

THE AFFECTIVE COMMUNITY OF TRABZONSPOR:  
EMOTIONS, BELONGING, AND AFFECTIVE LABOUR

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THE AFFECTIVE COMMUNITY OF TRABZONSPOR:  
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## DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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## ABSTRACT

### The Affective Community of Trabzonspor: Emotions, Belonging, and Affective Labour

In this thesis, I research how Trabzonspor has gained the capacity to create and maintain its own distinctive supporter community in its historical process by virtue of circulation of emotions between subjects and objects. In other words, I analyze the process through which Trabzonspor supporters have been brought into existence as an affective community around the football club. And to this end, I study how the supporters' collective belonging to Trabzonspor has occurred and sustained and how emotions operate to turn Trabzonspor supporters into a felt community and a collective body. Firstly, I show how Trabzonspor became an object of love, pride and hope, and how the club gained its affective value within the frame of good feelings. I also observe the processes of Trabzonspor mustering up support in virtue of the value. On the other hand, I show that the happy object gains stickiness through the circulation of emotions around it and I investigate which images and objects stick on the surface of the happy object. Secondly, I research the role of bad feelings in bringing Trabzonspor community into existence as a collective body that has boundaries and surfaces. I especially trace the circulation of shame, pain, and hate in the community. Lastly, I focus on the role of affective labour, which is one of the most important components in creating and sustaining the community as a felt and spiritual community, and providing people's attachment to Trabzonspor in the community.

## ÖZET

### Trabzonspor'un Duygulanımsal Cemaati: Duygular, Aidiyet ve Duygulanımsal Emek

Bu tezde, duyguların öznel ve nesnel arasındaki dolaşımı sayesinde Trabzonspor'un tarihsel sürecinde nasıl kendine has bir taraftar topluluğu yaratacak ve sürdüreceği bir kapasite kazandığını araştırıyorum. Bir diğer deyişle, Trabzonspor taraftarlarının bir futbol kulübünün etrafında duygulanımsal bir cemaat haline gelme sürecini inceliyorum. Bu minvalde taraftarların kulübe yönelik kolektif aidiyetlerinin nasıl oluştuğuna ve sürdürüldüğüne ve duyguların, taraftarların hissedilen bir topluluk ve kolektif bir beden haline gelmesi yolunda nasıl faaliyet gösterdiğine bakıyorum. Öncelikle Trabzonspor'un sevgi, gurur ve umut nesnesi haline gelme sürecine bakarak bu iyi duygular çerçevesinde duygulanımsal değerini ne şekilde kazandığını irdeleneceğim. Ve Trabzonspor'un bu duygulanımsal değeri sayesinde taraftar kazanma süreçlerini inceleyeceğim. Öte taraftan, Trabzonspor'un, duyguların etrafındaki dolaşımı sayesinde, yapışkanlık kazandığını ve hangi nesnelere ve imgelerin bu mutluluk nesnesine yapıştığını göstereceğim. İkinci olarak, Trabzonspor taraftar topluluğunun sınırları ve yüzeyleri olan bir kolektif beden olarak varlık bulmasında kötü duyguların rolünü inceleyeceğim. Özellikle utanç, acı ve nefret duygularının topluluk içindeki dolaşımının izini süreceğim. Son olarak, hissedilen ve manevi bir topluluk olarak Trabzonspor camiasını yaratan ve sürdüren, bununla birlikte insanların Trabzonspor'a bağlılığını sağlayan en önemli unsurlardan biri olarak duygulanımsal emeğin topluluk içindeki rolüne odaklanacağım.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, I research how Trabzonspor has gained the capacity to create and maintain its own distinctive supporter community in its historical process by virtue of circulation of emotions between subjects and objects. In other words, I analyze the process through which Trabzonspor supporters have been brought into existence as an affective community around the football club. Football is the most popular sport around the world, in terms of not only ratings records and match attendances, but also the number of people playing the game. People's passion for football is an indisputable fact. Football supporters' interest toward football is generally described through emotions. "Football is love" and "football is passion" are popular phrases all around the world. Football supporters have similar emotions towards their own clubs at different levels. They might feel proud, happy and excited, or feel sorrow, shame or anger in the face of different situations of their football clubs. Therefore, football clubs become objects of emotion. Different studies point out the importance and central position of emotions for football supporters who give vent to their different feelings for and through football (Armstrong & Giulianotti, 1997; Budka & Jacono, 2013; Szogs, 2017). What does this central position of emotions for football supporters tell us?

### 1.1 Theoretical framework and methodological orientations

Associating being a football supporter with emotions might make the relationship between supporters and football clubs incomprehensible. Because, according to one popular perception, "emotion" is considered as being below the ability of reason and

thought. To be emotional refers to one's actions and decisions being subordinate to emotions, therefore s/he cannot reach reason by moving beyond the body (Ahmed, 2004, p. 3). The state of intense expressive emotionality of football supporters turns them into irrational people, especially in the eyes of many researchers and observers who are not interested in football. Supporters' passion and emotional distress for football is generally evaluated to label football supporters as being at least a bit sick. Their passion and pain toward football and their club are situated to affirm the widespread characterization of the supporters as "football-crazy", "football-mad" and "football-obsessed" etc... (Klugman, 2009, p. 22). One of the reasons and consequences of football supporters' passion toward their clubs that has been marked as symptom of their troubled personality is that the concern has been mainly framed in the context of aggression and violence. By this time, violence and hooliganism is the most popular and most studied field in football studies (Hognestad, 2003, p. 100; Buchowski, Kowalska, Schwell, & Szogs, 2016, p. 8). Also in Turkey, quantitatively outstanding issue in master and PhD theses on football with its all different subfields is violence (Bektaş & Atasoy, 2017).

Klugman (2009) criticizes the football studies that mainly evaluate the issue of emotions within the frame of aggression and violence and degrade the supporters as aberrant people. Instead, he points to the importance of love for the discourse of football supporters, and he studies "... how love might lead to the excesses associated with those who imagine themselves to be part of their football club" (Klugman, 2009, p. 24). He researches relations between excessive love, pain and identification process by using psychoanalysis theory. He firstly analyzes and criticizes Freud's thought on group formation that people idealize the same thing which may be a person or an institution or etc. and the thing becomes a source of

unconditional love for the people. The love interconnects people to each other and the thing becomes ego-ideal for the people and they identify with each other before their ego-ideal (Freud, 2011). Klugman claims that, instead of the football supporters identifying with each other, they identify with their club, because in his research field, he noticed that when supporters of AFL, a football club in Melbourne, mention their club, they generally use the expression “we”; in other words, these fans regard their club as part of the self in some way, according to him. Therefore, he prefers to use the concept of self-object, which means “part of the self or merged with self” created by Heinz Kohut to explain the identification between the football supporters and their club (Klugman, 2009, pp.29-30).

However, his study contains some important problems. Firstly, although his research is based on a specific football club, AFL, and its supporters, he did not refer to the historical and social context of the club, its supporters, and the city where the club exists. His ahistorical study’s arguments on identification process between the club and its supporters can be generalized for many different football clubs and their supporters. In other words, his study ignores contextual conditions and he applies totally subject-centered approach and so makes specialities of the club unimportant. He turns emotions into a psychological issue by using psychoanalysis when he situates the supporters’ emotions toward their club. Therefore, I claim that the study’s weakness partly comes from its theoretical perspective. In this sense, I also mention another important study to use psychoanalysis to research relation between fans and fan objects including football supporters and their clubs. Sandvoss puts account psychoanalytic approaches to explain and theorize the intensely emotional attachment between fans and their object of fandom. He firstly criticizes the approaches and studies that regard fans as inadequate and psychologically impaired

people and so already has same characteristics and identical group. He properly indicates that fans come from various socio-economic conditions and levels of education, they are a very diverse composition of people and most of them are not incapable and distressed people (Sandvoss, 2005). In addition, he claims that psychological dimension of passions and motivations that constitute the relation between fans and their fan objects have not been sufficiently studied and theorized (Sandvoss, 2005, p.67). He claims that fans project their self-image and worldview to their own fan objects, therefore the fan object becomes extension of the self (Sandvoss, 2003, pp. 35-39). This process manifests itself through supporters' discourse that they use "we" when they mention their club. In this context, Klugman and Sandvoss show a similar approach that both of them claim that supporters identify with their clubs through narcissistic transference within their intensively emotional commitment to the clubs. And they do not attribute a negative meaning to these identification processes. However, the supporters are only actors and the processes begin and end in the subjects according to the studies. They ignore fan objects or football clubs' historicity and agency. In addition, emotions are situated as subjects' private property, and emotions emerge from the interiority of subjects as a common thesis on emotion supposed according to the studies. Sara Ahmed calls this approach the "'inside out' model of emotions."

Such a model of emotion as interiority is crucial to psychology... In a psychological model, I have feelings, and they are mine... The logic here is that I have feelings, which then move outwards towards objects and others, and which might even return to me. (Ahmed, 2004, pp. 8-9)

This approach impedes with thinking about "sociality of emotion". Emotions are locked in subjects; on the other hand, objects, in my discussions of football clubs, are situated in such a way that they do not have agentic capacity. Szogs (2016) studied Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe supporters in Vienna through benefiting from

Sandvoss's psychoanalytical approach to football supporters. She regards the football clubs as signs and symbols that represent their supporters' ideas and feelings by looking at the ideas of Sandvoss and Stuart Hall (Szogs, 2016, pp. 200-201). In this perception, the football clubs are framed as hollow objects to which every meaning can be attributed. And every supporter can reflect his/her interiority on the clubs. Therefore, historicity and agentive capacity of the clubs are ignored, and emotions are turned into property of subjects. These studies do not show why supporters project their self-images or values onto one club and not other clubs. In this sense, they overleap the kind of historicity and sociality the clubs have. Therefore, the clubs' positions are trivialized against the supporters. On the other hand, they psychologize emotions by failing to notice circulation of emotions between objects and subjects.

Partly similar to the above-mentioned perspective that regards clubs as representations of supporters' beliefs and values, Bromberger, Hayot, and Mariottini (1993) claim that football clubs which their supporters highly identify with are perceived as "a symbol of a specific mode of collective existence". The symbols of the club that materialize through the ideal playing style of the team on the pitch are images produced by the supporter community about themselves, and they want to convey them to others than themselves by becoming the images visible. The team not always plays properly the ideal type, but the ideal style lives in the collective imagination, according to them. However, Bromberger et al. (1993) do not use psychoanalysis, they follow the path of symbolic and interpretive anthropology. According to this approach, through symbols that are produced by football as a part of culture, supporters give meanings reality and their society. In another study, Bromberger claims that some clubs identify with different values and emotions. He

exemplifies Saint-Etienne, a football club in France identified with courage, Juventus is shaped by principles of hardness and activism, and Olympique Marseille is stigmatized with fearlessness, contrariness, spectacular creativity in accordance with dominant patterns of local collective imagination (Bromberger, 1993, p. 50).

However, Bromberger does not research how the identification process performed between the clubs and some values and emotions. In addition, when he situated football clubs as symbols which are the representation of collective imagination, he does not mention the transformation of the collective imagination in time. Therefore, he does not reveal how the clubs gain the symbols they represents, have their representations and symbols changed and how the clubs' images get stronger or weaker in time. More importantly, Roger Magazine (2007) criticizes Bromberger et al.'s symbolic and interpretive approach, which is popularly represented by Clifford Geertz. They regard their research fields as the realm of symbols and representations. He rejects the approach that football world with its rituals, stands, football styles etc. is situated as representational image of the outside world and experiences in daily life; in other words, football with all its performative and ritualistic dimensions, is the representative reproduction of real life or society's experiences and meanings about the life and world. He claims that this perspective is rooted in the mind-body dichotomy in Western thought. The dichotomy assumes that the body is shaped and acts in line with the mind, because reason and thought hierarchically transcend body and emotions. According to this perspective, performances, rituals, and spectacles are political vehicles to create legitimacy or field to research how people perceive the "real" and their own experience on life in the perspective (Magazine, 2007, pp. 14-15).

Contrary to this, Magazine shows that supporters' actions, performances, discourses and banners etc., both in the stands and outside of the stadium, might transcend the position of reproduction of the material world and create exemplary effects that constitute and change the material world by looking at supporters of Pumas, a football club in Mexico. His main argument is that Pumas supporters create their own original ideal vision about the society and country with their performances, cheering and discourse outside of two dominant collective imaginations that are the neoliberal democracy and clientelistic corporatism in the country. Therefore, the football supporters create and present a new social alternative for the daily life and the Mexican society (Magazine, 2007, pp. 5-16). Most Pumas supporters identify themselves and their club with the image of youth. The motto of "only youths", which is used by the supporters, is interpreted by them as that they and their club's players have not yet been subject to clientelism and degeneration or calloused by external mechanical logics such as democratic rationality and scientific objectivity that are also two dominant social and political projects for Mexico. A good part of the society and other football clubs and their supporters are caught between the two collective imaginations and so they come under the influence of the two political projects in the eyes of Pumas supporters. On the other hand, Magazine mentions a common narrative among Pumas supporters. They attach importance to emotions that inherently belong to humans and their performances and discourses are orientated by emotions such as passion, love and happiness which come from interiority of subject, thereby being free from dominant negative influences in the society (Magazine, 2007, p. 11). He evaluates this discourse as to constitute an identity for them and create social alternative for the society; however, he never criticizes or deconstructs

the discourse, and in fact implicitly approves the discourse for the supporters by repeating again and again without problematizing.

According to the supporters, they always act upon their genuine heartfelt emotions and other clubs' supporters cannot do that because they are limited by clientelist relations and rationalism. This perception reversely recreates the dichotomy between mind and body or reason and emotion that is criticized by Magazine. The supporters situate emotions as their own private property and they stem from the interiority of subjects in the unspoiled manner, and others deprive of heartfelt emotions. Magazine does not approach the notion of emotion as a category of analysis, although the notion is a centrally located theme in his research field. He only counts emotions as discourse in the way of construction of identity instead of theorizing them. In addition, he does not discuss the supporters' egocentric and clichéd discourse about themselves and their team. They claim that their difference from other clubs and their supporters materializes through their offensive and risk-taking instead of a defensive style of football and passionate and creative against reactive and monotone cheering and terrace chants. This playing style and stand performance is not only the cause of their supporters' attachment to the club, but also an expression of the supporters' and the players' heartfelt emotional inspiration (Magazine, 2007, pp. 41-49). Associating famous playing styles to supporters' collective imagination contains some important problems. One of them that both Magazine and Bromberger are aware of is that any team can play in the same style every time, because both changes of coaches and players in the team directly affect playing style and sometimes opposing teams might obligate the team to change its playing styles. As I mentioned before, the writers gloss the situation that a team does

not always deploy the same playing style, but its supporters keep the ideal type that represents the collective imagination alive in their discourse.

The other important problem is only using common football styles and popular values and phrases relevant to football to explain specificities of football clubs, of their supporters, and of the identification between them. Many football supporters all around the world want to see their teams play attacking, fearless and courage football, and many supporters feel intense passion and love and strong attachment for their clubs. Therefore, many of Pumas supporters' attributions to the club and themselves are surely shared by a lot of clubs' supporters. I mention one of the examples of situation from the book on Real Madrid, Mandis wrote that "the Real Madrid community wants the club to be 'champions and gentlemen.' If the team loses, the community wants at least to see effort until the end, courage and dignity" (Mandis, 2016, pp. 18-19). Many different supporters of many different football clubs easily use and adopt the sentence for their own clubs. Therefore, this type of common phrases and desires in football world by itself does not have explanatory power to analyze specificities of football clubs and their supporters. In another criticism that can be linked with the above-mentioned issue, Magazine does not research the historical process of the club. In other words, he does not observe how the club gains its value that enables to enchain many people and affect their supporters in time, what the critical events that leave indelible impressions on the club and its supporters in the club history are. It is necessary to consider that, although the history of the sport is affected by important cases of economic and social history, sport field has its own crisis, transformations, flows and specific chronology (Bourdieu, 1978, p. 821).

At this point, I mention another approach in football studies that considers emotions as an object of analysis, thereby recognizing the centrality of emotions for football supporters. This approach is, at the same time, one of the other important models to research the role of emotions in social sciences. Some sociologists and anthropologists reject the notion that emotions count as psychological states; they approach emotions as social and cultural practices. Szogs regards football supporters' emotions toward their clubs as cultural practices and socially regulated performances and expressions (Szogs, 2017, pp. 50-52). She mentions this approach as such: "emotions and senses are part of incorporated practices that are habitualised and part of cultural practices (Scheer 2012a, p. 209; Bendix 2005, p. 7). They need to be understood and analysed as learned practices that are socially constructed" (Szogs, 2017, p. 49). Another study that researches football in Portugal claims that studying football is useful to analyze banal construction of national identity, because a number of activities of football supporters are directly linked to feelings and emotions. And he situates these activities and the emotions as socially determined practices (Coelho, 2002, p. 160).

Ahmed criticizes this approach that considers emotions as cultural practices and calls it the "outside in" model of emotions. "Here, the individual is no longer the origin of feeling; feeling itself comes from without" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 9). The model is also related to the "crowd psychology", in which crowd possesses feelings and the individuals take the feelings upon themselves. Some studies about violence among football supporters claim that crowd violence cause rising aggression level of the individuals and changing their emotional state (Lawrence & Pipini, 2016, p. 21). The two approaches about emotions in football studies that I mentioned until this point

“assume the objectivity of the very distinction between inside and outside, the individual and the social, and the ‘me’ and the ‘we’” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 9).

Another model relevant to emotions claims contagiousness of emotions. The idea of emotions as contagious is an important criticism towards the “inside out model of emotions”, because the idea points out how people are affected by what is around them (Ahmed, 2010, p.39). This model is useful to show that emotions circulate between bodies. However, this model’s assumptions approach the “outside in” model of emotions. The model of “emotional contagion” regards emotions as atmospheric, that if one emotion is dominant somewhere, everybody there is affected by the emotion in the same way. However, some people might feel differently about a place or a gathering that makes many people happy. “If bodies do not arrive in neutral, if we are always in some way or another moody, then what we will receive as an impression will depend on our affective situation” (Ahmed, 2010, p. 40). All three models of emotions have the same problem that might turn emotions into property.

Sara Ahmed offers a dynamic perspective apart from these models toward research on emotions.

In my model of sociality of emotions, I suggest that emotions create the very effect of the surfaces and boundaries that allow us to distinguish an inside and an outside in the first place. So emotions are not simply something ‘I’ or ‘we’ have. Rather, it is through emotions, or how we respond to objects and others, that surfaces or boundaries are made: the ‘I’ and the ‘we’ are shaped by, and even take the shape of, contact with others. To return to my argument in the previous section, the surfaces of bodies ‘surface’ as an effect of the impressions left by others. I will show how the surfaces of collective as well as individual bodies take shape through such impressions. In suggesting that emotions create the very effect of an inside and an outside, I am not then simply claiming that emotions are psychological and social, individual and collective. My model refuses the abbreviation of the ‘and’. (Ahmed, 2004, p. 10)

With her thesis on the “sociality of emotions”, Ahmed offers us a perspective other than extremely subjective and social deterministic models to work on emotions. I research the affective relationship between football clubs and their supporters from this theoretical perspective. Emotions circulate between subjects and objects, and through the circulation of emotions, objects accumulate affective value in time (Ahmed, 2004, pp. 45-46). “The objects of emotion take shape as effects of circulation” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 10).

The supporters who are affected by a football club in the same way become an affective community through aligning with each other before the same object (Ahmed, 2010, p. 38). They experience “collective affective belonging” (Fortier, 2006, p. 65) to their football club. One of the supporters describes the supporters of his football club as “the community of brothers and sisters”: “We as Trabzonspor supporters are the community of brothers and sisters who are excited at the same moment, whose hearts are beating at the same rhythm and who are feeling sad and happy at the same time...” (Çelik, 2013, p. 12). Football clubs become social goods through accumulating positive value, and so they gain the “capacity” to convert and shape subjects (Ahmed, 2010, p. 240). Football clubs’ supporter communities are formed over time. Most football clubs’ supporter communities are not shaped by class, ethnic or religious divisions that exist in society. Football clubs gain a unique history, and an affective value, and their supporters acquire common sensitivities, common objects of love other than the club, and common hate objects. Emotions bring a football club’s supporters into existence as a felt community and form the community’s boundaries and surfaces. In this context, I research how Trabzonspor has accumulated its affective value that brought the existing supporter community into existence. By following Sara Ahmed (2004, p. 4), I ask “what do emotions do?”

instead of asking “what are emotions?” How has the collective affective belonging towards the club been constituted and has maintained through emotions? I examine how affects create surfaces and boundaries that define the community of Trabzonspor as a collective body.

## 1.2 The field of the research

Many football clubs have their own strong supporter community, and they are attached to their clubs through emotions. Therefore, the above-mentioned questions can be asked for many different football clubs. Now I explain why I choose Trabzonspor as my research project. Trabzonspor’s supporter community breaks out of the dominant distribution of football supporters in Turkey in terms of demographic characteristics. In this regard, I must first draw a frame for football clubs and their supporters in Turkey and locate Trabzonspor on the framework. In Turkey, class, religious, ethnic and political differences do not generally determine football supporters’ team preferences. Football supporters can attribute different meanings to their own teams; however, each football club in Turkish Super League has a variety of supporters that are gathered through the above-mentioned factors. Although some clubs’ historical roots are partly based on class factors, such as Ankaragücü which had been composed of factory workers for many years (Hatipoğlu & Aydın, 2007, p. 53), it has had a wide variety of supporter profiles for a long time. It can be mentioned that many of these football clubs have mainly supporters from their local base, which are the clubs’ cities or districts. As an exception, Galatasaray, Fenerbahçe, and Beşiktaş, known as the Big Three of Istanbul, which are the oldest teams in existence, and Istanbul-based football clubs have the greatest number of supporters in Turkey. Kuper and Szymanski (2009, p. 140) claim that football clubs

provide a sense of belonging for many people who immigrated to industrial cities to work throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Europe. When the people adapt to their new cities and new lives, they support the cities' football club. Moreover, capital cities of football are usually not the official capitals. These cities were intensively industrialized and let in huge numbers of immigrants in Europe. They express that this situation is also valid for Turkey in the case of Istanbul (Kuper & Szymanski, 2009, p. 143). The Big Three of Istanbul share the top three of most popular teams in not only in Istanbul, but also almost all cities of Turkey. Several quantitative studies about percentage of football supporters of the clubs across the cities and the country show that only Bursaspor and Eskişehirspor sometimes come close to or narrowly precede the Big Three in its own city.

Within this framework, Trabzonspor community has three different outstanding features in Turkey. Firstly, Trabzonspor is the only club to have more supporters in its own city than the total number of Big Three supporters there. At the same time, it has the highest percentage of supporters on the basis of cities in Turkey. According to an unofficial claim that circulates among Trabzonspor supporters, Trabzonspor is one of the biggest city clubs in the world. When one of my interviewees asserted this claim during our interview, I asked him what the meaning of becoming the biggest city club was, and he said that the club has the highest percentage of supporters in its city. Second prominent feature of Trabzonspor's community is that a higher percentage of immigrant population who has departed from Trabzon and may have been born in another city or country to parents who were born in Trabzon supports their city team, Trabzonspor, compared to other cities' immigrant populations in Turkey. Although there is no reliable source or quantitative studies about this issue, Trabzonspor's supporters, footballers and

executives expressed several statements about this claim. One statement that can be associated with this claim is that Trabzonspor holds the Turkish record in the largest number of supporters at away match during the 2010-2011 season in Atatürk Olympic Stadium in Istanbul. Third distinctive feature of Trabzonspor's community is that the club has native supporters from every Turkish city and some other countries. Only Trabzonspor, apart from the Big Three of Istanbul, has supporters from all over the country. These three points are the distinguishing characteristics of Trabzonspor's community. In this sense, Trabzonspor is the only football club that both has the highest level of identification with the people of its city and has many supporters from every city in the country. How are these two situations possible together? I research how Trabzonspor community has gained these advanced and unique qualities and how it has maintained these peculiarities.

Some studies referred to relationship between Trabzonspor and its supporters as a remarkable relationship. At the end of his article about the structure of Galatasaray's supporter organization, UltraAslan, Battini (2012, p. 717) wishes someone would make a comparative study on Turkish cities where local football teams are seen as a major local pride. According to him, these cities are Trabzon, Bursa and İzmir, and their "ultras have a greater sense of city belonging and thus present different sense of identification with their local teams." In another research, Hatipoğlu and Aydın (2007, pp. 181-184) categorize stands in Turkey into seven different types. One of them is the "identity and persistence" stands which put up an identity fight against Istanbul teams, because they are located in big cities; they are Ankaragücü, Karşıyaka, Göztepe (from İzmir) and Adanademirspor. The upper stage of the "identity and persistence" stands is "football cities", which are Eskişehir and Bursa. Within their classification of stands, they open a separate title only for

Trabzonspor as “Trabzonspor’s stands”. They claim that Trabzonspor’s stands have some specialties that can cause one to question the concepts of supporters, spectators and television spectators, and Trabzon is labeled “the big football city” by the authors (Hatipoğlu & Aydın, 2007, p. 184). I do not aim to present Trabzonspor’s supporters as the most fervent football supporters in Turkey with these consecutively references. It is not that all of Trabzonspor’s supporters incommutably belong to their club and team until death.

Loyalty, faith and love are widely used words for football supporters who are introduced as supporters of their clubs evermore. Kuper and Szymanski (2009, p. 204) call this type of supporters Hornbyesque fans, and they criticize exaggerated narrations about the rate of Hornbys and highlight that the greater part of the football supporters are armchair supporters. The writers refer to Nick Hornby with the concept of Hornbyesque. Hornby has one of the most popular football supporter’s memoirs across the world that portrays a long-term faithful football supporter via his own autobiographical narration. However, even Hornby (1992) mentioned his fluctuating bond with the club Arsenal regarding his life, which continues outside of the stadium. If it’s all right at the end of the day, he returns to his club, his team and the stadium. They claim that, despite the low percentage of Hornbyesque supporters, this type of supporter model has gained dominant acceptance in England’s national discourse because it presents a narrative of belonging for the people who had experienced a great transformation with the industrial revolution and the following generations. The devoted loyalty to the local football clubs enables the supporters to have stories to tell and have common belongings and memories between not only generations, but also local people. “He [the Hornbyesque fan] is the British version of a blood-and-soil myth” (Kuper & Szymanski, 2009, p. 220). In this study, I cannot

determine how many or in what proportion Horbnyesque supporters have existed within Trabzonspor's supporters since the club's foundation. However, it is surely beyond any doubt that advanced level devoted supporters who exceed Hornbys have made their presence felt throughout Trabzonspor's history.

### 1.3 On the conduct of research and overview of the chapters

At this point, I will explain how I conducted my fieldwork and I mention my research methods in the study. When I decided to do research on Trabzonspor and its supporters, I was stuck in a difficult situation. There was too much data and too many research options in front of me. The majority of people I know from Trabzon are Trabzonspor supporters. There are many Trabzonspor supporters in my family<sup>1</sup>, and among my friends and neighbors. Numerous documents have been written so far about Trabzonspor and its supporters, and new documents are continuously produced. In the beginning stages of my research, I went to the public library of Trabzon for days and started to scan the archive of the local newspapers there to trace the history of Trabzonspor day by day. However, there are shelves full of local newspapers, and significant news about the club and the supporters might exist within the newspapers' pages. Sometimes, I could not scan three months of a newspaper in a day. Five different local newspapers published in some periods during a period of more than fifty years, scanning all of them required years of work. In addition to that, online or digital versions of the local newspapers have not been produced yet. On the other hand, some national newspapers prepared their archives as online open resources. I also intended to scan national newspapers' online archives about Trabzonspor, but again I encountered numerous data. Even trying to

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<sup>1</sup> Only my grandfather supported another football club in my family. He was a Beşiktaş supporter, even though he lived in Trabzon throughout his life.

scan one of the national newspapers for all the news about the club during the club's history was too much for me. Therefore, I tried to be selective in the face of these huge archives. I also wanted to scan the club's journal that has been published since 2003. The journal has not been made available online, and is not fully available in libraries. I contacted the media department at the club facilities by establishing the necessary links to access the journals. I went to the club facilities for about ten days at different intervals and reviewed the journals in the media department's archive at an empty table in the room where the people in the media department worked. Sometimes I could not even review 5-6 different issues of the journal in one day. This work took a long time beyond my prediction. Magazines were at least a hundred pages and naturally a large part of the works is related to Trabzonspor.

While I was doing archival studies, I started to follow different events related to Trabzonspor, especially the matches played in Trabzon. Since I was going to study the role of emotions in the community, it was important to be in the community, to witness their sorrow, excitement, joy and other feelings, and even feel with them. Therefore, participant observation is one of the important research methods for my study. I went to the stadium for most of the home matches of Trabzonspor for two years. Within that period, I watched the matches from many different parts of the stadium. Sometimes I was within supporter groups, acting in accordance with them in the stadium. Sometimes I've been among "ordinary" supporters outside the supporter groups. For one season, I bought a season ticket with my high school friends in the upper side of the southern stands. I was banned from entering matches four different times because of the Passolig application. Before important matches, I participated in the events where the supporters gathered in the city center to have fun and get motivated. Apart from the stadium, I have participated in many organizations

organized by the club and supporter groups. These included many different activities, such as the anniversary celebrations of Trabzonspor, protests against injustice towards the club, regular meetings such as the annual meeting of council board. I watched many away matches of Trabzonspor in the crowded coffeehouses of Trabzon. All in this process, I had the opportunity to chat with many supporters.

In addition to that I had twenty in-depth interviews as a second research method in the study. In the beginning, I had some uncertainty about how to choose the people I would interview. In daily life, during conversation with people around me when I said that I was studying on Trabzonspor and its supporters, many of them advised me to interview many different specific names. There are many people who have given years for Trabzonspor. I then decided to interview people who followed the club, team, stands and supporters closely for many years, and also took charge in the club or supporter organizations. The shortest of these interviews lasted half an hour, and some of them exceeded three hours. In some interviews, I talked with more than one person. In thirteen of my interviews, I interviewed people who played or continue to play an active role in different supporter organizations. I also talked with a person who has been working as a museum clerk for the club for years. Three interviews were with former players of the club. One of them also worked as an administrator in the club. I met one of the leading jewelers of the city, who served in many different positions in club management for many years. Lastly, I had interviews with two former presidents of the club. Both of them also played as a footballer in the club. One of them is also one of the most important coaches in the club's history. The other had worked as an administrator for a long time before his presidency. I did most of my interviews in Trabzon and some of them in Istanbul.

In this study, the third research method is online research. Many Trabzonspor supporters' accounts exist on Facebook and Twitter, and they follow each other and share many different things, including their opinions, emotions, gossips, photos, videos, historical data etc.; in other words, everything about the club, the team and everybody in relation of the club. Therefore, a public composed of Trabzonspor supporters is formed through social media. I opened accounts on Facebook and Twitter, and I followed many Trabzonspor supporters' accounts during my research. Firstly, I followed the Facebook accounts of many supporters for a few months. When I realized that Twitter was used more actively and intensively by many supporters, I preferred to follow Twitter accounts. I followed the Twitter accounts of more than two thousand supporters for more than a year. These social media accounts either use nicknames relevant to the club or the team's players, managers, coaches, or declare themselves to be Trabzonspor supporters in their profiles. One of the advantages of online research is that it allows supporters to follow them with their own statements in their natural flow without asking questions. Following for a period of more than a year enabled me to see the annual cycle of Trabzonspor supporters. I observed which events are remembered and memorialized in club history by supporters. Thus, I also witnessed which current or historical events arouse interest in supporters, and which issues lead to discussion among supporters.

Lastly, I used document analysis as a research method. The model of "the emotionality of texts" is important for my research, because I study emotions' role in bringing the Trabzonspor community into existence. Sara Ahmed claims that "the texts I read are ones that already exist 'out there' in the public, rather than being generated by the research itself" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 19). In this context, I benefited a lot from the books that were created by supporters. These books are an important

collective production of Trabzonspor supporters. I will explain the formation process of these books in the fourth chapter. The three books, “Everywhere is Trabzon for us-1” (Çelik, 2008/2013), “Everywhere is Trabzon for us-2” (Bal, Külünk, & Aydın, 2010) and “Northern Writings” (Çelik, 2011), are composed of essays of many Trabzonspor supporters all over Turkey. Many supporters wrote their emotions, memoirs and moments about the club and its community in their own words. These books and social media accounts have given me a very important opportunity to follow the circulation of emotions within the community.

In the end of this chapter, I will briefly present the outline of the thesis. In the second and third chapters, I mainly benefit from Sara Ahmed's theoretical and conceptual framework. In the second chapter, I show how Trabzonspor became an object of love, pride and hope, and how the club gained its affective value within the frame of good feelings as long as it continued to circulate as a social good. I claim that the value enable people to be attached to Trabzonspor. Therefore, I also research processes by which Trabzonspor mustered up support in the way that the community's above mentioned distinguishing and outstanding features emerged. In addition to that, I investigate historical and social conditions in which Trabzonspor emerged as a happy object, because the affective value of the club is associated with the conditions under which the supporters has experienced it. Also I claim that the happy object gains stickiness through circulation of emotions around it and many objects and images stick on the surface of the club. Therefore, I investigate which images and objects stick on the surface of the happy object through its circulation. In this framework, I will show how football as an imported sport became localized for Trabzoners through Trabzonspor. I will trace the process that turned football into a natural part of the city's culture and daily life through Trabzonspor. How did Trabzon

become the capital and motherland of football in Turkey, not only in the eyes of Trabzoners and Trabzonspor supporters, but also in the public opinion, and what are the effects of that situation for Trabzoners? And lastly, I research how Trabzonspor continues to circulate as a happy object although the club has not reached its promise and the community's ideal for a long time. Related to that, I evaluate effects of existence of the golden age of the club.

In the third chapter, I research the role of bad feelings in bringing Trabzonspor community into existence as a collective body that has boundaries and surfaces as well as creating and cementing commitment to the club for many subjects. I especially trace the circulation of shame, pain, and hate that resulted from the love of Trabzonspor in the community. Initially, I research effects of affect aliens who are unsettling and shameful subjects from within the Trabzonspor community on the supporters. Who turns into affect aliens in the eyes of members of Trabzonspor community? I claim that emotions toward the affect aliens intensify the community and recreate and strengthen belongingness of the people to the club. Then, I mention effects on the supporters of some cases that caused supporters to feel ashamed collectively of themselves and their club. Related to that, I investigate never-forgotten catastrophic events in the club's history and I study the role of shame, pain, and hate in creating the effect of surface and boundary for the community and creating belongingness to the happy object. I show how two important catastrophic events became collective traumas for the community. The two traumatic processes are best remembered by the dates of 5 May 1996 and 3 July 2011, respectively. Although each of them has specific effects on the community, I show that both of them penetrate many supporters in two different and opposite ways. On the one hand, these processes cause traumatic effects and alienation for

many supporters, and on the other hand they serve to intensify and mobilize the community and to deepen many supporters' commitment to the happy object with the circulation of bad feelings.

In the fourth chapter, I focus on the concept of affective labour. I claim that affective labour is one of the most important components in creating and sustaining the community as felt and spiritual community, and providing people's attachment to Trabzonspor. In other words, these labours produce affective value for the happy object. I frame the concept through Melissa Gregg and Dilan Eren's conceptualization and discussion. I research how labours produced for the sake of Trabzonspor turn into affective labour, and in this framework, how a gift economy works in the community. Therefore, I also benefit from the gift economy model and fan studies in this chapter. I show that people might gain an important spiritual place in the community through their affective labour and gifts towards the club and the community. However, when people feel that their labours for the happy object become futile, this can also lead to alienation from it and the community. On the other hand, the labours and gifts constitute hierarchies in the community. I implicitly mention the popular discussions in the community about who the rightful owners of Trabzonspor are, who the biggest supporters of the club are. In this framework, firstly the club's players, coaches and administrators, especially the chairmen, are the people who have the community's eye on them. I indicate that they can be seen as spiritually legends or making no sense for the community. At this point, I show not only how they produce affective labour and gifts for the community, but also I briefly research the club's economic structure and the economic relationships therein to evaluate these actors' position in the community. In addition to that, I observe the emergence of supporter subjectivity through labour. In this framework, I situate

stadiums and stands as performative sites, according to the concept created by Fortier. And I investigate how some supporters become “Trabzonspor missionaries”, as a precious position that leads to identification with Trabzonspor. Finally, I look at Kazım Koyuncu’s interesting position in the community as a specific case.

## CHAPTER 2

### ETERNAL LORD OF MY MOST BEAUTIFUL FEELINGS<sup>2</sup>

How has Trabzonspor become an object of love, pride, and hope? The club deeply affects many people in a good way; in other words, it has affective value on its supporters. I claim that the affective relation enables the club to be an entity to which many people are attached. How has the club gained its affective value within the frame of good feelings that circulate around the club in historical process? Which objects and images have moved into the club during its travel? In other words, which images and objects stick to its surface? What are the peculiarities of the affective object that creates and shapes its own affective community? Through this framework, I also research some specific questions in this chapter. How has football become localized in the city and how has supporting the club become natural part of to be Trabzoner? At the same time, how did it affect many people who are not from Trabzon in a good way? In this chapter, the theoretical background is mostly based on Sara Ahmed's affect theory. Her concepts of happy object and sticky object constitute the main conceptual frame, and I also benefit from Rene Girard's model of triangular desire in this chapter.

Ahmed asks "how objects become happy" (2010, p. 21). I expand the question to ask how do objects have emotions in the first place. If objects are not inherently emotional, this process actualized through encounters which have a specific history (Ahmed, 2004, p. 85). Emotions are channeled toward objects and so these objects are perceived as causes of emotions. If good feelings are ascribed to the object, it becomes a happy object and some people are affected 'in a good way' by it.

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<sup>2</sup> The phrase is quoted from the banner which was prepared by Trabzonlu Gençler supporter group.

They head towards the object as the cause of the good feelings, so the people approach to the object (Ahmed, 2010, p. 24). When people head towards the happy object in the right way, they share the same directions and so the people align with each other before the object. Alignment is constructed in accordance with identification process as likeness or unlikeness. Thus, affective communities come into existence around affective objects.

If the same objects make us happy –or if we invest in the same objects as if they make us happy- then we would be directed or oriented in the same way. To be affected in a good way by objects that are already evaluated as good is a way of belonging to an affective community. We align ourselves with others by investing in the same objects as the cause of happiness. (Ahmed, 2010, p. 38)

She suggests that to invest in and approach the same object as cause of happiness creates an affective community and also causes one to belong to the affective community. Some people tend towards same object and approach it, in return, the object brings happiness to the people who turn onto it. The people who share the same orientation toward the object direct their good feelings into the object, thus the object accumulates value as happy object. And people who align with each other around the happy object become affective community and to be affected by the object ‘in the right way’ enables belonging to the affective community. However, to be included in an affective community does not mean that everybody in the community has identical emotions toward the happy object, or that everyone is identically affected in same degree by the object (Ahmed, 2010, p. 44). Every member of an affective community can feel happiness or sadness about some events, but these feelings are not equally felt by all of them who belong to the affective community.

Affective value of an object for somebody is related to the way that the encounters between them has occurred and the conditions under which the person

has experienced the object. The timing and location of encounters with an object have an impact upon affective value of an object. “To experience an object being affective or sensational is to be directed not only toward an object but to what is around that object, which includes what is behind the object, the conditions of its arrival” (Ahmed, 2010, p. 25). Conditions around the object or the context that it is in at a given time can lead to the objects gaining more affective value. Similar to bodies not always having the same mood, people are affected by many different things, so affective objects’ impression on the people can depend on the arrival condition of the people (Ahmed, 2010, p. 41). Besides that, when the object becomes happy and circulates in this way, people who encounter it for the first time can also be affected by it in a good way. Some objects are regarded as happy objects by some people who have not yet met with them (Ahmed, 2010, p. 28). Another important point is that affective objects that feelings have been sedimented in the objects turn into sticky surfaces through circulating with accumulating emotions around them (Ahmed, 2010, p. 44). Stickiness as an effect of surfacing comes into being through histories of contact between objects, bodies, and signs (Ahmed, 2004, p. 90). “Stickiness involves a form of relationality, or a ‘witness’ in which the elements that are ‘with’ get bound together” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 91). And in this way sticky objects accumulate affective value with objects and signs which was collected on surfaces. “If happiness creates its objects, then such objects are passed around, accumulating affective value as social goods” (Ahmed, 2010, p. 21). The substitutions that one object transfers into another object or substitutes with it also enable the objects to gain stickiness (Ahmed, 2004, p. 89). “What sticks ‘shows us’ where the object has travelled through what it has gathered onto its surface, gatherings that become a part of the object” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 91).

I will show with people's own words that people have directed their good feelings toward Trabzonspor and that the club is attributed as a cause of happiness, so it became happy object. I will study the conditions under which Trabzonspor became a happy object. How has time and place of the encounter with the object as a cause of good feelings influenced its affective value? What were the effects of social, economic and political conditions of the country, the city and position of football in these contexts on the object when it first emerged as happy object? In this study, I frequently use the phrase "Trabzonspor community". The concept implies that people who gravitated toward the club as a happy object are affected by the club in a good way, and so the people align with each other and belong to the affective community. It becomes sticky object through circulation and accumulation of emotions around it and substitution with different objects and images, so different objects and images as well as emotions stick to its surface in its historical process. In this way, the club has gains affective value as long as it continues to circulate among the supporters and public opinion. Contextual and special conditions of the club, the city and the country in that period produce some specific narratives, discourses, positions and images that stick on the surface of the happy object during its travel. In this chapter, I research how the happy object accumulates its affective value and which objects and images stick on the surface of the happy object and move into the object by following the path of the object in the context of good feelings. And I also try to examine how affective value of the object impresses on the people and creates its community. I claim that Trabzonspor functions to bind some objects and signs together and two important different "witnesses" process come into existence with the object's travel. One of them is raising transitivity and identification between the club, the city, being Trabzoner and football, the other is protagonist position of the

club which made something could not make before that it made revolution with overthrowing football oligarchy in Turkey with own human resources although it had limited economic conditions.

## 2.1 Football and Trabzon before the emergence of Trabzonspor as a happy object

Affective value of the club also depends on the conditions of its arrival as a happy object. This is why I must first briefly examine history and importance of football in Trabzon before the foundation of Trabzonspor. Trabzon was the first place after Istanbul and Izmir where a football game was played in Anatolia, in other words within the boundaries of the Turkish Republic (Yamak, 2003, p. 9). Although the date is not exactly known, Rums who resided in Trabzon first played football there in the early 1900s (Ocak, 2008, p. 26; Subaşı, 1977, p. 16). In 1913, İdmanyurdu became the first football club to be founded by Turkish teachers and students in Trabzon. Before this, first known Turkish football club outside of Istanbul is the Karşıyaka Sport Club, founded in Izmir in 1912 (Gökaçtı, 2008, p. 59). İdmanyurdu had to close a year after its foundation, because most of the members of the club joined the army for World War 1 (Albayrak, 1994, p. 24). I also mention the conditions of the city in 19<sup>th</sup> century to consider possible reasons of the pioneering role of Trabzon in football. Trabzon had become a global city during the century with the activation of the Trabzon port (Demircioğlu, 2004, pp. 95-97). Direct commercial navigation from Liverpool to Trabzon started in 1847 (Ünsal, 2006, p. 33). Eleven different countries' consulates were located in Trabzon by 1888 (*Trabzon annual*, 1888/2002, pp. 680-689). The city, at least one third of whose population was composed of non-Muslim people had two French schools, four American schools, and one Iranian school, along with Armenian and Rum schools

from 19<sup>th</sup> century to beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Bakırezer, 2009, pp. 34-35).

While going to Europe for high education was prevalent among young non-Muslims in the city, rich Muslim people's children also went to a commercial academy in Marseilles and some other schools in Europe and Istanbul (Tunç, 2011, p. 21). First government printing office in Anatolia outside of Istanbul was established at 1865 in Trabzon. In addition to that, Trabzon was one of the cities in Anatolia which first started publishing provincial almanacs and newspapers in 1869 (Albayrak, 2005, pp. 39-52). As it is understood, high international economic mobility in the city had brought along social, cultural and educational mobility until early 20<sup>th</sup> century. These conditions also enabled the city to come together for sportive activities earlier than elsewhere.

However, international trade severely collapsed in Trabzon after World War One (Bakırezer, 2009, p. 36). The magnificent coastal town was acutely socially and economically devastated with the war (Tunç, 2011, p. 23). This downfall didn't change after the Republic; therefore Trabzon had been abandoned by the Republic in the eyes of the local elites and media (Tunç, 2011, p. 28). In the 1950s, some important state investment actualized with priority in Trabzon, such as one of the first airports and universities to be established in the city (Ünsal, 2006); however, the city always falls behind many other regions of the country with respect to industry and trade (Bakırezer, 2009, pp. 68-69). That is to say that, whereas Trabzon was one of the more important cities of the Ottoman Empire in 19th century, with First World War and the process that followed the city lost its position in the republic. This situation traumatizes the city's elite and the economic collapse causes the cultural richness of the city to decline (Emiroğlu, 2015).

Returning to football in the city, the first football club in the city after İdmanyurdu in 1913, İdmanocağı, was established on 20 January 1921, and after twenty days a second football club, İdman Grubu, was founded on 10 February 1921. According to some narratives, İdman Grubu may be the earliest form of İdmangücü Youth Sport Club, which was initially founded under the name İdman İrfanyurdu in 1924 and changed the name in 1925 (Özbak, 2007, pp. 4-5). Necmiati Sports Club and Gençlerbirliği Sports Club were established in 1923, at which date some high schools also established their football teams (Yamak, 2003, p. 12). The people who established these clubs and led to football becoming important in the city in the early days of the Turkish Republic were mostly composed of the city's elites; teachers and notables were among them (Tunç, 2011, p. 33). It must also be pointed out that, although football was played and the clubs were founded initially by the educated class in the city, football spread to the neighborhood alleys and the countryside of the city after some time. Villages even started to make football teams and joined the May 19 Youth and Sports Day parade in the city center in 1940s (Karaduman, 2003, p. 64). By the time the Turkish Football Federation was accepted to FIFA in 1923, regular football leagues existed in six different cities: Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Eskişehir, Adana, and Trabzon (Özbak, 2007, p. 2; Hatipoğlu & Aydın, 2007, p. 42). By looking at some historical events and narratives<sup>3</sup> Tunç asserts two important claims about the relation between football and Trabzon. One of them is that the city's

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<sup>3</sup> At this period, one of the important events about the city's pioneering role in football was that *Asosyeşin Futbol*, one of the three football books published in the Ottoman period, was written in 1922 by Süleyman Rıza Kuğu, who was one of the important members of İdmanocağı Sports Club in Trabzon (Trabzonspor.org). Kuğu wrote that one of the purposes of the book was to introduce football to the eastern cities, and he asked for tolerance in the preface of the book about possible mistakes in the book from football circles in Istanbul (Kuğu, as cited in Tunç, 2011, pp. 52-53). Another important event in this context is Doğu Muhteliti (East Composite), the football team that was founded and led by General Inspector of the third region, Tahsin Uzer, to visit the western parts of the country for football competitions and thus develop the football skills of the eastern part of the country (Cumhuriyet, 18.09.1937). It is interesting that, although the team bore the name of east mixed, the team was composed of footballers all but one of whom are from Trabzon (Özkara, 2003, p. 71).

elites tried to sustain through football the supremacy and leadership in their region that the city had in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but lost in the republican period (Tunç, 2011). Secondly, she claims that football circles in the city considered the position that the city was learning football from Istanbul, which was admired and followed by Trabzon within the context of football and was an instructor for its neighboring cities and cities to its east (Tunç, 2011). Relations between Istanbul and Trabzon through football overtly materialized with the Idmanocağı Sports club, which was an important constituent sports club of Trabzonspor. The club was the brightest representative of Trabzon in football before the Trabzonspor in that it became the champion of the Turkish Amateur Football Championship three times: 1959, 1964, and 1966 (Arıpınar et al., 1992, p. 134). Two of the club's founders and two other important members had graduated from Galatasaray High School, and the club colors were determined as yellow and red, which are the colors of the Galatasaray Sports Club. Idmanocağı promoted relations with Galatasaray over time through the people and thus the club took advantage of the relationship in different ways (Tunç, 2011, p. 36). In the late period of the club, it was described as "small Galatasaray" by Milliyet Newspaper (06.02.1965) before one of the more important competitions that the club played in its history with Beşiktaş for Turkish Cup in Trabzon. It can be said that the football environments in Trabzon had preserved the relation with the center of Turkish football, Istanbul, on different occasions.

Looking at the football environment in the city, local competition between Idmanocağı and Idmangücü, which came together to create Trabzonspor later on, increased with each passing day from the 1920s on. A common way to describe the level of competition and excitement and enthusiasm created by the competition is to compare the competition to the rivalry between the two most popular football clubs

in Turkey, Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe (Yamak, 2003, p. 16; Ocak, 2008, p. 26; Gökaçtı, 2008, p. 230; Karaduman, 2003, p. 61). The competition in Trabzon certainly had its own history and characteristics, but the imitation indicates the gap between the cities and the clubs. The Big Three of Istanbul gained popularity across the country in 1940s at the latest, and so they became a commonly shared value in the country (Bora & Erdoğan, 1993, p. 226). This was also valid for football fans in Trabzon. Until Trabzonspor joined the first football league, many people who lived in Trabzon supported two football teams, one in the city, and the other mostly one of the Big Three (Özbak, 2009, p. 38). At this point, I use the concepts of internal and external mediation, created by Rene Girard, to explain the relationship between Istanbul football clubs and the football environment in Trabzon. Girard (1965, p. 14) claimed that, although desires are thought of as inherently emerging by themselves, in fact desires have imitative nature and that nature manifests itself in triangular form. It's composed of three parts: desiring subject, mediator or mediators, and object(s) of desire; this part doesn't always have to have an apparent particular object.

We shall speak of external mediation when the distance is sufficient to eliminate any contact between the two spheres of possibilities of which the mediator and the subject occupy the respective centers. We shall speak of internal mediation when this same distance is sufficiently reduced to allow these two spheres to penetrate each other more or less profoundly. (Girard, 1965, p. 9)

The distance is an important determinant for Girard's theory in that it doesn't correspond to physical space, he described the distance between the desiring subject and mediator(s) as spiritual. He interpreted the spiritual distance in part with social and intellectual differences. The hero of external mediation openly loves and imitates the model, on the contrary the hero of internal mediation carefully conceals this relation, because the decreasing of distance enhances rivalry between them, so this

situation can cause resentment towards each other to emerge (Girard, 1965). When the gap was huge, kindness and desire towards Istanbul football clubs dominated Trabzon; however, with the rise of Trabzonspor, the relation changed its form. With the first championship in first league, imitation or sympathy for the Big Three was no longer valid for the Trabzonspor community. Ever since the championship, the period of prominent rivalry with Istanbul clubs has started, and falling behind Istanbul can cause shame for the Trabzonspor community; I will explain the process in the next chapter. Since the emergence of the “Trabzonspor miracle”<sup>4</sup>, imitation phrases are used for different world-class football clubs which shine out across the world with their different peculiarities by not only Trabzonspor community, but also national football writers and commentators.<sup>5</sup>

Turkish Professional First Football League was founded in 1959 and played with the participation of the big three cities of the country: Istanbul, Izmir and Ankara (Arıpınar et al., 1992, p. 99). Then, Turkish Football Federation founded Second Football League in 1963 to enable other cities to join in professional football; however, the league had mostly been composed of the big three cities’ sport clubs for the first few years (Gökaçtı, 2008, p. 220). In the 1963-1964 season, only two clubs (Adana Demirspor and Çukurova Idman Yurdu (Mersin)) outside the big three cities played in the second league. That season, president of Turkish Football Federation offered Idmanocağı, which became champion in Turkish Amateur Championship that season, to join second football league by becoming professional. However, the

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<sup>4</sup> Kozanoğlu (1990, p. 225) mentioned that national sports press immediately dubbed the club “Trabzonspor miracle” when the team dragged the league championship from Istanbul to Anatolia for two consecutive seasons between the years of 1975-1977.

<sup>5</sup> Because the distance between these clubs and Trabzonspor is large, the club community accepts simulating or emulating world-famous clubs with their own club. Some clubs relevant to this context are Liverpool, Napoli, Barcelona, and Atletico Bilbao. All of these clubs have some prominent features to make the comparison with Trabzonspor in the eyes of the community and sports media, such as in 1980, when a journalist from the Milliyet Newspaper (07.06.1980) mentioned the Faroz district as a source of footballers and he wrote “whenever football is talked about in the coffeehouses in Faroz, the people draw an analogy: ‘Nottingham Forest in Europe - Trabzon Faroz in Turkey’”.

club administrators ignored the offer because of economic reasons (Özbak, 2007, p. 6). With the attempts of Orhan Şeref Apak, who became president of the Football Federation in 1965, relevant government agencies made special efforts to include other cities in the second football league. Within the frame of the centralization process of the country, football provided an important base to represent every city to the greatest extent possible in the same platform. The federation promoted cities' elites to create one professional sport club on behalf of the city by combining at least three amateur football clubs from the city. In addition to this state-run attempt, the other important possibility to create cities' professional football clubs was the progress of transportation and communication across the country throughout the 1950s (Gökaçtı, 2008, pp. 222-223). In the 1965-1966 season, nine different cities outside the big three cities played in second football league: Adana, Mersin, Manisa, Balıkesir, Sakarya, Bursa, Eskişehir, Samsun, and Konya. It can be said that Trabzon fell behind in professionalization in football by taking into account the historical background of city relevant to football. One of the important causes of that situation was the economic condition of the city. When professional football became a current issue in the 1965, some of the administrators of the amateur football clubs in Trabzon were said to refrain from that because of insufficient economic conditions (Ocak, 2008, p. 13; Özbak, 2007, p. 6). Another problem was an inadequate infrastructure capacity of the city that transportation facilities of the city to arrive other parts of the country remain incapable in comparison with many cities' conditions of infrastructure. Black sea coastal road construction<sup>6</sup> is emphasized as an important step towards making the city accessible and enables Trabzonspor to join the national league, which would require consistently going to away matches in different parts of

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<sup>6</sup> According to the official report of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey dated 1965, Black Sea coastal road was planned to be completed in 1967.  
[https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/MM\\_/d01/c040/b113/mm\\_\\_010401130360.pdf](https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/MM_/d01/c040/b113/mm__010401130360.pdf)

the country (Can, 2003, p. 83; Bař, 2004 p. 57). In 1966, second football league showed an important increase to include new cities' football clubs, and Trabzon football clubs decided to join the league.

But another important problem manifested itself at this point: there was civil strife between two amateur football clubs in the city. As said above, Idmanocađı and Idmangücü, the most important football clubs in Trabzon, were long-standing rivals for each other. Both of them had significant numbers of supporters, as well as members and administrators who carried a torch for their clubs. Both of them wanted to be at the fore to constitute Trabzonspor, therefore the two clubs rejected to act in unison and attempted to join the second league separately, yet they tried even harder to stop each other's attempts to join the second league.<sup>7</sup> This situation led to a crisis in the city, and state authorities were troubled with the crisis, therefore they forced the clubs to gather under a single roof and join the second league in this manner. At last, the two clubs were merged with the participation of other two amateur clubs under the name of Trabzonspor in 2 August 1967 (Özbak, 2007). Almost all oral narratives and written materials about the emergence of Trabzonspor mention these crises as a difficult period (Tunç, 2011; Ocak, 2008; Özbak, 2007; Yamak, 2003; Karaduman, 2003). In other words, the story of the emergence of Trabzonspor is based on a painful birth narrative. In this sense, one of the milestones for Trabzon in relation to football was actually based on the state intervention.

State administrators set forth Trabzon football clubs' final opinion in scathing terms that the two amateur clubs were to combine or Trabzon as a city could not join

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<sup>7</sup> First, Idmanocađı administrators, with the participation of some other amateur clubs, sent pertinent documents to join the second league to the associated government agencies, and although they obtained permission, Idmangücü administrators prevented this foundation through their political affiliations. After that, Idmangücü, with some other amateur clubs founded Trabzonspor in 21 July 1966 and the team played in the second league during this season. In the meantime, Idmanocađı administrators filed suit for the shuttering of the club and the club dissolved by decree of court in July 1967.

the second league (Özbak, 2007, p. 19). They didn't accord another right that the city could join second league with two different professional clubs. On the other hand, Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and Adana had more than one professional football club in the 1960s. This situation provides some acquirments for the cities, local actors in football called their own shots according to historical background of football in the city, and secondly multiple different football cultures have been formed over time in the cities. In other words, people who live in these cities head towards different football clubs. Another result of this plurality is that not any club can represent a city as a whole, so consolidation between football clubs and the cities remain limited. On the other hand, creation of one club for each city caused city chauvinism and clashes between some cities as unforeseen consequences for the state (Gökaçtı, 2008, pp. 234-238). This situation also showed that the second league and city clubs generated excitement for Anatolia. Thus, city clubs as first clubs gained supporters for their cities when they were promoted to the first football league, thus creating supporter erosion for the Big Three at that period (Kozanoğlu, 1990). However, most of the Anatolian football clubs did not provide hegemony on residents of their cities for a long time. The Big Three of Istanbul have reestablished hegemony all over the country. Today, Trabzonspor is the only football club that outnumberes The Big Three's total number of supporters in its own city in the country. Trabzonspor also could not become dominant over the city in an instant; most of the people in the city supported or followed the Big Three until the club won promotion to the first football league (Özbak, 2009, p. 38; Karaduman, 2003, p. 65). Moreover, to secure uniformity in the club took time. Members of the two rival clubs, Idmanocağı and Idmangücü, continued to struggle with each other inside Trabzonspor in the first

years of the club.<sup>8</sup> Şükrü Gülesin, former football player for Beşiktaş, wrote in the Milliyet Newspaper on 14 August 1969 that

Supporters run roughshod because they are still members of the Ocak and Güç and so they do not totally support Trabzonspor. How long will the situation continue?.. It is becoming clear that this situation will continue until the club gains the championship which it totally yearns for. Yes, it seems to me that supporters will not unite until Trabzonspor wins promotion to the first football league, becomes champions. (Gülesin, 1969)

This narrative must not mean that the club did not have supporters in the second league. The match between PTT and Trabzonspor in 1972, the result of which determined which clubs would join the first football league, was played in Ankara. And many people went to the match from Trabzon to support their club. However, Trabzonspor failed to win the match. Milliyet Newspaper on 31 May 1972 titled as “Trabzoners lost fifty thousand kilos in the PTT match”;

Sixteen thousand claret and blue supporters spent five million and the labour force valued at five million was lost... The mayor<sup>9</sup> cries... supporters say that we have been on the road for four days... One of the supporters, Nevzat Şakar, says ‘we interred our seven years old child in The Ankara 19 Mayıs Stadium’.

The club had to wait for first league football for two more years after that match; however, the aforementioned milestone that was the match against PTT was first seen as catastrophe, but actually it has been decided to be divine grace a few years after the emergence of the “Trabzonspor miracle”. I will return to the subject of the match being seen as milestone for the club. As stated previously, most of the people who lived in Trabzon or emigrated from the city supported or followed one of the football clubs in the first football league when Trabzonspor was struggling in the

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<sup>8</sup> Özbak (2007, p. 24) narrated that former members of the Idmanocağı sport club, including himself, attempted to turn the colors of Trabzonspor into the colors of Idmanocağı in the extraordinary general meeting at January, 1970, but some other people warned them that this attempt could cause the dissolution of the club, so they gave up the attempt.

<sup>9</sup> Trabzon mayor Suat Oyman was the president of the club at that match. The club members invited the mayor to become president of the club with the two main aims: first, to provide unity and solidarity in the Trabzonspor community, and second, to create economic resource for the club. He presided for two years, 1971-1973, he succeeded in the first aim, but economic conditions of the club got worse in that period (Özbak, 2009, p. 31).

second football league. Because in these years Trabzonspor had not yet reached its maturity, the club had not filled the masses with pride. The distance between Trabzonspor and The Big Three of Istanbul had not yet been of sufficiently close range to internal mediation; in other words, spiritual distance between the actors enabled Trabzoners to also support one of the clubs in Istanbul.

## 2.2 Emergence of Trabzonspor as a happy object

In one of the popular Trabzonspor chants , “Uy aha” performed by Kazım Koyuncu, lyrics of the first go “Black sea storm started in 74, Cyprus Peace Cup is such a big honor for us, a handful of young hearts made the history of the claret and blue.” The year is not the foundation date of the club, but includes both its rise of first league, and winning the Cyprus Peace Cup<sup>10</sup> for Trabzonspor. The following season was the starting point of Trabzonspor becoming a happy object for many people and it started to accumulate affective value. Ibrahim Can, a singer and supporter of the club, mentioned the process that

I started primary school in the period that Trabzonspor was founded. That is to say, I started school with Trabzonspor... In that period everybody had one team in the first league. My father supported Galatasaray, I supported Fenerbahçe, because of my older brother. Besides we supported Idmanocağı. My father supported Galatasaray for this reason... Then one day we were promoted to the first football league. Eighty percent of the city converted to Trabzonspor in its first year in the first football league, and the second year, with the struggle for championship in the first football league and especially after the match between Adana Demirspor and Fenerbahçe, the percentage increased to one hundred. [One week later] we beat Fenerbahçe and we became leader in the league. I never forget the week. People flooded in Trabzon. After the date, Fenerbahçe turned into a stranger for me. (Can, 2003, pp. 80-81)

The week was an important moment when many people started heading towards Trabzonspor. According to Milliyet Newspaper (05.04.1976) “thousands of viewers

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<sup>10</sup> After the Cyprus operation, Life and Sport Magazine, one of the important sport magazines of its period, organized the tournament in Cyprus, and Trabzonspor as a team in the first league won its first important cup.

came to Trabzon from Elazığ, Erzincan, Erzurum, Istanbul, Ankara, and all cities of the Black Sea to watch the match between Trabzonspor and Fenerbahçe... such that people queued for 18 hours before the match to buy the ticket.” After the match, the road to the championship in the first league became visible for Trabzonspor in the eyes of not only the Trabzonspor community, but also the national press. The president of the club, Şamil Ekinci’s sentence was reflected in the national press that “to appear as candidate for championship from Anatolia before the Big Three is the proud. We fight to a finish” (Gürkan & Orhan, 1997, p. 73). On 20 May 1976, the club achieved what nobody has before to haul championship of first league from Istanbul to Anatolia. For the first time in the history of Turkish professional football, one club succeeded to reach the title of champion in the first league by eliminating the Big Three of Istanbul. One essay, “En Büyük Taraftar” (the greatest supporter), written by Nihat Genç, who also joined the journey, told the story of the Trabzonspor supporters’ journey from Trabzon to İzmir to witness the championship in Alsancak Stadium.

The conquest was completed with the referee’s last whistle. The film broke loose. At this moment, two hundred supporters fell into a trance, a hundred supporters had an epileptic seizure in an unseen and unheard way in any part of my life, any films, anywhere... Everybody cried, unconsciously shaking or fainted people were brought. The bodies were stiffened in top level by wave of excitement... They covetously broke off the stadium’s irons and they beat their own heads with these irons. As if they culminated desires which can be reached in this world, like joy of a new religion, like first day of a revolution... it’s over, we fucked Istanbul... There is no word to tell this moment in any way to anybody. (Genç, 2008, pp.13-14)

Another writer also mentioned the people who came to İzmir to support Trabzonspor in the match. According to his narrative, some of the supporters went to the brothel in İzmir and they tried to dress sex workers in the Big Three clubs’ uniform (Şimşek,

2011, p. 108).<sup>11</sup> After the match in İzmir, the supporters took a journey to Istanbul for the final match of the Turkish Cup between Galatasaray and Trabzonspor. Galatasaray won the match and the Turkish Cup, and so the club saved the honor of the big city, Istanbul, according to some attributions that were reflected in the national press (Ocak, 2008, p. 42, Gülyurt, 2009). Genç (2008, p. 16) narrated that, after the match “we said ‘we will fuck you in President Cup’, we got back from Istanbul to Trabzon like the Ottoman armies getting back from the Gates of Vienna.” In that case, the supporters saw the Big Three as rivals they annihilated, thereby dressing sex workers up in the uniforms. I previously framed the process after Trabzonspor’s first championship, to the relation between Trabzonspor and the Big Three by using Rena Girard’s theory of triangular desire. Another memory about the championship is that Volkan Konak, a singer and supporter of the club, narrated the celebration moment in one district of Trabzon for the first championship of the club;

I was growing up, Trabzonspor too! Both of us were eight years old, but it, Trabzon, showed its difference just at the age of eight...and Trabzon embedded natural senators’ order of Istanbul in history. As might be expected, horon again existed in the town square of Maçka, however this once all villages as if turned into rain and hit Maçka, thousands of people played horon and fired guns!.. The championship was celebrated as a holy rite in Maçka and I was also part of the rite... I have to say that today my biggest longing for those days is that fascinating image of the horon. Any writers’ any sentences are insufficient to express the joy, love, and honor on people’s faces, a communal trance, a revolt’s honorable triumph, the canvas that is the bloodless revolution of people who have calloused hands. (Konak, 2011, p. 394)

With the first championship, not only the Trabzoners who live in Trabzon, but also those in different parts of the country were proud and happy. Serdar Bali, one of the

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<sup>11</sup> At this point, I mention that football is generally based on masculine language and football supporters and media gender football world. In my field study, I observed sexist swearing many times such that if the team wins against serious rivals on the pitch, its supporters in the terrace will cheer that “koyduk mu”, on the other hand if one of the actors in football is not fair, the terraces use the phrase, ibne.

legendary players<sup>12</sup> of the championship team, narrated that most Trabzoners started regarding 61 as a Medal of Honor with the championship. Trabzoners who live in different parts of the country got great pleasure from driving around with license plates containing the number 61 (Bali, 2017, p. 72). The number is the license plate code of Trabzon, and later on the number has been used by supporters in different way. Ali Kemal Denizci, another legendary player of the team, mentioned that rich businessmen who are from Trabzon but live in Istanbul wanted to give many precious things as a gift in return for our success.<sup>13</sup> The supporter who live in Istanbul and witnessed the first championship in the city's streets narrated these moments (Bulut, 2010, p. 322);

And one day [when I was ten years old] I experienced something I will never forget... I was trying to understand what was happening. [Haznedar] Streets started to moan with sounds of "Şampiyon Trabzon"... Cassette players and gramophone records were turned up to full blast, all the streets filled with kemancha sounds, all people who know and who do not know started to play horon. Moreover, gunshots came from alleys. It was such a joy, such an excitement and enthusiasm that it was impossible to not fall in or be affected by it, almost like a wedding, a religious festival were occurring in the streets.

Trabzonspor became a source of happy, proud, excitement for Trabzoners, and at the same time the club and the city became the center of interest in public opinion.<sup>14</sup> The club gained a pioneering role in Anatolia with the championship. The president of Adanaspor made a statement to the press, saying "Trabzonspor gives us the courage. In the new season, Adanaspor also will play for the championship."<sup>15</sup> Thus the city elites' efforts to make the city visible and maintain its important position in Anatolia

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<sup>12</sup> I will discuss the position in the context of affective labour in the fourth chapter. Some footballers who had the title lost the position in the Trabzonspor community due to different reasons. However, I can briefly say that the people who leave a never-forgotten good mark on collective memory of the community gained the position.

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=824dYMo22uQ>

<sup>14</sup> The situation that if football clubs reach success, they will fill their city with pride is not only valid for Trabzon. One of the Eskişehirspor supporters states relevant to this situation put it this way: "After all, Mithat Körler who was on TRT at least once a week as fellow townsman repaired wounded urbanity pride of people who are from Eskişehir in the years that Eskişehirspor did not exist in the first league" (Alan, 2011, p. 18)

<sup>15</sup> Milliyet Newspaper, 27.05.1976

through football in the early days of the republic revived with the unexpected championship of Trabzonspor. In the next season, the club won not only the league but also Turkish Cup and Presidential Cup, besides that the team won 1-0 against Liverpool in Trabzon in the UEFA Cup Winners' Cup. Thus, the club gained fame that overstepped the limits of the country. Liverpool, one of the most important football clubs in the world which became champion of the Cup that year came to Trabzon, not Istanbul, to play the match and hence the club and the city were in the spotlight of the national and international press. Thus, an official journey from Liverpool to Trabzon was actualized in 1976 once again under favor of Trabzonspor for the first time, long after the nineteenth century. Jonathan Wilson and Scott Murray wrote on the journey that Liverpool FC made its longest flight up to that time, first they landed in Ankara, then they flew to Trabzon, the group felt discomfort because they witnessed the poverty when they took the bus from the airport to the city center and, according to Liverpool FC's coach, the hotel they stayed was the worst hotel he has ever seen in his life (Wilson & Murray, 2013). This narrative shows that the city's possibilities and conditions fell behind the club at this period. Kuper and Syzmanski (2009, p. 143) claims that some cities have faces to the world. "Oxford's face to the world is the university. In industrial cities it is the soccer club. Barcelona, Marseille, and (even now) Newcastle are the pride of their cities, a symbolic two fingers up at the capital". Even if this is hard, sometimes provincial cities which lack factories also have football club as the civic pride. In accordance with this claim, the club turned into the city's face, first to the country and then to the world. With the successive achievements of the club, Trabzon press took a new turn. Newspapers of national importance started establishing offices in Trabzon one by one after the first championship. Anatolian News Agency established its regional

directorate in Trabzon at 1979. Many people who are from Trabzon became writers and press members and strong local press in the city was formed by virtue of Trabzonspor (Öksüz, 2004, pp. 282-284). Yaşar Bedri Özdemir (2010, pp. 49-50), an artist from Trabzon, wrote that “Trabzon got refreshed with the championship. As if this archaic city retrieves its cultural and social dignity which was lost at the beginning of the century with football.”

Alongside the media coverage towards the club and the city, many people who were not from Trabzon from all parts of the country have started to feel admiration and happiness for Trabzonspor. Nazlı Ökten, one of the important sociologists in Turkey, narrated of Trabzonspor in these years that “I remember that the coming of Trabzonspor became a legend when I was a child. It is a success story. Şenol and so forth were symbolic figures in my mind” (Ökten, 2015, p. 169). Beside this admiration toward the team in public opinion, the club acquired many supporters who are not from Trabzon, such as Mehmet Fatih Maçoğlu, the only communist mayor in the country, who narrated that “our biggest enjoyment was to listen to Trabzonspor matches on the radio. Trabzonspor becoming champions of for four or five successive years coincided with our childhood. Therefore, eighty or ninety percent of people who lived in the village supported Trabzonspor” (Emre, 2018, p. 26). The people who live in the village in Tunceli are mostly alewis and Kurds, and Trabzonspor was most probably the only thing that the people knew about Trabzon as a provincial city. Many narratives like this from all parts of the country are available in different resources. In other words, Trabzonspor reached the level of Big Three in terms of supporters that the club has gained from all over the country. As I stated previously, an affective object’s location, timing of appearance and specific and contextual conditions during encounters have an impact upon its affective value.

Therefore, Trabzonspor's position with its own characteristics must be evaluated with the socio-political conditions of the country in these years. Nurdan Gürbilek looks at films in which child stars played leading roles, which were popular at that time, to understand the popular genre of the 70s. The 1960-75 period was the golden age of the child stars in Turkish cinema. Many films about the adventures of protagonist children were produced in that period (Taşkan, 2015). Gürbilek pointed out the image of the hero children in the Turkish cinema to reveal some prevalent images in Turkish society;

That must be why both adults and children loved the Ayşecik films made in the 1960s and early 1970s –the first one an adaptation of a Tuğcu novel- and the Ömercik, Sezercik and Yumurcak films that followed them... Upon that stage the child of agony symbolized a belittled local virtue, a potential for purification from all degeneracy – represented by the spoiled rich, by dance halls and dens of sin, by the corrupting influence of money. In the story of the child who emerges from his trials victorious in the end, adults could endanger a national, local, Eastern pride out of the insurmountable poverty to which they'd been subjected... What did not change, however, was that the 'child of agony' story was always set up working backwards from the moment when the mistreated child emerged victorious. What was presented to us as the child of agony was in fact the face of that long-suffering, stunted boy photographed at the moment of success in the big city... when he managed to cheat his Oriental destiny. (Gürbilek, 2011, pp. 125-127)

As a kind of sequel to these films, Trabzonspor have come to correspond to that profile of the protagonist children in real life through the special conditions of Trabzonspor and football in Turkey in 1970s. The club had weak economic resources and was located in a small city and relied on its own resources to make the team. With this condition, the club won against the Big Three which have strong economic resources and power to take good footballers from all over the country. Trabzonspor and Trabzon overturned the Istanbul oligarchy which had never fallen before. Istanbul has been head and shoulders above Trabzon in the context of economic, social, political conditions. And the Big Three had many advantages against other clubs in the first football league. They had economic power, supporters and

administrators who had political power more than the other clubs. In this sense, Trabzonspor punched above its weight. According to many supporter narratives, Trabzonspor has represented the character that brings the mighty to their knees. Kozanoğlu narrated the process of Trabzonspor mustering up support against the Big Three that

Trabzonspor had another function in those years. There were some people who felt it beneath them to support one of the Big Three. However, they could not break away football. Supporting a successful and humble Anatolian club which tears down the teams administered by rich people from Istanbul, tricksters, could be a consistent action. (Kozanoğlu, 1990, p. 226)

Many people have turned towards the club that turned into a happy object in the context of the condition of football in Turkey. Trabzonspor, with this position, continues to circulate among their supporters up to today, therefore many different images have stuck on the club as happy object in historical process. One of the most popular phrases relevant to this position of Trabzonspor belongs to Kazım Koyuncu. Many Trabzonspor supporters on the social media occasionally use the phrase, so it continues to circulate among the community.

Supporting Trabzonspor is not a nationalist behavior that can only be explained by being the child of that region. For me, Trabzonspor was the imaginary hero who opposed the most powerful and defeated everyone. It was such a hero that it even pushed the status quo (Koyuncu, 2004).

The image of victorious eastern pride stuck to the club with its successes against the Big Three and some important European football clubs, especially in the golden age period.<sup>16</sup> Although some executives of different periods in the club's history and the community have taken some actions that harmed this image, even today similar rhetoric is produced and used among the supporters. I want to refer to some supporters' narratives in this context;

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<sup>16</sup> I explain and use this periodization elaborately in later part of this chapter. The Golden age period of the club continued from 1975 to 1984.

Trabzonspor is a rebellious boy who cannot tolerate that a mob consisting of three hulky people beat innocent and weak children in a neighborhood and put them in a coma six times. Trabzonspor is a burning fire in a caretaker child living in the basement of a rich apartment building in Istanbul. (Altıntaş, 2013, p. 92)

Trabzonspor is that peasant girl who took first place on university entrance exam... Trabzonspor is an inventor who graduated primary school. Trabzonspor is an Anatolian entrepreneur who is the export champion. Trabzonspor is the Battle of Gallipoli against the great powers. Trabzonspor is the war of liberation of the devastated Anatolia. Trabzonspor is a Palestinian child who throws stones at Israel soldiers. Trabzonspor is a handful of Chechens' resistance to the Russian army. (Fırtına, 2013, pp. 106-107)

Trabzonspor is rebellion. It is the uprising of Anatolia against regional discrimination and injustice. It is the Spartacus of my beautiful country. Even if all the armies of Rome attack, it never gives up. (Alişanoğlu, 2011, p. 247)

These narratives show that the protagonist image corresponding to victorious pride of oppressed or resisters against dominant powers that appropriately described and framed by Gürbilek sticks to surface of Trabzonspor. Therefore, the image enhanced the affective value of the club. Besides the image, the other important components or objects that stick on the club and so increase affective value of the club for Trabzonspor community who are affected in a good way by Trabzonspor are the city of Trabzon with its geographical, historical and cultural peculiarities. The claim is most clearly embodied in the statements of some Trabzonspor supporters who are not from Trabzon. One supporter from Antalya narrated that they (with his twin brother) wanted to enroll in a high school in Trabzon to follow the club's matches in the city and he wrote that

Everyone wants money, cars, houses etc. from Allah. However, we want none. We primarily want health, and after we want our Trabzonspor's success. Namely, we want to continue this love with its anchovy, its horon, its kolbastı, its Ünal and Hami everywhere. (Ersel, 2011, p. 238)

In the last sentence, the young supporter compares his love of Trabzonspor to some other objects. Two names mentioned in the sentence were never-forgotten players of

the club in 1990s, but in fact the siblings' ages are not too suitable to remember the footballers on the pitch. So it can be said that the collective memory of affective community can be gained by new members of the community over time. I will mention this issue in more detail in the following chapters. The main point that I want to draw attention to here is that the supporter referred to anchovy, horon and kolbastı, which are folk dances of the region with his happy object, Trabzonspor. How does approximating these objects become possible? Another supporter who is from Ayvalık district of Balıkesir wrote that he started to love and support Trabzonspor with his father's aspirations.

Trabzonspor started in my primary school years that I vaguely remembered. My father was talking, I listened, and he had said that 'Trabzonspor put an end to the Istanbul bourgeoisie. Although I didn't know the meaning of bourgeoisie, I was listening to each line like a fairy tale. (Kotan, 2010, p. 348)

Family ties are an important determinant for the next generations' selection of football clubs everywhere. Family as a happy object circulates through different objects, and preserving family ties requires inheriting some objects in the right way (Ahmed, 2010, p. 45). I will show and discuss in the next chapter that to it is important for the community that the next generations in families who support the club continue to be supporters. But he complained of being left alone as a Trabzonspor supporter in his living space. When he went to university, he made acquaintances with some Trabzonspor supporters on the campus and he joined activities with them relevant to Trabzonspor. He wrote about these times that;

My meeting with kolbastı, nights of Trabzonspor and kemanca... It was a very different culture, I found myself in a different environment I've never seen, and it is interesting as if I have been in this environment since I was a little boy. I have never found it odd. Now I understand that kemanca, kolbastı, horon, kuymak<sup>17</sup>... are implicit in the claret and blue. (Kotan, 2010, p. 349)

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<sup>17</sup> Kuymak is one of the local foods of Trabzon.

This narrative shows that the supporter who is not from Trabzon associates the city's cultural elements with Trabzonspor. Similar narratives can be multiplied; when I first noticed these kinds of narratives, I was surprised that people who are not from Trabzon have adopted some cultural peculiarities of the city and also sympathized with the city. I think that this situation also has an effect on the perception that Trabzonspor supporters who are not from Trabzon are seen as honorary fellow townsmen by supporters who are from Trabzon. I will discuss this issue of honorary fellow townsmen through affective labour in fourth chapter. I want to give one more example about the issue. The reporter of Trabzonspor journal had an interview with the university student who found a Trabzonspor supporter club in one of the private universities in Istanbul. As some members of the group who are not in Trabzon but support the club said in the interview;

The club communes with the city. Trabzonspor as the city's team carries culture of the region to different geographies... [Another one] When you support Trabzonspor, you also embrace a culture. Trabzonspor is anchovy, sea, hazelnut... However, there is nothing specific for Fenerbahçe (as cited in Akay, 2005, p. 71).

### 2.3. Trabzon as a capital of football

How has the substitution between the club and the city become possible in time? In other words, how do some geographical, cultural and historical peculiarities of the city and the region stick on the surface of the club? And what kind of affective value does this travel accumulate for the happy object? I claim that this process also provides localization of football for Trabzon and so football has become naturalized for the city through Trabzonspor. In this part, I investigate this process within its specific historical conditions. The underlying causes of this never-before-seen success of the club at that period became an object of curiosity in public opinion. The reason or the milestone for emergence of Trabzonspor "miracle" was seen as a

“return to essence”, with universal acceptance. This milestone also positions the happy object to accumulate affective value. In the first years of the club, administrators transferred many footballers from outside of Trabzon to raise the team to the first league as soon as possible, and these footballers mostly played for important teams before coming to Trabzonspor. However, the necessary success could not be achieved, and when the team lost against PTT in 1972 and gave away the chance of promotion to the first league, the club took a new turn. All works on the history of the club, speeches of footballers and administrators who were involved in the club during the championship periods has a common narrative about the new turn that the club decided to head for internal or the city’s children to reorganize the team. The club gave up hoping for help from the outside and found itself by returning to essence. Ahmet Celal Ataman, the former administrator and president of the club, refers to this process that

Most people accept the defeat which was the PTT match as misfortune. This match showed us that we cannot continue down the road with the legionaries. Our promotion to the first league may have been delayed by one year, but the phenomenon that we call return to essence (öze dönüş) started in both minds and hearts after the match to my mind. (Ataman, 2016, p. 164)

In this narrative, the footballers who transferred to the club from Istanbul are described as legionaries. In a similar manner, Salih Erdem, who, as president of the club between 1973-1975, mentioned the return to their own resources in the interview with Milliyet Newspaper in 1977 that “therefore our club was closed to external transfer and our players got rescued from the exploitation by big clubs and all Trabzoners were unified.”<sup>18</sup> Almost all of the footballers in the team which won the club’s first championship had common a narrative about the transformation of the

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<sup>18</sup> 22.06.1977

team after the match. One of them, Serdar Bali (2017, p. 44), narrated the change as that;

People who could not determine the footballer field they had supposed that they would solve the problem with football players from Istanbul... [After the PTT match] the club was on the brink of bankruptcy. This situation forced Trabzonspor to come out of nothing. The thought that “our boys (uşaklar) are actually very good footballers” dominated again compulsorily. As one of those who lived in those days and worried about the lost championship, I believe that the defeat was “God’s gift to Trabzonspor”. The almighty creator paved the incredible way for the city of Trabzon.

Although the position of master mind of the project has been dedicated to different names, many people appropriated creation of the process as a collective action. In its first year in the first league, the team only had one footballer from outside of Trabzon among thirty people. Nine Trabzoner players were in the first string during two initial first league championships. After that, at least seven Trabzoner players had been in the starting eleven until 1984, during which period the team won four more championship in the first league. The team’s coaches during all these championships, Özkan Sümer and Ahmet Suat Özyazıcı, were also Trabzoners. Besides that, the team did not have any foreign players or coaches during that period. Therefore, the national press described this situation as the success of Trabzoners. Halit Kıvanç, the famous football commentator, wrote on the first championship and the cause of the success that

“1976 was a milestone in Turkish football. For the first time an Anatolian team breaks the reign of Istanbul... it was a miracle to create such an entity in absence... The secret of its success was clear: It succeeded with the product grown in its field. Young people who sprouted on their own soil are the stars of the Turkish football market now...” (1983, p. 210).

The field and the soil correspond to the city of Trabzon. After Trabzonspor signaling to first championship, Örsan Öymen, a columnist in the Milliyet newspaper, wrote “Where is Istanbul, where is Trabzon? Whatsoever place, but a hand that smells of anchovy and cornflour in the Black Sea coastal city broke the order.” The event that

the team which acquired the championship six times was mostly composed of Trabzoner footballers leads to every comment and production about the success of the club was also about the city and Trabzoners. Every achievement of the club became the success of the people of Trabzon. The questions of why Trabzonspor succeeded so much and how the club gained such incredible accomplishments at the same time were queried for Trabzoners. Trabzonspor and becoming Trabzoners could substitute each other and so the club as a happy object gained stickiness.

Conditions of the period were also effective at the transitivity between the club and the city. Line up of the team was inhabitants of the streets. Trabzoner footballers were inhabitants of the city's neighborhoods. Many of them passed the time in their neighborhood and spent time with friends in local coffeehouses out of matches and training times. Şenol Güneş (2004, p. 62) who had been the goalkeeper in the period of six championships narrated the proximity with the townspeople as such: "Supporters regarded us (the team) as member of their families. We knew that we entered the entire house in the city and we were the sons of every household." İhap Subaşı wrote on another aspect of the situation, namely the Trabzoners who live outside of the city, in the Milliyet Newspaper. When he mentioned one of the most important players of the team, Ali Kemal Denizci, he wrote that "the abroad Trabzoners all over the country embrace Denizci and their Trabzoner children. The Trabzoners who have opened their eyes with longing of Trabzon for years pride the children's successes and fulfill their longing for them."<sup>19</sup> Serdar Bali who was one of the star players of the club in the years of the championship narrated the final match of Turkish Cup between Galatasaray and Trabzonspor in 1976 in Istanbul. He was not in the match line up, so he could not join the group. The supporters who lived in

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<sup>19</sup> 24.02.1977

Trabzon insistently invited him to join the away match bus which departed from the Faroz district. He accepted the invitation and, together with the supporters, went from Trabzon to Istanbul to support his team from the terrace. After the match, the stands were confused, and the police intervened. When he saw that the police coshed one of his friends from the neighborhood, he tried to intervene and he was also beaten by the police (Bali, 2017, pp. 72-73). Today, it is not possible to see a case similar to this, for back then, intimacy between footballers and the city was at a pretty advanced level. Ahmet Suat Özyazıcı, team's coach for four of the club's championships had a hardware shop in the historical bazaar of the city and he was present at the shop in times when he did not coach. These conditions were some of the factors that enabled the club to not only represent the city, but also become the city itself.

At this point, I will discuss the localization process of football as an imported sport from England to almost all over the world for the Trabzoners through Trabzonspor via two main lines. How football became a natural component of becoming Trabzoner; in other words, how football and Trabzonspor collected its affective value that carries different objects and images relevant to being Trabzoners. As a result of a series of contingent events, the club has coalesced with the city and to be a Trabzoner. Trabzonspor community was on the crest of a wave of the team that had come in first six times and second three times in the first league through nine seasons from the first championship in the 1975-1976 season to the 1983-1984 season. In the match between Fenerbahçe and Trabzonspor in Istanbul in 1984, Trabzonspor supporters unfurled a banner that read, "It can no longer give us pleasure, we want all of Istanbul before us, bjk+gs+fb=ts, otherwise we will

withdraw from league.”<sup>20</sup> As stated previously, the road to success was paved with the “return to essence” where the team was intensively reconstructed with footballers from Trabzon. Another important point relevant to this issue is that, although the club sold some important players to its rivals or parted ways with some others from different reasons, it held the field until 1984 by recruiting new young players. This situation provided self-confidence for the club and its supporters, because it implied that the success does not depend on just some specific footballers. The perception that Trabzon is the motherland of football went from strength to strength. One of the important representative examples about the perception is that Trabzonspor supporters unfurled the banner which contained the phrase “Edison is to electricity as Trabzon is to football ... Oil is for Arabs as Trabzon is for football”<sup>21</sup> in the final match of the Turkish Cup between Beşiktaş and Trabzonspor in İzmir Atatürk Stadium on 30 May 1984 (Gürkan & Orhan, 1997, p. 138). According to the banner, the city of Trabzon both created a miracle in football, and had rich underground resources in the field of football. Derivatives of the phrase such as “footballer field for the city” continued to circulate though in fluctuant densities from the first years of the championship of the club. A few weeks after the triumph over Liverpool, the reporter from Milliyet newspaper went to Trabzon to meet with the club’s administrators and observe the team and the city. He quoted one of the Trabzoner administrators’ speech: “the British also understood that in Turkey the cradle of football is Trabzon.”<sup>22</sup> These achievements paved the way for essentialist discourses in a short span of time. Kaya Çilingiroğlu, a famous professor of medicine, titled his essay “Trabzoner was created for sport, especially for football...” and he wrote that

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<sup>20</sup> Hürriyet Newspaper, 02.04.1984

<sup>21</sup> “elektrikte Edison, futbolda Trabzon... Araplarda petrol, Trabzon’da futbol”

<sup>22</sup> 10.11.1976

“football penetrated to the marrow of Trabzoner. Therefore they have the ecote.”<sup>23</sup>

Six or seven years ago, I met with my distant relative who supports Beşiktaş and lives in Istanbul, speaking of football, because he knows that I am from Trabzon, he told one of the his memories with pleasure about the time when he was going to Trabzon from Istanbul by bus, the man who sat next to him told him “my boy (uşağım), footballers spring up from soil here.” As it is seen that many people, from the national press and writers to people from terraces and streets, had similar thoughts that Trabzoners have a natural talent for football. At this point, I should also mention that, when many good young footballers become visible from one club or one city, a popular phrase to describe the situation is “footballer factory”, but the phrase “footballer field” is much more preferred in Trabzon. This preference highlights the natural tendency of Trabzoner to football.

This discourse has continued in variable frequencies to this day by the Trabzonspor community. In 1991, a columnist for the Türksesi newspaper, one of the important local newspapers in Trabzon, titled his essay “Football in Trabzon” and he claimed that “Trabzon is the most advanced city across Turkey... Where is the capital of football? Can we answer this question as Istanbul any longer?”<sup>24</sup> How did he make these assertions, despite the club could not become champions for five seasons after the 1983-1984 season? I can mention two main comforting reasons that enabled the Trabzonspor community’s members to continue their claim. One of them is that the period between 1975 and 1984 became a golden age and the community produced golden age discourse and transferred it to the new eras with a different aspect and a changing meaning. Secondly, Trabzonspor defeated one of the world’s giants of football, Barcelona, 1-0 in Avni Aker Stadium on 19 September 1990. In

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<sup>23</sup> Milliyet Newspaper, 24.08.1979

<sup>24</sup> Türksesi Newspaper, 22.03.1991

the match, the team's line up contained five Trabzoner football players and the coach was also a Trabzoner. The club's victories against world-famous clubs in European Cups always make a never-to-be-forgotten impression on the collective memory of the community and leave a mark on Turkish sport public. The first issue of Trabzonspor journal which started publishing periodically in 2003, contained the phrases "Trabzon is the capital of football" and "Trabzon is Turkey's footballer field" (Ata, 2003, p. 37; Ekinçi, 2003, p. 56). These phrases and their derivatives have been found in subsequent issues of the journal at times. One of the club administrators working today made a statement to the press and used the phrase "Trabzon is the footballer field."<sup>25</sup> The discourse that contains these mottoes is based on some material facts. In three different successful periods of the club, the first "golden age" between 1975-1984, the second one between 92-96, and the third one between 2003-2005, it had at least five footballers who were Trabzoners or came through the club's youth setup under the name of return to essence (Kulaçoğlu, 2004a, pp. 271-272).

Relevant to this fact, another situation mentioned by Trabzonspor community that pride themselves on the situation is the abundance of Trabzoner footballers in professional football leagues of the country (Tunalı, 2011, p. 22; Çebi, 2011, p. 29). This situation has been reflected in the press time to time. According to the research in 2009, 232 footballers who were born in Turkey and played in the Turkish Super League were classified according to their birthplaces. Trabzon was in the first place in terms of the number of footballers sent to the Super league taking into account the population density of the cities.<sup>26</sup> The phrase "Trabzon is the capital city of football in Turkey" is also supported by the discourse that many people who live in Trabzon

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<sup>25</sup> Günebakış Newspaper, 28.11.2018

<sup>26</sup> <http://spor.haber7.com/spor/haber/450095-ligde-forma-giyen-futbolcular-nereli>

had high knowledge and culture about the football. That kind of claim can also be made by different cities in Turkey, because there is no clear standard to evaluate football culture level of cities. Critchley (2017) claims that there is a difference between football supporters who already played football and other football supporters who did not play football. When the supporters who played football watch a match in stadium, they physically feel the movements of the game. In other words, they become a kind of coach in stadiums. According to the statistics of the Turkish Football Federation in 2010,<sup>27</sup> Trabzon had the greatest number of certified footballers with regards to population density among Turkish cities. So, this data may be a sign for the football culture of the city.

### 2.3.1 Localization process of football in Trabzon

Conditions, narratives and historical facts mentioned above has provided an approach to football and becoming Trabzoner, and so these circumstances are important factors to turn football into a natural part of the city and being Trabzoners. At this point, I want to return to the question that emerged in the golden age of the club. How did Trabzonspor or Trabzoners reach so many successes or create the miracle in that period? Successive achievements of Trabzonspor had become an object of interest in public opinion. In the context of the question of how Trabzonspor can reach the achievements with the city's own children; cultural, historical and geographical conditions and peculiarities have been put forward. And these factors are also naturalized and popularized by the community. I do not claim that the achievements are directly related to these factors; I argue that the components stick on the club through close circulation between them. Turkish sports public and

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<sup>27</sup> <http://www.tff.org/default.aspx?pageID=204&ftxtID=10581>

Trabzonspor community have produced a lot of essentialist answers to the question and more of the same. Geographical conditions of the region and folklore has been put forward as essentialist answers. Eroğul (2009, p. 340) criticizes these kinds of essentialist approaches and suggests a historical approach to analyze the club's successes. Although I agree with Eroğul's claims, I examine what the geographical and folkloric discourses that use to portray Trabzonspor actually do. I refer to some of the examples of prevalent geographic and folkloric discourses to explain Trabzonspor's successes. Tarık Kafkas, one of the founders and former directors of the club, said in an interview;

Trabzon's successes, Trabzonspor's sportive triumphs are totally products of this geographical quality... Football is like horon. For this reason, Trabzoner plays both football and horon in a good way... We have to teach horon to all native and foreign footballers... Trabzon's fog, rain, mud, combative sea, steep slope, green meadow, lively life has affected all living things differently and has raised them at the double. For this reason, very good footballers emerge from here. Trabzon is a football land. (Kafkas, 2005, pp. 96-97)

Turgay Semercioğlu, legendary footballer of the club during the six championships, also emphasized the role of geographical conditions in his interview:

This region is completely highland. Our people must work continuously and beat the odds. He earns his bread by working in all these difficult conditions. His determination to win is high; he is combative and ambitious. This ambition and industriousness is the reason behind Trabzonspor's successes for many years (Semercioğlu, 2003, p. 42).

The book on the history of Trabzonspor also mentioned the role of the natural conditions on football in Trabzon;

People from the Black Sea region are shaped by awesome deep valleys, steep mountains and grim waves that beat the coasts without a break, they are born-sportsmen. Who can claim that the Trabzoner who has to survive under such natural conditions and tries to earn his living in the Black Sea due to limited land conditions cannot be a life-long sportsman? (Gürkan & Orhan, 1997, p. 17)

Two other writers from Trabzon associate Trabzonspor's successes to the regional properties of the city:

The specificity of the natural properties of Trabzon and its surroundings have also shaped the people of Trabzon throughout the ages and gave him the personality traits of Trabzon, and so a certain type of person, called Trabzon person for ages has emerged. This personality is reflected in all his work. With this human type's acquaintance with football, the football of Trabzon emerged... Trabzon people create an ecote by reflecting his characteristics in the sport which is most liked among all sports and most prone to his personality and body trait. (Miraç, 2000, p. 12)

Anchovy, horon and hazelnut symbolize the characteristic features of Trabzoner. When the protein of anchovy, the agility of horon, and the hardness of hazelnut come together, Trabzonspor's reality shows itself. (Ocak, 2013, p.180)

Many similar expressions to the citations above can be found among the Trabzonspor community and Trabzoners. Sevinç, a sociologist at the Karadeniz Technical University claims that descriptions of the people from the Black Sea region and especially from Trabzon are usually based on the geographical features of the region. In this manner, to identify people with the characteristics of their living space is mostly used for Black Sea region in Turkey (Sevinç, 2014, p. 167). I think these geographic and folkloric expressions make it possible for the Trabzoners to create exceptionalism. Lindisfarne, who studied Turkish exceptionalism, defined the concept as such:

Exceptionalism is a way of claiming uniqueness, for a nation and, by implications, its people... both exceptionalism and nationalisms are closely tied to people's sense of belonging, and a close identification with their country and its rulers, they are emotionally loaded... A defining characteristic of nationalism is that it encourages or compels ordinary people to identify themselves with the rhetoric and practices of national privilege that only their rulers actually enjoy. (Lindisfarne, 2001, pp. 2-4)

In this quotation, the role of national elites is emphasized and exceptionalism is marked as a false notion for ordinary people, but in our case Trabzonspor's successes become a sign for all Trabzoners' successes, because the successes are attributed to geographical and folkloric features of the region. Therefore, a kind of "strategic essentialism" has been produced for Trabzoners through the club's achievements.

This situation ensures some good feelings such as self-confidence, courage and pride for Trabzoners such as Hakan Kulaçođlu, a professor of medicine in Ankara, who indicated that “our identity cards provided that we as young students in secondary school were respected as university professors under favor of the club’s success” (Kulaçođlu, 2003, p. 53). Therefore, Trabzoners approached the club further as a happy object. This process leads to the geographic, local and folkloric qualifications of the region that stick on the happy object. As early as 1976, Trabzonspor was mentioned as the “Black Sea Storm” in the Milliyet Newspaper.<sup>28</sup> The phrase has become the byname of the club in time and the two names substitute each other with repetition by the community and the national sport press. This situation creates stickiness as an effect of surfacing, and so the club gathers these objects and images on its surface.

Other important objects relevant to local culture stick to the club in time are anchovy and folk dances of the region. Anchovy, which is identified with the Black Sea, especially the eastern Black Sea region, is widely found and eaten in the region, and the local community has a rich cuisine based on anchovy. Some singers from the region compose songs about the fish,<sup>29</sup> because it is appreciated by the local people and gives an impression of people’s daily lives. The popular narrative about picking the club’s colors as one of the most important symbols of the club is that the colors, claret and blue, were inspired by the anchovy’s color (Altay, 2003, p. 35; Gürkan & Orhan, 1997, p. 25). Other clubs’ supporters generally use the phrase to mock and insult the club and its supporters, and this situation causes extreme anger for the community (Uzunođlu, 2013; Kozanođlu, 1990). But at the same time anchovy in relation to the community continues to circulate by this means. Moreover, the

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<sup>28</sup> Milliyet Newspaper, 29.09.1976

<sup>29</sup> One of the most popular songs about the anchovy is Hamsiye produced by Fuat Saka who is from Trabzon.

tradition about anchovy is applied by the club and the community at times.

According to the vice president's speech in 1992, when the club transfers foreign players or coaches and they come to Trabzon, the club and the community welcome them with anchovy, horon, and kemancha (Gürkan & Orhan, 1997, p. 213). One of the supporters narrated that, when the team lost a match, his grandmother asked whether these cursed players eat anchovy<sup>30</sup> (Erdoğan, 2010, p. 394). On the other hand, Uni-TS groups which are the supporter organizations composed of university students, organize feast of anchovy and horon every year in many different parts of the country.

Last but not least, I will mention the folk dances of the region that stick on the surface of the club. Folk dances play an important role in the process of nationalization or localization of football, especially for Latin America. It is mostly accepted that Brazil has an authentic style and *ecole* in football because they exert their authority in football across the world. Brazilians assert that the Brazilian style directly originated from the country's people and their folk culture. They associate their football style with their historical folk dance, capoeira (Kuper, 1994). Therefore, football gained a new style through reshaping in the Brazilian culture. Another study worked on the process of football being intertwined with the tango in the context of Argentina (Archetti, 2003). In Turkey, this kind of affinity only has been used at times for Trabzonspor. When Trabzonspor gained big successes, national press and Trabzonspor community used phrases like Trabzonspor and Trabzoners play football as horon. In these periods, Trabzoner footballers are attributed to some features such as agility and speed originated from their local dance, horon (Kulaçoğlu, 2004b, pp. 356-357). One of the Trabzonspor chants

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<sup>30</sup> "Habu anderler hamsi yemeyile mi?"

produced by Ibrahim Can and Fuat Saka in 2004 contains the line “plays football like horon, its fame spread all over.”<sup>31</sup> The club and especially some footballers also play an important role in establishing this relationship. Trabzonspor’s footballers appear in the national press slipping into local dance dress and played horon and the captain of the team played on kemancha before the match with Fenerbahçe in 1976.<sup>32</sup> Some moments on the pitch imprinted on the collective memory of the Trabzonspor community. In the legendary match with Liverpool in Avni Aker Stadium, Ali Kemal Denizci played horon during the match after he dribbled past one of the famous players of Liverpool (Denizci, 2011, p. 48; Uzunoğlu, 2013, p. 190). A similar situation also occurred in another European Cup match against Olympique Lyonnais in France on 23 October 1991. Trabzonspor beat Lyon 4-3 and Hami Mandıralı, one of the legendary players of Trabzonspor, played horon on the pitch after he scored the second and third goals.<sup>33</sup> The two footballers who played for Trabzonspor at different times are from the Faroz district in Trabzon.

On the other hand, when we look at outside of the pitch, according to my archival study and supporters’ narratives, horon has been collectively performed in big cities’ stadiums, especially in Istanbul and Ankara by Trabzoners before, during and after the club’s matches since 1970s. At this point I must mention Trabzonspor’s role in making horon and kemancha visible among the Trabzoners and also the public opinion. According to Fuat Saka, horon and kemancha had been belittled as villager culture in the Trabzon city center until 1970s, and he said “I strongly remember that kemancha and horon weren’t played in the ninety percent of the

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<sup>31</sup> “Horon gibi futbol oynar, şanı tuttu dört bir yanı”

<sup>32</sup> <http://joganita.net/index.php/efsaneler/4-1975-1976-ilk-sampiyonluk-kolay-degil-bu-ulkede-devrim-yapmak>

<sup>33</sup> <http://vliegendederlander.blogspot.com/2008/04/lyonda-horon.html>

[https://www.macanilari.com/23.Ekim.1991\\_1991-1992.Sezonu.Uefa.Kupasi.2.Tur.1.Maci.Olympique.Lyon.3-4.Trabzonspor-199119926003-217-.html](https://www.macanilari.com/23.Ekim.1991_1991-1992.Sezonu.Uefa.Kupasi.2.Tur.1.Maci.Olympique.Lyon.3-4.Trabzonspor-199119926003-217-.html)

weddings [in the city center] at that time [his childhood period]” (Saka, 2003, p. 75). Besides that, one of the masters of kemancha claimed “the fact that kemancha comes to the fore is directly proportionate to the success of Trabzonspor” (Keskin, 2006, p. 67). In this sense, the successes of the club have led to the popularization of horon and kemancha. The years when the club was on the rise intersected with both rural-urban migration wave in the city and mass migration to big cities from Trabzon. Thus, some previously underestimated cultural components of Trabzoners came to light in stadiums. Trabzonspor’s away matches have enabled Trabzoners who live outside of Trabzon to band together and have provided a place to collectively play horon accompanied by kemancha at certain intervals, besides thousands of people aspiringly coming together in the club’s stadium every other week during the seasons in the city. The stickiness between the club and the folk dance create affective value for the club. Another aspect of the folk dance is that many people have played horon in times of weddings or plateau festivals. Thus, the supporters face towards the club, at the same time they find and remember other happy objects that relate to their life stories. In the forthcoming years, to protect or provide the relation and circulation among the club, the supporters and the city, some works were consciously planned by the club and the supporters. With the 2000s, the club attempted to keep the relation alive in a planned way and so the club and the team developed an intimacy with the city and the supporters. During the presidency of Özkan Sümer, 2000-2003, both the footballers, including the foreign players, and executives in the club started to learn horon. Therefore, executives played horon in celebrations for the club and players played horon on the pitch after winning matches (Kulaçoğlu, 2004b, p. 358). On the other hand, in the mid-2000s, the other folk dance, kolbastı, became popular in the public opinion; many people played the dance and recorded and published it.

According to prevailing opinion, the dance belongs to Trabzon and the original figure of the dance is based on the figures of the fishers in the Faroz district. In the last part of the 2000s, the club decided to teach folk dances to footballers and requested them to play the folk dance after winning games. Although this practice was not maintained with the same stability in each period, the players still play the Kolbastı on the pitch after the wins.

#### 2.4 Promise of happiness between history and future

Finally in this chapter, I mention how Trabzonspor continued to be a happy object even though the club could not become champion; in other words, did not bring awaited success and completely fill their supporters with pride since the last championship in 1984. After that year, the club achieved the league championship only one time in the 2010-2011 season, however this championship have been understood with emergence of match-fixing events in 3 July 2011 which were led by the ostensible champion, Fenerbahçe, after declaration of its championship. Although international football organizations which are binding on Turkish football federation confirmed match-fixing events, Turkish football federation did not register Trabzonspor's league championship. Although the championship is Trabzonspor's due, this situation causes bad feelings stemming from entrenching upon the right or stealing the championship instead of the joy and passion of championship for the Trabzonspor community. I will research how this process has affected the community in the next chapter. Now, back to the question of, taking into account the claim that happiness has a promising nature, the club continuing its promise as a happy object although it has not gained championship for many years. Ahmed asks, "how do happy objects sustain their promise in the absence of happiness being

given?" (2010, p. 38). Although this promising nature of happiness cannot cover the expectations in some periods, it preserves the faith that if the correct paths are followed and whatever's necessary is done in this way, happiness will come at some point (Ahmed, 2010, p. 29). Although hope for happiness ends up with disappointment sometimes, happiness can include a "gesture of deferral" that may be perceived as both gift and sacrifice (Ahmed, 2010, p. 33). Therefore, happy objects, even in their unhappiness periods, can create expectations to reach the times when the expectations will be fulfilled. Ahmed also claims that, when unhappily waiting in pursuit of happiness for a long time or continuously investing to happy object although it have not brought happiness, giving up on it may become increasingly difficult because more time and labour were spent for the sake of the promise of the object and so the promise of happiness continues through its postponing to the future (Ahmed, 2004, p. 131). Thought its long unhappiness times, one day the happy object will satisfy the expectations and its promise in any case, and these days may be actualized in an unpredictable future, so waiting and hope sometimes may be transferred to happiness of next generations.

However, if happy objects continue their promises in default of happiness over a long time, it must have had glorious days that satisfy its promise and fulfill people who approach it with pride and happiness. Ahmed also emphasizes palmy days of happy objects as a cause of the happiness; she (2010, p. 241) suggests that "things can be happy not only as projections of the future but also as imaginings of what has been lost (if only things are as they were, we would be happy)." So valuable and distinguishing past narrative is an important component to sustain happy objects' promise. At this point, it must be mentioned that many nations and different communities have specific memories of a golden age that has many

important functions for the communities. Existence of the golden age keeps the possibility of success or new triumphs alive for the communities (Smith, 1997, p. 41). Memory of the golden age sustains communities' hopes and expectations for the future by reflecting a shiny destiny arising from "true self" created by a golden age for the communities (Smith, 1997, p. 49). Other important functions of memories of golden age generate the authentic being, rootedness, continuity between generations, and dignity for communities (Smith, 1997, p. 58). I think that issue of glorious destiny is especially important in the context of sustaining the promise of happy objects in the absence of happiness for a long time. Smith claims that "the memories of golden age mirror and point towards a glorious destiny, stemming from the true nature revealed in and by that golden age" (Smith, 1997, p. 51). Another important point for the golden ages is that memories of golden age in circulation must be based on historical facts to have these effects on communities and gain ground in communities for long durations. "To inspire wonder and emulation, the golden age must be well attested and historically verifiable. Pure 'invention of tradition' is ineffective" (Smith, 1997, p. 59). If communities embrace and keep some historical narratives on the agenda, these narratives have fact-based roots and affect the community.

Back to the question of how the club still sustains its promise and keep its community's expectations alive even though it has not become champion in the league for a long time. At this point, I refer to some supporters' narratives with regard to this question.

It is not able to understand how the faith of a generation that has not experienced the slackness of living championships with you is very powerful for you. I think that this faith is due to the fact that the power from legends is united with the power in the blue blood. (Sancak, 2011, pp. 68-69)

We believe that to become champions is in our nature. (Karcı, 2013, p. 68)

And in spite of everything, to start every new year by saying ‘we will be champions this year’, to believe in ourselves such like is what makes Trabzonspor Trabzonspor. (Özlü, 2013, p. 90)

These narratives indicate that the club’s history provides self-confidence for members of the community for future. As I mentioned before, the club had gained never-before-seen successes in the country between the years of 1975-1984, and after these years such a big success could not be gained for many years, therefore the period which was filled with great successes has become a golden age for the club. Naming of the golden age and similar phrases in this sense for the period of the club is also used by researchers who wrote on history of the club (Yamak, 2003, p. 24; Bademli, 2008, p. 11). Above narratives show that the golden age turned into glorious destiny for the club and its community. The supporters unfurled a banner that read “we had demolished Istanbul cartel six times, we will demolish again” in the match between Trabzonspor and Galatasaray as early as 1990.<sup>34</sup> After that, suchlike the banner that “We had toppled sultanate of Istanbul six times, we will topple it again” which is one of the popular banners for Trabzonspor terraces had used many times till the end of the 2010-2011 seasons. After this season, the banner was changed as “We had toppled sultanate of Istanbul seven times, we will topple it again.” The golden age enables supporters to be assertive and hopeful for the championship again in the future. With the application launched by the Turkish Football Federation in 2000-2001 season that football clubs acquire one star for every five championships from foundation of first football league in 1959,<sup>35</sup> four clubs, the Big Three of Istanbul and Trabzonspor, started to put star(s) on their crests. Therefore, Trabzonspor has the sign which always makes the presence of the club’s

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<sup>34</sup> Milliyet Newspaper, 08.01.1990

<sup>35</sup> Turkish Football Federation made an exception for one of the Big Three, Beşiktaş, in this application. The club’s two championships acquired before this date were also registered by the federation.

golden age felt not only for its community, but also for the Turkish football society. I claim that discourse of golden age requires some components to cling to the community. As stated previously, one of them is that golden age must be based on strong historicity; otherwise it has difficulty in maintaining its continuity and popularity. These historical narratives become remarkable not only for the community, but also for people outside of the community. Secondly, the club must show success which evokes the golden age from time to time after these years to survive among its community and public opinion. Third, the community must make an effort to keep the legend alive especially in the period of stagnation and regression of the club. I will return to the third part of the issue in third chapter. At this point, I mention second component that the club had showed an increase and reached important achievements which evoke the golden age at different times after the golden age. Every generation of supporters not only has memory of the golden age, but also witnessed one of the shining eras of the club. This situation keeps the club's promise alive and the community's hope remains fresh by repeating uprisings at different intervals. One of the supporters narrated the process as follows:

For the last 20 years, we have not been able to rain, but we always roared. We are like a smoking volcano, we will never become extinct, and our eruption is close if god permits. (Eroğlu, 2013, p. 154)

I briefly expound the supporter's narrative by showing important rising periods after the golden age by taking into consideration the entire history of the club. The club lived a second successful period between the years of 1992-1996. The club won the Turkish Cup in 1992, which was the first important cup win after 1984, and it again won the cup in the 1994-1995 season; it finished off second best in two successive seasons, 1994-1995 and 1995-1996, and the club showed important success in UEFA Europe League in 1994 by eliminating Aston Villa from the cup. As I stated

previously, triumphs against important clubs in European cups always made an important impression not only on the collective memory of the community, but also on the public opinion in Turkey.<sup>36</sup> The club again showed a hopeful increase between the years of 2003-2005; the club won two Turkish Cups and came off second best in two successive seasons in these years, but the league championship did not come to Trabzon. Lastly, the club performed another shiny period in between the years of 2009 and 2011. It won the Turkish Cup in the 2009-2010 season, and it experienced the 2010-2011 season as mentioned above. In other words, the club has continued to promise hope for the community by performing important uptrends at different periods. However, all these three brilliant periods of the club after the golden age also cause to arouse bad feelings of the community in different ways. I will mention in the next chapter that which events affected the community in the bad way at these periods and how these processes affected the community. These prospering periods prevent the golden age becoming an old story about an extinct volcano that cannot be reactivated again. Therefore, the supporters who have never witnessed the championship can believe their glorious destiny and assume that their happy object has a nature that can continue its promise. Supporters' narratives referred above also show that hopes for championship refresh with every new season. Such as this season, the supporters produced the hashtag #OSene8uSene<sup>37</sup> and widely circulated it among the community on social media. The hashtag implied that the club will gain championship for the eighth time in the league. But the campaign had to finish because of the team's position in the league. If the possibility to rise to the peak

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<sup>36</sup> Nine days after Trabzonspor eliminated Aston Villa from the cup on on 1 December 1994, the popular television program "Olacak O Kadar", which produced critical sketches, broadcasted one sketch about Trabzonspor on 10 December 1994 that, according to the fiction, thieves think to abduct some people to demand a ransom from executives of the country and at last they decided to abduct footballers of Trabzonspor, because government had no other choice than the team to attract public's attention different from the crisis. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QUPeLWOKyCE>

<sup>37</sup> <https://twitter.com/hashtag/OSene8uSene?src=hash>

exists for the team, this situation will lead to high expectations among the supporters. In consequence of the expectations, although disappointments have occurred on several occasions, many of the supporters hope again success of their club at every turn.

## CHAPTER 3

### YOU ARE MY FIGHT IN THIS LIFE<sup>38</sup>

In the previous chapter, I researched how Trabzonspor became a happy object and what kind of affective value the object had. Circulation of the object as a cause of good emotions turns it into sticky surface. Different objects and images stick to its surface, so the object increases its affective value in time. Affective value of the object aligns subjects that turned toward it with each other and so the subjects become affective community around the object. Heading toward the object as a cause of good feeling is the good way to belong to the affective community. I indicate that the object's impression on the subjects increases when the object continues to circulate as social good and accumulate positive affective value. In this chapter, I investigate the bad emotions in this affective community that align subjects with each other. I claim that bad emotions which stem from the love of the object produce “the effect of boundary, surface and fixity” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 24) for the affective community. Threats and dangers toward the happy object from the inside or the outside mobilize and intensify the affective community. Injuries to the happy object cause sadness and pain for the community and it is “through the intensification of pain sensations that bodies and worlds materialize and take shape...” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 24). I research the intensification process of the affective community of Trabzonspor in the context of bad feelings such as shame, sorrow, pain and hate. I observe the conditions under which the emotions emerge and circulate among the affective community and what their effects on the community are. I claim that in some cases, both cause alienation in the community, and materialize the community

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<sup>38</sup> This expression is a line of the anthem created for Trabzonspor by Vira, one of the important supporters' groups. <http://trabzonspormarslari.blogspot.com/2014/08/vira-sen-hayatmda-anlam.html>

and enhance attachment to the object through circulation of bad emotions. These emotions usually do not circulate apart from each other; the slide between negative feeling states can exist.

Sara Ahmed asks “how declarations of shame can bring ‘the nation’ into existence as a felt community” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 101). She describes ‘the nation’ as a felt community in this context. Thus, I enlarge the scope of the claim that can be valid not only for nations, but also for different types of felt communities or affective communities. Pain of shame affects the skin of bodies, and produces an effect of surface for affective communities. Shame generates intensification of bodily surface and so causes intensification of “lived experience of being itself” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 104). In this way, affective communities materialize and gain effects of surface and boundary. In other words, shame is connected with self-recognition. Shame evokes and shapes boundaries and materiality of the bodies and intensifies collective bodies, so it materializes boundaries and surfaces of affective communities. She claims that the nation can be reproduced in at least two different ways through the expression of shame (Ahmed, 2004, p. 108). One way is that people feel ashamed of themselves in some situations. Shame causes disturbance and pain on bodies, but this badness is not simply attributed to others. Shame stems from subjects’ own failure to reach their ideals. On the other hand, shame shows attachment to ideals; if people feel ashamed as a result of failure, they will confirm and consolidate their love toward their ideals and objects. The rise of the degree of shame strengthens belonging to ideals or objects. Below, I mention how this happens among Trabzonspor supporters. Another expression of shame is that shame is turned toward affective communities through “illegitimate others” who are located in a community, but are shaming because they do not belong to the community’s ideal. To explain the role of unwanted presences in

affective communities, I benefit from Sara Ahmed's concept of "affect aliens". She described the concept as: "those who do not desire in the right way" (2010, p. 240)... "We become alienated -out of line with an affective community- when we do not experience pleasure from proximity to objects that are attributed as being good" (2010, p. 41). According to this frame, people who are not affected in a good way by a happy object are affect aliens for the community which is affected in a good way by the object. According to this, the concept has a broad meaning, but I use the concept by reducing its scope.

Affective communities expect that some people who are not affected by their happy objects in the right way must nevertheless align with them. The people's emotions must be deposited in the happy object in a good way to become happy and good ones. (Ahmed, 2010, p. 38). When these people, who are viewed as a requisite, natural part of an affective community do not feel right emotions for a happy object, the affective community is troubled with this situation. I observe who becomes affect aliens for Trabzonspor community in this framework and how emotions toward the affect aliens materialize and intensify the affective community of Trabzonspor. In this sense, citizens who cannot be happy with national ideals cause shame and disturbance for the nation. "They do not approximate the form of the good citizen. As citizens, they are shaming and unproductive: they cannot reproduce the national ideal" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 108). Although these affect aliens are implicit in "natural" borders of an affective community, they do not feel pride or happiness toward the community's objects of love and its ideals. Therefore, they become internally shameful and unsettling subjects for the community.

It is this perceived intrusion of something other within the body that creates the desire to re-establish the border, to push out the pain, or the (imagined, material) object we feel is the cause of pain. Pain involves the violation or transgression that I feel the border in the first place (Ahmed, 2004, p. 27).

The existence of affect aliens which cause pain and shame enables affective community to be aware of their surfaces and borders. And affect aliens put members of an affective community on their guard, so their presence causes reorganization and intensity of the community. In this framework, I research who the affect aliens for the Trabzonspor community are and what the effects of these affect aliens for the community are.

### 3.1 Affect aliens as a source of shame and pain

Two different types of affect aliens become prominent in the Trabzonspor community. One of them is the people who do not support the club, although their families or fathers are attached to it. As I mentioned before, many people continue their fathers' football club preference, many children start to support or attach themselves to one club or another according to their family elders' guidance. Some family members bring their next generations in to one football club. Kuper and Szymanski describe this kind of transmission as "a century-old model of fandom", and although they claim that this model is declining globally (2009, p. 177), the model is still dominant in my research field. In my interviews, when I ask people who are born after foundation of Trabzonspor about how they started supporting the club to, most of them gave similar answers that their attachment to the club initially came from their family. Many people who support Trabzonspor give a lot of importance to turn their children into supporters of the club. On the other hand, the young generation who are integrated into the Trabzonspor community by their fathers set a high value on this transmission from generation to generation. At this point, I refer to some supporters' narratives relevant to this issue:

Falling in love with the same colors as my dear father is another beautiful thing. The love of Trabzonspor is an inheritance from father to son. (Gürsoy, 2013, p. 103)

As every Trabzoners who is born outside of Trabzon, the love of Trabzonspor was instigated to me by my fanatic father. (Gürücü, 2010, p. 261)

[Trabzonspor supporter] feels obliged to tell the legend to his children and grandchildren. This is a ritual that is transmitted from father to son (Uzun, 2013, p. 72).

The only thing that offends the feelings of a generation like mine that has never witnessed a championship is the sorrow of so many lovers. We continue to believe that we will be champions when we deserve the championship. We didn't grow up with fairy tales, we weren't deceived by stories. We grew up listening to the facts of Ali Kemal and Dozer Cemil from our fathers before we slept. We live as long as our fathers narrated. They had narrated with more great eagerness as long as we lived. We will also give our children the same thing. WE BELIEVE... Trabzonspor will continue to take its place in our lives as a lifestyle from generation to generation (Cömert, 2010, p. 426).

This transmission is not unique to the families from Trabzon; many other supporters who are not from Trabzon also attach importance to turning their children into Trabzonspor supporters. One supporter from Kayseri who lives in the city narrated that

Is not the spirit of belonging to Trabzonspor inherited from father to son, is not the spirit to tell that the championship is not everything and to tell that the struggle with honor, determination and ambition to their children (Soykan, 2010, p. 378).

In these narratives, the love of Trabzonspor is perceived as a precious family inheritance. Transferring this attachment within families and continuing the love between generations are performed not only as a source of pride and happiness, but also as a duty. At this point, transforming children into supporter of the club becomes part of what it is to be a happy family. Maintaining the belonging to Trabzonspor within a family becomes important work to both preserve the happy object and keep the family together. As supporters' narratives above, Ahmed also mentions the relation between a family and inheritance. "The family is also an inheritance. To

inherit the family can be to acquire an orientation toward some things and not others as the cause of happiness... we are asked to reproduce what we inherit by being affected in the right way by the right things” (Ahmed, 2010, p. 45). In this framework, orientation toward Trabzonspor in the right way in a family enables the family to continue and reproduce as a happy object. “The happy family is both an object (something that affects us, something we are directed toward) and circulates through objects” (Ahmed, 2010, p. 45). Inheritance of Trabzonspor that fills their supporters with pride by virtue of its history and promises happiness for the future produces and preserves family ties. One of the popular chants in the stands of the Trabzonspor community in recent years is “Everything is a lie in this world, Your love is truth! This will last forever, My son will love you too.” This chant is a performative utterance, performing the chant involves a promise and an action for the future. Sustaining the happy object as the real object of love becomes a mission for the affected people and the promise and its requirements produce and intensify the affective community of the club. This ideal can be realized through the way that the love must be inherited in the family as another happy object. This process requires efforts in different degrees. For example, it is generally more difficult for the supporters who do not live in Trabzon. They may have to perform a more specific awareness and effort in order to maintain this bond. The following narratives emphasize some of the difficulties of this process. The first narrative belongs to one supporter who is from Ordu.

It was not difficult for us to be Trabzoner. Because there was a Black Sea storm that won championships over and over. But today there is a supporter who longs for the championship for years and is disappointed. And in this environment, it is not easy for the future supporters of Trabzonspor like my daughter and son are convinced to support Trabzonspor. Especially when an uncle or aunt who supports Fenerbahçe, Galatasaray or Beşiktaş exists in a family... But we honorably came out victorious from war of gaining supporter... First cheers of my boy, shouting ‘Tiyabzon, Tiyabzon’ are still

on my mind. I even told him so much about Trabzonspor that he frequently asks me “dad, when will we go to Trabzon? (Gündüz, 2011, p. 257)

Hüseyin Zabunoğlu, the leader of one of the supporter organizations of the club who lives in Istanbul, mentioned difficulties in continuing to be a Trabzonspor supporter in the new generations in my interview:

Everyone in my family supports Trabzonspor. My brother once wore a product of Fenerbahçe, I took the clothes off him. Trabzonspor is lived differently outside of Trabzon. There is no need for some things in Trabzon because everybody supports Trabzonspor in Trabzon, but it's not like that in Istanbul. Here we are waging a war of existence because the team hasn't been able to achieve success for years now.

As it is seen that continuing to be Trabzonspor supporters within families who are outside of Trabzon in difficult times of the club has some difficulties, but if it is achieved, this situation will fill the people with pride and happiness. However, if the children of Trabzonspor supporters, and especially those from Trabzon, support other clubs, they can become source of shame and pain for their family. They are not affected in the same way by their family's object of love and they turn into affect aliens. Therefore, they betray their families' ideals and injure both the happy object and their family by giving up the promise of the community and of the family that the love for the happy object will continue from generation to generation. At this point, alienation from the club can also mean to turn away from family ties. These affect aliens affect their families at different levels and forms from sadness to anger. “It [Trabzonspor] is a team, it sometimes wins, sometimes loses, this situation is not important, but do you know what our greatest fear is? What if our children support another team...” (Kaya, 2011, p. 301). I can say that especially Trabzoner families who live outside the city give special importance that their families must support the club. Otherwise, based on my observations in this research, family members may overreact against these affect aliens in some of the families. When I waited in line to

obtain a Passolig card at the club's shop in Trabzon, I talked with a person in his fifties who was also waiting in line for the same purpose. According to his narrative, he witnessed the championships of the club when he was child in the city and later he and his family migrated to Sakarya. His children grew up there, but he and his children have always been strict supporters of the club. And he seriously said that "If my children did not support Trabzonspor, they would die." At that moment my wife was with me, and she was shocked to hear this sentence, but other people around us in the line did not bat an eyelid. According to him, it is better for his children to die than to support other clubs. This statement shows his presumptive pain and shame in the event that his children turn their back on the club. A narrative that belongs to Engin Baytar, a former professional footballer, also shows one of the examples of anger toward affect aliens who do not support Trabzonspor in a family. He and his family are Trabzoners, but they live outside the city. He narrated that

We as a family were watching the match between Trabzonspor and Galatasaray [on 20 March 1994]. There I said that I supported Galatasaray. My grandfather threw me out of the house that day... My grandfather says he wants to see me in Trabzonspor. I asked him what if I go to one of the Istanbul teams, he said that in that case he would not get close to me.<sup>39</sup>

Another supporter who lives in Istanbul narrated his father's suggestions and warnings to him to support the club.

My son, Trabzonspor is the atmosphere of the hometown [Trabzon]. It is our life force that does not leave us alone away from home. It's the sea you love so much but rough sea... My son, power is in the hands of Istanbul. Every day those three losers [Big Three Clubs of Istanbul] are advertised in the newspapers and on television. We are the only team that can slap these losers. So they try everything to intimidate this team and its supporters. If you leave this team one day and you keep another team, you will be defeated and duped, and I can't look at anyone's face. I already will break your head. (Bozkurt, 2010, pp. 317-318)

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<sup>39</sup> <https://www.haberler.com/engin-milli-forma-duskunlugum-yok-haberi/>

These narratives show that to continue to be Trabzonspor supporter in families outside of Trabzon becomes a struggle for existence as a Trabzoner family. Above narrative also shows the affective value of the club for the supporters. His hometown with its geography and culture sticks on the surface of the club. Therefore, his child's withdrawal from the club means turning his back on his hometown and family roots. If a person does not feel sorrow or shame at the situation of his children not supporting the club, that person may be blamed by other members of the community, or he may not be considered to be a respected supporter. At the end of last year, I observed an interesting case on Twitter relevant to this issue. The daughter of one of the legendary footballers<sup>40</sup> of the club's history shared something to the detriment of Trabzonspor and Trabzon, and for the benefit of Beşiktaş during and after the match between Beşiktaş and Trabzonspor on 16 December 2018. What she shared caused a crisis among the Trabzonspor supporters who use social media accounts. Many supporters had great reactions toward not only her, but also the former footballer. He was active in both social media and Trabzonspor community, but he had to withdraw from these fields after the event. Although he didn't agree with his daughter, he declared his sadness and made amends to Trabzonspor community because of his daughter's sharings against Trabzonspor and Trabzon, many people still accused or condemned him because, in the eye of these people, real supporters of the club are responsible for turning their children into Trabzonspor supporters. The people who are really attached to the club must labour to bring up their children as supporter of the club, disallow affect aliens from emerging in their family. This situation causes damage to the legendary image of the footballer. The person who did not prevent to

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<sup>40</sup> I will explain and discuss the issue of legends in the context of affective labour in the next chapter, but in short, I use the word for the people who make an impression on the collective memory of the community in a good way. However, the position of the people who gain this title can be damaged in some different situations.

raise affect aliens in his family cannot have a pioneering role in the community. I show some supporters' reactions and comments in response to the footballer:

Back off brother, no trouble. I have a 5-year-old son; I registered him for Trabzonspor Football School in Istanbul to internalize Trabzonspor to commit claret and blue to his memory. The elders must raise their children. I think that it is understood.<sup>41</sup>

Most of the blame falls to you, brother. As a legend of Trabzonspor and supporter of Trabzonspor, if you cannot engrain love of Trabzonspor in your son or daughter, you are responsible for this situation. I have two sons and one daughter. They are born in Istanbul, but they are growing as lovers of Trabzonspor.<sup>42</sup>

I am from Bayburt. We as a family are fanatic supporters of Trabzonspor. We are starting to instill the love of Trabzonspor as soon as our children are born so that they do not support the Istanbul teams. We don't know what will happen in the future; already no one can guarantee it anyway. At least they can't swear at the team and its supporters.<sup>43</sup>

Many members of the community regard the existence of affect aliens in a family as inadequacy. As seen in this case, if a Trabzonspor supporter's children do not support the club, the supporter must be grieved or will be blamed, or the person is not perceived as real supporter of the club. Another aspect of reactions among the supporters toward her social media posts discusses the issue from a different dimension. I refer to one example of these reactions. In reply to harsh reactions, she wrote some explanations to defend herself and her father. She wrote on her social media account, "I do not have to support Trabzonspor because my father supports Trabzonspor..." Another supporter answered this post as follows;

I don't care about your father or you. I care that you tweet 'koyduk mu' after you wrote Trabzon on your profile! Whereas you wrote 'koyduk mu', don't write Trabzon in your state register.<sup>44</sup>

This reaction implies one of the common opinions within Trabzonspor community. The people who do not support Trabzonspor although they are from Trabzon cause

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<sup>41</sup> <https://twitter.com/Bulentaydincrn/status/1074568405561303046>

<sup>42</sup> <https://twitter.com/Kanunsuzts/status/1074591562368212992>

<sup>43</sup> <https://twitter.com/trgykbs/status/1074599385336610816>

<sup>44</sup> <https://twitter.com/OzzgurKara/status/1074393836833652736>

dissatisfaction for many supporters of the club. These people also become other important affect aliens in the community. They are perceived as a source of shame for the community because they cannot reproduce the community's ideal, although they are located within the natural boundaries of the community. Therefore, they contaminate the purity of the collective body of the community. They with their existence disturb and afflict the collective body from the inside. These people must be thrown out of the body or they must be ameliorated. This process causes the community to intensify and its boundaries to emerge. These affect aliens serve to keep the identification between the club and the city alive. The people who are from Trabzon must be a natural part of the Trabzonspor community. If not, the affect aliens betray both their city and their club. These affect aliens also affect the supporters who are not from Trabzon in a bad way and they are accused of shameful acts by the supporters. In two different narratives of supporters who are not from Trabzon, they are troubled with the people who are from Trabzon, but do not support the club.

See what you learned from you. First, someone who does not take great care when s/he says Trabzonspor... Although s/he says 'I am Trabzoner', it must be doubted. (Tokay, 2013, p. 141)

We got a beef with people who do not support the team of the city within the borders of our city [Gümüşhane], instead become supporters of Istanbul's teams. We could not think of something like this. Though it still doesn't come into our heads, but 'blood drips into my heart' when I witness supporters who are born in Trabzon support other teams. (Keleş, 2010, p. 54)

According to the second narrative, the existence of people who "are born in Trabzon but support other teams" causes grief in his body. In other words, these people wound the community and the city. The first narrative also supports this perception. If people are not affected in a good way when they hear or say the word of Trabzonspor, they will not be ideal members of the city. To be from a city depends

only on one condition, that the person or his/her father or mother is born in the city is associated with another necessity. Therefore, being Trabzoner and supporting Trabzonspor intertwine with each other. I tried to show in the first chapter that the city's different peculiarities stick on surface of the club. Geographic and cultural features of the city move into the club by virtue of circulation of the happy object. This identification continues through alignment with each other against affect aliens. The affect aliens must be expelled from being Trabzoners to prevent injuries to the community by them. In fact, they also perceived as deviants which not only disturb Trabzonspor community, but also burn themselves out. Therefore these people should be rehabilitated for the both peace of the community and their own health. Or they might be excommunicated from being Trabzoners.

I was deep in intimate conversation with an uncle from Trabzon. Of course, while the conversation continued back and forth, Trabzonspor came up. The uncle said that "anyone who supports another team, although s/he says 'I am from Trabzon' is not one of us" and he dropped the subject by not leaving the door open. I first heard from my brother Harun a similar sentence: "people who do not support Trabzonspor cannot be Trabzoner. We do not say call the likes of them our fellow townsman." I was at a loss, because the uncle angrily said the sentence... I looked at the wristwatch which contained the emblem of Galatasaray on my wrist. I immediately turned back, I put my watch in my pocket on the sly. He turned toward me, "you have just joined us, tell me, which team do you support?" Is such a question asked! Of course I belong to Trabzonspor... I feel more belonging to my culture, my identity and geography when I travel around with my claret and blue jersey. (Akdoğan, 2011, pp. 96-97)

I feel offended that Hüseyin supported Galatasaray, although he is Trabzoner... My brother Harun didn't know that Hüseyin supported Galatasaray, because he does not deem it likely that a Trabzoner can support Galatasaray or Fenerbahçe... We told him the truth, and he understood it. In fact, he also knew what's what, but someone had poisoned my friend. Effects of the poison dissolved the longer we spoke, and he became attached to Trabzonspor by swearing he belonged to Trabzonspor until death. After that, his first sentence was "Now, I feel like a real Trabzoner" (Tosun, 2011, pp. 305-306).

These narratives show that these affect aliens defame being Trabzoner and injure the community and they are alienated not only from their city and the affective

community, but also themselves. When they face toward Trabzonspor as a happy object, they are involved in the affective community and become real natives of the city and so they find the true path. If they turn away from the club and head towards another club, at the same time they will move away from their city, culture and family because different objects and images relevant to the city and their families move into the club, so these different happy objects substitute each other. Affect aliens have low morality because they defeated demonic seductions. Members of the affective community are responsible for protecting themselves from injurious seductions. One supporter narrated his self-assessment about this issue as follows:

I was away from my hero; rich Istanbulites had fancy jewelries that could steal my heart in their glittering but so fake world. But I am never fooled by them, I didn't fool myself. I didn't let them pull the wool over my eyes with their fake stars. I mostly deplore the Trabzoners among those who fooled themselves with fake happiness. We are saying something now, 'let people support other teams, although they are Trabzoner restore their factory settings' (Erdoğan, 2010, p. 395).

Some previous narratives and the above narrative show that some members of the community try to convince or convert affect aliens to the right way. I will mention these efforts as an affective labour again in the next chapter. Affect aliens cause bad feelings for many members of the community. Supporters may feel anger or sadness for the people, or anxiety for the future of the community. The badness which cover the community is attributed to these affect aliens. Therefore, some people are negatively affected by them. If they don't change their ways and head toward the happy object, they will cause pain and anger for the people. Therefore, some supporters don't want to see these affect aliens, or they want to make them imperceptible because they set a bad example for the community. And they get angry with them.

As far my fanatic side goes, I can go too far in this issue, but I can never tolerate that situation where someone whose register in Trabzon, no matter

where s/he lives in the world, does not support Trabzonspor (Mustaoğlu, 2010, p. 116).

A large part of the Anatolian people supports these teams [Big Three of Istanbul], even when playing against their city's team. For a moment I would dream of such a situation for Trabzon, I want to say "May Allah take my life so I will not see those days." ... I have not yet seen one who is from Trabzon and lives in the city support other teams in my personal observation. Moreover, I didn't see any Trabzoners within my social circle who live outside of the city support other teams by being exposed to genetic mutation (Ulusoy, 2013, p. 22).

In the second narrative, people who are from Trabzon but do not support Trabzonspor are perceived as exposing genetic mutation. Therefore, regular Trabzoners must be supporters of the club. If many affect aliens exist among Trabzoners, this situation shows moral corruption and weakness of the community. In previous year, before the match between Trabzonspor and Fenerbahçe in Trabzon, many Trabzonspor supporters gathered in the city center to be motivated for the match. A reporter of one local news portal interviewed the supporters. The reporter wanted to interview Şota Kemal, who is from Erzurum. He has come to almost all matches of Trabzonspor in the city from Erzurum for years. When he said that there are some people who support the Big Three of Istanbul in the city during the interview, other supporters next to him interrupted the interview and one of them told Şota Kemal that he was misspeaking and he nearly said to him that he demoralized them and he created misperception, because there is no one in Trabzon other than the Trabzonspor supporters. Heretofore, I demonstrate two different types of affect aliens that can also intersect with each other in the community. Their existence embarrasses and troubles members of the community. This embarrassment enables the community to feel their boundaries and intensifies surfaces of the community. Members of the community mobilize in two different ways against the affect aliens. One of them is that the people labour to put the affect aliens right and so they find

the true path. Second way is that the affect aliens are excluded or marginalized with different types of violence by the community. Contrary to these, an out of favor way is being indifferent to the affect aliens while the two types of people are perceived as affect aliens. This manner is disapproved by the community. The two ways can provide to enhance attachment of the supporters to the community and the club through their labour. I also show two other different types of affect aliens that especially emerge in tougher times of the club within the community later in the chapter.

### 3.2 Shame as a way of belonging to an affective community's ideal

Now, I mention the second way of expressing shame to bring affective communities into existence. In this way, the community brings shame “on itself” by itself. Why are people ashamed collectively of themselves before the same events? When people are ashamed of the same situations, they attach the same ideals and objects, so they align with each other through shame and love. “If we feel shame, we feel shame because we have failed to approximate ‘an ideal’ that has been given to us through the practices of love. What is exposed in shame is the failure of love, as a failure that in turn exposes or shows our love” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 106). Therefore, feeling shame collectively reproduces an ideal self which is created through love, and people align with each other by the ideal whose content is not necessarily important. Shame primarily affirms love and attachment of subjects for such ideals. “... the fear of shame prevents the subject from betraying ‘ideals’, while the lived experience of shame reminds the subject of the reason for those ideals in the first place” (Ahmet, 2004, p. 106). Love that sticks people together is closely interrelated with shame. “In showing my shame in my failure to live up to a social ideal, I come closer to that

which I have been exposed as failing” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 107). Shame also evokes desire for concealment, but wanting to not appear from the outside has to fail. Therefore, shame is also related to wounding and vulnerability. “Shame consumes the subject and burns on the surface of bodies that are presented to others, a burning that exposes and exposure...” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 104). Others have a part as witnesses to failures or aberrations, rather than the cause of bad feelings. Shame becomes more affective through witnessing of others, others’ glances to our shame can also injure us. Shame and pride are closely associated with sighting by others. Blushing subject is seen by imagined or real ones and the sighting can be hurtful for the subject in his/her failure, so the subject wants to conceal from others’ eyes.

Shame only can be refreshing for the subjects when they have expectations and promise of happiness to reach the ideals and recover shameful situations, otherwise shame might devastate the subjects. Shame may consume subjects such that experiences of shame can prompt subjects to suicide. Pain of shame sometimes causes collective trauma that harms the bonds that stick people together (Erikson, 1995, p. 187). So the affective community gets harmed and some people lose their faith for the ideal. “Shame may be restorative only when the shamed other can ‘show’ that its failure to measure up to a social ideal is temporary” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 107). Failure that causes shame must be witnessed and perceived as temporary to enable subjects to rejoin an affective community. “In other words, the transference of bad feeling to the subject in shame is only temporary, as the ‘transference’ can become evidence of the restoration of an identity of which we can be proud” (Ahmet, 2004, pp. 109-110). The person feels shame when a community fails to reach its ideal, so this situation creates his/her belongingness and love for the community. At this point, “shame can become a form of identification in the very failure of an

identity to embody an ideal” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 108). According to this framework, I trace experiences of shame of affective community of Trabzonspor.

Trabzonspor’s defeats to other teams easily become cause of shame for many supporters. In these situations, the supporters can turn in upon themselves and try to conceal themselves from others. One supporter from Balıkesir claims that Trabzonspor has the highest number of supporters compared to other teams in his village. He narrated the supporters’ attachment to the club as follows;

I was born a village that contains such people who love Trabzon to such a degree to say that if Hami Mandıralı became injured, my leg would be broken and who were proud of the degree to which they cannot leave their houses for three or five days after the club’s defeats so as not to become an object of derision by supporters of other teams (Gündoğan, 2011, p. 251).

Similar to this narrative, many supporters are embarrassed of the club’s worst defeats in different forms and degrees. The national and local press makes the embarrassment of the community apparent. Yamak, who wrote on the history of the club, narrated the match between Beşiktaş and Trabzonspor on 20 November 1993 that “In İnönü, Beşiktaş inflicted the heaviest defeat on Trabzonspor in its history: 7-1. Such a heavy defeat was not written in Trabzonspor's history... Trabzonspor had not only been defeated, its honor was incurably wounded” (Yamak, 2003, p. 80). The writer attributed an emotion, honor, to the club, and he evaluated the defeat as an incurable wound, so this defeat also becomes source of shame and pain for Trabzonspor community. On the other hand, local newspapers frequently use similar words such as shame, embarrassment, and vileness to define situations after the club’s “shocking” defeats. Over the last year, Trabzonspor lost 5-0 to Malatyaspor. After the match day, a local newspaper used the phrase “A HISTORIC SHAME” as the title of its first page, the title of its sport page was “History will write you as

soulless... Shame on you!”<sup>45</sup> Another local newspaper wrote “NIGHT of SHAME: whoever is responsible must be brought to book” as title in first page, its sports page’s headline was “BEYOND SHAME: You have consumed the legacy of the legend...”<sup>46</sup> These newspapers implied that the club, the community and the city were tragically ashamed and disgraced because of the defeat. The other newspaper’s sports page headline is “the COLLAPSE” and in the sports pages of the newspaper, another title was “Trabzonspor players apologized to the supporters after the Malatya disaster: WE ARE ASHAMED, FORGIVE US!”<sup>47</sup> At this point, footballers express their shame over the defeat and so they identify themselves with the community and perform their attachment to the community’s ideal through shame. Another phrase above, “shame on you”, already appeals to the footballers, it implies that if they are not embarrassed before the defeat, they will not attach to community’s ideal and betray the community. In this defeat, the bad feelings around the community and the object do not result from unfair actions of the rival or the referees, so this badness emerges from the community’s own fault and inadequacy. Therefore the community may spend or harm themselves in this process. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, the club has gained many important successes in its history and the supporters have high expectations for the club most of the time. Although the club cannot keep its promise in some periods or has not brought happiness and pride for the community in a long time, the community still continues to head toward the club as a happy object in the virtue of its glorious past and their faith for its future. However, it must not mean that the members of the community maintain their composure against all situations or the club’s all defeats.

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<sup>45</sup> Karadeniz Newspaper, 10.11.2018

<sup>46</sup> Taka Newspaper, 10.11.2018

<sup>47</sup> Günebakış Newspaper, 11.11.2018

One of the interesting cases was experienced in the 2001-2002 season, which was one of the worst seasons of the club. Trabzonspor lost 5-0 to Beşiktaş in Trabzon on 20 January 2002. According to some narratives about the match, Trabzonspor supporters tried to cheer the team up, they chanted “if you lose or win, your supporters stand by you” until Beşiktaş scored a fifth goal. After the goal, many supporters suddenly changed attitudes toward their own team, they started to break the seats and throw them into the field and set the stands on fire and shouted “the executive must resign.” The referee put off the match for five minutes before the end of the match due to the events.<sup>48</sup> The supporters’ reactions were not for the rival, Beşiktaş or its supporters. The supporters produced self-directed violence as a result of intensification of shame and anger. Considering the two cases, Malatya and Beşiktaş matches, when the community cannot find external responsible for its shocking defeats and their disappointments, the badness which embarrasses and injures the community is not simply transferred to the outside of the community, and the pain and sadness may devastate the bodies and the community. Therefore in these situations some members of the community started to look for a scapegoat as a cause of badness inside the community. As seen in the two cases above, bad feelings may be directed toward footballers, technical staff and executives of the club by other parts of the community which are mostly composed of supporters and local press. They are perceived as people not eligible to represent the community or another affect alien in the community. These affect aliens who are players, coaches and executives of the club do not share the feelings of the community toward the club as a happy object, and not reproduce the community’s ideal, although they are in the performance position to fulfill the community’s expectations. Moreover, they exploit

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<sup>48</sup> Hürriyet Newspaper, 21.01.2002

the happy object for their own sake. I previously claim that the community follows two different routes about affect aliens. At this point, I show these routes through the affect aliens that include footballers, technical staff and executives of the club. One of the ways is that supporters labour to reform the affect aliens and so enable them to be directed in the same way as the supporters and to attach to the club. Özkan Sümer reacted in this way to Yılmaz's accusations of the footballers of the club. When Yılmaz was the president of the club, he blamed footballers as soulless after a defeat on the pitch. Sümer responded to this accusation as follows; "...Community support is necessary for the players to use and mobilize their soul. First, the community must have a soul and transfer the soul into the team. This is missing in Trabzonspor..."<sup>49</sup>

The other route is that supporters and local press make an effort to throw the affect aliens out of the club. Their existence consumes the happy object and so injures the community in the eyes of community. Supporters mobilize to protect their happy object. The affect aliens might be accused of being traitors by members of the community in some situations such as when Ersun Yanal, who had been the coach of the club at different times, was charged with being a Fenerbahçe agent in Trabzonspor by supporters and local press, after he had successive and shocking results on the pitch.<sup>50</sup> The second route sometimes caused harm to the community itself. As in the above-mentioned match against Beşiktaş, supporters might lose their temper against shocking defeats and show violent reactions toward their own players, coaches and executives and even themselves as a responsibility of shame and anger. Ahmed mentions the issue of anger as a feeling that may turn the subject into affect aliens.

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<sup>49</sup> Radikal Newspaper, 04.01.2000

<sup>50</sup> <https://www.haberler.com/trabzonspor-da-tarihinin-en-calkantili-ilk-6840550-haberi/>  
<https://www.haber61.net/trabzonspor/ersun-yanal-icin-agir-ifadeler-bu-adam-fenerbahce-nin-ajani-h307212.html>

Your rage might be directed against the object that fails to deliver its promise, or it might spill out toward those who promised you happiness through the elevation of some things as good. Anger can fill the gap between the promise of a feeling and the feeling of a feeling. We become strangers, or affect aliens, in such moments. (Ahmed, 2010, p. 42)

According to my observation in my field study, supporters' untimely and unrestrained reactions toward the club in return for its defeats can harm the community and the club, so the supporters may become affect aliens in the eyes of the community, national and local press. In the previous year, at a gathering among Trabzonspor supporters in the city center before the match with Fenerbahçe to have fun and prepare for the match, I spoke with one supporter. He narrated that he had not gone to matches since 2006, he had resigned from the stands because he had fallen on hard moments in the match with Fenerbahçe in 2006. In the match, when the team lost their superiority in front of the rival, supporters broke the seats and threw them into the field and he was helpless to protect his children from the events, so he and his children were terrified. He stressed that he also agreed with the supporters on the issue that the president and the club's executives harmed the club and injured the community; therefore they must resign from the club and he said that after the events, the president resigned. However it is showed that the events contained not only reactions against the executives, but also damage and injury for some other supporters and the club. In the third chapter, I discuss how forms and timing of reactions against the club or the teams are associated with affective labour and act as a way of becoming a "real" supporter.

### 3.3 Collective traumas of the community

Now, I investigate unforgettable catastrophic events in the club's history to evaluate the role of hate, shame and pain in bringing the community into existence,

materializing its surfaces and creating belongingness to the happy object. In most of my interviews, I asked what the important turning points in the club's history were.

Many interviewees mentioned the same events as a catastrophe for the whole community. Bekir Kodalak, the leader of one of the supporter organizations, said,

Trabzonspor experienced two depressions for me. One of them is the lost championship in the 1995-1996 season; the other is the match-fixing event in the 2010-2011 season. After these, people did not come to the matches for years. Trabzonspor played before empty stands.

Nevzat Şakar, who worked as a manager at different periods for years at the club, also said that

They were a great loss for the club that we lost the 1995-1996 season championship and the struggle of the 2010-2011 season's championship. We had a lot of difficulty in recovering. I was also in the loop in both processes. When the championships were lost, people were inevitably impressed.

Murat Günaydın, terrace leader of Vakfikebirliler supporter group, also stressed catastrophic effects of the same events, saying that

The 2011 process dissolved the stands, heavily affected us. That process affected Trabzonspor stands very much. There are still people who haven't come to a match since 2011. People have not come to a match since 1996. These people are not in the minority.

These narratives show that the two events created a collective trauma in the community. I use the concept of collective trauma in two senses. One of them is that the two events affected many supporters in a bad way, and its pain and disappointment wounded many of them deeply in the manner that made it impossible to heal the wounds for some of the supporters. Therefore, the two events and their aftermath became a festering sore for the community. Secondly, I define an experience of collective trauma as “a blow to the basic tissues of social life that damages the bonds attaching people together and impairs the prevailing sense of commonality” (Erikson, 1995, p. 187). These two processes caused many supporters to move away from the terraces for years, in other words, the people drew back from

the community and became distanced from the club. Nevertheless, the people have not totally turned away from the club or they do not head toward another club, so they do not become affect aliens, but their disappointments in these processes harmed the bonds attaching the supporters to the club and the community. I will show that the experience of the stadium and the stands is one of the most essential ways to enhance belongingness to the happy object and to materialize the community in the fourth chapter. Therefore, these events that removed many supporters from the stands for a long time cause collective trauma in the community. These people feel some kind of resentment toward the happy object. However, I claim that these processes which create a traumatic effect for many supporters also provide to intensify and mobilize the community and to deepen many supporters' commitment to the happy object with the circulation of bad feeling. Now, I investigate the role of these catastrophic events which created and were imprinted on the collective memory of the community to intensify and mobilize the community and to enhance the supporters' belongingness to the club.

### 3.3.1 5 May 1996: Shame and pain

Firstly, I mention one of the most unforgettable matches in the history of Trabzonspor in the context of shame and pain. Yamak (2003, p. 86) referred to the match as follows: "On 5 May 1996, Trabzonspor was going to play the most important game of the last 15 years. The match with what came before and after it has been remembered for years afterwards." The assumption that if Trabzonspor had won the match, everything would be different is common belief for the Trabzonspor community (Kola, 2007, p. 167). Pirselimoglu, a famous director, narrated: "...the famous Fenerbahçe defeat that cost us another championship is not erased from

memories of almost all Trabzoners” (2010, p. 19). Trabzonspor lost 2-1 to Fenerbahçe on 5 May 1996 in Trabzon and so the championship that was so close to the club for the first time since 1984 slipped through its fingers. Although there were two more weeks to the end of the season, everybody believed that the championship would be determined according to the result of the match and so both clubs won their last two matches and Fenerbahçe became champions of the season. What happened after the match and the Trabzonspor supporters’ narratives about the match show that the match caused collective trauma in the community. Many supporters had high expectations of the promise of happiness of the club; the community was intensified around faith in the championship before the match. The supporters closed ranks with each other with the expectation that the happy object would keep its promise for the first time since 1984 and fulfill its supporters with pride and happiness. The defeat left the community grievously disappointed, many people sank into despair. In the match, many of Trabzonspor supporters who attended the game applauded Fenerbahçe with the final whistle of the match (Eroğul, 2012, p. 503). This situation shows that the defeat cannot be attributed to unfair events on the pitch. And common narratives about the match don’t mention obvious injustices of the referees in the match or match-fixing activities by the rival. Bad feelings which exercised intense power over the supporters did not directly result from the opposing team and the referees. Therefore, the badness could not easily be transferred to the outside of the collective body of the community. Pain and embarrassment which burned the bodies of the supporters before the defeat started to consume the supporters and the community itself, because it was not possible to escape from themselves. Transformation of expectation of happiness into disappointment and pain emerged anger for some of the supporters. Their anger turned toward people that the

supporters pinned their hope upon to reach the expectation. Therefore, they were regarded as responsible for the pain and the shame of the community. Some of the supporters hooted at their own footballers after the match, and the club's bus which carried footballers, technical staff and administrators was pelted with stones when it went from the stadium to the club's facilities after the match. Some of supporters damaged different parts of the city. Footballers did not go home until the morning due to fear of attack and the club executives took the players' families from their homes to protect them in case of unexpected situations (Eroğul, 2012, p. 503; Arvaladze, 2017, p. 62). Did the footballers not take the game seriously? Can it be said that the football players were soulless affect aliens? On the contrary, footballers were also deeply affected by the defeat. Years later, the footballers' narrative about the season and the match showed that all of them had high expectations and desire for the championship and so they were also shocked after the defeat. Orhan Çıkrıkçı, one of the footballers in the match, narrated the season and the defeat:

We had seen the results in our dream before the matches were all played. Everyone narrated their dreams to each other in the mornings before matches. We conceded the goal in the eighty fourth minute of the match. Our knees gave way. As if we were very miserable. We were dumbfounded. We didn't only lose the game that day. A whole city from supporters to executives and its economy lost so much. If we were the champions the club would not be in the present state. The wound that was inflicted upon us and the community by the defeat still continues although a long time has passed after the defeat. (Çıkrıkçı, 2003, p. 80)

Another footballer, Abdullah Ercan, said that "I started crying like a lot of people with the whistle of the match" (Ercan, 2009, p. 65). These declarations obviously show that the footballers also set their hopes on the championship and they were faithfully attached to the club and community. Supporters' big rage toward the footballers and the club's administrations turned them into affect aliens, because they consumed and injured the community itself with their shame and anger. One national

journalist who supports Trabzonspor narrated the condition of the city after the match: “when Aykut scored the last minute goal which put Fenerbahçe in front, Avni Aker [stadium] was in a deep silence, then the anger was on the street. The streets turned into a battlefield during the week” (Ramoğlu, 2011, p. 133). This situation caused the community to harm themselves and their happy object. One of the footballers in the team narrated that, after the stoning of the bus he said to the executives “do me a favour and let me go. I can't play ball here for one more minute.” (Boz, 2005, p. 78). In short, the rage and anger toward the club after the match devastated and smashed the club which had become “champion of hearts” in public opinion.<sup>51</sup> The Local press and many supporters who are parts of the community regarded the administrators and the coach of the club as responsible for the defeat (Ocak, 2008, p. 83), thus they were implicitly accused of being responsible for the disasters which occurred after the defeat. Therefore, firstly the president and the executives resigned from the club, and then the coach resigned from the club under the new administration within one year. After that, the club had a rough time for years.

One important reason for the supporters’ reaction to the administration is that they failed to keep the city and the community from being put under strict surveillance by the state and the national press upon the opponent’s attempts. This strict surveillance deeply wounded the community. “To be witnessed in one’s failure is to be ashamed: to have one’s shame witnessed is even more shaming. The bind of shame is that it is intensified by being seen by others as shame” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 103). Ashamed people turn their backs on others who witness their shame. This

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<sup>51</sup> In Trabzonspor’s last match of season, Eskişehirspor’s players came out onto the pitch with the banner that read, “champion of the hearts is Trabzonspor.” Cevat Ocak, a famous sports journalist in Trabzon, also claims that in that season, Trabzonspor was announced as “champion of hearts” by all Turkish people’s hearts with its management mentality both within and outside the field (Ocak, 2008, p. 78).

experience has a specific kind of pain. The others cannot be simply perceived as the cause of bad feelings; however, the others as witnesses of shame can still hurt or anger ashamed people. Intensification of pain and shame on not only the bodies of people, but also the collective body of the community was multiplied by being subjected to strict monitoring. Subjects want to conceal their failure and shame from others. Witnessing of others to shame and disappointments of the subjects also grieves and injures them. Although the others are not the source of bad feelings which deeply affected the subjects, their glances toward the subjects' failure also harm the subjects. The national press and government agencies riveted their gaze on the Trabzonspor community by the attempts of the Fenerbahçe president before, during and after the match. Many supporters have a common narrative about the blockade of the city and the community by the national press and the state with its rival's initiations as a cause of pain and rage. One of the supporters wrote about the day before the match and he described the environment that "...Istanbul press has turned the city into a criminology laboratory..." (Yazıcı, 2013, p. 113). The supporter refers to the national press as "Istanbul press" because they criminalized the city and the community. This naming is not only used by the supporter, it is commonly accepted and used by Trabzonspor community (Kulaçoğlu, 2004c, p. 301). The national press is perceived as the eyes of the Big Three of Istanbul. Thus, the national press is aligned with the Big Three against the Trabzonspor community. Before the match, Fenerbahçe president Ali Şen and his executives made an effort to create disturbance and to draw all negative attention towards the city and the Trabzonspor community. When the Fenerbahçe bus went to Rize to stay in a hotel before the match, some supporters threw stones at the bus and one Fenerbahçe footballer was slightly injured; however, Ali Şen used the issue to enable the military

and police forces to blockade the city and the stadium according to his own declarations.<sup>52</sup> He ordered to pack the footballer's head with gauze like a mummy, although the club's doctor did not see a need for it. The next day, all national newspapers and television networks carried the news about the issue as if he had a fatal injury (Eroğul, 2012, p. 495). With his special efforts, a de facto state of siege was performed in the city by the state and the national press. Thousands of gendarmes and police officers from different cities were sent to Trabzon and the city was turned into a "ghetto" (Eroğul, 2012, pp. 495-496). Journalist Ersin Ramoğlu narrated the blockade in the city and the stadium as follows:

Security forces from the outside and the surrounding cities began to club Trabzonspor supporters without reason as the game time approached. .. Policemen clubbed everyone in the queue to buy a match ticket. What has been done to Trabzonspor supporters cannot be explained by humanity. It was impossible to understand what it was. (Ramoğlu, 2011, p. 132-133)

Policemen and gendarmes turned the stadium into a battlefield (Yamak, 2003, p. 271). The Trabzonspor community and the city was denigrated and criminalized by these events. The community and the city were exposed to a blockade of law enforcers and the national press. The community was degraded in the other's glance and objectified by the pornographic gaze and they could not escape the eyes of the national press. This process multiplied the supporters' pain and shame in the face of the defeat. In addition to that, these events that were organized by the president of Fenerbahçe outside the pitch and his different speeches about the match caused to form and strengthen the perception among Trabzonspor supporters that Fenerbahçe dispossessed Trabzonspor of the championship. Therefore, supporters aligned with each other against the rival, Fenerbahçe and the national press. The tension and surveillance created by these actors wounded the city and the community so much

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<sup>52</sup> I do not try to normalize the situation that some Trabzonspor supporters threw stones at the Fenerbahçe bus, but these kinds of events commonly occurred in many different matches at different parts of the country until 2000s.

that they became a cause of hate and experiences relevant to the match turned into hate narrative for the community.

On the other hand, intense pain and sorrow which stemmed from the defeat wounded and injured many supporters both physically and spiritually. The badness that wraps the bodies of the supporters could not be thrown out from the bodies and so disappointment, shame and pain consumed bodies of supporters. “In shame, I feel myself to the bad, and hence to expel the badness, I have to expel myself from myself (prolonged experiences of shame, unsurprisingly, can bring subjects perilously close to suicide). In shame, the subject’s movement back into itself is simultaneously a turning away from itself. In shame, the subject may have nowhere to turn” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 104). In fact, the size and prevalence of the experienced pain among the community showed the commitment of the people to the promise of the happy object. To feel disappointment and pain over the defeat materializes the community’s ideal and love for their happy object. However, because many supporters sank into a strong despair, disappointment and shame could not be regenerative for the people. So, these feelings devastated many people. I observed traumatic experiences in many supporters. Shota, one of the most unforgettable and legendary foreign players in the club’s history, described the condition of the city a day or two after the defeat.

The city resembled the dead on the second day. I had to buy tickets for the friendly match of the Georgian national team against Romania and for this purpose I left the house. You could not find the silence that I witnessed on the streets of Trabzon even in the mourning house ... As if time had stopped... I've never seen anything like this anywhere. Nothing was heard from people who sit with their heads bent. Such a feeling washed over me as if people were left on stage like a lifeless puppet after the theater show... There were not traces of life in Trabzon (Arveladze, 2017, pp. 62-63).

According to a lot of first hand narratives that I listen to, some of whom were from my family and circle of friends in Trabzon, many supporters cried at all hours and

fell unwell because of sorrow after the match was over. Many supporters not only in the stadium, but also at home and coffeehouses felt faint and they were hospitalized (Ocak, 2008, p. 80). One supporter from Gaziantep narrated his life after the night when the defeat occurred:

I can never be the same Alaaddin after that night. After that night, I felt constantly tired, reluctant and unhappy... After that night I went from doctor to doctor for many years. Even though the name and dosage of my medication is constantly changing, the only thing that does not change is the doctors who diagnosed me with 'severe psychological trauma'. I have used the drugs that I started to use in 1996 to this day without interruption (Uğur, 2011, p. 42).

According to another narrative, a supporter from Urfa had lost his appetite and could not eat and he did not speak with anybody for days after the match and he left his district without telling anyone and he went to deserted mountains and came back to the region forty days later. At this period, a rumor about him that he went crazy spread all over the region (Çelik, 2011, p. 229). Trabzonspor supporter Ali Küçük died of a heart attack as he watched the match. Two other supporters, Mehmet Dalman and Hüsnü Civelek, committed suicide after the match. Mehmet Dalman, who was from the Görele district of Giresun, was 27 years old and Hüsnü Civelek, from Trabzon, was 12 years old. A paper was found in Mehmet Dalman's pocket after his suicide. He wrote: "Trabzonspor was defeated. My life is extinguished. Wrap my coffin with claret and blue flags. No one is responsible for my death. If I was reborn, I would want to be attached to Trabzonspor again" (Korkmaz, 2011, p. 151).

The collective trauma becomes one of the important events in collective memory of the community in time. Whenever this traumatic and tragic defeat is remembered, all supporters are grieved but it can also become a way of increasing loyalty to the club and the community. In fact, the community has been reproduced

and intensified by the defeat with accumulated things on its surface. One of the supporters who live outside of Trabzon perceives the defeat as “the championship which was stolen by Fenerbahçe in 1996” and he narrated his relationship to the defeat: “Failure to win the championship that we came close to after so many years jogged my memory in my childhood period and I am more attached to Trabzonspor” (Kul, 2013, p. 244). Another supporter from Mersin converted from Fenerbahçe to Trabzonspor when he was 18 years old as a result of his cousin’s efforts. He decided to support Trabzonspor when he listened to the narrative about the defeat and he embraced the collective memory of the defeat with what came before and after it:

One day, my cousin Firat told me the story of our lost championship (I am attached to Trabzonspor, so the lost championship is ours) in the 1995-1996 season... Only facing the music by Trabzonspor supporters in 1996 moved me to tears, therefore Trabzonspor is the team that is to die for. .. I have no intention of dying without seeing Trabzonspor's championship. (Korkmaz, 2011, pp. 276-278)

The narrative shows that the existence of the people who died for the sake of Trabzonspor enhances the affective value of the club. The deaths provide some kind of holiness to the club. Hüsnü Civelek and Mehmet Dalman died because of their attachment to the community’s ideal, so the failure of community’s ideal extinguished their lives. In this sense, the community must keep its promise not to betray the two persons’ love for the happy object. They loved the club at the cost of their life, thus their expectations become the mission of the community. At this point, I refer to two different supporters’ narratives:

Why still Trabzonspor? The ember which never cools in our hearts always answers the question. For Hüsnü, for Mehmet. To proudly raise the championship cup with heads held high by the side of their graves. For Hüsnü, for Mehmet, who are to be soil and take the form of green, to be rain and rain over Avni Aker... May your souls rest in peace. One day, absolutely. (Emirzeoğlu, 2010, p. 421)

We open and close our eyes with the dream of that day... and we know that one day my Trabzonspor will reflect the happiness to our children, our happy

faces and the grave of Kazım Koyuncu. At that time, souls of my brothers who died for it with scarfs and jerseys will be at peace. (Şahin, 2010, p. 403).

One of the common perceptions in the community is that the two supporters sacrificed themselves for the sake of love of Trabzonspor. They were unable to stand before the failure of the happy object. Their sacrifice becomes debt for both the happy object and the affective community, to sustain and to be attached to the ideal that they died for is the duty for the rest of the community. The happy object carries the people who died for it, and their sacrifices increase and strengthen the affective value of the object and the faith for the community's ideal and the promise of the happy object. Withdrawal from the ideal and indifference toward the happy object corresponds to betrayal of their lives and of the saintly memory of them. Some supporter narratives assume that the people who died for the sake of Trabzonspor continue to follow the happy object and the affective community. At this point, people who died in road accidents when they went to Trabzonspor's matches are placed beside Mehmet Dalman and Hüsnü Civelek. All of them are perceived as martyrs of Trabzonspor. One of the supporters wrote on to watch Trabzonspor in the stadium with the deaths:

You know that the spirits that died on the way to Samsun watch you there somewhere. You know that Mehmet Dalman is there with his very young heart. Mehmet's heart won't last, but he has come to the match again. He is watching us and says: 'get it this time. Although I cannot see, but get it...' ... When you remember Mehmet, you will be ashamed. Because the death of that young body is one of the hardest winds. He has shown people who hold forth for this team that there are those who die for this team. You'll slip from the stool when Mehmet comes into your head. But you hold with one last move. Your Trabzonspor is still there. And you live with the dream of the day that you will run to Mehmet, Kazım, Erkan, the spirits that died on the way to Samsun and others with cups in your hands (Çıtlak, 2011, p. 391).

Similar narratives that the spirits who died for the sake of Trabzonspor always accompany the club and its affective community. Their existences are perceived as a spiritual force for both the club and the community. One supporter fictionally wrote

on behalf of the club that “I am Trabzonspor. I am the Don Quixote of Turkish Football... Tell me which mind will stand in front of the spirits of our brothers who died for my sake” (Albayrak, 2010, pp. 466-467). These narratives glorify the memory of the spirits; thus, the supporters show faithfulness toward the people who made the great self-sacrifice for their common happy object. Also, the grief of losing people accompanies with the faith and hope to reach and continue their ideal. The leader of Vakfikebirliler, one of the supporter groups of Trabzonspor, said to me in an interview: “I go to Mehmet Dalman’s grave in Giresun with my friends every year.” He also had me watch his speech by the side of his grave; in the speech he says

Today, May 5 is Mehmet Dalman's Death Anniversary. Mehmet Dalman committed suicide after Fener match on May 5, 1996. Mehmet Dalman is a big Trabzonspor supporter. Today we come with friends again to visit the grave. The reason why I am here is to tell the souls of Trabzonspor how big a soul is and what a beautiful feeling to the youth who come after us. Mehmet Dalmans, Hüsnü Civeleks loved the team in the way that Kazıms loved this team. If we are alive, we'll come back every May 5th to keep this spirit alive. We will visit the graves to be a model for people.<sup>53</sup>

I mention two different points in the speech. One of them is that Kazım is also mentioned along with the people who died for the sake of the club in not only this speech, but also some other narratives referred to in this chapter. Many supporters and supporter groups commemorate the death anniversary of Kazım Koyuncu, a famous singer who died of cancer in 2005, from their social media accounts. I will research the singer’s position in the community and how he won this position in the conclusion in the context of affective labour. Secondly, names of persons were used with the plural suffix in one sentence of the speech. With the suffix, a subject is turned into not only a public figure, but also turned into a monument. Thus, his name gains meaning beyond his personality, and this usage provides a way to identify with

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<sup>53</sup> He also uploaded the speech to his twitter account.  
[https://twitter.com/Mrt\\_gnaydin/status/1050439960120217600](https://twitter.com/Mrt_gnaydin/status/1050439960120217600)

these names and it makes the names unforgettable for the community. The suffix is also used with some footballers in the community. Lastly, I mention another supporter's narrative about a little child's backpack carrying the Trabzonspor emblem with the claret and blue colors. She tells the child that if the team lose a match, and your school friends mock you, you should not give up the club and not throw out the bag because she wrote that "Our hopes and hearts of each of us exist inside that bag, your faith, my faith, Zigana's faith, Sümela's faith exist in that bag. Our 12-year-old martyr Mehmet Dalman's faith exists in that bag" (Sesli, 2011, p. 345). In fact, she confused the two persons: Mehmet Dalman committed suicide at 27; Hüsnü Civelek committed suicide at 12. The names become images or figures of a love for the sake of which the souls sacrifice themselves. The images of the people who sacrificed themselves for the sake of the happy object stick to the surface of the club. Thus, the faith for the community's ideal that we will be champions one day with no doubt and strict attachment to the club and community reproduced from the painful defeat and disasters. The spirits who committed suicide for the sake of the club and other people who died on the road of it strengthen affective value of the club and become duty for the rest of the community.

### 3.3.2 3 July 2011: Hate and pain

Secondly, I evaluate the effects of the match-fixing event in the 2010-2011 season on the community. The process becomes the second collective trauma for the Trabzonspor community. However, the process also serves to intensify the boundaries and surfaces of the community and enhance some of the supporters' attachment to the club. I research how hate materializes and mobilizes the affective community and how it becomes a good way to be tightly attached to the club through

the process. The aim of this study is not to analyze the legal and political aspects of the 3 July match-fixing case, the most important and comprehensive case in Turkish sports history. I only mention some points relevant to the case to evaluate its effects on the Trabzonspor community. Thus, I refer the case process from the viewpoint of the community. Although Turkish Football Federation registered Fenerbahçe as the champion of the Super League in the 2010-2011 season, the real champion in the season is Trabzonspor doubtlessly for all members of the community. To accept it in this way becomes a condition of being a supporter of Trabzonspor. Many supporters use the phrase that Trabzonspor is the champion of the 2010-2011 as the status message on their twitter accounts and the champion of 2010-2011 is accepted as Trabzonspor in the club's official website.<sup>54</sup> However the cup resides in Fenerbahçe Sports Club's museum.

What is the event? Fenerbahçe finished first in the 2010-2011 season by having the same points as Trabzonspor. However, the match-fixing operation started on July 3 after the end of the season in Turkey. The tapes, evidence and defendants' testimonies in the process of the case proved with no doubt for the Trabzonspor community that Fenerbahçe's president and executives organized many match-fixing events in the season. Therefore, Trabzonspor's championship must be officially registered by the Turkish Football Federation. The case had been in favor of Trabzonspor until a certain period. In 2012, Trabzonspor participated in the Champions League instead of Fenerbahçe by the decision of the Turkish Football Federation. UEFA disqualified Beşiktaş, Eskişehirspor and Sivasspor from the European Cups for a period of one year and disqualified Fenerbahçe for two years for the match-fixing events in the season and the Court of Arbitration for Sport

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<sup>54</sup> <https://www.trabzonspor.org.tr/tr/arsiv/basarilarimiz>

approved the penalties with a few exceptions. Therefore, the four clubs' match-fixing events were approved by international law. On the other hand, in Turkey, the general assembly of the parliament accepted the law about amendment to the law on prevention of violence and corruption in sports, law no. 6222, to reduce penalties for match-fixing at the end of the year. In other words, the parliament made changes to law no. 6222 to protect match fixers. Firstly, Aziz Yıldırım, the president of Fenerbahçe, as the most important organizer of match-fixing events and some other executives from Fenerbahçe, Sivasspor and Beşiktaş received prison sentences for the events, and the Supreme Court approved the sentences in 2014. But then, with the retrial in 2015, all defendants were acquitted of match-fixing and organization crimes. Thus, the clubs that were punished for match-fixing by the international courts and its administrators were acquitted in Turkey. In addition to this, Yıldırım Demirören, the president of Beşiktaş when the club and its executives and coach had been judged for match-fixing, became the president of Turkish Football Federation in 2012 and later the club was disqualified by the UEFA from European cups because of match-fixing during his presidency. In other words, the people who got caught up in match-fixing events continued to participate in different important positions of Turkish football. And the cup that the Trabzonspor community has been longing for since 1984 did not come to Trabzonspor.

The situation causes collective trauma for the Trabzonspor community. Many supporters withdraw from the stands with the catastrophe as they did in 1996. Many people mentioned the effects of the situation in my interviews. Members of the [bordomavi.net](http://bordomavi.net), one of the important supporter organizations of Trabzonspor, emphasized some negative effects of the process on the community;

Zeytin: People have taken offense at the sport. It is not directly related to Trabzonspor or [bordomavi.net](http://bordomavi.net), the theft in the eyes of the world and the

situation that punishment wasn't fairly implemented offended people against the sport. This causes not only the decrease in the number of bordomavi.net followers, but also the decrease in the number of supporters in the terraces.

Gayretli: The people could not fully leave Trabzonspor and football, but they are offended. They're interested, but they don't make the effort to direct their interests... The theft is already unprecedented, I think that our struggle is also unique... There has been the issue of the cup for seven years, it is not only the issue of the cup, but also the issue of justice. We actually care about the issue, because people want to trust again. The issue is not that the cup would come to us, let's go out and celebrate it, later on the match-fixing events will happen again.

Zeytin: I felt yesterday. Although my brother does not support Trabzonspor, he called me yesterday and said that they started again. People now refer to 2011 when the smallest event occurs... Think about how this trauma affect us, how it reflects out.

These narratives show that Trabzonspor supporters lost their confidence toward fairness in Turkish football. Many supporters give away to despair and they come up against a brick wall. The deep desperation against the apparent injustice moved away some of supporters from the stands and the happy object. The "overt and unique theft" takes the wind out of the supporters' sails. The people lost their faith toward not only justice in Turkish football, but also their happy object. The perception becomes dominant that the club cannot be allowed to keep its promise, so the people despair of their expectations to the club's promise of happiness. "They won't let us be champions" is a prevalent phrase among Trabzonspor community, even some people who don't support Trabzonspor also subscribe to the claim as mentioned in the narrative above. In my interview, Hakan Bıyıklı, former terrace leader of Çılgınlar supporter group, said that "the supporters have been totally shocked. People started to believe that Trabzonspor cannot win a cup. When Trabzonspor plays to win the cup, referees or the federation or politics come into play. They dispossessed Trabzonspor of its cup all the way. Thus, people were alienated from both football and Trabzonspor." As the interviewees mentioned that whenever Trabzonspor gets

closer to become champion, if the community feel that the team is hard done by, supporters will be concerned and say “they started again”. A supporter who is not from Trabzon, a PhD candidate at the history department of Boğaziçi assisted to me during my research. Before I went to Faruk Özak, the former president of the club and also a former minister in the AKP government, I received advice on him and he suggested some questions to use in the interview. One of them nearly is that if Trabzonspor approaches the championship again, is there a guarantee that it will not be blocked as it previously was. All of the community has been injured by the process, the perception that the championship has been stolen from Trabzonspor and the current order of football in the country is working for thieves is a common point for the supporters. Selçuk Bahadır, the president of Üni-TS, narrated in the interview how the open usurpation of Trabzonspor’s cup affected the community and his description about the effects of the process looks like a festering sore that has been exposed, but is not allowed to heal on the collective body of the community.

The match-fixing event bore down on supporters, they are depressed. It changed the people’s perspective on life. The faith in the state has disappeared, let them tell until morning, for example Trabzon deputy tweets that the referee did not give our penalty, yes the referee did not give the penalty, but you did not give my cup as the government... If they didn't give the cup, they'd have better not reveal the match-fixing. We knew that it was match-fixing, but this time we would stay inside. Now everyone knows, but they don't give you anything. The dead is in sight, but still not buried, we are in such a situation.

The absence of the cup afflicts Trabzonspor supporters as a part that was cut off from the body. The intrusion of others deprived the community of something that belongs to the community and the thing is the source of happiness which was obtained by much labour with patience after a long wait. The supporters feel intense pain of the intrusion and so feel their bodies. In other words, the intrusion cause materialize and intensity borders and surfaces of collective body of the community. The others who

block Trabzonspor and its community from reaching their ideal are situated against the community. They not only usurped the cup from the community, but also stole the community's expectations and happiness. In this situation, badness which affects the community can be attributed to others, so the others become source of bad feeling. "The bodies of others are hence transformed into 'the hated' through a discourse of pain" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 43). At this point, the subjects which are perceived as the cause of injury become hate objects. Hate works by creating a subject or object that is damaged by imagined others whose closeness threatens to dispossess the subject or object of something. "The presence of this other is imagined as a treat to the object of love" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 43). This process "produces a differentiation between 'us' and 'them', whereby 'they' are constituted as the cause of 'our' feeling of hate... Bodies surface by 'feeling' the presence of others as the cause of injury or as a form of intrusion" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 48). In this way, hate aligns some people with others and against still others. The Trabzonspor community always carries the anxiety and doubt that they will harm the happy object, they will try to dispossess the community of happiness and labours as before. "They" don't have to be the same specific subjects or objects. In most of the narratives above, the supporters use "they" as a subject or null subject to mention the others who injure the happy object and the community. Hate does not reduce particular bodies on fixed referent, so this situation creates a different alignment. Hate objects accumulate affective value through circulation. Hate circulates through different bodies and figures; it sticks on these bodies and figures, therefore the characteristics of these different figures move into each other or these figures substitute each other. "Circulation of hate between figures that works to materialize the very 'surface' of collective bodies" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 46). Who are those responsible for this pain and

wound, according to above mentioned interviewee Bahadır Fenerbahçe, which broke the cup from Trabzonspor, seized the possessions of the community, it stole and dispossessed Trabzonspor of its cup which not only was its promise of happiness, but also the collective property of the community, and so it violated collective body of the community. According to the narrative above, the other actors which cause pain for the community are those that brought the transgression and violation toward Trabzonspor community to light, and so they made the theft and the wound visible for not only the community, but also all the world to see, however they did not resolve the transgression, and they did not remedy the wound by returning the stolen thing to the rightful owner although they are perceived as executive to administer justice. Therefore, they increase the pain of community by exposing the violation, but they didn't give the community justice. In the narrative, the supporters lost their trust toward the state, because the others also correspond to representatives and agencies of the state.<sup>55</sup> Therefore these actors turn into actors mutually responsible for the community's pain and they align with each other against the community. Who do other actors align with each other against the Trabzonspor community? In my interview, Alattin Hatayoğlu, one of the founders of Gurbetçi Gençler and the president of a supporter association, described the others who collabourate with each other to harm Trabzonspor:

Turkish football has not been legitimate since 2011... When we start playing for the championship, supporters, managers and presidents of the three Istanbul teams ally with each other, the press makes alliances, federation makes alliances, Central Board of Referees makes alliances. We experienced

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<sup>55</sup> This distrust toward fairness is not only in football, but also judgement and politics become common mood for most of the community. One of the common opinions for the Trabzonspor community is that political parties, especially government and its president protect match-fixers and align with Fenerbahçe against the justice. In other words, state which contains government, judicial institution and other political parties stay by burglars and usurpers at least in this issue. But main responsible is perceived as Recep Tayip Erdoğan who was prime minister while the case continued, now is president of the republic by many of the supporters. "The cup in the prime minister" and "the cup in the president" become popular phrases among the community.

these things. Football is never clean in Turkey, but this situation was loud in the 2010-2011 season.

These others align with each other to dispossess Trabzonspor of their happiness and they become hate objects for the community. Hate circulates through these different bodies and also some figures and signs stick on surfaces of the collective body.

Negative affective value accumulates in time through effect of circulation between signs and objects. “The slide between figures construct a relation of resemblance between the figures” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 44). Therefore, alignments are constructed in accordance with the identification process as likeness and unlikeness.

Think of identification as a form of alignment (to bring into line with ourselves- the subject as ‘bringing into line’) also shows us how identifications involve dis-identification or an active ‘giving up’ of other possible identifications. That is, by aligning myself with some others, I am aligning myself against other others. Such a ‘giving up’ may also produce the character of the hated as ‘unlikeness’. (Ahmed, 2004, p. 52)

Hatayoğlu claims that the Big Three of Istanbul with their communities all together align with each other to rape Trabzonspor and its community. This alignment also creates identification and likeness between the actors. One of the banners unfurled by Trabzonspor supporters contains the phrase: “You are not different from each other.” The banner was produced with the colors of the Big Three of Istanbul and it frames these three clubs and their communities as identical in terms of their unfair treatments toward Trabzonspor. Another banner produced by Trabzonspor supporters involves the phrase: “You are also labour thieves, but your method is different” written in the colors of Galatasaray. Thus, the image of labour thief is identified with the three clubs and they align with each other. At this point, I must mention that hate does not suddenly emerge, and it is based on historical background. Trabzonspor and its community have different experiences with these three clubs and their communities. “It is not simply that any body is hated: particular histories of

association are reopened in each encounter, such that some bodies are already encountered as more hateful than other bodies” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 54). Encounter between the Trabzonspor community and these hate objects do not only occur in 2011, these encounters have a specific history. When we look at the narratives of Hatayoğlu, Bıyıklı and some other interviewees again, they claim that Trabzonspor is blocked by others every time the team comes close to becoming successful. 2011 match-fixing event has a particular importance for the community, but some others are already encountered as hateful before the event. The matches, events and discourses which cause to turn the three clubs into hate objects for the Trabzonspor community in historical encounters can be investigated. However, this kind of research exceeds the limits of this study. In this research, I only observe the other catastrophic event which imprinted on collective memory of Trabzonspor community. Supporters created historical narrative that always keeps alive the suspicion that Trabzonspor can be precluded from becoming the champion by them thereby the event is aligned with catastrophes of 1996 and 2011. And similarities and continuities between these events turn some subjects more hateful than other actors and enable the community to approach some images and shape themselves against hateful others.

With the shock of the match-fixing event, some of the supporters move away from the community and the stands because of deep disappointment, but many of them continue to support the club and to hope to reach their ideal. And they mobilize and have an attitude against the attacks on their ideals. Most of the supporters I interviewed have gone to the stadium and continued to actively support the team before and after 2011 and the club has had the highest average match attendances compared to the city’s population in Turkey since the opening of the club’s new

stadium in 2017. Every year, some historical moments relevant to the cup and the match-fixing event has been memorialized in the community especially through social media accounts. For example, many supporters, supporter groups and the club share the message that Trabzonspor is the champion of 2010-2011 with some attributions such as “spotlessly clean champion”<sup>56</sup> or “the year is always 2011”<sup>57</sup> on social media accounts at every 22 May when the team played its last match in the season. These phrases are also used as hashtags by Trabzonspor community at every 3 July when the match-fixing event in 2011 fell like a bombshell. At this point, I reveal how hate operates in the process. “... ‘I’ that declares itself as hating an other (and who might or might not act in accordance with the declaration) comes into existence by also declaring its love for that which is threatened by this imagined other (the nation, the community and so on)” (Ahmed, 2004, p. 51). Through hate, subjects are powerfully attached to a happy object which is under threat by others and the subjects acquire belongingness to an affective community of the happy object. The community becomes intensified against hate objects. People come to attention against hate objects and they cling to the threatened object and its community. Moreover, they may mobilize against hate objects to protect their objects of love and their ideals; therefore, this mobilization shapes and materializes the affective community. When I asked my interviewees from supporter groups for their opinions about the statistic showing that law no. 6222 hit Trabzon the hardest in 2016 throughout the country according to Turkey’s Crime Atlas which was prepared by Directorate of Criminal Records and Statistics of the Justice Ministry, most of them described this statistics as unfair information. As I mentioned before, the law was changed by parliament to protect match-fixers. And the national press, called the

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<sup>56</sup> <https://twitter.com/hashtag/Tertemiz%C5%9Eampiyon?src=hash>

<sup>57</sup> <https://twitter.com/hashtag/SeneHep2011?src=hash>

Istanbul press, and government agencies try to criminalize and humiliate the city and the community at every turn in the eyes of the community. Therefore, the statistics show the alignment between the Turkish Football Federation, politics, jurisdiction, the big three and the national press against Trabzonspor community. Barış Karadeniz who was an active member of one supporter organization said;

Fenerbahçe committed theft and irregularity, and it shamelessly tried to pin the event in Sürmene<sup>58</sup> on Trabzonspor supporters, it didn't succeed. Trabzonspor supporters are the first to suffer from 6222, it is not such a thing. The thief came to our house, let us show our reaction to the thief. We have that right. How do you make the whole crime look like it's not a crime? There is no such world. There is injustice here. Nobody can be unfair to the right of uncle Mehmet who died from a heart attack after that Eskişehir match. Nobody can be unfair to my child who is five years old. Therefore, the creatures who are dressed up in suits with ties must be tried according to law 6222.

He declares injurious attacks of others against his happy object, his community and his child. Therefore, the community must react against the hateful subjects to protect them. He attributes different images to Fenerbahçe as hate object. The club is a thief, illegal, shameless, a liar and a maligner. "The 'characteristics' of one figure get displaced or transferred onto the other" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 48). The circulation of hate materializes between these different surfaces. "Signs increase in affective value as an effect of the movement between signs: the more signs circulate, the more affective they become" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 45). That is to say, hate circulation does not reside in one subject or object, hate circulates through different bodies related to different signs. This circulation increases the affective capacity of hate and Fenerbahçe becomes a sticky object. One of the banners unfurled by a Trabzonspor supporter contains the phrase, "Fenerbahçe is the team of sins" and another banner addressed to Fenerbahçe by the supporters this year reads, "You are not innocent enough to

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<sup>58</sup> After the match between Çaykur Rizespor and Fenerbahçe in Rize on the date of 4 April 2015, when Fenerbahçe bus went to Trabzon airport, an unknown attacker shot the bus. The wrongdoer still has not been found and the event could not be clarified.

remain free.” Therefore, many different negative images stick on the surface of the club. Another important point in the speech above is uncle Mehmet. According to records which emerged in the match fixing case, one of the matches involved in match fixing that season is the Eskişehir-Trabzonspor match. In the match, Eskişehir sport club received incentive pay from Fenerbahçe and the referee unfairly conducted the match to the detriment of Trabzonspor, and the match ended 0-0. Mustafa Çelik, a Trabzonspor supporter, went home after he watched the match at a coffee house in Bursa and he spoke one sentence to his wife as he entered the house, later he died from a heart attack. The sentence was: “we won't be champions again after 27 years”.<sup>59</sup> However, the sentence is also used as “they will not make us champions again” among the Trabzonspor community after that match-fixing came to light. The person is commemorated on the anniversary of his death every year by the Trabzonspor community. The club officially expresses condolences for him, many supporters and supporter organizations share message about him on their social media accounts. His injured body identifies with the community against other others. They not only usurped the cup belonging to the community, but also attacked the existence of the community. The hate objects killed one of the harmless members of the community and inflicted a deep wound on the community's collective body. At this point, I refer to one of the supporters' writing on this issue in 2016, five years after the event:

...On April 22, Trabzonspor players are standing on the ground of Eskişehir Atatürk Stadium. At the same time, Mustafa Çelik is settling in front of the television with the same determination in the coffee shop. He says to himself ‘this time it will happen’ with his pure and spotless heart, which is out of the picture... The match ends and Trabzonspor leaves two points in Eskişehir Atatürk Stadium as a result of all the efforts of the partnership of promoter Eskişehirspor and shooter Bulent Yildirim [referee]... Mustafa Çelik was knocking on his house door ...Mustafa Çelik, still unaware of what happened,

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<sup>59</sup> <https://www.iha.com.tr/haber-trabzonspor-fanatik-taraftarin-son-vedasi-171230/>

said to his wife? “they will not make us champions again” and he fell to the ground. These were brother Mustafa's last words... Trabzonspor supporters killed no referees in Hüseyin Avni Aker, which is the first stadium in Turkey where the wire fences were removed; however, referees killed a Trabzonspor supporter the night of April 22. It has been over 5 years, we have not heard a reprimand, no regret, nor an apology from the sports community. They continued their lives as if nothing had happened, they continued their lives like innocent and sinless people as if they didn't attempt to take a life. As they think they are honorable citizens doing their jobs... I, as a supporter of Trabzonspor, don't apologize for your referees, your boards, or your mentors which are worshiped by you and your white-collar bureaucracy. On the contrary, I hate and despise all of you. I am ashamed of you on behalf of my country once again, because you forced me to write this piece with addressing remarks to you that I'm going to shy away from spitting on your face because you are the murderers of Mustafa Çelik, not as individuals of the sports community, but as only a human. Have you thought about it now? Not 2 minutes, only 2 seconds to think about what you've done, about ill-gotten food that passes through your child's throat. (Sadıkoğlu, 2016)

As I mentioned before, the hate objects are identified with each other through likeness. In this case, the others align with each other as the murderers of the pure and spotless Trabzonspor supporter. On the other hand, the community identifies with the injured pure body against the hate objects. Identification causes dis-identification with the others, the hated others become unlikeness for the community. Therefore, the community aligns with each other by becoming dissimilar to the others. The community produces and performs itself by actively giving-up hate objects. In the piece, the others are aligned with each other through cooperating to harm Trabzonspor community and this cooperation creates likeness between them. They are shameless robbers and they killed an innocent man to take away Trabzonspor community's labour and hopes with their dirty games. Through hate, the people intensify and create their borders and produce their own images against the others. It does not mean that the community and the club always act according to these images, but at least they produce them discursively. At this point, I mention some of the banners produced by Trabzonspor supporters after 2011. These banners are unfurled not only in stadiums, but also in protest marches and in front of

courthouses. One of the popular phrases among the Trabzonspor community relevant to the struggle for the cup and justice is: “The war of labour against money.”<sup>60</sup> Some of the other banners are: “The clean league is our cause, Trabzonspor is our passion”, “We believe in the rule of law, not the law of superiorities”, “We will destroy the reign of robbers”, “Write, my son, don’t get something illegally, die on the right way, write your date with honor”, “A big club is not one that takes unfair wins for granted, the big club like us has the power to win despite injustice.” Therefore, the community and the club identified with some images by situating against the hate objects. The happy object and its supporters gain antagonist position against the others. The community locate themselves in the position that they keep away from ill-gotten gains, stand against injustice and struggle for justice. One of the banners unfurled by Vira supporter groups in the new stadium last year is: “Labour, heart, and elbow grease... the year is always 2011”. Trabzonspor represents turning an honest penny without fear or favor, and thus it becomes “promise for resistant people”; the phrase is used as both a banner and a line of the anthem produced by Vira. Therefore, the affective community is shaped and intensified by actively giving up identification with the hate objects.

Finally, I briefly mention the other catastrophic event in the collective memory of the community to show what kind of “particular histories of association” with some hated others that the 2011 catastrophe evokes. A good part of my interviewees mentioned the date of 2005 along with the years of 1996 and 2011 as a catastrophic time for the club and the community. The event has not been mentioned as much as the catastrophes of 1996 and 2011, and it did not cause collective trauma as the other cases did, but it was remembered and mentioned along with them.

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<sup>60</sup> This motto was produced by inspiring Şenol Güneş’s the speech.  
<https://www.yenisafak.com/spor/paraya-karsi-emegin-savasini-verdik-320571>

Alaaddin Hatayoğlu called these three periods “the periods in which our championships have been usurped” in my interviews. When I asked Hakan Bıyıklı which events in the club’s history had a serious impact on the supporters and the club, he answered

In 1996, the Fenerbahçe match has already made the biggest impact on us, Ali Şen won the cup at the table, in 2005 they deprived us of the cup at the table, in 2011 they again won the cup at the table. The biggest events are these, what is bigger than these?

İsmet Ayyıldız, who worked as a manager at the club, wrote on these three periods in his local newspaper column:

Fenerbahçe matches are viewed as the end of the world for Trabzonspor... The rights of Trabzonspor in 1996, 2005 and 2011 are everlasting. Even today we do not get them from the Turkish Football Federation, the people who died on the roads and different places for the sake of Trabzonspor will attain them in the Hereafter. Mehmet Dalman from Görele who committed suicide after the Fenerbahçe match in 1996 will attain them. Supporters who lost their lives in traffic accidents will attain them. (Ayyıldız, 2018)

Trabzonspor in these three periods came very close to the championship after years, but it was officially deprived of the title of champion. And Trabzonspor’s opponent was Fenerbahçe in these periods. After all of these periods, the club experienced hard times both in terms of field results and management for several years. On 30 April 2005, Fenerbahçe won 2-1 against Trabzonspor in Istanbul on the thirtieth week of the season. The match was indignant for Trabzonspor community, because Cem Papila, the referee, did not fairly referee the match and he sided with Fenerbahçe against Trabzonspor. And Fenerbahçe became champion by getting ahead of Trabzonspor by three points in the thirty fourth week of the season. In other words, the referee and the rivals stole and usurped Trabzonspor’s championship in the eyes of the Trabzonspor community. After the match, Trabzonspor supporters mobilized against this injustice by organizing demonstrations against the unfair situation. The biggest march in protest in the history of Trabzon to date was organized with the

participation of approximately thirty thousand people (Ocak, 2008, p. 169). One supporter wrote about the protest:

Trabzon was also tormented by Cem Papila. And the reply to this injustice was a march of thirty thousand people that would go down in history books. Although it cannot be called a march, it is an upright gait... My God, as if the heart of the world beat in Trabzon today... All shops were closed in Trabzon... Claret and blue flags in the hands of everyone, everybody shouting slogans as if everybody had rehearsed many times... All tradesmen on the street... Today architects, doctors, teachers, workers, imams, artisans stand shoulder to shoulder for Trabzonspor. 30 thousand people are of one heart in the small city, they shout with one voice. (Yazıcı, 2013, p. 116)

The injustice toward the happy object and usurpation of happiness of the community caused to mobilize the community to protect their happy object from the others. The protest demonstration intensified the community and aligned the club and the city with each other and also aligned against the others and others. Therefore, the differentiation between us and them materialized, and boundaries of collective bodies materialized. In the next match, one of the banners in the stadium was: “Levent Bıçakçı+Cem Papila=Şikebahçe”<sup>61</sup> At this point, football federation and the referee and Fenerbahçe sport club align with each other as evil alliance against Trabzonspor. And the community produces unlikeness from the others or fantasy of ideal existence for themselves and their happy object. One of the banners unfurled at the protest in Istanbul was: “The championship doesn't matter; your noble and honorable struggle in this unjust arena is enough” and another banner at the march in Trabzon was: “We lost the championship, not our honor.”<sup>62</sup> Therefore the club and the community are identified with supreme feelings and values against the hate objects.

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<sup>61</sup> <https://twitter.com/tspankart/status/944561557433978880>

<sup>62</sup> Trabzonspor Magazine, issue 23, 2005.

## CHAPTER 4

### TRABZONSPOR IS THE LIFE OF THOSE WHO GIVE IT LIFE

#### 4.1 Affective labour and gift economy

In this chapter, I will examine the role of affective labour in the materialization of the Trabzonspor community as well as the development of people's commitment and belonging to Trabzonspor. I will base the use of the term "affective labour" on Melissa Gregg and Dilan Eren's descriptions of and discussions on it. Gregg, having especially mentioned the widespread use of the term in fan studies, presents her own description;

In media and cultural studies, affective labour has most often been illustrated in studies that reflect the amount of energy and time that fans dedicate to discussing and consecrating love of a particular book, character, series, game, brand, or application. Here affective labour is used to explain meaningful and productive human activity that does not result in a direct financial profit or exchange value, but rather produces a sense of community, esteem, and/or belonging for those who share a common interest. (Gregg, 2009, p. 209)

In this sense, I will position as affective labour the efforts that produce and increase the belonging of the subjects facing Trabzonspor the club and the community, that create a sense of community, and make sure new people face the club and connect with the community. In other words, affective labour produced for Trabzonspor increases the club's affective value. Another aspect of affective labour is the effect of this work on those subjects who carry it out. In her work in which she evaluates caregiving labour, Dilan Eren criticizes Hochschild's conceptualization of emotional labour and draws attention to this point. Hochschild positions emotional labour as just a performance that's aimed at producing the proper mood in the opposite party/the other; however, this is not a one-sided situation, but a relational situation in which one also produces their own subjectivity; it is not a matter takes shape at the

‘consciousness’ level but one that transcends the mind-body divide, involving and affecting the body as well (Eren, 2018, p. 39). Thus, Eren emphasizes the inadequacy of the conceptualization of emotional labour and utilizes the term affective labour. She asserts that what matters in elderly care is not the visible compulsory and forced relationship of sentimentality, but the active participation of the worker, her desire to bind with the other party. And in such a relationship, the caretaker’s labour that becomes affective labour not only affects the other party’s mood, but also shapes her own subjectivity. Because affective labour concerns both the mind and the body, in order for the caretaking labour to become affective labour, “you have to tame your body to bear the unbearable” (Eren, 2018, p. 42). The caretaking labour that transforms into affective labour makes such an impact over time that, even when one leaves the work area, caretaking labour goes on as a part of one’s subjectivity; it materializes in one’s bodily practices (Eren, 2018, pp. 105-106).

I will use the term affective labour by approaching these two authors’ considerations on the term. I define affective labour as the sort of labour that increases people’s belonging towards a common object of love, creates a sense of community among them and imbues its object with an affective value, as well as organizing one’s self, shaping one’s subjectivity and body in accordance with this relationship and thus creating its own belongingness. One difference between these two authors’ conceptualizations of this term is that, while Gregg excludes profitable situations out of affective labour, Eren asserts that the labour in the economically profitable area of elderly care can be transformed into affective labour. However, Eren also says that, in order for the caretaking labour to transform into affective labour, the monetary relationship needs to take a back seat to a sort of “friendly” relationship. One needs to go past a mandatory relationship based on economic gain

towards making an active and willing relationship felt (Eren, 2018, p. 47). In this sense, affective labour is directly related to the gift economy model (Spence, 2014, p. 108). I assert that, within the frame of my description of affective labour, there is also a close relationship between affective labour and fan labour. Not each fan work is affective labour, but fan labour may have an effect that both transforms one's self and increases belongingness in people who face the same object, creating a sense of fan community. "Perhaps most importantly, fan work creates fan community - fandom itself- through the production and maintenance of affective ties" (Stanfill and Condis, 2014). The dominant form of relationship in fan labour depends on gift relationship. A close look at fan studies reveals that deriving economic gains from fan labour is a practice that's condemned and criticized among fans (Spence, 2014, p. 109). Transforming fan labour that's viewed as a gift relationship into economic gains damages the trust and the feeling of community among fans (Stanfill and Condis, 2014). In addition, a number of studies on fan communities claim that "fandom is a form of active production, not passive reception" (De Kosnik, 2013, p. 99). In other words, being a fan requires labouring without expecting an economic reciprocity or benefit. A look at my own fieldwork through this frame reveals that being a supporter of a football club is also defined in similar terms. Many people I've interviewed described being a supporter as sacrificing for the sake of the club that's the common object of love, and labouring in some way. I will start this chapter with how being supporter is defined, and show how labour produced for the sake of Trabzonspor turns into affective labour, what the effects of this labour are, and through this frame, how a gift economy works in the community. One of my interviewees who talked about what being a supporter is was Faruk Özak, former chairman of the club.

This is what a supporter is: a Trabzonspor supporter is one who wonders what they can do for the club. Under all conditions, positive and negative. I am a supporter of this club. I will defend its rights, criticize its wrongs, give something to it, morally and materially. That's what a supporter is. Anyone else is not a supporter ... If you use the description that I just made, a supporter is someone who gives to Trabzonspor in any event. What does he give? Applause is a form of giving. Attending games is a form of giving. Going to an away game and showing support is a form of giving. Showing support when the team loses is a form of giving. Criticizing wrongs is a form of giving ... Those who experience the pride of being a Trabzonspor supporter must also bear its responsibilities. What are those responsibilities? For a public servant, it's buying a season ticket. Buying a jersey for his child. Going to a game, praying. Someone else will sponsor the club. Organize a ticket offer ... Those who can write will write about Trabzonspor's rights, criticize its wrongs ... Trabzon's tradespeople, artisans, civil society, governor will think about what they can do for Trabzonspor. Our politicians in Ankara, businesspeople in Istanbul, the civil society, our opinion leaders, they all have their duties. By leaving these acquaintance relations behind, by being at Trabzonspor's disposal, this is how these things can improve.

Being a supporter, by its existence, requires having served the club, having given in some way. According to Özak, "Those who experience the pride of being a Trabzonspor supporter must also bear its responsibilities." First and foremost, being a supporter requires being proud of the club's accomplishments, that is, forming an affective relationship with the club. Being proud of something also creates a sense of embracing and belonging. As seen in the second chapter, Trabzonspor has turned into a happy object for a lot of people by its accomplishments while filling them with pride and joy, thus becoming an object towards which these people feeling a belonging. According to the approach mentioned above, those who belong to the club must sacrifice for the club in exchange for this gift that the club offers its supporters; they must offer gifts themselves. The supporters' relationship with the club and those who love the club operates according to the gift economy. Being a supporter is seen as a responsibility and a duty that requires expending time, energy, money, creativity and position for Trabzonspor's sake. However, this gift relationship operates asymmetrically within the community. Members of the

community expend labour of various qualities towards their happy object and each other, producing effects of various degrees. How these gifts will circulate within the community and what degree of effect they will have depend on the positions of those who labour and the content of their productivity. Turk describes the way the fandom gift works:

Fandom's gift economy is therefore fundamentally asymmetrical: because a single gift can reach so many people ... Although not all fan gifts, and therefore fan labors, are equally likely to be publicly acknowledged or specifically reciprocated, that doesn't necessarily mean that those gifts and labors are not valued. Gift economy exchanges are made up not only of giving and reciprocating but, importantly, receiving gifts. As Hellekson demonstrates, "gifts have value within the fannish economy in that they are designed to create and cement a social structure (2009, p. 115)", but the way in which they create and cement that social structure is not just by being given but by being accepted -which is to say, consumed or used. We see the value of fan labor, then, in fans' consumption of the gifts produced and distributed by fellow fans... Use is therefore the clearest sign of a gift accepted. (Turk, 2014)

My assertion in this work is that the gifts produced for the club and the community and the affective labour that people expend for the sake of the club have effects of varying degrees, that they circulate in different forms and at different levels, and create hierarchies in the moral sense within the context of belonging to and embracing the club. How much the sacrifices people make for Trabzonspor and the gifts they offer towards the club and the community, meaning the unreciprocated labour they expend, are valued by other people who feel belonging towards Trabzonspor may determine one's value within the community. Going back to the matter of being a supporter at this point, one bordomavi.net member described being a supporter during our interview in the following manner:

They talk about supporters; a supporter is anyone who's served this club. Those who love Trabzonspor, whether inside bordomavi.net or not, anyone who loves Trabzonspor and aspires to doing something for this claret and blue, I mean, this may be Şenol Güneş, may be Sevecen Tunç, may be Oğuz Zeytin, Alperen or Yiğit, it doesn't matter who they are.

Here, being a supporter is ensured through two basic factors. One is to love the club, meaning to form an affective relationship with the club. The other is to have served the club in any way without expectation of benefit or reciprocity or intend to do so. As emphasized in the previous description, being a supporter, meaning belonging to the club, is a relationship based giving without taking. However, one point that stands out in the quote above is that Şenol Güneş, who served the club as a footballer and manager, thus having had a relationship with the club based on economic gain, is also included in the description of supporter.<sup>63</sup> Eren's work on caretaking labour has already displayed that certain relationships with an economic aspect may also gain an affective aspect and thus be included in gift economy. In this sense, the labours of paid workers within the club may, under certain conditions, also become affective labour. By virtue of the positions they are in, club's workers -footballers and coaching staff chief among them- are in an economic relationship with the club. However, workers who are not footballers or the coaching staff are usually not visible to the supporters, and they are usually anonymous. In this work I will examine the footballers' and managers' position within the community. Certain people in this position go beyond an economic working relationship with the club and the community, transforming their labour into affective labour and participating in the gift economy.

As I mentioned before, affective labour has two aspects. The first is to produce labour that will facilitate people's attachment to the community and increase the club's affective value, and for this labour to form one's own belongingness and create supporter subjectivity upon oneself towards the club and the community.

Whereas many footballers and coaches are considered by the supporters to be

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<sup>63</sup> At the time when this interview was conducted, the reaction towards and discomfort with Şenol Güneş within the Trabzonspor community hadn't reached its current level.

temporary professionals who form economic relationships with the club, some may enter an affective relationship with the club and the supporters. As I mentioned above, unreciprocated labours gifted by people facing the same object of love towards their object of love or other members of the community may not have the equal effect. Persons who are imprinted on the Trabzonspor community's collective memory, those who have the most extensive recognition and popularity, whose names would still be remembered within the community are primarily footballers and coaches as well as club administrators, by which I mostly mean the chairmen. This is because, by virtue of the position they occupy, they are in full sight of the entire community, whose hopes for the happy object's fulfillment of its promise are pinned on them. Some of them produce affective labour through certain acts of sacrifice or by presenting gifts to the supporters and the club beyond the monetary relationship, thereby adding value to the happy object and forming their own attachment to the club. They produce gifts that people in the community would embrace and use, and in exchange they earn gifts like reputation, love and recognition from the community. Some among them gain an unforgettable place in the community's collective memory, thus earning the rank of legends.

However, as I mentioned earlier, footballers and coaches are in an economic relationship with the club. Therefore, in the eyes of the supporters, they can occupy either of two extreme positions: that of a legend, or temporary professionals who only form a profit-minded relationship with the club. At this point, I will take a brief look at the economic relationship that the footballers are in with the club, and therefore the economic structure of the club to which the supporters feel an attachment without expecting anything in return. I will also examine the way the club's economic operations and its transformation process affected the supporters'

relationship with the club and the footballers. The economic aspect of professional football is a fairly broad field of study. Many studies have been conducted on the football economy's transformations globally and in Turkey. This issue is beyond the boundaries of my work. In this study, I will briefly look at Trabzonspor's economic structure and the economic relationships here.

#### 4.2 The deadlock of the happy object: monetary relations in the club

The club has constantly experienced economic hardships throughout its history (Özbak, 2007, p. 232). From its foundation in 1967 to this day, Trabzonspor has been managed by 17 different chairmen and 46 different boards of directors. Only once in its history, on December 15, 1996, has the club's administration change without any debt, and with approximately 1.5 million dollars in its coffers.<sup>64</sup> At this board meeting, Faruk Özak handed the post of chairman over to Mehmet Ali Yılmaz (Özbak, 2007, p. 357). Previously, when, on September 5, 1994, Sadri Şener handed his post of chairman over to Faruk Özak, the club did not have any funds available, but it did not have any debts either. This, however, was only possible through the donations made by the club administrators at the time. When Sadri Şener left his post in 1994, he donated the amount owed to him, approximately 22 billion liras<sup>65</sup> to the club (Özbak, 2007, p. 335). In fact, administrators making donations to the club from their own pockets to cover the club's expenses have always been one of the necessary sources at the time (Ocak, 2008, p. 75). Besides its own income and administrators' donations, Trabzonspor sustained its economy at times with the help of various fundraising events organized by the municipality and the state, and fund drives that target the supporters (Özbak, 2007). Ali Özbak recalls the situation in

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<sup>64</sup> Adjusted for inflation, approximately 2.5 million dollars in 2019.

<sup>65</sup> Adjusted for inflation, approximately 7 million liras in 2019.

December 1996, when, as an exception in the club's history, the administration changed hands with no debt and money in the coffers, as the club "having raised money through its own resources" (2007, p. 435). What is meant here is that the club, for the first time, has made a profit thanks to its own income. One important development in Turkish football since 1996 has been the move to the so-called pooling system (Özbak, 2007, p. 356). With this system, football clubs started earning revenues from live broadcast rights at an unprecedented level. This process also caused the advertisement revenues to also increase. Prior to this system, Turkish football clubs had very limited sources of income. In fact, football clubs incomes increasing at a serious level around the world has also occurred towards the 90s. In England, clubs only started selling official merchandise in the late 80s. The asymmetrical rise in revenue from live broadcast rights and ticket sales occurred in the early 90s (Kuper & Szymanski, 2009, pp. 79-80).

Even though football clubs' revenues have been on the rise in Turkey and around the world since the 90s, borrowing has reached even higher levels. Since Trabzonspor's debt-free status in 1996, the club started going deeper into a never-ending debt, and in 2019 the club's debt total reached 185 million dollars, which is seven times its average annual income.<sup>66</sup> The origin and the biggest cause of Trabzonspor's debt reaching sky-high numbers is that, as of 1998, the club has applied to use bank loan for the first time in its history (Özbak, 2007, pp. 425-435). Whereas the club borrowed money deposited by the club administrators before 1998, falling into a web of bank loans added another dimension to the club's borrowing.

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<sup>66</sup> <https://www.haberler.com/ahmet-agaoglu-trabzonspor-un-borcu-yillik-10793408-haberi/> As of 2019, only four clubs in the Süper Lig are debt-free. <https://www.independentturkish.com/node/14446/spor/bor%C3%A7suz-kul%C3%BCpleri-y%C3%B6netenler-ve-futbol-ekonomistleri-anlatt%C4%B1-bor%C3%A7suz-kul%C3%BCp-m%C3%BCmk%C3%BCn-m%C3%BC> The Big Three clubs of Istanbul, which have the biggest supporter base in Turkey, has reached 1.6 billion dollars in debt. <https://www.ntvspor.net/futbol/4-buyukler-in-borcu-10-milyar-lirayi-asti-5c8a440fb315a816b4457711>

Thus, in addition to the principal debt, interest has started constantly accumulating. In addition to this, the fact that the borrowing did not saddle the chairmen or the directors with a personal responsibility enabled various administrations to cover their thoughtless expenses with debts, bringing us to this point. If we think of Trabzonspor as a company, it is one that cannot cover its expenses and constantly needs external sources; in other words, it's a company that is making losses. The reason it continues to exist as an institution that is constantly in debt, like many loss-making football clubs around the world and in Turkey, is that it has crowds of supporters who will follow it anywhere and keep up their attachment to it (Kuper & Szymanski, 2009, p. 91; Akkuzu, 2015, p. 274). So, where do the club's income and the economic support it receives go? Other than the expenses required to play football games, like the facility costs or away game expenditures, the club's main item of expense is the transfer costs and wages for footballers and coaches. If we take football clubs as businesses, instead of acquiring surplus value from the footballers and coaches that they use as sources of wage labour, many of them instead make a loss after covering their wages (Akkuzu, 2015, pp. 282-283). In the world of professional football, wages of footballers and coaches continue to rise at various rates up to the present. The Bosman ruling of 1995 is considered to be one of the most important milestones towards giving footballers more power against the clubs and making sure that free market conditions prevail in the world of football (Kuper & Szymanski, 2009, p. 91; Boniface, 2007, p. 148). With the Bosman ruling, players have been freed from their clubs at the end of their contracts, which made the richer clubs more powerful against the poorer ones and gave them an advantage in the competition between them. Within the context of Trabzonspor, the extreme rise in the footballers' wages and its visibility in the city has started in the 90s.

I will follow the rise in footballers' wages by making a periodical comparison of wages paid to Trabzonspor's star players, who are also players of the national team. Ali Kemal Denizci, one of the best Turkish players in his position and remembered as part of the legendary squad that carried Trabzonspor to championship titles, received one apartment and one car as his two-year wages between 1976 and 1978; according to Ali Özbak, these items cost approximately 400,000 Turkish liras at the time.<sup>67</sup> In 2007, Özbak expressed the change in players' wages over the years by saying, "for that amount, you can only afford Ali Kemal Denizci's left boot today!" (Özbak, 2007, p. 249). By the 80s, Hasan Şengün, one of the star players of the era, was paid 6.25 million Turkish liras in 1983 (Özbak, 2007, p. 352).<sup>68</sup> Abdullah Ercan, again one of the star players of the era, was paid 4.25 billion Turkish liras in 1994.<sup>69</sup> The same player received 42.5 billion Turkish liras in 1996 (Özbak, 2007, p. 356).<sup>70</sup> As these numbers show, the players' wages at Trabzonspor rose critically over the years. Especially in the 90s, the rise has been very severe both when compared to earlier periods and year-by-year through the decade. However, looking at the city where Trabzonspor is founded, its possibilities and spatial stratification had not yet made the economic differences between people visible and social and spiritual long distance between the footballers and the supporters had not yet emerge until the 90s. I deduce this from the case of Jean-Marie Pfaff. In 1987 Trabzonspor bought Pfaff, a world-famous goalkeeper who had been picked as the best in the world by the International Federation of Football History and Statistics. In other words, Trabzonspor bought a global star. However, due to Trabzon's spatial

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<sup>67</sup> Adjusting for inflation, approximately 340,000 liras in 2019, meaning his yearly wage corresponds to 170,000 liras.

<sup>68</sup> Adjusting for inflation, approximately 360,000 liras in 2019.

<sup>69</sup> Adjusting for inflation, approximately 1.34 million liras in 2019.

<sup>70</sup> Adjusting for inflation, approximately 4.14 million liras in 2019.

constraints, Pfaff was in a position where he could be easily reached by those who lived in the city. As a supporter put it:

Once I ran into Pfaff in the neighborhood; you would not believe it, there was maybe 500 meters between our houses. I caught him coming out of a carpenter's shop in a run-down apartment, and got an autograph ... I used to see Şenol Güneş often on the street where my primary school was. It was quite possible to run into a footballer in the city, anyway. (Biryol, 2009, p. 51)

However, as the footballers' wages rose significantly and the city's possibilities improved, the physical and social distance between the footballers and the supporters started growing. Over time, this caused some serious disturbances among the supporters. In the 90s, supporters directed insults and a harsh treatment towards the footballers, especially domestic ones, and chief among them the ones from Trabzon. After intense pressure from the supporters following a game in the 1993-1994 season, Hami Mandıralı, one of the Trabzoners stars of the time, said that he "was going through the most difficult period of [his] life and started hating football" (Gürkan & Orhan, 1997, p. 242). In my interview with Lemi Çelik, one of the more important Trabzonspor players in the 90s, he mentioned that they were protested heavily by the supporters, even when they were successful. Some of the supporters I've interviewed told me this was because of jealousy. That is to say, it started troubling people that the footballers they grew up with in the same neighborhood were making so much money. The fact that the supporters who fill the stadium to support their club watch players whose monthly wages almost surpass those of all of the supporters in the stands keeps coming up as a case that causes disturbances.<sup>71</sup> A leading supporter, in an interview with the Trabzonspor Magazine in the early 2000s,

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<sup>71</sup> Of course, the contradiction needs to be addressed: Even though the supporters are troubled by the rising footballers' wages, they usually welcome enthusiastically the star players brought to the team and the city from the outside. This is because many people consider the ability to buy expensive players as a sign of a great club (Kuper & Szymanski, 2009, p. 52) and certain Trabzonspor chairmen have not refrained from displaying greatness in this way (Kılıç, 2004, p. 209).

said that footballers' wages should not be higher than that of the highest civil servant wages. Nihat Genç mentions this disturbance among the supporters:

Some footballers showed up, got paid millions of dollars. The fact that certain ball players got paid three or five million dollars while people in Trabzon lived in poverty or very modestly morally confused some things in Trabzon. Those who loved their footballers started not loving their footballers. Those who were paid an extreme amount could not establish a relationship with the poor city ... But there's still this discomfort with Trabzonspor supporters coming to understand professionalism. One stage of professionalism is that they still cannot stomach ball players who come from their heartland asking for extreme amounts of money. (Genç, 2011, p. 321)

Another effect of this process is that many supporters were alienated from football and the distance between them and the club grew. Many people above middle age around me in Trabzon told me that they grew distant from the stands once money became dominant in football. One of my interviewees told me he loved the club and the team enough to queue in front of the stadium the night before many games, but the last game he went to was the cup final against Bursaspor on April 29, 1992. After that, he said, he left the stands because of the economic dimension of football. While there are a lot of supporters who think like that, these people still follow Trabzonspor, even from afar, and claim to be Trabzonspor supporters. Hüseyin Zabunoğlu indirectly touched upon this group of people in our interview. Zabunoğlu indicated that there was no way to be an active supporter today and stand against "industrial football"<sup>72</sup> while emphasizing the significant number of Trabzonspor supporters who cannot keep up with this new era, are alienated from football due to its economic growth and thus are left distant from the current state of football:

Those fund drives back then, they were not big, for there was nothing, we were doing very small things, like 'buy us a couple of pastries from the shop across the road' or such. What was it back then, the pitch was soil, there was nothing, no tickets, a man could easily enter the stands, watch the game and leave, it's not like that now, now there's big capital, big money, supporters

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<sup>72</sup> This expression is used widely in Turkey to mean that football is now considered a capitalistic line of work, and a space operating according to the market terms where great deals of money changes hands (Akkuzu, 2015, p. 270).

cannot afford the luxury of being left out of this situation, the supporters who are left out of this formation now are retired supporters. They don't have Passolig cards. They don't know the chants, they don't wear the jersey. They don't know the songs, they don't know anything, they don't follow social media. They don't know the columnists, they don't know the groups, there's a significant part of Trabzonspor supporters who are like that.

Despite supporters' disturbance with the economic growth in football and the players' wages, many Trabzonspor supporters have continued actively supporting their club. In the 2000s, this economic course of events has generally been accepted by the supporters as well. However, this process has highlighted the opinion that footballers were temporary professionals and what matters to them is the economic relationship they establish with the club, making them unable to occupy a position where they feel belongingness to it. For the supporters, who make up a large part of the community, they are the club's real owners. This is because it is the supporters who feel unreciprocated love and belongingness towards their club and this, despite its ups and downs, is a constant belongingness. In my interviews with those who are active in the stands, footballers and administrators who are an important part of the club have generally been judged as having a relationship with the club that's based on interests, not on sincere belongingness. Jan Mari<sup>73</sup>, leader of the Trabzonlu Gençler [Trabzon Youth] supporter group, pointed to money's dominance in football and footballers' positions relative to it:

Football is money now, if you have money, the player will play for you for a year and when he develops himself, when he is offered a hefty sum, he leaves. Footballers don't embrace the club now, money embraces money; money embraces them, they embrace it back ... And the administrators, they come for a season, not that they come to the games, many of them run this club without ever coming to the games. Anything other than supporters is baloney.

Hakan Bıyıklı, a former supporter leader also emphasized that the relationships the footballers and administrators establish with the club are benefit-minded and that

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<sup>73</sup> Even though his real name is Mehmet Fındıkçı, he goes by Jan Mari. An incident with Jean-Marie Pfaff when he was a child led to him having this nickname.

they don't have a sincere relationship with the club that would have an effect on them, body and soul. He associated real belongingness to, and thus, the right to embrace, the club with how much a person has suffered from its hardships and how much they have been affected by it.

Supporters are the real owners of the club, let no one forget that. Chairmen, administrators, they come and go, we are the ones still in those stands come rain or shine. We all have families; we all end up in the hospital. More than half of us have the cancer, more than half of us have the Trabzonspor cancer, they went nuts for Trabzonspor, get it? So, a man comes and sits in the VIP section, hangs out as he likes and then leaves, but the supporters never left that stadium. Trabzonspor's real owners, all other clubs' real owners are the supporters ... Everybody leaves, who's left behind? The supporters. Nobody else sticks around, the administrator goes home, takes his family to a barbecue the next day, the footballer he leaves for Istanbul to have fun at clubs and bars, what does the supporter do? He cries and sobs the whole night until morning. There's no sleep for him, no day or night, we are shocked for a whole week, we can't compose ourselves. The supporter is the one who's the most heavily affected, don't let anybody fool you, it's not the administrator, it's not the chairman, it's not the footballer, it's all a fiasco, they all care about the money in their pocket.

In the last two narratives, the supporters' emotional relationship with the club and their unbreakable commitment are underlined, and it is asserted that the club's other indispensable elements, footballers and administrators, are not sincerely attached to the club and that their relationship is one based on interests. Here, one of the conditions of forming a genuine relationship with the club is to be affected by its bad times and hardships enough to undergo bodily changes. A former footballer I've interviewed told me how former administrators and footballers, including himself, were troubled by the club's problems so much that they had to take psychiatric drugs for it. Being affected by the state of the club is thought to be a sign of attachment to the club. As mentioned in Chapter 3, two young supporters committed suicide after Trabzonspor lost a game on May 5, 1996, and they earned an unforgettable place in the Trabzonspor community's collective memory. They also showed how far attachment to the club and the affective relationship can go. In the quote above, it is

indicated that the footballers and administrators quickly go back to having fun in their daily lives after a loss, hence they are actually in apathy towards the club and the community. In this sense, the relationship that the footballers and coaches form with the club is temporary and based on money. Another common point in the last two quotes is their critical approach towards the administrators' relationships with the club as well. It is emphasized that they too form a relationship with the club that's based on benefits, rather than an emotional one. Unlike the footballers, the administrators do not have direct economic gains from the club. As previously indicated, they even had to make sacrifices at times, such as donating or borrowing money to the club to cover the club's immediate expenses, especially before the 2000s. These people are also among the official members of the club. I will mention later on the position that the club administrators occupy within the community and the causes of the critical approach towards them.

#### 4.3 Legends of the community

If we go back to the position occupied by the footballers and coaches within the Trabzonspor community, how do these people in a relationship of economic interest with the club go beyond that relationship over time and transform their labour into affective labour? How do they produce gifts for the club and the community, and what kinds of gifts are they? Beyond gaining supporters' love and respect, how do they attain the rank of legends? This is not a rank that's officially handed out by a committee. As the persons' value increases in the eye of the community, as they are considered valuable and their names are remembered within the community, over time they may attain this rank. Thus, they become another object of love that the people who approach Trabzonspor as a happy object have in common. Being

mentioned as such among the supporters and in the press, especially the local press, solidifies this process. How is it possible for the footballers to gain affective value in a positive sense, and how does this value affect the supporters? Here, I assert that the footballers and coaches must go beyond their economic relationships with the club and enter an affective relationship with the supporters and the club, thus transforming their labour into affective labour. In order to be loved and embraced by the supporters, the footballers need to be successful first. The footballer needs to arouse joy and pride against other clubs, not shame and sorrow, in the supporters and the club. Thus, the footballer needs to be worth on the pitch in order to fulfill the promise of the happy object. If the footballer's skills and physical competence aren't enough to succeed at this, even his presence at the club will usually bother the supporters, because a footballer like that would harm the happy object; so he needs to be kept away and excluded from the club. The clearest equivalent of being successful is being a part of the squad that makes the club champions. These people fulfill the promise of the happy object, filling the supporters with pride and joy. In this sense, footballers who actively participated in the squads that brought consecutive championships in Trabzonspor's golden age valued very highly. They offered a great gift with their labour and helped the happy object fulfill its promise. In Chapter 2, I mentioned the great joy and pride that championships bring to the supporters. A supporter mentioned how the club's golden age, from mid-70s to mid-80s, coincided with his childhood in Ankara and how, whenever Trabzonspor came to Ankara for a game, they had a king-like position at the stadium as Trabzonspor supporters, and that this was possible thanks to the footballers in that squad: "And in those places WE WERE KINGS! Thanks to Şenols, Necatis, Ali Kemals, Turgays and many others ..." (Liman, 2013, p. 58).

And for a footballer who played for the club after this golden age, he needs to have participated in one of the club's periods of ascendancy and made an impression with his performance. It's only possible for the club to achieve important successes and cause collective enthusiasm among the supporters by the team members to achieve collective integrity. The footballers' collective enthusiasm towards the club attaches them to the community's ideals, thus they dedicate themselves to fulfill the happy object's promise. Footballers and supporters commit to a common ideal. This also leads to a process that consolidates the supporters and increases their belongingness to the club. In our interview, Jan Mari complained about how the supporters who do not belong to any supporter groups and make up a big part of the supporters in the stadium do not shout or join in the chants, and said the last time they captured such a cohesion in the entire stadium was during the 2010-2011 season. That season, he said, they displayed an enthusiastic and coherent performance in the stands, joined by the entire stadium. That was the season when the team had a high-level performance and thus became champions for the first time in many years. Barış Karadeniz, another member of a supporter group, emphasized the role of the team's play for the supporters in the stands align with each other: "... we reflected our enthusiasm onto the pitch all together as well, the team's passionate football brought everyone close together." "Passionate football" refers both to a successful team and to the footballers who do their utmost by pushing their bodies for the team to reach its goal. "Passionate football" ensures that individuals in the team transform into a single collective body and it also has a positive effect on others who face towards the club, mobilizing them. When talking about the times when the Trabzonspor team, meaning the footballers, and the supporters became integrated, Özkan Sümer provided a similar description:

Of course, sporting success plays a big part in winning over the crowds, but the real issue to ponder here is this: the Trabzonspor football team was the players' team. We talked about this with Şenol [Güneş] as well. A team player is one thing, the team belonging to players is something else. That is why those players now experience all kinds of things with the team, their joy, pride, kinship, economy and future. There was that passion. Now, such a passion is also reflected towards its environment that way. Such integration with that crowd, everyone coming out with their neighborhood and such. The neighborhoods' guidance always had an effect that way.

The footballers feeling a passionate belongingness towards the club and the team is what carries their relationship with the club beyond one that is a temporary, economic work relationship. This is how they turn the club's promise into their own ideals. The labour the footballers produce by pushing their bodies, and the cohesion and harmony they achieve among themselves increases their belongingness to the team and the club. This situation also has a positive effect on the supporters and creates a collective enthusiasm that strengthens the feeling of community. However, as I will mention later, this is a two-way interaction. The supporters, in turn, try to influence the footballers with their labours and transfer their enthusiasm to the team. The footballers who achieve collective enthusiasm and success add an affective value to the happy object through their labours, and present gifts to the community that will strengthen their commitment to the club and pass it on to future generations. They provide the supporters with stories to tell and heroes to identify with. These kinds of footballers and team performances play a special role in the formation of supporter subjectivity in childhood. In some supporter narratives, we see that children playing football among themselves in neighborhoods all identify with certain footballers from the teams that they're supporters of, using their names:

I was a kid. I dreamed of being a 'hero'. Those were the days when I went to sleep with Şenol Güneş and woke up with Ali Kemal [Denizci]. Because being a hero was either making a save or scoring a goal. (Çolak, 2011, p. 241)

The children running after a ball in the streets were, in fact, real footballers. The moment when we decided to play a game, the most important issue to be

discussed was ‘who was going to be which footballer’ ... Those were the moments that made me feel special ... Because I was the one who was a Trabzonspor supporter, so I was Ünal Karaman. I already felt the pleasure of struggling by myself as a child. I showed everyone the pride of being Ünal Karaman, shouting “Goaaal, Ünal Karamannn!” after each goal. (Aydın, 2013, p. 76)

Even though Avni Aker was right by our house, that was the first game I was attending. Trabzonspor vs. Eskişehirspor, the final game of the season, 1996. The last time my father went to Avni Aker. I was excited the whole day, because I’m watching a game live for the first time ... We go to Avni Aker. The legendary squad, the dream team take the field ... We left the game ... Once again in the neighborhood I became Hami, Shota, Tolunay, Ünal. (Cömert, 2009, p. 425)

These narratives indicate the children see the relevant footballers as heroes; identifying with them in the streets form and strengthen the children’s attachment to their clubs. The footballers to be identified as children are picked among those whose careers as footballers are still active. Over the next generation, footballers of this quality would become heroes in the stories told to the future generations. The supporter in the narrative above who speaks about identifying with the “legendary squad” of the 90s also spoke about “growing up with the reality of Dozer Cemil and Ali Kemal” in a quote in the previous chapter. Another supporter mentions something he witnessed in the away stands at the game between Trabzonspor and Ankaraspor, played in Ankara in 2008. The team wasn’t performing as well as expected during the game and, in the meantime, he noticed in one corner of the stand, an old supporter holding a child of about three years old in his lap, telling him about the Liverpool game from 1976 as if it was a fairy tale (Topaloğlu, 2013, p. 292). Another sign of positive effect the footballers who bring success to the club have on the supporters is the supporters naming children after those footballers. Another supporter says that he named his newborn son after Cemil Usta, who scored Trabzonspor’s goal during the Liverpool game narrated above (Söztutan, 2004, p. 142). With the labour they display on the pitch, these footballers bring respectability

to the club, pride and joy to the city and the supporters. And in doing so, they push their bodies and physical capabilities beyond professional obligation, volunteering for the club. Hakan Kulaçoğlu emphasizes this point when he tells about the Trabzonspor footballers he loves and respects the most:

The supporter loves the domestic player among the domestic players<sup>74</sup> but he's in love with the 'sweat-stained jersey'. Whoever does his jersey justice, whoever earns the money he's paid is the one that the supporter thinks deserves that blessed claret-blue jersey. For the author, one of the greatest Trabzonsporlu is İskender Günen, from Kastamonu. Another is Ünal Karaman, from Konya. Another is Shota Arveladze, from Tbilisi. Cyzio from Poland, Şeyhmuz from Diyarbakır, Tolunay from Konya, Abdullah from Istanbul. Whoever does this jersey justice is the domestic among the domestics, whether Turkish or foreigner. (Kulaçoğlu, 2004a, pp. 273-274)

Kulaçoğlu remembers these footballers not as Trabzonspor's best, but as the "greatest Trabzonsporlu"; one thing that sets these footballers apart is their "sweat-stained jerseys". The bodily sacrifices they make both create their belongingness and subjectivity and add value to the "blessed jersey" and bring respectability to the happy object. These two things require the footballer to push his body as far as he can, bear what's unbearable for his club. On the cover of a publication titled "Why Trabzonspor?" by the municipality of the Ortahisar district in Trabzon, two visuals that have a place in the Trabzonspor community's visual memory can be found. In

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<sup>74</sup> Kulaçoğlu also indicates another point that is often widely discussed within the Trabzonspor community. As I briefly mentioned in Chapter 2, footballers from Trabzon usually play a big role in the club's successful periods. This is also considered to be an element that brings the team and the city together, for those footballers grew up in the same neighborhoods as those who live in the city, walked the same streets, or connect to the city through family and kinship ties. This is why, according to some supporters, Trabzonspor can find success again by turning to the "domestic among the domestics" approach. One important assumption here is that footballers from Trabzon are brought up from the childhood as Trabzonspor supporters, thus feel commitment to the club and can associate with the club in a way that goes beyond professionalism. However, such expectations from many Trabzonspor players who are natives of the city have ended in disappointment, which led to this approach being heavily criticized. Such expectations are essentially based on two things. One is that the footballers from Trabzon will make bigger economic sacrifices compared to those who arrive from elsewhere and agree to be a part of the club for a lower wage than what they receive. The other, perhaps more important point is the necessity that the footballer and the coach perform his duty to his utmost under any circumstances and find success. If the supporters deem a Trabzon-born footballer insufficient, his existence in the team usually troubles the supporters. This is considered to be someone using his Trabzoner status to his interest and taking advantage of the club, to which the supporters usually react harshly. One reason for such reactions is the misrepresentation of Trabzon, the "capital of football".

one of them, Turgay Semercioğlu, one of the club's indispensable footballers during the golden era, has a cut on his eyebrow during a game, which is bleeding over his face. This is a sign of a sacrifice that goes beyond a professional relationship with the club and the team. In the booklet, this comment on the photograph can be found:

What do the two photographs on the cover of our magazine mean? Here's Turgay Semercioğlu! One of the best right backs in the history of Trabzonspor and the Turkish football! In addition to not letting the opponents' left wingers get past him, this legendary player also played an important part in the team's offence. The photograph you see is from the 1983-1984 season, when Trabzonspor won its last official championship. It's the Fenerbahçe vs. Trabzonspor game, played in Istanbul on April 1, 1984 ... Semercioğlu, with the mentality that he will stick his head out in front of a kick, or, in other words, the love of Trabzonspor, is drenched in blood! But he won't give up the fight. The Claret-Blues who won that away game 1-0 finish the season as champions. In other words, the name of this photograph is 'the love of Trabzonspor'! And its secret is historic successes, championships! (ed. Kaba, Taflan, Çebi, & Çoban, 2017, p. 42)

Making bodily sacrifices for the sake of the club both creates the footballer's own commitment to the club and increases the club's affective value. This sacrifice is the proof of the things that those who commit can do for the love of Trabzonspor.

Footballers' labour here also increases the supporters' commitment to the club and ensures that some who have not yet turned towards this happy object do so, creating their bond of belongingness. As seen in that magazine, the footballer's gift to his club and community becomes proof of Trabzonspor's worth, both for its supporters and those outside the community. Turgay Semercioğlu turned his labour as a footballer into affective labour and earned the rank of legend within the community.

However, there are other conditions to reaching that level and keeping that rank. We can discern what those are from the supporters' declarations above, and the criticisms aimed at footballers that they contain. In other words, criticisms of footballers and administrators included in the supporters' declarations that I quoted show the ways to establish an affective relationship with the club as far as the supporters are

concerned. These are also the way for a footballer to establish belongingness with the club to become a supporter and thus be a part of the community. One of the most important requirements for a footballer to establish bonds of belongingness with the club and the supporters is that he be able to sacrifice for the club and let the club's troubles trouble him as well, that is to say, enter an affective relationship with the club. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, when the team is dealt a heavy loss, the footballers are expected to feel shame over it. One aspect of the sacrifices expected of the footballers is, as previously mentioned, that they bear what's bodily unbearable and make bodily sacrifices to that end. Another is that he sacrifices his economic interest, which is thought to be the key determinant in the relationship with the club in the world of football, thus moving beyond a professional relationship and participate in a gift economy. He needs to sacrifice the economic advantage that lets him be a part of the team in order to turn his relationship with the club into an affective one. Necati Özçağlayan<sup>75</sup>, one of the indispensable footballers of the club's golden era and considered to be among its legends, displayed that sacrifice in a speech upon his retirement from football at Trabzonspor in 1986:

In 1978, I chose Trabzonspor's offer of 350 thousand liras rather than Fenerbahçe's offer of 1.75 million liras, and I chose well. Football isn't played for money alone. For years, my friends and I ran on the pavement. And finally, because we believed, we succeeded. I don't think you can find success in football without belief, determination, the resolve to struggle and bonds of friendship. (Gürkan & Orhan, 1997, p. 160)

At this point it must be mentioned that the number of footballers to reach the rank of legends have been on a periodical decline since the earliest days of the club. Another point in the supporters' criticism is that, while supporters are always by the club's side, footballers occupy a temporary position. When their contracts with the club are up, they can turn towards another club and leave Trabzonspor behind. In this context,

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<sup>75</sup> Trabzonspor supporter group Joganita shot a documentary about him: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UV3\\_i-BRQYw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UV3_i-BRQYw)

another requirement for the rank of legend is to establish an unbreakable and constant commitment to the club. Boniface says that the position of a footballer who becomes an idol and a star for a club is actually quite fragile, because when he leaves for another club, he can easily lose that position and even be branded a traitor (Boniface, 2007, p. 112). At this point, I will once again consider what the rank of legend means. Some footballers and coaches turn their labour into affective labour and provide gifts to the club and the community, establishing their commitment to the club and increasing the club's affective value, solidifying the belongingness of the people who face the club. Thus, those people enter an affective relationship; the image of Trabzonspor sticks to their bodies, and through their labours, Trabzonspor takes physical form in themselves. In other words, they gain the subjectivity of supporter and gain a leading position among the community that turns toward Trabzonspor as a happy object. Their existences and names end up reminding people of Trabzonspor. In this sense, they are missionaries for Trabzonspor. I base my use of this term on my fieldwork. That is how certain supporters I interviewed described some of their activities, which I will mention later. In order to achieve that rank, in addition to the sacrifices mentioned above, a footballer needs to have stayed at the club long enough to identify with the club and the community and spent the best parts of his career there, thus being remembered in the national public opinion as a part of the community. He must not choose another team and club over Trabzonspor unless the club's administration asks for it or forces him into it. Likewise, even when he moves to another club, it must be known that Trabzonspor is the only club to which he feels belongingness beyond professionalism, and he needs to declare as much. Because these people are also in a position where they represent Trabzonspor, what they do and say concerning the world of football are of some importance to the

club's supporters. If the footballer does something to disadvantage Trabzonspor or say something that will hurt his commitment, his commitment may be thought to have been lost and he may lose his value in the eyes of the supporters. A matter over something that is said or done that would not be taken seriously or simply be condemned coming from an outsider, would have a serious impact on the supporters coming from someone who's valued in the community.

As I have demonstrated in the previous chapter, when the daughter of one former player who was considered a legend posted anti-Trabzonspor and anti-Trabzon sentiments on social media, many supporters reacted harshly to him and his position came under question. Another important example of that is Şenol Güneş. Şenol Güneş played an active part in all the club's championships, was present at the club as a goalkeeper for six of them and manager for the seventh, managed the club through its collective traumas and earned his place in the community's collective memory as an important personality. The labour he expended for the sake of the club and all he said and did made him one of the club's legends. As a requirement, what he did turned him into a Trabzonspor missionary. As a supporter from Kayseri told me, he was present in the stands as a Kayserispor supporter for a game between that club and Trabzonspor when Şenol Güneş was a goalkeeper, and as supporters in the stands they were repulsed by Trabzonspor with a little bit of jealousy mixed in; however, when Şenol Güneş preferred to tend to an injured Kayserispor player instead of letting his team score a goal, all Kayserispor supporters started actually liking Trabzonspor and that caused him to become a Trabzonspor supporter (Öksüz, 2002). But some of his statements and actions during his time in charge of Beşiktaş (2015-2019) provoked some serious reactions among Trabzonspor supporters. In our

interview, Alaaddin Hatayoğlu specifically emphasized his sorrow and anger towards

Şenol Güneş:

With the match fixing operation, by going to Beşiktaş, Şenol Güneş harmed Trabzonspor. Why? Now, I live in Istanbul, I'm the head of a serious association, we have a history going back forty years and I have conversations with several people. Even during that period, Trabzonspor won over a lot of supporters. It's about our cup being stolen through match fixing. But the reason was this: there were quite big crowds of people who have never been to Trabzon, who have nothing to do with Trabzon, but they embraced and supported Trabzonspor because the club was hard done by. For instance, there was thing girl named Ece. She grew up in Şişli, had nothing to do with Trabzon. Over the match fixing issue, she was living and breathing Trabzonspor. And at the time, Şenol Güneş was the one person at Trabzonspor who was speaking the clearest, and for those who saw this injustice and became Trabzonspor supporters, and for those like us who rebelled against this injustice, Şenol Güneş was an idol. And today, we are the ones who react to Şenol Güneş for going to Beşiktaş. By going to Beşiktaş, Şenol Güneş greatly disappointed people who recently thought of him as an idol in that match fixing case, thought of him as their leader. Why? So you speak of Istanbul's polluted air, then you go there. You complain of match fixing, well, Fenerbahçe are not the only ones involved in match fixing. Beşiktaş as well as Eskişehir and Sivasspor are officially match fixers, by the UEFA decision and approved by CAS. Beşiktaş is one of them. Fenerbahçe received a 2+1 year ban from the UEFA for match fixing. Beşiktaş received a 1+1 year ban. You make all these statements about match fixing, but still go there ... I mean, even as I'm speaking right now, I speak with anger for Şenol Güneş. I mean, over the disappointment he caused us ... You say you don't trust those who run the country and who run football here. He is the one who said that, I'm the one who made a banner of it and hung it up. I mean, our activities are posted all over social media, they're all there. You go and say that they can't find a guilty person where the crime's been committed, and looking for a guilty person where there was no crime. That's absolutely right, but you say our jerseys are clean, our jerseys are spotless because we are clean, all right. Then you go and manage a team that is just as mixed up in this as Fenerbahçe is. So what if you win fifty consecutive championship titles there? What if you win fifty titles? You win a title with a Trabzonspor that is in rebellion against the status quo, that is worth fifty titles you will win there. There were a lot of people, young ones, our daughters, who admired Şenol Güneş, thought of him as an older brother, as a father. Şenol Güneş knows about this, too: a woman who is about to get married calls me up. Brother, she says, please, I want Şenol Hocam to be my witness. She's a theater actress, has good manners, has an intellectual side. I swear to you, she says let Şenol Hocam be my witness, let him come and I'll kiss his hand, I'll hug him, that would be enough for me. She says her marriage comes second to it. We had people who loved Şenol Güneş this much, because of the match fixing case. The other girl I talked about, Ece, she went to Switzerland for the match fixing trials. She was tear-gassed at the protests ... They all abandoned Trabzonspor. They did so because of Şenol Güneş,

because they were disappointed. They said they supported this team because it rebelled against the Istanbul teams, because it was treated unfairly, they cursed and went away. This is why Şenol Güneş betrayed this city and made Beşiktaş supporters out of the newcomer snobs in the city, they are the ones who are visible, who are known around the city. If Şenol Güneş should come to Trabzonspor now, let him come, he won't be any different to me than an Ersun Yanal or a Rıza Çalimbay. He comes, gets paid, manages the team, does his job, that's that. They talk about him being a legend, you know who's a legend? The one who doesn't leave his team, doesn't wear another jersey. There's Totti at Roma, I mean, he was called Roma's golden boy, he started and finished in a Roma jersey. He received transfer offers from the biggest teams, from Real Madrid, from Barcelona, from this or that team but he did not go, he said he was Totti of Roma.

According to this narrative, Şenol Güneş transformed from an object of love who was considered a legend into an object of hate. It is obvious, especially from the Trabzonspor supporters' social media posts, that his name alone gives them discomfort. There have been many hashtag campaigns on social media for the purpose of changing the name of the newly built stadium in Trabzon's Akyazı area, where Trabzonspor plays its games; the government of the time had given it Şenol Güneş's name.<sup>76</sup> One of those was the hashtag "Erase the Şenol Güneş name".<sup>77</sup> As Şenol Güneş lost his value in the eyes of the supporters, Cemil Usta, another legendary name, was made a banner figure and brought to prominence. During a match in 2017, Vira group unfurled the "Play like Dozer, love like Kazım" banner to go along with their prepared choreography; this banner was very well liked among the supporters and circulated through social media accounts. At the end of this chapter, I will discuss Kazım Koyuncu's value within the community and how he reached that position. Dozer that's alluded to in the first part of the slogan is the nickname of Cemil Usta, considered to be among Trabzonspor legends. For a footballer to earn a "nickname" is a sign that he is thought of by the supporters as

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<sup>76</sup> For a discussion on how the Trabzonspor's newly built stadium was named and why that is problematic, see my article: <http://www.birikimdergisi.com/guncel-yazilar/9309/taftarlik-tribunler-ve-siyaset-trabzonspor-camiasina-dair-bazi-notlar>

<sup>77</sup> <https://twitter.com/hashtag/%C5%9EenolG%C3%BCne%C5%9FAd%C4%B1Silinsin?src=hash>

someone close to them, embraced by them. Another important meaning of “Play like Dozer” is that, by referring to Cemil Usta again, to employ all bodily possibilities on the pitch for the team. Cemil Usta was the team captain for Trabzonspor’s first two championship titles, and he displayed a top-level performance in his position. What sets him apart, lets him be one with the city and bestows upon him the rank of legend is, along with these qualities, the sacrifices he made for the club and thus the gift he gave the supporters. He gave the supporters gifts that would display Trabzonspor’s value and the level that commitment to it could reach. Thus, he presented the Trabzonspor community with the possibility to create stories and heroes that would bring their happy object esteem and keep their commitment alive. One incident involving Cemil Usta that’s often told, widely known among the supporters and approved is this: when Trabzonspor could not afford to travel to an away game, he sold his wife’s bracelets, brought the money to the club administrators, thus enabling the team to travel to the game.<sup>78</sup> His action and words that became a motto among the supporters today came in 1978 when, after being placed on the transfer list, he retired from football, saying “I am Trabzonspor’s captain, how can I follow another captain?” This sacrifice is an act that adds value to the club and improves its respectability. By these acts, Usta provided the supporters with historical narratives that would go on for the rest of the club’s existence, proving its respectability and its worth. This phrase, lately popularized among supporters, is a high-level expression of the love of and commitment to Trabzonspor; that is why Dozer Cemil is today remembered at the rank of legend. Keeping the criticism of Şenol Güneş and the example of Totti above in mind, Cemil Usta cherished the captaincy at Trabzonspor

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<sup>78</sup> <http://www.takagazete.com.tr/dozer-cemil-efsanesi-makale,154856.html>

more than being part of another club for money, thus identifying himself with the club and the city.

Another quality of those who, like Cemil Usta, attain the rank of legend within the community is that they are intimately close with the city and the supporters. This is how the supporters find themselves in the success earned by the footballers. The ability to become a supporter among the supporters, being in close enough proximity that they can embrace the footballer, see something of themselves in him, helps the footballers and the supporters identify with each other. As I displayed in the previous chapter, this identification is derived from affinity. I mentioned that many players in the title-winning squads of the golden age took part in life in the neighborhoods, how they were “the sons of every house”. Most of these players who are now considered to be legends are people who lived side by side with the city’s population and had much in common with them. One prominent figure from the stands talks about why Shota Arveladze, the best-loved foreign player in Trabzonspor’s history, is loved so much, other than being a very good footballer who did a good job: “How did these people love Shota? The game would end, and everyone would go to the locker room. Shota would come before the stands and dance for ten minutes with the music that was playing” (Söğüt, 2007, p. 80). Footballers and managers are expected to display their heartfelt commitment to Trabzonspor and the Trabzonspor community beyond what a professional would do. That is how that person becomes Trabzon’s own son and a part of the Trabzonspor community. The distance between the footballer and the city’s population seriously affects the kind of relationship there is between them. The fact that a supporter who was prominent in the stands emphasized the players going to Istanbul to have fun the day after the team losing a game indicates the growing distance, meaning the

alienation, between the footballers and the people of the city, or the supporters. Savaş Yılmaz, former leader of the now-defunct supporter group Erdoğanlılar, describes how, in the 90s, Ünal Karaman who is from Konya became more respected and popular among the supporters than Hami, a footballer from Trabzon, through this affinity:

Brother Hami picked me up in his car, we're driving around and he's complaining to me, telling me how, because he does not play politics, Ünal became an emperor. He's asking me whether it's because he does not play politics that he's not loved, telling me he's Trabzon's own son ... He had a Mazda 626 back then, he and brother Kemal were the only ones who had one of those cars.<sup>79</sup> He's driving around in that car, it's the only one in the city, so he draws attention. Just like footballers today having Ferraris, he had that back then. I said to him, brother Hami, you live in Beşirli in a luxurious apartment, you drive a luxurious car, you drive back and forth between the facilities and your home. All right, you're an athlete, that's right, that's normal, you need to take care of yourself or whatever, but while you're doing that, Ünal goes to a coffee house in Boztepe, if there are four young men playing something, he goes up to the one whose back is turned to him and slaps him on the shoulder, pulls him to the side and plays a few rounds with them. He goes to Yeni Cuma, goes to the neighborhoods, wins over hearts. If you're this city's own son, why don't you go to the neighborhoods ...

At this point, it is also important that footballers, managers and administrators display humility towards the club and the community in order to be embraced by the supporters and have a serious positive effect on them. If they emphasize themselves in their dealings with Trabzonspor, if that is the attitude they display, this is usually regarded as using Trabzonspor for one's own personal interests or appropriating Trabzonspor's power for oneself, thus harming those persons' affective relationship with the club. This is a measure of authenticity of belongingness for everyone who turns towards Trabzonspor as a happy object and feel committed to it. If a person puts himself forward in his dealings with Trabzonspor, if he acts in a way that will make Trabzonspor and the community feel like they owe him, this may be considered to be an abuse of Trabzonspor for personal interests, and usually causes

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<sup>79</sup> Kemal Serdar played for Trabzonspor from 1983 to 1995, becoming one of the longest-serving footballers in the club's history. A native of Trabzon, he also became the team's captain.

discomfort within the community. An example of this would be the how the high visibility of some of the players who had a part in the club's golden age and now present themselves as "legends" causes some discomfort within the community at times. Şavaş Yılmaz mentioned this discomfort during our interview:

They walk around as legends, as if there's only five of them, as if they were the only ones ... It's like those today who try to draw supporters' attention and end up doing harm, that's what they're doing. How some footballers can claim that they are Trabzonspor, they got paid from Trabzonspor and expended labour, Beşiktaş paid them so they went to Beşiktaş, we didn't go anywhere.

According to many people I spoke to, the ideal attitude in serving Trabzonspor is to be "Trabzonspor's soldier" and claiming a position of owing to the club, not one of laying claims. Trabzon native Necati Özçağlayan, who played for Trabzonspor for fourteen consecutive seasons from 1972 to 1986 before retiring and is considered to be one of the most important and indispensable footballers of Trabzonspor's golden age, made a speech upon his retirement in 1986 in which he indicated his debt to Trabzonspor:

If not for Trabzonspor, I would probably be an unknown fisherman, or maybe an insignificant civil servant somewhere. I owe Trabzonspor a debt of gratitude, and this debt can't be paid until death. It's difficult to put to words. Leaving football, and especially Trabzonspor ... (Gürkan & Orhan, 1997, p. 160)

Even though footballers, administrators and supporters add value to the club by the things they do, it is a moral requirement of their commitment to the club and the community that they be aware that their existence and reputation depends on the club and that they feel a sentimental debt to those who labour for its sake. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, supporters and those who play a part in the club are indebted to and responsible for those who gave their lives for Trabzonspor's sake. In this section, I will finally present an example of a player who was an outsider to Trabzon, collected in his person almost all of the qualities and the sacrifices I've mentioned

above to join the ranks of Trabzonspor legends, and became a native to the city. Bromberger emphasizes that, in order for an outsider footballer to be loved, to become the city's native and the citizens' adopted son, he needs to "bring honor" to the city, adapt to it, and publicly display his belongingness to the city and the club (Bromberger, 1993, p. 53). This is a supporter's narrative of Trabzonspor's İskender Günen, a footballer from Kastamonu:

Remember the state of the sharpest defenders when faced by him. Remember the utmost dignity that he kept even as their 'inability to restrain' a man turned into foaming anger. And he brought honor upon a city with his deeds, his thoughts, and those ankles of his ... Remember! And it's impossible to find a single ugly thing among all he left behind. This is the fact of a footballer adding the color of his sweat to the color of his jersey ... (Ozanoğlu, 2010, p. 101)

Here, a footballer bringing honor to a city is made possible both by playing football successfully and pushing his body to its boundaries on the pitch in service of his club. Also, according to this narrative, this footballer did not leave behind "a single ugly thing" with his attitude on the pitch and in the streets. İskender Günen of Kastamonu played for Trabzonspor for ten years, between 1979 and 1990, as one of the best in his position in Turkey, and then retired of his own accord. He rejected all transfer offers made to him during that period, and when he retired, he'd left his mark on the entire football community as Trabzonlu İskender. He was a footballer who, in addition to exciting Trabzonspor supporters with his playing style, was well known for his modest personality and having engaged with life in the city. As someone to whom the Trabzonspor image sticks, his having a sympathetic personality positively adds affective value to the club. Thus, he's earned his position as a "Trabzonspor missionary". And we see how the city's population values him in this interesting situation: according to news in the local press about the 1991 general elections, the Democratic Left Party offered him a candidacy for deputy from

Trabzon.<sup>80</sup> Günen did not accept the offer, but the fact that he, as someone from Kastamonu, received that offer to be a Trabzon deputy is an important indication of the value he had in the city. After his retirement, Günen maintained his support for Trabzonspor in various ways, thus becoming an indispensable part of the community that he committed to through his labour for the club.<sup>81</sup>

#### 4.4 The club as a source of social capital

After the position that the footballers occupy within the community, I will now examine the club directors', and particularly the club chairmen's positions within the community and their positive and negative affective values. In some of the supporter narratives quoted above, I indicated that there is a strong opinion that trivializes the footballers' position within the community and viewed them as standing outside of a permanent positive affective relationship with the club and the community, and that there is a similar view towards the club directors as well. A significant part of the community usually views club directors with suspicion. The suspicion here is that the club directors, rather than being supporters who desire to serve the club without reciprocation, are people who wish to use the power and the value of Trabzonspor, the community's happy object, to put themselves forward and pursue other interests. This suspicion also makes visible one of the moral principles within the Trabzonspor community. Anyone other than the club's professional workers who define themselves as Trabzonspor supporters and seeking personal interests through

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<sup>80</sup> Türk Sesi Newspaper's subheading on 3 September 1991, read: "DSP set on former footballer from Trabzon; Bülent Ecevit, offered candidacy to İskender Günen."

<sup>81</sup> In 1994, he became one of the founding members of a non-governmental organization called "1967 Trabzonspor Young Businessmen Association". The aim of this organization was to offer unreciprocated contributions to Trabzonspor (Gürkan & Orhan, 1997, p. 253). In an interview he gave to Trabzonspor Magazine after the association's president decided to shutter it, he explained the motivations behind its establishment and working as such: "People received a great deal of moral values from Trabzonspor, the club improved people's self-confidence. We could not reciprocate." Günen also continues to write about Trabzonspor for a national newspaper as a "Trabzonsporlu" columnist, as he has for a long time.

Trabzonspor or desiring to make themselves more prominent through their relationship to Trabzonspor, would prove that that person is not a “real” Trabzonspor supporter and a person of low morals. Obuz Erol from Faroz, who has been following the club since the 1970s and actively labored in the stands, brought that criticism to the club directors in my interview with him:

The same departures took place during the İbrahim Hacıosmanoğlu<sup>82</sup> era. If you’re going to do this work of a director as advertisement, you should not come here, and most come with that mindset ... They worry about working for Trabzonspor and promoting themselves through Trabzonspor ... How much money is there in Trabzonspor’s coffers, let me pocket some of that, that’s their goal, that kind of directors are working now.

Criticisms in this narrative are shared by many people within the community. Club directors achieve a position where they represent the club and make statements on behalf of the club, thus gaining visibility in the local and national press. In that sense, being a director at a club like Trabzonspor with a widespread and strong fanbase quickly brings a wide circle of relationships and quite a reputation to people. The allegation that directors derive economic gain from the club, however, is a rather vague issue. It’s occasionally mentioned by the supporters and the sports media that directors of certain Turkish clubs engage in fraud with the collaboration of players’ agents and certain circles that do business with their clubs.<sup>83</sup> Another path towards making economic gains through the club consists of directors mobilizing the position and relationships they gained through the club towards their own ends. In our interview, former club chairman Özkan Sümer brought similar criticisms to club directors based on Trabzonspor but in a manner that would implicate many Super League clubs:

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<sup>82</sup> Chairman of Trabzonspor between the years of 2013 and 2015.

<sup>83</sup> Investigative journalist Atilla Türker is among those who carry out extensive investigations into the kinds of corruption that occur within the Turkish Super League clubs in recent years and how the clubs are brought to the brink of bankruptcy. See his well-documented articles for information on corruption carried out within the football clubs in recent years.

Who are running these clubs in Turkey now? Those who feel the need to periodize, to foster political and commercial relationships, to gain a certain social status. Surely there are people who are unburdened of these needs, but because they are insufficient, we can say that those people are the ones who actually have influence.

The widespread belief that directors make personal gains through the club made the perception that the club directors should at least bring something to the club in return for what they will earn through their positions more dominant within the community. In this sense, it can be said that some supporters position the relationship between directors on the one side and the club and community on the other as one of mutual interest. Two people who were active in the stands and supporter groups until recently made comments in that direction during our interviews:

Adem Söğüt: Sometimes the municipality helps us, sometimes we tell the directors to book a bus for us to go to away games. Seeing as how we want Trabzonspor to succeed ... The boys who go to away games are idle ones. Away games take three days; if there is a game on Sunday in Bursa, you leave on Saturday morning, the game is played on Sunday, you leave that night and come back Monday night. You spend three days on the road. You can't tell this man to pay for the bus. He doesn't have the money to give.<sup>84</sup> We receive support from the municipality and the like for those. If you're a director at Trabzonspor, the director has to pay. For instance, I'm the chairman of an amateur club, each year, together with the team of directors, we give the club 200 to 300.000 liras, we have nothing to gain. You come to Trabzonspor as an unknown name, you call up the governor or a member of parliament and say you're a director at Trabzonspor, put that label before your name, then you're going to pay for a bus.

Hakan Bıyıklı: Being chairman has serious advantages. Muharrem Usta<sup>85</sup>, I mention him as an example, we can talk about many similar people, he went and founded the İstinye University. Then he went and took care of some other business of his, who knew him? Nobody knew him. How did he become known; how did he take care of his business? Because he was the chairman of Trabzonspor. Nobody can join Trabzonspor without giving something; these directors are either going to pay for it, or they are going to bring something to Trabzonspor and then leave. Either bring a footballer or carry Trabzonspor a little higher or pay out of his pocket for Trabzonspor, then he's going to

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<sup>84</sup> Even though it's common practice to ask club administrations and municipalities to book buses for away games, during my interviews many supporter groups stated that they pay for the cost of all their organizations themselves, without any support from the club, and that included away games and tickets.

<sup>85</sup> Trabzonspor chairman from 2015 to 2018. Chairman of the board of directors at Medical Park hospitals.

leave. There are also the regulation changes that we want from the incoming chairman ... He comes and becomes the chairman, takes the lot and leaves. He's going to do whatever he wants and then leave, absolutely no.

As seen in these narratives, Trabzonspor supporters think that being the chairman or a director of the club confers upon a person a position reputable enough that they can reach just about anybody in Turkey.<sup>86</sup> Nizamettin Algan, one of the longest serving directors at the club, narrates how being a Trabzonspor director gained such esteem through the example of an incident in 1978:

We went to visit the members of parliament from Trabzon in Ankara with chairman Şamil Ekinçi. That day, foreign minister Hasan Esat Işık thanked Ciner who was the deputy of Trabzon for the opportunity to meet the chairman and directors of Trabzonspor. Trabzonspor kept growing and carried us upward. (Akay, 2004, p. 45)

The clearest example within the community of being the chairman of the club conferring a great amount of respect and a wide network upon a person is the fact that two of Trabzonspor's former chairmen, Mehmet Ali Yılmaz and Faruk Özak, later entered politics at different times and advancing to the post of minister of sports. During my interview with former footballer and director Serdar Bali narrated their path from chairman of Trabzonspor to the ministry as such:

When Mehmet Ali Bey was 32, he was a man from Trabzon living in Istanbul. He'd gone from Of to Istanbul to work for NATO, nobody knew of him in Trabzon. The late İbrahim Cevahir brought him to Trabzonspor, he became chairman at 32. Then Mehmet Ali Yılmaz became a member of parliament and a minister, these things did not happen out of nowhere. Faruk Abi is of course a different chase; he played football for Trabzonspor, became captain, chairman, and then finally a minister. So, there's a certain sequence. Trabzonspor helped Faruk Abi in that, when the MPs are elected and 600 of them go to the parliament, they don't know where the door is, and people who work there say welcome sir, welcome ma'am. When Faruk Abi entered the parliament, people who work there welcomed him as the chairman, he entered the parliament as the chairman of Trabzonspor, and he always

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<sup>86</sup> There are multiple examples throughout the history of Trabzonspor where the club's directors and chairmen comfortably and respectfully meeting with the foremost leaders in the country. Members of parliament and cabinet ministers from Trabzon usually attend the holiday organizations held at Trabzonspor facilities. A different example of this would be the Acting Ambassador of the United States Embassy in Ankara visiting the club facilities during his trip to Trabzon and holding a meeting with the club directors in 2018. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/sporarena/trabzonspora-ziyaret-40908329>

reciprocated. He's 71 or 72 now, we still air our grievances about Trabzonspor to each other.

Many of the supporter narratives heretofore included show that, along with these extreme positions assumed by the club chairmen, Trabzonspor and the Trabzonspor community present gifts to all who turn towards them and commit to them. As a happy object for its supporters, the club makes them happy and proud with what it's done in the past or is doing now, and committing to Trabzonspor makes the person a part of a wider community that all face the same direction. In Chapter 2, I included the narrative of Kulaçoğlu, a professor of medicine, on the club's championship eras: "our identity cards provided that we as young students in secondary school were respected as university professors under favor of the club's success" (Kulaçoğlu, 2003, p. 53). And in another narrative included in this chapter, a fan narrated how, living away from home in Ankara as a child, they were like "kings" in the stands thanks to Trabzonspor, and how, even when he was left alone as a Trabzonspor supporter at school or in the neighborhood, they would come together without an appointment as thirty thousand people who shared the same love, thanks to Trabzonspor (Liman, 2013, p. 58). Thus, Trabzonspor confers immaterial gifts to many of its supporters. It gives its supporters many advantages, in the form of dignity and self-confidence as well as many new friends and brothers. However, as mentioned early in this chapter, people's positions within the community as well as the quality of their labor for Trabzonspor and the gifts they offer as a result of that labor makes a difference on the value they gain within the community and the gains they make. In this sense, being a director is viewed as a position where the most serious gains are made within the context of the gifts and the value conferred upon persons by the community. It is thought that, beyond immaterial gifts, persons can make material gains such as offices and money thanks to this position.

At this point, I will make use of Bourdieu's concept of social capital to evaluate the club directors' position within the community and the gains they make. According to Bourdieu, social capital is a type of capital that depends on a mutual acquaintance or, in other words, consists of a group membership, and potentially contains the sum of different types of capitals that group members have. The extent of social capital a certain person can have depends on the total capacity of all kinds of capitals belonging to every actor within the community that they are in contact with, or in other words, they can activate. The effect that the sum of these capitals has on an actor does not function according to a simple arithmetic, but may cause an exponential increase in the person's own capital (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 21). When we consider things in this context, how may we position social capital for the Trabzonspor community? Who in the community gains social capital, and to what extent? First, it can't be said that each subject who establishes an affective relationship with Trabzonspor and feels belonging to the club has social capital simply because of that. However, if the person has served on the club's board, or taken part in any organization that seeks to serve the club, or established an acquaintance with the supporters in some other way through their labor for the club and entered into various networks within the community, they could thus gain social capital. For instance, members of a supporters' organization established to serve Trabzonspor without commercial expectations gain social capital within the scope of the collective capital that the group's members have.

Bourdieu claims that in each group, from the nation all the way down to the family, there is a small team or a single subject authorized to speak and act on behalf of the group and the club's social capital, which comprises of the entirety of the group's collective capital, is in their hands, which gives that subject a power that

cannot be compared to their own capital (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 23). If we think about the entirety of the Trabzonspor community as a wider group in this manner, the authority to speak and act on behalf of the community and the club -the *raison d'être* of the community- belongs to the club's chairman and directors. Again, it is the board of directors, which is virtually authorized to run the club, that has the capacity to reach out to various organizations, groups and fans and thus can reach every network within the community. People who can occupy these positions are usually actors with a certain economic or social capital, but with these positions they gain within the Trabzonspor community, they reach a social capital far above that of their personal capital. On the other hand, as can be seen in the supporter narratives above, club administrations may lose this hegemony they have over the community. Thus, the social capital that comes with being a club director is not always automatically earned or comfortably maintained. The performance displayed by the chairman and the administration may also have the effect of increasing the mobilization of subjects within the community, bringing new people to the club and thus increasing the community's total capital. In that case, how did the posts of chairman and director become positions that incorporate the social capital that arise from the entirety of the community, despite the community's intense criticisms and suspicions towards the club administrations? How does the post of chairman positively affect the supporters? At this point, I will mention the mission ideally imposed upon these positions, and the role played by the chairmen who have historically fulfilled this mission and increased the club's affective value.

As I previously emphasized, directors on the board do not receive a salary or remuneration in exchange for the roles they assume within the club. One of the requirements of being a director at the club is to previously be a formal member of

the club. Thus, club directors are among the club's supporters before they assume their duties, at least on paper. In this sense, club directors are ideally supporters who labor for the club without reciprocation. Being a club director is to share a sanctified burden, to take responsibility to fulfill the community's ideals. As I mentioned earlier in the chapter when talking about the club's economic structure, many directors throughout the history of Trabzonspor have made donations from their own personal wealth to the club or gave interest-free loans in emergencies. These sacrifices, made to sustain the club, are acknowledged as the gifts presented by the directors to the club and not only an affective relationship is assumed to be established between the directors and the club, but the directors also gain an affective value in the eyes of the community. The club directors bringing pride and happiness to the community with the results on the pitch and the way they manage and represent the club off the pitch is the gifts they present to the community. Due to the positions they occupy, their labors for the sake of the club and their economic, emotional and temporal sacrifices both produces and strengthens their own commitment to the club and helps to create a feeling of community and consolidate the supporters around the club. If the club's chairman has made the necessary sacrifices for the club in the eyes of the community and forged an affective and affective relationship with the club and the community, they receive a great amount of respect and love from most of the community. Thus, they gain a hegemonic power over the community in terms of leadership. Ali Özbak, a long-serving director of the club, narrates the value given to the club's chairmen through lived experiences:

Our Annual General Financial Assembly took place on January 6, 2002 at Hamamizade, and the General Council Assembly on May 9<sup>th</sup>, 2003 at Tevfik Serdar Culture Hall. Both of these events saw an attendance several times more than they previously did, because both times Özkan Sümer was in attendance and up on the podium. Trabzonspor supporters focus on wherever the chairman is, because they immensely enjoy seeing him or holding his

hand ... Let me tell you an anecdote. In 1995, our 9<sup>th</sup> president, Mr. Süleyman Demirel, visited our club. Then he went to Of for the opening of a facility belonging to the Ulusoy. I did not go, but our friends who did told us that people paid more attention to our club's chairman, Faruk Özak. (Özbak, 2007, p. 401)

These narratives show that the position of club chairman constitutes an immaterial value for the supporters, and physical proximity to the chairmen who somehow produce affective labor while holding this position affects people who turn towards Trabzonspor positively, making them happy. One Trabzonspor chairman who has attained the status of legend is Şamil Ekinçi. Nihat Genç (2004, p. 325) has stated in an interview that Şamil Ekinçi and İskender Günen are the two best-loved people to come to Trabzon from elsewhere. To date, Şamil Ekinçi, from Kırşehir<sup>87</sup>, is the only non-Trabzon native to become chairman of Trabzonspor. He was the chairman for Trabzonspor's first four championships, including its revolutionary first league title, and made several donations to the club's budget from his own personal fortune during this time. Believing that Trabzonspor was not adequately or accurately represented in the press, he founded Karadeniz Gazetesi, Trabzon's first printed newspaper, with the purpose of bringing Trabzonspor to the public from the club's and the community's own point of view and forging Trabzonspor's and Trabzon's own voice in the world of media (Öksüz, 2004, p. 280; Ocak, 2016, p. 154). One quote that's often attributed to Ekinçi is "bury me in Boztepe when I die, if they allow it..."<sup>88</sup> This quote is accepted as an indication of Ekinçi having identified with the city as well as the club, embraced the city and its people, and became its native over time. He also willingly moved his state register to Trabzon in 1974. As seen in

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<sup>87</sup> Ekinçi, after graduating from Istanbul Erkek Lisesi (Boys' High School), moving to Trabzon for commercial purposes and setting up a flour factory, joined the club's board in 1970 upon the invitation of some prominent people on the board (Ocak, 2016, pp. 22-23). Having joined the board as a member, he later assumed important positions, such as General Director and Vice President. He became chairman of the club in June 1975 and remained in office for five years until June 1980.

<sup>88</sup> <http://haydevira.net/efsaneler>

his quote above, he always stayed humble towards the community and the club, even in the face of his labors and sacrifices for the club.<sup>89</sup> An event narrated by Ali Özbak reveals Ekinci's affective value within the community, nearly thirty years after his term as chairman:

Şamil Ekinci came to Trabzon for an award given by the Trabzon municipality in September 2007. The award was given at the Hüseyin Kazaz Cultural Center. On the way out, a man in his early thirties approached Ekinci and said, "Mr. Chairman, let me kiss you." He kissed the chairman. Then, one after the other ... I asked one of them why they kissed the chairman so heartily. "Brother, to smell the championship!" Truly, Chairman Ekinci is really, really worth kissing, he's a "Trabzonspor missionary." And when you think about what we were going through then, and are now! (Özbak, 2009, p. 105)

What caught my attention here is that, despite many supporters, directors, footballers or coaches living in the city, for many supporters it is Şamil Ekinci who is the embodiment of "the smell of championship", or the Trabzonspor of those years.

Thanks to his sacrifices for the club and the city as well as his humane attitude, Şamil Ekinci made serious contributions to the club's growth in terms of prestige, success and number of supporters. Ekinci, who is not "originally" from Trabzon, contributed more to the club than most people from Trabzon and became synonymous with Trabzonspor. At this point I would like to make an assertion: Trabzonspor turned being from Trabzon, the identity of being from Trabzon into something that's earned, and not something one is born with, thus making it an open construct. What made this possible was the existence of Trabzonspor supporters who are not from Trabzon but, like Şamil Ekinci, who commit to the club and to the city, laboring for Trabzonspor. Trabzonspor exceeding the city of Trabzon and having supporters from

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<sup>89</sup> The issue of being humble within the community is a contradictory one. Not putting oneself forward for the labor expended and remaining humble is quite important at the point of labor turning into affective labor, and it's always respected morally and spiritually, but this attitude may also keep one from being popular. Faruk once said in a speech, "If Şamil Ekinci came to Trabzon now and walked down the street ... Şamil Ekinci is unknown in Trabzon." <https://twitter.com/tsarsive/status/1131638878060855297>

all over Turkey also opened up the city of Trabzon and the issue of being from Trabzon to the outside and made it performative, instead of being fixed and closed. Of course, this issue sometimes becomes a point of tension.

With Trabzonspor earning a serious amount of support and popularity following several championship titles in a row, the turning point in Trabzonspor history for the post of Trabzonspor chairman being thought of as “a place to advertise” and an opportunity to earn a great deal of social capital was the election of Mustafa Günaydın as chairman in 1981. As I mentioned before, due to the club’s economic structure it is expected and requested by the community that wealthy businessmen be included in the club’s administration. However, until Mustafa Günaydın, businessmen fulfilled the responsibility expected of them due to their position in the city, rather than personally become prominent as club administrators. Due to the growing need for economic resources after the club’s championship titles, the Trabzonspor community would make a collective effort and put together various labor-intensive fundraising campaigns to make up the club’s economic deficits with donations from Trabzon natives and especially the businessmen from Trabzon who live in Istanbul (Özbak, 2007, p. 239). And in the 80’s, the businessmen from Trabzon who lived in Istanbul and who previously supported the club administration in various ways, including donations, started becoming club chairmen and started the era of “moneyed chairman.” This is viewed as a mentality change in Trabzonspor’s history by many people who write about the club (Ocak, 2008, pp. 57-58; Özbak, 2007, p. 239). Ali Özbak talks about one aspect of this change. Mustafa Günaydın, who became chairman in 1981, had promised to journalists during a fundraising campaign in 1980 that, if elected, he would directly donate 25 million Turkish liras<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Worth approximately 3.25 million Turkish liras today, adjusted for inflation.

to the club, ten times the amount that the previous administration collected with that fundraising campaign, for which they had established a committee. Of the ongoing campaign, he said, “Trabzonspor is left abandoned, it’s left to the streets, my heart won’t allow it.” According to Özbak, these statements and this approach started an era where the supporters would give up on making small contributions and leave the economic matters to the “moneyed chairmen” (Özbak, 2007, p. 233). In other words, the chairman financing the club through his own means came to be considered a requirement for the post. Another important aspect of the change was that, whereas the club’s previous chairmen lived in Trabzon and the club’s operations were centered around the city, the businessmen living in Istanbul becoming chairmen meant the club was being run remotely and the distance between the city’s population and the club’s administration started to grow. The spatial position of the chairman and the directors became a popular matter of debate as a form of administration, and it was periodically revisited within the community.<sup>91</sup> After Mustafa Günaydın failed to fulfill his promises and lost his post within the year, Mehmet Ali Yılmaz replaced him to become the most important representative of the “moneyed chairman” school. We may consider the “moneyed chairman” inquiry through the economic capital being converted into social capital, as defined by Bourdieu. Bourdieu claims that it is possible to convert economic capital into social

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<sup>91</sup> This is one of the most important subjects of debate in terms of the form of administration within the Trabzonspor community, and it started with the businessmen from Trabzon who live in Istanbul becoming club chairmen. In this sense, it can be said that two separate forms of club administration emerged throughout the historical process. Common names used for these forms of administration are “local administration” and “remote administration.” Various definitions of what “local administration” was have changed over time. One of the most important interpretations is that the chairman goes wherever the club goes and personally represents it (Özbak, 2007, p. 379); he accompanies the team to the games as long as there’s no exceptional situation, and keeps in close contact with the city and the supporters. Another important aspect of this criticism is whether or not the person who becomes chairman has ever served the club before. Chairmen who have previously served the club in some capacity present a more suitable figure for the “local administration” as people who know the community better and know how the club operates. However, those whose first experience of laboring for the club is being chairman are usually “foreigners” to the community and the club, thus falling short of the “local administration” sensibility.

capital, but this requires a certain labor that includes time and interest along with economic sacrifices, thus transforming the sacrifice into an exchange relationship instead of a merely financial relationship. Bourdieu asserts that, from a narrow economic perspective, this effort is a loss, but in the long run it is a profitable investment that may bring gains, economic or otherwise (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 25). In this sense, it can be said that the post of chairman is an ideal position for Bourdieu's capital conversion. It is evident that economic capital is converted into social capital through the chairmen's and directors' labor for the club and the time they spend as well as their economic sacrifices. In fact, making unreciprocated economic sacrifices for the sake of the club is an act that's valued by the community. The amount of such contributions and its extreme examples are acts that add value to the club and create a sense of community. However, mere economic support from a distance is not sufficient to convert economic capital into social capital.<sup>92</sup>

Mehmet Ali Yılmaz is the longest-serving chairman in Trabzonspor's history. Yılmaz's tenure, which spans 12 seasons, can be broken into three separate time periods.<sup>93</sup> He spent a great deal of money for the club in his first two terms, and

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<sup>92</sup> We can make this concrete with examples from within the community. In 2018, the new administration under the chairman Ahmet Ağaoğlu started a fundraising campaign aimed at the supporters to relieve the financial bottleneck that Trabzonspor was in. A businessman from Batman contributed 1.5 million Turkish liras. This was the biggest donation of the campaign, and a supporter from Batman making such a large contribution was very much appreciated within the community. <https://www.trabzonspor.org.tr/tr/haberler/guncel-haberler/batmanli-is-adami-metin-gunes-kulubumuze-1-5-milyon-tlik-maddi-destek-sagladi-24-4-2018>. However, it cannot be said that this supporter's contribution earned him a great deal of social capital within the community, because he is far removed from the intracommunity networks and relationships of mutual recognition. On the other hand, Nevzat Aydın, who is known for his unreciprocated support for the club, is a popular, well-known name among the supporters, with whom he's in mutual communication. One reason for this is that, along with his numerous contributions to the club, he also served as a director, took part in several club organizations including the games, and thus communicates with several circles within the community.

<sup>93</sup> His first term was from 1982 to 1988. In 1988, he voluntarily gave up his post. According to some, this decision was made in response to criticism of "remote administration." However, upon being invited back by prominent figures within the community after one year, he served his second term from 1989 to 1992. After being elected to the parliament from 1991 and becoming a cabinet minister, he ended up having to resign as chairman of the club. Finally, seeking a "strong" chairman after the crisis of May 5, 1996, the community brought him back to the post. He lost the struggle against Özkan Sümer in 2000 and his era as chairman came to a close.

helped the club to obtain one of the earliest modern football facilities in Turkey. He secured a significant amount of popularity within the Trabzonspor community and in the city of Trabzon, going from being largely unknown in the city to becoming one of the most talked-about people in a short period of time, despite living in Istanbul. Thanks to this popularity, he became a parliamentary candidate from the DYP in the 1991 elections and a cabinet minister the same year, thus departed from his post; in the club's general assembly in 1992, he was given the distinction of "honorary chairman" for his contributions to the club until then. On the other hand, this value he was given within the Trabzonspor community made another one of the important contradictions within the Trabzonspor community visible. As mentioned in Chapter 2, one of the most impressions Trabzonspor makes that helps it to become a happy object is that it is a club and a community that draws upon its own resources and puts up a fight against Istanbul's rich teams with its own modest economic means, displaying a pure, unblemished eastern pride with the success it's achieved even when destitute. Trabzonspor has come to symbolize the Anatolia that rises up against Istanbul while remaining "itself." Mehmet Ali Yılmaz, both with his personal life and the way he ran the club, diverged from this image, introducing to Trabzonspor the image of power and flashiness that is attributed to the Istanbul clubs. During his tenure, Mehmet Ali Yılmaz became the only club chairman in Turkey to own a national newspaper and a bank (Ataman, 2004, p. 220), and made a name for himself with his expensive, flashy transfers (Kılıç, 2004, p. 210). After his first few years as chairman, he became an arrogant figure who fell short of humility and did not much value people.<sup>94</sup> According to some writers, this made Trabzonspor resemble its

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<sup>94</sup> It was reported that after Groh, Trabzonspor's first foreign footballer in the First League's 1985-86 season, failed to perform as expected, Yılmaz remarked, "We bought him as a hunting dog, he turned out to be a pet dog" (Atalay & Sungur, 2004, p. 198). In the late 1990s, Yılmaz brought the Black English footballer Kevin Campbell to Trabzonspor in a flashy move. However, soon after this move,

archrivals, Fenerbahçe (Kola, 2004, p. 133; Bora, 2004, p. 120). After he moved on to become a minister, he was often photographed with mafia-related figures of the time and remained a media darling (Ataman, 2004, p. 226).

This means that the Trabzonspor community represented Anatolia's "pure and proud" stance with its own modest means in "the battle of money against labor" and was proud of it, all the while desiring an arrogant administration that was distinguished with its power and reputation, which made it resemble the Istanbul teams. One moment where this was made visible was when the administration that made Trabzonspor the "champions of hearts" after several years were replaced with Yılmaz as chairman after the Fenerbahçe game in 1996, because it was thought that more strength was needed. Especially with his last stint as chairman between 1996 and 2000, Mehmet Ali Yılmaz caused the sympathy towards Trabzonspor from all across Turkey to turn into antipathy and the love for the club in the country to decrease, and the club lost supporters (Sağiroğlu, 2004, p. 86; Kulaçoğlu, 2004d, p. 236). Yılmaz also caused the "moneyed chairman" model to be questioned economically with his actions in this last period. In his third stint as chairman, instead of lending money to the club without reciprocation, as he previously did, he instead took a debt-free club with money in its coffers and incurred bank debts. By doing this, he also paved the way for the habit of recklessly incurring debts to banks, which persists to this day. Having driven the club into debt, decreasing sympathy towards the club with his statements and failing to deliver the expected success on the pitch in his last term, Yılmaz began drawing criticism from the community. In response he made statements, insulting important community figures and considering

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he remarked, "We bought him as a goal machine, but this cannibal turned out to be a washing machine" (Ocak, 2008, p. 93). In response, Campbell left the club and the country.

himself to be above the club.<sup>95</sup> As a result of all this, Yılmaz was faced with a great communal reaction represented by Özkan Sümer, and he lost his post as chairman to Sümer, whose personal wealth was much more limited (Kulaçoğlu, 2004d, p. 237). Having lost the chairmanship in 2000, and seeking to drive the club into hardship, Yılmaz demanded that the club return several donations he had made over the years, creating a significant negative effect, losing his affective value with most of the community and causing the community to adopt a negative attitude towards him. After he criticized Trabzonspor and made comments that would be favorable to Fenerbahçe in 2012, when a campaign against the match-fixing in 2010-11 season was underway, important Trabzonspor supporter groups came together put out a press release. In this release, all of the honorary chairman's negative encounters with the Trabzonspor community over the years that made a mark in the community's collective memory were mentioned, and he was called "problematic chairman."<sup>96</sup>

As I previously mentioned, one chronic problem that Yılmaz pioneered was that people would not spend out of their own pockets but spend on the back of the club, thus driving it into debt. The "change in bylaws" mentioned in Bıyıklı's speech quoted above is, in this context, a call to take measures to protect the club economically.<sup>97</sup> There are two simple reasons for the club being in debt several times over its annual income. One is that the path of borrowing at interest and postponing debts with further borrowing is open, thanks to the banking and credit system. The

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<sup>95</sup> Yılmaz called prominent citizens of Trabzon "insects", "pantsless" etc. (Kulaçoğlu, 2004d, p. 237). He also made statements in which he placed himself above the club and everyone else: "I'm keeping a giant alive all by myself, and from Istanbul too ... Seeing as I've been chairman for 20 years, Trabzonspor must not be a club with a wealth of options" (Ataman, 2004, pp. 221-223).

<sup>96</sup> The press release can be found here in its entirety: <https://www.haberts.com/trabzonspor/onursal-degil-sorunsal-baskan-h7318.html>

<sup>97</sup> The current club administration called an extraordinary general assembly in 2018 as a precaution against the high levels of club's debt and the club chairmen's careless attitude towards it, and made changes in the bylaws that would limit the administrations' spending and hold them responsible. <https://www.trtspor.com.tr/haber/futbol/spor-toto-super-lig/trabzonspor-kulubu-tuzugunu-degistirdi-163560.html>

other is that the debt accrued as a result of decisions made by club administrations and particularly the chairmen does not burden them with any economic responsibility. Because they are not personally responsible for the club's debts, incoming administrations have long followed populist policies and preferred expensive transfers, paying high fees to agents, an important intermediary institution in the world of football. One criticism often aimed among supporters towards administrators on this matter is along the lines of whether or not they would "run it like this if it were their own company."<sup>98</sup> In other words, the administrations that the fans trust with this club that they feel a commitment to have not valued it as they would their own possessions, thus betraying that trust.

Another reason why the directors' commitment to and love of the club is questioned is that they do not attend the games and drift away from the club after their term is over. Being a supporter is a state in which being close to the club and the team gives people happiness, making them long for this closeness. For a supporter who is committed to the team, good days and bad days alike draw them towards the team and the club; standing with the club requires sharing in the joy and the sorrow. However, if someone seeks out a "sanctified duty" that promises to share the club's burden and is granted it, only to abandon the club and the team, that would imply that their love and belongingness is not authentic. Then-chairman Muharrem Usta failed to attend the board meeting in October 2017. During this meeting, which I attended, chairman of the board Ali Sürmen criticized the club administration over the chairman's absence and condemned them for not taking the board seriously, saying:

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<sup>98</sup> However, a contradiction has to be addressed. As I have closely followed for over two years, despite the club's existing debt, local media and many supporters expect "stars", meaning expensive transfers, during each transfer window. Administrations not making such transfers are subject to criticism.

Who make up the board? Those who paid their dues for 25 years with a sense of belonging to this club and not expecting a directorship; those who attended the team's games in the snow, in the rain, in the mud, under the sun, and made the club's troubles their own. Who else? The former directors of the club, those with experience. If you think you are not going to explain yourself to this collection of people, that would be wrong.

An ideal supporter figure is drawn up here. It's about a long-term, unbreakable relationship with the club, not leaving the club alone for the games, making bodily and financial sacrifices for the club, being troubled by the club's problems, and not expecting financial gains from the club in return. This is exactly what makes people the real laborers and owners of the club. Administrations that form short-term relationships with the club, if they don't take their place in the stands and become intimate with the club and the supporters, would not be considered to have a real belonging to the club.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION AND EPILOGUE

In this last part I will examine how the high value Kazım Koyuncu earned within the Trabzonspor community came to be. I attach importance to the issue, because it as a specific case provides to notice how inclusion and exclusion processes work within the community. I will try to make the contradictory structure of belonging visible through Koyuncu. How did Kazım Koyuncu manage to positively affect a significant part of the Trabzonspor community, though contradictory position for the most of the community? In what ways he turned into an object of love for them? On the other hand, this chapter also can be partly considered as a continuation of Chapter 4. I will examine Kazım Koyuncu's case as a specific example of how affective labor is produced as an ordinary supporter who is a not executive or professional employee in the club. In some of the supporter narrative I quoted in the previous part, Kazım Koyuncu was remembered alongside the Trabzonspor martyrs. He's placed right next to them. For many members of the Trabzonspor community, Koyuncu and those who die for the sake of Trabzonspor turn the belief in winning titles and the commitment to the community's ideal into a form of responsibility and duty. Sacrifices that people make for Trabzonspor embody their commitment to the club and increase the club's standing; in this sense, the gifts they offer to the community turn into a debt that reproduces and solidifies the commitment to Trabzonspor for the members of the community. In order for the souls of Koyuncu and those who die for the sake of Trabzonspor to rest in peace, those who are left behind should look after Trabzonspor and keep their eyes on its promise of championship. When that day

comes, the graves of these people will be visited and the debt of loyalty to these great Trabzonspor supporters will be paid. One supporter puts it this way:

Kazım made all Trabzonspor supporters love him, and he made all Trabzonspor supporters cry after him. At his funeral, Trabzonspor supporters were all in the front rows. Most of the shoulders carrying his casket to the Harbiye Open Air Theater were [wearing] claret and blue. The claret and blue flag was laid on top the casket placed on the stage, and Kazım and the Trabzonspor supporters shared one last look. We made a promise to Kazım that day. A promise as Trabzonspor supporters to win the title cup and bring it to his grave. (Şahin, 2013, p. 133)

Each year, on the anniversary of Kazım Koyuncu's death, many supporters, supporter groups and the club's official website commemorate Kazım Koyuncu on social media. And one supporter group flies a flag of Kazım Koyuncu's silhouette in the stands during many games. The club produced a documentary about him in 2016, titled "En Sevdalı Yanımız: Kazım'ın Trabzonspor'u".<sup>99</sup> Then, how did Koyuncu become so valuable within the community? In Turkey, some singers' and artists' club supporters are known, and a claim can be made that some of them feel a high degree of commitment to their club and make it visible before the public. However, no singer has been embraced and highlighted by a club and its community so much and identified with the club. In this sense, Koyuncu is the only one of his kind. Previously, I relayed the narrative of a Fenerbahçe supporter from Mersin becoming a Trabzonspor supporter. That same person refers to Kazım Koyuncu as one of the factors that influenced his transformation:

I'm one of those who got to know Kazım Koyuncu after his death. I'm angry with myself; how did I not know this tremendous voice before? ... Kazım Koyuncu first kindled my admiration with the Black Sea. Kazım Koyuncu was a Trabzonspor supporter, so much so that I thought he was from Trabzon ... Anatolia summarizes me, not Istanbul. Trabzon and the Trabzonspor supporter (Kazım Koyuncu) affects me, not Fenerbahçe or the Fenerbahçe supporter (there's nobody to go between these parentheses). (Korkmaz, 2011, pp. 275-278)

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<sup>99</sup> The unreferenced quotes below are taken from this documentary. In order to watch it: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WjRL2091\\_b0](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WjRL2091_b0)

As seen in this narrative, Kazım Koyuncu is identified with Trabzonspor to the degree where he is viewed as the club's representation. Another important point is that, with his existence and his position he influences people enough to direct them towards Trabzonspor, even though they never met him. In this sense, he is a Trabzonspor missionary. One supporter describes him as "the greatest Trabzonspor supporter to ever live" (Yeşilyurt, 2013, p. 122). This supporter also mentioned Koyuncu's effect on people as a Trabzonspor supporter:

I was also a supporter, but I got to know much better next to him what it meant to be a supporter, to take a side ... He injected Trabzonspor into everyone he talked to. Everyone who left his side wanted to see him again. Supporters of Fenerbahçe, Beşiktaş or Galatasaray were all sympathetic to Trabzonspor thanks to him.<sup>100</sup> Is that all? No ... You know how people change teams after championships, or when they're furious? This time, there were those who changed teams out of their love for Kazım. (Yeşilyurt, 2013, p. 120)

Şehnaz Yeygel, Kazım Koyuncu's friend and lyricist, describes this situation in these words: "Kazım was a magnet for Trabzonspor". Koyuncu is in a position of belongingness to the club where, by his presence, he will remind people of Trabzonspor. And, as someone who earned the love and respect of many different groups of people, he also adds value to the club. This person who made a lot of people love Trabzonspor is not from Trabzon, and he does not come from a family of Trabzonspor supporters. In a village of Artvin where there are a lot of Fenerbahçe supporters, Koyuncu chose Trabzonspor as a child. This makes him even more valuable in the eyes of the community. Because he achieved what was difficult, he displayed a serious will and managed to commit to Trabzonspor despite all adverse conditions. One year before his death of cancer in 2005, upon the request of then-club administrator Tahsin Usta, Koyuncu composes and sings two anthems for Trabzonspor. Usta says they felt this need because, at the time, they didn't have an

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<sup>100</sup> This can be observed in the comment sections of the Trabzonspor anthems sung by Kazım Koyuncu: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cliApYyQxh8>

anthem that was widely used and accepted by the supporters. Kazım's producer indicates that the club administrators' inquiry as to how much he would ask for in exchange for his work annoyed Kazım very much; he replied, "that is an honor for me, I would be honored to do it" and refused to accept any money. Thus, Koyuncu put his professional skills, personal talent and his job, which was his means of economic gain, at the disposal of Trabzonspor. He presented his labour to Trabzonspor as a gift. His two songs, "Dalga Dalga Fırtına" and "Uy Aha Trabzon", were indeed very well liked and widely used among the Trabzonspor supporters. "Uy Aha Trabzon" in particular had an important place in the stands. As well as being one of the anthems played on the stadium's sound system during games in Trabzon, it's also often played after the team scores a goal, and sometimes supporter groups perform with horon motifs to the beat of this song. One thing that made Kazım valuable in the eyes of the supporters, other than offering his work to the club free of charge, is that he took his place in the stands as an "ordinary" supporter who cared about supporting his team. Being humble about sacrifices made for the sake of the club, not putting oneself forward and always following the team as a supporter are valuable qualities within the community. Thus, it is revealed that the person actually cares about and is committed to Trabzonspor, and that person earns a respectable position as far as the supporters are concerned. It's indicated in many narratives that Koyuncu took his place among the supporters in the stands for many games and chanted for the team. Here's one supporter's observation:

At that moment I looked at Kazım again, was he just there in the stands, or was he a devoted supporter? When I saw Kazım rejoicing like a child, I thought to myself, 'All right, this boy is one of us'. Kazım was shouting 'Trabzon, Trabzon, Trabzon' at the top of his lungs. (Şahin, 2013, p. 129)

In this sense, it may be said that Koyuncu was acting as "Trabzonspor's soldier", and there are many other activities of his to indicate that. As well as being a musician

producing anthems for Trabzonspor free of charge, he also personally supported the club's 100,000 members campaign. Club administrator Tahsin Usta talks about how, after making Kazım a member of the club, he also signed up many members from Van, Muş and Hakkari thanks to him. Within this frame, Kazım Koyuncu became a banner figure who can be identified with the club thanks to his work for the club and his being a well-loved, sympathetic figure due to his life and music. And this condition was reproduced again and again among the supporters after his death in 2005 at an early age. In one pro-Trabzonspor protest, the supporter group Affetmezler carried a banner that read "Kazım Koyuncu Is Our Pride", and as I mentioned above, Vira supporter group included a banner that read "Play Like Dozer, Love Like Kazım" in their choreography in 2017. Here, making unreciprocated sacrifices and displaying pure love are emphasized through Kazım's example. As a Trabzonspor supporter who's not from Trabzon, as someone who sacrifices without expecting anything in return, as a supporter who follows his team in the stands and a Trabzonspor missionary who attracts people to the club, Kazım Koyuncu has occupied many positions of affective value within the community. Besides these, he also presented gifts to the Trabzonspor supporters that are widely used and circulated. The anthems mentioned above and some of Koyuncu's words turned into gifts for the supporters that would give them something to say, songs to sing, improve the club's respectability and increase the subjects' commitment. Koyuncu also produced a motto for the Trabzonspor supporters who are not from Trabzon, those who wish to see Trabzonspor as the representation of revolt against injustice, one that is widely used among the supporters I've quoted in the previous chapter:

Being a Trabzonspor supporter is not a nationalistic behavior that can be explained with being born in the region. For me, Trabzonspor was the

imaginary hero who opposed the mighty and defeated everyone. It was such a hero that it even upended the status quo. (Koyuncu, 2004)

It was also a well-known fact that, during his lifetime, Kazım Koyuncu was sympathetic to the ideology and the struggle of the left. In this sense, it also provided a base to give meaning to Trabzonspor through values like justice and struggle. Over time, Koyuncu became a shared object of love for Trabzonspor supporters, turning into a sticky body upon whom the image of Trabzonspor sticks to the point where the two are interchangeable. Erdal Hoş explains this situation as such: “You know how everyone says that Trabzonspor is horon, kemencha, tulum and kolbastı, but it’s also Kazım now.” Hoş goes on to say that, as a “very important player off the pitch”, Koyuncu built and carried Trabzonspor’s “left wing” by himself. In this sense, he really occupies an interesting position. Kazım Koyuncu is not the only Trabzonspor supporter to subscribe to leftist thought and activism, many others can be mentioned. There are entities like the “Revolutionary Trabzonspor Supporters” among the supporters. Vahap Güven, the leader of that group, died fighting among the ranks of the YPG against ISIS in 2014.<sup>101</sup> However, Trabzonspor supporters who take place in the radical leftist politics or the Kurdish political movement are marginalized and ignored by the Trabzonspor community. In my fieldwork, I found that every supporter group member I talked to told me that their group was above politics and they had members of all political views, while constantly excluding the Kurdish political movement, represented by the Peoples’ Democratic Party (HDP), from their statements. Besides, through its official online accounts and the videos it produces, the club, the common happy object of all supporters, sometimes promotes militarism and statism. In this sense, Kazım Koyuncu is the only person to be remembered both by the HDP and Trabzonspor through official channels. At this point, Koyuncu’s

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<sup>101</sup> <https://www.islahhaber.net/devrimci-trabzonsporlular-ypg-saflarinda-savasiyor-41874.html>

early death is also an important factor in his attaining the position of a legend. As I previously mentioned, being a supporter is a process that requires consistency and is incessantly questioned by words and deeds. The question remains whether Kazım Koyuncu's position within the community as someone who composes Trabzonspor anthems free of charge, as a Trabzonspor missionary who takes his place in the stands, would have been affected had he made a political choice that would have shamed or irritated the majority of the community.

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