PUTTING THE CITY ON THE MAP:
A SOCIAL HISTORY OF FOOTBALL IN TRABZON TO 1967

SEVECEN TUNÇ

Boğaziçi University 2009

PUTTING THE CITY ON THE MAP:
A SOCIAL HISTORY OF FOOTBALL IN TRABZON TO 1967

Thesis submitted to the

Ataturk Institute for Modern Turkish History

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

by

Sevecen Tunç

Boğaziçi University

2009

"Putting the City on the Map: A Social History of Football in Trabzon to 1967," a thesis prepared by (your name) in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts in History degree from the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History at Bogaziçi University. This thesis has been approved accepted 31 August 2009 by:

Ass. Prof. Cengiz Kırlı _____

(thesis advisor)

Prof. Şevket Pamuk _____

Ass. Prof. Asım Karaömerlioğlu_____

An abstract of the thesis of Sevecen Tunç, for the degree of Master of Arts from the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History of Boğaziçi University to be taken in August 2009

Title: Putting the City on the Map: A Social History of Football in Trabzon to 1967

This study, exploring the social history of football in Trabzon, seeks the roots of the identification of the city with football in the period before the establishment of the city club Trabzonspor. Unlike the popular history accounts of sport in Trabzon, this thessis analyzes the development of football in the city by taking into account other social and economic dynamics. The thesis argues that the social meaning of football as a middle-class activity before the 1950s and as a popular mass sport after the 1950s for Trabzon has possessed a persistent character. In line with this, it is argued that the social function attributed to the game is closely bound up with the socio-economic position of Trabzon. Football, since its early inception in the 1920s, has been a means of the cultural expression of the city at the national level. Trabzon as a city experiencing a sharp decline in its former preeminence has instrumentalized football to restore its hurt "civic pride". Therefore, football did not only functioned just as a sport, a game or a recreational activity, but it also acquired an important role of carrying the city onto the national agenda. In this context, this study aims to shed light both on the history of football in Trabzon and on the history of the city itsef.

Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü'nde Yüksek Lisans derecesi için Sevecen Tunç tarafından Ağustos 2009 tarihinde teslim edilen tezin özeti

Başlık: Kenti Görünür Kılmak:1967'ye kadar Trabzon'da Futbolun Toplumsal Tarihi

Trabzon kentinde futbolun toplumsal tarihini inceleyen bu çalışma, kentin bugün futbolla kurduğu özdeşliğin köklerini, Trabzonspor adıyla bilinen kent kulübü kurulmadan önceki dönemde aramaktadır. Popüler Trabzon spor tarihi yazımının aksine, kent futbolunun gelişimi, diğer toplumsal ve ekonomik dinamiklerle ilişkisi içinde tartışılmaya çalışılmıştır. Tezde, 1950 öncesi bir orta sınıf uğraşı ve 1950 sonrası popülerleşen bir kitle sporu olarak futbolun, kent için ifade ettiği anlamın sürekliliği saptanmıştır. Bu saptamanın paralelinde, oyuna atfedilen toplumsal işlevin, Trabzon'un sosyo-ekonomik pozisyonu ile yakın ilişki içinde olduğu iddia edilmektedir. Futbol, 1920lerden beri kentin ulusal ölçekte bir kültürel ifade aracı olmuştur. Bölgesel önemini hızla kaybeden Trabzon kenti, futbolu, tahrip olan "kent onuru"nu onarma bağlamında araçsallaştırmıştır. Bu nedenle, futbol, yalnızca bir spor, bir oyun ya da bir eğlence olarak değil, kenti ülke gündemine taşımanın etkin bir yolu olarak da önemli bir işlev kazanmıştır. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışma, kent futboluna olduğu kadar, kentin bizatihi kendi tarihine de ışık tutma amacını taşımaktadır.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express profound gratitude to my thesis advisor, Asst. Prof. Cengiz Kırlı, and to Prof. Dr. Şevket Pamuk and Asst. Prof. Asım Karaömerlioğlu for their guidence, supervision and useful suggestions. I especially want to thank Tracy Lord for her ideas that opened my mind and Kathryn Kranzler for her valuable efforts at editing this thesis.

I wish to express my appreciation to a great number of people who supported and encouraged me during my research and study. I am deeply thankful to those who shared their knowledge, experiences and observations: Cem Atabeyoğlu, Tanıl Bora, Kudret Emiroğlu, Rıdvan Akar, Erdinç Sivritepe, Barış Karacasu, Hakan Kulaçoğlu and İbrahim Altınsay. I am indebted to Haşim Albayrak who gave me all of his resources about the topic without any hesitation. During my research in Trabzon, I met helpful and friendly people. This thesis would not have been possible without the help of Fethi Yılmaz, Coşkun Akyüz, Ali Özbak, Cafer Hazaroğlu, Mustafa Yıldız, Ergun Ata and Kenan Sarıalioğlu.

Moreover, I am grateful to Derya Gencer, Tuğba Gencer and Tülay Kızılhan, who hosted me in Trabzon. Fatma and Mustafa Hacıalioğlu and Mehmet Güven encouraged me with their moral support. Hasan Güleryüz deserves special thank for helping me during my research and motivating me with his questions about my thesis.

I am thankful to Serkan Ağar, Asuman Algın and Ayşe Alnıaçık not only for their heart warming friendship, but also for their precious contributions to this thesis. There were many sources of inspiration for this study. Thanks for Ahmet Alış's poems, Nazar Bağcı's long and cheerful talks and Seda Yavuz's fellowship resembling "mellow wine". I also wish to thank my housemates, Melda Küçükdemirci and Anne Petersen, whose patience and understanding made the thesis writing easier. In addition, the generous support from the Demir Sisters (Nimet, Songül and Hülya) cannot be described. It is a pleasure to pay tribute also to the people in Abbasağa district in Beşiktaş for their footballing conversations and for their friendship as well.

I am, as ever, especially indepted to my family for their unflagging love and support throughout my life; my father from whom I inherited passion for football and poetry; my mother who is the embodiment of compassion and beauty and my sister who is *just* everything. I should also acknowledge "my extended family" in Sinop, the Apaydıns and the Kılıçs. I feel always lucky for being a member of this family whose emotional support gave me strenght and motivation.

Finally, my deepest gratitude goes to Halit Güven whose 'boundless' existence I felt in every phase of the thesis process. He made researches with me, puzzled his head on the topic from the beginning to the last point, read each detail of my text and gave comments on it. In fact, I can fairly confess that without his love, understanding and help, it was impossible for me to complete this work

To Mehmet Ali Gökaçtı,
whose unexpected death robbed Turkish sports history
of one of its best practitioners

CONTENTS

ABBREVATIONS viii

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION 1

"Opiate of the People and Stimulant for the Historian" 1
Writing Social History of Football in Trabzon 9

CHAPTER TWO: THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE GAME IN TRABZON 17

Early Action: Playing Against the Greeks 21
Teachers, School Boys and Local Elite: Early Football Enthusiasts 23
The Janus-Face of the Game 38
Kicking Hossein's Head 51

CHAPTER THREE: REMAKING THE CITY IN THE LOCAL ELITES' IMAGE 54

The State Enters the Football Field 56
A New Image: City of Sport 62
The "Neglected" Football of the "Neglected" City 75

CHAPTER FOUR: POST-WAR FOOTBALL IN TRABZON 84

The Real People's Game: From *Beyefendilik* to *Delikanlılık* 85
Football as a Matter of Civic Pride 104

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION 117

APPENDICES

A: Original Texts of the Quotations in the Thesis 120
B: Trabzon Local League Championship 122
C: Population Schedule: Trabzon and Turkey (1927-2000) 123
D: Visual Materials 124

BIBLIOGRAPHY 125

ABBREVIATIONS

RPP	Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası*)
DP	Democratic Party (*Demokrat Parti*)
GDPE	General Directorate of Physical Education (*Beden Terbiyesi Genel Müdürlüğü*)
GS	Galatasaray Sports Club (*Galatasaray Spor Kulübü*)
TSA	Turkish Sport Association (*Türk Spor Kurumu*)
TTA	Trabzon Training Association (*Trabzon İdman Birliği*)
UTSC	The Union of Turkish Sport Clubs (*Türkiye İdman Cemiyetleri İttifakı*)

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Homo Ludens, man at play, is surely as significant figure as Man at war or at work. In human activity the invention of the ball may be said to rank with the invention of the wheel.[1]

"Opiate of the People and Stimulant for the Historian"[2]

Religion, stated Karl Marx, is the opium of the masses. In saying this, he meant that religion is similar to opium in deadening the minds of the masses and offering them the illussion of happiness. Depoliticizing and discouraging people for any class struggle through which they can acquire a real happiness, religion serves the interests of the upper classes. Marx's impressive metaphor of opium has become a source of inspiration for various analogies. It is no doubt that the most popular analogy among them is the one between opium and football, which is said to have replaced religion on the contemporary scene.

In most people's eyes, football today has replaced religion as a source of passion and emotional catharsis. It has created its crowded and magnificient rituals in stadiums where the crowds worship the players as the gods of the game. The French sociologist Joffre Dumazidier was the first to claim that sport, in more general terms,

[1] Jonathan Manley, "Editing with J. A. Mangan," in *'Serious Sport' J. A. Mangan's Contribution to the History of Sport*, ed. Scott A.G. M. Crawford (London: Franc Cass, 2004), p. 1.

[2] The title was taken directly from John Lowerson's seminal article "Opiate of the People and Stimulant for the Historian" in *Historical Controversies and Historians*, ed. William Lamont, (London: UCL Press, 1998).

has become "the real opiate of the masses."[3] After him, the opiate theories began to gain acceptence in academia. According to these theories, sport is a means of "pacifying plebians" in the hands of the dominant classes. It is claimed to perform a de-politicizing function by taking people's minds away from real concerns and turning them towards pseudo-serious activities. As a result, it is again the dominant class that gains social advantages for its own existence. This approach is well illustrated in Harold Brighouse's play in which a club owner appears saying that "employers (…) know that good football is antidote to strikes."[4]

As the prominent sport historian Richard Holt has argued, "social control may have existed as a motive in the minds of some employers, but they were few and their influence on their workers seems to have been restricted."[5] However, according to the intellectuals who have concentrated obsessively on the "opiate theories" not only employers, but also fascist dictators have used football as a convenient instrument to manipulate the people. In this regard, the Portuguese dictator Antonio Olivira de Salazar, who said that he could never rule Portugal without football stands out as a basic argument strengthening their point of view.[6]

For my part, what seems odd is not the analogy between religion, football and opium, but the neglect of the sport itself as an academic subject of inquiry for such a long time. Overlooking sport, in this context, has stemmed from not only the

---

[3] The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 9th. ed., s.v. "Leisure" (New Tork: Macmillan and Free Press, 1968, quoted in Lincoln Allison, "Association Football and the Urban Ethos". In *Manchester and Sao Paulo Problems of the Rapid Urban Growth*, ed. John D. Wirth and Robert J. Joes (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978), p. 221.

[4] Quoted in Lincoln Allison, "Sport and Politics," in *The Politics of Sport*, ed. Allison (England: Manchester University Press, 1986), p. 15.

[5] Richard Holt, *Sport and the British. A Modern History* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), p. 164.

[6] For a typical example of this approach to football, see Temel Demirer. 2 June 2008. *Hala Futbol Güzellemesi mi?!*. Available [online]: http://www.mavidefter.org/anasayfa/content/view/372/71/ [11 Febraury 2009]

"intellectual snobbery" attached to the opium mentality, but also a prevalent conviction that detailed analysis of sport would not provide any new knowledge or explain important historical questions.[7] Sport has been interpreted either as too marginal to deserve serious attention or as an isolated world from the rest of the society in its own right.[8] Nevertheless, an apparently simple question about football, for instance, could take the historian straight into the heart of a complex debate about such different social phenomena as class, identity and gender. Although the Turkish academics have been unable to completely free themselves from the hegemony of the opiate theories and thus regard sport as a convenient academic subject until recently, it was in the late 1960s when their Western counterparts discovered sport's potential in addressing wider historical questions.

Steven Riess, the leading American sport historian argues that "sports history" ("sometimes designated as the history of sport or the social history of sport"[9]) owes its existence to certain developments in the social sciences in the late 1960s. Among these developments were the rise of new social history; interdisciplinary influences, especially from cultural anthropology; the democratization of the historical profession and the student revolution of the late sixties that called for more relevant scholarship.[10] In particular, the loosening of the boundaries of many intellectual disciplines and an upsurge in the interest in the lives of the ordinary people have stimulated research into the history of sports.

---

[7] Steven A. Riess, "The New Sport History," *Reviews in American History* 18, no. 3 (September, 1990), p. 311.

[8] John Horne, Alan Tomlinson and Garry Whannel, *Understanding Sport: An Introduction to the Sociological and Cultural Analysis of Sport* (London: Spon, 1999) pp. 14.

[9] Roberta J. Park, "An Ever Widening Sphere: J. A. Mangan's Contributions to an Increasingly 'Global' History of Sport," in *'Serious Sport'*, p. 8.

[10] Riess, p. 311.

Inspirational to this interest was the historians' craft of writing "history from below". It was perhaps the "Zeitgeist" of the sixties that found an expression in the historiography with the reintroduction of social groups including the working class, peasants, women and ethnic minorities who had up until then been "hidden from history."

As reconstructing the lives of common people became the leading concern, historians sought ways of understanding people's culture, including their personal experiences, everyday practices, customs and so on. In this sense, sports and other recreational activities which have constituted a fundemental part of all cultures like music, poetry and painting[11] entered into the historians' field of view. Contrary to the popular mind for which "sport and leisure are essentially minor issues thus matter less than earning a living or raising a family,"[12] the new generation of social historians stated that "the history of societies is reflected more vividly in the way they spend leisure time than in their politics or work."[13] Therefore, they concentrated on sport, the most popular leisure activity, as a legitimate basis for their historical study and began to raise wider questions such as "class" and "identity" through examining the significance of sports in people's lives.[14]

E. P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class*, which was regarded as the key text in scholarship favouring "history from below,"[15] could also be seen as the catalyst for the development of the British historiography of sports.

---

[11] J. W. Loy and G. S. Kenyon, *Sport, Culture and Society* (London: MacMilllan, 1969), p. 15.

[12] Kenneth O. Morgan, *Britain since 1945 People's Peace* (Oxford: Oxford Paperbacks, 2001), p. 341.

[13] Martin Polley, *Sport and Society: A Contemporary History* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 4.

[14] For a detailed analysis, see also J. Hughson, "Cultural History and the Study of Sport," *Sport in Society* 12, no.1 (2009), pp. 3-17.

[15] J. Hughson, "The Working Class and the Making of Sport," *Sport in Society* 12, no.1 (2009), p. 54.

Although he wrote little about sport in *Making*, due to the fact that the period he dealt with was one hundred years prior to the formalization of sport in Britain,[16] his path-breaking book inspired the earlier contributors of the socio-cultural study of sport. As Lowerson puts it,

> Almost all major British work in the field since then counts as an offspring of Thompson's groundbreaking book. A substantial number of scholars have now locked themselves into working through ramifications of …. his commitment to modernism, either placing cricketers, footballers and even lawn tennis players or golfers alongside Thompson's stockingers and impoverished handloom weavers as deserving rescue from the "enormous condescension of posterity."[17]

Despite its emergence in the 1960s, it was only after the 1980s that the social scientific study of sports was appreciated as the stuff of serious history.[18] A flood of high quality sports research, raising new questions and exploring new areas of inquiry, was observed in this period.[19] Thanks to the works of pioneering sports historians such as Guttman's *From Ritual to Record*, Mason's *Association Football and English Society, 1863-1915*, Mangan's *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School*, Mandell's *Sport, A Cultural History* and Holt's *Sport and the British*,[20] sports history gained wider currency as an academic sub-discipline. Equally important, these books which have come to be "classic texts in sports history," have enabled the succeeding sport historians to measure and understand

---

[16] Hughson, "The Working Class and the Making of Sport," p. 54.

[17] Lowerson, p. 203.

[18] Martin Johnes, "Play Up Play Up Play the Game," *History Review*, (September, 2001), pp.26-27.

[19] Riess, p. 311.

[20] Allen Guttman, *From Ritual to Record* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1978); Tony Mason, *Association Football and English Society, 1863-1915* (Brighton: Harvester, 1980); J. A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); R. D Mandell, *Sport, A Cultural History* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1984).

their own field.[21] In addition to the works of the prominent sport historians, the mushrooming of journals as of the 1970s which have sought "to stimulate, promote and co-ordiate interest in the history of sport"[22] contributed to the enrichment of the field. Today, such journals as *The International Journal of the History of Sport, Sport in Society, Sport in History* and *Soccer and Society* all operate as forums in which researchers and academics interested in the social scientific study of sport, recreation and leisure discuss a wide range of topics and share their ideas, information and approaches as well.

As discussed above, the 1980s witnessed an explosive growth of academic interest in sports. In this regard, the multidisciplinary influences coming from various academic disciplines including sociology, anthropology, political science and migration studies are important to mention. On the one hand, these social disciplines have introduced to sports history different methods such as ethnographic fieldwork, archival work, case studies and the use of traditionally unconventional resources such as letters, diaries and ephemera of various kinds. On the other hand, they have also offered an exciting avenue for exploring many fundemental realities of the modern world.

> The impacts of sociology and the various new social historical approaches (…) have opened new sight lines. Social class, gender, language, region, urban space, the exercise of power and so on have all become major targets for interpretation in approaches where the history of modern sport is treated as a useful *seismograph* (my emphasis) for detecting shifts and changes in wider society.[23]

[21] Douglas Booth, *The Field: The Truth and Fiction in Sport History* (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 2.

[22] Manley, p. 1.

[23] Lowerson, p. 204.

Thanks to the noteworthy contributions from various social disciplines, sport studies have formed a new academic field which has the potential to shed light on so many social issues. The dynamics between sports and spectatorship, for instance, has become one of the overriding issues in sport studies. Today, the hot debates around the concepts of violence and hooliganism are reflected in the contemporary sport journals. In these journals, which serve as a mirror for us to see the dominant trends in the history of sports, have also come to the fore works on the relation between sport and gender and also national, regional and ethnic identities. Although Riess complained that "little has been done on colonial and early national eras" in his article dated 1990,[24] today the role of sports in the construction of national identities in colonial and early national eras has also become a popular topic among sports historians.

As discussed in detail, since the late 1960s, a comprehensive and satisfactory literature on sports history has accumulated in which a wide range of topics varying from class to ethnicity and from nationalism to gender is examined through sports in the Western academy. Although it would be naïve to assume that the field has acquired "a place at the top table of history,"[25] it is today regarded as a "serious" academic sub-discipline on its own with its international conferences, journals and research departments at universities as well.

Contrary to the Western case, the historians' engagement in the history of sport has not been established long enough to create its own history in Turkey. Due to the opiate theories widespread among the Turkish intellectuals, especially among the ones with leftist tendencies, sport has been neglected as an academic subject until

[24] Riess, p. 311.

[25] Collins, p. 398.

recently.[26] As a result, Turkish sport historiography has been restricted to popular writings on Turkish sports in ancient times, famous Turkish sports clubs, the biographies of notable athletes and also on the rules and regulations of the games. Most of these works are far from being contextualized studies on the relationship between sport and other dynamics of society. Moreover, there is a highly developed tradition of half truth and mythology attached to it. Finally, almost all these works bear the stamp of "established paradigms of modern Turkish historiography."[27]

However, the 1990s witnessed the emergence of a new "critical" perspective in sport studies, in particular after Can Kozanoğlu's groundbreaking book, *Bu Maçı Alıcaz* published in 1990.[28] Thanks to the efforts of such intellectuals as Tanıl Bora, Ümit Kıvanç and Kozanoğlu, the dynamics between sports and Turkish society have begun to be discussed from a more "academic" perspective contrary to the early texts which lack the apparatus of modern scholarship. As can be expected, among the modern sports, football is given the lion's share of attention as the most popular sport in Turkey.

Since the early 1990s, a considerable number of books on football has been published, significant translations on the issue have been made and social science journals have devoted greater space to the game. Additionally, sports and sport-related issues, in more general terms, have begun to appear more frequently in the theses and dissertations of students at universities. These works have benefited from the sports history in the West in terms of theory and methodology. However, to offer

---

[26] For a relevant article, see Adnan Bostancıoğlu, "Tarafta ve Solcu Olmak: Dün ve Bugün" in *Futbol ve Kültürü*, ed. Roman Horak, Wolfgang Reiter and Tanıl Bora (İstanbul: İletişim, 2001).

[27] For a more detailed analysis, see Yiğit Akın, "*'Not Just A Game'*: Sports and Physical Education in the Early Republican Turkey (1923-51)" (MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2003), pp. 4-8.

[28] Bora, "Sunuş" in *Futbol ve Kültürü*, p. 15.

a fresh metaphor, those who come late to the dinner miss the "hors douvre" if not the whole meal. It should be pointed out in all fairness that the sports history in Turkey is an underdeveloped academic field compared to that in the West. Therefore, Turkish sports history requires an extra endeavour in order to close the gap between itself and its Western counterpart. Considered from this viewpoint, the attempt to write a social history of football in the city Trabzon becomes more meaningful. Although, as Aristotle said, "one swallow does not make summer," it will be my pleasure if this thesis makes a modest contribution to the history of sport in Turkey.

Writing the Social History of Football in Trabzon

My aim at the beginning of this study was to discover the objective grounds of the "originality" claim that Trabzonspor that emerged in the 1970s as the "Rebellion of Anatolia" and created its own legend bringing the Turkey championship to Anatolia for the first time. Therefore, I thought that my study would cover the period starting from the establishment of Trabzonspor in 1967 to the moment. However, the richness of the football heritage in the city and many "firsts" that the city had had before 1967 made me aware that ambition of Trabzon in football dated back to long before Trabzonspor was established. In addition to this, the fact that in most resources about Trabzon football, the pre-1967 period includes data that is repetitive, disconnected and partly inaccurate led me think that a study that focused on this period could meet a more acute demand. Consequently, I turned from the post-1967 period rather towards the pre-1967 period.

The story of football in Trabzon, unlike the common belief, goes back long before the establishment in 1967of the Trabzonspor club, which has been identified

with the football of the city and even with the city itself. The pre-1967 period plays a major role in the formation of an established football culture in the city. This period also paved the way for the Trabzonspor that would be founded soon to become identified with the city. However, almost all of the written sources on the history of football in Trabzon, perhaps because it requires painstaking research, provide limited information about the period. These texts, which frequently repeat each other, only talk about the birth of football, early clubs and championships. They, on the other hand, focus more comprehensively on the post-1967 period starting with the establishment of Trabzonspor. But in both cases, all the events about the game in Trabzon are presented as singular events independent from other social, political and economic dynamics. Their texts provide only a "photographic" history of Trabzon football in which footballing events, trends and so on are located in the past without making sense of the entire scene.

Nevertheless, it is a remarkable point that, except for Istanbul, Trabzon is the city which the most number of books have been written about its own football. As Eroğul notes, today efforts are made to support an extensive literature with historical references about the history of the city's football.[29] In the mentioned literature, besides popular books about Trabzonspor, compilations made up of newspaper articles about Trabzonspor and theses written on Trabzonspor and Trabzon sport also can be encountered. The emergence of so many works has definitely to do with the "legendary" successes of Trabzonspor associated with the city's football — even with the city. The important successes of Trabzonspor that have left their mark upon a period or with a marginal expression, the "revolution" they made in Turkish football, helped the city to take a place on the country's agenda *once again*. In the

[29] Ali Eroğul, "Trabzonspor Tarihi Üzerine Bir Deneme," in *Trabzon'u Anlamak*, ed.Güven Bakırezer and Yücel Demirer (İstanbul: İletişim, 2009), p.340.

seventies, Trabzonspor's giving an end to "İstanbul's sovereignty" in Turkish football had also brought along a rapid increase of the sympathy country-wide for the club and for the city as well.[30] The legends and myths that were shaped around this sympathy have become indispensable parts of the history writing of Trabzon football.

It seems important to mention that the legends and myths that can also be observed in the discourses on the history of football clubs all around the world have led to interesting results in the case of Trabzon. In this regard, what stands out is the pseudo-scientific attempt to explain the "revolutionary" successes of Trabzonspor. Some football authors have linked the secret of the successes of Trabzonspor of which the first eleven was almost totally made up of players from Trabzon in the 1970s with the "innate" tendency of city inhabitants towards sports. According to this essentialist point of view, a footballer from Trabzon owes his ability to the hilly geography of the city and his fighter spirit to the infertile soil.[31] Cem Atabeyoğlu, a famous sports historian, attempts to support this view through comparing football to the *horon*, a Black Sea folk-dance and thus arguing that the game is fit to the spirit and body structure of the Trabzon people.[32] On the other hand, there are also some authors who seek to explain the successes of Trabzonspor not through ethnographic factors but through the city's long established football heritage. Looking at the issue

[30] Hakan Kulaçoğlu, "Avrupa'nın Uç Beyliği: Trabzon," in *Fırtına, İhtilal, Efsane: Trabzonspor*, ed. Kulaçoğlu (İstanbul: İletişim, 2004), p. 87.

[31] As an example of this ethnic and essentialist approach that can be found in many texts on the history of football in Trabzon, the master's thesis of Haşim Albayrak can be cited as a typical one. Haşim Albayrak*, Trabzon İlinde Sporun Gelişmesinde Etkili Olan Etnografik Faktörlerin Ortaya Konması*, (master's thesis, Marmara University, 1994) For a powerful criticism of this approach, see also Ali Eroğul, "Trabzonspor Tarihi Üzerine Bir Deneme."

[32] Cem Atabeyoğlu, "Trabzon'da Futbol Hep Vardı" *Süper Trabzonspor*, no. 8-9 (May-June 1992), p.1.

from a wider historical perspective, the footballing success has come to be associated with the cultural past of Trabzon in that Trabzon has been one of the most developed cities in Anatolia.[33] This frame of mind appears to provide a more suitable ground for writing the social history of football.

Another mythical expression about Trabzon football that can be found in almost all sources is that Trabzon football has harboured so many "firsts" throughout Anatolia. It is not just because Trabzonspor was the first and only Anatolian club to become the champion of Turkey. To back up this argument, we can give the following examples: the first matches which were played according to regular fixtures in Turkey were played in Trabzon; the first officially-registered sports club in Anatolia was founded in Trabzon. In addition, the first book on football in Anatolia was published in Trabzon. The first sporting visit to İstanbul from Anatolia on club level and even the first international sporting event was hosted by the sports clubs in Trabzon.

The underlying motive behind such expressions that haunt the literature on the history of football in Trabzon is to demonstrate that the successes of Trabzonspor are not coincidences. Actually, as Kudret Emiroğlu indicates, "firsts" in football history serve as a mirror for us to understand certain social developments.[34] However, in the existing literature on the history of football in Trabzon, since such firsts are not "contextualized in terms of sorts of processes, relationships and dynamics,"[35] they are unlikely to shed light on the history of the city or city football.

---

[33] For a collection of articles in which football in Trabzon is analyzed from a critical perspective, see *Fırtına, İhtilal, Efsane: Trabzonspor*.

[34] Kudret Emiroğlu, *Gündelik Hayatımızın Tarihi* (Ankara: Dost Kitabevi, 2001), p. 558.

[35] Tomlinson, Horne and Whannel, p. 4.

To explain certain historical developments through football, a much more historically and conceptually aware eye is needed.

Considering the fact that sports history is an academic field that can answer wider historical questions, it is no doubt that any attempt to write the social history of football in Trabzon would do more than to historicize the path to the legendary success of Trabzonspor. What the famous sport historian Richard Holt said in his groundbreaking study on the history of sport in modern Britain seems to be true for this study. Writing the history of football in Trabzon is "a cultural and political as well as a social and economic enterprise."[36] Therefore, studying the social history of football in Trabzon is important not only for understanding the evolution of the sporting heritage of a city, but also for a deeper understanding of seemingly unrelated political, economic and social processes.

In this context, this thesis seeks to shed light on the social history of football in Trabzon from the early development of the game until the foundation of the city club, Trabzonspor, in 1967. Believing that timeless analytical categories would not be sufficiently sensitive to local historical conditions in Trabzon and therefore would not help to understand the peculiar aspects of the relation established between the city and football, this thesis prefers to be to a great extent loyal to a chronological order. Moreover, in analyzing the transformation of the football culture, a strong emphasis is placed on the evolution of the social functions attributed to the game in Trabzon. However, it must be noted that this study aims not only to examine the historical development of football and culture in the city, but also to explore the linkages between football and other dynamics in society by taking into account the

[36] Holt, *Sport and the British*, p. 3.

multidimensional developments in the city, which will be reflected through the prism of the game.

The story of football in Trabzon followed a path similar to the one in almost all 'belatedly' modernized countries in the sense that the game was primarily introduced to the local elite who had strong ties with the outside world compared to the ordinary folk. Therefore, dominated and governed by the local elite, football, in its early development, was far from being a popular recreation. Rather, it was regarded as a "rational recreation" to which the local elite assigned important roles of "physically regenerating," "morally controling" and "modernizing" society. This also appears to have been true for the case of Trabzon. In this regard, the following chapter discusses the key role of the local elite in the early development and institutionalization of the game. It is argued that the local elites who held the cultural control of football in the city considered the game a convenient means for transforming the old-pattern leisure habits of the ordinary folk and encouraging them to physical education activities. Moreover, it is claimed that apart from this pedagogical function, the local elites in Trabzon attributed the game a particular function which cannot be understood without considering the socio- economic circumstances Trabzon encountered after the Great War.

Focusing on the period from the 1930s to the end of the forties, the third chapter discusses the continuity of the domination of the local elites over football and, in parallel to this, of the social roles attributed to football. This chapter also introduces the changing dynamics in the city football as a result of the emergence of the state as a dominant actor in the field of physical education and sports. The impacts of the Second World War on the city football will also be dealt with in detail.

In the fourth chapter, it will be argued that the transformation that started in the 1950s refers to a turning point in the evolution of the city football. In this period, socio-economic developments taking place in the country in general and the city in particular undermined the material and cultural base of the ruling of the local elite in the field of football and thus football which had been formerly a middle-class activity began to be turned into a mass popular activity. Although this situation led to the erosion of middle-class values, the social function of the game which was closely bound up with the fate of the city, was perpetuated through a different channel.

In the attempt to write a social history of football in Trabzon, this thesis utilizes diverse research methods and presents the subject through a wide range of lenses. In this regard, it incorporates findings from oral history interviews, historical archival research and in particular from the textual analysis of the local press. In the process of scanning the local newspapers published in Trabzon to gather data from match reports and sporting news that appeared in the newspapers, I came across certain difficulties which affected my working tempo and conditions. In this regard, particularly the local newspapers Halk (The People), Yeniyol (New Way) and Yenigün (New Day) , which can be regarded as the thesis' primary resources, were dispersed in the libraries and some researchers' personal archives in Trabzon and Ankara. Moreover, since I dealt with a long time span, the absence of excessive numbers of these local newspapers created important gaps of information. I worked to overcome this in certain ways. A detailed study of local journals and other published materials on the subject were carried out. The official reports obtained from Prime Ministry of the State Archives offered solution. Apart from the written materials, oral history interviews were also benefited to fill the gaps among the partial and sporadic evidences. However, it must be noted that the concern to

compensate the absence of evidence played a role in the making of interviews, but the driving force as regards to the interviews was the need for an "insiders' perspective" apart from "the academic outsider." Indeed, without the views of the former footballers, fans and club administors which convey something of the pleasure of the game, the reader might suffer from reading a boring text.

CHAPTER TWO

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF FOOTBALL IN TRABZON

> City of Trabzon is experiencing sport addiction. So is there dance addiction in Istanbul, ud in Ankara and football in Trabzon (...) Each being just like a disease does not let free the one it sticks to. Several kids have gathered in whatever square, mosque yard and garden in the streets of Trabzon stretching all over the Kavak Maidan- screaming goal! Especially, the gathering of many idle people towards the Kavak Maidan due to the weekly rest day has exacerbated this addiction. Now, everyone has sport fever."[37]

"Now, everyone has sport fever." This was the verdict of Hüseyin Avni Aker in 1923. Aker, whose name would later given to the Trabzon city stadium, is a prominent figure in the sports history of Trabzon. Although the social agenda of the early 1920s was intensively occupied with important political issues like the end of the Independent War, the Lausanne Conference and the establishment of the new regime, Aker preferred to deal with the issue of football as a "serious" matter by carrying it to his column in the local newspaper *İstiklal*. This fact might be interpreted as an indicator of his particular interest in the game. However, not only Aker but also other prominent persons in society paid significant attention to football, considering it "more than a game." As will be discussed in detail, the social meanings and functions assigned to football played an important role in the formation of the football culture in Trabzon.

---

[37] Quoted in Mesut Çapa "Spor," in *Yirminci Yüzyıl Başlarında Trabzon'da Yaşam*, ed. Çapa and Rahmi Çiçek (Trabzon: Serander Yayınları, 2004), p. 296.[For the Turkish version of this statement, see Appendix A].

However, it seems impossible to understand the development of football culture or the social function of the game attributed by the footballing pioneers in Trabzon without taking into account the social, political and economic changes in the city and in Turkey as well. Considered from a wider historical perspective, it becomes clearer that the ideological pressures on the game and the kinds of meanings that were attached to it were all closely related to the "seemingly unrelated" changes in the socio-economic structure. Bearing in mind these considerations, this chapter analyzes the development of city football in the period from the 1910s to the end of the 1940s. In order to make sense of the early development of football as a part of the general history of Trabzon, it is necessary to briefly account for the socio-cultural background of the city until the Great War.

Trabzon: A Shining Port City in the North

Trabzon is an important port city on the Black Sea coast which has hosted many civilizations for more than thusand years. In the Ottoman period, the city assumed a pivotal role in the trade route from Iran to Europe despite the fluctuations in the sea transportation at certain periods of time.[38] Providing the interior cities with widespread overseas and internal communication networks and also shortened distances via the sea, Trabzon had a quite extensive hinterland including the Eastern cities such as Erzurum, Muş, Van, Kars, Iğdır, Gümüşhane, Bayburt, Karaköse and

[38] For a detailed analysis of the commercial position of the city, the following texts are recommended. Charles Issawi, "The Tabriz- Trabzon Trade, 1830-1900: Rise and Decline of a Route," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 1, no. 1 (January 1970), pp. 18-27; A. Üner Tugay, "Trabzon," in *Doğu Akdenizde Liman Kentleri 1800-1914*, trans. Gül Çağalı Güven, ed. Çağlar Keyder, Y. Eyüp Özveren and Donald Quataert, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları,1994), pp. 45-73.

Çıldır.[39] In fact, Trabzon was the commercial, social and cultural center of the Eastern region.

In particular from the 1830s, a significant increase in the transit commerce between Iran and Europe improved the economic welfare of the city.[40] This prosperity was reflected in an improvement in the service sector at the turn of the century. For example, by 1894, there were fourteen insurance companies in the city. After the Ottoman Bank, which opened in 1853, the Agricultural (Ziraat) Bank went into service at the end of the century.[41] Since the economic and financial sectors were developed to a great extent in favor of the non-Muslims, the socio-economic gap between the Muslim and non-Muslim population of the city deepened.[42] Nonetheless, one should note that there were also wealthy Muslim notable families whose roots dated back to the eighteenth century. Muslim notables, as Emiroğlu points out, constituted "the local politically and culturally dominant class of the city."[43] They led bourgeois lives, had social and commercial relations with İstanbul and Europe and paid great attention to modern education, sending their children to modern educational institutions in İstanbul and even abroad.[44] Thanks to the strong commercial and social relations with Marseille in France, for example, sending their children to the commerce school in Marseille became a "tradition" among the

[39] Said Bilal Çakıroğlu, *Tarihi, Ekonomik ve Sosyal Yönleriyle Trabzon* (Ankara: TOBB Matbaası, 1964), p. 27.

[40] Kudret Emiroğlu, "Vilayet Salnamalerine Göre Trabzon'da Bürokrasi ve Eşraf," *Kebikeç*, no.14 (2002), p. 163.

[41] Tugay, pp. 64-65.

[42] Ibid., p. 65.

[43] Emiroğlu, "Vilayet Salnamalerine Göre," pp. 161-166.

[44] Ibid., p. 168.

Muslim merchants in Trabzon. In a similar vein, the Marseilleans who stayed in Trabzon for their commercial business opened a French School in the city.[45]

Before the Great War, there was a lively and cosmopolitan social and cultural life in Trabzon. From the 1880s, the number of the restaurants, hotels, coffeehouses, casinos and hostels increased.[46] The last quarter of the nineenth century saw the publication of twelve Greek, nine Armenian and one French newspapers in Trabzon. The number of the newspapers and journals in different languages rose to 60 in the Second Constitutional Era. Among the publications in this period, there was *Hekim* (Doctor), the first medicine journal published in Anatolia. Furthermore, the first city almanac and the first city newspaper outside İstanbul was also published in Trabzon in the second half of the nineteenth century.[47] By the inception of the press, the resurgence in the service sector was reflected in the newspapers of the period. There were announcements of *"perukar"*s (barber), *"eczane"s* (pharmacy), foreign language courses and hotels in the newspapers.[48] The first cinema of the city, Turan Sineması which was founded by a foreign company, was opened in 1912. Theatrical companies came frequently from İstanbul to perform.[49]

As might be expected, the non- Muslim community, who were at the forefront of economic and social relations with Europe, played a crucial role in the cosmopolitan cultural atmosphere in Trabzon. Nevertheless, one should also note that the social and cultural activities of the non-Muslim population had always been

[45] *Halk*, 9 September 1958.

[46] Emiroğlu, "Trabzon'da XIX. Yüzyıldan XX. Yüzyıla Kahvehane ve Kitabevi Bağlamında Toplumsal Tabakalanma, Kültür ve Siyaset," *Kebikeç*, no. 10 (2002), p. 202.

[47] Atilla Aşut, "Trabzon'un Kültürel Yaşamından Kesitler," in *Trabzon'u Anlamak*, pp. 284-286.

[48] Emiroğlu, "Trabzon'da XIX. Yüzyıldan XX. Yüzyıla," p. 202.

[49] Aşut, p. 294.

encouraging for the local Muslim elites.[50] The cultural diffusion in Trabzon was predominantly in a direction from the non- Muslims to the Muslims. Experiencing the social and cultural changes at an earlier time compared to the other Anatolian cities influenced the self-definition of the city inhabitants. Borrowing the words of Osman Cudi Gürsoy, a local notable, the "change-loving"[51] *Trabzonlu*s (inhabitants of Trabzon) also learned football, like many social and cultural changes, from the non- Muslims and adopted the game in a quite short time.

Early Action: Playing against the Greeks

It is known that in Trabzon, football was first played by the Greeks, although the available sources do not provide any information about the exact time. The game, which had been played by the Greek school boys in Kemerkaya, attracted the attention of Turkish school boys during the Balkan War years. They began to hold matches which did not conform to any formal rules in those years.[52] The passion of the Turkish boys for the game quickly developed and resulted in the establishment of a sports club called *İdmanyurdu* in 1913. It is known that the club had 30 members and its colors were red and white. The İdmanyurdu players beat the Greeks in their first match. They travelled to nearby towns such as Akçaabat, Görele and Vakfıkebir

[50] Aşut, p. 285.

[51] *Yeniyol*, 21 June 1939.

[52] İhap Subaşı, *Trabzonspor Tarihi* (İstanbul: Doyuran Matbaası, 1977), p. 16.

to introduce football to the boys living there. İdmanyurdu came to an end as its members were called to arms with the outbreak of the First World War.[53]

As discussed above, some partial information about the club does exist. However, it is unknown whether İdmanyurdu was established for promoting Turkish nationalism like most of the clubs founded in the other cosmopolitan cities such as in İstanbul and İzmir, or it was just an "innocent" attempt to institutionalize football among the Turks. The sources available to us does not provide an accurate answer. Nevertheless, it is known that during the 1910s, football was used as one of the important means for expressing inter-ethnic hostility in certain cities of the Ottoman Empire. The football matches between the Turkish and the non-Turkish teams played a decisive role in the development of Turkish nationalism.[54] The instrumentalization of football in this period for fostering nationalism has an important place in Turkish sports history. To paraphrase Gökaçtı,

> In 1911, the idea of Ottomanism had lost ground in the political sense and had been replaced by Turkish nationalism. The Balkan Wars had made this idea dominant. In those days, the Union and Progress Party began to establish new football clubs and to develop the existing ones. It seemed possible to mobilize the masses for a nationalist awakening through the popularity of the game. Competing and being successful against the non-Turkish teams was seen as an important opportunity for developing a nationalist consciousness.[55]

---

[53] Süleyman Rıza Kuğu, *Asosyeşın Futbol* (Trabzon: Serasi Matbaası, 1922), transcribed by Ayşe Kuğu, *Asosyeşın [Association] Futbol* (İstanbul: Trabzon Araştırmaları Merkezi Vakfı Yayınları II, 2002), p. 131.

[54] Ergun Yurdadön, *A Brief Evaluation of the Development of Turkish Sport from 1839 to 1923*. Available [online]: http://www.thesportjournal.org/article/sport-turkey-post-islamic-republican-period [9 May 2009]

[55] Mehmet Ali Gökaçtı, *Bizim İçin Oyna: Türkiye'de Futbol ve Siyaset* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008), p. 46.

Bearing in mind Gökaçtı's considerations, it seems possible to argue that İdmanyurdu, the unique Turkish sports club in Trabzon performed the same nationalist function similar to the other Turkish sports clubs in İstanbul and İzmir. First, Trabzon, like these cosmopolitan cities where different ethnic groups such as Turks, Greeks and Armenians lived together, had a large non-Muslim population. Secondly, the foundation year of the club, 1913, was the time when the nationalist distinction was crystallized in the cosmopolitan cities of the Ottoman Empire. Thirdly, the colors of the club, red and white, might be regarded as evidence of a nationalist purpose. In this regard, it does not seem unfair to argue that İdmanyurdu, with its red and white colors, represented the Turkish community of the city "on the pitch" against the representors of the Greeks.

In the following decade, however, the heterogeneous structure of football which was played between the Turks and Greeks in the 1910s disappeared. To put it differently, as the non-Muslim population was forced to leave the city especially after 1923 under the Lausanne Convention,[56] football lost its function as a tool for nationalist mobilization. The game could no longer be used as a vehicle for ethnic polarization in the absence of the opposite identity which had been the Greeks in the 1910s. Therefore, the game would find its legitimacy by articulating into the physical education in the homogeneous footballing climate of the twenties.

Teachers, School Boys and Local Elites: The Early Football Enthusiasts

The Great War dramatically influenced the social and economic conditions in Trabzon. On the one hand, export goods which could not be sent due to the blockade

[56] Ayşe Hür, "Trabzon'un Etnik Tarihine Bir Bakış," in *Trabzon'u Anlamak*, pp. 168-169.

of the port were sold for dirt cheap. On the other, people were unable to meet even their basic consumption requirements of goods which were not imported due to the blockade. As a result, a great famine emerged in the city.[57] Besides the troubles of the war conditions, the Russian invasion which lasted from 1916 to 1918 created massive physical damage in the city.[58] When Süleyman Rıza, a footballing pioneer in Trabzon whose name will be frequently mentioned on the following pages, visited Samsun in the 1920s, he noted in his diary that Trabzon lay in ruins in comparision to Samsun, which had not experienced any invasion.[59] In addition to the destruction of the city, the Russian invasion led to a wave of emigration the likes of which Trabzon had not witnessed for centuries.[60] Even after the invasion ended, many of the families could not return. However, the sharp decline in the city population stemmed not only from the migration, but also from the fact that a considerable amount of the Muslim men of the city died in the war and the non-Muslim communities left the city. The migration of the non-Muslims who had formerly dominated the commercial life of Trabzon deprived the city of their commercial experie, relations as well as capital.[61] It was in such a such a socio- economic climate, the city football also went through "a period of interregnum,"[62] borrowing the terms of Kurthan Fişek. In the period between 1913-1920, a considerable number of the early clubs in Turkish football had vanished due to the poor economic

[57] *Yurt Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Anadolu Yayıncılık, 1982), 9th. ed., s.v. "Trabzon."

[58] Çakıroğlu p. 25.

[59] Süleyman Rıza Kuğu, *Trabzon-Paris: 1924 Olimpiyatlarına Yolculuk*, ed. Ayşe Kuğu (İstanbul: Trabzon Araştırmaları Merkezi Vakfı Yayınları I, 2002) pp. 33-34.

[60] *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "Trabzon."

[61] Çakıroğlu, pp. 25-26.

[62] Kurthan Fişek, *Spor Yönetimi* (İstanbul: YGS Yayınları, 2003), p. 239.

conditions and the famine of footballers who were called to arms.[63] In a similar vein, the only Turkish sports club in Trabzon, İdmanyurdu could not make its presence felt again after ending its activities in 1914.

The first record regarding football after the Great War is that the sport began to be played in Trabzon again between the army officers and teachers in 1920.[64] The teachers played a crucial role in the early development of the game not only by playing it, but also founding and administering the early clubs. To illustrate, the first sports club founded in the twenties owed its existence to a band of young teachers and merchants. Pertev Münir Subaşı, an English teacher at Trabzon Lisesi (Trabzon High School), pioneered the establishment of Trabzon İdman Ocağı by bringing "well known" and "prominent" young men together in his father's house in January 1921.[65] Among these youths were Hıfzırahman Raşit Öymen, a pedagogy teacher at the Darülmuallim (Teacher School); Burhanettin Kahyaoğlu, a French teacher at Trabzon Lisesi; Mustafa Sami, a physical education teacher at Darülmuallim and the three of the leading merchants of the city, Mehmet Ali Yusufoğlu, Tevfik Yunusoğlu and Kemal Özsubaşı. Two prominent club members, Mehmet Rıza Kuğu and Süleyman Rıza Kuğu, subsequently joined the club after completing their education at Galatasaray College in İstanbul.[66] At this point, the relationship between İdman Ocağı and Galatasaray Sports Clubs (GS) deserves to be mentioned.

---

[63] Fişek, pp. 239-240.

[64] Kuğu, *Asosyeşın Futbol*, p. 131.

[65] Subaşı, p. 20; Çapa, "Spor", p. 289.

[66] Subaşı, p. 20; Çapa, "Spor", pp. 289-290; Mehmet Rıza Kuğu, "İdman Ocağı'nın Kuruluşu", *Yenigün*, 20 January 1969.

According to some resources, İdman Ocağı is claimed to have been founded with support from GS.[67] Although no evidence can prove this claim, it is obvious that the relationship between these two clubs was not confined to the fact that they had the same colors, yellow and red.[68] Looking at the educational backgrounds of the founder members of İdman Ocağı, it is seen that almost half of them, including Burhanettin Kahyaoğlu, Tevfik Yunusoğlu and the Kuğu brothers, had been educated at Galatasaray College.[69] Their personal relations with those in Galatasaray College might have played a significant role in the development of the ties between İdman Ocağı and GS. Thanks to the established ties with GS, İdman Ocağı went to İstanbul for a sporting visit by the invitation of Yusuf Ziya Öniş, the president of GS, and Ali Sami Yen, the president of the Union of Turkish Sports Clubs (UTSC) and a founder member of GS, in 1923.[70] It was during this visit İdman Ocağı registered with the UTSC and became the first officially-registered Anatolian sports club.[71] It is also known that the members of İdman Ocağı sent a letter to GS requesting monetary aid for their club in 1924.[72] The organization of Black Sea tournaments for GS football team by İdman Ocağı indicates that the relations between two clubs was sustained in

[67] *Trabzon İl Yıllığı* (Ankara: Ajans Türk Matbaacılık [1967]), p. 113.

[68] Niyazi Tarakçıoğlu stated in an article that İdman Ocağı owed its colors to the fact that its founders were members of GS. Quoted in Subaşı, p. 93.

[69] Mehmet Rıza, "İdman Ocağı'nın Kuruluşu", *Yenigün*, 20 January 1969; Kuğu, *Asosyeşın Futbol*, p. 133; online resource [http://www.trabzon.bel.tr/idariKadro/Baskanlar/TevfikYunusoglu.html]

[70] Hikmet Öksüz, "Trabzon İdman Ocağı'nın İstanbul Seyahati (4 July-3 August 1923)", *Trabzonspor Dergisi*, no. 39 (December, 2006), p. 82.

[71] *Yenigün*, 21 January 1968.

[72] Gökaçtı, p. 230.

the fifties.[73] It seems also interesting to note that GS intended to found a branch office in Trabzon in the sixties, although it was never implemented.[74]

Following the establishment of İdman Ocağı, İdman Grubu, the second sports club in Trabzon, was founded thanks to the efforts of the teachers within the *Muallim ve Muallimeler Cemiyeti* (The Male and Female Teachers' Association) in the same year. It is interesting to note that among the founders of İdman Grubu, were there Burhanettin Kahyaoğlu and Mustafa Sami, who had also played role in the establishment of İdmanocağı.[75] Mehmet Rıza once said that although the first meeting of İdman Ocağı was held in the mentioned association, the club was moved to a new building in order "to be freed from the pressures of the Association."[76] This anectode supports the claim that İdman Grubu emerged as a result of an intra-club conflict within İdman Ocağı.[77] Henceforth, İdman Ocağı and İdmangrubu had a fierce rivalry which seems to have not been restricted to the playing field. The notion of honorary presidency coloured the rivalry between the two sides. After Kazım Karabekir became the honorary president of İdman Ocağı,[78] the members of İdman Grubu made Mustafa Kemal their honorary president by sending him a telegraph.[79]

---

[73] *Halk*, 22 June 1954; *Halk*, 25 May 1957.

[74] *Yenigün*, 24 January 1969.

[75] Çapa, "Spor", p. 106.

[76] Mehmet Rıza, "İdman Ocağı'nınKuruluşu", *Yenigün*, 20 January 1969.

[77] Doğan Yıldız, *Çağlarboyu Türklerde Spor* (İstanbul: Telebasım Yayıncılık, 2002), p. 675, quoted by Eroğul, p. 343. It is also known that in Turkish sports history, the sports clubs emerged between 1913-1922 were generally resulted from conflicts and divisions within the previously established clubs. Progres Sports Club, for example, was founded by a group of sportsmen and administors from Galatasaray Sports Club who could not have participated to the foreign visit of the club. In this context, see Fişek, p. 221.

[78] *Güzel Trabzon*, 28 August 1922, quoted by Cumhur Odabaşoğlu, *Trabzon: 1869-1933 Yılları Yaşantısı* (Ankara: İlk-San Matbaası, n.d.), p. 99.

[79] *Halk*, 12 June 1923, quoted by Odabaşoğlu, p. 108.

The teachers who promoted football among the students during their physical training at schools also took the lead in the foundation of school teams. While the two schools *Darülmuallim* and *Sanayi Mektebi* (Industry School) formed their football teams in 1921, *Trabzon Lisesi* and *Vahdettin Numune* (Cudibey Primary School) entered the football field in 1922.[80] As will be discussed later, the schools, on the one hand, functioned as the main resources of footballers until the end of the Second World War. On the other, they provided an objective ground for the development of football culture according to the amateur values. In fact, it appears noteworthy to mention that the key role of the educational community in the early organization of the game was peculiar neither to Trabzon nor to Turkey. Fişek writes that "football has obtained the opportunity to flourish easily within the educational institutions almost everywhere in the world."[81] In addition to the examples that can be given from Turkey such as Galatasaray, İstanbulspor, Vefa Spor and Gençler Birliği, the long-standing British sports clubs Aston Villa, Sunderland and Portsmouth also originated as school based teams.[82]

Although the early accounts of the history of football in Trabzon ask us to accept that the game was passed down to the lower strata of society by those who had learned the game at public schools, it seems unfair to attribute the game's significant popularity within a short span of time solely to the teachers' efforts. İhap

---

[80] Kuğu, *Asosyeşın Futbol*, pp. 33-35; Nerim Değirmencioğlu, "Lise Spor Yurdu Tarihi", *Boztepe*, no.3 (April, 1946); *Futbolda Karadeniz Fırtınası Trabzonspor: 35 Yıllık Öykü* (İstanbul: Sinerji Yayınları, 2003), p. 12.

[81] Fişek, p. 221. [For the Turkish version of this statement, see Appendix A].

[82] Fişek, p. 221; Tanıl Bora, *Ankara Rüzgarı: Gençlerbirliği Tarihi* (Ankara: Self-publishing, 2003); "Early Action: Founding and Furthering Clubs", *Soccer and Society* 9, no.5 (2008), pp. 632-653. At this point, it seems noteworthy to mention that the contributions of teachers in the early development of the game in different countries have fairly attracted the attention of the sports historians in the recent years. See, in this context, the special volume of *Soccer and Society* entitled as *Soccer's Missing Men. Schoolteachers and the Spread of Association Football*, 9, no. 5 (2008).

Subaşı notes that the sporting cooperation among the teachers in the city had encouraged some notable people who had also carried passion for sports.[83] In this regard, the contributions of the local elites who were well-educated people dominating the social and political life in the city to the early institutionalization of the game never should be overlooked.

Considered from a wider perspective, it will be seen that throughout Anatolia social and political pioneers established sports clubs in the early twenties. Ziya Gökalp, for instance, settling in Diyarbakır, his hometown, after his return from exile in Malta, not only published books or periodicals, but also took the lead in the foundation of a sport club called Gençlik İdmanyurdu.[84] Modern sports which emerged in the Ottoman society as a product of the modernization process, were seen as effective areas in the transformation of the society.[85] In this regard, like publishing a newspaper or performing a theatre play, being involved in modern sports and founding sports clubs were regarded as, in Tahir Abacı's words, "an enlightened person's duty" (*münevver işi*).[86] In this frame of mind, the local notables in Trabzon also associated their involvement with modern sports as a way of serving their society.

Trabzon, which had been "a city open to the external world thanks to its commercial function" until the Great War, harboured a class of intellectuals who were highly-educated and interested in world affairs.[87] The majority of these people

---

[83] Subaşı, p. 16.

[84] Tahir Abacı, *Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da* (İstanbul: İletişim, 1999), p. 112.

[85] Yiğit Akın, "Anahatları ile Cumhuriyet Döneminde Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor Politikaları," *Toplum ve Bilim*, no: 103 (2005), p.57.

[86] Abacı, p. 112.

[87] Sabahattin Özel, *Milli Mücadele'de Trabzon* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1991) p. 51.

came from the notable families of the city. Emiroğlu claims that the members of the notable families not only constituted the socially and culturally dominant class in the society, but also were the ones who occupied the high positions in the bureucracy, in the municipality and institutions such as the Chamber of Commerce and Industry.[88] Along with the teachers, these local notables took the lead to develop and institutionalize football, to which they attributed important social functions. For this end, they founded senior clubs in the first half of the 1920s. The *Necm-i Ati Sports Club*, for instance, was founded by well-known people from different walks of life, such as stock clerks, government officials, hazelnut experts and predominantly merchants in 1923.[89] The president of the club, Osman Cudi Gürsoy was the son of the teacher İbrahim Cûdi, who had been an educator and poet who strongly influenced the cultural and social life in Trabzon in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[90] Gürsoy was at the same time a member of the board of the *Himaye-i Etfal Derneği* (Society for the Protection of Children) in the early 1920s and later became the head clerk of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in the city.[91]

The *Gençler Birliği*, in a similar vein, was also established in the same year by the notables who dominated the local society. Among its founders were Hatipzade Kemal Bey, the owner of the local newspaper *Zafer*; Eşat Ömer Eyyübi, a famous publisher of several humor magazines; and Celal Pulathaneli, who would later

[88] Emiroğlu, "Vilayet Salnamalerine," pp. 159-166.

[89] Odabaşoğlu, p. 103.

[90] *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 8th. ed., quoted by Yrd. Doç. Yücel Gelişli, "Muallim Cudi Efendi Öğretmenlik Hayatı ve Eserleri," available online [http://w3.gazi.edu.tr/web/gelisli/muallim.htm], 8 May 2009.

[91] Çapa, "Cemiyetler," in *Yirminci Yüzyılın Başlarında*, p. 103; *Yeniyol*, 9 August 1934.

become the chairman of the Republican People's Party (RPP) in Trabzon.[92] In the context of the elitist character of the football community in Trabzon, further examples can be given. Pertev Münir Subaşı, the president of the İdman Ocağı, was a *Subaşızade*, a notable family known for having members who were senior bureucrats. Not breaking the tradition, Subaşı had to go to Ankara to work in Ministry of Foreign Affairs and left the presidency of the club. Similarly, two pioneering members of the İdman Ocağı, Mehmet Rıza and Süleyman Rıza, were from the Kuğuzades, who were descended from Kuğuoğlu İbrahim Paşa, who had been vaivode of Görele in the eighteenth century.[93] Taking the social backgrounds of the founders of İdman Ocağı into consideration, it becomes more understandable why the supporters of İdmangücü describe the supporters of İdman Ocağı as "*zadegâns*" (local elite) in their longstanding rivalry which have survived until today.[94]

It is noteworthy to mention that the elitist characteristic of the early clubs also indicates the homogeneous footballing climate of the city. The homogenity of the social structure of the footballing pioneers in the terms of ethnicity, religion and class was reflected in the early organization of the game. None of the early clubs outside school were identified with specific groups, whether ethnic groups, employment associations or geographical affiliations. However, it is observed that by the 1950s, the city football would transform into a more heterogeneous structure in accordance with certain economic, political and social developments. As football began to attract massive appeal and its fan base extended, new sports clubs associated with one

[92] Haşim Albayrak, *Trabzon İlinde Sporun Gelişmesinde*, p. 54.

[93] Emiroğlu, "Vilayet Salnamalerine", pp. 161- 166.

[94] Refik Karaağaçlı, interview by the author, tape-recording, Trabzon, 15 February 2009.

particular *mahalle* (residential neighbourhood) or institution emerged. At this point, it is interesting to note that in the transformed football atmosphere of the fifties, since they were deprived of a clear affiliation with a particular *mahalle* or institution, the early clubs which were able to survive until that time such as İdman Ocağı, İdmangücü and Necm-i Ati would be called "center" teams.[95]

As discussed above, along with the teachers, the local notables played a key role in the establishment of the early sports clubs in Trabzon. These people who can be called "the footballing pioneers", sought different ways of institutionalizing the game in the city. The major motive behind the efforts for institutionalizing football was the social functions they attributed to the game. However, before discussing these functions, it seems more reasonable to look at the early institutionalization of the game in Trabzon.

A Glimpse into the City's Football Life

Although the early clubs involved in a wide range of sports varying from athletics to tennis and from golf to fencing, it was football *inter alia* the most popular sport as from its early inception in Trabzon.[96] Şevket Çulha, a local notable and prominent member of İdman Ocağı, once mentioned that the fact that more than the half of the club members wanted to play football weakened the other sport branches in the early 1920s.[97] The growing popularity of the game in particular among the public school boys motivated the sports clubs to form second, third and even fourth

[95] Refik Karaağaçlı, interview by the author.

[96] Ali Özbak, interview by the author, tape-recording, Trabzon, 18 February 2009.

[97] Şevket Çulha, "Geçmiş Yıllarda Futbol Temaslarımız," *Yeniyol*, 5 September 1945.

teams.[98] The increase in the number of the teams necessiated attempts to create a proper institution and hold matches on a regularly scheduled basis. Football received institutional foundation in September, 1921 with the establishment of a ruling body named the Trabzon Training Association (*Trabzon İdman Birliği*) which launched a local league between a network of clubs.[99] Although Trabzon is claimed to have been the first city to launch a coordinated programme of fixtures by many authors, evidence to support this claim is lacking.[100] Nevertheless, considering that there were local football leagues only in the cities of Trabzon, Bursa, İzmir, İstanbul and Eskişehir in 1923,[101] Trabzon was among the first cities to establish a ruling body to formulize the game's rapid development.

After the establishment of the TTA, league matches began to be hold regularly every Friday in the Kavak Maidan in order to celebrate the champion football team of the city.[102] Friday was the recognized holiday date when attendences would increase and both players and spectators would be more likely to be in possession of agreed free time. In fact, the "permanent" playing field and time might have contributed to the adoption of the game by the city inhabitants in a relatively short time.

---

[98] Subaşı, p. 19; Mehmet Rıza Kuğu, "İdman Ocağı'nın Kuruluşu," *Yenigün*, 20 January 1969.

[99] Kuğu, *Asosyeşın Futbol*, p. 119-121.

[100] Although an article appeared on the journal *Spor Alemi* is mostly referred to as evidence of this claim, the number of the journal is not mentioned. For a typical example of this claim that is frequently encountered in the resources on Trabzon football, see Bülent Baş, "Trabzon'da Spor," in *Bir Tutkudur Trabzon* (İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1997), ed. Gündağ Kayaoğlu, Öner Ciravoğlu and Cüneyt Akalın, p. 435.

[101] Duygu Hatipoğlu and M. Berkay Aydın, *Bastır Ankaragücü: Kent, Kimlik, Endüstriyel Futbol ve Taraftarlık* (Ankara: Epos Yayınları, 2007), p. 42.

[102] Kuğu, *Asosyeşın Futbol*, p. 135; Çapa, "Spor," p. 293.

The Kavak Maidan which is called "the cradle of football"[103] in Trabzon, has been associated with the city's football since the game's early inception. Nevertheless, one should note that the Maidan was not a specialized site for football. It was a public recreation ground that had been used for a wide range of public events for centuries, varying from sport activities to traditional festivals and from national celebrations even to collective invocations for rain.[104] Furthermore, the football matches were held not simply in a place usually used for other activities, but also while other activities were going on. The Kavak Maidan was a meeting place and a market place, a place for entertainment and various kinds of collective activities. Football was one of the things that was done there.

It was 1921 when the issue of arranging a specialized site in the Maidan according to the needs of the sportsmen for the first time came into question.[105] The newspapers devoted a considerable interest to this issue. The construction of a stadium was claimed to be necessary because of the increase in the number of football teams in the city. In this context, the stadium was regarded as "the infrastructure of football," which was a "developing sport" in the city.[106] Furthermore, it was believed that the stadium would pave the way to the proliferation of the external footballing contacts which were seen as very important for "the social education" of the city. To this end, "the notables and moneyed people" of the city

---

[103] *Halk*, 15 April 1955.

[104] Nesip Yağmurdereli, "Eski Trabzon'da İçtimai Hayat," *Hamsi*, no.4 (1951), p. 22; Haşim Albayrak, "Osmanlılar Döneminde Trabzon'da Spor," *Çaykaralılar*, no.3 (January 1993), pp. 38-39; Theophile Deyrolle, *1869'da Trabzon'dan Erzurum'a*, trans. Reşad Ekrem Koçu (İstanbul: Çığır Kitabevi, 1939), p. 19.

[105] Rahmi Çiçek, "Trabzon'da Yerel Yöentim Düşüncesi ve Şehirleşme Çalışmaları (1919-1933),"in *Trabzon Tarihi Sempozyumu Bildirileri*, ed. Kemal Çiçek, Abdullah Sağlam, Hikmet Öksüz and Kenan İnan (Trabzon: Trabzon Belediyesi Yayınları, 1998), pp. 607-608.

[106] *İstikbal*, 20 Mart 1924, quoted by Çiçek, "Trabzon'da Yerel Yönetim," p. 607.

were invited to support this project financially.[107] However, this attempt of the footballing pioneers resulted in failure. The municipality, which owned the land, considering the income gained from the festivals arranged twice a year in the Maidan, delayed the implementation of the necessary arrangements until 1927 when the foundation of Cumhuriyet Stadium was laid in the Maidan.[108] As will be discussed later, the issue of stadium would stay on the local agenda for a long time and was turned into the symbol of the 'neglect' of the city in the field of sport.

The increase in the popularity of the game led to the emergence of further clubs such as İdman Sebat Yurdu in 1923, İdmangücü in 1925 and Birlikspor in 1926.[109] Unlike the other sports clubs in the districts of Trabzon, İdman Sebat Yurdu which was founded in Akçaabat, participated in the local league in Trabzon despite the interruptions during certain periods of time. Interesting to note, instead of starting with gymnastics associations that added football department, the primary basis for establishing a sports club whether inside or outside school had always been football, to which other sports were later added.

Apart from the local league matches, the school and non-school teams held private matches and cup competitions. In addition, they organized external footballing contacts by going to other cities to hold matches there and inviting teams from there as well. As can be expected, in those years, the opportunities for geographically distant teams to compete was very limited. Therefore most of the competitions were held with the teams from nearby cities such as Rize, Samsun,

---

[107] Kuğu, *Asosyeşın Futbol*, p. 129.

[108] Çiçek, "Trabzon'da Yerel Yönetim," p. 607.

[109] Atilla Bölükbaşı, *Akçaabat Spor Tarihi* (Trabzon: Tütünspor Yayınları, 1994), pp. 12- 44; *Yeniyol*, 24 January 1945; Yamak, p. 12.

Ordu, Giresun and Erzurum. Although their intensity fluctuated depending on the social, political and economic circumstances, the external footballing contacts occupied an important place in the city's football culture.

It is also possible to observe the reflections of the growing popularity of football in the city' social life. For example, a sports shop in which the formal requirements of the game such as shoes, socks, undershirts and so on were sold was opened on Uzun Sokak, the busiest street of the city, in 1922.[110] Moreover, movies about football were shown at Yıldız Cinema.[111] There was also an increase in the attention paid by the press in line with the growing interest of the public in football. Articles about the social and sporting activities of the clubs appeared in the local newspapers and journals as well. For instance *Çalıkuşu* (Goldcrest), acknowledged as the first woman's journal in Turkey and was published in Trabzon gave a remarkable amoun of importance to football. The journal's interest was not confined to publishing news about the actual sporting acitivities. In 1926, the journal organized a cup tie Altın Işık and İdmangrubu under the name of "the Çalıkuşu Cup."[112] It is noteworthy to mention Emiroğlu's claim that the reader base of the journal was built on Trabzon Lisesi and the football community.[113] This claim is important in the sense that it marks the overlapping of the football and the educational community in those years. Moreover, it can be said that the interest of the journal in football seems to indicate the values and norms that the game symbolized in those years. Football as a modern game and sports clubs as modern

[110] Kuğu, *Asosyeşın Futbol*, p. 169.

[111] Çapa, "Spor," p. 245.

[112] Emiroğlu, "Çalıkuşu Gazetesi – 1926 Yılında Trabzon'da Siyaset, Feminizm ve Futbol," in *Fırtına, İhtilal, Efsane: Trabzonspor,* pp. 38-40. In a similar vein, the local newspaper *Yeniyol* organized a cup competition in Trabzon in 1932. *Akın*, no.1 (March 1932), p. 22.

[113] Emiroğlu, "Çalıkuşu Gazetesi," p. 38.

social institutions symbolized the modern way of life and thus had the potential to draw the attention even of a woman journal at that time.

Throughout the 1920s, the local footballing pioneers always tried to spread and institutionalize football. For this purpose, they established not only sports clubs, but also a sports association to organize football matches on a regular basis. Their efforts for the construction of a stadium in the Maidan should also be evaluated in the context of institutionalizing the game.

Besides these, the publication of a book on football called *Asosyeşın Futbol* (Association Football) in 1922 can be regarded as another significant action to this end. Süleyman Rıza, a prominent member of İdman Ocağı, wrote the book which contains Turkish translations of the footballing terms, the rules and regulations of the game and detailed technical information with some drawings. The author also devotes considerable space to the moral rules of the game. Moreover, there is valuable information about the historical development of football in the world and in Turkey as well. Additionally, his notes on the footballing climate in Trabzon in that period and the Constitution of İdman Ocağı at the end of the book also provide important clues for understanding both the early organization of the game and the values attributed to it by the footballing pioneers in the city. The book was published in Serasi Publishing House in Trabzon. According to some authors, it is the third book about football published in Turkey following Hasan Fuad's *Asosiyeşın Futbol Oyununun Kavaid-i Umumiyesi/ Football Association 1912-1913*, and an unknown author's *Futbol Kavaid-i Umumiyesi* published in 1914.[114] However, taking into account Selim Sırrı Tarcan's book *Okullarda ve Mekteplerde Futbol* which is

[114] Mustafa Duman, "Trabzon'da Spor Tarihi", *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 112 (April, 2003), p. 105; Barış Karacasu, "Bir İlk Dergi: Fut Bol: Şimdilik hafta bir def'a intişâr eder. Spor gazetesidir." *Müteferrika*, no. 33 (Summer, 2008)

thought to have been published in 1912,[115] Kuğu's book becomes the fourth. Nevertheless, the publication of a book on football outside İstanbul at such an early time indicates the attention paid to the game by the footballing pioneers in Trabzon. Looking from the other side of the coin, one might think that the publication of such a book also marks a raising demand for learning the rules and regulations of the game in Trabzon. However, when the number and socio-economic background of the literate people at that time is considered, it becomes apparent that this demand belonged to a narrow circle.

The Janus Face of the Game

In the early development of the game in Trabzon, the football community was made up of the local elites, teachers and public school boys. As a result, football culture was shaped around the values and meanings they attributed to the game. In this regard, a discussion of the social functions attributed to the game by the footbaling pioneers is required for understanding the motives underlying the efforts to institutionalize the game.

In the beginning of this discussion, it seems entirely reasonable to claim that football in Trabzon had a two-dimensional function. In this context, inspired by Homi K. Bhabha,[116] a distinction is made between the *pedagogical* and *performative* functions of the game. The *pedogogical* indicates its instrumentalization for physically regenerating, moralizing and modernizing the society. This function was

[115] Cüneyd Okay, "The Introduction, Early Development and Historiography of Soccer in Turkey," *Soccer and Society* 3, no.3 (2002) pp. 1-10.

[116] Homi K. Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990).

in accordance with the general policy of sports and physical education and accordingly it could be observed in almost all parts of the country where football was introduced by the local elite to society. The *performative* function of the game seems to have been peculiar to Trabzon, marking the local notables' use of football in remaking the city in their own image. Football was designed as an important vehicle for the cultural expression of the local elite at both the regional and national levels. In this regard, it was a medium to conduct inter-city relations and to reconsolidate the city' former pivotal position in the region.

The Game's Moral Concerns and Physical Aims

As Yiğit Akın argues, in the late Ottoman and early Republican era, Turkish body culture appreciated sport according to its utilitarian aspects rather than its leisure time functions.[117] To put it differently, while reorganizing the society's leisure in the "modern" sense through sports, pedagogical concerns stood in the forefront rather than any entertainment aim. In this context, it seems entirely reasonable to suggest that the sport policies of the period stood on three pillars. First, sport was seen as the shortest way of recovering the health of the public especially in the rural areas where the health of the people had deteriorated due to the wars and diseases. Second, it was a means of developing strong and healthy bodies in the service of nation against the permanent war danger. Third, sport was designed as a means of "moral regulation" that would protect the young people from bad habits

[117] Akın, "Not Just A Game," p. 113.

and also provide solidarity among them.[118] This pedagogical approach also shaped the view about football.

Although the Kemalist policy makers to a great extent had negative views about football, it seems unfair to argue that there existed a definite "consensus" among them.[119] The reasons for the hostile attitudes towards the game were that in the moral sense, football was seen as dangerous because of its inherent potential to produce different identities around club rivalries and thus to damage solidarity among the youth. Second, in the physical sense, football was not considered a beneficial sport for recovering the health of the masses especially in comparision with gymnastics and athletics because the majority of the people watched the sport passively on terraces rather than actively involving in it on the field.[120]

Contrary to those who had such negative opinions of the game, there were also some elites who had a positive image of football. They believed that football, thanks to its potential diffusion and popularity, was the only sport that could spread physical education to the provinces and other remote parts of the country.[121] As far as the game's early pioneers in Trabzon are concerned, it seems possible to claim that they were among those who believed that football could be used as a means for

---

[118] Akın, "Anahatları ile Cumhuriyet Döneminde", p. 57.

[119] Ibid.

[120] Kazım Karabekir, *Çocuk Davamız I* (İstanbul: Emre Yayınları, 2000), 5th. ed., p. 67; A similar approach to sports in the Austrian regime in the twenties was reflected in the motto of "Don't watch but play sports!" For this, see Matthias Marschic, "Austro- Faşizm'de İşçi Futbolu," in *Futbol ve Kültürü*, p. 302.

[121] Abidin Daver, "Beden Terbiyesi Umum Müdürlüğü 1942 Mali Yılı Bütçe Kanunu Layihası ve Bütçe Encümeni Mazbatası," Zabıt Ceridesi, Devre. 6, İçtima. 3, Cild. 25. and İbrahim Dıblan, "Beden Terbiyesi Kanunun Birinci Maddesinin Değiştirilmesi Hakkında Kanun Layihası ve Bütçe ve Encümenleri Mazbataları," TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, Devre. 6, İçtima. 3, Cild. 25, quoted by Akın, "Anahatları ile Cumhuriyet Döneminde," p. 75.

transforming the traditional leisure customs of a society which had been condemned to immobility for centuries.

As Niyazi Berkes points out, Ottoman society valued "immobility" over "mobility" because immobility was a symbol of good education and high morality.[122] In this regard, the ordinary people had more respect for those sitting in the coffeehouses than the youths playing football on a field. In the eyes of the footballing pioneers in Trabzon, the easiest way to change the leisure habits of the people was to teach them football. Football was believed to physically mobilize the ordinary people who had been condemned to immobility for centuries thanks to its potential for popularity. In this frame of mind, the footballing pioneers in Trabzon visited the nearby towns such as Akçaabat, Görele and Vakfıkebir and taught the game to the youths living there with the aim of encouraging them to physical education. Likening football with smoking, in the sense that a person who once played football would not give up playing it like a smoker, marked football's inherent appeal, Süleyman Rıza suggests in his book that the teachers and school heads who had an aim of raising a morally and physically strong generation had to pay attention to the game.[123]

The relationship established between football and physical education provided legitimacy for the game. For example, the idea of the association between a healthy body and a healthy mind was at this time reproduced through football by saying that football was not only a "foot" but also a "mind" ball.[124] The moral values which were believed to be acquired through playing football supressed the negative

---

[122] Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964), p. 402, quoted by Akın, *"Gürbüz ve Yavuz Evlatlar,"* pp. 49-50.

[123] Kuğu, *Asosyeşın Futbol*, pp. 15- 131.

[124] Ibid., pp. 17-127.

values attributed to the game. In this regard, the values attached to the game in Trabzon were all determined by the notion of amateurism in the 1920s. "Amateurism," as argued by Holt, "comprised a set of distinctive sporting practices and values, stressing voluntary association, active and ethical participation, and repudiating both professionalism and gambling."[125]

Even though the discussion of the ideology of athleticism is beyond the scope of this study, it should be mentioned that throughout the world, amateur values were spread through the ideology of athleticism and influenced not only British but also the world's sporting culture. The amateur ideology regarded modern sport as a "powerful tool, a moral metaphor and a political symbol."[126] Therefore, the meanings that were attached to modern sport were not limited to the victory obtained at play. Since being involved in sport had stronger connotations such as "being civilized" for the middle-class amateur, more emphasis was put on the amateur values such as fair play, gentlemanship, sportsmanship, elite masculinity and sporting play.[127] In this regard, the criteria of the success in sports was not the victory but to play according to the aforementioned amateur values. A game of good quality by the middle-class amateur was appreciated more than the result.

Apart from the aforementioned middle-class values, the notion of sporting eclecticism might also be evaluated in the context of amateurism. The sporting culture of the youth in this period was not specifically related to any particular sport, but rather it was related to taking up multiple sports. This was the typical of the time.

---

[125] Holt, "The Amateur Body and the Middle Class Man: Work, Health and Style in Victorian Britain," *Sport in History* 3, no. 26 (2006), p. 352.

[126] Mike Huggins, "Second Class Citizens? English Middle-class Culture and Sport, 1850-1910: A Reconsideration," in *A Sport-loving Society: Victorian and Edwardian Middle-class England At Play*, ed. J. A. Mangan, (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 17.

[127] Holt, *Sport and the British*, p. 174.

Süleyman Rıza, for example, was both a forward on the İdman Ocağı football team and a very successful field athlete. In the field of long jump, he represented Turkey in the 1924 Paris Olympics. On account of his multi-competence in diverse sports at a high level, he was regarded as an "*atlet komple*" (all-around athlete).[128] Being an all-around athlete seems to have been more popular than having a particular interest in any one sport. Moreover, such a composite sporting identity also was approved by the sport politics of the period. It is known that UTSC had an intention of increasing the diversity of sports in the cities outside İstanbul during the 1920s.[129] It is also interesting to note that this sporting feature was related to the fact that sportsmen saw their sporting activities as part of a larger nation-building process. In this regard, young men did not see their sporting successes as individual achievements. Rather, they believed in the idea that sporting success was also a way to serve to their societies. One example will suffice to illustrate this view embraced by the youth of that period. On a trip to Istanbul from Trabzon in order to participate in the 1924 Olympics Games in Paris, Süleyman Rıza wrote in his diary that he was going there to "fight alone for the country."[130]

The early sports clubs in Trabzon functioned on rigorously amateur values. The club members voluntarily performed all administrative and technical roles. In time, the amateur values and ways of operating became unquestioningly accepted and thereby institutionalized. Furthermore, the amateur values which were embodied in the game overlapped its instrumentalist aspect. The emphasis on amatuerism and instrumentalization of the game were manifested itself not only in the constitutions

[128] Kuğu, *Trabzon-Paris: 1924*, p. 13.

[129] Gökaçtı, p. 87.

[130] Kuğu, *Trabzon-Paris*, p. 27.

of the early sports clubs, but also in the statements of the footballing pioneers. For instance, the foundation objective of İdman Ocağı was "to maintain the physical and mental perfection of the youth." In the club's constitution, it was stated that one should involve in sports not as a "*sanatkar*" (professional), but as a "*heveskar*" (amateur). Moreover, in accordance with amateurism, gambling and chatting about issues such as politics and religion in the clubhouse were strictly forbidden.[131] As far as these restrictions are concerned, it appears to be a reasonable assumption that the sports clubs were posited against the coffeehouses. Among the foundational aims of the sports clubs was to save the youth from the bad habits represented by the culture of the coffeehouses. Sebat İdman Yurdu, for instance, was founded with an intention of saving the youth from lying idle, preventing their continuously going to malign places and inciting their souls with the love and zeal of sports.[132]

In a traditional society in which places to meet and talk were substantially restricted to coffehouses, the early sports clubs emerged as new sites for public sociability. The coffeehouses functioned as places of leisure activites such as playing card games, smoking tobocco, chatting about politics, daily problems and so on.[133] In the early Republican Era, the coffeehouses were positioned as the reverse of the sports clubs, which represented the places for modern leisure activities such as sports, theatre and music.[134] Thanks to the popularity of sports and particularly football, the clubs attracted a considerable number of young people in a short time

[131] Kuğu, *Asosyeşın Futbol*, p 147.

[132] Bölükbaşı, p. 29.

[133] Cengiz Kırlı, "Coffeehouses: Public Opinion in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire," in *Public Islam and the Common Good*, ed. Armando Salvatore and Dale F. Eickelman (Leiden; Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2004), p. 76.

[134] Akın, *"Gürbüz ve Yavuz Evlatlar,"* p. 197.

and thus provided the city elites suitable grounds for assembling young people outside of the coffeehouses. In this regard, as noted by Mehmet Rıza, "İdman Ocağı, saving the notable youths of the city from the coffeehouses, provided them the opportunities to assembly in the clubhouse, be involved in sports and perform plays."[135]

İdman Ocağı was, indeed, the first sports club to "serve to the city's social life" in Trabzon. In 1921, a group of army officers who were members of the club presented Muhsin Ertuğrul's theatre play, *Fener Bekçileri*.[136] Other clubs also were involved in a wide range of activities including concerts, art exhibitions, educational debates, balls, raffles and even the publication of magazines.[137] In this regard, it is accurate to claim that the early sports clubs functioned as social clubs (*içtimai kulüp*) in society.[138]

However, the point that should not be missed is that the instrumentalization of the sports clubs in the social and cultural mobilization was not peculiar to Trabzon. Sports clubs throughout the country assumed a social responsibility and became important parts of the modernization process during the 1920s and 1930s. Gökaçtı argues that this instrumental role of the sports clubs in the social and cultural mobilization of society was one of the main reasons why the Republican elites had a positive approach to the sports clubs in İstanbul in the 1920s despite their hostility

[135] Mehmet Rıza, "İdman Ocağı'nın Kuruluşu," *Yenigün*, 24 January 1969.

[136] Mehmet Rıza, "İdman Ocağı'nın Kuruluşu," *Yenigün*, 20 January 1970. Although Mehmet Rıza states the name of Muhsin Ertuğrul's play as *Fener*, the original name of the play is *Fener Bekçileri*.

[137] Ahmet Özer and Aslan Pulathaneli, "1920-1950 Arası Trabzon'daki Futbol Kulüplerinin Kültürel Etkinlikleri," in *Trabzon 1990* (Ankara: Trabzon İli ve İlçeleri Eğitim, Kültür ve Sosyal Yardımlaşma Vakfı Yayınları, 1990), pp. 29-34; *Celal Kazancıoğlu Hayatı, Sebat'ın Kuruluş Günleri, Askerlik Günlüğü, Siyasetteki Günleri*, ed. Dr. İrhan Kazancıoğlu (Trabzon: n.p, 2002), p. 43; Emiroğlu, "Çalıkuşu Gazetesi," p. 37.

[138] *Trabzon Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor İl Genel Müdürlüğü 50. Yıl Kitabı* (Trabzon: Kuzey Gazetecilik Matbaacılık ve Ambalaj Sanayi, 1988), pp. 31-32.

towards football.[139] The Republican elites appreciated the social aspect of the clubs where the youths came together and learned about social issues. In this regard, sport in general and football in particular became the unique ground for encouraging people to other modern cultural activities.

Leading the East through Football

As discussed above, football was an instrument designed for the moral regulation and physical regeneration of society. Thanks to its inherent potential for diffusion and popularity, football, on the one hand, could transform the leisure habits of the youth by rescuing them from "immobiliy." On the other hand, the game could also help to morally control and modernize society by creating a suitable place for other modern leisure activities through the sports clubs. This pedagogical function was in accordance with the body politics of the early Republican era and thus became the source of legitimacy for the game. In this regard, it was the major function that was attributed football by the footballing pioneers not only in Trabzon but throughout the country. At this juncture, it can be argued that what makes Trabzon a specific case can be found in the performative function attributed to the game by the local elites in the city. The instrumentalization of football in the socio-economic circumstances which were peculiar to Trabzon marks the performative function of the game.

Before the Great War, Harris writes, Trabzon was "the centre of the transit and other trade of the east and the trades routes to and from Asia and the east converged on the port. It was indeed, considered one of the main gateways to the

[139] Gökaçtı, p. 107.

east."[140] Being the contact point of the east with the sea determined the self-perception of the city. Such phrases as "the step of the eastern cities to the sea"[141] and "the window and the gateway of the east"[142] primarily used to define Trabzon in the written materials indicate the pivotal position of the city in the region. For the east, indeed, the sea was the only way to establish not only commercial but also social and cultural relations with the west. Since the cultural changes followed the same path as the trade route from Trabzon to its hinterland, Trabzon functioned as a bridge and in this sense football was no exception.

Despite the evil influences of the Great War on the economic and social life in Trabzon, the end of war created an optimist atmosphere in the city as elsewhere in the world.[143] "The roaring twenties" witnessed local notables in Trabzon seeking ways to regain the city's former preeminence both in economic and social terms. In this regard, football was seen as one of the channels through which Trabzon could maintain contact with the outside world, inter-city relations could be developed and henceforth the city could reconsolidate its pre-war position in the region.

During the 1920s, the local elites considered football a new and suitable way to sustain the city's claim on its historical pivotal position in the region. One of the foremost actions in this direction was the publication of the book, *Asosyeşın Futbol*, of which publishing aim was declared as "to introduce the eastern cities the rules and regulations of football."[144] It is striking that compatible with this intention, Kazım

---

[140] Cristopher Harris, ed. *The Reports of The Last British Consul- 1949-1954* (İstanbul: ISIS Pres, 2005), p. 96.

[141] *Cumhuriyet'te Trabzon, 1922-1933* (Trabzon: Trabzon Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası, 1933) p. 16.

[142] *Yeniyol*, 22 July 1939

[143] Özel, p. 107.

[144] Mehmet Rıza, "İdman Ocağı'nın Kuruluşu," *Yenigün*, 20 January 1970.

Karabekir bought one hundred copies of the book when he was the commander of the Eastern Armies, and delivered them to his soldiers to spread the game among them.[145]

Another example of the attempt of the footballing pioneers in Trabzon to lead the region through football came from the visit of İdman Ocağı to İstanbul. In July, 1923, a band composed of footballers, athletes and club administors went to İstanbul from Trabzon by a ferry boat allocated by Karabekir.[146] It is important to note that the expenses of the sporting band in İstanbul during their one-month long visit were met by donations from merchants in Trabzon.[147] In their visit, the sportsmen of İdman Ocağı participated in several football and athletics competitions and watched football matches between important football teams. Moreover, it was during this visit that İdman Ocağı gained the title of the first officially-registered sports club in Anatolia by registering with the UTSC. At this point, it is important to note that thanks to this crucial attempt of İdman Ocağı, the third branch of the UTSC, following the ones in İstanbul and İzmir, was founded in Trabzon.[148]

For the sportsmen of Trabzon, gaining experience was more important than winning or losing against the İstanbul teams. An administor of İdman Ocağı expressed the aim of the trip as "not to compete with the sportsmen of Istanbul but to benefit from them."[149] It was because the development of football in the city was believed to be dependent on acquiring experiences from the qualified footballers in

---

[145] Mehmet Rıza, "İdman Ocağı'nın Kuruluşu," *Yenigün*, 20 January 1970.

[146] After the sporting visit, an administor of İdman Ocağı wrote an acknowledgement letter to Karabekir for expressing their gratitude to him. See Karabekir, *Çocuk Davamız I*, p. 176-177.

[147] Öksüz, pp. 82-84.

[148] Bölükbaşı, p. 19.

[149] Özel, p. 148.

İstanbul. In this context, it is noteworthy to mention that even over two decades after the team's visit to İstanbul, it was asserted by a footballing pioneer that it was in this visit that the footballers in Trabzon learned the rules of the game, which they had formerly played in an individualist style as a collective team game.[150] Moreover, the author claimed that the footballers of Trabzon, by teaching the rules which they had learned in İstanbul to the nearby cities through organizing footballing contacts became "the pioneer of the region."[151] The İstanbul visit and *Asosyeşın Futbol* refreshened the image of Trabzon as a city which transmitted what it had taken from the west to the east in both social and economic terms.

The efforts to spread football to the nearby cities led to an increase in external footballing contacts starting in the early 1920s. Away games were organized with close cities such as Erzurum, Rize, Samsun, Ordu and Giresun, and the teams from these cities were invited to Trabzon. As will be discussed in the following chapter, these footballing contacts, from the coming of guest footballers to the city to their departure from the city, were not only sporting but also socially-motivated meets since they were claimed to reflect the social education of the city. In this context, Trabzon appeared once again as a "pioneer" who was claimed to teach the duties of sporting events which were not confined to the football match such as respect, dearness and hospitality to the sportsmen of other cities.[152]

Trabzon lays claim to move "firsts" which belonged to a wider geograhy. *Asosyeşın Futbol* was the *first* book on football published in Anatolia. İdman Ocağı was the *first* officially-registered Anatolian sports club. The sporting visit of İdman

[150] Çulha, "Geçmiş Yıllarda Futbol Temaslarımız."

[151] Ibid.

[152] Ibid.

Ocağı to İstanbul was the *first* such visit from Anatolia. These show that football had never been just a local matter in Trabzon since its early development. Evaluated in this context, Eroğul's claim that football in Trabzon had always been at pains to exceed the local level becomes more understandable.[153] The local notables in Trabzon saw football as a channel to open the city to the external world and to carry it onto the national agenda. After the Great War, football took a role in restoring the pre-war position of the city in its region. In this context, among the foremost attempts at re-entegrating Trabzon into the region was the visit of the Caucasus sports team in Trabzon which was later integrated to the narration of "Trabzon sport" as the *first* international sporting meet organized in Anatolia.

In 1926, thanks to the efforts of Lütfü Pulathaneli, a prominent merchant in Trabzon, a Caucasus sports team made up of footballers and track athletes came to Trabzon and took part in sports activities in the city.[154] Gökaçtı argues that two factors might have played role in the preferences of the Turkish football teams in their international sporting meets in the twenties. First, the foreign policy of Turkey and secondly the geographical distance between the countries. Seen in this light, it does not seem odd that Turkey had its early footballing contacts with the countries such as Romania, Poland, Lithuania and Soviet Russia.[155] As far as Trabzon in particular is considered, in addition to the aforementioned points, the local notables seem to have had further concerns for preferring a Russian sporting team.

---

[153] Eroğul, pp. 343-344.

[154] Hüseyin Albayrak, ed. *Tarih İçinde Trabzon Lisesi* (Trabzon: Trabzon Lisesi'nden Yetişenler Derneği Yayınları, 1987) p. 262.

[155] Gökaçtı, p. 102.

Before the Great War, Russia had had an important share of the sea transportation in the region although not as much as England or France.[156] After the war ended, it was thought that if Russians opened the trade route from Trabzon to Central Europe via Danube, it would contribute to the sea transportation in Trabzon.[157] In such a frame of mind, the local elites, in search of to restructure the trade relations with Russia, might have perceived football as a suitable means for reviving relations. Another example illustrating how football was an extension of socio-economic activities or was instrumentalized in accordance with the socio-economic relations was the efforts made to establish footballing contacts with Iran in the 1950s. As will be mentioned later, after the completion of Trabzon port in 1954, there observed some efforts were made for holding football matches with sports clubs from Iran, which Trabzon had had long-lasting commercial relations before the Great War.

Kicking Hossein's Head

The meanings that are attached to football vary according to education, social background and ideological viewpoint as well. Although the sources available to us seem to be sufficient in the sense that they give some insights into the social function attributed to the game by the local elites in Trabzon, they do not help us understand the general public opinion about football. In other words, we lack information about how the ordinary folk in the city perceived the game and what sort of meanings they attributed to it. The local newspapers used to gather information in this study make

[156] Güven Bakırezer, "Trabzon'un Sosyo-ekonomik Çöküşü," in *Trabzon'u Anlamak*, pp. 36-37.

[157] Harris, pp. 23-99.

no mention of the public opinion on football. Rather, they only reflect the perspective of the local elites who were at the same time the owners of these newspapers. Nevertheless, the general picture of the period in Anatolia in terms of social reaction against football could give way to make some comments on the early responses of the people in Trabzon.

In Anatolia, there was first a religious reaction against the game because it was thought that the game did not conform to the Islamic moral and social codes. The ordinary people associated the game with the Kerbela Event, which involved the murder of Hossein, the grandson of the Prophet Mohammed in 680. The story was that the murderers of Hossein kicked his head after seperating it from his body. Since this action was symbolically associated with kicking a ball at play, the game met with reaction by some sections of the Muslim community.[158] In Tarsus, for example, only public school boys, teachers and government officers played football as the ordinary folk regarded it as "*gavur icadı*" (invention of the infidels) and associated the ball with prophet Hz. Hossein's head.[159] Moreover, the traditional society perceived the players as "*baldırıçıplak*" (vagabonds) because of their shorts, which contradicts with the Islamic clothing. It is also possible to suggest that this name also includes a bit of social mockery. People running after a ball were found strange and thus viewed with contempt. It might have been due to the fact that traditional Ottoman society did not value physical mobility while regarding the characteristics of "stillness" and "calmness" as signs of good education and high morality.[160]

---

[158] Okay, p. 6.

[159] Özgür Daşlı, *80 Yıllık Öykü Tarsus İdman Yurdu* (Tarsus: Antixahaf Kitabevi Yayınları, 2003), p. 36.

[160] Akın,'Not Just A Game', p. 92.

The social reaction against the game, suggests Okay, was more intense in the hinterlands than in the coastal regions.[161] It was in particular the constant commercial relationship of the port cities with the more enlightened and progressive parts of the country and foreign countries that had created a relatively "open" society in those areas. Although Trabzon, as a city open to the outside world and social changes as well, adopted the game in a relatively short time, it seems inaccurate to claim that any social reaction against the game did not exist there. For example, Celal Kazancıoğlu, one of the founding members of İdman Sebat Yurdu, complained about "the mocking glances of the people" while they were playing the game.[162] Similarly, Mehmet Rıza, frequently told in his articles that people spoke of footballers as "vagabonds" in the early 1920s.[163] However, the early pioneers of football fought against the religious customs and social habits of the local people to introduce the game to society. In this regard, one incident in Mehmet Rıza's life deserves to be mentioned. In the very early years of the game, he, as the captain of the primary football team of the İdman Ocağı, made the football players to walk from the Tabakhane Köprüsü to the Kavak Maidan in shorts to "defeat the bigotry of the public."[164] Even though anectodes may not be always reliable, they convey a simple truth in spirit: for the early pioneers of the game, football was also a cultural tool for the modernization of society.

[161] Okay, p. 2.

[162] Kazancıoğlu, p. 43.

[163] *Yenigün*, 27 May 1966.

[164] Sunay Akın, "Trabzonspor'un Bilinmeyen Şampiyonluğu," in *Fırtına, İhtilal Efsane*, p. 331.

CHAPTER THREE

REMAKING THE CITY IN THE LOCAL ELITES' IMAGE

The most obvious points to make about the early development of football in Trabzon can be summarized as follows: First, it was the upper-middle class who dominated and governed the city football. Second, the football culture in the city was evolved around middle-class amateur values. Third, the social functions attributed to the game by the local elites were two dimensional. The aforementioned points were sustained in the thirties although important changes took place in the city football in line with certain social, political and economic developments in these years.

It is observed that in the thirties, Trabzon gradually lost its positive frame of mind about recapturing its pre-war preeminence particularly due to the disappearence of the commercial importance of the port after the war. The quantity of transit trade, which had been 15,000 tons before the war, declined to 3500 tons by 1928.[165] Moreover, the outbreak of the Great Depression in 1929 contributed to the deterioration of sea transportation. During the four years following the Great Depression, the amount of trade remained around 1000 tons.[166]

For the local notables, improving the economic welfare of the city and regaining its former preeminence were possible only with the development of the sea transportation, which was claimed to be "the natural and historical privilege of the city."[167] In this regard, two important projects were believed to change the fate of the

[165] *Cumhuriyet'te Trabzon*, p. 20.

[166] Bakırezer, "Trabzon'un Sosyo-ekonomik Çöküşü," pp. 36-37.

[167] *Cumhuriyet'te Trabzon,* p. 18.

city. The first one was the construction of a modern port and the second was the construction of the Trabzon- Erzurum railroad.[168] If these projects, which had been on the city agenda since the late Ottoman period had implemented by the new Republic, Trabzon which was "formerly shining like the second İstanbul of the Ottoman Empire"[169] could have regained its former status.

In the thirties, the individual efforts of the local notables were seen as insufficient for regenerating the city and therefore the state was seen as the main actor that should play an active role in the solution of the city's problems. In this context, as will be discussed in detail, the efforts of Tahsin Uzer, who took up the duty of the Third General Inspectorship (*Üçüncü Umumi Ordu Müfettişliği*) in 1935[170] to solve the problems of Trabzon were highly appreciated by the local notables. Uzer told in his reports to the Prime Ministry that the implementation of the aformentioned projects could help to restore relations with the local elites in Trabzon, who had negative attitudes towards the new Republic.[171] In addition, in the Grand Economics Assembly (*Âli İktisat Meclisi*) which was formed to give advice to the government, it was discussed that the issue of sea transportation could be ignored no longer.[172] However, the construction of neither sea port nor railroad was among the priorities of the state in the new conjuncture of the thirties.[173] As will be discussed later, the postponement of these projects strenghtened the sense of "neglectedness."

---

[168] *Cumhuriyet'te Trabzon*, pp. 17-31.

[169] Çakıroğlu, p. 24.

[170] Cemil Koçak, *Umumi Müfettişlikler (1927-1952)* (İletişim: İstanbul, 2003), pp.158-159.

[171] PRA CGDPMOC [Catalogue No: 030 10/70 463 24] Quoted by Koçak, pp.165-168.

[172] *Âli İktisat Meclisi Raporları*, no. 9, p. 66, quoted in *Cumhuriyet'te Trabzon*, p. 31.

[173] Bakırezer, "Trabzon'un Sosyo-ekonomik Çöküşü," p. 39.

While Trabzon was experiencing such a socio-economic climate in the thirties, the football in the city witnessed important developments in particular depending on the changing sport and physical education policies. The 1930s did not differ from the previous decade in the sense that football was still played as a middle-class activity in which a small circle could actively be involved. However, compared to the twenties, it is observed that there was a greater emphasis on the pedagogical aspect of the game as a result of the interventionist and controlling attitude of the state.

The State Enters the Football Field

The Kemalist policy makers, who had had no well-defined sport policy in the previous decade because of dealing with more fundemental political problems, took sports and physical education which were regarded as "national causes" under control with the help of the German experts.[174] The foundation of Turkish Sport Association with an aim of "improving sports according to healthy and scientific fundementals"[175] in 1936 also was welcomed by the sporting circles in Trabzon. The local newspapers devoted considerable interest to the new establishment in a way that reflected their trust in the government. It was most probably because the branch of the UTSC in Trabzon was seen as responsible for the emergence of football violence, irregularities in the league fixtures and all kinds of problems in the city

[174] Cenk Palaz, "State and Body: The Treatment of Physical Education" (MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2004), pp. 44-45.

[175] *Türk Spor Kurumu Nizamnamesi* (Ankara: Çankaya Matbaası, 1938); *Türk Spor Kurumu Vazife ve Selâhiyet Nizamnamesi* (Ankara: Askeri Fabrikalar Matbaası, 1937), quoted in Fişek, p. 448.

football.[176] Therefore, the sporting circles were hopeful that the sporting affairs would be held in a more disciplined way according to a regular program with the establishment of the TSA.[177]

In the thirties, the hostility of the Kemalist policy makers towards football increased due to the intensification of rivalries among sports clubs and acts of violence in the league matches, especially in İstanbul.[178] Accordingly, the state took some measures against football violence. To give some examples from Trabzon, an official called "*Saha Komiseri*" (the government observer in the field) was assigned to intervene in the game in the case of violence.[179] Moreover, weekly meetings were organized to "increase the harmony and sincerity" among the sportsmen from different clubs in the city.[180]

In fact, the aim of the measures taken by the Kemalist governors was not confined to preventing football violence. The TSA sought ways of decreasing the popularity of football and directing the youth to other sports, which were seen as more useful for the defense of the country.[181] In this regard, as Akın writes, "there was a lively campaign to increase the popularity of other sports at the expense of football" throughout the country.[182] It is interesting to note that in Trabzon where people had wanted to see movies on football during the twenties, in the thirties

[176] "Spor Münakaşaları," *Akın*, no. 2 (April, 1932), p. 21.

[177] *Yeniyol*, 23 December 1936; 31 October 1936.

[178] Akın, "Not Just a Game," p. 68.

[179] *Yeniyol*, 29 Febrauary 1936.

[180] *Yeniyol*, 27 May 1936.

[181] Fişek, p. 307.

[182] Akın, "Not Just A Game," p. 18.

movies on skiing were shown by the order of the RPP.[183] Moreover, to diversify the sporting interest of the people to more "beneficial" sports, there was a project to found a new sports club for sports other than football. The envisioned club would organize "skiing in Maçka and Hamsiköy, climbing in the mountains and ice skating on the frozen lakes in Trabzon."[184] By 1938, the Regional Sport Organization (*Bölge Spor Teşkilatı*), which was the branch of the TSA in Trabzon consisted of eight departments including athleticism, water sports, climbing, shooting, cycling, wrestling, netball and football.[185] As will be discussed, among these sports were water sports, which received the most support from the government authorities.

If one dimension of the government campaign against football was the notion of sporting diversity, another was the increasing emphasis on the social aspect of the sports clubs. Although almost all of the sports clubs had begun to get involved in a wide range of social activities varying from art exhibitions to musical and theatrical performances in the previous decade, they concentrated intensively on these activities in the thirties. The financial support of the RPP and the People's House to the sports clubs in return for their social activities might have played role in the proliferation of these activities.[186] The announcements were published in the local newspapers and invitation cards were sent to prominent figures in society and the social activities were held mostly in the hall of the People's House since the clubs did not have clubhouses.[187] The newspapers on the days following these activities

[183] *C.H.P. 1936 İl Kongreleri* (Ankara: Devlet Matbaası, 1937), p. 391.

[184] *Yeniyol*, 2 August 1939.

[185] Veysel Usta, "Cumhuriyet'in 15. Yılında Trabzon'da Spor," *Trabzonspor Dergisi*, no:36 (October, 2006), p.62.

[186] Özer and Pulathaneli, pp. 30-31.

[187] Ibid., p. 30.

described in short reports the participants with such phrases as "well-known", "notable" and "respectable" persons in the social life of the city. Among these people were there the local notables, the mayor, the consulates, the military officers and other senior governors. It is observed that particularly after the state began to take the field of sport and physical education under control in 1934,[188] government officials participated in all of the social and sporting activities of the clubs in Trabzon. Interesting to note, Cumhuriyet Stadium was for the first time hierarchically separated in this period and a special compartment in the terraces was allocated for the use of "senior persons."[189]

A Little Bit of Autonomy

In addition to the aformentioned dimensions, one might argue that the notion of the "one-club ideal"[190] was the third dimension of the campaign against football in the country. In order to take the sports clubs under discipline and make them easy to control, the TSA federated the sports clubs into one single club in some cities such Sivas, İstanbul and İzmir.[191] It was 1936 when a similar attempt firstly was observed in Trabzon. After a big fight broke out among the footballers at a local league match, the federation of the two clubs became the burning issue of the day. However, the concept of the "one-club ideal" was not welcomed by the local elites, who saw football as a part of the "pioneering" claim of the city. They began to argue that the

[188] Fişek, p. 298.

[189] *Yeniyol*, 29 February 1936.

[190] *Yeniyol*, 29 December 1936.

[191] Gökaçtı, pp. 144-149; *CHP 1936 İl Kongreleri*, p. 377.

development of football was possible only with the existence of distinct clubs of with "different colours of uniforms and loyalties."[192] It was further claimed that only with the existence of different clubs, Trabzon would improve its level of play, regain its former position and recapture an excellent honorable place in the field of football.[193] Believing that each sports club's individual success in the external footballing contacts would be "an honour for Trabzon," the local elites launched a campaign against the federation of the existing club through the press.

As might be expected, this campaign was far from being a bitter criticism of the sport policy of the period. Rather, it was a campaign with the intention of proving football's compatibility with the sport and physical education policies of the period. In this regard, the negative aspects associated with the game by the Kemalist elites such as rivalry, individualism and club-egoism were reinterpreted in the frame of physical education. The notion of rivalry, for instance, was claimed to have a meaning of "maturity in sport" and football was claimed to be a collective rather than individualist sport. It was further asserted that the "club-egosim" was not harmful as some narrow-minded people thought.[194] Thanks to the defense of the press for the sake of the game, the attempt to establish a federation of the existing clubs failed. When the issue of uniting different clubs came onto the agenda once again in Trabzon, a different form of resistance would be used by the local elites.

In 1941, a discussion about merging the two senior clubs of the city, İdman Ocağı and Necm-i Ati, to create "a perfect club consistent with the Physical Education Law" appeared in the local newspapers. It was declared that the new club

[192] *Yeniyol*, 29 December 1936.

[193] *Yeniyol*, 29 December 1936.

[194] *Yeniyol*, 31 October 1936.

that would emerge out of the federation would be named as "*Gazi Gençlik*" (Veteran Youth) and the team colours would be yellow, red and dark blue, those of İdman Ocağı and Necm-i Ati.[195] These clubs were the oldest and wealthiest in Trabzon and also they were the ones to establish deep-rooted loyalties. Since the club members of the two sides had a negative approach to the issue of federation, there was not a majority decision taken in the first meeting.[196] Similar to the previous case, the sporting circles manifested their reactions against the issue in a smooth way. An author with the pseudonym as Fa-ruk from *Yeniyol*, for example, wrote that although he believed in the benefits of the federation, he felt as sorry for the closure of these two clubs which occupied leading positions in the social and sporting life of the city as if a dear friend had died.[197] Eventually, this project was cancelled. Instead, the agenda of federating clubs was filled with the merge of Akınspor to Necm-i Ati. Akınspor was an unexperienced and economically weak club compared to Necm-i Ati and thus it had not yet created strong loyalty among its supporters. Seen in this light, it does not seem odd that the new club after the merge took the name of Necm-i Ati and accepted '14 March 1923' -the foundation date of Necm-i Ati- as its foundation date.[198]

The discussion about federating the sports clubs is important in the sense that it indicates how the local elites perceived football out of dominant physical policy. In this regard, one may also argue that the failure of the government attempt to federate the clubs was essentially a victory on behalf of the local elites.

---

[195] *Yeniyol*, 23 August 1941.

[196] *Yeniyol*, 30 August 1941.

[197] *Yeniyol*, 6 September 1941.

[198] *Yeniyol*, 9 October 1941.

A New Image: City of Sport

In Trabzon, football became the most popular sport during the thirties despite the Kemalist policy makers' hostile attitudes towards the game and their intervention in the sports clubs. Çulha stressed in an article entitled "*Futbolun Cazibesi ve Bugünkü Futbolumuz*" (Football's Appeal and Our Present Football) that football owed its great appeal to its compatibility with their intention and its potential to attract the public attention and enthusiasm.[199] The game was, indeed, the most convenient instrument for the aim of the local elites as a medium to conduct inter-city relations, and to regain as a city their former preeminence. However, as it had been in the previous decade, the game could not be legitimized as an end in itself in the performative form. Rather, football found its legitimacy by being a means to a pedagogical end.

In the thirties, the aspects of football which were in contradiction with the sport and physical education policies were hidden by emphasizing the pedagogical aspects of the game. As discussed above in the case of uniting the sports clubs, the newspaper discourse overlapped with the sports and physical education policies of the period. The emphasis in the discourse was strongly on the importance of football in raising a strong generation both physically and mentally. For example, an article from *Yeniyol*, entitled "*Kendi Kendimize Soralım: Ne için*" (Ask of Ourselves: For What) which examined the aims of involving in sports reflected the general philosophy of the period. The author of the article reached the conclusion that

[199] Şevket Çulha, "Futbolun Cazibesi ve Bugünkü Futbolumuz," *Yeniyol*, 19 May 1942.

"football is not a game, but rather it is an instrument for making the bodies robust."[200]

The emphasis on the utilitarian aspect of football rather than its entertainment function was the source of legitimacy for the game. All the forms of interpretation regarding football indicated the consistency of the game with the sport policy of the period. From the viewpoint of the footballing authors, even the acceptence of football as a "discreationary" sport in the Physical Education Law did not stem from the hostile attitude of the state towards the game. Rather it indicated the state's efforts to encourage other sports which were not as popular as football.[201] It should be noted that there were also some authors who demanded investment and interest for football by adopting an essentialist approach to the game. To them, since football was a sport which was very appropriate for the bodies of the youths in the Black Sea, the state should invest in the game at least as much as did it in water sports in the city.[202] In short, by putting stress on the pedagogical aspects of football, the local elites tried to provide a legitimate ground for sustaining the performative function of the game.

The thirties, Tahsin Uzer contributed to the efforts of the elites who instrumentalized football for the regeneration of the city. As mentioned before, Uzer wrote reports in which he mentioned the importance of the projects of the sea port and railroad constructions to the Prime Ministry. He also noted that the establishment of a cold-storage depot, a canning factory and factories for meat and fish oil were

[200] *Yeniyol*, 30 December 1936. [For the Turkish version of this statement, see Appendix A].

[201] Çulha, "Futbolun Cazibesi ve Bugünkü Futbolumuz."

[202] *Yeniyol*, 18 August 1938.

required to improve the city's industry.[203] He sought different ways to strenghten the regional importance of the city. For example, in order to make Trabzon "the health center of the East", he initiated the foundation of Trabzon Numune Hospital which was designed to meet the needs of the entire Eastern region.[204] He had an outstanding project of "the Black Sea Expo", which would provide "economic and social dynamism" to Trabzon although it could not have been implemented.[205] As mentioned before, behind his efforts also laid the intention to unite the local notables to the new Republic.

On the other side, the local notables were pleased that a senior officer representing the government collaborated with them to remake the city in their own image. The good terms between the two sides were embodied in the foundation of "The City Club" (*Şehir Kulübü*) which was opened by Uzer with an aim of providing a meeting place for the notables.[206] The newspapers described Uzer as a civic rescuer and devoted places to poems dedicated to him.[207] Furthermore, the city awarded honorary citizenship to him.[208] At this point, it seems plausible to argue that the function attributed to sports in general and football in particular by Uzer overlapped with the one by the local elites. To put it openly, Uzer, like the local notables, saw football as a means of not only physically regenerating the society, but also as reconsolidating the city's pre-war position in the region.

---

[203] PRA CGDPMOC [Catalogue No: Dahiliye Vekaleti/030 18 01/86 40 13], quoted by Koçak, pp. 193-194.

[204] *Yeniyol*, 29 February 1936.

[205] PRA CGDPMOC [Catalogue No: Dahiliye Vekaleti/030 18 01/86 40 13], quoted by Koçak, pp. 193-194.

[206] *Yeniyol*, 22 March 1937.

[207] *Yeniyol*, 15 February 1939.

[208] *Yeniyol*, 20 July 1938.

In the context of the instrumentalization of sports, Uzer paid particular attention to the development of water sports in Trabzon as reflected in his reports to the Prime Ministry and the General Secretary of the RPP. Thanks to his pioneering efforts, many infrastructural actions were carried out for the development of water sports during the 1930s. To give some examples, eight skiffs were demanded from UTSC for rowing.[209] In the city where there had not been any rowing boats previously,[210] four boats were constructed at the shipyard in Sürmene.[211] A diving tower was established in Ganita.[212] Although Trabzon was a coast city, the interest of the public for the water sports was quite weak compared to the one for football.[213] Accordingly, the youths were encouraged to get involved in water sports by the launch of open water contests in accordance with the water sports programme sent from Ankara.[214] Although Uzer mentioned in one of his reports that he would form water sports clubs, he just warned the existing clubs to teach the youths to be good swimmers. In another report to the Prime Ministry, dated 31 August 1937, he asked to use a part of the aid of 10,000 liras, which the prime minister would send for the construction of the stadium in Trabzon, for water sports.[215]

---

[209] "Üçüncü Umumi Müfettişlik Yazı İşleri," no. 237, PRA CGDPMOC [Catalogue no: 030 10/70 463 13].

[210] Ibid.

[211] *Yeniyol*, 10 May 1939.

[212] *Yeniyol*, 2 August 1939.

[213] Tahir Baykal, *Bir Jandarma Subayının Kaleminden 1937 Yılında Trabzon* (Trabzon: n.p, 1937), p. 93.

[214] *Yeniyol*, 17 June 1939.

[215] The interest in the water sports sustained with the endeavors of Hüseyin Avni Aker who became the regional sports manager in 1939 after Uzer had gone. However after Aker left the position in 1942, the interest in water sports declined dramatically in the city. Although Trabzon was a coastal city, there was not seen any water sports success on the national scale in sports history. *Yeniyol*, 1 June 1940; *Trabzon Bölge Sporu 50. Yıl 1923-1973* (Ankara: Öğretmenler Matbaası, 1973), p. 23.

In the light of these arguments which mark the excessive interest and importance paid by Uzer to water sports, one can argue that his efforts for the development of water sports cannot be solely attributed to a sporting aim. It seems reasonable to speculate that Uzer had the intention to open Trabzon, which dramatically affected by the subsequent wars and the Great Depression to sports tourism.[216] A new image of Trabzon as a 'City of Sport' would contribute to the economic and social regeneration of the city. In one of his reports, Uzer stressed that hotels, sporting areas and fields should be created which would make the city more attractive to the visitors who would come to see the beautiful nature of the city after the Black Sea highway was completed.[217] Sport, in this context, was an important part of the entire project of regenerating the city.

As mentioned, the instrumental approach of Uzer towards sports overlapped with the performative function attributed to football by the local elites. In the thirties the local elites whose aim was pioneering the region through football had a project to hold a footballing tournament called The Eastern Cup, which would help the re-entegration of Trabzon to the Eastern region. It was believed that thousands of people from the Eastern cities would come to Trabzon to support their football teams in the modern Trabzon stadium. However, due to the belated completion of the city stadium, this project was never realized.[218] Nevertheless, another footballing

[216] *Yeniyol*, 28 February 1935.

[217] Asım Us, *Hatıra Notları* (İstanbul: Vakit Matbaası, 1966), pp. 241-242, quoted by Koçak, pp.195-196.

[218] *Yeniyol*, 16 July 1947; *Akın*, no. 8 (15 July 1932), p. 20.

project related to the reintegration of Trabzon to the Eastern region was successfully carried out thanks to the efforts of Uzer.[219]

In June 1937, a football team of players from different sports clubs in Trabzon went on a tournament to make footballing contacts with different cities in the country. It is interesting to note that the team was called the Eastern Mixed (*Doğu Muhteliti*) although all of its players were from Trabzon.[220] The local press devoted significant interest by claiming that this footballing trip would be a turning point for "the sport of the Third General Inspectorship".[221] A correspondent from *Yeniyol* accompanied the Eastern Mixed and wrote match reports under the title of "*Doğu Muhteliti Seyahat Notları*" (The Travel Notes of The Eastern Mixed) in the newspaper.[222]

During this tournament, visiting respectively Giresun, Ordu, Samsun, Afyon, Kayseri, İzmir and İstanbul, the Eastern Mixed played matches sometimes against the senior clubs, sometimes against the mixed teams of these cities. It seems interesting to note that the Eastern Mixed got better results in the matches against the teams outside Black Sea region. One sports author of the period explained this fact as such: "The Eastern Mixed could not avoid from bearing the sort of eastern atmosphere. Contacts with Giresun, Ordu and Samsun were all carried out in an eastern manner. Those that are gained and hence lost belonged to the East. Then, there was no need to get tired."[223] On the other hand, against the teams from the

[219] Usta, pp. 62-63. The support of football by a senior officer in Trabzon in 1930s when football was debased by the state is important for illustrating the importance of football in the city politics.

[220] *Yeniyol*, 22 June 1937; 26 June 1937; 6 July 1937.

[221] *Yeniyol*, 10 August 1937.

[222] *Yeniyol*, 10 August 1937; 14 August 1937.

[223] *Yeniyol*, 21 September 1937. [For the Turkish version of this statement, see Appendix A].

Western region, the Eastern Mixed, becoming the representative of a wider geography, of the East, played in a more ambitious and competitive way. Even in the match against İzmir, for instance, a fight broke out amongst the players.[224] The growing concern of "representation" might have increased the ambition for victory.

Obtaining good results in the matches against Galatasaray and Beşiktaş in İstanbul, the Eastern Mixed manifested "the existence of the East" in the field of Turkish sport.[225] On the one hand, it seems reasonable to interpret this footballing trip as a "public relations action" through which Trabzon as the representative of the East was carried onto the national agenda. On the other, the representation of the East under the name of the Eastern Mixed marked the efforts to sustain the pivotal position of Trabzon in the region at a symbolic level. By doing this, the city acquired a position of "the youth centre of the East".[226] Although will be discussed later, at this point suffice it to say that particularly after the construction of the Sivas-Erzurum railroad, the loosening social and economic relations between Trabzon and its hinterland would indicate a rupture of the city from the East also at the symbolic level.

The Local League Ends but not the Game

The external footballing contacts continued with increasing frequency during the thirties. Except for İdman Ocağı's invitation of İstanbulspor in 1933, these

[224] *Yeniyol*, 14 September 1937.

[225] *Yeniyol*, 20 November 1937.

[226] *Yeniyol*, 14 August 1937.

footballing contacts were mostly held with the nearby cities.[227] The external contacts were held particularly on weekend holidays and national and religious festivals after the Trabzon football league finished. Furthermore, sea transportation was necessarily preferred if the guest team was coming from a city by sea or similarly a Trabzon team was going to another coast city.

At the first sight, it appears that these external contacts just had a sporting aim. However, considering the ceremonial events such as the reception, entertainment and farewell of the guests, the external footballing contacts clearly had a wider social meaning. For example, the guest team was welcomed at the port by a marching band, bureaucrats and the administrators of the sports club who had invited the guest team to the city. The guests stayed the night at a hotel allocated by the home club. Tea parties and dinners were organized in honour of the guests in the club houses or in the People's House. In the speeches given at these meetings and in the newspaper discourses as well, such values as hospitality, gentlemanship and brotherhood were emphasized. The external contacts were also seen as opportunities for developing inter-city relations and displaying "the social education of the city" to the visitors from the other cities. A memory of a student from Trabzon Lisesi about the footballing visit of Samsun Lisesi football team invited by Trabzon Lisesi illustrates the importance paid to the external footballing contacts.

[227] Bülent Baş, "Trabzon'da Spor". In *Bir Tutkudur Trabzon*, ed. İ. Gündağ Kayaoğlu, Öner Civaoğlu and Cüneyt Akalın (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1997) p. 437.

> We were glad, because those who had just come were the fellow players of a fellow team. We were going to stay with them together for a few days and be friends… We started to get prepared a few days earlier so as to meet them at the port… However, we could not attain our goals of welcoming them at the port due to the arrival of the ship at the port much earlier than the estimations. This upset us greatly as we were deprived of fulfilling an important task for our friends. They would possibly doubt our hospitality.[228]

The representation of the city was maintained not just on the football field but throughout the process beginning from the arrival of the sporting team until the visitors were seen off. What seems interesting about the sporting visits in the thirties is that the visitor sports club went to the other city with all its cultural and social accoutraments. In other words, the sports club not only played matches but also displayed different cultural activities such as music and theatre performances. One example is suffice to illustrate. On 26 June, 1936, after the local football league was completed in Trabzon, 40 members of the Necm-i Ati Sports Club went to Rize upon the invitation of the People's House in the city. At the hall of the People's House in Rize, the alaturca and alafranga music branches of the Necm-i Ati Sports Club gave a concert after the football match was held between the two cities.[229] At this juncture, it seems plausible to argue that football, in this period, was an activity not only integrated to the cultural movement of the period, but also provided the most suitable ground for the social and cultural sharing among the cities.

Apart from the external footballing contacts, there was a high frequency of private matches outside the football league among the sports clubs in the city. For example, there were particular matches held to raise money for certain institutions

---

[228] Nerim Demircioğlu, "Samsunlular Trabzon'da," *Boztepe*, no.3, (April, 1946), p. 2. [For a Turkish version of this statement, see Appendix A].

[229] *Yeniyol*, 19 December 1936.

such as Turkish Red Crescent (*Kızılay*), Society for the Protection of Children (*Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu*), Anti-Tuberculosis Association (*Verem Savaş Derneği*) and Community for the Poor School Children (*Mektepli Fakir Çocuklar Cemiyeti*).[230] In addition, there was a tradition of organizing football matches against the naval officers when a Turkish navy ship stopped at the sea port in Trabzon. There were four such matches before 1936.[231] However, as we trace the roots of this tradition, an interesting anectode deserves to be mentioned. The first navy officers to hold a sporting match in Trabzon were not Turkish but American. In the 1922, when a navy ship in the Black Sea fleet of the United States docked at Trabzon, a particular permission was taken from Mark Lambert Bristol, a rear admiral in the American Navy and a high commissioner in Turkey, for the American navy officers to hold sporting activities in the city during their visit although the diplomatical relationships had not yet developed between Turkey and USA in those years.[232]

The external footballing contacts, the private matches in aid of particular institutions and the matches against navy officers all contributed to the enrichment of the footballing life in the city. Although these games were not official in the sense that they were not a part of league or cup competitions, they generated considerable interest and drew many spectators. In fact, the short duration of the football league in the thirties increased the importance of these matches. The football enthusiasts satisfied their footballing need through these private matches after the short-lived local league ended. The football league was completed in a quite short time because there appeared utmost six football clubs in the league during the thirties. However,

[230] *Yeniyol*, 6 April 1938, 15 February 1939, 26 April 1939.

[231] *Yeniyol*, 8 April 1936.

[232] *İkdâm*, 15 May 1922, quoted in Özel, p. 148.

even four clubs competing in the league was regarded as a satisfactory number in 1936 considering five clubs existed at that period in the local league in Ankara.[233] The scarcity of the sports clubs resulted from the fact that some early clubs established in the twenties failed due to the poor economic conditions and that high school teams were prohibited from participating in the football league as of 1930.

From 1921 until 1930, the high school teams won the championship in the local league in Trabzon five times. In this period, Trabzon High School became the champion of Trabzon three times, Darülmuallim and Ticaret Lisesi, each of them, once. However, by 1930, the high school teams were prohibited from the league.[234] In the absence of the successful high school teams, İdman Ocağı and İdmangücü became the strongest candidates of the championship during the 1930s. After becoming the city champion successively with its "legendary" footballers from 1930 until 1934, İdman Ocağı began to decline when its best footballers went to İstanbul for their higher education.[235] Therefore, the other strong team, İdmangücü, won the championship from 1934 to 1941 when the high school teams began to participate in the league again.

Drawing the Boundaries: Still a Middle-Class Game

Throughout the 1930s, as in the previous decade, the high schools constituted the main sources of footballers although they were prohibited from participating in the local league on their own teams. This meant the football teams of the non-school

[233] *Yeniyol*, 31 November 1936.

[234] Değirmencioğlu, "Lise Spor Yurdu Tarihi."

[235] Ali Özbak. Interview by the author.

clubs predominantly were composed of students who had been released to play in the local league through a permission acquired from their school head.[236] The correspondance of the football community, to a great extent, with the educational community seems to have been important for the preservation of the middle-class characteristic of the game.

The active involvement in the game in terms of both playing and administrating did not show any sign of growth in these years. To illustrate, the number of members of İdman Ocağı, one of the leading clubs in the city increased from 80 to 81 one from the early 1920s to the late 1930s. Moreover, the biggest three clubs in the city, the population of which exceeded 40,000 had only 200 members by 1938.[237] On the one hand, football seemed to remain a middle-class activity in which only the notable people in society were involved actively. On the other hand, there was a significant increase in the number of spectators as reflected in the newspapers. For example, the league matches in the thirties attracted approximately 2000 spectators while this number rose to 4000 for important matches such as the local derbies, cup ties and external footballing contacts as well.[238]

As mentioned above, football remained an activity in which a narrow community was actively involved. It was so narrow that when there was a problem of finding an "independent" referee who was not affiliated with any sports club, any match between two clubs was ruled by a member of a third club. For example, in the second half of the season 1935-1936, the league match between Necm-i Ati and Sebat İdmanyurdu was ruled by Mehmet Rıza from İdman Ocağı, while the match

[236] Hüseyin Albayrak, ed. *Tarih İçinde Trabzon Lisesi*, p. 209.

[237] Özel, p. 147; Usta, pp. 63-64.

[238] *Yeniyol*, 27 May 1936; 10 June 1936.

between Trabzonspor and İdman Ocağı was ruled by Niyazi, who was a member of Necm-i Ati.[239] Furthermore, it as difficult as finding an independent referee was finding an independent sports writer discussing the sporting issues in an objective way. This was most probably due to the fact that they were members of certain clubs and most of them used pseudonyms while writing bitter critiques.

Another example indicating the narrow boundaries of the football community comes from a newspaper survey done in 1943. After the Football Agency of the GDPE declared that a Trabzon mixed team would be formed to participate in the city in national football tournaments, *Yeniyol* made a questionairre and asked its readers the first eleven who should represent Trabzon football.[240] Instead of giving the number of participants and results of the survey, the newspaper declared each participant's name and preferred team. Among the participants there were Faik Dranaz, the head of Trabzon Lisesi, Nihat Saral, a literature teacher at Trabzon Lisesi; Haydar Çulha, a prominent member of İdman Ocağı; and Yekta Hülagü, a member of Doğan Gençlik.[241] What these names bring to light is that the participants of a footballing questionairre were predominantly from the educational and footballing community and thus seems to indicate once again that football was at that time a middle-class activity.

As far as the football culture of the thirties is concerned, it is observed the amateur values attributed to the game were preserved. The fact that football did not pass to the lower layers of the society and thus remained a middle-class activity played a role in the preservation of these values. Moreover, the rigid attitudes of the

[239] *Yeniyol*, 13 May 1936.

[240] *Yeniyol*, 12 January 1943.

[241] Ibid.

state regarding sport and physical education necessiated the moral values of the game such as gentlemanship, sportsmanship and fair-play to stand at the forefront. Hamdi Bey, who was the head of the Darülmuallim, emphasized the pedagogical aspect of sports in a speech at the opening ceremony of the People's House in Trabzon in 1932. He said that in addition to making the body strong, sport played a role in controlling the spirit and giving the sportsman a "gentleman's heart."[242]

The newspaper discourse based on the middle-class amateur values of gentlemanship, sportsmanship and fair-play served as buffers against the probability of the degeneration of the game. The sporting motto of the period was "everybody asks how you played, not whether you won or not." [243] As discussed before, for the middle class amateur, the criteria of sporting success was not victory, but the quality of the play, craft and skill. In accordance with this understanding, the newspaper reports mentioned the game score only at the bottom of the report in a few sentences after mentioning the footballing atmosphere, the ruling of the referee and the details of the game. Although it will be discussed later, at this point let it suffice it to say that the match scores would be carried as the headlines of the football news in the changing football culture of the fifties.

The "Neglected" Football of the "Neglected" City

The social and economic life of Trabzon during the 1940s was affected heavily by the Second World War. The security of port transportation declined due to

[242] "Hamdi Bey'in Nutku", *Akın*, no. 7 (June, 1932), p. 35.

[243] *Yeniyol*, 7 April 1937. [For the Turkish version of this statement, see Appendix A].

the fact that Russian minelayers had established a minefield on the Black Sea.[244] In addition, the construction of the railroad between Sivas and Erzurum in 1939 also contributed to the decline in the port trade in Trabzon. Reflecting the contraction in the volume of port trade, the amount of the unloaded goods had fallen by 50 per cent in the war years.[245] Since Trabzon had a economy dependent on the imported goods, the decline in the port trade was resulted in the scarcity of even the basic consumption goods. The newspapers of the period was full of news about the scarcity from which the city inhabitants were suffering. The government officers, for example, tried to supplement their income by selling the clothes given them on the basis of allocation. There were continuous shortages of flour and fuel oil in the city. These harsh conditions were extraordinary for the inhabitants of the city which had had an intensified commercial traffic for years. A significant number of the local notables left the city and moved to big cities where socio-economic conditions were better.[246] As a result, the urban population declined by 10 per cent in the war years.[247]

After the Sivas- Erzurum railway went into service in 1939, Refik Koraltan, who was the governor of Trabzon from 1938 to 1939, released a statement to the press and declared that "as long as the sea is in front of Trabzon, no other district can be its rival. What the Erzurum line will take from Trabzon is just a few

---

[244] Çakıroğlu, p 29.

[245] Ibid.

[246] A. Kemal Yılmaz, "Trabzon'un Meseleleri", *Hamsi*, no. 10 (1961), p. 3-5; Yurt Ansiklopedisi, s.v. "Trabzon".

[247] DİE 2000 Genel Nüfus Sayımı: Trabzon, (Ankara: DİE, 2002), pp. 43-44. Quoted by Bakırezer, "Trabzon Olaylarının Sosyolojisine Dair Notlar", *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 107 (2006), p. 141. [See Appendix C].

passengers."[248] In fact, Koraltan did not have the right reasons for painting an optimistic picture for the city. Borrowing the words of Said Bilal Çakıroğlu, the Sivas- Erzurum railroad became "one of the important rings of the economic deterioration chain of Trabzon."[249] Contrary to another Koraltan's claim that the city would rise above İzmir, Trabzon was in danger of completely losing its regional importance for the east. Uzer, drawing a more realistic picture compared to Koraltan told Refik Saydam, the Prime Minister of the period that Trabzon began to lose its social and economic ties with the Eastern region after the railroad came to Erzincan. He reached the conclusion that Trabzon would completely rupture from the east with the arrival of the railroad to Erzurum.[250] What he anticipated came true and after the completion of the railroad, the socio-economic relations between Trabzon and its hinterland were broken off. Therefore the recession and inanimation manifested itself in every sphere of life in Trabzon. The city retired into itself both economically and socially and turned into a relatively isolated part of the country.

In the war years, the city football was far from reflecting the dynamism of the 1920s and 1930s as well, influenced as it was by the economic and social isolation of the city. As a result of the decline in disposable income, the club members were unable to pay their fees and the football enthusiasts were unable to go to the matches. Especially the decline in the stadium revenues, which constituted the main part of the income of the sports clubs, negatively affected them.[251] The newspapers tried to mobilize the authorities and the city inhabitants to give financial support to the sports

[248] *Yeniyol*, 12 February 1939. [For the Turkish version of this statement, see Appendix A].

[249] Çakıroğlu, p. 28.

[250] "Üçüncü Umumi Müfettişlik Hususi Kalem", no. 11-422, PRA CGDPMOC [Catalogue no: Dahiliye Vekaleti/ 030 18 01/86 40 13], quoted by Koçak, pp. 193-194.

[251] *Yeniyol*, 4 January 1937; 11 June 1937.

clubs who were suffering from the unfavorable economic conditions.[252] Due to poor economic conditions, the activity domain of the clubs got narrower. For example, there was a considerable decline in the number of the external footballing contacts.[253] Contrary to the previous years, the first half of the forties witnessed the poor conditions of the sports clubs such that they could not afford the expenses of the footballing contacts. In addition to the decline in these contacts, a significant decline in the social activities of the clubs was also observed during these years. The newspaper *Yeniyol* expressed its sorrow for the disappearance of the social activites of the clubs which had coloured the social life of the city in the previous decades.[254]

In the war years when almost all clubs scraped the living, Sebat İdmanyurdu which later evolved into Akçaabat Sebat Gençlik, did not participate the local league in Trabzon, most probably because of its economic problems.[255] The newspapers frequently complained that the government did not give financial support to the sports clubs.[256] Reşit Tarakçıoğlu, the head of the People's House in Trabzon, by sending a report to the General Secretary of the RPP, told the economic problems of the sports clubs in the city. After stating that the youths training in the sports clubs in Trabzon were playing the game with pretty much naked feet, Tarakçıoğlu asked for permission to distribute some of the sport shoes which had been sent from the

[252] *Yeniyol*, 26 September 1945.

[253] Çulha, "Geçmiş Yıllardaki Futbol Temaslarımız".

[254] *Yeniyol*, 7 February 1940.

[255] Bölükbaşı, pp. 40- 42.

[256] *Yeniyol*, 21 December 1945.

General Secretary of the RPP for the sportsmen in the People's House to the sports clubs.[257]

The problems the sports clubs encountered in these years were not only economic. As the school teams which had been prohibited from the league during the 1930s began to participate in the league in 1939, the public school boys left the non-school teams and began to play in the teams of their schools. As a result, a shortage of footballers arose for the non-school clubs.[258] While non-school teams were suffering from the scarcity of footballers and poor economic conditions, the school teams and particularly Trabzon Lisesi, thanks to their abundance of footballers and equipment, obtained important footballing successes.[259] Trabzon Lisesi became the champion of the local league six times without interruption from 1941 to 1947, after which the team was once again prohibited from the local league.[260] Apart from the local successes, Trabzon Lisesi succeeded in participating in the Turkish Amateur Championship in Ankara after having been the championship of the Black Sea region in Samsun and then champion in the inter-regional competitions in Mersin.[261] Although the team did not obtain an important success in the finals in Ankara, even its success leading up to the finals was sufficient to become a constituent part of the narration of "the Trabzon sport".

[257] "CHP Genel Sekreterliği", no. 21272. PRA CARPP, 6th Bureau. [Catalogue no: 490 01 1113 64 1]

[258] *Yeniyol*, 30 March 1943.

[259] *Yeniyol*, 20 October 1945.

[260] *Yeniyol*, 27 September 1947.

[261] *Yeniyol*, 7 May 1945; 15 May 1942; 19 May 1942; 26 May 1942; 9 June 1942.

Narrating the Trabzon Sport: An Upbeat History

The narration of the Trabzon sport was a myth based on the footballing successes of the "neglected" city. It was claimed that Trabzon, despite being the city that had received the least financial help and encouragement from the government, had accomplished important footballing achievements since the early development of the game.[262] "The first sporting trip from Anatolia to İstanbul," "the first international sporting contact organized in Anatolia," "the first officially-registered Anatolian sports club," "the foundation of the third branch of the UTSC in Trabzon" and also the footballers from Trabzon playing in Turkish national football team were among the footballing achievements which took part in the mentioned myth.

The fact that the state authorities were insensitive to the problems of Trabzon is an idea that has been entrenched in the collective consciousness of the city inhabitants since the Ottoman period.[263] In the early Republican era, the cancellation of the Trabzon- Erzurum railroad and postponement of the construction of the modern port contributed to the feeling of "neglect." In such a frame of mind, the footballing circles attributed to the issue of the construction of the modern stadium the same fate with the sea port. The issue of the construction of a modern stadium occupied the city agenda from 1921 although a small stadium named Cumhuriyet Stadium (Republic Stadium) was constructed in the Kavak Maidan in 1927.[264] It was thought that Cumhuriyet Stadium was insufficient in terms of meeting the needs of

[262] *Yeniyol*, 4 July 1942, 21 October 1945.

[263] Şengül Öymen Gür, "Trabzon'da Kentsel Kimlik ve Dönüşüm" in Trabzon'u Anlamak, pp. 320-321.

[264] Mehmet Rıza, "Sporcularımızın Dertleri", *Akın*, no.1 (March, 1932), p. 19.

the "sport-loving" city inhabitants.[265] Despite the fact that the plan of a new modern stadium was officially accepted and there permanently appeared news about government funds paid for the construction on the newspapers, the break out of the Second World War resulted in the postponement of the construction once again.[266] However, the public pressure arouse and the footballing circles concantrated on the belated construction of the stadium by the end of the war. The belatedness of the construction was directly associated how the city had been neglected in every field.[267] From a comparative viewpoint, it was argued that although modern stadiums had been established in certain cities which lacked any footballing experiences and success, the construction of the stadium had been neglected in Trabzon, a city that had had many footballing successes for years.[268] The newspaper *Halk* told that the well-deserved attention should be paid for the "sport-loving" *Trabzonlu*s who accepted the risk of swimming in the mud to play football and of standing in the rain to watch the game. [269]

The image of the sport-loving *Trabzonlu*s was supported by famous footballers such as Hasan Polat, Ali Polat, Naci Bastoncu, Nazmi Bilge, Salim Şatıroğlu and Zekeriya Bali, who began playing football in Trabzon and continued their footballing careers in important Turkish sports clubs.[270] Representing Trabzon

---

[265] *Yeniyol*, 16 April 1942.

[266] Here are some examples of the news about the construction of the stadium. "Mıntıka Başkanının Beyanatı", *Yeniyol*, 9 April 1937; "Spor Bölgesine Yardım", Yeniyol, 17 May 1939; "Stadyum Planı", *Yeniyol*, 17 June 1939; "Stadyum", *Yeniyol*, 2 August 1939; Şevket Çulha, "Spor Sahamız", *Yeniyol*, 16 April 1942; "Stadyum İçin 20Bin Lira", *Yeniyol*, 12 June 1942; "Stadyum İçin 50 Bin Lira Geldi", *Yeniyol*, 16 December 1942; "Stadyum için 50 Bin Lira Geldi", *Yeniyol*, 30 June 1943.

[267] *Yeniyol*, 4 July 1942; 21 November 1945; 19 December 1945; 7 April 1948.

[268] *Yeniyol*, 21 May 1948.

[269] *Yeniyol*, 19 September 1945.

[270] Refik Karaağaçlı. Interview by the author; *Yeniyol*, 2 August 1934; 21 May 1948.

in the "outside" world, these local footballing heroes were turned into "civic ambassadors" and became an integral part of the myth of the Trabzon sport. In this context, it should be noted that one of the peculiar characteristics of football in Trabzon was claimed to export footballers.[271] The footballing heroes were commonly mentioned in the discussions about the issue of stadium. It was also claimed, in this context, that despite remaining in "a remote part of the country", sport-loving people of Trabzon became successful by training themselves without any "outside" help and encouragment. Therefore, the city youth who created "something out of nothing" should no longer be neglected.[272] This saying at the same time reflected the diligence and bellicosity of the city inhabitants who sought ways for getting their bread in both geographically and economically narrow circumstances.[273]

Making a brief evaluation of the footballing life in Trabzon in the thirties, it is seen that certain aspects dominated the previous decade were sustained. First of all, the roles of "civilizing," "moralizing," and "modernizing" which had been assigned to the game were preserved. It was because not only that football was still a middle-class activity in which predominantly teachers, school boys and local elites were involved, but also the increased state intervention in the 1930s. Moreover, the emphasis on the pedagogical dimension of the game continued to provide a source of legitimation for football. Beside the pedagogical, the performative function of the game continued until the end of 1930s, the hope to regain the regional leadership through football remained the main determinent of the football culture in this period.

---

[271] *Yeniyol*, 27 August 1947.

[272] *Yeniyol*, 21 October 1945.

[273] *Yeniyol*, 27 August 1947.

However, in the Second World War years, the change in the city's self image was reflected on football. The claim of "pioneering the region" weakened and the emphasis on "pioneering" was replaced by "being neglected". In these years, the increase in the feeling of having been neglected among the local elites regarding the city, in more general terms, led to the emergence of "the Trabzon sport myth" on the base of the foootballing successes of the city which were regarded as the neglected city's extra-ordinary successes.

CHAPTER FOUR

POST-WAR FOOTBALL IN TRABZON

"To say that these men paid their shillings to watch twenty-two hirelings kick a ball is merely to say that a violin is wood and catgut, that Hamlet is so much paper and ink."[274]

In examining the social history of football in Trabzon, it is seen that some tendencies and pecularities come into prominence in certain periods of time. To illustrate, until the Second World War, the city football possessed a middle-class characteristic. Football was dominated and governed by the local elites and thus its culture was shaped around the middle-class amateur values. The local elites in Trabzon also attributed to the game not only a pedagogical function for physically and morally empowering society, but also a performative one for helping the city to regain its former pre-eminence. Although the middle-class characteristic of the game was preserved to a great extent in the war years, its performative function weakened due to the decline in the external footballing contacts. Furthermore, the "pioneering" claim of the city in this period was replaced by a feeling of "neglectedness".

The 1950s, however, indicate a turning point in the city football. It is observed that the middle-class characteristic of the game was undermined by a set of social, economic and political developments in these years. Football made a transition from a middle-class to a mass activity. Therefore, its pedagogical function disappeared while the performative one was persistently perpetuated in a different

[274] J. B. Priestley, quoted from the web site: http://educatedleftfoot.blogspot.com/2008/09/jb-priestley.html [10 March 2009]

way. In this context, the aim of this chapter is to discuss the transformation of football in Trabzon in the light of the general tendencies inferred in the previous chapters in two sections. In the first section, the transformation of the game in line with certain social, economic and political changes is analyzed in the context of the game's pedagogical function. The second section tries to shed light on the path the performative function of football followed in the transformed football culture.

The Real People's Game: From *Beyefendilik* To *Delikanlılık*

In the 1950s, Turkish football began to make the transition from a middle-class activity to a mass sport as a result of certain social, political and economic changes in these years. In this regard, one must firstly note that the increase in the popularity of the game and accordingly its transformation into a mass sport was not peculiar to Trabzon. After the single-party era in the country came to an end with the victory of the DP in the elections of 1950, Turkish society underwent a wide range of social and economic developments thanks to the liberal policies pursued by the Democrats in the first half of the fifties. Among the economic changes were the commercialization of agriculture, acceleration of industrialization, establishment of the state factories and an upsurge in the investment in infrastructural sectors. In parallel to the economic transformation, the 1950s also witnessed important social developments including rapid urbanization, rural migration, population growth, the emergence of the working class in the developed parts of the country, expansion of the press and communication, the increase in the schooling rate and the emergence of

new social and political powers.[275] In such a socio-economic climate, football gradually became an activity of the masses, an indispensible part of people's everday lives in Turkey.

In parallel to the socio-economic transformation the country experienced, Trabzon in particular saw important social, economic, cultural and demographical changes in the fifties. First of all, it must be noted that Trabzon, which was already a geographically remote part of Turkey, perceived very deeply its remoteness and isolation from the rest of the country especially as of the Second World War years. Considered from this perspective, it does not seem odd that the early investments of the DP in Trabzon were intended to overcome the social and economic isolation of the city. To illustrate, in 1954, the Democrats completed the construction of the modern sea port which had been on the social agenda in Trabzon for years. Moreover, they undertook the improvements of the Black Sea highway and thereby important progress was observed in this direction. Another significant attempt at improving communication and transportation conditions of the city was the construction of an airport in 1957. All these developments contributed to the improvement of commercial life in Trabzon. It also paved the way for the integration of the city and the periphery in both social and economic terms.[276]

Despite its limited agricultural fields, Trabzon received its share from the "agriculture-led boom"[277] of the DP in the fifties. For example, there was a considerable increase in the production of hazelnuts which were the city's most

[275] For a revelavant discussion, see William M. Hale, *The Political and Economic Development of Modern Turkey* (London: Croom Helm ,1981), pp. 86-117; Eric J. Zürcher, *Turkey A Modern History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1997), pp. 231-252.
[276] Yurt Ansiklopedisi, s.v. "Trabzon"; Bakırezer, "Trabzon'un Sosyo-ekonomik Çöküşü", p. 42; Harris, p. 356.

[277] Şevket Pamuk, "Economic Change in the Twentieth Century Turkey: Is the Glass More Than Half Full?". In *Cambridge History of Modern Turkey*, ed. R. Kasaba (2008), p. 282.

important commercial agricultural product. This stemmed for the most part from the increase in hazelnut prices as a result of the government policies and positive conjuncture. In a similar vein, the production of tobacco, another important commercial product of the city also increased thanks to the government's favourable price floor compared to the world prices. It must also be noted that tea owed its discovery as a valuable commercial product to the supporting policies of the government in the fifties.[278] All these developments in agricultural sector meant increasing incomes and higher life standards.

Economic developments were also accompanied by improvements in the cultural and educational life of the city throughout the fifties. To illustrate, there was an increase in the primary and secondary schooling rate including the rural parts of the city.[279] In these years, the most important educational development was the foundation of Black Sea Technical University in Trabzon in 1955, which is claimed to be the first university outside İstanbul and Ankara.[280] Besides these developments, the press life in the city also revived compared to the single-party era and new newspapers and journals were published in this period.[281]

In addition to the aforediscussed points, the demographic change in Trabzon also deserves to be mentioned. As discussed in the previous chapter, since a certain number of local notables migrated to big cities such as İstanbul, İzmir and Ankara as of the Second World War years, the population of Trabzon contracted by 10% between the years 1940 and 1945. However, by the fifties, people from the rural

[278] Bakırezer, "Trabzon'un Sosyo-ekonomik Çöküşü", pp. 51-56.

[279] *Yurt Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. "Trabzon".

[280] "KTÜ'nün Kuruluşu ve Gelişimi". Available [online]: http://www.ktu.edu.tr/kurulus.php [14 July 2009]

[281] Hüseyin Albayrak, "Trabzon'da Basın". In *Trabzon 89* (Trabzon: Kuzey Gazetecilik Matbaacılık ve Ambalaj Sanayi, 1989), p. 154.

areas of the city and also from the nearby cities such as Gümüşhane, Bayburt, Rize, Artvin and Giresun began to migrate to Trabzon.[282] As a result of the great internal migration, the urban population increased, expanding from 40,000 to 83,000 between 1945 and 1960.[283] This fact resulted in a shift in the urban and rural balance and accordingly influenced the social, cultural and political climate of the city. The local elites who had dominated the city's social and political life in the previous decades lost their former power. In this regard, one of the fields in which their domination and control diminished seemed to be football.

The modernization and urbanization process in the fifties led to significant changes in people's recreational practices as well as their everyday lives. In this regard, the old-pattern leisure activities were replaced by new ones such as sports, cinema and music along with other elements of the popular culture that the modern urban life offered. In the previous decades, there had been traditional festivals such as Hıdrellez and other mass recreational activities held in the countrysides such as Soğuksu, Boztepe and Gırgırsuyu. These recreations had attracted considerable number of people who wanted to spend time together. Therefore, it was said they had the ability to bring people together as "a classless society."[284] It is interesting to note that while the participation in the football matches played in the summer season had declined considerably in terms of spectatorship because most of the people had gone to the countryside in the previous years, football, gaining truly a mass audience, began to replace these traditional activities in the fifties. Thereby, the countryside and the festivals no longer attracted great amounts of participation as they had after

[282] Öymen, p. 321.

[283] DİE 2000 Genel Nüfus Sayımı: Trabzon, quoted by Bakırezer, "Trabzon Olaylarının Sosyolojisine Dair Notlar", p. 141. [See Appendix C].

[284] *Yeniyol*, 15 May 1946.

the 1950s. As will be discussed later, what made the game to attract the supreme appeal among the other modern recreational options was a crucial thing it possessed but absent in other modern leisure activities. The source of football's appeal was the emotional attachment. It was an opportunity for the urban inhabitants to express their "new" urbanism.[285] In this regard, the city stadium completed in 1952,[286] turned into the Soğuksu of the new urban life where the inhabitants of the city came together as 'a classless society' to enjoy a mass recreational activity.

As mentioned above, after its completion, the city stadium provided the urban inhabitants with the physical ground for their cultural expression. The modern stadium made the game more attractive both for the spectators and spectacles. In the previous decades, a football match had been held in front of at most 5000 enthusiasts. However, by the fifties, the matches attracted over 10,000 fans.[287] It was also related to the expansion of the fan base of the football teams. While the city stadium became the unique address of the league matches, cup competitions and external footballing contacts, the Kavak Maidan, "the old servant of the city football,"[288] started to be used as a training field for the young people dreaming to be footballers. The transition from the Kavak Maidan to the city stadium was important in terms of indicating the change that was taking place in Trabzon football.

As far as the developments which provided the cultural and material conditions for the transformation of football into a popular activity are concerned, the change in the state's sport policies also deserves to be mentioned. Thanks to the

---

[285] Holt, *Sport and the British*, p. 167.

[286] Ömer Güner, *Gönülden Gönüle Trabzon* (Ankara: Güldikeni Yayınları, 2001), pp. 97-98.

[287] *Halk*, 27 January 1958.

[288] *Halk*, 15 April 1955.

loosening control of the state in the field of sports and physical education after the Second World War, the sporting world had a more independent and democratic atmosphere.[289] Particularly the promulgation of the Act for Professionalism in 1951 marked a turning point in the policies of sports and physical education of the state.[290] After professionalism gained acceptence in Turkey, football, becoming a professional occupation through which a person could earn income from his footballing prowess, began to attract the interest of more people from different social backgrounds. In addition to these developments, an increase in the number of sports clubs was observed in the country thanks to the financial and material support of the state.[291] Reflecting the proliferation of the sports clubs in Trabzon, the local league expanded from five to fifteen clubs in the period between 1950–1958.[292]

It is possible to observe other outcomes of the reduced intervention of the state to the sports clubs through the case of Trabzon. The social activities of the clubs, for instance, which had already experienced a sharp decline in the war years, disappeared in the fifties. Needless to say, this was also related to the weakening emphasis on the culture mobilization in the country by the end of the single-party regime. While İdman Ocağı finished its social activities in 1944 and İdmangücü in 1946, Necm-i Ati and Doğan Gençlik put an end to its social activities in 1953.[293]

The decline in the emphasis on sporting diversity can be considered another outcome of the reduced intervention of the state in the field of sports. As the state's

[289] Fişek, p. 312-314.

[290] Akın, "'Not Just a Game'", p. 76.

[291] Akın, "Anahatları ile Cumhuriyet Döneminde", p. 81.

[292] *Halk*, 24 July 1958.

[293] Yamak, p. 13.

imposition of sporting diversity became less, sports other than football such as swimming, netball and athleticism fell out of fashion. One example will suffice to illustrate this. While an athletics competition organized in 1939 attracted 170 sportsmen, there were only 7 sportsmen at another athletics competition in 1947.[294] On the one hand, sports except football were kept on through the "encouragement competitions" (teşvik müsabakaları). Football, on the other, succeeded to attract a supreme appeal and became the primary basis for the establishment of new clubs.

In the discussion above, the factors that lay behind the transformation of football from a middle-class activity into a mass spectator sport were examined. It was claimed that socio-economic changes in the country on the one hand and the state's ideological shift in the field of sports and physical education on the other provided the objective conditions for this transformation. However, as we return to the case of Trabzon, the social unit around which this transformation evolved has not been discussed yet. At this juncture, Emiroğlu's statement must be mentioned that the urbanization and population growth in Trabzon resulted in the expansion of the *mahalle*s which had been the basic administrative units in the city.[295] This situation created important problems of identity for the *mahalle*s. In this context, football performed a crucial role in the resolution of the identity problem. Since football began to attract mass appeal based on this social unit, it seems impossible to understand the transformation of the game without discussing the *mahalle*s.

The *Mahalle*s on the Pitch

[294] Yeniyol, 17 May 1939; 25 June 1947.

[295] Kudret Emiroğlu. Interview by the author. tape-recording, Ankara, 20 June 2009.

"The *mahalle*s" writes Cem Behar, "were well entrenched as basic communities at local level and played key roles in shaping local identities and solidarities."[296] Similar to İstanbul, where Behar has made his observation, Trabzon was also a city where the social life was organized on the basis of the *mahalle*s. As Emiroğlu states, the *mahalle*s in Trabzon indicate a deep-rooted and entrenched culture which practically can form sub-identities.[297] According to him, it was not just because a *mahalle* was a social and cultural unit in itself, but also because it was a judicial one. In the Ottoman legal system if a crime had been committed within a *mahalle*, the inhabitants arrested the criminal and submitted him to the court. Otherwise, all the inhabitants of the *mahalle* faced the danger of punishment because of the committed crime. [298] In this context, it seems reasonable to associate the importance of "being from the same *mahalle*" (mahallelilik) with this legal system. Considered from this perspective, the case of being from the same *mahalle* evokes notions of confidence, solidarity and cooperation. Therefore, while people from the same *mahalle* united around a collective identity, a person from another *mahalle* was positioned as an "outsider" and even a potential danger.

> [D]ifferences among the neighborhoods used to give rise to a distrust and suspicion of anyone from the other neighborhood. You could easily trust the grocer, butcher and the mechanic in your own neighborhood, but you could never trust whoever came from the other neighborhood, for he is someone else. If there existed any wickedness, it cannot have been caused by anyone other than the other neighborhood dweller.[299]

---

[296] Cem Behar, A Neighbourhood in Ottoman İstanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the *Kasap İlyas Mahalle* (New York: State University of New York Place, 2003) , p. 4.

[297] Emiroğlu, "Trabzonlu Ne Yetiştirsin". In *Trabzon'u Anlamak*, p. 115.

[298] Emiroğlu, *Gündelik Hayatımızın Tarihi*, p. 437.

[299] Bülen Baş, "Faroz, Sotka, Arafilboyu: Bizim Mahallenin Takımından Trabzonspor'a" in *Fırtına, İhtilal Efsane*, p. 56. [For a Turkish version of this statement, see Appendix A].

The strong collective life in the *mahalle*s was the ground for the creation of the collective local identity. As indicated by the quote above, this collective identity crystallized the distinctions among different *mahalle*s. In this context, rivalries and conflicts which were frequently reflected as fights between bands of youths from different *mahalle*s broke out.[300] The fights to defend the *mahalle*'s "honour," as Emiroğlu points out, had a significant role in the preservation of the collective identity.[301]

As discussed before, the population of the city increased in the 1950s due to rural migration. The migrants coming from the western rural areas of Trabzon settled in the *mahalle*s on the western side of the city like Sotka, Faroz. On the other hand, the migrants from the east preferred the *mahalle*s such as Arafilboyu and Çömlekçi in the east.[302] The central *mahalle*s such as Ortahisar, Hacıkasım, Yenicuma, Pazarkapı, Ganita, and Kemerkaya remained, to some extent, the places where well-known families, traders and artists of the city mostly lived despite the internal and external migrations.

There were also new *mahalle*s established by the new-comers in these years. In this context, it appears to be a reasonable assumption that the changes in the traditional structure of the city resulted in the blurring of the local identities. "As the population grew and conurbations spread," writes Holt, "the need to define that part of the city to which you belonged became more acute."[303] In this regard, football

[300] Behar, p. 4.

[301] Emiroğlu, "Trabzonlu Ne Yetiştirsin", p. 119.

[302] Baş, "Faroz, Sotka, Arafilboyu", p. 56.

[303] Holt, *Sport and the British*, p. 169.

clubs based on residential loyalties in Trabzon provided a distinctive sense of place and preserved the collective identity and solidarity in the *mahalle*s.

The 1950s saw a rise in the number of the sports clubs based on *mahalle*s. To give example, the youth of the Erdoğdu founded Erdoğduspor in 1955, the youth of Arafil Boyu founded Gençlerbirliği in 1957 and Fenerbahçe was established by the youth of the Ayasofya in 1958. Although information is not available about the relationship between the sports clubs and their fan bases, the representation of the *mahalle* at the city level seems to have been an important motive for supporting the football team. One of the famous footballers of the period, İbrahim Küçüktepe, also known as Hantal *(Clumsy)* İbrahim, stresses the organic ties between football teams and their supporters as such:

> Almost every *mahalle* in the city had its own football team independent of participating to the local league. Moreover, there was a football field in every *mahalle*. In the matches between two *mahalle*s, while the footballers were trying to prove their superiority over the others on the pitch, the residents of the *mahalle*s supported their team on the terraces and also from the edges of the field.[304]

These sports clubs maintained not only the reproduction of the solidarity and sincerity within the *mahalle*, but also created a suitable ground for competing with another *mahalle* and thus reinforced the collective identity of the *mahalle*. Considered from this perspective, the claim would not be inaccurate that the football matches replaced the "traditional" fights between the youths from different *mahalle*s.[305] Football, for no doubt, offered a new ground on which the superiority among the *mahalle*s could be determined.

---

[304] İbrahim Küçüktepe. Interview by the author, tape recording, Trabzon, 24 February 2009. [For a Turkish version of this statement, see Appendix A].

[305] Baş, "Faroz, Sotka, Arafilboyu", p. 56.

With the establishment of these clubs, the youth men graduated from the streets to city stadium to represent their *mahalle*s on the pitch. In these years football gradually became the real people's game, losing its elite connotations. Football clubs came to make up a staple part of the local life. The members of the club board, players and supporters mostly lived in the same *mahalle*, came together in the coffeehouse of the *mahalle* and discussed the issues concerning their football team.

The driving force behind football's growing popularity in the 1950s was the development of identitities that drew supporters to the new clubs. Although most of the new clubs cast themselves as representatives of *mahalle*s, there were also institution-based clubs. To give examples, Yolspor was established by highway workers in 1953,[306] Tütünspor was established by tobacco clerks[307] and Yeşilspor by the Forestry School in 1957[308] in addition to the already established ones such as Doğan Spor of the Shoemakers Association and Karagücü of the military officers. Joining these teams for whom might have worked physically all day was no doubt more than just getting physical exercise.[309] In fact, football as a team sport provided more than physical fitness. As Mason has emphasized, the game offered *esprit de corps* and relief from boredom for the new urban inhabitants.[310] To be a part of a team meant to have good time with friends, to share a sense of loyalty and represent

[306] *Halk*, 31 September 1953.

[307] *Halk*, 11 February 1955.

[308] Coşkun Akyüz. Interview by the author. tape-recording, Trabzon, 18 Febrauary 2009.

[309] Holt, *Sport and the British*, p. 154.

[310] Tony Mason, "Football on the Maidan: Cultural Imperialism in Calcutta," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 7, no. 1 (1990), p. 85.

your workplace. The institution-based clubs provided a new focus for collective urban leisure for the workers and officers as well.[311]

Hughson argues in his seminal article "The Working Class and the *Making* of Association Football" that "the working class has *made* the sport of association football its own through a history of collective emotional investment." According to him, the masses owe their *cultural control* (my emhasis) over the game to this emotional investment.[312] The same appears to have been true for our case. As football was becoming an activity of the ordinary folk, not the middle class alone, the cultural control of the game shifted from the upper-middle to lower classes. Therefore, the entertainment function of football came to the fore rather than its pedagogical benefits. As a major form of male entertainment, the game became an indispensible element of the culture of the coffeehouses, which were the entertainment and leisure centers of the *mahalle*s. It is interesting that the sports clubs which formerly had been founded "in order to rescue the youth from the coffeehouses," made the coffeehouses their clubhouses in the fifties.

The clubhouse of Yalıspor, for example, which was later transformed into Karadenizgücü, was a coffeehouse of fishermen on the seaside. Moreover, Gençlerbirliği used the coffeehouse of Çolak *(One-armed)* İdris in the Arafilboyu while Fatih Gençlik which later evolved into Yenitepe used the coffeehouse of Yırtık *(Brazen)* Ali in Yeni Cuma.[313] The transformation of football into a major form of male entertainment, like the other elements of the coffeehouse culture, weakened the older, middle-class pedagogical arguments for the game's amateur ideal. The

[311] Holt, p. 167.

[312] Hughson, "The Working Class and the Making of Association Football," p. 63.

[313] Coşkun Akyüz. Interview by the author.

pedagogical values were gradually replaced by the cultural elements of the traditional life as the game evolved from a *school-based* to a *mahalle-based* activity. Consequently, football which had once been shaped by the elite in their image and according to their own ideological viewpoint, began to be shaped by the ordinary masses.

Hard and Dirty Play

As discussed in the previous chapter, the Turkish body culture in the early Republican period bore the stamp of the dominant understanding that appreciated sports according to their utilitarian aspects instead of their leisure time functions. The footballing pioneers in Trabzon were also influenced by this pragmatist approach. In this regard, the early pioneers of the game saw football as a convenient means for controlling the youth's leisure; attracting attention away from "futile" and "hazardous" activities to physically and morally beneficial ones. Mehmet Rıza, for example, noted that it was his own success to bust the young *Trabzonlu*s out of the addictions of dance, bars and coffeehouses by bringing them to the Kavak Maidan.[314] According to him and those of the same mind, young people should play football instead of doing futile activities in order to get rid of "the epidemic of the age the so-called "entertainment."[315]

However, as football began to gain a mass audience, this instrumentalist approach lost its former importance. Football turned into a popular form of

[314] *Yenigün*, 23 January 1969.

[315] Vildan Aşir Savaşır, "19 Mayıs Bayramı ve Gençlik Meselesi," *Türk Spor Kurumu Dergisi*, no. 46 (17 May 1937), p.7, quoted by Akın, *"Gürbüz ve Yavuz Evlatlar,"* p. 197.

entertainment for men and also an indispensable part of the coffeehouse culture which formerly had been despised by the footballing pioneers. This transformation, at the same time, indicates a wider change in the football culture. Becoming a major form of male entertainment, the game absorbed the characteristics and values of the traditionally male-dominated culture such as aggression, fierce competitiveness as well as violence. As a result, the pedagogical function of the game disaapeared.

In the 1950s, the proliferation of sports clubs made the lenght of the season of the local league in Trabzon take longer time, and stimulated a competitive atmosphere, which resulted in rise in the football violence. In one correspondent's words, "the matches took a start with foot but ended with fist."[316] However, the acts of violence were not confined to the pitch, but also on the terraces. Vorley Harris, the last British consulate in Trabzon, who was there from 1949 until 1954, telling his observations on the league matches, stressed that the great enthusiasm often ran so high that police intervention was necessarily required.[317]

The increase in the aggresive and violent dimensions of football indicate the dismantling of the middle-class amateur values in the game. This was predominantly due to the fact that football became not only a field in which different identities and loyalties came into conflict, but also an occupational activity through which footballers could earn money. In this regard, playing football became a matter of winning or losing for the "new" footballer as well as the football community, whereas the middle-class amateur of the past had put less of a price on victory. Seen in this light, it becomes apperent that as the concerns of money, prestige and

[316] *Yenigün*, 5 February 1949.

[317] Harris, p. 25.

representation were boosted in the new footballing atmosphere, playing football became synonymous with being involvied in acts of violence.

As mentioned above, after becoming "the real people's game," football was no longer played in the same spirit as it had been by the middle class. According to the middle class definition, the amateur football player knew the moral codes of the game, respected the referee and played fairly and sportmenlike as well.[318] However, the football player of the fifties had an image that was opposite that of the middle-class definition. For example, there occured frequent cases in which the footballer who treated the referee irrespectively was sent off by the referee. Matches were left half finished because of acts of violence. The image of the footballers reflected in the press turned from being that of a "*beyefendi*" (gentleman) to that of a "*delikanli*" (those with wild blood[319]). The newspapers described the football matches as *mahalle* fights and footballers as "pitch hoodlums," which marks the importance of the *mahalle* as a cultural determinent in the "vulgarising" football atmosphere.[320]

The press, which experienced a resurgence in the fifties, occupied a significant place in the footballing life of the city. Due to the increase in the number of the newspapers and the growing popularity of the game in those years, the journalistic community dedicated to football expanded. Furthermore, the space devoted to the game in the newpapers increased considerably. In the early development of football in Trabzon, the newspapers focused almost entirely on a middle-class readership. However, as time progressed and the social class involved broadened, a different emphasis began to emerge within the press that reflected the

[318] *Yeniyol*, 4 March 1942, 2 May 1945.

[319] I borrowed this definition from Leyla Neyzi, "The Paradox of "Youth" in Turkey," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, no. 33 (2001), pp. 411-423.

[320] *Halk*, 18 March 1955.

influx of the lower-class spectators. To illustrate, when the newspapers' readership was extensively middle class, whose emphasis had been on the sporting quality of the game, not solely on the score, the match scores were mentioned only in last sentences in the press reports. However, as the football community broadened including different social classes in the fifties, the newspapers also began to reflect the concerns of the masses for whom winning was all important. In such a climate, the newspapers began to put the match score in the headlines in big fonts.

It seems unfair to state that football violence and disorder had not occured in the previous decades. However, it is known that acts of violence increased considerably during the 1950s. Interesting to note, in the previous decades the referees who had failed to manage the matches fairly and the club administors who had failed to train their footballers in a sportmanlike way were for the most part held responsible for the singular acts of violence. That is to say, the football violence was an event that was produced within the narrow boundaries of the football community. However, in the 1950s, it was the spectators who were responsible for football violence.

"Beat it! Scap! Jump over 'em!" So they did beat, scrape and jump over each other so long as such encouraging cries flooded over from all sides around. They fought to the death."[321] Football was like a mirror that reflected back the image that the crowd wanted to see. According to the author of the passage above, it was the enthusiasts in the stadium who encouraged the footballers to acts of violence. He also claimed that the footballers who regarded every "defeat" as "dishonour" tried every unsportsmanlike way to achieve victory. The newspapers included many articles

[321] *Halk*, 30 April 1947. [For the Turkish version of this statement, see Appendix A].

which invited the authorities to take measures to reduce the disorder and violence at football matches.

> Unless the policemen intervene in the crowds who provoke the footballer to abandon the sportsmanship that is key to any game and go to the bad and, unless the Region exercises its authority and prevents the entrance of civilians on the pitch, then footballer would definitely beat the referee (…) they would by all means swear at the tribunes and hence tribunes at the footballers and the referee. All those bad manners will not be attributed to this and that at all, but solely to the Trabzon sport and the sports understanding of the sportsman![322]

This passage from *Halk* openly illustrates what sort of events could have occured in an ordinary football match in the local league in the 1950s. In the climate of excessive passion, the field could be invaded by the crowd, a footballer could beat the referee, swearing could arise from the terraces. It was in the first place the football enthusiasts who were blamed for such events. The victim of these events was "Trabzon sport," which had been founded on the basis of middle-class amateurism.

One should also note that the vulgarization of the game by passing to the lower layers of the society was not only observed in Trabzon. Holt interprets the tension occurred in the transformation of football into a working class sport from a middle-class sport in England in a similar context. According to Holt, as football gained in popularity and became the indispensable game of the mine workers in Lancashine, the middle-class football authors began to evaluate the game persistently as "vulgar."[323] It is interesting to note that in the context of violent football matches,

[322] *Halk*, 23 December 1955. [For a Turkish version of this statement, see Appendix A].

[323] Holt, "Sport and the British," p. 160.

the metaphor of "bull fights"[324] in England was replaced by "cock fights" in Trabzon.

> Exceptional beautiful weather again had charmed sports lovers to the stadium, again four sides of the pitch had turned into a wall made of people. Besides there was the match between Güç and Ocak, could anyone ever miss the opportunity to watch a *cock fight* (my emphasis) Meantime, friends of our Hızır Özer tied him with an iron wire lest he got too much excited and thus could be hard to control. The stands and other vantage points of the stadium were again jammed with people and, flags, ribbons, and jerseys adorned with colors of yellow, red, green and white were swaying and swaying. After the 10th minute the true Güç vs. Ocak match everyone had been waiting for had begun and the pitch had turned into a battlefield. Those injured, fainted were aboundant on the pitch. There was a run to the sportsmen, who were themselves running heedlessly after the ball just a few minutes ago, with stretchers, first aid kits, and doctors.[325]

This is an extremely interesting statement and seems to indicate two things. First, the football community, including the football writers had become accustomed to the acts of violence in the football matches which had previously been observed as singular events. Secondly, these acts of violence and disorder were observed not only in the matches of the teams at the bottom of the league. Rather, violence was spread throughout the league from top to the bottom. The most popular clubs in the city, İdman Ocağı and İdmangücü, which had been established by the middle class also witnessed violence and disorder.

[324] Holt, "Sport and the British," p. 174.

[325] *Halk*, 11 February 1955. [For a Turkish version of this statement, see Appendix A].

İdman Ocağı vs. İdmangücü: A Local Derby

During the 1950s, the intesity of the rivalry between İdman Ocağı and İdmangücü which is said to have emerged in the 1930s[326] showed no signs of abatement. Rather, the rivalry between Trabzon's most popular clubs became fiercer by the dismantling of the amateur values in the competitive football climate of the fifties. It is observed that the "eternal" rivalry which was widespread throughout the city irrespective of the *mahalle*s was promoted intensely by the press and other institutions in society. For example, the newspapers devoted considerable attention to the matches between İdman Ocağı and İdmangücü. They wrote that people bet on the result of the game and talked about it everywhere in the city from the coffeehouses to the maidans. The local derby became the burning issue of the day starting from even several days before the match. Moreover, it was also observed that the newspapers sometimes conducted telephone surveys for the local derby. By doing such things, they increased the interest and curiosity of the people paid for the match.

Apart from the press, there were further institutions which aimed to benefit from the interest of the people in the local derby. In 1958, the Yapı ve Kredi Bank in Trabzon dedicated a cup for the winner of the league match between the two sides. It was a further remarkable point that a national referee was brought to the city to rule the local derby, considering that a local referee might have ruled unfairly. [327] In general, the press reports of the matches between two clubs confirm the presence of massive crowds. The local derby was the festive side of football. Refik Karaağaçlı, a former administor of İdmangücü described the local derby in this way:

[326] *Halk*, 13 April 1946.

[327] *Halk*, 21 January 1958.

> The eternal rivalry between Güç and Ocak was different from that of the rest of the local matches in many respects. For example, unlike the other league matches, the match between Güç and Ocak was announced from the municipal speaker. The football-loving people came together in the stadium which was decorated with flags and ribbons in the colours of the two clubs. Thanks to the matches between Ocak and Güç the stadium always saw its most crowded days. After the match ended, sometimes a donkey dressed in the colours of the defeated side was taken on a city tour and sometimes a coffin symbolizing the losers was thrown to the river.[328]

The local derby between Güç and Ocak illustrates a carnivalesque expression of the passion for football. Although it is not intention of this study to shed light on the relation of football and politics in the case of Trabzon, it should be noted that the rivalry between Güç and Ocak was claimed to mirror not only sportive but also political differences. In this regard, İdman Ocağı was claimed to represent the RPP and on the other side İdmangücü claimed to come from the tradition of DP. Trabzon, as elsewhere in Turkey, might have been a place where politics and football were quickly intertwined.[329]

Football As a Matter of Civic Pride

As discussed above, sports clubs based on *mahalle*s were established successively in the fifties and therefore the football culture which had developed under the wings of the middle-class until that time began to be influenced by the popular culture. In the new "competitive" footballing climate, the emphasis was

[328] Refik Karaağaçlı, interview by the author. [For a Turkish version of this statement, see Appendix A].

[329] Refik Karaağaçlı, interview by the author.

shifted from the amateur values of sportsmanship, gentlemanship and quality of the play to the "eventual" victory. As the game became a matter of winning or losing, extreme behaviours such as physical violence and verbal abuse came to be the *sina qua non* of the local league matches. The transformation in the football culture, after all, undermined the cultural conditions of the pedagogical function attributed to the game. At this juncture, it seems plausible to argue that unlike the pedagogical, performative function of football managed to survive. However, to understand the evolution of the performative function in the new football culture, it is necessary to go back to our discussion on the city in the forties.

The connection of the eastern region of the country with Anatolia by the completion of Sivas-Erzurum railroad in 1939 damaged the strategical importance of Trabzon. In addition, as a result of the interruption of the sea transportation in the war years in addition to its negative geographical position of the city, Trabzon was rendered an isolated and remote part of the country. The postponement of the investments which could have saved the city from social and economic isolation reinforced the feeling of "being neglected." As a result, the image of Trabzon as a shining port city disappeared.

It was in such a frame of mind that Trabzon greeted the new period that took start in the fifties. To put an end to the isolation of the city, the new government opened a new modern port, constructed an airport and founded a university in the city. Furthermore, developments in the agricultural sector increased the disposable income of the public and resulted in a resurgence in commercial life. These developments paved the way for Trabzon to communicate with the rest of the country. In this context, the local elites saw football as a channel through which the socio-economic isolation to some extent could be

overcome. Thanks to its potential for representation, football was considered a way to restore Trabzon's "civic pride." In this regard, the sports clubs restarted to organize external footballing contacts in the positive economic climate of the fifties. However, it is observed that in these external footballing contacts, the "pioneering" claim of the city was replaced by an unpretentious aim: Opening the city to the outside world.

External Footballing Contacts

As discussed in the previous chapter, the sports clubs in Trabzon had organized external footballing contacts since the early development of the game. These matches were considered important social events and thus occupied the city agenda from its beginning. The visiting teams coming to Trabzon via the sea were welcomed at the port, and tea parties, dinners, theatrical and musical performances were organized for their honour. In short, the guests were hosted in a way showing the hospitality of people of Trabzon. Although the external contacts decreased during the war years due to the poor economic conditions, an intensive traffic in footballing visits began from the early 1950s.

The footballing contacts with the nearby cities which were frequently observed in the 1920s and 1930s took a new start in the positive economic climate of the fifties. Besides the matches held with the teams from neighbouring cities, important sports clubs from big cities such as İstanbul and İzmir and even from other countries were invited to Trabzon. In this regard, the first attempt came from İdman Ocağı, who invited Vefaspor, one of the most important sports clubs in İstanbul in

1953.[330] It seems a reasonable assumption that inviting a sports club from İstanbul which was "the paramount of Turkish football" required personal relations with the invited club's administors and the footballing authorities as well. Also, it was also a costly business. Needless to say, the *mahalle* clubs the economic possibilities of which were limited did not have contacts with the "big" sports clubs. It was İdman Ocağı, acknowledged as "the richest sports club in Anatolia,"[331] that could afford such contacts without much difficulty. *Halk* mentioned that organizing that contact for the benefit of the city inhabitants who had not seen a strong team on the pitch for a long time, İdman Ocağı got down to form a team able to represent Trabzon with its honour.[332] Although the team which played against İstanbulspor was formed under the name of İdman Ocağı, what was represented on the pitch did not remain at club level. In other words, the sporting quality of the footballers' play as well as of their behaviour in the matches against the "outsiders" were attributed not solely to İdman Ocağı, rather to the Trabzon sport.

The second "big" sports club was also invited by İdman Ocağı in the fifties. İdman Ocağı which had been on good terms with Galatasaray for years organized a Blacks Sea Tournament for the club in 1954. In those years, the football teams of İstanbul preferred this kind of tournament and travelling by a ferry boat they held matches in the coastal cities of the Black Sea region. After holding matches in Samsun, Ordu and Giresun, GS came for the first time to Trabzon. [333] The tickets were sold out a week before the match. İdman Ocağı, aiming to "represent Trabzon

[330] *Halk*, 26 June 1953.

[331] *Yenigün*, 21 June 1966.

[332] *Halk,* 26 June 1953.

[333] *Halk*, 22 June 1954.

football proper to its fame" asked İdmangücü for some of its players to play for İdman Ocağı. However, İdmangücü refused their proposal.[334] After İdman Ocağı, which was inferior in quality was defeated by Galatasaray, a correspondent from *Halk* noted as such:

> We could not manage to show the talent of unifying and supporting each other against Galatasaray and due to the interferences of ego, we had a large loss of success. Moreover, as a fine of these high-handed attitudes, *the History of Trabzon Sport* (my emphasis) was deprived of a page full of victories.[335]

In the matches against the teams of other cities, not only the sports club which organized this external contact through its own means, but Trabzon sport, in more general terms, was represented on the pitch. Therefore, the defeat or the victory was directly attributed to Trabzon sport. According to the quote above, the Trabzon sport was harmed because of the club-egoism of İdmangücü which did not permit its footballers to play for İdman Ocağı. The rivalry between İdman Ocağı and İdmangücü sometimes manifested itself outside the local league. In response to İdman Ocağı's invitation of Galatasaray, İdmangücü, collaborating with two clubs, invited Beşiktaş to Trabzon, but this attempt resulted in failure.[336]

---

[334] *Halk* 29 June 1954, 2 July 1954.

[335] *Halk*, 31August 1954. [For a Turkish version of this statement, see Appendix A].

[336] *Halk*, 13 July 1954. In fact, it is possible to observe successive examples of the competition between Güç and Ocak. For example, İdman Gücü which refused to give its players to Ocak for the match against GS, offered a privste match to İdman ocağı in order to gain some income from the match revenues and get rid of its financial problems. However, this time Ocak who knew that Güç was in a state of economic depression refused the proposal by saying that this proposal was not compatible with their interests. Furthermore, in 1956 when İdman Ocağı invited Ankara Havagücü and offered Güç to hold a match against Havagücü, İdmangücü who did not want to share the burden of Ocak refused their offer. *Halk*, 10 August 1956.

After Vefaspor in 1953 and GS in 1954, the third sports club from İstanbul invited to Trabzon was İstanbulspor in 1955.[337] It was again İdman Ocağı who brought the club to the city by organizing a Black Sea tournament for it. As the further quote remarks, there was a strong emphasis on the amateur values in the news about this external contact.

> [N]o matter whether we win or lose, we provide each one of guest sportsmen with the zeal and enthusiasm of holding a match with sports fan audiences, those sportsmen competing in a gentilmanly manner on the tidy pitch of an orderly stadium.[338]

Unlike the local league matches of which main concern was to win, the external footballing contact was a matter of representing the city and its football quality in a good way. As frequently pointed out, it was a means of introducing the Trabzon sport to the outside world. Therefore, the footballers, club administors and the football spectators took care of the values of sportmanship, gentlemanly behavior and hospitality in the external contacts. The myth of Trabzon sport was posited against the degenerated present football culture of the city. It gave clues about how the city football should be rather than demonstrating how it was.

In 1955, rather than the visit of İstanbulspor, to the fore came the visit of an Austrian sports club, Ostbahn to Trabzon after playing two matches in Samsun.[339] As seen, if a geographically distant team was coming to the Black Sea region, it held matches with the teams of several cities in the region. The aims of these tournament were twofold. First, playing against a qualified team was seen as a rare opportunity through which they could improve their footballing skills. Secondly, the organizers

---

[337] *Halk*, 24 June 1955.

[338] Ibid. [For a Turkish version of this statement, see Appendix A].

[339] *Halk*, 8 July 1955.

of the tournament wanted to share the economic burden of inviting a "professional" club to the region. The visit of Ostbahn was the second footballing contact with a foreign country after the sporting visit of Caucasuss in 1926. İdman Ocağı's attempt was encouraging for the other sport clubs in the city in the sense that Yolspor tried to bring the Tebriz football team from Iran. *Halk* stated that Yolspor which made a sacrifice for the development of the city football must be taken as an example by the other clubs.[340] Although it was resulted in a failure, Yolspor's attempt to hold a match against an Iranian team after the construction of the Trabzon sea port in 1954 seems to indicate that football was considered one of the channels through which the long-lived relations with Iran might have been reconsolidated.

The external footballing contacts in Trabzon had continued in the second half of the fifties. İdman Ocağı continued to invite prestigious sports clubs while other clubs to a great extent confined themselves to inviting the teams of the neighbouring cities. To examplify, in 1956 Ankara Havagücü and in 1957 Beykoz from İstanbul and İzmit Denizgücü came to Trabzon on the invitation of İdman Ocağı.[341] The club's invitation of Taç Sports Club,[342] the football champion of Tehran, in 1957 was the second attempt at bringing an Iranian football team to the city that was resulted in failure.[343] It was in 1959 when a sports club from Trabzon succeeded at bringing an Iranian football to the city team. İdmangücü held a match against the mixed team of the University of Iran, which was on a Black Sea tour by the organization of Zonguldak Kömürspor.

---

[340] *Halk*, 8 July 1955.

[341] *Halk*, 10 August 1956, 31 May 1957, 28 June 1957.

[342] The real name of the sports club is Taj which is the alias of Istiklal Sports Club, a prominent sports club in Iran.

[343] *Halk*, 27 May 1957, 12 July 1957.

Although these external footballing contacts were not “official” in that they were just “friendly” games, far from being a part of league or cup competitions, they generated considerable interest and drew many spectators. The press of the preiod was full of news, humors and short reports about these contacts. In regard to the newspaper discourse on the external footballing contacts, there were three remarkable points which deserve to be mentioned. First, there was a strong emphasis on the aim of the contact which was said to develop the city football and to represent the city to the “outsider.” As discussed before, it was believed that playing against superior teams would improve the skill and techniques of the footballers in the city. In addition, these contacts were seen as a unique gate for opening the city football to the outside world and introducing the quality of the city’s football to outsiders.

Secondly, the sports clubs which organized these games through their own means were regarded as the “benevolent” footballing actors of the city football. To afford the “extra” expenses of the external contacts was indeed a difficult business for the sports clubs with limited economic conditions. The emphasis on altruism indicates that the club served for the interests of the city football. Therefore, it appears to be a reasonable assumption that club-altruism was posited against the notion of club-egoism and thus had a strong connotation of amateurism.

Thirdly, since it was a matter of “the representation of the Trabzon sport,” the host club which would play against the visitor team formed a mixed team composed of players from different clubs in order to enhance the representative “Trabzon sport” on the pitch. Interesting to note, it was a frequently observed case that qualified footballers who had been born in Trabzon but playing football in different cities were recruited for the Trabzon mixed team. Since these external contacts were regarded as an indicator of not only the quality of the city football but also the social education of

the city, both the spectators in the terraces and the footballers on the pitch were all at pains to represent Trabzon sport according to its sportsmanlike character.

The Increasing Claim of the City at the National Level

As far as the isolation and neglect of Trabzon are concerned, every attempt to overcome these negative conditions directly acquired an important social role in the city. Seen in this light, the significance of the external footballing contacts becomes more obvious. Although the aims of these contacts have varied according to different periods of time, they were always in connection with the socio-economic situation of the city. The local elites saw football as a way of putting Trabzon, which had lost its former preeminence and pivotal position in the region, back on the map since the early inception of the game in the twenties. The footballing contacts, in this regard, were instrumentalized in the context of the "pioneering" claim of the city until the Second World War. By the fifties, however, these contacts were mobilized to a modest purpose which was "to open Trabzon to the external world." After İdman Ocağı became Turkish amateur champion in 1958, a shift was observed in the social role attributed to the external contacts. These contacts, losing their initial importance, turned into "preparatory matches"[344] for the local league and the national amateur football competitions on which a greater emphasis was put as from 1958.[345] Henceforth, the national amateur football competitions were considered a new ground on which the city would be represented at the national level.

[344] *Halk*, 20 April 1959.

[345] *Halk*, 11 June 1958.

In the Turkish Amateur Championship, which has been organized since the early twenties despite some interruptions, Trabzon had not achieved any significant successes although İdman Ocağı acquired third rank in 1933 and Trabzon Lisesi fourth in 1942. However, as from 1958, the sports clubs in Trabzon, particularly İdman Ocağı, began to achieve important successes in the national amateur competitions. İdman Ocağı became Turkish amateur champion in 1958, 1964 and 1966.[346] Moreover, the other popular club in Trabzon, İdmangücü, rose to second rank in the national amateur competitions in 1961.[347] The sports clubs in Trabzon thus places in the first four in these national competitions in ten years between 1958 and 1967.

Two factors might have played roles in the boost in the performance of Trabzon. First, the dynamic footballing atmosphere of the fifties might have contributed to the improvement of the city football. Second, since the powerful sports clubs left the amateur competitions after the professional leagues were established as of 1958, the probability of becoming amatuer champion for the sports clubs participating in the amateur competitions might have increased.

In the end, as we return to the case of Trabzon, it is observed that these nation-wide successes influenced the football culture in the city. By acquiring good results in these competitions, Trabzon found an oppourtunity to represent itself at the national level. These nation-wide successes turned into symbolic expressions of a victory against the neglect and isolation from the rest of the country.

When İdman Ocağı once acquired the championship in 1958, the local public began to demand the same success from the club in the following years. It came to

[346] *Trabzon Bölge Sporunda 50. Yıl*, p. 24.

[347] Ibid.

be seen as a "civic duty" for İdman Ocağı to represent Trabzon football successfully.[348] In this regard, it can be claimed that the initial success of İdman Ocağı in 1958 marks a crucial point in terms of increasing the expectations of the local public for the city clubs' success in national competitions. Moreover, the decline in the attention paid to the external footballing contacts after 1958 also stemmed from the increasing social importance of the national competitions in terms of the representation of the city.

After the performative function of football found a new channel, which was the national amateur competitions, the external contacts began to be regarded as preparatory matches for local and national competitions. Although these external contacts lost their initial significance in the new period, which took a start with the amateur championship of İdman Ocağı in 1958, one should not forget that they provided certain benefits for the development of football in Trabzon. One incident will be suffice to illustrate. In 1955, when Hasan Polat, the head of Turkish Football Federation, was criticized because of showing favor to Trabzon by inviting the city to the Cumhuriyet Cup organized in Ankara, his hometown, Polat declared that Trabzon had proved itself as a developed and unrivalled football center in the region by organizing important external footballing contacts in recent years.[349]

One of the important developments in football in Trabzon after 1958 was the exacerbation of the reaction against the acts of violence in football. The footballing circles demanded more effective measures against physical violence, disorder and verbal abuse in the football matches. It was most probably because these sorts of acts were seen as damaging to the image of the Trabzon football which was seen as

[348] *Halk*, 10 June 1959.

[349] *Halk*, 21 October 1955.

a convenient means of carrying the city onto the national agenda. In this context, such expressions as the "black sheep of Trabzon football"[350] and "the disgrace of Trabzon sport"[351] used for the football violence were typical.

The following incident well illustrates the growing public pressure on the issue of violence in football. In the season after İdman Ocağı became the national amateur champion, the local derby between İdman Ocağı and İdmangücü ended up in a fight. Some footballing writers, finding the punishment given to the İdmangücü footballers insufficient criticized the governor, who was the honorary president of İdmangücü, for tolerating this behavior in his club.[352] The public pressure eventually resulted in the governor's resignation from the presidency of the club.[353] In a similar vein, the separation of the local league into two groups can also be evaluated in the context of averting football violence. Although the idea of dividing the league which made up of 15 clubs was first suggested in 1958, it was put into practice in 1959.[354] By hierarchically dividing the local league, the senior clubs such as İdman Ocağı, İdmangücü, Yolspor and Akçaabat Sebat, were saved from being the object of football violence and disorder. Thanks to this implementation, the senior clubs were assured a "sterilized" footballing atmosphere.

It must be noted that although there was a middle-class reaction against physical violence, disorder and verbal abuse, not all of the elements of the popular football culture were despised. For instance, the matter of winning or losing which

[350] *Halk*, 20 November 1958.

[351] *Halk*, 23 December 1955.

[352] *Halk*, 22 September 1958.

[353] *Halk*, 5 December 1958.

[354] *Halk*, 3 February 1958; 14 September 1959.

had formerly been considered an anti-amateur value began to appreciated as long as the representation of Trabzon football was in question. Moreover, the ambition for winning and bellicosity, which had been integrated into the football culture via the *mahalle*s, began to be seen as good features as long as the footballers did not exceed the rules of sportsmanship. What was expected ever after from the footballers was to "struggle in a gentlemanly way."[355] It can be concluded that the synthesis of the middle-class values with the popular football culture stemmed from the increasing claim of Trabzon in the national competitions.

The increase in the emphasis on the notion of victory becomes meaningful as far as the role of football in the restoration of the civic pride is considered. The national football competitions made it possible to bring Trabzon onto the national agenda. In these years, it was through the successes in these national competitions that Trabzon was put back on the country's map. To acquire a nation-wide victory meant for *Trabzonlu*s both to remember and to remind others of the glorious past of the city which had experienced a traumatic decline.

[355] *Hizmet*, 12 November 1964.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

Today, in most people's eyes, Trabzon is a "football-mad" city. Football, indeed, is what the city presents to the rest of the country. The passion and love of *Trabzonlu*s for Trabzonspor, in fact, co-exists with what the club represents. The *Trabzonlu*s living in or outside the city express their own specific culture through football. In this regard, Trabzonspor has become the most suitable ground for the expression of certain symbols and values that are peculiar to Trabzon at the national level. A contemporary example can be given to illustrate this. The folk dance of Trabzon, the *Kolbastı*, gained nation-wide popularity after the footballers of Trabzonspor danced it on the football field.

It is known that throughout the world, the football clubs provide strong collective identities in the face of global influences which blur even longstanding cultures and solidarities. Similarly in Turkey, the football teams of the cities which were mostly emerged out of the "city club movement" (*kent kulüpçülüğü*) in the 1960s, functioned as important vehicles for the expression of the collective urban identities. In this context, the representation of the city at the national level through the sports club was not peculiar to Trabzon. However, the distinctive characteristic of Trabzon lay behind the fact that the instrumentalization of the game in terms of representation dates back long before the establishment of Trabzonspor in 1967. As discussed in this study, Trabzon which lost its former preeminence and pivotal position in the region, saw football as a way of putting the city back on the map since the early development of the game in the twenties.

In examining the social history of football in Trabzon, it was observed that some tendencies and pecularities come into prominence in certain periods of time. Until the Second World War, the city football possessed a "middle-class characteristic." Football was dominated and governed by the local elites and thus its culture was shaped around middle-class amateur values. However, the 1950s indicate a turning point. In these years, a set of social, economic and political developments undermined the game's middle-class characteristic and paved the way for the transition of football from a middle-class to a mass popular activity. While the pedagogical function of football disappeared in this period, the performative one was perpetuated, although in a different way. At this juncture, another overriding purpose of this thesis enters into the picture: The aim of this study was to analyze not only the transformation of football and its culture in Trabzon, but also to emphasize the dynamism and persistence of the performative function attributed to the game through the period in question.

In this context, it is claimed that the persistence of the game's performative function was bounded up closely with the socio-economic conditions of Trabzon. The consistent decline of the city in both social and economic terms created the objective motive behind the instrumentalization of football for the representation of the city. Thanks to this persistence, the local notables, who had considered football a medium to sustain the "pioneering" claim of Trabzon in the region during the twenties and thirties, by forsaking the "pioneering" claim, instrumentalized the game to carry the city onto the national agenda, to open it to the external world by the fifties.

Apart from its persistence, the dynamism of the performative function also deserves to be mentioned. Before the fifties, the game's performative function found

its legitimacy by standing on the pedagogical aspects which were compatible with the body politics of the period. However, in the transformed footballing atmosphere of the fifties and afterwards, certain values such as bellicosity, ambition to win and devoutness of the popular football culture which had been despised in the previous decades were embraced in the context of representation of Trabzon. The dynamism and persistence of the social function attributed to football enabled the local notables to change the football culture. In this regard, the peculiar traits of the footballers from Trabzon which were defined as a "sweet-hard" style in the seventies owe its existence to the potential conformity of the performative function of football in the city.

With the establishment of Trabzonspor in 1967, the performative function found a wider social ground to perpetuate itself in the context of the representation of the city. As of the mid-seventies, football became a channel through which the local values of Trabzon such as the horon, kemancha and even the gun could be expressed and could find an audience at the national level. Football passion became an indispensible part of the characteristic of *Trabzonlus* and Trabzonspor took on an important function in projecting a "successful" image of Trabzon, which had experienced a traumatic decline. Although this study had the potential to give some insights for understanding the tenacious bonds between football and the urban identity in Trabzon, it is certainly impossible to highlight the issue without a detailed study on Trabzonspor.

APPENDIX A

ORIGINAL TEXTS OF THE QUOTATIONS IN THE THESIS

PAGE	NOTE	TEXT
17	37	Trabzon şehri spor ibtilası geçiriyor. İstanbul'da dans ibtilası, Ankara'da ud, Trabzon'da futbol… Bunlar birer hastalık gibi yakaladıkları adamın yakasını bırakmıyorlar. Trabzon'da mahalle aralarında, ta Kavak Meydanı'na kadar ne kadar meydan, cami havlisi, bahçe varsa birkaç çocuk toplanmış! – Gol gol diye bağırıyorlar. Hele şu hafta tatilinin işsiz bir sürü halkın Kavak meydanına doğru toplanması bu ibtilayı azdırdı. Şimdi herkeste bir spor heyecanı var.
28	81	Futbol dünyanın hemen hemen her yerinde en rahat gelişme olanaklarını eğitim kurumları içinde bulmuştur.
63	200	Futbol bir oyun değil, vücutları gürbüzleştirmek için bir vasıtadır.
67	223	Doğu muhteliti Samsun'a kadar kendini doğu havasından sıyıramadı. Giresun, Ordu ve Samsun'la yapılan temaslar doğu havası içinde yapıldı. Kazanılan Doğu'nun kaybedilen Doğu'nundu. O halde yorulmaya lüzum yoktu…
70	228	Sevinmiştik. Çünkü gelenler kardeş bir takımın kardeş oyuncularıydı. Onlarla dört beş gün birarada kalacak, arkadaş olacaktık (…) Arkadaşlarımızı vapurdan karşılayabilmek için karşılayabilmek için birkaç gün evvelden hazırlanmaya başladık (…) Fakat onları vapurdan karşılama emeline, vapurun tahminlerin hilafına sabahın pek erken saatinde limana inmesiyle nail olamadık. Bu bizi çok üzdü. Çünkü dostlarımıza karşı önemli bir vazifeyi yapmaktan mahrum kalmıştık. Misafirseverliğimizden belki de şüphe edeceklerdi.
75	243	Herkes size kazanıp kazanmadığınızı değil; nasıl oynadığınızı sorar.
77	248	Deniz Trabzon'un önünde olduğu müddetçe hiçbir vilayet Trabzon'a rakip olamaz. Erzurum hattının Trabzon'dan alacağı beş on yolcudur.
92	299	[M]ahalleler arasındaki farklılık, ortaya diğer mahalleliye güvenmemek, kuşkuyla yaklaşmak gibi sonuçlar çıkartıyordu. Mahallenin bakkalına, kasabına veya tamircisine, hatta delikanlısına güvenebilirsin, ancak bir başka mahalleliye asla güvenemezsin! Çünkü o başkadır. Mahalleliden kötülük gelmez. Eğer bir kötülük varsa, mutlaka başka mahalleli yapmıştır.
94	304	Lige iştirak etse de etmese de şehirde hemen her mahallenin kendine ait bir takımı vardı. Hatta her mahallede toprak bir de saha vardı. Mahalleler arası maçlarda, futbolcular sahada birbirlerine üstün gelmeye çalışırken, mahalleliler tribünlerden ya da saha kenarından onlara destek verirdi.

100	321	Vur! Kır! Sıçra Üzerine! Diye etraftan teşvik nidaları yağdığı müddetçe onlar da vurdular, kırdılar, sıçradılar. Birbirlerini yercesine, kafalarını yararcasına dövüştüler.
101	322	Polis kavgacılara (...) ve oyuncuyu oyunda aslolan centilmenlikten sıyırarak onu fena yola sapmaya teşvik eden seyirciye müdahale etmezse, Bölge, Bölge olarak otoritesini kullanıp (…) sahaya sivillerin girmesine mani olmazsa elbette oyuncular hakemi döver (…) elbette tribünlerden oyuncuya hakeme, oyunculardan tribünlere söver neticede işler karışır. Bütün bu kötü haller, ne Ahmet'e ne Mehmed'e maledilir, sadece Trabzon sporuna ve sporcunun spor anlayışına!
102	325	Havanın bu karalış mevsiminde müstesna bi güzellik arzetmesi gene sporseverleri stada sürüklemiş, gene sahanın etrafı insandan bir sur halini almıştı. Hem de Güç Ocak maçı var, eloğlu horoz dövüşü seyredecek fırsatı hiç kaçırır mı? Bu arada pek fazla heyecanlanır da zaptedilemez gayesiyle muhtemel bir tehlikeyi tel ile bağlamışlar. Tribünler ve stadın diğer seyir yerleri gene (…) tıklık tıklım dolmuş, sarı, kırmızı, yeşil, beyaz renklerle süslü filamalar kurdelalar ve formalar sallandıkça sallanıyordu (…) 10. dakikadan sonra herkesin beklediği hakiki Ocak-Güç maçı başlamış, saha bir muharebe meydanı halini almıştı. Yaralananlar, ayılanlar, bayılanlar gırla gidiyordu. Topun peşinde pervasızca koşan futbolculara şimdi de sedyelerle, ecza çantaları ile doktarlarla koşuluyordu.
104	328	Güç ve ocak arasındaki ezeli rekabet pek çok açıdan diğer yerel maçlardan farklıydı. Örneğin, derbi günü, diğer maçların aksine, güç ocak maçı belediye hoparlöründen anons edilirdi. Futbol severler, kulüplerin renklerinde bayraklar ve kurdelalar ile süslü stadyumda biraraya gelirdi. Stad en kalabalık günlerini bu derbiler sayesinde yaşardı. Maç bittikten sonra, yenilen tarafın renkleriyle süslenmiş bir eşek kent turu attırılır ya da kaybedenler adına hazırlanan bir tabut ırmaktan aşağı atılırdı.
108	335	Galatasaraya karşı birleşmenin koklaşmanın maharetini gösteremedik, senlik benlik parazitleri yüzünden kaybımız büyük oldu. Bu keyfi hareketler cezası olarak da Trabzon Spor Tarihi zaferden bir sayfasından mahrum bırakıldı.
109	338	[Y]ensek de yenilsek de göğsümüzü gere gere her gelen misafir sporculara, sporsever seyircilerle, centilmence rakiplik yapan sporcularla, muntazamlı bir stadın intizamlı sahasında (…) maç yapmak heves ve heyecanını bahşediyoruz.

APPENDIX B

TRABZON LOCAL LEAGUE CHAMPIONSHIPS

1922 İdman Ocağı	1947-1948 İdman Gücü
1923 İdman Ocağı	1948-1949 İdman Ocağı
1923-1924 Trabzon Lisesi	1949-1950 İdman Ocağı
1924-1925 Trabzon Lisesi	1950-1951 Necmiati
1925-1926 İdman Ocağı	1951-1952 İdman Gücü
1926-1927 Trabzon Lisesi	1952-1953 Necmiati
1927-1928 Öğretmen Okulu	1953-1954 İdman Ocağı
1928-1929 Ticaret Lisesi	1954-1955 Karagücü
1929-1930 İdman Ocağı	1955-1956 İdman Gücü
1930-1931 İdman Ocağı	1956-1957 İdman Gücü
1931-1932 İdman Ocağı	1957-1958 İdman Ocağı
1932-1933 İdman Ocağı	1958-1959 İdman Ocağı
1933-1934 İdman Ocağı	1959-1960 İdman Ocağı
1934-1935 İdman Gücü	1960-1961 İdman Ocağı
1935-1936 İdman Gücü	1961-1962 İdman Ocağı
1936-1937 İdman Gücü	1962-1963 İdman Gücü
1937-1938 İdman Gücü	1963-1964 İdman Ocağı
1938-1939 İdman Gücü	1964-1965 İdman Ocağı
1939-1940 İdman Gücü	1965-1966 İdman Ocağı
1940-1941 İdman Gücü	1966-1967 İdman Ocağı
1941-1942 Trabzon Lisesi	1967-1968 Sebat Gençlik
1942-1943 Trabzon Lisesi	1968-1969 Sebat Gençlik
1943-1944 Trabzon Lisesi	1969-1970 Sebat Gençlik
1944-1945 Trabzon Lisesi	1970-1971 Yolspor
1945-1946 Trabzon Lisesi	1971-1972 Gençlerbirliği
1946-1947 Trabzon Lisesi	1972-1973 Gençlerbirliği

Source: İhap Subaşı, Trabzonspor Tarihi, p. 22.

APPENDIX C

POPULATION SCHEDULE: TRABZON AND TURKEY (1927-2000)

	Population		Rural Population		Rural Population Ratio		Urban Population		Urban Population Ratio	
Yıllar	Türkiye	Trabzon	Türkiye	Trabzon	Türkiye	Trabzon	Türkiye	Trabzon	Türkiye	Trabzon
1927	13.648.270	293.055	10.342.391	260.219	75.78	88.80	3.305.879	32.836	24.22	11.20
1935	16.158.018	360.679	12.355.376	320.586	76.47	88.88	3.802.642	40.093	23.53	11.12
1940	17.820.950	390.733	13.474.701	347.718	75.61	88.99	4.346.249	43.015	24.39	11.01
1945	18.790.174	395.384	14.103.072	355.141	75.06	89.82	4.687.102	40.243	24.94	10.18
1950	20.947.188	420.279	15.702.851	374.190	74.96	89.03	5.244.337	46.089	25.04	10.97
1955	24.064.763	462.249	17.137.420	402.468	71.21	87.07	6.927.343	59.781	28.79	12.93
1960	27.754.820	532.799	18.895.089	449.307	68.08	84.30	8.859.731	83.692	31.92	15.70
1965	31.391.421	595.782	20.585.604	487.290	65.58	81.79	10.805.817	108.492	34.42	18.21
1970	35.605.176	659.120	21.914.075	520.685	61.55	79.00	13.691.101	138.435	38.45	21.00
1975	40.347.719	719.008	23.478.651	547.438	58.19	76.14	16.869.068	171.570	41.81	23.86
1980	44.736.957	731.045	25.091.950	544.465	56.09	74.48	19.645.007	186.580	43.91	25.52
1985	50.664.458	786.194	23.798.701	546.641	46.97	69.53	26.865.757	239.553	53.03	30.47
1990	56.473.035	795.849	23.146.684	492.237	40.99	61.85	33.326.351	303.612	59.01	38.15
2000	67.803.927	975.137	23.797.653	496.183	35.10	50.88	44.006.274	478.954	64.90	49.12

Source: DİE 2000 Genel Nüfus Sayımı: Trabzon (Ankara: DİE, 2002), pp. 43-44; DİE 2000 Genel Nüfus Sayımı: Türkiye (Ankara: DİE, 2002), p. 46, quoted by Güven Bakırezer, "Trabzon Olaylarının Sosyolojisine Dair Notlar", p. 143.

APPENDIX D



Coşkun Akyüz Personal Archives

It is not the contemporary Trabzonspor as we know it today. The first sports club named Trabzonspor was founded in the thirties. The first eleven forming TRABZONSPOR are on the pitch!



Coşkun Akyüz Personal Archives

A view from the terraces in a match in the thirties.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archival Documents

Catalogue of General Directorate of the Prime Ministry Office of Conduct (CGDPMOC)/ Başbakanlık Muamelat Genel Müdürlüğü

Catalogue of the Archives of the Republican People's Party (CARPP) / Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi Arşiv Kataloğu

Republic of Turkey General Directorate of Prime Ministry State Archives- Office of Republican Archives (PRA)/ Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Cumhuriyet Arşivleri Daire Başkanlığı.

Coşkun Akyüz Personal Archives

Newspapers

Halk

Yenigün

Yeniyol

Interviews

Akyüz, Coşkun. Interview by Sevecen Tunç, 18 Febraury 2009, Trabzon, tape recording.

Emiroğlu, Kudret. Interview by Sevecen Tunç, 20 June 2009, Ankara, tape recording.

Özbak, Ali. Interview by Sevecen Tunç, 18 February 2009, Trabzon, tape recording.

Karaağaçlı, Refik. Interview by Sevecen Tunç, 15 Febraury 2009, Trabzon, tape recording.

Küçüktepe, İbrahim. Interview by Sevecen Tunç, 24 Febraury 2009, Trabzon, tape recording.

Books and Articles

Abacı, Tahir. *Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da.* İstanbul: İletişim, 1999.

Akın, Sunay. "Trabzonspor'un Bilinmeyen Şampiyonluğu." In *Fırtına, İhtilal, Efsane Trabzonspor*. İstanbul: İletişim, 2004.

Akın, Yiğit. *'Not Just A Game' Sports and Physical Education in Early Republican Turkey (1923-1951).* MA thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2003.

Akın, Yiğit. *"Gürbüz ve Yavuz Evlatlar," Erken Cumhuriyet'te Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004.

Akın, Yiğit. "Anahatları ile Cumhuriyet Döneminde Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor Politikaları." *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 103, 2005.

Albayrak, Haşim. *Trabzon İlinde Sporun Gelişmesinde Etkili Olan Etnografik Faktörlerin Ortaya Konması.* MA thesis, Marmara University, 1994.

Albayrak, Haşim."Osmanlılar Döneminde Trabzon'da Spor." *Çaykaralılar*, no.3 1993.

Albayrak, Hüseyin. ed. *Tarih İçinde Trabzon Lisesi.* Trabzon: Trabzon Lisesi'nden Yetişenler Derneği Yayınları, 1987.

Albayrak, Hüseyin. "Trabzon'da Basın." In *Trabzon 89*. Trabzon: Kuzey Gazetecilik ve Matbaacılık, 1989.

Allison, Lincoln. "Sport and Politics." In *The Politics of Sport*, ed. Allison, England: Manchester University Press, 1986.

Allison, Lincoln, "Association Football and the Urban Ethos." In *Manchester and Sao Paulo Problems of the Rapid Urban Growth*, ed. John D. Wirth and Robert J. Joes. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978.

Atabeyoğlu, Cem. "Trabzon'da Futbol Hep Vardı." *Süper Trabzonspor*, no. 8-9, May-June 1992.

Aşut, Atilla. "Trabzon'un Kültürel Yaşamından Kesitler." In *Trabzon'u Anlamak*, ed. Güven Bakırezer and Yücel Demirer, İstanbul: İletişim, 2009.

Azcan, İbrahim. *Türk Modernleşmesi Sürecinde Trabzon Halkevi: 1932-1951*. Trabzon: Serander Yayınları, 2003.

Bakırezer, Güven. "Trabzon'un Sosyo-ekonomik Çöküşü." In *Trabzon'u Anlamak*, ed. Güven Bakırezer and Yücel Demirer, İstanbul: İletişim, 2009.

Bakırezer, Güven. "Trabzon Olaylarının Sosyolojisine Dair Notlar." In *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 107, 2006.

Baş, Bülent. “Trabzon’da Spor.” In *Bir Tutkudur Trabzon*, ed. Gündağ Kayaoğlu, Öner Ciravoğlu and Cüneyt Akalın, İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1997.

Baş, Bülent. “Faroz, Sotka, Arafilboyu: Bizim Mahallenin Takımından Trabzonspor’a.” In *Fırtına, İhtilal, Efsane: Trabzonspor*, ed. Hakan Kulaçoğlu, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004.

Baykal, Tahir. *Bir Jandarma Subayının Kaleminden 1937 Yılında Trabzon*. Trabzon: 1937.

Behar, Cem. *A Neighbourhood In Otoman İstanbul: Fruit Vendors and Civil Servants in the Kasap İlyas Mahalle*. New York: State University of New York Place, 2003.

Bhabha, Homi K. *Nation and Narration*. England: Routledge, 1990.

Blackshaw, Tony. “Politics, Theory and Practice: Contemporary Community Theory and Football.” In *Soccer and Society* 9, no:3 (July, 2008).

Booth, Douglas. *The Field: The Truth and Fiction in Sport History.* London: Routledge, 2005.

Bora, Tanıl. *Ankara Rüzgarı: Gençlerbirliği Tarihi*. Ankara: Self-publishing, 2003.

Bora,Tanıl. “Sunuş.” In *Futbol ve Kültürü*, ed. Roman Horak, Wolfgang Reiter and Tanıl Bora. İstanbul: İletişim, 1993.

Bostancıoğlu, Adnan. “Tarafta ve Solcu Olmak: Dün ve Bugün.” In *Futbol ve Kültürü*.

Bölükbaşı, Atilla. *Akçaabat Spor Tarihi*: *1923 – 1993.* Trabzon: Eldem Ofset Matbaacılık, 1994.

C. H. P. 1936 İl Kongreleri. Ankara: Devlet Matbaası, 1937.

Cumhuriyet’te Trabzon 1922-1933. Trabzon: Trabzon Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası, 1933.

Çapa, Mesut and Rahmi Çiçek. Ed. *Yirminci Yüzyılın Başında Trabzonda Yaşam.* Trabzon: Serander Yayınları, 2004.

Çakıroğlu, Said Bilal. *Tarihi Ekonomik Sosyal Yönleriyle Trabzon*. Ankara: TOBB Matbaası, 1964.

Çiçek, Rahmi. “Trabzon’da Yerel Yönetim Düşüncesi ve Şehirleşme Çalışmaları (1919-1933).” In *Trabzon Tarihi Sempozyumu Bildirileri (6-8 Kasım 1998)*, ed. Kemal Çiçek, Abdullah Sağlam, Hikmet Öksüz and Kenan İnan. Trabzon: Trabzon Belediyesi Yayınları, 1998.

Çulha, Şevket. “Futbolun Cazibesi ve Bugünkü Futbolumuz.” In *Yeniyol*. 19 May 1942.

Çulha, Şevket, “Geçmiş Yıllarda Futbol Temaslarımız.” In *Yeniyol*. 5 September 1945.

Daşlı, Özgür. *80 Yıllık Öykü Tarsus İdmanyurdu*. Tarsus: Antixahaf Kitabevi Yayınları, 2003.

Demircioğlu, Nerim. “Samsunlular Trabzon’da.” *Boztepe*, no.3, 1946.

Demircioğlu, Nerim. “Lise Spor Yurdu Tarihi”. *Boztepe*, no.3, 1946.

Deyrolle, Theophile. *1869’da Trabzon’dan Erzurum’a,* trans. Reşat Ekrem Koçu İstanbul: Çığır Kitabevi, 1939.

Duman, Mustafa. “Trabzon’da Spor Tarihi.” *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 112, August, 2003.

Dumazedier, Joffre. “Leisure.” In *The International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 9th edition, ed. D. L. Sills New Tork: Macmillan and Free Press, 1968.

“Early Action: Founding and Furthering Clubs.” *Soccer and Society* 9, no.5, 2008.

Emiroğlu, Kudret. *Gündelik Hayatımızın Tarihi.* Ankara: Dost Kitabevi, 2001.

Emiroğlu, Kudret. “Trabzon’da 19. Yüzyıldan 20. Yüzyıla Kahvehane, ve Kitapevi Bağlamında Toplumsal Tabakalanma, Kültür ve Siyaset.” *Kebikeç*, no: 10, 2000.

Emiroğlu, Kudret. “Vilayet Salnamelerine Göre Trabzon’da Bürokrasi ve Eşraf.” *Kebikeç*, no: 14, 2002.

Emiroğlu, Kudret. “Çalıkuşu Gazetesi – 1926 Yılında Trabzon’da Siyaset, Futbol ve Feminizm.” In *Fırtına, İhtilal, Efsane: Trabzonspor*.

Emiroğlu, Kudret. “Trabzonlu Ne Yetiştirsin.” In *Trabzon’u Anlamak*.

Eroğul, Ali. “Trabzonspor Tarihi Üzerine Bir Deneme.” In *Trabzon’u Anlamak*.

Fişek, Kurthan. *Spor Yönetimi*. Ankara: YGS Yayınları, 2003.

Gökaçtı, Mehmet Ali. *Bizim İçin Oyna: Türkiye’de Futbol ve Siyaset.* İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008.

Guttman, Allen. *From Ritual to Record.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1978.

Güner, Ömer. *Gönülden Gönüle Trabzon*. Ankara: Güldikeni Yayınları, 2001.

Gür, Şengül Öymen. "Trabzon'da Kentsel Kimlik ve Dönüşüm." In *Trabzon'u Anlamak.*

Hale, M. William. *The Political and Economic Development of Modern Turkey.* London: Croom Helm ,1981.

"Hamdi Bey'in Nutku." *Akın*, no. 7, June, 1932.

Harris Cristopher, ed. *The Reporters of The Last British Consul in Trabzon, 1949-1954*. İstanbul: The ISIS Press, 2005.

Hatipoğlu Duygu and M. Berkay Aydın. *Bastır Ankaragücü: Kent, Kimlik, Endüstriyel Futbol ve Taraftarlık*. Ankara: Epos, 2007.

Holt, Richard. *Sport and the British. A Modern History.* Oxford, Clarendon, 1989.

Holt, Richard. "The Amateur Body and the Middle Class Man: Work, Health and Style in Victorian Britain." In *Sports in History* 26, no.3, 2006.

Horne, John, Alan Tomlinson and Garry Whannel. *Understanding Sport : An Introduction to the Sociological and Cultural Analysis of Sport.* London: Spon, 1999.

Huggins, Mike. "Second Class Citizens? English Middle-class Culture and Sport, 1850-1910: A Reconsideration." In *A Sport-loving Society: Victorian and Edwardian Middle-class England At Play*, ed. J. A. Mangan. London: Routledge, 2006.

Hughson, J. "Cultural History and the Study of Sport." *Sport in Society* 12, no.1, 2009.

Hughson, J. "The Working Class and the Making of Sport." *Sport in Society* 12, no.1, 2009.

Hür, Ayşe. "Trabzon'un Etnik Tarihine Bir Bakış." In *Trabzon'u Anlamak*.

Issawi, Charles. "The Tabriz- Trabzon Trade, 1830-1900: Rise and Decline of a Route." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 1, no. 1, January 1970.

Johnes, Martin. "Play Up Play Up Play the Game". *History Review*, September, 2001.

Karabekir, Kazım. *Çocuk Davamız I.* İstanbul: Emre Yayınları, 2000.

Karacasu, Barış. "Bir İlk Dergi: Fut Bol: Şimdilik hafta bir def'a intişâr eder. Spor gazetesidir." *Müteferrika*, no. 33, Summer, 2008.

Kazancıoğlu, İrhan. Ed. *Celal Kazancıoğlu Hayatı, Sebat'ın Kuruluş Günleri, Askerlik Günlüğü, Siyasetteki Günleri*. Trabzon: 2002.

Kırlı, Cengiz. "Coffeehouses: Public Opinion in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire." In *Public Islam and the Common Good*, ed. Armando Salvatore and Dale F. Eickelman. Leiden; Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2004.

Koçak, Cemil. *Umumi Müfettişlikler (1927-1952)*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2003.

Kozanoğlu, Can. *Bu Maçı Alıcaz.* İstanbul: Kıyı Yayınları, 1990.

Kulaçoğlu, Hakan. "Avrupa'nın Uç Beyliği: Trabzon." In *Fırtına, İhtilal, Efsane: Trabzonspor.*

Kuğu, Mehmet Rıza. "İdman Ocağı'nın Kuruluşu." In *Yenigün*. 25 March 1966.

Kuğu, Mehmet Rıza. "İdman Ocağı'nın Kuruluşu." In *Yenigün.*. 20 January 1969.

Kuğu, Mehmet Rıza. "İdman Ocağı'nın Kuruluşu." In *Yenigün*. 20 January 1970.

Kuğu, Mehmet Rıza. "Sporcularımızın Dertleri." *Akın*, no.1, March, 1932.

Kuğu, Süleyman Rıza. *Trabzon-Paris: 1924 Olimpiyatlarına Yolculuk.* İstanbul: Trabzon Araştırmaları Merkezi Vakfı Yayınları I, 2002.

Kuğu, Süleyman Rıza. *Asosyeşın Futbol.* Trabzon: Serasi Matbaası, 1922. *Transcripted by Ayşe Kuğu*, *Asosyeşın [Association] Futbol.* İstanbul: Trabzon Araştırmaları Merkezi Vakfı Yayınları II, 2002.

Lowerson, John. "Opiate of the People and Stimulant for the Historian." In *Historical Controversies and Historians*, ed. William Lamont, London: UCL Press, 1998.

Loy, J. W. and G. S. Kenyon, *Sport, Culture and Society.* London: Macmilllan, 1969.

Mandell, R. D. *Sport, A Cultural History*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1984.

Mangan, J. A. *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Manley, Jonathan. "Editing with J. A. Mangan." In *'Serious Sport' J. A. Mangan's Contribution to the History of Sport*, ed. Scott A.G. M. Crawford, London: Franc Cass, 2004.

Marschic, Matthias. "Austro-Faşizm'de İşçi Futbolu." In *Futbol ve Kültürü*.

Mason, Tony. *Association Football and English Society, 1863-1915*, Brighton: Harvester, 1980.

Mason, Tony, "Football on the Maidan: Cultural Imperialism in Calcutta." *International Journal of the History of Sport* 7, no. 1, 1990.

Morgan, Kenneth O. *Britain since 1945 People's Peace.* Oxford: Oxford Paperbacks, 2001.

Neyzi, Leyla. "The Paradox of 'Youth' in Turkey." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, no. 33, 2001.

Odabaşıoğlu, Cumhur. *Trabzon 1869-1933 Yılları Yaşantısı*. Ankara: İlk-San Matbaası.

Okay, Cüneyd. "The Introduction, Early Development and Historiography of Soccer in Turkey." *Soccer and Society*, 3:3, 2002.

Öksüz, Hikmet. "Trabzon İdmanocağı'nın İstanbul Seyahati." *Trabzonspor Dergisi*, no:39, December, 2006.

Özel, Sabahattin. *Milli Mücadelede Trabzon*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Vakfı, 1991.

Özer, Ahmet and Aslan Pulathaneli. "1920-1950 Arası Trabzon'daki Futbol Kulüplerinin Kültürel Etkinlikleri." In *Trabzon 1990*. Ankara: Trabzon İli ve İlçeleri Eğitim, Kültür ve Sosyal Yardımlaşma Vakfı Yayınları, 1990.

Özkaya, Mesut. *1923- 1986 Giresun'da Spor*. Ankara: Simge Matbaası, 1987.

Pamuk, Şevket. "Economic Change in the Twentieth Century Turkey: Is the Glass More Than Half Full?" In *Cambridge History of Modern Turkey*, ed. R. Kasaba, 2008.

Park, Roberta J. "An Ever Widening Sphere: J. A. Mangan's Contributions to an Increasingly 'Global' History of Sport." In *'Serious Sport' J. A. Mangan's Contribution to the History of Sport*.

Palaz, Cenk. *"State and Body: The Treatment of Physical Education."* MA thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2004.

Polley, Martin. *Sport and Society: A Contemporary History*. London: Routledge, 1998.

Riess, Steven A. "The New Sport History." *Reviews in American History* 18, no. 3, September, 1990.

"Spor Münakaşaları." *Akın*, no. 2, April, 1932.

Subaşı, İhap. *Trabzonspor Tarihi*. İstanbul: Doyuran Matbaası, 1977.

Trabzon Bölge Sporunda 50. Yıl, 1923- 1973. Ankara: Öğretmenler Matbaası, 1973.

Trabzon Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor İl Genel Müdürlüğü 50. Yıl Kitabı. Trabzon: Kuzey Gazetecilik Matbaacılık ve Ambalaj Sanayi, 1988.

Trabzon 1967 İl Yıllığı. Ankara: Ajans Türk Matbaacılık, 1967.

Trabzon Ticaret ve Sanayi Odası, *Cumhuriyet'te Trabzon.* Trabzon: Şark Matbaası, 1933.

Turgay, A. Üner. "Trabzon." In *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Liman Kentler (1800-1914)*, ed. Çağlar Keyder, Y. Eyüp Özveren and Donal Quataert, İstanbul Tarih Vakfi Yurt Yayınları, 1994.

Usta, Veysel. "Cumhuriyet'in 15. Yılında Trabzon'da Spor." *Trabzonspor Dergisi*, no: 37 (October, 2006).

Yağmurdereli, Nesip. "Eski Trabzon'da İçtimai Hayat." *Hamsi*, no.4, 1951.

Yamak, Oygur. *Trabzonspor: Futbolda Karadeniz Fırtınası*. İstanbul: Sinerji Yayınları, 2003.

Yılmaz, A. Kemal. "Trabzon'un Meseleleri". *Hamsi*, no: 10, 1961.

Yurt Ansiklopedisi. 9th, İstanbul: Anadolu Yayıncılık, 1982.

Zürcher, Eric J. *Turkey: A Modern History.* London: I.B. Tauris, 1997.

Online Resources

Demirer, Temel. *Hala Futbol Güzellemesi mi?!* 2 June 2008. http://www.mavidefter.org/anasayfa/content/view/372/71/ [11 Febraury 2009].

Gelişli, Yücel "Muallim Cudi Efendi Öğretmenlik Hayatı ve Eserleri". http://w3.gazi.edu.tr/web/gelisli/muallim.htm [8 May 2009]

Ergun Yurdadön, *A Brief Evaluation of the Development of Turkish Sport from 1839 to 1923*. http://www.thesportjournal.org/article/sport-turkey-post-islamic-republican-period [9 May 2009].

http://educatedleftfoot.blogspot.com/2008/09/jb-priestley.html [10 March 2009]

http://www.ktu.edu.tr/kurulus.php [14 July 2009]