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Sam Beecham and Mona Seyed Esfahani

The Home of Football: How Globalisation has Impacted the English Football Team

By winning the World Cup at Wembley in 1966, the England team created arguably the most prideful postwar moment for fans, who saw the team as a symbol of national success (Armstrong and Giulianotti 1999). Since then, the England national team has experienced many highs and lows, and in recent years there has been a growing disinterest with the national team because of poor performances at international competitions. As England is culturally far different from the country it was in 1966, this paper aims to discover the impact that globalisation has had on national identity through Tajfel and Turner's Social Identity Approach (1979).

This theoretical framework aims to explain how individuals behave and group themselves in regards to the social world. Drawing upon the ideas of the Social Identity Approach helped gain a better understanding of attitudes towards the English national team and what had caused these to change over time.

Keywords: Globalisation, Nationalism, Identity, England Football Team, Social Identity, Self-Categorization

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INTRODUCTION

Russell (1997) explained that across Britain football has come to be known as the 'people's game', and that the pride of football was engrained into their national identity. Since creating the sport, the England team have felt the subsequent pressures of expectations from their fans. International sporting events are an arena in which the weight of these pressures increases as national pride is particularly stimulated through the national categorisation of 'us versus them' (Elling et al. 2014). This sense of competition reflects the personal investment that many English nationals feel during international competition, and a link can then be made to nationalism as it can be interpreted as the necessity to regenerate or preserve cultural identity or to display superiority over other nations (Yoshino 1992; Huddy and Khatib 2007). International competition then offers the opportunity to not only display strength over others, but also uphold the English culture of being leaders in the world of football.

Globalisation is a phenomenon that has been explored extensively in contemporary

academic literature, and it could be argued that over time it has transitioned from an abstract idea, into the structure of the modern world. The relationship between nationalism and globalisation therefore provides an opportunity to critically analyse the two phenomena and how they may have affected people's behaviours and attitudes towards the English national team. Theorists that have researched globalisation argue that the world is becoming more compressed and as a consequence undermining national identity (Waters 2001; Hobsbawm 1992). This paper will then focus on whether England becoming a more culturally diverse country has led to increased nationalist feelings to which the national team offers an outlet for expressing these behaviours and attitudes. Finally, as this paper aims to analyse the impacts of globalisation on the English cultural identity, the role that the print media plays in nurturing nationalist attitudes will be evaluated. Analysing the print media in regards to Anderson's (1983) imagined community, would imply that by frequently sharing symbols and stories that aim to create shared nationhood, the media are able to create imagined communities. Those inside this community feel motivated to show resistance to other imposing cultures in order to preserve their own national identity (Maguire 2011). Anderson's (1983) ideas are adapted throughout this paper to uncover how influential individuals consider print media to be when forming attitudes towards the national team, but also if it affects their national identity.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Social Identity Theory and Nationalism

Tajfel and Turner's Social Identity Approach (1979) enables one to identify how individuals group themselves in a social environment, and how this affects behaviour. Applying these ideas to the group of England fans, this paper aims to uncover whether nationalism and globalisation have impacted the way fans identify with the national team, or value national identity within their own identity. Norris and Inglehart (2009) found that globalisation can reduce identification with a nation amongst the public, whilst others have discovered the opposing view that globalisation can lead members of a nation to reflect on their national identity and reinforce its meaning (Ariely 2012; Jung 2008). Despite the fact that attitudes and behaviours towards the England national football team have been analysed previously (Blain et al. 1993; Armstrong and Giulianotti 1999; Maguire 2011), the Social Identity Approach has never been applied, hence it is unclear which better explains changes in how fans identify themselves as groups. Finally, there is a lack of conviction for either side of the argument of nationalism being heightened by globalisation, this research aims to draw its conclusions for English nationals by exploring whether the nature of globalisation has affected national identity

RQ1: Will older adults identify with the national team more strongly than millennials- even if they are not football fans?

Turner (1987) suggested that group-level understandings relate to the structure of social reality and that groups shape the way in which people think. Worchel et al. (2000) furthered these ideas, explaining that ingroup bias takes place by elevating the position of the ingroup, or depreciating the condition of the outgroup. Implying that groups are formed as "individuals seek to achieve or maintain positive self-esteem by positively

differentiating their ingroup from an outgroup” (Turner, 1975 cited Reicher et al. 2012 p.351).

RQ2: Can supporting a successful national team raise one’s self esteem?

Connecting the Social Identity Theory to a national football team supports this, as national awareness and pride are particularly stimulated and cultivated in international sporting events through the national categorisation of ‘us versus them’ (Elling et al. 2014). Reicher et al. (2012) stated that social identity is used in an attempt to positively differentiate- seeing “us” as different and better than “them”. Shared experiences of national identity such as national football matches, allow nationals to express strong feelings of nationalism, and it is then the aim of this paper to discover the motivations for doing so (Castells 2000). Yoshino (1992) argued that cultural nationalism aims to regenerate the national community by strengthening people’s cultural identity. Huddy and Khatib (2007) offered an opposing idea, by arguing that nationalism implies that one’s home nation is superior to another. These contrasting ideas create a question that this paper will explore: is nationalism’s aim to preserve national culture, or a symbol of power by which a nation flexes its muscles?

Self-Categorization Theory

Spears et al. (2010) said the self-categorization theory (SCT) clarifies the distinction between social identity and the self. It is then closely related to the SIT’s focus on social identity, with the fundamental difference that the SCT argues the self is always defined in comparison to an ‘other’ (Turner 1982). Turner (1982) continued, stating that the comparative definition of the self can occur in many different levels. One can define oneself as a unique individual from other individuals (‘I’ vs. ‘you’) corresponding to personal identity, or define oneself as a member of a group in distinction from other groups (‘we’ vs. ‘they’) – linking to social identity. Jarvie (1993) argued that national sporting events inculcate national feelings, implying individuals believe their nationalist behaviour reaffirms their membership to the group and helps strengthen their national identity. However, this highlights a potential challenge that the SCT may face in how people of dual-nationality categorise themselves. If one belongs to more than one national group, they could be reluctant to depreciate others when it affects a group that they also belong to. This paper will then be mindful of dual-nationality participants in the research, to contrast how they group themselves.

RQ3: As nationality is a given component of one’s identity, do individuals feel compelled to show nationalist behaviours to support the national team?

According to Turner and Reynolds (2012 p. 406) said:

“when people are considered to be grouped in the same stimuli they are cognitively grouped as perceivers confronting the same situation”. Applying this idea to the English national team, the situation they are confronting is other nations that are also striving for success. Tajfel (1981) supported these claims, finding that the concept of in-group and out-group formation is increasingly important in relation to sports as competitive reward strengthens membership. Turner (1975 cited in Reicher et al. 2012) found that by proving the ingroup is different to the outgroup, one could raise their self-esteem. In-group favouritism is a key thesis when analysing the England team, as group members

aim to differentiate themselves by portraying negative perceptions of out-groups (Wann and Dolan 1994). Turner (1981) theorised that group membership creates an expectation that individuals ought to agree and respond in a similar way. Haslam et al (1998) supported this, stating that similarity with fellow group members extends to attitudes and behaviours, so that consensus is achieved within the group. Turner and Reynolds (2012, p.409) explained that: “ingroup members are viewed as similar to oneself, they become a valid source of information”.

Although the group attempt to establish consensus without a leader, it is key to consider whether some members hold more power. For example, if those who attend more games or have been supporting the team for a longer time hold greater influence within the group. King (2002) suggested that football needed to be analysed more deeply. Highlighting that fans who are considered to hold the strongest beliefs in national pride are hooligans. Abell et al. (2007) added that fans can display a deep involvement in the national team without priding any connection to feelings of Englishness. To which, Crolley and Hand (2006) suggested an explanation could be that England fans experienced a rise in national consciousness as the world becomes more globalised. Concluding that fans could behave in a more stereotypically nationalist manner as they feel that, this is a way of preserving their nationhood.

Globalisation

Robertson (1992, p.8) defined globalisation:

“a concept referring both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole.” This idea is supported by many theorists, who argue the result of globalisation is a single global culture in which territoriality disappears (Waters 2001). As a result, the ways globalisation redefines national identity has been gaining increasing attention (Barber 2003; Calhoun 2007; Guibernau 2001; Norris and Inglehart, 2009 cited Ariely 2012). Ritzer and Dean’s contemporary definition of globalisation (2015 p.2) suggests:

“globalisation is the growing multidirectional flow of people and information as well as the structures they encounter that are barriers to these flows”.

Applying this definition to this paper, nationalism could be interpreted as a potential barrier to globalisation as it has resulted in some people feeling that their national identity is being undermined, and therefore aims to oppose these characteristics of globalisation. Giulianotti and Robertson (2007) argued that fans identification is an avenue within which national boundaries are reinforced for displays of exceptional nationalism. Maguire’s theory of the ‘little Englander’ (2011) explains that England fans are likely to behave in this way because of the size of the country, where they feel the need to defend their national identity to safeguard it being engulfed by larger countries. It could then be argued that the connectedness of the world is resulting in national emotions being heightened, and this paper will apply the effects of globalisation to the national identity of the English football team, and whether supporters are displaying more nationalist behaviour.

RQ4: Has the world becoming more connected, caused a change in individual’s national identity?

A theory expressed by Bairner (2002) suggests that a result of globalisation is the relationship between sport and national identity revealing a homogeneous global sporting culture. These ideas can be noticed throughout sporting events like the Olympics and World Cup. Gibbons (2014) highlighted that the Olympics poses a difficulty for English fans, as they must identify as being British and not English. Moorhouse (1996) argued that the competitiveness of national football has helped maintain national divisions throughout the United Kingdom, resulting in fans differentiating themselves more easily. It will then be key to denote whether the English footballing fans display higher levels of nationalist behaviour around the global events where their culture is scrutinized or whether it is unwavering.

Discussing the link between sports, globalisation and nationalism; Anderson's (1983) theory of imagined communities should be considered. Anderson proposed that the maintenance of national identity involved mass mediated narratives, that are carried by stories, images and symbols that represent shared meanings of nationhood. This is pertinent when thinking of globalisation and sport as the collective identity of a nation is reinforced by how newspapers, television and media outlets frame sporting events. Focusing on print media, they emit a stream of messages to create what Anderson called the 'simultaneous moment' (Anderson, 1983 p.35). Crolley and Hand (2002) discovered that the English press are key in maintaining the sense of Anderson's (1991) imagined community, and their influence has continued to grow since the 20th century and globalisation (Gibbons 2014).

Additionally, the print media plays a fundamental role in creating national identity as team identification is fostered through exposure to the sport (Funk and James 2001). Applying the SCT to national sporting events, Devlin and Billings (2016) found they provide opportunities for recruiting ingroups and disassociating with outgroups through the nations that are represented. Revealing a link between the amount of national sport consumed, and nationalistic attitudes. The SCT is inherently applicable when analysing sports, as repeated messages teach group members shared attitudes and behaviours to produce tighter in-groups (Wann and Dolan 1994). Globalisation has led to a greater number of news outlets and messages being available to individuals, and it will be key to measure the effects that they have had on national identity, and feelings towards the national team. Smith and Porter (2004) found that the English press create a 'wilful nostalgia'- a sense of longing for historical successes to return to the national team. Griggs and Gibbons (2012) surmised that this was still the case, and that the print media promote the national team as a prized embodiment of national identity, and this paper will then explore the current attitudes that fans hold towards the print media, and how this affects their support for the team.

RQ5: Is the exposure of the English national team via print media an important element in building and maintaining identity, and depreciating outgroup's?

METHODS

To understand the impacts that globalisation is having on people's feelings of

nationalism towards the English national team, a qualitative research method has been undertaken (Denzin and Lincoln 1998). This paper supports this idea of pragmatism as it argues that human actions and behaviours are informed by their knowledge of their nationality. Pragmatism can then be paired with a qualitative approach, which permits the ideas to be analysed in depth and detail (Patton 1990). This paper will be using the cross-sectional approach as it focuses upon collecting data at a certain time period to reveal the impacts of phenomenon at that point in time (Flick 2014). Interviews over a short period of time are therefore an effective method in revealing the effects of a phenomenon, that will assist in generating credible research (Saunders et al. 2016). As the research this paper conducts will be exploratory, interviews will be used to identify information that could be used to develop further investigations (Veal 2006). Having semi-structured interviews will enable the author to get insights into individual's attitudes and behaviour that may not be apparent to the researcher from their prior awareness of the phenomenon (Scheele and Groeben 1988). Within the sports industry interviews have been the most effective method when studying sensitive phenomena, as found by Kian et al. (2015) who researched homosexuality within sports. By conducting interviews with fewer questions, researchers were able to ask follow-up questions which delved deeper into ideas of particular interest. This technique will also be used by this paper when discussing similarly sensitive subjects. The purpose of qualitative research is to generate rich data from a small sample group (Kvale 1996). Patton (1990) supports this thinking, adding that qualitative methods focusing on a much smaller number of people, increase understanding of the situations in question. By interviewing individuals to uncover their attitudes and experiences towards specific phenomena, the results in the end should not only elucidate the situation of the individual participants, but also generally to the wider population (Flick 2014).

This paper will purposefully gain its research sample through Patton's (2002) technique of intensity sampling. Using this technique, cases may be selected according to the intensity with which the interesting features, processes or experiences are assumed in them (Patton 2002 cited Flick 2014). Jones (2015) found that the focus of purposeful research sampling techniques in qualitative data collection should depict qualitative diversity; the many differences and varieties of a phenomenon, rather than ending up with fixed categorizations. Extending these ideas further, this paper aims to sample ten varied participants of differing backgrounds, age, gender and level of identification with football, in order to gain greater knowledge of the wider group (Stake 1994).

Hamel et al. (1993) described this sampling technique as "macroscopic", as the selection tactics are reliable and should represent typical members of the broader society. This is salient within this study as it aims to produce collective ideas towards an entity- the England football team, that many people have strong feelings and attitudes towards. Using open coding on each of the nine interviews allowed line-by-line analysis, that was clustered into groups of common themes (Biddle et al. 2001). This method resulted in over twenty links between ideas from all interviews, with some ideas being too assumptive. Miles and Huberman's (1994) four step approach to coding, produced coherent codes for each research question. After re-reading the initial codes, axial coding enabled the below analysis, as it did not only reveal specific codes but also if they were causal or sequential (Miles and Huberman 1994).

FINDINGS

Using semi-structured interviews, the first task was to ask general questions about the interviewee in order to make them feel comfortable. By making them feel comfortable, it is likely to gain more honest responses. Amongst the nine people that were interviewed each had a varied level of interest in football and therefore what the English national team meant to them. Resulting in each individual expressing the reasons for why they are- or not, passionate about the English national team but also the experiences that may have caused their attitudes to change. This section will describe the attitudes towards the three factors of globalisation, nationalism and identity that the interviewing process uncovered.

Globalisation

Most respondents felt that they were relatively unaffected by globalization, stating that despite living in a multicultural society, it had not impacted their national identity. However, two interviewees argued that England was losing its' identity and this consequential code prompted the need for further questioning in order to understand how this had affected behaviours and attitudes. One facet of globalisation that all participants were in agreement with was the importance of the role of the media in sharing an overwhelming number of messages about the English team. Generally, participants stated that the media played a positive role, but one particularly interesting and consistent idea was that England fans and the media are very quick to talk negatively about themselves. One participant- who is a sports journalist, offered a possible explanation for why this is the case, arguing that fear is what sells newspapers, offering a possible reason for the media depreciating other countries during major tournaments. The final contemporary issue as a result of globalisation is the increasing number of mixed nationality players that are now playing for the English national team. The eldest respondent showed the greatest resistance to this concept, suggesting that the English spirit is not felt within foreigners. The younger respondents told anecdotes that their Grandparents shared this view, and offers a potential limitation for support of the national team in older generations.

Nationalism

The previous ideas then flowed into the topic of nationalism. In this section of the interviews, participants were encouraged to recall how they felt and behaved when supporting the national team. The recurring emotion amongst the majority of respondents was national pride. Although, six of the interviewees expressed that they support the team because it is a social event when they play- not necessarily because they are committed to supporting the team. Participants that shared this view noted that the ideal way to experience an England game is within a group, because emotions are heightened when the feelings of winning or losing are felt collectively.

Although, grouping together to watch matches also poses its own problems- especially in football, where participants regularly noted the influence of hooliganism. Three participants explained that nationalist behaviour is prevalent in football because it involves competition between countries, and this is then where one is encouraged to believe that their country is better than another. However, most respondents noted that

nationality is becoming a lesser part of ones' identity due to the diversity of the world. It can also be argued that this could also be the cause for nationalist behaviour, as some people feel that their national identity is being destroyed and they are then trying to preserve it. Finally, participants agreed that these behaviours are more likely to be adopted by individuals when they are within a crowd, and that in their experience national football offered the opportunity for these nationalist behaviours to be expressed.

Identity

The most common identity of an England fan that was portrayed by interviewees, was one that will watch every game- no matter if they're interested in supporting the team or for social inclusion, feel proud of the team and share the expectation of not winning tournaments. Participants also suggested that sub-groups have the potential to create tension amongst fans themselves, and they recalled experiences where those that are considered the most hard-core fans attacked more passive fans for not strongly supporting the team. Five participants suggested that the once strong sense of national pride felt in the nucleus of England fans has worn away as fans are continually let-down by the team.

The following section will critically analyse the findings in order to denote how successful they were in answering the research questions, aims and objectives outlined in the literature review.

Analysis of Key Themes

Using open coding allowed line-by-line analysis that was clustered into groups of common themes (Biddle et al. 2001). This method resulted in over twenty links between ideas from all interviews, with some being too assumptive. Miles and Huberman's (1994) four step approach to coding, produced coherent codes for each research question (RQ). Axial coding enabled the below analysis, as it did not only reveal specific codes but also if they were causal or sequential (Miles and Huberman 1994).

RQ1: Will older adults identify with the national team more strongly than millennials- even if they are not football fans.

Analysing which age-group identified with the national team most strongly proved difficult as each age group believed they identified with the team most strongly. Three interviewees aged over fifty answered positively,, expressing that their history of supporting England over a longer period of time caused them to identify with the national team more strongly. Participant six gave evidence to support this claim by drawing comparisons with the way that his son identifies with the national team:

"I don't think Jack is that worried about England... but because I'm older and I've seen England go through the wars that's probably why I identify more closely with England"

Tajfel and Turner's Social Identity Approach (1979) revealed that members of a group validate their status by expressing collective beliefs with those that are categorised as similar to oneself. This paper proposes that there is a possibility of older adults identifying with the team over a longer period of time, resulted in them feeling that they identified with the team more strongly than younger supporters. Revealing that the length of time that one has been a member of the in-group is a factor that is not

considered in this theoretical approach.

Despite both age groups supporting the same team, the differing beliefs implied that there are many different groups of England fans, and therefore a possibility for intragroup conflict. Participant four suggested the most passionate fans cannot understand why others don't feel as strongly, and see it as letting the country down. Turner (1991) theorised that there are strategies to deal with these disagreements, like turning disagreeing ingroup members into an outgroup. This paper found that the older adults in the sample held more nationalistic emotions; suggesting that they are more likely to take this approach to dealing with outgroup conflict. Reicher et al. (2012) found that individuals display ingroup favouritism when the ingroup is central to their self-definition. This is reflected in the older adults of this study, who felt a stronger need to support the national team because nationality is a fundamental part of their identity.

Codes that were negative answers of research questions should not be omitted from the analysis, and an example of this would be that a millennial participant believed their age group identified with the national team more strongly because they pay more attention to football. This causal code (Corbin and Strauss 1990) was supported by other participants who recognised that in today's world one can consume football media from sunrise to sunset. Reflecting the difficulty in providing an explicit answer to this research question as there is a clear divide within the group of England fans, where both believe themselves to identify more strongly with the team. Tajfel (1970) identified this as a frequent problem when researching national identity, finding that a national ingroup look for distinctiveness, and create this through ascribing differing characteristics to each group. In this case with the older adults using the characteristic of the amount of time they have supported the team, and millennials focusing on the amount of information they know as validating their identification.

RQ2: Can supporting a successful national team raise one's self esteem.

This RQ aimed to prove that by supporting a successful national team, one's self-esteem would improve. However, with the success of the English national team wavering in recent years, participants identified this as a sequential code (Miles and Huberman 1994) where grouping together to show support had a greater impact on self-esteem than winning. Participant four stated: "when you're with other people watching an England game you all belong to a togetherness".

Turner and Reynolds (2012) explained the impacts that forming groups has on emotions and behaviours through the SCT. Stating when people are grouped together and confronting the same situation, they create expectations to behave in the same way. The findings of this paper supported these ideas as interviewees talked of shared behaviours like rituals; where collectively going to a pub and singing songs not only shows support for their nation, but makes themselves feel better through a sense of escapism. Calhoun (2007) furthered this by arguing that national identity organises one's sense of belonging and that the growing awareness of globalisation has made this more salient. Participants in this study supported these claims, repeating that it was the sense of belonging to a group that made them feel more confident, rather than success. By building a sense of 'us' versus 'them' during an international sporting event (Elling et al. 2014), fans are able

to form groups with shared consensus, that they identified as a main contributor to their increased self-esteem. This collective mentality of 'we' against 'you' leads to discrimination against other nations, that members of the ingroup use to enhance their experience (Worchel et al. 2000). An interesting point in understanding this was that the majority of respondents considered themselves to not hold nationalist views, and be accepting of foreign cultures. However, in the sporting arena they openly discredit the nation perceived as the barrier to England achieving success, and feel better when doing so. A possible explanation for this would be that people feel a need to support their nation even if they do not identify with the sport, because of the fear of being pushed into an outgroup by the ingroup. Revealing the difficulty in understanding intragroup relationships within the Social Identity Approach (Tajfel and Turner 1979), because if a different group is created dependent on how strongly each group identifies with the English national team, there will be an incredibly large number of groups that interact and behave differently.

This RQ discovered that there are more complex factors that contribute to raising one's self-esteem, but success remained key. Participants recalled successes of the England national team as though it were a dream that they hope to relive. Telling detailed anecdotes of when the country came to a stand-still to support and watch games. Van Hilvoorde et al. (2010) found that national sporting successes can impact nationalised feelings, and the preceding findings related to this RQ support the statement, as the 'dreams' individuals recalled were their fondest memories of national pride. Although it is key to mention the contradictory code that many respondents also recalled moments when the lack of success left them depressed, and huge upsets- like against Iceland at Euro 2014, loom over them like nightmares. Hence it is important to consider that success, or the lack of, can impact one's self esteem.

RQ3: As nationality is a given component of one's identity, do individuals feel compelled to show nationalist behaviours to support the national team?

Hannum (2012) questioned one's motivation to support their nationality as it is an aspect of their identity that is given, and not chosen. Blain et al. (1993) explained that sports and national teams are representations of the nation as one sentient being, and this is supported by the findings of this paper where participants expressed that they must support the national team because it is a reflection of themselves that fills them with a sense of pride. This was particularly interesting as it implied that people value nationality as a greater part of their identity than this paper first predicted. However, a code that appeared regularly throughout the findings was the belief that football is an arena that facilitates the display of overtly nationalist attitudes and behaviours, and these themes must therefore be explored to discover whether international tournaments breed healthy competition or enables aggressive nationalism. Hargreaves' (2002) similar study, found that sport is a popular and accepted manner to express one's national identification, with eight participants feeling compelled to display this national identification even if they are not interested in the sport. It could then be argued that the compulsion to support the national team is a negative attribute of English nationhood, as the unwavering support means that after underwhelming performances the level of support does not change. Participant eight stated:

"In any other entertainment industry UFC; Boxing; an Oasis album; if you give out

one bad product people aren't going to keep coming back. With England because of patriotism or nationalism they don't lose that"

Analysing this quote revealed a contradictory code: are fans showing a commitment to nationalistic pride or mindless support for their country? The above quote argues that England have failed to progress as they are content with the support they receive—despite recent failures, and do not feel a need for change. This idea could yield future findings, where the expectations and behaviours of the team could be compared to other historically successful footballing nations like Brazil, who refuse to support the national team when they do not meet expectations.

When thinking of the SCT (Turner 1982) this RQ could pose an internal struggle to interviewees of dual-nationality. This theory suggests that people are organised into specific categories because this is how they are organised in the real-world (Oakes et al. 1994), but participant five disproved this. Participant five was born in England, but lived in Ireland for twenty years, and because of this failed to identify with either nationality. Describing international matches as “the chance to shout at foreigners”, he highlighted the theme of right-wing hooliganism being attached to football fans as the key reason for not supporting either nation. This participant also stated that nationality is not an important aspect of identity, and identified sporting events and the print media as factors that have made nationality a popular topic. These ideas then reveal a potential limitation of the SCT in sport, as the competitive nature of sport requires one to pick a side, and then affirm their membership through ingroup favouritism (Tajfel and Turner 1986). This may warrant future research into the way people of dual-nationality support a national team, because if one identifies with two national ingroups, how do they decide which group is more important?

Extending the contradictory code of hooliganism being attached to the most aggressive fans, participant eight suggested that the group of England fans that express these behaviours are so small, that they become irrelevant when analysing England fans collectively. Arguing that those who display the most nationalist and aggressive views were not supporters of the national team:

“I don't think it matters whether they're football fans or England fans. I think they're just people that like to fight”

This theme could draw comparisons that nationalism is a tribal instinct, in which supporters perceive international competition as a threat to their national identity and they then aim to preserve it (Yoshino 1992). Turner (1987) found that those with the strongest group identity are likely to conform to group norms, and the findings of this paper would predict that weaker members of the group may subvert the norms of the strongest fans, and look to form different ingroups that express support in a more placid manner.

RQ4: Has the world becoming more connected caused a change in individual's national identity?

Hobsbawm (1992) and Smith (2007) identified that globalisation can be considered a force that undermines national identity or that global trends reinforce national feelings. Whereas Appadurai (1990) theorised that the central problem of globalisation was the tension between cultural homogenization and heterogenization. It was this thinking that

led to the creation of this RQ4, that aimed to prove that the compression of the world's cultures was resulting in a change in national identity. When considering the impacts globalisation has on nationalism, this study found that it had increased the desire for English nationals to differentiate themselves from others, and noticed the increasing importance of political correctness as a causal code. Exploring political correctness uncovered that participants felt that government were aiming to appease too many diverse cultures, and by doing so neglected English nationals.

Participants explained that because of increased nationalist feelings, people were now more likely to conform to stereotypical English behaviour to differentiate from others. When asked what stereotypical English behaviour in the context of national football was, interviewees referred to 'the English bulldog'- someone that is aggressive, highly nationalistic and tribal in their behaviour. Spears et al. (2010) found that stereotyping is the process of perceiving individuals in terms of the characteristics that are associated with the group to which they belong. Applying this to fans of the English national team, this study's findings of stereotypical behaviour within fans of a national team subvert the RQ, as fans are behaving in this way in order to protect their national identity, and protect it from foreign influence.

Leading on from the idea of the 'English Bulldog' supporter that aims to preserve the traditional English culture, another frequent theme that this study found was that people lacked confidence in displaying their Englishness because of the increasing mix of foreign cultures in England. A consequential code that was highlighted was people's reluctance to display the St. George's cross:

"We must be the only country who if you have the flag of St. George out, a lot of people see that as a racist thing... we get our flag out and you think it's all right-wing thugs"

This interesting theme supports the findings of Kellas (1991 p. 21) who argued: "the most popular form of nationalist behaviour in many countries is in sport, where masses of people become highly emotional in support of their national team". Throughout this research, participants reinforced that the flag has become a symbol of overt nationalism. This in turn could suggest a change in English national identity as supporters are now reluctant to display their nationality as they are conscious of how this may impact the increasing number of different nationalities and cultures that surround them. Implying that it is not being more connected with those around the world that has resulted in a change in national identity, but a compression of cultures within England over time through immigration that has had a greater impact on the English national identity and consequentially people's behaviour.

Moreover, the findings of how English nationals now perceive their national identity informed an idea for further research. Although this paper suggests that people might now be more considerate in the way that they express their national identity, there is still a belief that the national team is a foundation of Englishness that cannot- and should not, be subject to foreign influence. Participant nine noted that the England national team should never employ another foreign manager as they "lack the English spirit", and similarly players of foreign nationalities that play for England should only be supported if they are "good players". Although it should be researched more thoroughly to discover whether this is a wider held belief, the naivety to foreign cultures displayed in these

findings reveals that despite the wider changes to English national identity, they should not affect the England team. Hooson (1994 p.2) suggested: "the urge to express national identity and have it recognised by others is increasingly contagious", and this may be a possible explanation for the England team's resistance to foreign influences, as it could be argued that- as the creators of football, they value the pride of having their identity and style of football recognised by other nations higher than the success that might be achieved by incorporating foreign styles.

RQ5: Is the exposure of the English national team via print media an important element in building and maintaining identity, and depreciating outgroup's?

Billings and Devlin (2016) found that nationalism is impacted by globalisation because people are now consuming more media than ever before, allowing one to categorise and distinguish themselves from others more easily. A causal code identified in this paper supported these claims, surmising that when the print media increase the amount of coverage dedicated to the national team, even those that do not regularly support the national team feel inclined to read it so that they do not miss out on group conversations, and feel an increased sense of national pride. Spears et al. (2010) theorised the 'prototypical group member', who is the most typical group member that holds the most power within the group. The findings of this paper would then suggest that the British print media is the prototypical group member as it holds the greatest influence over the largest group of fans, and sets the agenda in which fans are told how to show their support.

Despite the feeling that the print media are influential in generating support and influencing fans, findings revealed that there was a growing animosity towards the print media. A cause for this being that apart from building an inclusive national identity around the team, participants felt that the media were fickle in their support and too quick to vilify players. Implying that nationalism may be a more important aspect of the English fans' collective identity than they realise, as respondents felt that they either want the media to support the national team unconditionally or not to support them at all. Participant eight- a sports journalist, explained that:

"If you look at the mass general media- fear sells, cynicism sells, and negativity sells... I don't think it makes us support our team more or less I just think that that's what sells; that negativity"

These ideas would then shed light to the RQ5, suggesting instead that the print media are not concerned with generating support for the national team or curating the national identity, but instead the consumption of their media is the key objective. A reason for this could be the competition that the proliferation of social media has had on traditional media. It could then be construed that the increased competitiveness has resulted in the print media reverting to headlines and stories that sell the most papers, rather than pursuing agendas of the most interest. The findings of Blain et al. (1993) subverts this idea, arguing that print media shape national identity through the language they use towards other nations and their rivals during global events. Suggesting that the print media is an instrumental part of the English culture that feels obliged to safeguards national character when it is threatened.

Maguire and Poulton (1999) argued that through significant and repetitive media

attention towards national symbols, major sporting events are able to reawaken memories of a sense of lost national identity. This idea was consistent throughout the participants in this study who felt that by being exposed to images and stories of the English national team more frequently in print media, their dormant nationalist feelings of pride were triggered. These findings answer the RQs as it reveals the important role that the print media plays in establishing a collective national identity- be it through celebrating Englishness or depreciating foreign cultures. However, creating an inclusive national identity allows the argument of identity being a part of one's identity that they feel compelled to support to resurface. The messages that the print media emit encourage nationals to 'be a part of the national identity', and readers then feel compelled to support the national team because they fear being classed as unpatriotic, or being pushed into the outgroup. Highlighting that there is evidence to sheds light to RQs, although it should be noted that it is difficult to denote how strongly people are influenced solely by print media, and it should be considered as one persuasive factor that shapes opinions, attitudes and behaviours.

Anderson (1983) would suggest that England fans' growing dissatisfaction with the print media is because the collective identity of a group has to be constantly reinforced, and if it is not, they will look to do so elsewhere. Social media is then a space which allows like-minded fans to form large groups that carry out the discussions that they believe the print media are not doing. Further exploration into the ways in which fans of the England team use social media platforms in comparison to print media, may then be a potential future research topic that could reveal greater insights into the nationalist behaviours and attitudes of the collective group of England fans in the modern, globalised world.

CONCLUSION

This study explored a new insight into the English national team by analysing the relationship between globalisation and nationalism, before applying these ideas to the way in which they affect supporters' behaviour. Using Tajfel and Turner's (1979) Social Identity Approach proved an insightful theory that explained how and why fans group themselves, and also how the behaviour of the group becomes prescriptive. The findings of this paper aligned with previous studies in the sense that those that identify more strongly with the group of English fans, are likely to feel more nationalistic than those that do not. Although a surprising finding was that one's national identity is considered more important than a globalised world would imply. Findings revealed the importance of national identity was reflected past the sporting arena; where English nationals seek out ways to support English talent in other industries too. For example, film and music award shows that amplifies the earlier findings of the 'small country' mentality.

However, this study also identified areas for future research. The most prominent being the struggle of dual-nationality individuals when identifying with a group supporting a national team, due to the internal struggle it can create. Research to discover their attitudes towards globalisation and nationalism could uncover whether this affects the way in which they behave around international sporting events. A contradictory code that appeared throughout this paper's findings was that many participants noted that supporting Olympians created a greater sense of national pride. A reason for this could

be that Olympians are perceived as being everyday heroes, and Armstrong and Giuliannoti (1999) found footballers used to be seen like this. The modern game of football has seen players change from idols to celebrities, and this could inform research to denote if the impact that globalised attention and monetary influence has had on the way fans identify with individual players- in comparison to Olympians, rather than teams.

Limitations

One main limitation could be that this study interviewed nine participants- of which the majority were white and middle class. It could then be argued that prescribing these findings to the wider group of England fans lacks accuracy. Therefore, research should be conducted amongst fans of different ethnicities and class, to discover whether the behaviours and attitudes of England fans that this paper discovered are held collectively, and if not, compare the relationship between the intragroup. Another potential limitation that was highlighted throughout the findings of this paper was that nationalism was considered a taboo subject. English nationals admitted they believed that expressing national pride had been tainted by the behaviour of right-wing extremists. Taking this attitude towards nationalism into account, one could be sceptical as to whether the individuals were sharing their honest opinions about national identity, or trying to share the views that they believed to be politically correct. In order to counteract this limitation during the research, participants were made to feel as comfortable as possible to ensure that they shared truthful ideas.

Business Implications

The findings of this paper could be used by the Football Association to highlight ways in which they could achieve greater support, and positive attitudes towards the English national team. A recurring theme throughout this paper was that supporters of the national team had become disconnected from supporting the team- with a few specifically blaming the FA for turning the national team into a money-making business, rather than a successful team. By better understanding the attitudes of diverse groups of fans, the FA could create strategies that aim to build a stronger national identity and consequently restore pride and enjoyment in supporting the English national team. Comparatively, this research could be used by other sports' national team to better understand their supporters. As participant six noted, both England cricket and rugby union teams have multiple players from other nations playing for them. Therefore, the findings of this paper may help identify reasons for the levels of support that they are receiving, or attitudes in their fans. Finally, if the ideas researched in this paper were to be used to analyse other sports, it could further benefit the FA overall, as the results could uncover the ways in which other industries are managing the impacts of globalisation more effectively.

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