

Bigger Than Ourselves: The Southgate narrative and the search for a sense of common purpose.

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Introduction

For a few beautiful, long weeks as the anticipation and pride and expectation kept building up, we came together in a way we hadn't for a while. There were mosques draped with the England flag. There were Hindu mothers and young Muslim boys doing faux-prayers in front of the TV. We shared memes, laughs and songs of 'it's coming home' in countless multicultural settings. We showed that pride in England can be expressed in lots of different ways. (Hundal 2018)

At the time Hundal was writing the opening quote about more expansive forms of nationalism in the summer of 2018, the England manager, Gareth Southgate, made an unusual claim during his team's memorable run to the World Cup semi-finals:

We have the chance to affect something bigger than ourselves. We are a team with our diversity and with our youth that represents modern England. In England we've spent a bit of time being a bit lost as to what our modern identity is and I think as a team we represent that modern identity, and hopefully people can connect with us. (Rosser 2018)

Up until this point, England managers had not tended to place their teams' achievements in a wider socio-cultural-political context, apart from periodically excusing inaction against racism in football on the basis that racism was a problem of society, not football. Southgate's argument – that his side reflected a particular version of national identity, representing something that was bigger than football – was not, it is true, an entirely new one. Ever since England's goalless draw with Scotland in 1872, the first ever official international football match to be played, the national team have been viewed as a powerful force for shaping England's sense of itself as a nation. It has been frequently presented, alongside the cross of St George, the Royal Family, the works of Shakespeare and St George's Day, as a symbol of quintessential Englishness. And certainly, since the pre-millennial angst of the 1990s (the decade Southgate began his playing career and made the bulk of his international appearances as an England player) the team's performances have taken on a heightened, state-of-the-nation significance. Whatever else seems to be happening in the affairs of the nation, whether it be a war, political upheaval or a referendum exposing deep divisions, a large part of the population appears to come together for a few weeks every two years to invest its emotions in an international football campaign. 'Short of war', Ellis Cashmore was quoted as commenting (Doward 2018), 'there's no more effective way of galvanising English identity than football against another nation. When the England team is involved in a big game, the clock of history seems to stop.'

What we look to do in this paper is to consider two 'turns' in national sporting culture, 'Beckhamisation' (after David Beckham the England captain between 2000 and 2006) and 'Southgatism'. Both have been presented as new dawns of new eras, and we shall examine the values they represent. We do this against the backdrop of

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3 everyday representations of football and associated elements of footballing culture,
4 particularly music and the flag.
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7 Assertions of the relationship between sport and national identity abound in
8 academic literature (see for example, Bairner 2001, 2015) and Billig (1995 120)
9 identifies it as a domain in which the 'commonplace stereotypes of nation, race and
10 place' are repeated. Moreover:

11 The (re-)production of identities is further enabled through ritualised sporting
12 spectacles in international settings, by everyday consumption of nationally
13 framed sports media and by diverse practices of fandom and spectatorship.
14 (Brentin & Cooley 2015, 2)
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16 Indeed, Giulianotti (1999, 23) observes that, 'at internationals, the team embodies
17 the modern nation', pointing out like Hundal that this involves 'often literally wrapping
18 itself in the national flag'. By the 1996 European Championships, which we consider
19 in more detail later, that national flag had become the cross of St George (red cross
20 on white ground) rather than the Union Flag to distinguish Englishness from
21 Britishness.
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24 In this paper we utilise the concept of the nation as an imagined community
25 (Anderson 1983), though not taken here as a specifically political project but as a
26 cultural representation produced by quotidian actions. In this regard sport provides a
27 space in which this 'imagined community' can be not just consumed, but performed
28 and thereby re-produced. Duke and Crolley (1996) have observed that it is in pitting
29 nation against nation that football best represents imagined communities. This is in
30 line with Billig's (1995) concept of banal nationalism. He refers to this as 'embedded
31 in routines of social life' (175), or what Edensor (2002) refers to as the nationalism of
32 everyday life, and Hearn (2007) as the micro-level creation and re-creation of
33 national identity. It is at this level that we can best appreciate the intersectional
34 elements (music, sport, media, merchandise) that construct the cultural imaginary.
35 Skey (2009) argues that it is through banal signifiers (like the accoutrements of
36 football) that national identity is reproduced in the everyday, 'continually reminding of
37 us and them' (Billig 1995, 175) and sometimes underpinning more virulent aspects of
38 nationalism (a theme to which we shall return).
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42 The focus of research on the performance of Englishness is typically on fans (e.g.
43 Crabbe 2004), but through modern media this imagined community is not limited to
44 football fans but re-presented in the everyday lives of the wider population. Cowley
45 and Shaw (2019) concede that 'in some ways, all nations are imaginary constructs',
46 but still imply that an imagined community is inadequate, somehow not 'real'. On the
47 contrary, it is the way in which national identity is produced and re-produced. In that
48 respect the trappings of sport, music, flags, language, multi-cultural representation,
49 team ethos and espoused values are not just signifiers, but have a pivotal part to
50 play in representing, repressing and resisting particular forms of Englishness. We
51 note Kersting's (2007) conclusion from the 2006 FIFA World Cup, hosted by
52 Germany, that the event contributed to a specific German 'sport patriotism' that
53 promoted tolerance, equity, multiculturalism and democracy, rather than xenophobia.
54 However, we note also that he questions the sustainability of that new German
55 patriotism which had emerged during the World Cup. With this in mind we look to
56 interpret the meaning-makings associated with the repeated representations and
57 discussion of the England national football team and how these have evolved. We
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3 do this, of course, aware that any presumption of a singular English identity is
4 misplaced and note Gibbons' (2011, 875) conclusion that 'specifically English
5 articulations of identity were not homogenous among English football fans', partly
6 because they 'have overlapping affiliations' (876); they are not simply 'English'.
7 Considering football paraphernalia we are also alert to his challenge to 'common-
8 sense notions that the increased display of specifically English symbols marks the
9 beginnings of a unified English national project that will follow the path of the other
10 now devolved nations within the UK' (876).
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14 The paper will argue that Southgate's own story arc, from his playing days in the
15 1990s to his current role as national coach, provides us with an illuminating, and at
16 times challenging, insight into the formation of such a narrative. It is meant to be a
17 starting point for a discussion of the way the construction and telling of the Southgate
18 narrative – let us call it 'Southgatism' – has emerged as the latest attempt to define
19 English 'modern identity' in an era when music has taken on a special significance in
20 the perception and reception of the England men's team. More specifically, his own
21 footballing journey, from his infamous penalty miss against Germany in 1996 to his
22 managerial experiences two decades later, can be viewed as something of a
23 counter-narrative to the overblown claims of the preceding, all-singing-all-dancing,
24 hubristic, glamorous New Era for which we shall adopt the term, the
25 'Beckhamisation' of Britain. We consider how Beckhamisation and Southgatism
26 evidence both change and continuity in the national identity supported by banal
27 nationalism.
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31 Our account relates only to elite male football; we do this in response to its position
32 in media representation, discursive practices and national consciousness. Billig
33 himself (1995), in identifying the significance of sport in constructing nationalism,
34 says that it has historically been a largely masculine domain. We recognise the
35 recent strides made in advancing women's sport, but suspect that though the form
36 may differ similar processes of banal nationalism are at play there too. How
37 women's football contributes to and is shaped by this discourse is certainly worthy of
38 examination, but currently the contribution of men's football to shaping national
39 identity is far greater if only because of the media attention it commands. Within the
40 academic framework of banal nationalism we place emphasis on the work of media
41 commentators, largely because they have collectively had a greater role in reflecting
42 and shaping the national debate than have academic papers in the same field and
43 are therefore embroiled in banal nationalism. As Anderson recognised, newspapers
44 play a significant part in reminding 'readers' of national identity, contributing to
45 national consciousness that is developed by shared experiences; and international
46 sport, even if mediated, provides a suitable vehicle for that.
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52 **Music in Football**

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54 Just as we are not the first to draw attention to the link between sport and
55 nationalism, we are not the first to consider the role of music within sport (apart from
56 papers in this and Bateman's issue in 2014, see also Kyto, 2011; Turner, 2013).
57 Appearing, the year after the 2018 World Cup campaign, on a television
58 documentary commemorating England's 1,000th game¹, David Goldblatt
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3 differentiated 'us' from others: "It's not through opera, it's not through classical music,
4 it's through football that the English have somehow ended up constructing and telling
5 giant parts of their national narrative". This is true, but it is also true that music,
6 whether in an elite form such as opera or through more accessible outlets such as
7 pop music and crowd singing and chanting, has often played an important role as the
8 soundtrack to that narrative: indeed, Kyto (2011) refers to this as an acoustic
9 community. Braginsky (2014) offers a Russian example in line with Anderson's idea
10 of a clearer political project, as do songs that support feelings of persecuted
11 nationalism as represented by 'Keep St. George In My Heart'. However, Hill (1999,
12 16) contended that 'English identity is the least precise of all the domestic
13 nationalisms' on the basis that 'there is no direct equivalent of Scotland the Brave or
14 Cwm Rhondda'. Indeed, some of the fans later interviewed by Gibbons (2011)
15 'mentioned the choice of the [Football Association] to continue to use the British
16 national anthem God Save the Queen instead of a more specifically English one' as
17 one of their grievances (874). Others would undoubtedly have been delighted and
18 others just did not care, but in the absence of a specific national anthem, other songs
19 assume greater significance.
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24 Assessing the football stories the English have told about themselves over the
25 previous quarter of a century, Goldblatt (2014) suggested that 'football, for all its
26 intense moments of collective ecstasy, is also about narrative'. He identified 1990 as
27 the watershed year when a new narrative of Englishness began to emerge, in a new
28 era of (what was to become, after 1992) Premiership football, all-seater stadiums
29 and a highly commercialised approach to the game. This era, when style triumphed
30 over substance and elite footballers entered a new stratosphere – derided by some
31 for their bloated arrogance, celebrated by others as global style icons – was also a
32 new one for the England men's football team. It was associated with a soundtrack of
33 many songs. It might be seen to have started with New Order's 1990 World Cup
34 song *World in Motion* featuring a rap by John Barnes, and followed by a succession
35 of others including *Vindaloo*, *Keep St. George In My Heart*, *The Dambusters' March*
36 and the theme tune to the film *The Great Escape*. The first of those is a football
37 chant parody; the second is beloved of the Far Right, including the Football Lads
38 Alliance; and the last two are references to World War Two, which ended in Europe
39 in 1945. However, two in particular have stood out over the period: *Nessun Dorma*
40 and *Three Lions (It's Coming Home)*.
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45 Southgate made his England debut in 1995, five years after the 1990 World Cup in
46 Italy when *Nessun Dorma* had established itself as the mood music for football's
47 hugely-hyped reinvention. Clearly it was not the lyrics that secured its status among
48 England supporters (few of the English public have any idea what they are, apart
49 from the climactic 'Vincero'), but the desire to be associated with 'a touch of class',
50 heralding a new era for England fans. This can be recognised as the same kind of
51 search for distinction and affirmation of identity that Long (2013) has written about in
52 a different sporting environment; the signifier might be read as 'we are not quite the
53 hoi polloi you imagine'.
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56 The very different *Three Lions*² that became a number one single was penned by the
57 Britpop band, the Lightning Seeds and the comedians Frank Skinner and David
58 Baddiel. It was written for Euro 96 (football's European Championships) at a time
59 when England appeared to be emerging from the wilderness years in terms of
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3 international football. The *Three Lions (Football's Coming Home)* song struck a
4 chord with a populace hoping for better times and a new generation of England fans
5 eager to celebrate their country hosting its first major football tournament since the
6 1966 World Cup while at the same time referring to the bittersweet existence of
7 following a team which always just came up short. As Aughey (2007) observed, it
8 celebrated the tournament being an opportunity for the English to reassert their
9 national identity in a self-confident and agreeable way. However, we think it
10 necessary to introduce a level of complexity to that analysis.
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14 During the 1998 World Cup campaign, a remix of *Three Lions* portrayed Paul Ince
15 (the first Black player to have captained England) as a hero for his bloodied shirt in
16 the crucial qualifying game in Italy: 'And now I see Ince ready for war/Gazza good as
17 before/Shearer certain to score/And Psycho screaming' ran the lyrics. As Katwala
18 (2019) wrote of the 1996 European Championships, there were 'concerted efforts
19 from fans to change the culture, triumphing in the Football's Coming Home spirit with
20 which England hosted the European Championship'. Volunteering in the 'Raise the
21 Flag' initiative, coordinated by *Philosophy Football* he was involved in giving
22 supporters white and red cards to make a giant St George's Flag in the stands. He
23 observes that the intended message was, 'yes to national pride and an inclusive
24 patriotism, but no to racism'. Katwala also noted that 'part of this very English
25 initiative involved putting out cards at the other end for opposing supporters to raise
26 their own flag, including a short explanation of this gesture in, say, Swedish too'.
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30 For the likes of Katwala it might have symbolised a new, anti-racist patriotism but
31 several critics have dismissed the 'It's Coming Home' mantra as a chimera. Despite
32 initial optimism Williams (2018) has argued that far from helping patriotism lose its
33 stigma, the song 'refers to a pre-multicultural England: a reactionary appeal,
34 perhaps, to a time when there were no black faces in the England team and few in
35 the crowd'. It was a time when the football chant that gave Paul Gilroy (1987) the
36 title for his book, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*, was still raw. As Williams
37 asked: 'Is the phrase a thinly disguised and rather uncomfortable call for a return to a
38 more monochrome and mythologised version of England's past glories?' Those of
39 course were glories built on the colonialism of the British Empire and an idea of the
40 innately superior mother country.
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44 Such was the song's prominence in the zeitgeist that Tony Blair, wound up his
45 speech at the Labour Party annual conference by cannily rebranding New Labour's
46 project with this mood music. The then-leader of the opposition, and soon to be
47 prime minister, picked two key phrases out of the *Three Lions* song book to argue
48 that Labour was 'coming home', after seventeen 'years of hurt' (Conservative rule).
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50 51 **The Beckhamisation Thesis**

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53 In the 1990s it was argued that The Dark Ages of football were over. A decade
54 earlier, The Sunday Times (19/5/85) had described the sport, as a 'slum sport played
55 in slum stadiums increasingly watched by slum people', and, as Puccini's soaring
56 aria, accompanied by Paul Gascoigne's uncontrollable sob during the Italia 90 semi-
57 final between England and West Germany, was endlessly dissected by philosophers,
58 cultural historians and TV pundits, a brave new world was announced, one that
59 would transfigure the national landscape, both on and off the pitch. In 1996, the year
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3 Southgate missed from the penalty spot in another semi-final defeat to Germany, the
4 country was about to go New Labour, the Premier League was about to go global,
5 and the 'people's game' was about to embrace a new culture of soaring TV fees,
6 billionaire foreign owners and flashy, pampered prima donnas. It was this set of
7 processes that we argue should be characterised as the Beckhamisation of Britain;
8 the wealthy football star had married a wealthy pop star (as had fellow England
9 international, Jamie Carragher) and enjoyed celebrity status.
10
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12 Meanwhile, Tony Blair's call for the "classless" modernisation of his party and the UK
13 echoed the Football Association's 1991 document *Blueprint for the Future of*
14 *Football*, which argued that football should follow the affluent middle-class consumer.
15 The '90s did indeed mark a change in the social composition of football crowds, a
16 shift from unskilled and manual workers to the higher paying skilled and professional
17 classes. After a landslide victory in 1997, Blairism helped shape a re-imagined
18 Britain, embracing the glamour, glitz and gated luxury of a so-called Cool Britannia
19 (Campbell and Khaleeli 2017), described by Curtis (2019):
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23 This was the era when football was adopted by the middle classes thanks to
24 Nick Hornby, David Baddiel and David Beckham, amongst others. When
25 [Damien] Hirst, Charles Saatchi and Tracey Emin pushed contemporary art
26 onto the front pages. When British fashion became a serious force thanks to
27 figures like Alexander McQueen, John Galliano, Rankin and Kate Moss. It
28 was also a period in which an unholy alliance grew between PR and the
29 media, celebrities and brands, which sowed the seeds of what was to come.
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32 As in the 1960s London was brandished as the cultural capital of the world: Lad
33 Culture reigned supreme, Britpop chart battles were promoted by the tabloid media
34 and the Golden Generation of modern-day football superstars (from Beckham,
35 Michael Owen and Steven Gerrard through to Rio Ferdinand, Frank Lampard and
36 Wayne Rooney) seemed to be a portent of English football's imminent
37 'homecoming'. This 'homecoming' was part of the Cool Britannia myth which fed into
38 the New Labour narrative of reversing national decline.
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41 Lawton (2013) argued that Beckham's own career was 'notable for genius self-
42 promotion' and an 'uncanny understanding of celebrity culture... Beckham has been
43 the man of his times, the quintessence of fame'. By 2006, the English football
44 game's Beckhamite rebranding appeared to be complete. 'Every great English
45 banana-skin moment at a major tournament is a ritual that marks the passing of
46 time', wrote Kuper (2018), 'and celebrates a certain idea of England'. Towards the
47 end of the decade that re-branded English football, two notorious banana-skin
48 moments – the 1996 Southgate penalty miss and the 1998 Beckham sending off –
49 stopped the clock of history and brought into sharp focus the differences between
50 the under-appreciated Southgate and the over-hyped Beckham. The way Beckham
51 emerged from his banana-skin moment was an illustration of what O'Toole (2018)
52 identified as a combination of 'airy haughtiness' and 'dejected resignation'; it
53 reflected a national narrative 'caught between the conviction of superiority and the
54 feeling of impotence'.
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58 This fluctuation between airy haughtiness/superiority and dejected
59 resignation/impotence was also a feature of the New Labour era (1997 to 2010).
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3 New Labour, like the New Football Order created in the 90s, lost touch with its
4 traditional heartlands, allowing itself to be caricatured as being run by a self-serving
5 elite. As we have said, football and music had been important in New Labour's
6 search for a new version of patriotism. Blair had thrown his weight behind England's
7 bid to host the 2006 World Cup, with Beckham taking a central role in the failed
8 campaign, and five years later the same pairing was prominent in the successful bid
9 for London to host the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games. At a Labour Party
10 conference held between Euro 96 and the 1997 election, the future prime minister
11 had played keepy-uppy with Newcastle manager Kevin Keegan. His inner circle's
12 bible was Nick Hornby's *Fever Pitch* not Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* (Parker 2008).
13 Hornby's best-selling memoir touched a nerve. It sold over a million copies in the UK
14 and launched a thousand football fan confessionals. Traditionalists denounced the
15 genre as yet another example of the Great Sell-Out, the commercialisation and
16 gentrification of the working man's game.
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20 **Flaws in the Beckhamisation Thesis**

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23 Even the unlikely figure of key New Labour strategist Peter Mandelson attempted to
24 capitalise on football's growing popularity, telling his local paper it was 'so important'
25 for his constituents that 'his' local football team (Hartlepool) avoided relegation. He
26 was brought down to earth, however, when he turned up at a match wearing a
27 knitted blue-and-white football scarf, thrown Oxbridge-style over his shoulder, only to
28 be regaled by his fellow supporters with the chant: "Who's the wanker in the scarf?"³
29 Newcomers might be good for the finances of the game, but they are still expected to
30 observe the customs of fandom to show they are part of the imagined community
31 (Spracklen, Timmins and Long 2010).
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34 Although presenting itself as an era which would decisively banish the Dark Ages
35 forever, there were two major flaws in the attempt to 'Beckhamise' English football,
36 indeed Englishness itself.
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39 The first flaw has been an overemphasis on the importance of an individual saviour
40 and the attendant celebrity culture. Since the emergence of Paul Gascoigne in the
41 *Nessun Dorma* World Cup (1990), an increasingly hyper-commercialised, and
42 hyperbolised, game has been obsessed with hyper-inflating the idea of a poster boy,
43 a super-hero, a shining knight in armour, a greatest-and-most-charismatic-footballer-
44 of-his-era, to sell its overblown narrative of Englishness to a global market. The
45 sublimely-talented Tottenham Hotspur midfielder was the first to be canonised in
46 such a way. In the *London Review of Books* Karl Miller (1990) compared him to 'a
47 priapic monolith in the Mediterranean sun' and in a subsequent *Granta* essay,
48 entitled *Gazza Agonistes*, Ian Hamilton (1993) compared the player to a Miltonic Old
49 Testament hero. From this moment, other young superstars-in-the-making, from
50 Michael Owen to Wayne Rooney, were successively imbued with similarly
51 preposterous expectations. They were breathlessly built up by both tabloid and
52 broadsheet newspapers, and then inevitably knocked down, inspiring fans and
53 writers alike into delusional flights of fancy, triggering national prayers for metatarsal
54 and other injuries, all the time masking the glaring structural deficiencies in English
55 football.
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59 Even when the up-and-coming superstar in question (again inevitably) ended up
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3 tarnishing his brand, a narrative of redemption would quickly be introduced. With
4 Owen, it was his extortionate wages and a perceived flashy lifestyle; for example
5 using a helicopter to fly back and forth from Newcastle United's training ground.
6 With Rooney it was an early-career sex scandal and, a bit later, his sending off
7 against Portugal in the 2004 World Cup quarter-final. With Beckham, of course, it
8 was his red card against Argentina in the 1998 French World Cup. This 'moment of
9 madness' which condemned the England men's team to another painful exit led to
10 an effigy being hung outside a London pub, his face being printed on a tabloid
11 dartboard, multiple death threats and other excessive reactions. Beckham's
12 petulance in that game typified, for some of his critics, the swaggering entitlement of
13 his generation.
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17 In embodying an emergent celebrified culture, Beckham's career came to be seen as
18 an emblem of a Golden Generation of players who prioritised individual, and club,
19 glory over national unity. Reflecting on this club-before-country tendency a few years
20 after his retirement, Beckham's former Manchester United team-mate Rio Ferdinand
21 claimed it had sabotaged England's chances at major tournaments. Referring to his
22 cohort of world-class stars like Beckham, Steven Gerrard, Frank Lampard and Paul
23 Scholes, Ferdinand said: 'It overshadowed things. It killed that England team, that
24 generation' (Machell 2018). He explained how club loyalties and commercial
25 interests frustrated the development of an identity for the national team. While much
26 of the nation was invested in its national team, it seems the players were not.
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30 Beckham famously redeemed himself when his curling, last-gasp free-kick against
31 Greece sent England to the 2002 World Cup finals. The game's spin doctors
32 subsequently used his 'journey' – from Public Enemy Number One to the poster boy
33 of the New Football – as another marketing hook to attract TV, sponsorship and
34 corporate deals. But this club-before-country phenomenon – in an era when the elite
35 clubs they played for were becoming cash cows, mega-brands, disconnected from
36 their fan bases – reached its apotheosis in the 2006 World Cup when, at the behest
37 of Beckham himself, wives and girlfriends were allowed by Eriksson to stay in an
38 opulent hotel in Baden-Baden. The Swedish coach, the first foreigner to take charge
39 of the England men's team, was a famously relaxed manager. His off-field romances
40 became part of a national debate about the changing face of football and his
41 indulgence of Beckham's celebrity lifestyle was blamed for what one commentator,
42 referring to the 2006 World Cup, described as 'a three-week spousal circus of
43 conspicuous consumption and competitive drinking' (Derbyshire 2018). At that
44 moment, the Baden-Baden Wags, partying like rock stars, seemed to denote a late-
45 twentieth-century, celebrified England.
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49 The second flaw of Beckhamisation lies in the continuation rather than the demise of
50 bigotry and xenophobic nationalism. As Carrington (2004, 2) observed:
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53 A powerful narrative emerged during the men's 2002 FIFA football World Cup
54 finals that suggested that England had managed to emerge from its
55 hibernation within the shell of British nationalism and had constructed a post-
56 imperialist, non-white multicultural formation in which all – white, black, brown,
57 male, female, gay, straight – were now included. This post-Gazza
58 construction of white English masculinity has a new face in the so-called
59 metrosexual, multi-signifying persona of David Beckham; wearer of sarongs
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3 and lover of R & B music, yet dutiful family man and caring father, and still a
4 hero to the terraces.
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7 Yet like us, Carrington disputes the idea that Beckhamisation represented a brave
8 new liberated and multi-cultural version of the nation and its team.
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10 The Premier League was marketed from the start as a new, cosmopolitan, post-
11 racist 'product', launching an era which consigned bigotry, along with hooliganism
12 (known across the footballing world as 'the English disease') and the game's other
13 demons, to the dustbin of history. The pre-1990s game had been a pariah, it was
14 argued, not only because it was a 'slum sport' but also due to its grounds often being
15 rallying points for xenophobic nationalism. The 1980s had been the apotheosis of a
16 shameful era that was scarred by three appalling tragedies (Heysel, Bradford and
17 Hillsborough). The following decade brought all-seater stadiums, better stewarding,
18 a new, more middle-class fan base and the post-Heysel return to European football.
19 It also, according to Goldblatt (2014), brought an end to 'the idea that one could hitch
20 the notion of white racial nationalism to the England football team and its fans'.
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24 Unfortunately, Goldblatt's optimism was premature. Chants such as "If it wasn't for
25 the English, you'd be Krauts" and "No surrender to the IRA" were still, in this
26 supposedly transformative decade, part of the England supporters' repertoire. The
27 legacy of an exclusionary nationalism was not so easily denied. The campaign, *Let's*
28 *Kick Racism Out of Football* (the precursor to Kick It Out) began in 1993 as a
29 challenge to a succession of high-profile events and routinised behaviour, most
30 conspicuously the bananas and monkey chants. Following his selection to play for
31 England in 1982, Cyrille Regis received a letter containing a bullet and a warning
32 against ever playing for his country at Wembley. Two years later, after John Barnes
33 had scored an outstanding goal for England against Brazil (Brazil 0, England 2),
34 National Front supporters took to singing "We only won one-nil", on the basis that to
35 their mind goals scored by Black players should be disregarded.
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38
39 The appointment of Paul Ince as the first black player to captain the England men's
40 football team in 1993 was heralded as an important symbolic moment, feeding into a
41 New Football Era narrative which attempted to draw a line under the xenophobia of
42 the "two world wars and one World Cup" era. Again, it was a piece of music, New
43 Order's 1990 World Cup song *World in Motion* featuring the famous John Barnes
44 rap, which came to epitomise this supposedly post-racist moment. A simple binary
45 was presented in a discourse dominated by the new generation of Hornby-influenced
46 football obsessives, in which the dark days of the 1980s were effortlessly, and
47 unproblematically, replaced by the sunny uplands of the 1990s. Racism, it was
48 claimed, was a thing of the past. A brand new era was being established, one that
49 would transfigure the country's footballing, and political, landscape.
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52
53 However, 1993 was also the year England's then coach Graham Taylor came under
54 FA pressure, he later claimed at a lunch for Kick It Out, not to go beyond a certain
55 limit in the number of black players selected (Onuora 2015)⁴. That was also the year
56 John Major⁵ (prime minister), a big fan of cricket, offered his nostalgic image of 'the
57 real' England that was implicitly white: 'long shadows on county grounds, warm beer,
58 invincible green suburbs, dog lovers and pools fillers'. Three years later, at Euro 96,
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when a new, more inclusive, sense of national pride was supposedly invoked in the song *Three Lions (Football's Coming Home)* the sudden appearance of St George's flags and carnival costumes, noted Goldblatt (2014), 'sent ripples of anxiety through the black press, where there remained considerable unease with the notion of Englishness. The lingering air of racism in stadiums discouraged minority ethnic football fans from joining the crowd in the early 1990s.'

The fact that *Three Lions* composers, the Lightning Seeds, were a Britpop band seemed apposite. As Carrington has highlighted, New Labour was keen to benefit from the reflected glory of Britpop. Noel Gallagher of Oasis appeared on the front cover of *New Labour New Britain* (Autumn 1996) and the centre-fold trumpeted 'New Labour, New Britpop'. The feature lauded Britpop 'for having shown that British bands have transcended the musical influences of (black) America and have found their own distinctive voice' (Carrington 1998a, 105). Carrington continues by arguing that:

The promotion of Britpop serves to reinvent a racially exclusive version of British cultural history, both ignoring, or down-playing, the musical debts to black culture of British pop music from the late 1950s onwards and denying the cultural diversity of contemporary Britain'. (Carrington 1998a, 105)

The 'it's coming home' lyric can be criticised for invoking a vestigial race memory of Britain's imperial past, and in any case there is some doubt that 'the English' invented modern football. Although FIFA, the game's international governing body, insists the current codified form of the sport was established in England in 1863 (the first written laws, the first national football federation and the first organised cup and league competitions), earlier versions can be traced much further back to China and it became a folk activity across Europe from the late-medieval period (Westall 2016). Despite being suspicious of FIFA and continental interpretations of the game, the game's ruling bodies in England clearly helped spread football around the world. For Carrington (1998a, 112/3):

The (*Three Lions*) song's repeated use of the chorus 'football's coming home' fits neatly into the wider (Britpop) political discourse and reinforces the ethnocentric notion that football is returning to its rightful place, back into the national psyche of England... 'football's coming home' is, then, essentially about trying to reconstruct an imperial Britain, with the assumption that, no matter what others may say about football being a world game, England somehow has inalienable rights to the game... football is essentially *our game*.

Even by the time of the 2002 World Cup, Garland's (2004, 79) reading of events was that although 'a new, more inclusive Englishness was evolving amongst England supporters, this was not reflected in associated tabloid coverage, where a narrower and more nostalgic Englishness was commonly observed'. By 'nostalgic' he implies a reactionary, exclusionary nationalism, akin to Carrington's (1999, 84)⁶ assessment that racism can be represented as an 'expression of authentic English nationalism'. Garland's analysis of tabloid coverage of the competition was that:

English identity was a temporary, contingent phenomenon that could be given

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3 and taken away, depending on context. Perhaps for some of the tabloids
4 minority ethnic Englishness was acceptable within the footballing arena where
5 there are so many successful African Caribbean players'. (91)
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8 One might say 'minority ethnic Englishness was acceptable' while they demonstrated
9 assimilation by adopting the flag of St George, singing *Football's Coming Home*,
10 wearing the replica shirts and supporting the national team; a very contingent form of
11 nationalism, dependent upon the adoption of banal signifiers.
12

13 **Southgatism: a new dawn?**

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16 The argument of this paper is that 'Southgatism', in providing more nuanced claims
17 on what England can be, has been part of an attempt to address both these flaws.
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19
20 Southgate is alert to the nuances and complexities of national identity in a
21 cosmopolitan age and can talk about them with more sophistication than most
22 politicians. He understands how patriotism can, indeed must, be a progressive
23 cause rather than serve as a proxy for a darker, more unpleasant nationalism.
24 Southgate also understands how in a multicultural country we can find greater
25 unity through diversity, so long as we share a sense of common purpose.
26 Cowley and Shaw 2019)
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28
29 What was new with Southgate's claim that his side reflected a particular version of
30 national identity, was the strange occurrence of an England manager transcending
31 the confines of his traditional prosaic remit and presenting his team, in the words of
32 Cowley and Shaw, as 'a mirror in which we see the nation reflected back at us'; to
33 acknowledge the off-the-pitch power of football to influence, as Southgate⁷ put it, 'our
34 modern identity'; to recognise, indeed embrace, his team's ability 'to affect other
35 things that are even bigger (than) football results'.
36

37
38 In the same television programme mentioned earlier Goldblatt praised Southgate for
39 having made 'more accurate and more nuanced and more supportable claims on
40 what England can be and what our position in the world is than most of our
41 politicians'. Goldblatt and others on that programme argued that Southgate's vision
42 of the team, his narrative of modern Englishness, seemed to strike a chord with a
43 country badly bruised by Brexit and its attendant polarisation. It was at a time when
44 the government was pursuing an agenda of creating a 'hostile environment' for
45 immigrants and reported racist incidents were on the rise (Booth, 2019).
46
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48
49 It is our argument that the practical, down-to-earth, level-headed realism of
50 Southgate's managerial regime has been a reaction to the failure of the Golden
51 Generation. As Goldblatt (2014) writes, this 'new wave of players, nurtured in the
52 elite clubs of the Premier League' was first identified by FA chief executive Adam
53 Crozier in 2001.
54

55
56 He pinpointed 2006, when in terms of age they would be around their
57 collective peak, as England's best chance to win the World Cup. In fact they
58 were eliminated, again on penalties, in a quarter-final... At the moment that
59 the boom years of New Labour came to an end and the financial bubble
60 popped, the stock of the golden generation was properly evaluated and found

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3 to be oversold and overrated.
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6 The 'nothing else mattered' ethos of the Golden Generation was anathema to
7 Southgate. Instead of the never-ending search for an individual saviour, Southgate's
8 ethos has been side before self every time. As a player, Southgate saw himself as a
9 character actor rather than a bill-topper. Born in Watford in 1970, the son of an IBM
10 employee and teacher, he was a solid, dependable, skilful defender who spent three
11 years as manager at Middlesbrough battling against limited resources before quietly,
12 and successfully, running the England under-21 side for another three years. The
13 jokey Pizza Hut advert in 1996, in which he appeared with bag over his head after
14 missing the penalty against Germany, was typical of his self-deprecation. His
15 playing career had been a successful but relatively low-profile one; although a
16 brilliant career in many respects, it could never have been accused of being
17 'oversold and overrated' in the manner of the golden generation. There were no
18 stars in his 2018 World Cup squad. England captain Harry Kane was a key figure,
19 but his image was the opposite of Beckham's; he was engaged to an old
20 schoolfriend rather than a pop star and refused to cover himself in tattoos because
21 "my dad always told me I would regret it when I was older".
22
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24
25 During the era of Beckhamisation football had become as lopsided as the economy.
26 Following the 2008 banking collapse, the economic gap between north and south
27 grew even wider and at the same time large swathes of the country felt themselves
28 to have been disenfranchised by a global footballing order perceived to be out of
29 touch and capricious. Interestingly, Southgate's 2018 squad represented an
30 important geographical, as well as racial, diversity. Six of the squad were from
31 Yorkshire which was significant for a county which, in its poorer, left-behind areas,
32 voted overwhelmingly to leave the EU: a two-fingered riposte to what they saw as a
33 London-based establishment, detached from life beyond the capital.
34
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36
37 More importantly, Southgatism has come to represent a third way⁸ between
38 haughtiness and resignation, treating those two sporting impostors, triumphalism and
39 defeatism, with equal disdain. It was, perhaps, a response to the new sensibilities of
40 the 2008 financial crash, representing a dampening down of expectations, a more
41 modest, sensible, self-deprecating idea of Englishness. In this sense it reflected an
42 alternative to the triumphalist/despairing contradictory narrative of Englishness:
43 thoughtful, unflashy, inclusive. His idea of England, of modern English identity, does
44 not simply reflect a grittier, more down-to-earth country. It also embraces, indeed
45 takes a stand on, diversity by attempting to construct and tell a 'more accurate and
46 more nuanced and more supportable' version of 'what England can be and what our
47 position in the world is'.
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51 Whether wittingly or not, this aspect of the Southgate narrative requires a re-
52 examination of the 'post-racist' mythology of the Cool Britannia era. '[Southgate]
53 revealed [in the 2018 World Cup] a sophisticated understanding of the complexities
54 of what it means to be English in an age of upheaval', argued a 2018 New
55 Statesman editorial on footballing patriotism, which continued:
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58 After the bitterness and divisions of the Brexit referendum, Mr [sic] Southgate,
59 through his dignity and humility, has shown a different face to the world: what
60 we might even call the beginnings of a new progressive Englishness.

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4 In order to construct and tell this new version of Englishness, Southgate, in his press
5 conferences and interviews, has constantly recognised that a significant amount of
6 work still needs to be done to rid the national game of its own problem with racism.
7 To give just two examples: at the time of writing not a single Premier League
8 manager is black, despite a third of all the competition's players being from BAME
9 backgrounds; and only four managers out of 92 clubs in the four English leagues are
10 from BAME backgrounds.
11
12

13 Some 30 years after *World in Motion*, during England's away win over Bulgaria in
14 October 2019, two songs appeared to confirm the consolidation of this 'post-racist'
15 era. These songs from the stands – "You racist bastards, you know what you are"
16 and "Who put the ball in the racists' net? Super Raheem Sterling" (Ronay, 2019) –
17 were responses to the monkey chants and racist abuse being directed at three
18 England players, including Raheem Sterling, by a section of the crowd. During the
19 game Nazi salutes had been made and the 50-strong group of black-clad ultras who
20 were behind some of the abuse were ejected. Those tabloids which, three decades
21 earlier, had been accused of stoking xenophobic sentiment were the first to praise
22 the anti-racist chanting and 'call out' the Bulgarians. The Daily Express put 'England
23 Stand Up To Racist Fans' on their front page. Referring to Sterling's goal, Jones
24 (2019) wrote in *The Sun*:
25
26
27

28 It was the best way he and his team-mates could hit back...The mindless
29 minority brought shame on Bulgaria...It was deeply distressing simply to
30 watch, to feel the skin crawl whenever one of England's black players had the
31 ball in anticipation of what might happen and so goodness knows how Mings,
32 Sterling and Rashford were able to continue.
33
34

35 The magazine for left-of-centre intellectuals, the *New Statesman* (2018), joined in the
36 praise, identifying 'a sense of common purpose' around the Bulgarian match.
37 'exemplified by [Southgate's] multiracial players, whose fortitude and togetherness
38 were apparent during and in the immediate aftermath'.
39
40

41 Director of think tank *British Future*, Sunder Katwala, who describes himself as a
42 member of the Anglo-Irish-Indian diaspora, preferred a more differentiated approach.
43 On the one hand, he saw the near-identical coverage in the tabloids and
44 broadsheets as showing a broad consensus on anti-racism norms, 'at least when it
45 comes to the overt racism of monkey chants and Nazi salutes', putting:
46
47

48 ...a real nail in the coffin for the old National Front, and their heirs and
49 successors: the now-defunct BNP, the thugs of Britain First and the trendier
50 efforts to make racism fashionable again, ethno-nationalist groups like
51 Generation Identity. Today, the argument about ethnicity and Englishness has
52 been mostly won: 90 per cent of the population do not think you need to be
53 white to be English – up from 80 per cent seven years ago. (Katwala 2019)
54
55

56 At the same time he cautioned against a misplaced sense of superiority suggesting
57 Bulgaria should catch up with the progress we have made here on racism (note
58 Billig's [1995] observations on how such words are used to flag banal nationalism).
59 It is certainly to soon to consider the mission to challenge racism in UK football and
60

society to have been accomplished. As Katwala observes, 'it is much harder to make the case for race equality and equal opportunity once the lens is widened to the dug-out, the press box and the boardroom'. He insists, 'there remains racism in England, within sport, and especially beyond it'.

This echoed the more nuanced approach adopted by Southgate himself. Just as in the 2018 World Cup he had noted that football was 'bigger than ourselves', he now argued that the events in Sofia transcended the confines of everyday football discourse. With no 'official' England World Cup song the fans were still wedded to *Three Lions*. However, Southgate implicitly challenged the tabloids' attempt to revive the feel-good, it's-coming-home discourse of the 1990s, when sport (football in particular) was uncritically promoted as a metaphor for a new version of Englishness. He insisted that any denunciations of Bulgarian racism should be tempered by the reality of a sport which still fell a long way short of the 'race equality and equal opportunity' patriotism of new media consensus. 'Sadly, because of their experiences in our own country', Southgate, reflecting on his post-match conversations with Bings, Sterling and Rashford, told the press, 'they are hardened to racism. I don't know what that says about our society but that's the reality (Hytner 2019). Olusoga's (2019) assessment was that: 'Southgate showed what leadership looks like. Diverting the attention away from himself and on to his players, he took the path of most resistance, and invited the English game to look at itself in the mirror.'

In this sense, then, the Southgate narrative has challenged an unreflective, self-congratulatory, 'post-racist' New Englishness, taking a more nuanced view, for example, of the 1990s. As Goldblatt (2014) writes of the period:

...(although) the presence of black players in the (England) squad made the team a poor place for expressing a racist political nationalism, it wasn't immediately clear that it made Englishness more appealing to the country's minorities.

Discussion and Conclusion

The imagined community posited by Anderson and developed by Billig seems to imply a unitary nationalism. As we are concerned with the contribution made by sport and its accoutrements to the banal nationalism of the imagined community it behoves us to recognise MacClancy's (1996, 4) argument that 'sport is not intrinsically associated with a particular set of meanings or social values' but is rather 'an embodied practice in which meanings are generated, and whose representation and interpretation are open to negotiation and contest'. In 2004 Crabbe argued that, despite hopes that football would be part of a socially inclusive nationalism, 'Englishness' continued to be performed in culturally exclusive ways. Today there remains an element of football fandom that continues to deny the multi-cultural nature of England and its football team. This is reflected in their songs, flags, memes, jokes and language. For some time, sport scholars have argued that sport is both a site of repression and of resistance for participants from minoritized ethnicities (e.g. Long et al. 1997; Carrington 1998b). Sport/football events similarly offer the opportunity to resist the multi-cultural image increasingly projected by footballing authorities and assert a more 'traditional' idea of nationalism. Just as we

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2
3 have illustrated such contestations in relation to Beckhamisation they are likely to
4 continue to play out, albeit in a different form under Southgatism
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6
7 It would be a stretch to elevate Southgate's championing of his diverse, multicultural
8 squad as representative of a new "sense of common purpose" as a deliberate
9 attempt to disassociate the national team's identity from the ethno-nationalist
10 aspects of the *Nessun Dorma/It's Coming Home* era. Southgate, himself, is of
11 course a product of those times. His trajectory, first as a player and then a manager
12 has, however, allowed him to understand the disillusionment felt towards that era,
13 both on and off the pitch. On the pitch, the entitled Golden Generation of Beckham,
14 Ferdinand, Lampard et al. had been exposed as a mirage. The 2010 World Cup
15 defeat by Germany was, in the eyes of Perryman (2016), English football's version of
16 Suez as the nation was brought down to earth with a thump.
17
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20 Similarly, off the pitch, the rebranding of the New Labour/Cool Britannia era has long
21 since unravelled, equally unceremoniously brought down to earth by Brexit populism.
22 The 2016 Leave vote in the UK, fuelled by the disillusionment felt towards the Blairite
23 project, has produced upheaval, polarisation and a pivoting away from an
24 unreflective, complacent, supposedly classless vision of national renewal. The
25 Southgate narrative can be seen, perhaps, as a rejection of both the triumphalism
26 and defeatism of the previous era. Southgate has built a national team in his own
27 image: modest, self-deprecating, down to earth, diverse and progressive. In the
28 absence of an 'official' England song what might represent Southgatism? Setting
29 aside the need for fans to have a catchy hook line, we suggest that something from
30 that progressive patriot, Billy Bragg (2006), might be suitable. 'Half English'⁹
31 celebrates a multi-cultural England, though Bragg himself (personal communication)
32 suggested 'Jerusalem'.
33
34

35
36 So can Southgatism change the way that the flag of St George and other
37 contributors to the forging processes of banal nationalism in a way that was not
38 fulfilled post-1996, or will the previous association with bigotry, racism and
39 xenophobia continue to be a power in the construction of Englishness? Hundal
40 (2018) wrote that 'England is crying out for a more inclusive and unified sense of
41 identity... Football may not be loved by everyone but it did a better job of unifying us
42 than our politicians have been doing lately.' Whether this latest attempt to create an
43 inclusive and forward-looking identity succeeds in a country bitterly divided by Brexit
44 remains to be seen. It may take some time for the processes of banal nationalism to
45 change to the construction of a more progressive patriotism. As Billig (1995, 175)
46 asserts, 'national identities are rooted within a powerful social structure, which
47 reproduces hegemonic relations of inequity'. For Southgatism to gain purchase and
48 generate a progressive patriotism that is a more racially inclusive national identity, it
49 clearly has to be about more than Southgate himself and generate a web of
50 everyday micro-messages.
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³ A few years later David Cameron, then prime minister, was similarly humiliated when not knowing whether it was Aston Villa or West Ham that he supported.

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⁵ Reported in The Guardian, 23 April 1993.

⁶ In this he seems to be following Anderson's (1983, 137) more general argument regarding colonial nations.

⁷ Quoted in Evening Standard, 26 June 2018.

⁸ What could be more English than a waistcoat? But a waistcoat without a jacket?

⁹ The lyrics can be found at: <https://www.lyrics.com/lyric/5355388/Billy+Bragg/England%2C+Half+English>