so much in the euphoric feelings as the Germans themselves, and they rather warned the public about possible "resentment about the German danger", or the effort

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[60] Heinrich, Arthur. "The 1954 Soccer World Cup and the Federal Republic of Germany's Self-discovery." *American Behavioral Scientist Am Behav Sci*, 2003, 1491-505.
[61] The first stanza of the German anthem "Lied der Deutsche" (The Song of the Germans) begins "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles (Germany, Germany, above all). Initially, this line had a great significance during the 19th century, when the fragmented little German cities tried to unify and create a state. The anthem, and specially this part was one of the key symbols in the 1848 revolution. Later on, during the Nazi rule, the Nazis misused the meaning of the verses as a justification to "rule above the other races". Thus, this verse was one of the major identification symbols of the Nazis. After the Second World War, the verse was banned as a symbol of Nazism, and the official anthem of Germany became the third stanza of the song "Lied der Deutschen".
[62] Heinrich, Arthur. "The 1954 Soccer World Cup and the Federal Republic of Germany's Self-discovery." *American Behavioral Scientist Am Behav Sci*, 2003, 1491-505.

taken in Bern counted as "symbolic energy reserves missing at Stalingrad"[63], – which proves us once again how one can misuse sporting events for political purposes.

One might say that the influence of the German triumph in the re-making of the German identity is overestimated and its impact on the political and social life is exaggerated. Nevertheless, bearing in mind the negative attitudes towards the Germans, condemning the nation based on a collective guilt, the triumph in an international event could not have served better as an opening door back to international, or at least European, acceptance. Even though it is true that the destinies of the people are not decided on the football field, the Germans themselves believed football could be one of the key symbols for the rebuilding of their image. Football was at this time the most popular phenomenon in the German public life, hence any triumph in this regard contributed to the national prestige on the international level. It is claimed that this victory belongs to the most significant parts of the German history overall, as football is ultimately the sport of the masses and its power to capture one's attention was once again successful. Admitted by several journalists and sociologists[64], football was powerful enough to seize attention, contribute to the national solidarity and expression of astonishing outburst of emotions, which has not been present in Germany since 1945.

3.3 The World Cup of 1966

The FIFA World Cup in 1966 was held in England. It was the eighth football world cup and its final match is known as one of the most controversial finals ever played in football history. Besides all of its controversies and pioneering features, it is remembered by the Britons as the time when football gained utmost importance to the nation as a whole. The English met their

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[63] Tomlinson, Alan, and Christopher Young, eds. *German Football: History, Culture, Society*. London: Routledge, 2006. Page 190. Such a controversial contribution of a journalist indicates that he refers to the battle of Stalingrad where the German army was fighting the Soviet Army in 1942-43. It was one of the major battles of the Second World War, which the Nazi Germany ultimately lost with extremely high losses on both sides.
[64] Contributors in 1954 in from "Fussball und Politik", "Grosse deutsche Siege", „Begesterung"

"old enemies", the West German team in the finals, where they defeated their long-time rivals, by a controversial goal in extra time, on their home soil in the Wembley stadium.[65] Lifting the World Cup trophy on home soil is a dream of every football team, but besides this incredible success of the English national team, there is much more to say about this World Cup and its reasons why it became an inseparable part of the English identity.

This World Cup is known besides its controversial finals, also for many technical innovations which were brought to the public thanks to the media, whose role had a huge influence in bringing football close to the people. The BBC played a major role that successfully contributed to the spread of football and thus made it a national experience for the British. Besides broadcasting every game on television, it also had highly qualified commentators and special programs such the "Match of the day". Group of football experts were available at each match day, and by accompanying the audience with highly professional commentaries and interpretations of the games, it gave the World Cup a high standard. Moreover, the BBC engineers managed to show slow-motion effects of the special moments, which was an exciting innovation for the audience. [66]

"The World Cup Finals of 1966, and particularly the final match itself, have become part of the collective memory of the English" [67]. As already noted, the role of the media was crucial in this regard by broadcasting the games, and also by being able to show the number of television viewers, which achieved astonishing numbers. One of the peculiarities was the number of women viewers, which was surprisingly raising and there has been a notably high

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[65] As the previously mentioned Word Cup in 1954, this was also one of the most memorable moments in football. The finals between West Germans and England was a hotly discussed topic prior to the final game. It was a moment in the English history when the English had a chance to defeat the Germans on the home soil in Wembley. Retrieved from: http://www.fifa.com/classicfootball/matches/world-cup/match=1633/

[66] Mason, Tony. "England 1966: Traditional or Modern?" In *National Identity and Global Sports Events: Culture, Politics and Spectacle in the Olympics and the Football World Cup*, 83-98. New York: State University of New York Press, 2006.

[67] Ibid. page 94

number of letters written by women how much they enjoyed the final game. Many Cricket games were cancelled due to the importance of football during the World Cup. Nevertheless, what captures the attention the most is the high number of the Union Jacks during the Finals, and the fact that the St. George's flags were scarcely seen on this day[68]. This situation shows the strength of the United Kingdom at this time, however, important to note that it was only the Scotland who did not greet the victory of the English team, as opposed to Wales and Cardiff. To illustrate the significance of the English triumph in Wembley, one could mention the tours organized in the stadium in order to "keep the memory alive", or the high number of people who kept their tickets and all the symbolic features from this day, which can be found in the lively memorabilia market [69].

As mentioned earlier, this world cup became notoriously known as one of the most controversial in football history. The reason behind this is the third goal scored by England, which was accepted as a regular goal, even though in the later years it was showed that the ball never actually crossed the goal line, as shown by the technique in the later years. Thus, the result of this World Cup has been highly contested by the Germans until nowadays. Any German seeing the game would proclaim the ball was never behind the line, and he would be right[70]. This decision became so vividly discussed it even has been called the "Wembley Tor". The Azerbaijani linesman Tofik Bakhramov, who persuaded the referee that the goal was valid,

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[68] This situation was interesting from a perspective of the British-English relations, and the way they have changed in the following years. It was primarily the flag of Union Jack which was dominant in 1966 instead of the flag of English, the St. George's cross.

[69] Mason, Tony. "England 1966: Traditional or Modern?" In *National Identity and Global Sports Events: Culture, Politics and Spectacle in the Olympics and the Football World Cup*, 83-98. New York: State University of New York Press, 2006.

[70] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mvxVGMOgmcU. The video shows the original video recording, nevertheless there were several researches done by physicists, proclaiming that the ball did not cross the line, thus the third goal scored by England should not have been accepted

became known to all Englanders, who even asked to visit his grave when they played Azerbaijan in 1996. [71]

Despite the controversial score, England celebrated the victory, the only World Cup victory they have achieved so far. Even though it was predominantly a sporting moment, it was perceived as a cultural celebration by the whole nation as a unity, and this sporting event proved how much football contributes to national consciousness. The reason behind this could lie in the fact, that it was a team of players and not an individual who won, so thus the nation could embody with a big group of people within the idea of Anderson's imagined community.

3.4 The English national football team in the World Cup of 2006

The previous parts of this chapter introduced the most memorable moments of the historical sporting rivalries between the English and the German, which elaborated on the relationship between football and politics, and subsequently pointed out the importance of football in the national affiliation of the English people. The upcoming part deals with a more current issue in the world cup history of the English, more precisely with the narratives about the English football team during the world cup in 2006. I decided to analyse the 2006 world cup for two major reasons. Firstly, it was held in the country of their "old enemies", in Germany. Secondly, it was the fortieth anniversary of the only World Cup triumph of the English football team; moreover, several experts rated the squad of the national team in 2006 as the best since 1966, and thus the expectations were very high.

The official motto of the 2006 World Cup held in Germany was "A Time to make friends". Prior to the World Cup kick off, the world of football experienced severe attacks on players

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[71] "Baku Memorial for 1966 Linesman." BBC News. October 13, 2004. See in:
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3740556.stm.

based on their ethnic background and skin colour, thus the FIFA put a special effort into fighting racism and discrimination[72]. FIFA stressed also the importance of a hospitable atmosphere, tolerance and respect which provide a ground for peaceful games. Previous examples in this work indicate the impact of sport on the everyday life of people and also the way people started to identify themselves through football in England. As Tom Gibbons also confirms, "it would be naïve to argue that everyone who considers themselves English articulates their national identity through football, it is difficult to deny that football has long been considered England's national sport" [73]. Since England's triumph on the 1966 World Cup, the popularity of football has been rising among the English population as well as among Europeans. The expectations for the English national team in 2006, articulated mainly in the English newspapers and TV, shows us a certain level of national cohesion. It was the time when Premier League was far the strongest team among other European leagues, the English squad was named the best since 1966 by many experts[74].

The representation of football in the media before the World Cup in 2006 affected the English population, which is supported by the empirical research made by Gibbons among the English population. His research showed that 69% of the fans stated the English team represented them, while 42% of this group argued that the English team represents Englishness. 13% of this group answered that the English team represents the English values they consider as national. A significantly smaller group of people (27%) answered negatively on the question regarding their national feelings towards the English football team, where the majority of them claimed

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[72] Fighting racism has become one of the major tasks for FIFA, as racism has started to appear in football on a regular basis. One of the projects to fight against racism, supported by FIFA, the Local Organization Committee and the network Football Against Racism in Europe was called "Football Unites" See in: http://www.fifa.com/worldcup/news/y=2006/m=6/news=football-against-racism-the-2006-fifa-world-cup-alliance-between-fifa--34827.html

[73] Gibbons, Tom. "English National Identity and the National Football Team: The View of Contemporary English Fans." *Soccer & Society* 12 (2011): 865-79.

[74] Vincent, J., E. M. Kian, P. M. Pedersen, A. Kuntz, and J. S. Hill. "England Expects: English Newspapers' Narratives about the English Football Team in the 2006 World Cup." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 2010, 199-223.

they cannot relate to any football player or manager. Based on this research conducted in 2006 before the World Cup, it can be seen that the majority of the fans expressed their national affiliation through football, however, it is important to note that this expression through football fluctuates based on the success of the English team. Moreover, Gibbons argues that there are more conditions we should take into consideration, such as the origin of the fans and the location of the football clubs the players play for.

Sports journalism, as well as tabloid press were an indispensable part before and during the World Cup in 2006, and acted as a mediator between the fans and the national team. Drawing on historic military heroes and connecting them with football provided a background for creating an imagine community for English society to which they could relate. One of such examples is the quote from Admiral Nelson, who encouraged his soldiers before a battle by famous words: "England expects that every man will do his duty"[75]. This famous message from Nelson was one of the frequently quoted sentence appearing in the English newspapers. Since the year 2006 was the 40th anniversary of the only World Cup triumph of the English team, the players from the 1966 world cup were also among the most remembered figures, and constant comparison of the "golden generation", coaches, tactics to the current one in 2006 appeared in the press and among the football experts on the daily bases. One of such examples where the association of war and football was clearly showed, was the title from the Daily Mail, where one of the biggest talents of English football, Wayne Rooney dressed in his England shirt having the St. George's flag in the background pointing his finger to the title of the newspaper: "Your country needs you at 4pm today"[76].

The World Cup of 2006 ultimately brought many ironic moments regarding the English-German rivalry. While on the one hand, the slogan of the World Cup expressed hospitality of

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[75] Ibid. page 200
[76] Daily mail front page from 1st of July 2006

the Germans whose aim was to abandon the label of the "war criminals and Nazis", the English press and the fans did the contrary. Before the kick-off of the World Cup, several members of the English team begged the fans not to mention the war and abstain from imitation of Hitler and the expression used during the Nazi regime.[77] Moreover, there was an impetus from the British to educate the fans before the World Cup, a project initiated by the German Academic Exchange Service in a cooperation with the British Home Office, in order to avoid embarrassment in Germany. As it turned out later during the World Cup, the British failed in this regard. The English sense of "humour" proved itself already before the World Cup kick off, when the English fans arrived to German airport in Second World War designed helmets produced by the Dutch[78]. The Wold War euphoria of the English fans was continuing during the games, and the major football cities of Germany, Stuttgart, Dortmund or Munich, experienced huge groups of drunk English fans chanting war songs[79].

Despite the efforts of the organizer country – Germany, to show hospitality promoted with the efforts of FIFA in several campaigns of acceptance of diversity and enhancing friendly relations between the European countries, the English fans could not miss a chance to "mock" their long-time rivals. Even though the British authorities and football associations had several attempts to pledge for abstaining from war related expression and songs, their effort failed. The fans found support in the English newspapers, which did rather the opposite than what the World Cup slogan called for, by emphasizing patriotic feelings with references to war, and thus linking it to football. The narratives in the English newspapers were built on the military successes of the English, as an attempt to encourage the English national football team on

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[77] Alleyne, Richard, and Kate Conolly. "Don't Mention the War, World Cup Fans Told." *The Telegraph*, March 10, 2006, UK News sec.
[78] Graham, Bob. "Fans Face Cup Ban over 'Nazi' Helmets." *The Telegraph*, January 23, 2006, World News sec. See in: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/germany/1508580/Fans-face-cup-ban-over-Nazi-helmets.html
[79] Crossland, David. ""There Were 10 German Bombers in the Air": German Fans Trying to Rival English Chanting." *Spiegel*, June 22, 2006.

which huge expectations were imposed. Moreover, it was also an impetus to create patriotic sentiments among the English population reminding them of belonging to the imagined community of the "old England".

CHAPTER 4 - The impact of globalization on English football

Football has been far the most popular sport in the world, thus the challenges of globalization have affected it as well. Giulianotti and Robertson however understand it in reverse: seeing football as a manifestation of globalization, and rejecting the idea that globalization affected the game. They are supporting their claim by facts that due to football's essential components it could develop into global arenas, particularly because of its easy rules, possibility of playing under almost any conditions, and the minimum of equipment needed [80]

The fragmentation of the British nation and the disputes within it could be portrayed through football. Anthony King argues that football could provide one of the major sites where the place of the "English "can be set within British society[81]. Supporting this idea by the observation of the regular appearance of the St. George flag instead of the British Union Jack (as it was mentioned before in the World Cup of 1966), regularly since the 1990's proves us a fragmentation within the British society, which is being prone to regional nationalism[82].

There are various disputes regarding the impact of globalization on English football. While on the one hand Hall argues that globalization is a challenge to nation's authority and legitimacy, on the other hand, there is a claim that globalization and European integration reinforces rather than decrease the English national sentiment[83]. The term of *glocalisation* has in this respect a particular significance, as it explains a process "where local cultures adapt and redefine global cultural product to suit their particular needs, beliefs and customs"[84]. It reflects support for

[80] Giulianotti, Richard, and Roland Robertson. "The Globalization of Football: A Study in the Glocalization of the 'serious Life'" *The British Journal of Sociology Br J Sociology*: 545-68.
[81] Gibbons, Tom, and Jim Lusted. "Is St George Enough? Considering the Importance of Displaying Local Identity While Supporting the England National Soccer Team." *Annals of Leisure Research*: 291-309.
[82] This claim can be supported by the emergence of displaying the regional flags during football competitions. In the past decades the flag of Union Jack is rarely seen, it is almost persistently the flags of Wales, Scotland or England. Listing another example from the tennis games: during the games of the fourth best player of the world Andy Murray, one can merely see the flag of Scotland instead of the Union Jack, as it used to be before.
[83] Gibbons, Tom, and Jim Lusted. "Is St George Enough? Considering the Importance of Displaying Local Identity While Supporting the England National Soccer Team." *Annals of Leisure Research*: 291-309.
[84] Ibid. page 295

multiple layers of the English identity, particularly the process of incorporating a fan's local support into the support of his team on the European level, but also within the support for his national team.

The chapter illustrates the way English football has dealt with the challenges of globalization in three major areas. Firstly, it elaborates on changes within European football caused by the verdict of the European Court of Justice in 1995, which abolished controversial laws concerning the transfer of the players. Secondly, the case study of Manchester United portrays the example of two fold identity of the Manchester United fans, but also shows a great willingness of the fans to fight foreign ownership of their club. The last part deals with two examples, one foreign born player appearing in the English national squad, and a foreign born manager of the English squad, showing a rather xenophobic attitude of the English fans and media to express their strength towards English national affiliation.

4.1 The "Bosman-Ruling"

The rapid changes which shaped the European society in the past decades, affected primarily by globalization, have not avoided changes within the world of football. When it comes to debates about Europe, the EU is the leading policy maker within the European continent, and thus it directly affects sports law as well. Article 48 of the EEC Treaty[85] had a special importance in this regard, as it was in conflict with the rules and regulations laid down by the football associations. While the article 48 ensures free movement of workers within the EEA, the rules laid down by the football associations had a rather restrictive character.

Prior to 1995, there were two basic principles on which the majority of the European leagues operated regarding the transfer market. Firstly, an obligation to pay a transfer fee by the club

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[85] The Treaty Establishing the European Community, article 48 dealing with the freedom of movement for the workers

to a player's former club, even when his contract with his former club had expired and a player decided to change clubs. Secondly, severe restrictions were stablished on foreign born players, whose appearance in particular matches was forbidden. For instance, before 1995, the UEFA[86] itself contributed to controversial limitations imposed upon foreign players, by setting a limit of three foreign players being allowed to play in a European competition games.[87] Moreover, this restriction included limits on two assimilated players, as the residence of a particular European country without interruption for 5 years. [88] As mentioned earlier, such rules were in conflict with the Treaty of Rome, therefore the change of the rules laid down by the football association was just a question of time.

The name of Jean-Marc Bosman and the date of 15th of December 1995 are two essential features in football history that have highly influenced the development of football from this date. "In an influential verdict in December 1995, the European Court of Justice ruled that the commonly used transfer system for professional football players violated Article 39 of the Treaty of Rome in that it hampered mobility of professionals"[89]. Jean-Marc Bosman is a former Belgian football player, who initiated a lawsuit against his football team he played for, Standard de Liege, claiming his team ruined his career due to high fee transfer requirements [90]. When Bosman's contract with Liege ended, the club asked for a high fee from the club Bosman wanted to change to – Dunkerque, which means for Bosman staying in his former club without a contract that ultimately caused serious harm to his career. Being a victim of the rules managed

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[86] Union of European Football Associations
[87] Frick, B. "Globalization and Factor Mobility: The Impact of the ``Bosman-Ruling'' on Player Migration in Professional Soccer." *Journal of Sports Economics*, 2009, 88-106.
[88] This is known as the 3+2 rule, where a player had to be a resident of the country for 5 consecutive years, having the two years included as a junior player
[89] Feess, Eberhard, and Gerd Muehlheusser. "The Impact of Transfer Fees on Professional Sports: An Analysis of the New Transfer System for European Football*." *Scandinavian Journal of Economics Scand J Econ*: 139-54.
[90] Ask, Mathias. "Bosman Still Struggling With Ruling That Rewards Soccer's Free Agents." *The Wall Street Journal*, July 2, 2014. http://www.wsj.com/articles/the-jean-marc-bosman-ruling-benefited-soccers-free-agents-but-the-man-himself-is-still-struggling-1404327335.

by football associations, deprived of his right as a European citizen, he decided to put his case to court, which ultimately ended up in the European Court of Justice.

The victory of Bosman affected football on a large scale, and his name is nowadays known merely in the context of player transfers between football clubs. This final verdict had crucial implications on European football in two major areas: firstly, it removed transfer fees for the players who no longer had valid contracts with their football team, thus they could freely leave the club within the EU countries without restrictions. Secondly, it eliminated the quota system imposed by UEFA on the number of foreign players[91]. Ultimately, the implications of this court decision had an utmost importance on the further development of the European football, and an essential part in this regards is that the rights of the players had been promoted above the rights of the clubs.

The Bosman ruling was above all extremely beneficial to the football players, and to the market as well, but another crucial element in this respect is the way European football opened to foreigners, who brought diversity to football. Even though the majority of the players see this as a positive feature for football, it also had negative implications. The influx of foreign players since the Bosman ruling has undoubtedly risen, which is demonstrated in the survey conducted in 2008: 63% of players registered in the Premier League were not English. Compared to Spain (41%) or Italy (36%)[92], this number is significantly higher, which can be a proof of the strength of the Premier League, which was known at this time as the best league in Europe. A comparison to the years preceding the Bosman ruling is also important to see: during the 1994/95 season, the non-English players in the Premier League amounted to 28.9% and this number was rising in the following years, constituting 45.8% in the 1998/99 season and 57.6

[91] Binder, John, and Murray Findlay. "The Effects of the Bosman Ruling on National and Club Teams in Europe." *SSRN Journal SSRN Electronic Journal* 13 (2012): 107-29.
[92] Ibid. page 108

in the 2003/04 season.[93] A clear correlation between the judgement in the Bosman case and its impact on the emergence of the non-English players in the Premier League can be seen from this data.

Nonetheless, a negative impact of the Bosman ruling can also be illustrated, for example on the long-term decline of the national teams. As the long-time captain of Liverpool and several times captain of the English national team Steven Gerrard proclaimed: "It is pointless having the best league in the world if our national team is going to suffer in the long run"[94]. England is a good example in this regard, a country whose national team suffered from the abolishment of the quota system rather than benefited from it. The influx of foreign players to England harmed its national team since it put a burden on the development of the domestic players. The English Premier League has been dominated in the past years notably by top foreign players, thus the chance for the young English to succeed in their domestic league was to a certain extent halted. Nevertheless, the situation the Bosman ruling produced is tricky, in the sense that one cannot solidly claim it harmed or helped the national teams. As it can be noted, the opinions of experts diverge, while some of the people such as Mr. Blatter[95] argues that there should be a limit on foreign players, as the rising number of foreigners negatively affects the development of young players. On the other hand, there are experts claiming that the "golden generation" of English football, namely Michael Owen, Wayne Rooney or Steven Gerrard are the players produced by post-Bosman rules[96].

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[93] Ibid. page 108
[94] Fraser, Peter. "Gerrard Backing Quota System." *Sky Sports*, November 14, 2007, Football: Premier League sec. Accessed 2015. See in: http://www1.skysports.com/football/news/11669/2881912/gerrard-backing-quota-system.
[95] Sepp Blatter, Current president of the FIFA
[96] Binder, John, and Murray Findlay. "The Effects of the Bosman Ruling on National and Club Teams in Europe." *SSRN Journal SSRN Electronic Journal* 13 (2012): page 109

4.2 The case study of Manchester United

 The reason behind the choice to examine the case of Manchester United lies in several crucial factors: firstly, it is one of the most successful teams in Europe, which contributed to the creation of a huge fan bases overall Europe, but also to a relatively high group of Man U haters. Secondly, this example illustrates how the changes within English football affected the development of football, in both negative and positive ways. The discrepancies between the local and the global, and also the resentful behaviour of the fans concerning the foreign ownership of Manchester United present a perfect example of the image of English football in the post-Bosman era.

The local fan bases for Manchester United has always been very large and as Giulianotti suggests, the football club provides a background for the creation of local identities. Furthermore, with the era of globalization, the ties of local, regional and national are fused with the global football area, which affected the behaviour of the fans. The "local" vs. the "global" dichotomy created a tense situation among the fans, and ultimately led to an "us" versus "them" confrontation, embodying "us" as the local fans versus "them" the globofan, as called by Carlton Brick[97]. This division led us to a very interesting social phenomenon within English society, which has resulted in a constant "othering" between the Manchester United fans and the rest of the English club fans. The frequent appearance of Manchester United in European competitions, constant leading in the Premier League, and the fact that the majority of the players had also represented the English national football team, were the main reasons behind Man U supremacy on the British Isles, which created a huge group of anti-United fans[98]. Brick

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[97] Brick, Carlton. "Can't Live With Them. Can't Live Without Them: Reflections on Manchester United." In *Fear and Loathing in World Football*, 9-21. Oxford: Gary Armstrong and Richard Giulianotti, 2001.
[98] Abusing Manchester United players, even those who played for the English national team. Moreover, establishing newspapers such as the "Magazine for fans who hate Man United", or "Don't follow Me Or Man United". Singing chants expressing hatred of Man United, such as "Stand up if you hate Man U"

calls this a "middle class British chauvinism, led by prejudiced and emergence of hatred towards the superior club. The portrayal of English society on this example could be presented as follows: since the supreme success of Man U on the European continent, its fans call themselves pro-European and open towards Europe, and thus called "them" – they are the ones who are othered because of their openness. They are othered by the local fans – who constitute the majority of the fans hating Man U and supporting other English clubs, the "us", the local, anti-European and anti-United.

A very interesting phenomenon emerged from the situation above explained between the local fans of other English clubs and the fans of Manchester United during its biggest success in the late nineties. A widespread rejection of England as a football team and identity appeared among the majority of Manchester fans. It is a social phenomenon that has not been present in English society before. The idea of supporting an English club, but feeling indifferent towards the national team could have been the case, however, having a dispute and rejecting the English national team because of the support for United appeared only in the end of nineties. This unusual attitude went so far that some of the United fans wished for England to be sent home as soon as possible from the 1998 World Cup, so that the majority of players who were from United could get a rest before the new season started[99]. Such a rejection of England's national team illustrates a possible critique of English nationalism, created by all the anti-United fans, who chanted the hate song, such as "Stand up if you hate Man U" during England's games.

A personal interview with Mike Adams[100], a former professional football player in England, clarifies the odd situation that emerged between the Man U fans and "rest" of English fans. He claims that the Man U fans do not take the English national identity with them abroad, instead

[99] King, Anthony. "Football Fandom and Post-national Identity in the New Europe." *British Journal of Sociology*, 2000, 419-42.
[100] Ibid. page 430

they take the club identity, while showing proudly the outstanding achievements of their team. By the pure fact itself that they travel abroad for away games they became more open and pro-European, which made them more hospitable and they lost the bad hooligan image of the English fans to a certain extent. These are the major reasons they ended up "othered" by the rest of the English fans, and also this situation contributed to the escalation of hatred between these two groups, which reached its peak in the World Cup of 1998.[101]

Even though this example shows us a rather fragile relationship between two groups, by the creating of the unique Mancunian[102] identity, this does not mean this group lost its affiliation toward Britishness or Englishness. Despite their temporary denial of Englishness, they still share a common culture. While this case proves the importance and strength of the local identity, the national and state identity have stayed significant as well. The message the fans of Manchester United seek to address was the notion of belonging to Europe since they wanted their team to be recognized globally. Integration within the EU provided new grounds for a more global competition, expanding horizons for fans as well, and by supporting their team outside the English league the fans wanted to ensure the dominant position of Manchester United abroad as well.

4.2.1 The Glazer ownership

When the American millionaire Malcolm Glazer took over the Football Club of Manchester United in 2005, he had to face hostile attitudes and outrageous behaviour of the fans, as well as of some parts of English society. The Glazer family was one of the first American owners

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[101] The majority of the English squad were from Manchester United, thus the Man U fans wished that England would lose early in the World Cup so that the fans can get a rest. Another peculiar situation occurred with at this time Man U player, David Beckham, who was sent off during the quarter final game against Argentina in the 1998 World Cup. After his return to the Premier League in August, the anti-United fans took any chance to boo, hiss and abuse him in any way, just because he was a player of Man U, regardless of the fact that he was one of the biggest talents at this time.
[102] Manchester united fandom identity

of the English club ever. Having foreign ownership of the football clubs was a relative innovation in England and it was mainly due to the high commercialization and internationalization of the Premier League. Comparing the American and English experience in this regard, the English football clubs were primarily supported by working class, and only a small percentage of the club was in a private ownership of individuals. In the USA, professional sport was for a long time in the hands of millionaires, and ownership of a club by a single person was normal. This situation is portrayed by the groups of people who could afford to watch live sporting competitions. In England, football had a certain connection with the weekends, where anyone, including whole families could afford to attend professional football matches. On the other hand, the American experience shows us that professional sports, such as ice hockey or basketball is merely entertainment for the middle and upper class[103].

This situation that occurred was mainly possible due to the lack of regulations in the British law, as England has never had specific regulations, the way for instance Spain or Germany[104]. The laissez fair attitude in this regard proved to be against the will of the English fans, who claimed laissez fair to be undemocratic and caused destruction of the fan communities[105]. The implications of the newly introduced rules since 2005, led by foreign owners meant several innovations created based on the American model, such as newly built stadiums, luxury boxes, rapidly rising ticket prices and primarily showed corporate hospitality. To illustrate it, "Manchester United had a total of 8000 corporate seats out of its 76 000 capacity"[106]. This led

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[103] Nauright, John, and John Ramfjord. "Who Owns England's Game? American Professional Sporting Influences and Foreign Ownership in the Premier League." *Soccer & Society*, 2010, 428-41.
[104] In Germany the law forbids football clubs being owned by a person in more than 50%
[105] Brown, Adam. "'Not For Sale'? The Destruction and Reformation of Football Communities in the Glazer Takeover of Manchester United." *Soccer & Society*, 2007, 614-35.
[106] Nauright, John, and John Ramfjord. "Who Owns England's Game? American Professional Sporting Influences and Foreign Ownership in the Premier League." *Soccer & Society*, 2010, 428-41.

to an outburst among the fans, as football became a less affordable passion, moreover, their loved teams had to face tremendous debts.

"It is clear that there is an uneasy relationship between soccer supporters in England and the spate of foreign owners now infiltrating 'their' game"[107]. The fans of Manchester United addressed their disagreement with the Glazer ownership foregoing the events when he took full ownership of the club in 2005. The basis in the conflict was laid down by the "forces of global sports capitalism", that were ultimately leading to protests against any foreign ownership, especially against Glazer. The protests were primarily via the fanzine articles, who named the protest 'Not for Sale'[108]. The reason behind anti-Glazer and anti-American campaigns was that the fans were critical towards the corporate development of their club.

There were several ways to express disagreement before Glazer took full ownership of the club in 2005, for instance by asking the main sponsors to boycott the club – a case when the fans of Man U run into the shops of Vodafone and Nike not allowing the shops to do their work, so the shops had to close. Public demonstrations were held quite often, and also the Manchester Educational Committee (MEC) took decisive steps towards companies doing business with Glazer, by using various forms of abuses such as unwanted phone calls, spamming their email addresses etc. A rather drastic attempt to indicate disagreement was to invade the pitch during a game played only by the reserve team of United and try to burn an American flag with a banner saying "Not for Sale", during live streaming of the game[109].

Despite all of the efforts, Glazer took full ownership of the club in May 2005, while the fears of the fans proved to be justified. During the following years, Manchester United became the

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[107] Ibid. page 437
[108] There are three major Manchester United fanzines: The Red Issue, United We Stand, Red News. They majority of the fans contributing here are the long time, traditional fans
[109] Brown, Adam. "'Not For Sale'? The Destruction and Reformation of Football Communities in the Glazer Takeover of Manchester United." *Soccer & Society*, 2007, 614-35.

most indebted club in England, Glazer placing up to £500m debt on the club. When Glazer arrived in England to make the final deal, the fans made clear to him they would never accept him and they would make his life hard as possible. Glazer was more than unwelcome, and the fans at this time risked criminal convictions by fighting with the security of Glazer and building barricades at the stadium, while singing the most loved chants of their team. The riots grew more dangerous as they attempted to block Glazer's way, so that the police had to intervene. The situation "summed up a defeat of a particular brand of English football supporter culture to a corporate sports capitalism that now dominates elite English football"[110].

4.3 Foreigners in English football

Since the Bosman ruling came into force, the influx of foreign players to the Premier League has rapidly grew and this has created a situation, which was not seen positively by everyone in England. This reality created passionate debates among the fans, media and coaches in England. One of the most notorious cases in this regard is the moment in 2006, when manager of Arsenal London, Arsene Wenger, was criticized by fellow managers, media and fans for "fielding a completely non-British team" for the Champion League game against Real Madrid [111]. The xenophobic responses led Wenger to evoke a debate about racism in football, which had been fought by FIFA and UEFA in the past decades. Football is a sport where one's quality should matter over the country of one's origin.

A survey conducted by CIES[112] indicated, that 60.4 % of the Premier League players are foreigners, which is the second highest number among the 31 countries examined. This high number is crucial in order to understand the reason behind the xenophobic attitude towards

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[110] Ibid. page 615
[111] Millward, Peter. "True Cosmopolitanism or Notional Acceptance of Non-National Players in English Football: Or, Why 'bloody Foreigners' Get Blamed When 'things Go Wrong'." *Sport in Society*: 601-22.
[112] Centre International d'Etude du Sport

foreigners in England. Moreover, it also proves why there has been such a criticism of the English national team, since several experts and coaches have proclaimed that the high number of foreigners in the English league causes the relatively low number of home-grown players, which undermines the success of the English national team[113]. For this reason, UEFA and FIFA made at attempt to regulate the influx of foreign born players in order to preserve the national leagues in the spirit of 'traditional values, regional or national identity'[114].

4.3.1 Owen Hargreaves - embodiment of a diasporic player

One of the pioneers to experience the bitter taste of the xenophobic behaviour of some of the English fans, despite of his resounding talent was a Canadian born football player Owen Hargreaves. Born in Canada, he played for a youth team, and later at the age of 19 he moved to Germany to play for Bayern Munich in 2000. Due to his father's English origin, he was eligible to play for England, where he appeared already in the English U21. Since 2001 during his senior career, he appeared 42 times in the squad of the English national team[115].

Despite his high percentage of ball-winning, hard work to hold the ball, he was mocked by the fans as the one who speaks with a Canadian accent. He speaks fluent German and played for Bayern. Hargreaves got mocked and assaulted by the English fans and press on a regular basis due to these features. Prejudice and hatred towards a foreigner prevailed over his abilities[116]. Before the 2006 World Cup kick off, his nomination for the English national team met once

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[113] Sport, Telegraph. "England Won't Win World Cup Again Because Too Many Foreigners in Premier League, Says Germany Coach." *The Telegraph*, July 4, 2014, Sport: Football sec. Accessed 2015. See in: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/football/teams/england/10945530/England-wont-win-World-Cup-again-because-too-many-foreigners-in-Premier-League-says-Germany-coach.html.
[114] Skey, Michael. "'What Nationality He Is Doesn't Matter a Damn!' International Football, Mediated Identities and Conditional Cosmopolitanism." *National Identities*, 2014, 1-17.
[115] Vincent, J., E. M. Kian, P. M. Pedersen, A. Kuntz, and J. S. Hill. "England Expects: English Newspapers' Narratives about the English Football Team in the 2006 World Cup." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 2010, 199-223.
[116] Unofficial and official fans sites are full of various assaulting messages on his address, such as: "no one can be taken seriously with a haircut like that." – a reference to his German haircut. "Owen Hargreaves. Where do you start? ... He can't pass, tackle, score goals. WHAT THE [bleep] IS THE POINT OF THIS CANADIAN TOSSER!"

again with criticism, sustaining the idea that he was not a part of the English team. His appearance on the pitch was always greeted with booing, despite the repudiating gestures of this team mates. Ultimately, when he came on the pitch in the second half when England played Portugal in the quarter finals, Hargreaves was the only player to score for England in the penalties, which brought him the label of a "man who worked himself into the ground"[117], according to the Daily Mail.

The case of Hargreaves shows us the hostile environment the English fans created during his career as an English international player, due to his ability to speak German, his Canadian accent and the pure fact that he was not born in England. Millward argues that such behaviour of the fans is contingent on the team's performance, while during the successful periods the ethnic origin of a player is omitted, and on the other hand during poor performance of a team the ethnic origin becomes important again and a player is treated as an outsider. Even though the case of Hargreaves shows us that he was accepted by the press when he practically saved England's dignity in the penalties, the reason he was unwanted lay truly in his foreign passport. The assertion in this regards is that the English fans want to see in their national team predominantly a native born player, and they openly disgraced a foreign born player regardless of his abilities.

4.3.2 Sven - Göran Eriksson – "A cold Herring"

"Within English football circles, it is a common cliché that the second most important job in the country is that of the prime minister, with the first being the England football manager"[118]. Furthermore, Skey claims that the symbols of the British nation are questioned and losing

[117] Vincent, J., E. M. Kian, P. M. Pedersen, A. Kuntz, and J. S. Hill. "England Expects: English Newspapers' Narratives about the English Football Team in the 2006 World Cup." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 2010, 199-223.
[118] Skey, Michael. "'What Nationality He Is Doesn't Matter a Damn!' International Football, Mediated Identities and Conditional Cosmopolitanism." *National Identities*, 2014, 1-17.

importance, and on the other hand the new wave of English cultural nationalism is emerging, which is primarily represented by the English national football team. Thus, the importance of appointing a competent manager for the national team has gained a double importance.

Sven – Göran Eriksson was the first ever appointed foreign manager of the English national team in 2001. During his 5 years as the manager of the English team, he led the team during 67 matches of which they won 40 and lost 10. Under his management, England reached quarterfinals during the 2002 World Cup as well as during the 2004 EURO cup. However, the following World Cup in 2006 in Germany became a decisive step in his career as the England football team manager. As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, the England squad for the 2006 World Cup was denoted as the best team since their triumph in 1966, thus the expectations towards the national team were enormously high.

Despite the antagonism presented by the fans and media towards Eriksson, he found full support in the official England fan organization before the 2006 World Cup. However, England lost against Portugal in the quarter finals, and the man who was to blame for wasting "England's golden generation", by the majority of fans and media was Eriksson. The severe criticism flowed from any side of English society, and ultimately it escalated into xenophobic and racist stereotypes about Swedes:

> *"The most disgracefully unprepared team in England's World Cup history was managed by a money-grabbing charlatan.. As our loyal readers might expect me to suggest, all Sven Goran Eriksson deserves is to go back up his fjord to the land of winter darkness, hammer throwers and sexual promiscuity from whence he came. We've sold our birth right down the fjord to a nation of seven million skiers and hammer throwers who spend half of their lives in darkness"[119]*

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[119] Powell, Jeff. "Good Riddance to the Game's Golden Fleecer." *Daily Mail*, July 3, 2006, Sport sec. See in: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/sport/article-393715/Good-riddance-games-golden-fleecer.html.

Needless to say, he became hated even more than before the World Cup. Journalists were comparing his managerial skills to Churchill's politics of appeasement, and his nature to the boring emotionless cold Swedes. The only farewell words Eriksson managed to say was that he would be glad to leave England alive, and that he had never been accused in any other country of being a Swede[120].

The unpleasant farewell and harsh criticism Eriksson experienced from the xenophobic and rather racist English fans and media has been debated for a long time. As said before, at the times when a team is less successful people are prone to blame foreigners, as it happened in this case as well. The British press together with the fans proved how high expectations towards the national team, could lead to dangerous attacks on a person's origin, where outdated myths about his country were expressed with negative connotations. The frustration during the poor performance of the team culminated among the fans and media, very often resulting in the booing of the foreign player or the coach, as it happened in the 2006 World Cup for Hargreaves and Eriksson. Both of them experienced England's hostility due to their non-English passports, demonstrating England's preferences to have an Englander when it comes to dealing with their nation, which reinforces their national affiliation.

Football has become a part of the global arena in the past decades, and its influence as a global player within the European society has been constantly growing. One of the crucial milestones for European football was the judgement of the European Court of Justice in 1995, which abolished quotas on foreign players and the transfer fees paid by the former clubs of the players. While on the one hand it was a salvation for players, on the other hand it proved to cause hardships for the English national football team in the long term. The influx of foreign players

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[120] Vincent, J., E. M. Kian, P. M. Pedersen, A. Kuntz, and J. S. Hill. "England Expects: English Newspapers' Narratives about the English Football Team in the 2006 World Cup." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 2010, 199-223.

to the English league rapidly grew from 1995 and ultimately it became the strongest league in Europe at the turn of the twenty first century. However, several experts and managers claim that this success has been at the expense of the English national team, since the home grown players rapidly decreased due to the high number of foreigners. This situation increased xenophobic and racist attitudes among the English fans and media, which was presented by the examples of the non-English player Hargreaves and the first foreign manager of the English national team Sven Eriksson.

Conclusion

The aim of the thesis has been to elaborate on the role of football as an instrument which is an essential in identity building and the creation of belonging within English society. Football proved to be embedded in English society since the end of the nineteenth century, through which people experience collective emotions and feelings of affiliation. Media broadcasts and the press play a key role in this process by providing people a chance to passively participate as spectators, thus creating grounds for millions of people to take part in collective identity building.

The research draws on historical narratives and uses a comparative approach, in order to show the strength of historical narratives and historical rivalries which are well-preserved in the consciousness of the English, and are used as an encouragement during football tournaments. The comparative approach has elucidated the historical rivalries between the English and the Germans, driving primarily on the memories of the Second World War. The comparative approach is also implemented in the analysis of the case study of Manchester United, comparing the levels of hostile attitudes which has appeared in English football.

The thesis is divided into three major chapters, each dealing with a different approach to support the argument concerning the role of football in English society. Firstly, it provides the theoretical background to the study of football from a sociological perspective, illustrating football as a tool that affects the development and stabilization of society. Football's unique ability to operate on local, regional and national levels has been subsequently proved during the narrative analyses of cases. Furthermore, the role of football within the literature of nationalism pointed out its significance as a contributor as well as a contemporary part of society. Hobsbawm's acknowledgment of football as a substantial part of England's emerging middle class has provided an impetus for dealing with football as a part of the society.

Anderson's often used phrase of imagined community offered a framework to operate with, when it came to dealing with the fans and English society as a whole concept of collective identity. Billig's explanation of the importance of banal nationalism has proved to be indispensable, in order to highlight symbols and values of football and its established and maintained linkage to English society.

The second part deals with the analysis of historical narratives and their subsequent comparison with the old time rival of the English, the Germans. In order to fulfil this goal, it was essential to provide a background for English and German historical military and sporting rivalries. While on the one hand the Germans have tried to overcome their Nazi past through football victories, the English often draw on the harsh military past of the Germans, primarily via the press or fan sites. This has caused the partial inability for the Germans to overcome the stamp of "the Nazis" and provided the English means to build affiliation towards the English nation by such "othering".

Lastly, the thesis deals with a contemporary issue that has appeared in English football in the past decade, predominantly caused by the emergence of the global era. As the case regarding the influx of foreigners and worker migration has been a hotly debated topic in English society, it is essential to look at the role of foreigners in English football. It has offered an interesting perspective that has emerged among the fans and the press, who proved rather to be hostile towards foreign born players and managers. The research relies on narratives in the newspapers, as well as surveys conducted in the past years and the special role of the Manchester United club within the wider scope of English football. Based on the examined case studies: foreign ownership of an English club, the first time appearance of a non-English player in the squad of the English national team, and the first time appointed non-English manager of the national team; as an expressly high level of inclination towards xenophobia and racism has been discovered among the English fans, and also in the English press. Often,

foreigners are the first targets of criticism for the team's poor performance, showing that the press and the fans are prone to blame the "others" while defending their own national players.

Certainly, football plays an essential role in the construction of people's experience and it affects people's worldviews and the formation of collective memory. Therefore, researching sports and football while dealing with formations of identities and the emergence of nationalism should not be ignored. This thesis lacks one very important part within English football history, namely English hooliganism. It is a notoriously known period which created several tensions with severe consequences. Thorough analysis of the relations between the local and regional football clubs, the role of foreign and English born managers are essential for further research. I believe football should be treated as a full-fledged part of our society, since there is considerable number of evidences acknowledging the impact of sports and football on the formation of our society. Despite the fact that it is often perceived as a creator of problems, football also might provide a solution in combating xenophobia and racism, moreover, it has served as an instrument in the formation of English national allegiance.

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