

MASCULINITY IN SOCCER AS A COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE BY SITUATED LEARNING APPROACH

DURUMSAL ÖĞRENME YAKLAŞIMIYLA FUTBOL PRATİK TOPLULUĞUNDA ERKEKLİK

Nefise BULGU*

ABSTRACT: An attempt was made to understand how masculinity is learned by members of the soccer community of practice by situated learning approach and thus the transforming of soccer into a masculine field in this study. The conceptual framework of the study is based on both Lave and Wenger's conceptualization of community of practice and Connell's conceptualization of hegemonic masculinity. The findings of the study indicate that "winning" and "violence for winning" are the shared repertoire of members of the soccer community of practice and there is a mutual engagement in those concepts among members. In conclusion, in this study, it was observed that masculinity is reproduced by learning and undertaking violence practices in the soccer community of practice and this contributes to the recognition of soccer as a male profession.

Keywords: Situated learning, communities of practice, soccer, masculinity, violence

ÖZ: Çalışmada, erkeklik pratik topluluğu olarak ele alınan futbolda erkekliğin nasıl öğrenildiği durumsal öğrenme yaklaşımı ile ele alınmıştır. Bu çalışmanın kuramsal yapısında Lave ve Wenger'in durumsal öğrenme yaklaşımının pratik topluluğu ve Connell'in hegemonik erkeklik kavramları temel alınmıştır. Çalışma bulguları; kazanmak ve kazanmak için şiddetin futbol pratik topluluğu üyelerinin paylaştığı ortak bir repertuar bulunması, şiddet ve kazanma konusunda, üyeler arasında karşılıklı sözleşmenin olduğunu göstermektedir. Sonuçta, çalışmada, futbol pratik topluluklarında, şiddet pratiklerinin öğrenilmesi ve uygulanması ile erkeklik yeniden üretilirken, aynı zamanda futbol pratik topluluğunun bir erkek mesleği olarak tanımlanmasına da katkıda bulunduğu gözlenmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Durumsal öğrenme, pratik toplulukları, futbol, erkeklik, şiddet

1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper, an attempt was made to understand how masculinity is learned by members of the soccer community of practice and thus the transforming of soccer into a masculine field.

In recent years, there has been increase in research on gender and masculinity in physical education and sport. One of the main reasons for this is that the importance of physical performance and athletic ability for successful engagement in sport. Research and writing on the social construction of masculinity through sport and physical education has highlighted that, in the context of sport and physical education, males are expected to exhibit physical practices which include physical power (Atencio & Koca 2011; Hickey & Fitzclarence 1999).

As Mean (2001) argues, as the dominant sport in many countries, it is soccer that is especially linked to masculinity, national and local identities. Various studies have pointed out that soccer in schools with its male sport consisting of players, teachers and coaches is a tool for building masculinity in the socialization process of adolescents (Bramham 2003; Renold 1997; Skelton 2000, Swain 2000; 2004; 2006). In his research, Swain (2000) has claimed that young men learn to increase their physical powers and thus they construct their masculine identities. Young men gain experience based on physical power and competition in soccer and this strengthens their opinion that soccer is not a suitable sports for girls (Bramham 2003). Some research tackled the issue within the framework of hegemonic male power and put forward the idea that this power leads to the exclusion of women by ignoring the success of women in "male" sports (Caudwell 2003; 2007) therefore, it can be considered

* Assoc. Prof. Hacettepe University School of Sport Sciences and Technology, Ankara/ Turkey nbulgu@hacettepe.edu.tr

that the soccer community of practice that maintains and reproduces masculine values degrades the successes of women's soccer. The exclusion and resistance to women participation has been especially strong within soccer which has been considered as unacceptable for women because of its emphasis on physical strength and aggressiveness.

In this study, soccer environment is considered as a community of practice. As Light and Nash (2006) argued that the communities of practice is an important tool in studies that examine how learning occurs in sports environment. Therefore, employing the concepts of masculinity and communities of practice this study examines young men's learning masculinity in the soccer community of practice by the Communities of Practice Approach which is proposed by Lave and Wenger (1991).

1.1 Communities of practice

Lave and Wenger (1991) examined the process of existence of individual in communities of practice focusing on human interaction. They proposed a theory that referred to human development occurring in social institutions which indicates that learning is a process related to these institutions and that learning occurs in a specific environment. The term "*communities of practice*" connects the individual with daily learning practices. Broadly, a community of practice is a group engaging in a shared practice. Lave and Wenger (1991: p.32), emphasize that learning is an "integral part of communities of practice". In other words, being involved in a practice is learning, and this learning is a product of communities of practice (social environment) in which social relationships are described.

The term "*legitimate peripheral participation*" that Lave and Wenger use when describing a learning activity helps us to understand the position of individual in a community of practice that provides increasing access to resources for learning. Novices to that practice are seen as developing expertise through participation in legitimate and acknowledged activities that contribute to but are not central to the practice; gradually these contributions become more complex and important as they progress towards full participation (Paechter 2003a). Here learning is located as a gradual accumulation of skills and ideas, which initially requires recruits to access and adopt a 'legitimate' yet 'peripheral' participatory role in the community (of practice) in question (legitimate peripheral participation). Fitzclarence & Hickey (2001: p.130) handle the soccer as a community of practice and explain the term "legitimate peripheral participation" in the soccer; "Ability to play (the beginnings of mature practice) enables access to the inner circle of legitimate participation (the team) or relegation to peripheral participation (the leftovers).

In a recent study, the physical education experiences of Turkish boys were examined in the context of masculinity and power relationships in soccer discourse (Atencio & Koca 2011). In this study, while boys successful in soccer are placed at the center in masculine communities of practice, those not involved in soccer and who do not show competent behavior are placed in category of peripheral participant status.

As learning increases over time, newcomers go on to become full members of that community, ultimately replacing and replenishing the existing group membership (Parker 2006: p.690). Paechter (2003a; 2003b) interpreted the communities of practice approach of Lave and Wenger as gendered communities of practice which operate as sites of gendered activity. In her work, Paechter (2003a) comments that the sports hall and playground with the related changing rooms and showers function as a space in which hegemonic forms of heterosexual masculinity can be seen, and in opposition alternative, secondary gender identities appear.

Connell (1995) emphasizes that gender does not include a single type of femininity or masculinity, and that male and female identity varies in different social fields. The form of masculinity prominent in different contexts is "*hegemonic masculinity*". Although hegemonic masculinity is described in terms of men's relationships to women, it is also constructed in relation to various subordinate masculinity forms (Connell 1995). The studies explored the way how masculine identity is

constructed in soccer (Fitzclarence & Hickey 2001; Mean 2001; Parker 2001) and they pointed out that soccer is envisaged to reproduce certain masculine values such as strength and a propensity towards violence.

1.2. Violence and masculinity in soccer community of practice

Violent behavior can be seen as a way of constructing oneself as masculine and demonstrating one's place in the masculinity hierarchy (Connell 1995). According to Connell (2002) "hegemonic masculinity is a concept which may help to explain broad differences in rates of violence between men and women. It may also help to explain specific shapes of violence in communities where physical aggression is expected, or admired, among men" (p. 93). Lusher & Robins (2009) suggest that "violence come from hegemonic masculinity and be used to maintain its dominant position. It would be expected that violence relations would be primarily from hegemonic to subordinate masculinity as a means of hegemony enforcement" (p. 404). In sports environment, use of physical violence by a player is considered to be a feature of masculinity (Connell, 1995), and a player may risk using his body as a weapon ignoring the risk of physical injury (Messner 1990). Connell (1995) notes that "[t]he sport provides a continuous display of men's bodies in motion. Elaborate and carefully monitored rules bring these bodies into stylized contests with each other. In this contest a combination of superior force and superior skill will enable one side to win" (p. 54).

DeKeseredy & Schwartz (2005: p. 353) point out that interpersonal violence is the product of men and some of their masculinities. Aggression, as a behavior learned in sports, contributes to the likelihood that athletes may be reinforced violence in interpersonal relationships (Terry & Jackson, 1985).

In most cases, football training is designed to take maximum opportunity in the effort to win and control the football. In a win -at-all- costs environment, from the elite level down, findings ways to take advantage in the body-contact stakes is part of the game (Fitzclarence & Hickey 2001: p.129). Crucial in this sense was that all trainees demonstrated a keen and 'hardy' enthusiasm for game itself, a forceful 'will-to-win', an acceptance of workplace relations based on authoritarianism/subservience, an ability to conform to institutional ('official') rules, regulations and disciplinary codes, and a commitment to social and professional notions of solidarity and group cohesion. Although levels of enthusiasm and motivation fluctuated amongst youth team members as regards to their overall attitude towards the rigors of training and playing, central to the occupational identities of all was a general commitment to a successful career in football and a psychological acceptance of institutionally defined hegemonic masculine requirements (Parker 2001: p.61)

In conclusion, the main assertion in this study is that soccer, as a community of practice attributes masculinity to winning and violence practices, and therefore strengthens masculinity values. Taking into account that studies are very limited, this study aims to contribute to how learning masculinity occurs in the soccer as a community of practice.

2. METHOD

A qualitative research method was employed in this study in which learning masculinity in soccer environment as a field of social practice is analyzed through situational learning approach. The qualitative research can be defined as a research in which a qualitative data collection method such as observation, interview and document analysis is used and a process for revealing perceptions and events in a natural environment with a realistic and holistic way is followed (Yıldırım and Şimşek 2003, p. 19). The in-depth information about the process of learning masculinity is collected in this research that was conducted by using the techniques of focus group and face-to-face interview with research group.

2.1 Working Group

The research was conducted on ten students in soccer training program of a university. The research group consists of athletes aged between 22 and 26 who had played soccer for 7 to 9 years in amateur and professional leagues. The group stopped their active soccer lives after they started studying at the university. At the time of the research was conducted, they had been coaching 11 years old boys for two years at the sports clubs or schools. Therefore, the experiences of the group members both as a soccer player and as a trainer were taken into account.

This study was conducted in coherence with the ethic rules for research in social sciences of UNESCO. The group was informed about the topic and the purpose of the research and they have been told they were free to leave the interviews whenever they want before the interviews, and the approval of the group was obtained. It was also explained to the members of the group that this was an academic research and the results of it would not reveal their identity, and would not harm their school, work, family and private lives. The researcher kept a distance to the relations, the behaviors and the rules in soccer and did not express personal ideas and criticisms that might offend the group and had been respectful to the field. They were also declared that they could read the transcripts of the interviews. The research was based on the confidentiality of the information and the anonymity of the participants.

2.2. The Tools for Collecting Data

The data was collected via focus group interviews and semi-structured in-depth individual interviews, two of the qualitative research techniques. The individual interviews were started with three group meetings. The participants are able to ask question each other, and share and interpret their experiences and ideas (Kruger 1994) in the focus group meetings that construct an environment encouraging participants to express their ideas comfortably (McNeill & Chapman 2005). In addition to these, the research was launched with focus group interviews considering that these meetings are favorable environments in which soccer origin students can express themselves more easily and feel themselves in safe because, as (Naees 2001) put, team games develop group solidarity among athletes. Since the ideal number of focus group is between 8 to 12 (McNeill and Chapman 2005), the groups were constructed by 8, 6 and 7 people. The focus group interviews lasted around 50 or 60 minutes. The researcher used a semi-structured interview form in the meetings. The coach-player relations, high level performance in soccer and the driving forces of success, violence in soccer and vandalism were discussed at the focus group meetings. In-depth individual interviews were held with 10 participants of the group that lasted around 45 up to 60 minutes after the focus group meetings. These semi-structured interviews focused on the social environment of participants, their soccer lives both as an athlete and coach, and their personal lives considering both the problem and theoretical framework of the research.

2.3. Data Analysis

Verbatim transcripts of audiotapes were the primary data used in content analysis (Miles and Huberman 1984). Data were analyzed using the constant comparative method of qualitative analysis (Patton 1990; Strauss and Corbin 1990). The codes were traced out by the examination of the interview transcripts, and these codes were categorized under the title of specific themes. A code list was constructed at the first phase of the analysis by taking into account the theoretical framework of the research as well as the data obtained. This open-coding procedure is described as the one executed within a general framework. While a predetermined code list was guiding the content analysis, the results derived from the examination of the data, with an inductive approach, were added to the previously constructed code list, or some of the existing codes were replaced according to the new ones. At the second phase of the analysis, while the concepts emerged as a result of open-coding procedure were being attempted to be gathered under a meaningful theme, as identical to the open-

coding procedure, themes were determined both in the direction of theoretical framework and the data. At the phase of assurance of the validation and reliability of the results, both group and individual interview techniques were used within the data differentiation method.

3. RESULTS

3.1. Learning values of masculinity in a socio-cultural environment

Lave and Wenger (1991) pointed out that knowledge is gained in a social network in communities of practice. When it is considered that present environment affects the future lives of individuals (Bourdieu 2002), it is important to know the type of environment in which the participants of this study live in order to understand the learning activities and processes of learning masculinity in soccer. In the societies generally men have been the breadwinners. Although men's roles are now changing, men are still expected to be breadwinner that is accepted men's duty as a part of male habits (Cushion & Jones 2006).

The participants came from families of workers, clerks and small retailers with education and income levels that locate them in the lower-middle socioeconomic group. The families of people in the research group migrated from rural to urban areas 10 or 15 years ago. The opportunities provided by big cities like job and education are the important drivers of immigration in Turkey. Those lower class immigrants generally reside in the periphery of the cities in a conservative social network (Kule & Es 2010). The young men living in peripheral social environment without any education, profession and a permanent employment encounter with masculine violence in their daily lives at various levels. The existence of violence in the lives of men in this class (Sancar 2009: p. 225, 232), led to the perception of violence and masculinity are the facts attributed to mostly poor classes. The suggestion in a research about the violence on woman in families as the masculine violence is mostly dependent on limited income levels indicates that in-family violence is significantly associated with economic factors (Kadının Statüsü Genel Müdürlüğü 2009). This research points out that masculine violence is most frequently observed in the regions with high emigration rates and in the social classes with low education. In addition, it is deemed that an unemployed man and/or a working woman weaken the men superiority at home in these poor environments where patriarchy is prevalent (Sancar 2009). The people in the research group who grown up in similar environments learn that bringing money home is a sort of men status and practice violence in order to protect this status they acquired at early ages. Connel (2002) has claimed that patriarchy presents violence practice as a privilege for men in poor environments, and this is essential for the structuring masculinity. Based on this argument, we can state that the people in the research group learn violence as a reality of masculinity in a society that is subject to the dominance of patriarchal relations. In the context of these results, the participants were thought to have grown up in an environment where traditional values were generally taken as the reference point in social life. Another indicator of traditional values (patriarchal) in their upbringing was that they accepted without question their coaches' absolute hegemony on themselves by identifying it with their fathers' authoritarian behaviors. Although the average age of the study group was 23.5, their appearance was that of an older adult male with in their clothing and manners. Their appearance might be a result of sharing the responsibility of being a breadwinner with their father, brother, or others.

The participants, although commenting that they did not get what they expected in financial terms from soccer, they did considered that their standard of living was higher than before because of their work as soccer players. For example, eight of them had a car, and as Aykut, one of the participants, stated that in the region where they lived it was not that easy to buy a car with one's own money at such a young age. Another participant, Yavuz, commented that their peers living in the same environment try to avoid being a burden to their families even if they are still in full time education. It was understood that this contribution to the family income at an early age was accepted as normal. Although the participants had not become well-known soccer players, their income was higher than those in their community. In Yavuz's words "Soccer gave me a lot of things... it still helps me gain

something”. This comment supports a study undertaken by Akcan (2004) that showed that soccer gives lower-class youth the opportunity for upward mobility in terms of education and income.

3.1.2. Learning violence for winning as values of masculinity in a soccer community of practice

When young boys start to play soccer, they are a part of soccer community of practice. Especially hegemonic masculinity in soccer community of practice is empowered by coaches’ forms of masculinity, by media dominant discourses, and by junior peer group relationship (Fitzclarence & Hickey 2001: p.130). Sport often provides the most ambiguous area, where exceptional levels of very harmful behavior are often seen as just part of the game (DeKesederedy & Schwartz 2005: p. 355). Such behaviors are perceived as natural by the players (Cushion & Jones 2006: p. 158) because violence is widely regarded as a legitimate or acceptable part of many contact sports (DeKesederedy & Schwartz 2005: p. 355). Pappas, et. al., (2004) found that their study findings yield a greater understanding of the ways in which hockey socialization and athletes’ notions of masculinity combine to create a culture of aggression and violence.

Young (1993) suggested that today the most important factor that increases the level of violence in sports is the financial rewards gained from winning matches and participants believed that winning in soccer was possible using violence practices, in response to this issue, three participants responded:

“Especially the championship games are very tough. If it would affect the result, I would act tough, I would not hesitate. We all want to win and everybody expects this from you” (Ali).

“For better, or worse, I would trip up another player. Risk? Yes. But the feeling of winning is different, you cannot understand it” (Selim).

“Winning is a superiority. Why? There are numerous advantages it brings afterwards. This is very important. Then, you play with full capacity; and violence occur whether you want it to or not (Mustafa)”.

The interviews with players demonstrate two important characteristics of communities of practice: shared repertoire and mutual engagement (Lave & Wenger 1991). Community members develop a shared repertoire for the continuity of the community; they own these repertoires and put them into practice in mutual engagements.

It was understood from the opinions of the participants in this study that winning and violence engaged in to win were one of the shared repertoires of the soccer community of practice, and the members such as Tahir, adopted violence claiming it to be a necessity.

“[Violence] is a part of this game. I never fight after a game. But, it is different during the game. I want to win” (Tahir).

The following conversation implies that in the soccer community of practice the coach directs players to use violence, and thus indicates the existence of a mutual contract.

Ahmet: “Everybody turns to violence inevitably. Your coach sends you to the field saying ‘finish them’”.

Researcher: “Coaches also direct players to use violence to win, don’t they?”

Ahmet: “You already start to use violence without being aware of it. Coach also directs you before the game, or in the course of it to use violence. This is normal.”

There is also a great social and cultural pressure as well as an economic motivation in soccer which forces players to take a tough stance in order to win the match as a participant comments:

Selim: “Everybody, your club, your coach, your fans, your family, even your friends expect you to win. That is stress.”

Researcher: “Then, violence is obligatory?”

Selim: “Yes. You have to. Winning has many advantages. Financial gain is important, you play tough.”

Soccer communities of practice should be considered as a sports community not an ordinary learning community, and winning should be accepted as the only aim in this community. According to Tenenbaum et al., (1997), in addition to aggressive behavior, receiving praise from family, coach and friends, support from spectators, reward (winning) becoming superior to determination of punishment (getting punishment for foul play) also increases aggression. The contribution to the family income was the most important motivator for success that was found in the research. Being able to provide their family with financial support at a relatively early age also increased their desire for success.

“When I started playing soccer, how I should put it? My family breathed easy because my father’s income was not really high, and it worked out well” (Tahir).

Moving from a position of being a child, to a person who is a breadwinner in the traditional Turkish family structure probably resulted in the participants in the study to gain a higher status in their family. However, these expectations meant that their team had to win and this in turn led to using violence in the game. This situation is explained in the words of another participant.

“When I started playing soccer, my family, me, all of us reached to comfortable position financially. My father’s income was not so high, so it was a remedy for the situation... Violence? We never speak of it at home, they never ask, everybody regards it as a necessity of the game. In addition, I have never been seriously injured. The result is important in the game, but if you talking about risk, you take risks to survive” (Ali).

Sancar (2009) states that the use of violence by men being described as a social imperative leads to these violent actions to be considered necessary in life struggle, thus violence and aggressive behavior to be internalized. The use of violence in sports which receives approval as a masculinity sub-culture in communities (Bulgu 2005), being naturalized as a tool for winning in soccer is thought, in current study, to have an important position in being considered an obligatory action in the context of maintaining the upward mobility gained in the community.

According to Messner and Sabo (1998), the sports field as a competent, goal directed, successful, dominant, aggressive, resistant to pain, and encouraging physical power (cited in Swain 2000: p.103, Messner and Sabo 1998) signals that power will be created by physical power in the male hierarchy, and clarifies why violence is sustained as a professional requirement that men have to perform despite the risk of injury. Yavuz has learned that winning requires the use of violence in the soccer community; the normalized violence is a tool to gain a position that is superior to others. In sports, strong performance provides the opportunity to gain such a status, to set up the dominance of one group over another (Messner 2002). The superiority brought about performance was an important factor in the structuring of Yavuz’s male identity. Boys who have learned how to win as a male value since they were in primary school, they have learned to use this superiority against those who are not engaged in sport (Renold 1997; Swain 2004) thus, show their masculinity in the sports field.

The hegemonic form generally mobilizes around a number of socio-cultural constructs such as physical and athletic skill, strength, fitness, control, competitiveness, culturally acclaimed knowledge, discipline, courage, self-reliance and adventurousness. This attributes are also indicative of a masculinity that is associated with or implicated with, violence (Hearn 1998). Terry and Jackson (1985: p. 35) have attempted to identify factors that contribute to aggression and violence in sport. They concluded that an extensive socialization process is the major influence contributing to sports violence, but that psychological, moral, and situational factors also play a significant role. They argue that the coach and teammates form the nucleus of an athlete's sporting environment, and exert strong pressure on the athlete to conform to normative standards.

The coaches’ practice appeared to be a product of their habits, an often unconscious process related to the internalization of a cultural arbitrary (Cushion & Jones 2006: p. 158). The hegemony of the coach that is developed in the sportsmen becomes natural, and this reflected in the comments of participants who say that they have unlimited respect and trust in their coach connecting his hegemony to the patron father model. The soccer players were not disturbed by coach shouting and swearing and using violence, instead, they put their coach into a superior position and stood up for the coach’s behaviors

For example, Ayhan commented that:

"All their effort is for the success of their players, they are like fathers and their shouting is not because they have ill will" (Ayhan).

In the sports environment where there is no right to take a stand against the coach's practice and tactics (Guivernau & Duda 2002), the instructions given by coaches about using physical performance such as "sweep over", "knock them down" were followed without question. Cushion & Jones (2006) said that the coaches were heavily authoritarian in nature and their language shaped the contours of the observed coaching process and affected how the coaches and players behaved toward each other. All participants believed that it was necessary the coach's tactics for winning. Also some of the participants identified their behaviors with that of their fathers:

"[The coach] is like our father, who beat us, too. But it is for our own good" (Haydar).

The participants in this study by accepting the coach's hegemony without any argument, in soccer community practice this was a sign of approval of the coach's dominant position with mutual engagement, and at this point, there was no way to object to his violence tactics. The comment of the participants concerning the absoluteness of the rules in soccer explains why they accept the coach's dominancy:

"This dominance can not be objected to, either you follow the rules, or you leave. The coach trains us to win. So, every tactic he gives us should be applied, nobody can say whether it is right or wrong, or would I get hurt. Actually, though I do not like it, I do not object, you do it to win" (Aykut).

The players, in Aykut's words, are obliged to practice the tactics of coach for the *purpose of winning*, even though they do not always agree them. Their future depends on the decision of their coach is the reason why they have to follow the instructions given by the coach without question. The need for the money that can be earned through their success, especially for the players from the families with limited income, was one of the obstacles to challenging the authority of coach:

"If you listen to your coach, he would take you to a successful position in soccer, your future depends on him, all players agree with that" (Haydar).

Berkay emphasizes the power of coach on the players' life in that "to get the advantage of a transfer depends on the support of coach, then of course, you are in the position where you have to do whatever coach says, or otherwise you will be left out."

In the relationship between different masculinities in soccer practice, being a man, not being like a woman, is learned through community learning techniques and discourses. While the coach guides players towards violence during the exercise warning players not to "play like a woman" and "don't be soft like a woman", he actually wants to stress that if they behave like a woman other men would dominate them. Also, in the following quote, Mustafa describes coaches as shouting and swearing at the players, even using violence on them and considers this to be a strange situation for women. Thus the participants emphasize that the relationship between coach-player in soccer are man to man:

"For the coach to shout 'play like lions' or 'finish them off' seems normal to us but... Can you say to a woman 'don't play like a woman'?" (Mustafa)

In the words of Ayhan, 'there is no chance for women and the weak here' also shows that there is no place for woman or woman values in the soccer community of practice which is built around the frame of masculinity and a relationship with violence.

Soccer is accepted as a men's game in the distinction between male and female branches of sport and some research supports this tendency (Burgess, et al. 2003; Caudwell 2003; 2007; Parker 2001; Smith 2007). The research emphasizing the important role soccer plays in the acquisition of cultural forms of hegemonic masculinity by adolescent boys (Bramham 2003; Renold 1997; Skelton 2000; Swain 2000, 2004, 2006) points out that soccer is a tool (Swain 2000) that structures

masculinity by teaching a boy how to be a real boy in the schools with the staff of players, teachers, coaches and other men (Skelton 2000) playing their part in the socialization process of boys.

In this research, the coach stated that he regards soccer as a male field and he reminds the players that the men in the rival team should be defeated and then they will have a power on them.

In a study conducted in Turkey, the majority of soccer players preferred their coach to be male (Bulgu 1999) thus being a coach is a male profession and it follows that the soccer players will only defer to male authority.

The fact that winning is one of the most important goal for the boys from an early age (Bramham 2003; Renold 1997) in an environment in which team sports strengthens masculine values (Messner 2002), led players to easily accept the coach's tactics for the success. Since the players consider that ultimately victory can only be achieved through the coach's tactics, thus, the coach-player relationship is maintained in the hegemony of coach. Considering the players started to play soccer around in their ages of 12-13, it was possible to clearly observe that the coach hegemony, prepares an environment that strengthens masculinity.

In the process of professional socialization, the coach's activities are taken as examples and applied (Cunningham et al. 2001). This was understood from the participants in the current study, in their own coaching experiences they presented tough playing tactics to win just like their own coaches had done. One participant linked the necessity of using physical power use in boys aged 11-12 who just started to play soccer with their socio-economic levels:

"These boys are from the lower classes. Their families want them to become a professional soccer player in the future, and take them to soccer training to earn a living. The families expect the boys to be successful just for that reason. I am training... It is necessary to treat them slightly harshly to educate them. Otherwise, you cannot discipline them. Listen, you cannot shout at a kid from upper class, you cannot force him..... Families want success from us, they are ready for everything. So, we train them to have a profession, for their own good. Both the kids and families know it. So, they trust us. But violence is a must" (Ahmet).

It has been observed that boys are considering they need to use violence "because they regard soccer as a profession", just like their coaches, they believe that professional success can be achieved through violence, they follow the same tactics. According to the participants who made links between purpose of the participation in sport and the class dimension, swimming is regarded as an upper class activity as it is a recreational activity; soccer is regarded as lower class activity since it is a professional activity. Therefore, to them, the success of boys from the lower class as a professional soccer player is possible through the learning and use of violence in soccer environment. According to Selim:

"These boys will do it as a profession. They are not coming here to entertain. They also see that soccer is a hard game, very quickly" (Selim).

From the study group following tactics of their coaches in their teaching of violence as a necessity to the boys, showed that in male community practices, the teaching of violence as a way of winning will continue to empower masculinity in soccer.

In the soccer community of practice winning is most important, coaches and players participate in the learning to win process (legal peripheral participation) in which knowledge, skills and attitudes are acquired and shared. One of the most important skills is the use of violence to win. The application of this skill by the players demonstrates the existence of a shared content (term of community) obtained during the reproduction of masculinity in the male soccer community.

4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Situational learning and the communities of practice approach of Lave and Wenger (1991) were used in the study. It was seen in the study that violence practices describing masculinity has

transformed soccer into a male field (profession) by empowering masculinity values. In situational learning, learning is a social process which refers to structuring together in a social relationship environment, and where there are practices related to the environment. In this study, it was seen that learning those practices of violence to describe masculinity are necessary in the soccer community in order to win is a community of practice related to both the environment in which the players live and the soccer environment. In the soccer environment, violence directed tactics for winning by coaches coinciding with competition, aggression and success values of hegemonic masculinity is an important basis of the legitimating of violence in soccer. Thus, in soccer, the hegemony of men through violence practices still continues, and men competing with each other, rather than with women, bring a higher status to hegemonic masculinity.

Related to the information that communities of practice, in a learning situation, are restricted to specific social and physical environments, in the current study, the use of violent practices for the purpose of winning, known to describe masculinity, was realized to have an importance in empowering masculinity values. Since winning by increasing the violence level in the game includes financial gain, creating the opportunity for a good transfer, getting premium, player employs violence in the name of continuing his upward mobility he obtained in the environment he lives in, which shows that violence had become legitimate in the environment in which the player lives and in soccer. Also, reaching the masculinity stage at an early age through winning experience, players are thought to legitimate these experiences they obtained from their environment as a masculinity application and they restructure the masculinity within this context. As the masculinity value is defined by violence in a number of studies (Connell 1995; Cushion & Jones 2006; Hearn, 1998; DeKesederedy & Schwartz 2005), the violent action of the player finds a cultural base in society and acts as a resource to the restructuring of masculinity.

Power has a major role in the determination of the positions of individuals in the communities of practice. Moving from periphery to center can mean becoming stronger in most cases. Hegemonic masculinity, physical power and winning are the common repertoires of the soccer community and there is a mutual contract about the violence observed in community practices. A boy beginning to play soccer learns these practices by participating in some practices in the community and thus becomes excellent may cause him to leave apart from periphery and go into the center. The adoption of power of coaches without question should also be interpreted in this context.

In the soccer community, hegemonic masculinity and physical power and winning are among the shared repertoire of the community. In this study, it was understood that the coach-player gains approval from a mutual engagement in the legitimating violence.

The importance of coaches entering the community with a specific story (Karlsson-Salminen 2006) should be remembered when interpreting the acceptance of the coaches' power without questioning by the players. Therefore, the high point in this approval was that coach's behavior coincide the father's behavior. We can say that practices or the patriarchal system that approves the traditional father authority was the factor for the participants in this study in their acceptance of the behavior of the coach without question and also referring to it as being like their father's authority. Thus, it could be said that the coincidence of these values in both the traditional environment and in soccer communities of practice was a factor in legitimating coach's authority towards violence.

The participants in this study learned, in soccer communities of practice, legitimating coach hegemony and using violence for winning when playing soccer, and continued these practices on their players when coaching. The best examples of these applications that serve to reproduce masculinity were found in Hüseyin's words:

"... if the boy is going to be professional, he has to use violence. His future depends on how I can hang on in soccer as a coach. I want to win, both I and his family" (Hüseyin).

The situated learning and communities of practice approach of Lave and Wenger (1991) showed that soccer as a social practice field is an important community of practice, through which legitimacy of practicing violence in winning and by that masculinity is learned. In the soccer community, while

masculinity is reproduced through the learning and application of violence practices, this contributes to the description of the soccer community as a man's profession. Violence, being a practice learned in soccer for winning purposes, in the context of legitimate periphery involvement, could be interpreted that legitimating violence in soccer would continue.

As a result, we can accept that the soccer field, with all its dimensions, as a place for social learning (socialization) outside formal education.

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Geniş özet

Çalışmada, bir erkeklik pratik topluluğu olarak futbolda erkekliğin nasıl öğrenildiği ele alınmıştır. Lave & Wenger'in durumsal öğrenme kuramı üzerine inşa edilen çalışmada, bu yaklaşımın pratik toplulukları kavramı ile hegemonik erkekliğin saldırganlık, kazanma ve şiddet değerlerinden yararlanılmıştır. Pratik toplulukları kavramı, bireyin katılmış olduğu gündelik pratikleri öğrenmeyle bağını kurar. Öğrenme, pratik topluluğunda yer alan bireylerin içinde bulundukları sosyal ilişkiler ortamında bilgi aracılığıyla yapılanmalarını işaret eden bir sosyal süreçtir. Futbolun merkezinde yer alan pratik, oyunun kazanılmasıdır. Futbolda çeşitli bilgi, beceri ve

tutumları öğreten konumunda antrenör ile öğrenme etkinliklerine katılan konumunda sporcular, birlikte kazanmayı hedeflerken, şiddet kullanımını da kazanmada bir araç olarak meşrulaştırmaktadırlar. Doğrudan erkeklik kimliğini ve değerlerini içeren kazanma ve şiddet toplumda erkekliğin temel tanımlarındandır. Bu bağlamda, kazanma ve şiddet, çalışmada futbolda erkekliğin öğrenildiği bir pratik sayılmıştır. Araştırma, spor yüksek okulu antrenörlük programında, futbol antrenörlüğü eğitimi alan, 22-26 yaşlarındaki 10 elit düzeyde futbol kökenli sporcuyla gerçekleştirilmiştir. Araştırma grubu 7-9 yıl futbol yaşantılarını sürdürmüş ve antrenörlük programına başladıktan sonra futbolu bırakmıştır. Grup aynı zamanda, spor okullarında, kurslarda, yaz okullarında, 11 yaş civarındaki oğlanlara antrenörlük de yapmaktadır. Veriler nitel araştırma tekniklerinden odak grup toplantıları ve yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine bireysel görüşmeler yoluyla toplanmıştır. Üç odak grup toplantısı 21 sporcu ile yapılmış ve toplantılar 45-60 dakika sürmüştür. Araştırmaya, futbolun iç dinamiklerini anlayabilmek ve bireysel görüşmelere bir alt yapı oluşturmak amacıyla odak grup toplantılarıyla başlanmıştır. Toplantılarda, futbolda antrenör-oyuncu ilişkisi; futbolda üst düzey performansın nedenleri ve futbolda şiddet ve saldırganlık konuları tartışılmıştır. Odak grup görüşmelerinin ardından, gruptan 10 katılımcı ile 50-120 dakika arasında süren derinlemesine bireysel görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Yarı yapılandırılmış bireysel görüşmelerde; katılımcıların yaşadıkları toplumsal çevreye ve futbol deneyimlerine; antrenörlerin rolüne; futbolda kazanmak için şiddet kullanımına yönelik görüşleri alınmıştır. Görüşmeler daha sonra yazılı metinler haline getirilmiş ve içerik analizi yapılarak kodlar belirlenmiş ve ardından bu kodlar belirli temalar altında sınıflandırılmıştır. Çalışmanın geçerlik ve güvenilirliğin sağlanması aşamasında, veri çeşitlemesi yöntemi kapsamında grup ve bireysel görüşme teknikleri bir arada kullanılmıştır. Veri analizi sonucunda sosyo-kültürel çevrede erkeklik değerlerini öğrenme ve futbol pratik topluluğunda erkeklik değerleri olarak kazanmak için şiddeti öğrenme olarak iki tema belirlenmiştir. Sosyo-kültürel çevrede erkeklik değerlerini öğrenme teması çerçevesinde, odak grup ve bireysel görüşmelerde, araştırma grubunun, ağırbaşlı ve saygılı oluşları dikkat çekmiştir. Yaşlıları öğrenci ve sporculardan tavırları ve giyimleriyle farklı görünen grubun, gençten çok yetişkin erkek gibi davrandıkları gözlenmiştir. Bu görünümeleri; grubun, erken yaşta futboldan para kazanıp eve ekmek getiren yetişkin erkek statüsü edinmelerine ve bunun gerektirdiği davranışları benimsemelerine bağlanmıştır. Toplumda bilindiği gibi, erkeklerin temel görev alanları arasında sayılan ev geçindirme, erkekliği ifade etmektedir. Katılımcıların da futboldan para kazanarak oldukça erken yaşlarda ev geçindirme sorumluluğunu üstlenmeleri, grubun yaşadığı çevrede erkekliği çok erken öğrendiğini göstermektedir. Futbol pratik topluluğunda erkeklik değerleri olarak kazanmak için şiddeti öğrenme temasında ise; şiddetin futbol pratik topluluğunun paylaşılan repertuarlarından biri olarak öğrenildiği anlaşılmıştır. Futbol ortamında, antrenörlerden oyunculara, ailelerden taraftara oyun-içinde şiddetin, uygulanabilir pratikler olarak meşrulaştırılmasından, kazanmada şiddet kullanımı üzerine taraflar arasında karşılıklı bir sözleşme olduğu izlenimi edinilmiştir. Araştırma grubunun, kazanma ve şiddet kullanmayı öğrenmede antrenörün otoritesini tartışmasız kabul etmesi, futbol topluluk alanında, antrenörün üstün konumunun, karşılıklı sözleşmeyle onaylandığına işaret etmektedir. Kazanmanın toplumda erkeklik değeri sayılması, futbol alanında şiddet kullanımını kazanma aracı olarak meşrulaştırmıştır. Araştırma grubunun, futbol pratik topluluklarında edindikleri deneyimleri, antrenörlük yaşantılarında kendi oyuncularına da öğretmeleri, futbol pratik topluluğunu, erkeklik değerlerinin öğrenilip sürdürüldüğü bir öğrenme alanı olduğu görüşünü güçlendirmektedir. Sonuçta; futbol pratik topluluğu, formal eğitim alanı dışında, bir toplumsal öğrenme (sosyalizasyon) alanı sayılmaktadır.

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