

An Enquiry on the Masculinity of Beşiktaş Çarşı¹ as a Supporter Group²

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Abstract

Research Paper

In Turkey, football has been associated with a variety of fields. Football is an inseparable part of everyday life for a lot of men in Turkey. Football in Turkey is mainly formed with a supporter identity turning around “The Big Three” (Beşiktaş, Fenerbahçe, and Galatasaray⁴). The role of football in the construction and reproduction of hegemonic masculinity is also extremely important. The Çarşı group, founded and managed by the fans of the Beşiktaş team, was examined for the research. In the research, firstly, the relationship between sports and hegemonic masculinity was examined. Then, it was analyze the topic of the study with regards to the studies carried out both in the world and in Turkey on sports, football, partiality, and hegemonic masculinity. In this study, although Çarşı football group is more a dissident group of supporters, this study claims that masculinity in Turkey is reproduced by fans social media activities.

Keywords: Masculinity, football, violence, slang, Çarşı group.

Bir Taraftar Grubu Olarak Beşiktaş Çarşı Grubu’nun Erkeklik İncelemesi

Öz

Araştırma Makalesi

Türkiye’de futbolun çok çeşitli alanlarla ilişkisi kuruldu. Türkiye’de futbol pek çok erkeğin gündelik yaşamının ayrılmaz bir parçası olarak yer almaktadır. Türkiye’de futbol ağırlıklı olarak ‘Üç Büyükler’ (Beşiktaş, Fenerbahçe ve Galatasaray) etrafında dönen bir taraftarlık kimliği ile oluşmaktadır. Erkek futbolseverler için gündelik toplumsal yaşam nasıl futbola göre düzenleniyorsa buna paralel olarak futbolun hegemonik erkekliğin inşasında ve yeniden üretilmesindeki rolü de son derece önemlidir. Araştırma için Beşiktaş takımının taraftarlarının kurduğu ve yönettiği, Çarşı grubu incelendi. Araştırmada, öncelikle spor ve hegemonik erkeklik ilişkisi irdelenerek bir kuramsal temel oluşturulmaya çalışıldı, daha sonra, spor, futbol, taraftarlık ve hegemonik erkeklik üzerine dünyada ve Türkiye’de yapılmış çalışmalar üzerinden çalışma konusu incelenmiştir. Bu çalışma, Çarşı futbol grubu daha muhalif bir taraftar grubu olmasına rağmen, söz konusu erkeklik olduğunda Türkiye’deki erkekliği yeniden ürettiğini iddia ediyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Erkeklik, futbol, şiddet, argo, Çarşı grubu.

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⁴ The Big Three phrase is used in the research about football in Turkey (McManus, 2013).

Introduction

Sport has been associated with men and masculinity in almost every society in the world. The relationship between sports culture and the dominant construct of masculinity makes sport one of the most significant cultural practices that serve for the establishment of inequalities between genders. Sport, as a masculine area, not only reproduces the hierarchical, unequal relations between women and men but also contributes to the deepening and normalization of the hierarchical relations between different masculinities, thus, to the exclusion and discrimination of other masculinities. Football, when considered from this aspect, as much as being a part of everyday life, has recently been a widely spoken area in the academic field, on which researches are conducted and ideas are produced. Sport studies started in the 1970s and have been generally performed by English and American researchers. The research on sportswomen gained intensity in the 1990s while it is the 2000s when the studies by which sportsmen and hegemonic masculinity were investigated became widely carried out. In the construct and negotiation of the hegemonic masculinity, the significance of football was shown through several studies. Today, the prominent fundamental discussion points in the masculinity studies are based on the assumption that masculinity is a product of a range of complicated sociocultural interactions. This assumption is of importance in the way of showing that masculinity is not a phenomenon specific to a definite group of men, a group of men the borders of which are defined, but a phenomenon that is far from generalizations and far more complicated. In this sense, football, with regards to its prevalence in the entire world, is one of the most significant areas which contribute to the establishment of masculinity.

In Turkey, football has been associated with a variety of fields. Football is an inseparable part of everyday life for a lot of men in Turkey. Football in Turkey is mainly formed with a supporter identity turning around “The Big Three” (Beşiktaş, Fenerbahçe, and Galatasaray). In parallel with that daily social life, for the football interested men, is organized according to football, the role of football in the construction and production of hegemonic masculinity is of great importance. The supporters organize their daily life according to the football match. Watching TV shows on football matches, news, and commentaries is a practice shaping the daily life of the supporter men. In recent years, with the increased opportunity for communication through social media, an active supporter practice is added to the said daily practice. Supporters are no longer just passive audiences, instead, they are active media subjects.

For this study, the Çarşı group, found and managed by the Beşiktaş supporters, was investigated. The fact that this group affects leading large masses at the tribune was a significant criterion for the study. This study, with regards to the selected social media pages of the Çarşı group which is dealt within the framework of the literature related to the representation of the hegemonic masculinity, will be focusing on the dominant masculine image of football, and how to make room for

alternatives to this image. This is because, those pages that have been created by the supporters, where, different from the official websites of the football clubs, the supporters have the right to speak and are controlled less, are open to more people and more ideas with the more “realistic” use of daily language. In the study, first, we will try to establish a theoretical foundation by examining the relations between sports and hegemonic masculinity; and then we will analyze the topic of the study with regards to the studies carried out both in the world and in Turkey on sports, football, partiality, and hegemonic masculinity.

1. Method of the Study

The random sample was chosen to examine how the posts on these pages and the comments to these posts are constructed according to hegemonic masculinity meanings. The data selected in this way was organized under three themes (slang/swearing, violence, and power) that are predetermined by the thematic analysis. During the analysis, to evaluate the comments on the pages qualitatively, the critical discourse analysis and the related techniques were used in general. For the study in question, the selected pages of the Çarşı group on social media were investigated from January 2017 to January 2019. Accordingly, I found posts with contentious discussions of slang/swearing, violence, power gender, and alongside other posts that asserted the poster’s desire to be associated with traditional forms of masculinity.

Çarşı group was chosen for analysis because among the football fan groups Çarşı group has an anarchic character which disobeys the social rules that cause inequalities. For example, its logo contains the anarchist “A”. Thus, McManus (2013: 7) defines Çarşı group as

While the fan group was founded in 1980 to generate support for the team, its uniqueness when compared to the fan groups of other Turkish teams is that it became colored by the iconography and ideologies of the leftist cause during this period. Growing up in Beşiktaş, a historically mixed-class, heterogeneous, and progressive neighborhood of Istanbul that was dominated by leftists in the late 1970s, the group’s founders unsurprisingly harbored resentment toward many of the social and cultural changes ushered in by repressive military rule and the neoliberal period that followed it.

One of the main slogans of Çarşı group is “Çarşı is against everything/Çarşı her şeye karşı”. This study wants to examine whether Çarşı group is against hegemonic masculinity too. Hegemonic masculinity also causes gender inequality. Hence, this study just wants to analyze whether Çarşı Group has a different masculinity approach or not. Within the framework of the themes mentioned above, the comments on the social media accounts of the Çarşı group were selected and analyzed.

2. Hegemonic Masculinity

The process of being male and female, starting from the house, in the cradle, the kindergarten, the school, the spore, the special relations, the social institutions, the organizations, and the business life. These areas are important factors in the formation and reproduction of gender. Because of these institutions, it is ensured that role differences and gender divisions are continuous.

Hegemonic masculinity is one of the most important concepts that researchers working in this field in recent years. Hegemonic masculinity is a form of manhood, which produces idealized forms for males, which affects masculine relations between men and women in different geographies, cultures, and histories, and affects other masculinities more or less. Basic hegemonic masculinity features; heterosexuality, homophobia, competitiveness, work-power ownership, sexually active, sexism, and racism/nationalism (Connell, 2013; Sancar, 2011). Since the concept of hegemonic masculinity tells the characteristics of what an "ideal" man should be, we cannot find all the features in a single individual. According to Sancar, masculinity is "building power" (Sancar, 2009: 19). The roles expected from men have become the rules that they must fulfill. When the man fulfilled what was expected by the society, he was seen as "strong" and became a "valued" individual by the society; but when the male did not fulfill the expectations (gender roles, duties) of society, he faced exclusion. Because in society there is an understanding of masculinity that is accepted and dominated by society. Connell defines this understanding of masculinity as hegemonic masculinity. The concept describes how the form of masculinity created in the patriarchal system establishes hegemony over women and other masculinities (Akca and Ergül, 2014: 13). In other words, hegemonic masculinity is ideal. Hegemonic masculinity is not static, so new forms with old forms always change (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). In this respect, it is impossible to define a fixed, constant male ideal. However, manhood is rebuilt with texts such as cinema, media, novels, and stories. For this reason, one can speak of "masculinities", not of universal manhood, but different masculinity experiences. Connell notes that masculinity has changed due to gender differences in gender attitudes and behavior, structural changes in gender mainstreaming, and changes in the social structure (1995). This structure is the product of certain historical, social, and cultural conditions that constantly reproduce itself. In other words, different communities and cultures experience in different ways than we now experience "our" masculinity (Bozok, 2011, p.6). Unlike femininity, male identity continues to subject men to life-long trials as an identity that is constantly re-tested and re-tested. That is why men try to see 'approval' by their genders.

3. Theories of Masculinity and Association Football

Masculinity varies with different social settings and different gender relations (Connell, 1995). The relationship between sports culture and the dominant construction of masculinity renders sport one of the major cultural practices that serve for the creation of gender inequalities. Men's domination over women thanks to their physical appearance justifies defining the field of sport, which is of utmost importance in terms of demonstrating physical strength and endurance, as a field reserved for masculinity. Connell (1990) suggested that a contact team sport such as football portrayed hegemonic notions of masculinity (in the players, media, and fans), and the continued reproduction of heteronormativity was evident. One particular contact team sport, association football, was based on and maintained traditional notions of masculinity during the nineteenth and twentieth century. This required the demonstration of physical strength and power, heterosexuality, and hostility towards homosexuals and women (Dunning 1999; Nauright and Chandler 1996). Sport as a masculine field not only reproduces the hierarchical and unequal relationship between women and men but also contributes to the deepening, normalization of the hierarchical relationships between different masculinities, which leads to other masculinities' being excluded and exposed to discrimination (Connell, 1995). Considered from this aspect, in recent years, football has become a subject topic that is also discussed, investigated, and speculated in the academic field as well as in daily life.

Sport studies started in the 1970s and have been mainly carried out by English and American researchers. In the 1990s, research on women athletes and in 2000s research on men athletes and hegemonic masculinity gained prominence. The importance of football in the construction and negotiation of hegemonic masculinity has been suggested in many different studies. Today, the main discussion topics in masculinity studies that come into prominence are based on the assertion that masculinity is a product of a series of complex socio-cultural interactions. This assertion is of importance in that it shows that "masculinity" is not a phenomenon specific to a distinct and bordered group of men but a phenomenon that transcends generalizations and is more complex. In this regard, the widespread nature of football makes it one of the most important fields that contribute to the construction of masculinity in the sports field. Today, football still is described as a "man's game", as it was in the past. This masculine approach requires to ask whether sport, in particular, football is a "man thing". As long as this question remains unasked, a "gender-neutral" language regarding sports and football cannot be suggested, and therefore, criticism and self-criticism towards the strengthening of existing power relations cannot be raised. For David Rowe (1997), sport "...has become one of the main instruments through which masculinity is being constructed against femininity in a way to offer an evident cultural hierarchy of power."

A distinction between private and public sphere has emerged also in terms of football. After the industrial revolution, as the traditional structure was replaced by the capitalist structure, women's place shifted from the private sphere towards the public sphere. However, the sports culture that has developed and been shaped around the traditional structure considers women to belong to the private sphere (housework, childcare, etc.) and men, who enjoy sports in their leisure time after work, to the public sphere (Giulianotti, 1999:155-156). In terms of Western history, the relationship between man and sports is twofold. Sport determines manhood. Masculinity also determines and makes sense of sports. Football is the demonstration of socially acceptable forms of hetero masculinity (Plummer, 1999).

In Turkey, academic studies on football usually consider the economic relations about clubs like branding, commercialization of the club, and football (Talimciler, 2008; Sen, 2013; Göllü, 2012; Yazar, 2005). However, there is a lack of specific documentation on men's football and masculinity. As Erhart (2011: 7) claims that "hegemonic masculinity is even more visible and can be more acutely observed in Turkish football stadia." Thus, this study fills the gap in relations between masculinity and football. Moreover, academic studies on Internet sports media content remain limited. As Crawford said, "The area of sports supporters is one that remains both largely under-researched and under-theorized" (Crawford, 2003: 233). In this research, I use social media to investigate gendered attitudes existing among fans of football via a sport-based message board.

4. Analysis of Çarşı Group

4.1. The loyalty of Football: Masculinity and Being a Fan

Football needs fans to get meaning. The fans, on the other hand, satisfy the need to belong to a specific group and to obtain an identity through the team they hold. Fans constitute one of the most important elements of football. Just like football cannot be football without a footballer, it cannot be without fans. The dimensions of this relationship have also changed within the development process of football. A fan community is a form of the social network containing interacting individuals in a town, city, or wider domain (Bale, 2000). The relationship between football and its supporters has been described as a relation which impacts on hegemonic masculinity. Fan culture has been viewed as an imagined dynamic community as part of everyday life (Crawford, 2004; Nash, 2000). The wider social role of football should also be considered as part of everyday masculinity experiences. Soccer and football fans are one of the most influential fields in the formation of male identities all over the world. We see more of the use of violence, homophobia, profanity/slang associated with masculinity in this area. Also, football and sports can be the stage for the domination of men towards each other. Hegemonic masculinity is one of the most important concepts that researchers working in this field in recent years.

Today, as many phenomena, adherence to a football team has faced a significant change. Modern technologies play a vital role in the facilitation of transnational fan networks. Especially web 2.0 and social media have offered many platforms suitable to talk about football. Instagram and Twitter, among others, allow supporters to reinforce their supporter identity also in the virtual world in addition to real-life in that they can share their comments and ideas freely as active subjects. On fan-related Web sites, participants are involved in day-to-day interaction, threats to the other club fans, and sending photographs, fanzines, video clips. Since the 1990s, the increasing number of mobile phones, laptops, and other computer tablets now provides fans to be more active online. Kian et al. (2011: 694) express that fans become users and they serve hegemonic masculinity by postings on fan-related web sites.

As a result, daily practices associated with being a supporter get standardized with each passing day and shape the construction of a social sphere where a certain image of masculinity has to be continuously experienced in daily life. In such a social sphere, social media becomes an indispensable part of their daily life and then causes the emergence of the value judgments, tastes, and opinions of masculinity. Today, such an understanding of adherence, which has been developed using social media, will render masculinity dominant, as in the past, and sustain sports and football based on male hegemony.

The power relations in the field of sports and football need to be examined as a gender-related cultural practice. One of the major points here is the fact that this field is read concerning the concept of hegemonic masculinity. According to Connell (1995), the concept of hegemonic masculinity is a form of being a man which is created by gender practices that are culturally supported, aggrandized, praised and excused within a certain societal/cultural formation, wherein it can more or less affect other masculinities (Özbay and Baliç 2004). Researchers who deal with the field of sports and football in terms of the emergence of hegemonic masculinity (re)produce gender relations that are already dominant in the field of sports and football. This relationship between sports culture and masculinity construction makes the sport a cultural practice of great importance serving for the drawing of a boundary between a woman and a man (Miller, 1990). For example,

- *Your father* is Beşiktaş. You will obey. Beastly colored (4humorpost, 11 February 2018).

- *Don't cry* as a Beşiktaş fan. Let them play ball *like a man*. (cskntunaa, 16 February 2018).

- You added ear and nose to yourself *like a girl*, you fucking effeminate Karıköy Fenerli. You come here and put a racon here as if you are a man. Listen to Vardar Ovası (storyissx, 27 February 2018).

- *Beautiful*, you leave football. *Play volleyball* or something. Cook sarma or hang out Yemekteyiz program (Sokakfenerbahce, 10 February 2019).

- Fuck those referees. He is looking for you too. He also looks for Fenerbahçe. It also protects Galatasaray. Don't cry like a woman (muhammedaliw, 28 January 2018).

- How many motherfuckers are among our fans. Fortunately, an *assmongers* like Burak came (ozanhakank, 12 February 2019).

- Your brother, your president has did it yourself. Now, *like a belly dancer*, 17 teams dance. Let's take *crying pacifier* (cetinciftci_, 12 February 2019).

- Put that in your little mind, sit down, watch *your husband* and learn (shsnsbsmsbsmsbsmsbw, 27 January 2018).

- Beşiktaş is *the Father Team* (forzabesiktas, 11 February 2018).

- *Your father* is Besiktas Ulan! (yidoo.dncr, 16 February 2018).

As we can see the quotations from fan groups, football is constructed as a man game. Being a fan of Beşiktaş is considered "father" who has the power over women and other men like in the family or in society as we can witness in Turkey. Moreover, the opposite team is feminized by referring to crying, cooking which are assumed women's features based on the gender-based division of housework. Hegemonic masculinity in Turkey is constructed as rational, strong, and violently, toward what is regarded as feminine (women and homosexuals), sexist and homophobic behaviors. Being emotinal is considered a feature of women and mostly it is said "*erkekler ağlamaz*" (men do not cry). Since masculinity was equated with power within a patriarchal society, to insult the other team, fans womanize the other teams and their fans. In the last instance, social media channels play a very active part in this process. Kian (et al. 2011: 682) "fans do so under anonymous screen names, which permits them to post freely without threat to their personal identities."

According to Orta (2014: 86), "the opinion of "football is the sport of men" is dominant in the public from football managers to the media in Turkey for years". The occupations are divided as "women's jobs" and "men's jobs". From this point of view, in sports the concepts of "women's sport" and "male sport" are also constructed (Orta, 2014). As discussed above, being man is related to strength and dominance. Also football is considered related to be strong. Thus, in terms of women's sports, male sports discrimination, football is considered as male sport. In that sense, Erhart (2011: 89) claims that "fans take pride in calling themselves *delikanlı*, a Turkish expression which means 'crazy-blooded'" which is commonly used in Turkish to refer to young men (Nuhrat, 2017). In general, media but in particular, sports media contributes to the reproduction of gender roles that already exist. As Mean (2001) argues, it is football that is especially linked to masculinity.

For example, there is a repeated saying "Football is the sport of men". Many studies examined the issue in terms of hegemonic masculinity power and the idea that this power puts women excluded by ignoring the success of women in "male" sports (Caudwell 2003; 2007). Between 2011 and 2014, the empty stadium ban was replaced with the women-and-children only policy. In other words, women were considered as a ban. Nuhra (2017: 36) argues this situation as

Distributing free tickets to women, instead of requiring them to purchase tickets like regular fans, shows that women are not considered to be real fans. It is telling that penalty games continued to be discursively termed as "spectatorless" even though thousands of women would be in attendance.

Hence, football in Turkey is generally understood as a men's game (Bora, 2013).

Social media, which has started to replace media that have gradually been traditionalized, indirectly accelerates this process. Social media has a critical role in the relationship between football and adherence. Social media, today, mediates the transmission of football to the end of the society. However, this role of social media should be regarded not only as mediation but also as the creation of the symbolic sphere around football, as determining the outlines of the relationship that football enthusiasts establish with it.

4.2. Football and Slang

Linguistic (verbal) violence, briefly, is described as verbal attacks against the person. A language is an important tool for us to name and communicate with the person in the community. Slang and swear words are types of languages that are regarded as threatening or insulting which we are unwillingly exposed to in our social life. The majority of the society takes it very normal when messages including slang or swear words are articulated by men. In cases where slang and profanity are welcome, expressions are equivalent to "power" (Kocaer 2006). One of the primary reasons is that the use of slang and swear words is associated with authority and dominance, therefore, masculinity. Akbaş (2012: 25) claims "man's identity built on power shows himself most strikingly in the field of language through sexuality. Therefore, in sentences such as "fuck", "put on your pussy", "fag", we encounter the humiliation of women's identity and body. male domination and power are also expressed in language."

According to Nuhra (2017: 31), "football fans in Turkey include swearing as part and parcel of fandom and its specific formulation of masculinity." When football matches are examined in Turkey, fans call themselves as *adam/delikanlı*. Moreover, they refer to rival fans, players, or referee as *ibne* (faggot) (Tanir, 2007). As Mewett and Toffoletti (2008: 175) claim, masculinity is manifested not only in physical actions but also in verbal discourse in football. Fans use racist and sexual discourses in their songs to bring down the opposing team morally (King, 1997:

585-587). Many fan songs put the rival team as a sexual object, and make them as not man enough.

Football is a sports branch almost everyone talks about in Turkey and the use of swear words is considered a very usual demeanor in the context of football. Players of the opposing team, their supporters, managers, referees, and so forth, in other words, enemies get affronted by supporters using words or phrases that would insult a gender. The driving force here is the desire to guarantee and ensure the continuity of dominance, and in Turkey, dominance corresponds to “masculinity”. For example,

- Who will make bam and bam¹¹ will be clear on wedding night¹² (mesuutcan, 28 January 2018)
- Fag federation, bitch child referees, your father Beşiktaş (erhanakinnnn, 30 January 2018).
- Get mad, motherfuckers. We come to fuck your mother (kndniyi_bak, 11 February 2018).
- Let's get fuck the motherfuckers next week (cnr.bk, 17 February 2018).

The words and phrases (fuck, pussies, dick, son of a bitch, motherfuckers, fag) used by the supporters when their team scores a goal are always sexist (insert, enter, put), always imply a struggle between the one who smashes or is smashed, who is the top or the bottom. Also, the language of thinking male sexuality not as making love but as a practice of dominance manifests itself in the fight songs and slogans uttered from the terraces (Bora, 2007). Caudwell (2011: 126) demonstrates “the malignant sounds of sexism, racism, and homophobia are palpable within football stadia”. He (2011) also claims that football is a symbolic penis in Turkish. Football and sex share a common vocabulary, for example, goal. Erhart (2011) also emphasizes that “when a team scores a goal fans oftentimes start singing about anal rape or insult the goalkeeper for his ‘weak performance’. Similarly, men use the phrase ‘score a goal’ to denote successful sexual conquests.” For example, in Turkey, bloody sheets (*kanlı çarşaf*¹³) are opened in-stadia referring to the wedding night (*gerdek gecesi*) to celebrate defeating an unbeaten team so far.

As we can see from quotations, all those slang words are used to feminize the opposite team. In this way, being a man equals not be a woman. In other words, being a woman or feminine damages masculinity or man can lose his manhood by feminized. The sexist language at the stadium also strengthens the idea that the field of sport (football) is masculine (Messner et al. 1993).

¹¹ Bam Bam is a phrase from a song meaning to ream.

¹² Referring the match day referring Beşiktaş as groom and the opposite team as bride.

¹³ In some regions in Turkey, to prove that the woman who married is virgin, in wedding night, bloody sheet is shown. The aim is to make sure the groom is the first to have sexual intercourse with the woman.

4.3. Football and Violence

As can be seen, hegemonic masculinity is a concept created to understand the power and wealth of certain male groups, how they justified and reproduced social relationships that create oppression and bullying (Türk, 2015: 86). Also, hegemonic masculinity is not about bullying only men but also women. Also, It has a binary function to understand bullying relationships between different male groups. Men having power exclude men, who do not act as expected in the group, who have different behaviors.

Football is closely related to violence as well as many other social events. Today, football appears as a reflection of social life. It will be helpful to consider why people support a team and supporters demonstrate aggressive attitudes towards the supporters and players of the opposing team within this construct (Çepe, 1992). Behaviors of football fans have become a topic of discussion. The shared impression regarding football and violence is that, recently, football has become a problem in terms of attitudes both in the arena and in the terraces, and the behaviors of football players and supporters have changed unexpectedly (Yüksel, 1998). Each passing day, supporters keep getting attached to their teams blindly and ignore facts. As a result, it is observable that their attitudes towards the players and the supporters of the opposing team have become disrespectful and aggressive (Arslan and Bingölbali, 1997). As it is known, hegemonic masculinity defines masculinity values with aggression, competition, heroism, and heterosexuality in building masculinity and establishes male domination on the myth of strength (Connell, 1995). In this way, the naturalization of acts of violence occurs. The fact that violence is accepted as natural in football, in fact, it shows its relationship with the reproduction of masculinities. For example,

- Again a life and death match. You're dead again (bradleyhelmss, 2019).
- It [Beşiktaş] will hurt so much (beşiktaşopen, 2019).
- it's time to show the power of the Çarşı (okansogn1903, 2019).
- Eagle, crush the canary's head. (many users comment like this)
- Father Eagle, motherfucker puppies. (many users comment this)

Adherence to a football team can be argued to have emerged due to psychological and social reasons. In each society, individuals have various needs. Impulses and motives transform these needs into behaviors and, as a result, individuals achieve satisfaction, which lies behind football team adherence. Supporters sometimes satisfy their expectations and hopes in their own private lives by the achievements of their team or club. Giulianotti (1999) describes football as an area for the legitimation of men's power over women. In most societies, men enact violence to women, especially planned, repeated forms of violence (WHO, 2002). Hegemonic masculinity has been used to explain various forms of men's violence, such as homophobic violence, murder, sexual assault, football hooliganism, violence in sport (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

The apparent face of violence in football is manifested as “Supporter Violence”. However, just as the fact that myriad macro structural elements are influential in the creation process of this violence, we have to admit that football, as a subsystem of society, is in a process of social construction. Many social media comments include violent sayings such as “fight, fuck, damage, destroy”. Situational factors-actions are more or less effective in the formation of violence in the football context. Fan pages where hegemonic masculinity is reproduced with violence, slang and swear language emerge as powerful social space to dominate other men (opposite team fans) who are not part of hegemonic masculinity. Those comments normalize the violence as a code of masculinity in terms of football. In other words, football seems to be an arena where men can perform violence which is accepted as a part of their nature.

Conclusion

In this article, we relate the hegemonic masculinity and football to our fieldwork on Beşiktaş football fan pages. The purpose of this exercise is to establish an analytical framework for the comparative study of football masculinity. As emphasized throughout the study, there is a close relationship between the hegemonic masculinity and football culture. Social media fan pages rebuild hegemonic masculinity. Moving from this point, when we look at the messages in the fan pages examined in the study, both in the production of messages and in the mediation of messages, the fans who made the comments seem to produce hegemonic masculinity as active users, not passive actors. Slang that is used extensively can be interpreted as exclusion and the relations of power they produce by men who represent the dominant masculinity values towards not against women, other men too.

It can be seen in the interactions of fan groups that hegemonic masculinity, not only individual performances but also various institutions or groups of men. We can see through the fan pages that the masculinities are actively produced by fans through social media. Masculine qualities appear through physical practices such as sports (Oktan, 2008: 161), football is one of its own. Despite the fact that football is identified with masculinity and is defined as men's sport, the fans' posts show us that the secondary position of the woman emphasized through football in terms of slang words and fans' definition of Beşiktaş such as father team or team of men. Besides, the feminization of other clubs/fans and sport fictionalization as a field of masculinity makes football a component of hegemonic masculinity. Slang words, on the one hand, are the sense of authority and masculinity through violence, on the other hand, they are tools that reinforce the bond between men. Moreover, women sports discrimination is observed. This distinction is being seen through the expressions on the fan pages that being strong and being a man (*adam*) is emphasized over football. Although football issues are included in fan pages, some of the expressions are especially swearing and violent, it can be interpreted as football is seen as a violent sport in itself. Slang and violence are equivalent to

masculinity. Slang words used not only against women but for men by men who represent the dominant masculinity values, hierarchy of men in relationships among themselves and the form of power relations can be seen on the pages. When considered, football has an important place in the representation of hegemonic masculinity. Although Çarşı is against everything, fan pages show us that they are not against hegemonic masculinity or degradation of women and other men. In other words, Çarşı fan pages are the areas that reproduce the hegemonic masculinity in Turkey.

Examining football on social media makes the potential of social media visible. As social media's impact on everyday lives increases day by day, it has a great influence on the gender roles in society. It is important to conduct studies in the fan pages such as twitter/Instagram accounts, and forums of football teams in terms of deepening the analysis of the subject. Fan pages are important areas of investigation in terms of showing that the patriarchal language has turned into a popular cultural product through football.

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