IMAGINING AND POSITIONING GYPSINESS
A CASE STUDY OF GYPSY/ROMA FROM IZMIR, TEPECIK

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

ZEYNEP CEREN EREN

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
IN
MEDIA AND CULTURAL STUDIES

DECEMBER 2008

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

———————————————

Prof. Dr. Sencer Ayata

Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

———————————————

Prof. Dr. Raşit Kaya

Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

———————————————

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Helga Tılıç

Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Helga Tılıç   (METU, SOC) ————————————

Prof. Dr. Raşit Kaya   (METU, MCS) ————————————

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşe Hoşgör (METU, SOC) ————————————

I hereby declare that all the information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original in this work.

Name, Last Name: Zeynep Ceren, Eren

Signature:

ABSTRACT

IMAGINING AND POSITIONING GYPSINESS
A CASE STUDY OF GYPSY/ROMA FROM IZMIR, TEPECIK

Eren, Zeynep Ceren

M.A., Department of Media and Cultural Studies

Supervisor: Assoc. Dr. Helga Tılıç

December, 2008, 171 pages

In this study, the particular identification process of Gypsiness is discussed on the basis of socio-economic conditions. Certain occupations, i.e. scrap-dealing, belly-dancing and musicianship are selected in the case of Gypsy/Roma community from Tepecik, Izmir as key markers of identity. Whether there is an organic relation between the long lasting occupational positions of Gypsy/Roma and their self-identity perception and if so, how it is perceived by each occupational category is considered as significant in the analysis of Gypsiness and its diverse interpretations. In addition to the discussion of identity with references to certain socio-economic conditions, cultural and social codes significant in identification are discussed. Particular perceptions towards the Kurdish group, the Gorgio group, as well as the "Gypsy" group are also considered as key markers in identity formation process of Gypsy/Roma. In this context, a field study is conducted in Tepecik, Tenekeli neighborhood using in-depth interviews.

Key Words: Gypsy/Roma, Ethnicity, Occupation, Identity formation

ÖZ

ÇİNGENELİĞİ TASAVVUR ETME VE KONUMLANDIRMA
İZMİR TEPECİK ÇİNGENE/ROMAN CEMAATİ ÖRNEĞİ

Eren, Zeynep Ceren

Yüksek Lisans, Medya ve Kültürel Çalışmalar Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Assoc. Dr. Helga Tılıç

Bu çalışmada, özgün bir kimlik süreci olarak Çingenelik, sosyo-ekonomik koşullar temelinde tartışılmıştır. İzmir Tepecik Çingene/Roman cemaatinin önemli kimlik belirleyenleri olarak hurdacılık, oryantallik ve müzisyenlik meslekleri seçilmiştir. Uzun zamandır sahip olunan bu mesleki konumlanmalar ile Çingenelerin/Romanların kendi kimlik algıları arasında organik bir bağ olup olmadığı ve eğer varsa, bu bağın her bir ayrı mesleki kategori tarafından nasıl algılandığı, Çingeneliğin ve farklı yorumlarının analizi için önemli bulunmuştur. Belli sosyo-ekonomik koşullar çerçevesinde tartışılan "kimlik"e ek olarak, bu kimlik inşa sürecinde önemli olan kültürel ve sosyal kodlar da tartışılmıştır. Çingene/Roman cemaatinin Kürt olan, Gaco olan ve "Çingene" olan gruba karşı algıları da kimlik inşasında önemli kimlik belirleyicileridir. Bu bağlamda, derinlemesine görüşme yöntemi kullanılarak Tepecik, Tenekeli mahallede alan çalışması yapılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çingene/Roman, Etnisite, Meslek, Kimlik

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

vii

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

Romany studies today could be marked by diverse interests; whereas the strong tendency in these arguments of studies towards human rights, specifically ethnic minority rights, identity, social exclusion/inclusion policies and Gypsy/Roma communities' access to basic citizenship rights can not be denied. Romany Studies, by support of powerful actors like European Commission/Union, Open Society Institute/Soros Foundation or other civil society organizations on national and global levels, have been addressing at serious social, cultural, political as well as economic problems of the Gypsy community, particularly in Southeastern and Central European countries.[1] However, there exists a critical point underlying the nature of these studies. It refers to what Ken Lee argues in his study of "Orientalism and Gypsylorism": "'The Gypsies' is an externally imposed discursive construct that likewise represents an alleged underlying essential reality. Gypsylorism can thus be seen as that field of study that discursively constitutes as its subjects 'The Gypsies'." (Lee, 2000: 4) The construction of "the Gypsies" as subjects of the field of the study may reflect the double-sidedness of the studies which could be stated as "anti-Gypsism" or "romanticization of Gypsy". (Hancock, in Beissinger, Margaret 2001:25) While the first one has attributions to deviancy and being polluted, second one formulates a romantic myth and image of Gypsy located in the past. What intersects these understandings is both disconnecting the Gypsyness from its social, cultural and

---

[1]   http://www.soros.org/initiatives/roma,   http://www.soros.org/initiatives/health/focus/roma, available at 2008, september

economic roots and re-excludes/isolates in the last instance.[2] However, today Romany studies tend to concentrate on Gypsy/Roma community within the framework of "politically correctness" which also results in popularization of Gypsy identity.[3] In this context, this study considers Gypsy/Roma identity as socially-constructed formation without ignoring the primordial attachments in order to prevent to be fixed to two perspectives, as mentioned above. Although ways of anti-Gypsism or romanticization of Gypsy for excluding the Gypsy/Roma are different, both tend to consider identity as by nature, fixed and not in a relation with social, cultural and economic dynamics. This thesis gives priority to an understanding of Gypsy/Roma identity which is relational and open to construction and reconstruction within certain circumstances.

Gypsy/Roma community is characterized by many territories, many languages and religious practices. Even in Turkey, differences among Gypsy/Roma groups could be observed in terms of the dynamics stated above (Oprişan, Ana, 2005). While studies have been conducted on Roma in the cities of Thrace where the most crowded population has been living in, studies have been concentrated specifically on Istanbul. Istanbul has also importance as being the oldest settlement –Sulukule- of Gypsy/ Roma people throughout the history.[4] In addition, some studies have been conducted in cities like Izmir and Edirne. The common conclusion of these studies (such as Adrian Marsh and Elin Strand, 2005, Suat Kolukırık, 2006, Selin Ceyhan, 2003) defines Gypsy/ Roma community in Turkey as one of the most disadvantaged minority groups with respect to employment, education, health and housing. However, it should not be ignored

---

[2] The case of Sulukule could be an example. Under the name of urban renewal of Sulukule, the area had been under the risk of destruction. However, ethnically-oriented resistance was not as successful as it was considered by civil society organizations. Here, I would like to give my special thanks to Özhan Önder for sharing his thoughts with me.

[3] Kırk Gün Kırk Gece Sulukule Etkinlikleri, http://www.sulukulegunlugu.blogspot.com/ http://www.sulukuleyasasin.blogspot.com/ Ahırkapı'da Roman Hıdrellezi, İstanbul, http://www.bianet.org/bianet/kategori/bianet/106771/fotograflarla-ahirkapida-hidrellez, available at 2008, september

[4] Somersan Semra, "Swapping Identities in Sulukule", 2007, Conference "INTER: A European Cultural Studies Conference in Sweden, Advanced Cultural Studies Institute of Sweden

that there is only a limited scholarly literature on Gypsy communities in Turkey and there exists only few data on their socio-demographic characteristics.

This thesis specifically concerns with the nature of the relation between Gypsy/Roma identity formation and specific socio-economic level, which is analyzed on the basis of different kinds of occupations in Roma community. In other words, it is aimed to understand a particular formation of Gypsy identity in a relation with particular socio-economic conditions in which they have been experiencing for generations. Besides analyzing whether there is an organic relation between each other, how this specific interrelation of socio-economic level and identity formation is produced and reproduced within the community's internal dynamics is also tried to be covered. Fredrik Barth defines ethnic groups as categories of ascription and identification by the actors and themselves, as well as having characteristics of organizing interaction between people. (Barth, 1969) Rather than analyzing forms of ethnic group, it is preferred to explore the different processes that seem to be involved in generating and maintaining ethnic groups through working patterns. One of the main questions refers to this point: What is the role of occupational positions in this process of generating and maintaining Roma identity? While trying to understand the ways that particular Gypsyness is connected to socio-economic conditions in the process of identification; their self-perceptions of the Gypsy/Roma identity and its occupational positions are given priority.

Due to the reason that today the concept of "identity" has been used to cover much more than it refers, I preferred to limit the analysis of it to the specific point which focuses on the relation between work and identity. Rather than trying to define the Gypsy/Roma identity with references to every related topic, the relation of specific socio-economic condition and identity on the basis of selected occupations is preferred to be analyzed. Being aware of that the concept of socio-economic condition is also such a broad term, here it will be used to understand the basic demographic data including education/income level, social positions and the hierarchy within the community due to differentiation according to

3

occupations. The relation between occupation and identity formation is seen as an area in which Gypsy/Roma identity –or identification- can be revealed in a more powerful way. As identity and its use as an analytical tool will be discussed in the next chapters with reference to the discussion of Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper in their article of "Beyond Identity" (2000), it is important to understand *the special dynamics of identification process in which identity takes its form –* becomes visible- regardless from the most usually used "clichés" of identity such as fluidity, multiplicity and socially constructed. For this reason, while trying to understand the identity formation, I considered necessary to limit the analysis of identity formation to the important point covering such dynamics stressed above describing the identification processes. Particular occupational positions as decisive dynamics in identification are chosen to understand "the way identity hardens, congeals and crystallizes." (Brubaker, 2000: 1) The preference of occupation as a key marker for identification is also based on historical and present importance within the Roma community. Occupational status functions as distinguishing groups even within community itself. Melih Duygulu calls that particular social stratification as "Occupational Kinship" and "Occupational Casts".[5] (Duygulu, 2006)

In addition, being aware of the fact that the term of "occupation" implies professionalism, it is preferred to be used as synonym to what "work" or "job" means sociologically. Although the nature of the jobs which were taken into consideration here is based on mainly informal training, rather than formal education; it is seen that the transmission of the musicianship, belly-dancing and scrap-dealing between several generations each one based on its own rules, patterns, networks and information may justify this conceptualization.

The words of Gypsy and Roma are used interchangeably in the thesis. The preference over all to use the word Roma instead of the conventionally degrading

---

[5] This will be discussed in a more detail way in the chapter of 'The Concept of Work and Roma community.

word Gypsy for the sake of just being politically correct but overshadowing the real problem underneath by doing so is an issue that this thesis finds problematic. It should not be ignored that the stress over the word of Roma, instead of Gypsy is not embraced or demanded by all groups, as it is considered.[6] Besides people who call themselves as Roma for many generations and also wish to be called as Roma, there is also a tendency to use the word of Roma, even though it is not considered that different from Gypsy originally among the Tepecik Gypsy/Roma community. As a result, the words both Gypsy and Roma will be used hereon.

In this context, Gypsy/Roma identity is questioned on the basis of three occupations. Scrap-dealing, musicianship and belly-dancing are selected as dominant and long lasting occupations among Tepecik Gypsy/Roma community in Izmir. The analysis of identification in terms of the selected ethnicity theoretical approaches –primordial, circumstantial and symbolic interactionist- is also one of the important concerns of this thesis. Besides acknowledging the significance of the primordial elements in the identity formation, such as color, language or the ethnic origin, the place of circumstances, i.e. socio-economic conditions with references to occupational positions, should also be discussed. In other words, besides an internal mechanism which maintains and reproduces the identity, there are also external factors determining identity formation. In order to understand the formation of very complicated nature of identity, it is important to see the reciprocal nature of relation between these two which is tried to be analyzed from Bourdieu's perspective.

The analysis is composed of two main chapters: while the first one is aimed to understand the place of particular occupational positions functioning in the process of self-definitions of identity in Tepecik community. The perception towards education which is one of the important dynamics characterizing

---

[6] As Paul Polansky, states in "Kosovo Gypsy Art: a medium for survival" "Although the term "Gypsy" may be politically incorrect or even offensive to some, I use it here because in Kosovo there are many "Gypsies" who would fight you if you called them Roma, such as the Ashkali, Egyptians and Serb-Roma. For many in Kosovo today, the term "Roma" means a Gypsy who collaborated with the Serbs." (Polansky, 2003: 59, in Adrian and Marsh, et. al. 2003)

occupational position is also questioned. In addition, community's internal stratification patterns are tried to be described on the basis of specific attachments on Gypsiness. In other words, the chapter of "The Analysis of Work Life of Roma" tries to describe the identification process through particular socio-economic dynamics including education, occupational positions, ethnic and social networks, and as well as community's own hierarchy based on occupational categories. However, Gypsy/Roma identification is not only limited to the area of work, but also there are other significant dynamics underlying identification process which need to be acknowledged. For this reason, what characterized that particular identification is tried to be covered in the second chapter of the analysis including fragmentation within collective identity, as well as diverse perceptions of Gypsy identity towards two specific groups, Gorgio[7] and Kurds. As it will be discussed in a more detailed way in the chapter on identification, the self-positioning of Gypsy/Roma towards Gorgio and Kurdish groups is a key-marker in the identification process. The focus of this thesis however is on occupational positions, being aware of that there are also other dimensions to be considered. This is at the same time on of the originalities of this work.

In this thesis work, qualitative methods are used in order to reach a more comprehensive data collection and detailed information. In-depth ethnographic interview elements which afford a more informal and casual interview and thus differentiate it from any other type of interview was preferred. Spradley describes these elements as "explicit purpose, ethnographic explanations and ethnographic questions" (Spradley, 1979: 59). Explicit purpose implies the awareness of the informant which is created by the ethnographer who must explain that the interview includes some purpose and direction and in each interview s/he makes the informant clear about the process. Another element is that ethnographic explanations refer to a mutual relation between the ethnographer and informant. Firstly, the ethnographer should be in no doubt that the informant does not have enough information about the process. The second step includes permission about

---

[7] Gorgio refers to one who is non-Roma in Romany language. It will be explained in a detailed way in following chapters.

recording the interviews. Finally, the interview explanations give some clues to the informant about the type of interview that is going to take place. All these explanations make the interview more an informal conversation which is the main aim of an ethnographic interview (Spradley, 1979).

Ethnographic questions are divided in three groups as: "Descriptive, structural and contrast questions". While the first one describes basically the informant, second one is designed to understand "…*how* informants have organized their knowledge." (Spradley, 1979:61) They allow the ethnographer to get to know the informant and his/her classification of knowledge. On the other hand, contrast questions enable the ethnographer to catch the meaning of informant's own terms. All three types of questions were used in the interviews by a specific sequence which is described by Schoepfle in his book; "Systematic Interview, Ethnographic Analysis and Data Analysis" (Schoepfle, 1987). It suggests a "hierarchy" among questions that are asked in an interview. According to Schoepfle, the direction of an ethnographic interview should be from general to the particular which is shaped under this question hierarchy. The most general questions composing the first part of an interview are asked in order to obtain general information about the informant. These are the questions that are easy to answer and non-emotional or non-intimidating for the informants. After these questions, questions which require more detailed and personal answers are asked. After the ethnographic explanations mentioned above are done, the questions make the relationship between the ethnographer and informant more informal and comfortable, by the help of the second type questions, a more detailed and deep information can be obtained.

Even though the importance of intimacy and informality is emphasized during an ethnographic interview; it is obvious that the relation between "the researcher" and "the native people"[8] who are studied is problematic. Undeniable hierarchy between these two positions in the form of ethnographic interview is criticized by several researchers such as Charlotte A. Davis, (1994) Kirsten Hastrup, (1992)

---

[8] Spradley, 1979

7

and Judith Okely (1994). In the light of these articles, in which the traditional anthropological way of seeking knowledge, the hierarchical relation between researcher and subject, the need for reformulation this authoritarian structure and the new post-modern anthropological understanding are discussed, are some points to be supported and criticized. First of all, the deconstruction of roles of researcher and her subjects is important since it suggests the fact that popular motto, "go to field and be native with the natives" does not seem as effective as it is considered. As Hastrup says, "It is not the unmediated world of "others", but the world *between* ourselves and others." (Tedlock, 1983:323, Hastrup, 1992:117) The so-called dichotomy coming from the separation of subject and object is assessed as a result of modernity, and in this post-modern era, there is no room for binary oppositions. It is frequently emphasized by these authors that ethnographic studies must be a dialog -interpersonal, cross-cultural- more than monolog with respect to the ethnographer as a person who has a biography. It is not possible to remain external to her object of study which means the transformation of her from spectator to seer. As Hastrup says, "She is not only a *labeled* ethnographer but also a *named* person to the people involved." (Hastrup, 1992:120) Although this understanding in general saves the researcher from absolute objectivity of the scientist and provides more "democratic" way, there still remains some uncertain points: to what extent the researcher and her subjects really intersect or touch to each other' life, if the so-called gray area, is shaped by mutuality, is given priority.

In addition, a contradictory point is that given equality between researcher and her subjects is legitimized by the researcher herself: the researcher is the one who states the significance of postmodern era and its reorganization on the structure. However, it should not be re-conceptualized without evaluating power relations reflected itself on methodology. Although a new perception covers sentences like "the binary opposition between us and subjects should be overcome" or "the equal terrain should be provided in which in-betweenness grows up", it should not be disregarded that this still refers to a hierarchical power structure. Okely criticizes

Clifford Geertz as being denying a "special empathy" through long-term fieldwork; Geertz argues "We can not live other people's lives, and it is a piece of bad faith to try. We can but listen to what, in words, in images, in actions they say about their lives. (…) Whatever sense we have of how things stand with someone's inner life, we gain it through their expressions, not through some magical intrusion into their consciousness." (Geertz, 1986: 373, in Okely, 1994: 48)

In his article of "Understanding" Bourdieu discusses that balance mentioned by Geertz. Although his focus point is not on these post-modern anthropological methodologies, he stands between these two traditions and makes his specific position clear by stating: "The positivist dream of an epistemological state of perfect innocence papers over the fact that the crucial difference is not between a science that effects a construction and one that does not, but between a science that does this without knowing it and one that, being aware of work of construction." (Bourdieu, 1999:608) In other words, the self-awareness of scientist provides an understanding of the constructed nature of interviews. Rather than idealizing the position of the researcher and its objects with or without power structure it has, he offers "the means of understanding" in which the positions of researcher and its informants are constructed consciously. The terrain, as it is argued by post-modern anthropologists, should be open to interactions between researcher and informants without ignoring the hidden hierarchy. To be aware of this very nature of interviewing means acknowledgement of all possible distortions which could flourish from the nature of interviews. It should be accepted that "all kinds of distortions are embedded in the structure of research relationship as a part of practice which can be reflective and methodological without being the application of a method and the implementation of a theory." (ibid, 608) Only by accepting all subtle strategies devised to reduce the distance between these two positions have their limits could provide more effective interviews. The problematic nature of "making private words public", while protecting them from misinterpretation should be based on what Bourdieu calls

"reflex reflexivity". As mentioned before, "reflex reflexivity" is defined as "role playing, taking on the identity of a respondent in a specific social position while making pretend purchases or requests for information." (Bourdieu, 1999:611) To put it differently, it means kind of adoption informant's own language, feelings and thoughts, which provides the base for "understanding". Rather than being a basic and superficial exchange of given social roles as researcher and informants, it replaces the subject and object on the basis of re-interpretation of hierarchical nature of interviewing. Understanding analyzes how researcher could overcome the difficulties and weakness of studies, through an awareness of "work of construction, strives to discover and master as completely as possible". While the researcher is not defined as superior and decision–maker of all process, and as well as not acting equally with the respondents in a free terrain, Bourdieu argues that way of consciousness covers the constructed nature of interviewing. To conclude, an interview, specifically ethnographic interviews in the anthropology discipline are described as more democratic, more cross-cultural or more dialogic, the level of these features' success or applicability of them should be questioned without ignoring that hierarchy and its reflections on both sides of researcher and informants still exists. The point is to understand the very constructed and in-between nature of interviewing without ignoring all possible distortions. Only such a position could provide a researcher to transform the interviewing process into more productive one.

The field work was conducted in the Tenekeli neighborhood located in the most crowded "Konak" district in Izmir, in terms of Gypsy/Roma population. As it is argued in the book of "Romanies in the Metropolitan Municipality Area of Izmir" (Toprak, Zerrin et al. 2007), some quarters are defined as "Rom Quarters of Izmir" due to the reason of their high population of Gypsy/Roma. Konak district consists of three different areas: Ege Quarter, Kuruçay, Hilal (Tenekeli). The district is today under "the risk" of urban renewal projects of the Izmir municipality. The neighborhood could be seen as a central place as the city has been growing. The neighborhood is encircled by a growing city, as well as

crossed by the metro and a new road. However, it is surrounded by physical borders and the getting restricted by According to unofficial and estimated data collected from the local headman[9], there are about 18.500 Gypsy/Roma living in this region.[10] As there are not many studies conducted in Izmir on Gypsy/Roma issues, there has been no study conducted in the Tenekeli neighborhood before. In the same book (Toprak, et al, 2007) the reason for not conducting a study in that area was the security problems they encountered.

The depth-interviews were made with scrap-dealers and musicians/belly-dancers in Tenekeli. The preference of Izmir, Tenekeli neighborhood is based on several reasons. As it is stated above, Tenekeli is almost homogenously populated by Gypsy/Roma population. Secondly, as I am from Izmir, it can be considered as a facilitating factor to reach the people living there through the networks of mine and my friends, relatives and/or family.

I was introduced to my first contact person by the help of one of my friends from Izmir. He has a relative who used to live in the Kuruçay part of the neighborhood. She was also a member of a well-known gang dealing with illegal jobs in Tepecik. The one whom I was introduced accepted to help me during my interviews and visits to the neighborhood. Since visiting Tenekeli on my own was considered as risky due to security reasons, she was so kind to accompany me. However, she was very busy to help me all the time but the people were very reluctant to answer me when I tried to talk to them without her. This made me stuck to a certain group of people. For these reasons, I tried to find another contact. Second contact was again a friend of a friend who had also observed some activities of a Roma organization from Izmir. He was very helpful during the whole field work that the realization would have been not possible without his and his friends company. However, at that time, there was tension between two parts of Tepecik, Kuruçay and Tenekeli, which had even resulted in the death of a young boy from Kuruçay,

---

[9] It means muhtar.

[10] The total Roma population living in Izmir is estimated about 220.000 in the same book. (Toprak, et all 2007)

who was a very close relative of my first contact. It turned out not to be safe to go to both of the neighborhoods at the same time. I was kindly asked not to go and meet with the Kuruçay people by the second contact of mine. He was right to ask it, since the police in Tepecik was interested in keeping security in all parts of the neighborhood at that time. This led me to limit my field work to the Tenekeli neighborhood and disregard Kuruçay.

Interviewing was organized in a semi-structured manner which results in a comfortable conversation while keeping the main questions of the interview. Besides explaining the purposes of the interviews in order to get their permission during the field work in Tepecik, the questioning followed a general order to a more particular one. The first topic was the historical background of the neighborhood and their families, as well as the basic socio-economic data and personal data (age, sex, education, house ownership etc.). The second one was about their work life and particular perceptions of including detailed data on occupational positions, working conditions/patterns and so on. The final one was the question of how Gypsy/Roma defines himself/herself's Gypsiness, particularly in a relation to their occupation. Although the aim was to focus on each set of questions independently, it was hardly possible because it was impossible to separate the answers systematically due to the nature of the conversations. By help of methodological tactics, it was aimed to provide an informal interviewing. However, it should be stated that these may be considered as affective to some extent. Even though I was visiting the neighborhood with the people who have been living there for generations, I have faced these kinds of methodological problems mentioned above. It took time that my position has become more familiar and acquaintant in the eyes of my informants. However, in the beginning, I was kind of examined by the settlers of Tenekeli. I would like to give place to that examination here since I think that it is a very significant example, when the specific concerns of this thesis on self-perceptions of Gypsy identity are considered. During one of my visits, my contact came with a piece of paper on which there were questions written to ask and learn the answers. He told me that

my interest on the neighborhood and Gypsy community caused disquiet and curiosity among the people. They wanted to understand specifically "how I perceive them", before my wish to understand "how they perceive themselves". For this very logical reason, people who were discussing this issue in the coffeehouse of Tenekeli wrote their questions to that paper. Each question in the list belonged to a different person and will be listed as following: "What is the most interesting thing in Tepecik you observed? How do you perceive the Roma from Tenekeli neighborhood? Would you prefer to be Roma? If you were Roma, what kind of job would you prefer? As the ones before, do you and the people like you see us as second class people? Do you believe that Roma are good hearted? If you were not obliged to do your work, would you still prefer to come here to Tepecik?"[11] This refers to the question how ethnic identity is defined by the members of that ethnic group. In addition, once I faced with a question; one of the people whom I talked to asked me whether the reason which motivates people to 'study' Tepecik, Tenekeli neighborhood, as well as the Gypsy community since they saw Gypsies as "simple". [12]

During the field work, I could find the chance to talk with seventeen people including the pilot ones. While scrap-dealers and musicians are male, in order to understand the gender dynamic in identification process of Tepecik Roma, the belly-dancer group was included to add also a gender dimension. There are nine males and eight females. While scrap-dealers could be considered as middle-aged, musicians and especially belly-dancers were in between twenty and thirty. For this reason, it should be stated that the interviews conducted in Tepecik do not attempt to represent the whole Gypsy/Roma community. Despite paying visits to the individuals separately in their own houses, it wasn't possible to be alone all of the

---

[11] Tepecik'te en ilginç şey, Tenekeli Romanlarına bakış açın, Roman olmak ister miydin, Roman olsaydın ne işle ilgilenirdin, Sen ve senin gibiler daha öncekiler gibi bizleri ikinci sınıf mı görüyorsun, Romanların iyi niyetli olduklarına inanıyor musun, İşiniz olmasa Tepeciğe girer miydin?

[12] "Bizi basit mi görüyorlar? O yüzden mi hep buralara geliyorlar?" These were the questions of one interviewee from Tenekeli.

time, which turned out to be advantageous in terms of having an open discussion where everyone simply shared his/her opinions and experiences. Some of the interviews with scrap-dealers were conducted in the old and unused factory where was used by scrap-dealers as store room. That place had also a social function; scrap-dealers who were partners could spend time together in a small room organized in terms of basic needs. In addition, one basket-maker was interviewed in another Roma neighborhood close to Tepecik which can be characterized as more heterogeneously populated, not as homogenous as Tepecik neighborhood is. Interviews took at least two hours and finally, the personal information is changed to secure the informants and their words. I recorded most of the interviews. I transcribed the cassettes. But some informants did not allow me to record, thus I took detailed notes. I also wrote a field diary in which I systematically noted my impressions, experiences and also feelings. These qualitative materials were used in my analysis, besides in-depth interviews. The frequent visits to the neighborhood allowed me to observe the daily life of Tenekeli, as well as sometimes being the part of their social as well as working life.

CHAPTER TWO

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Identity is formulated by many different theories that discuss it on the basis of different conceptualizations. As this thesis mainly concerns with the identity formation; circumstantialist and constructivist approaches to identity, rather than primordialist one will be the focused in a more detailed way. In order to understand whether Gypsy identity and the jobs they have been commonly dealing with are related to each other, understanding of identity as something constructed and reconstructed is preferred. Besides attempting to figure out dynamics of identity formation and the place of work in there, symbolic interactionism is preferred for its emphasis on identity as constructed through interaction among individuals and other groups. In addition to these theories covering identity construction, it is questioned on the basis of its relation to the work life, concepts of Bourdieu, such as kinds of capitals, dispositions and habitus are used for an understanding of how ethnic and social ties, besides certain educational patterns of Tepecik Gypsy/Roma community in terms of mentioned jobs constructs particular Gypsiness. In order to understand the hierarchical structure of the community in terms of the status and honor, Weber's analysis on status groups and its relation to ethnic groups is given place in theoretical framework.

Before starting with the identity theories, the term itself should be analyzed. Identity has become more widely used in order to define any kind of "affinities and affiliation, all forms of belonging, all experiences of commonality, connectedness and cohesions, all self-understandings and self-identifications."

(Brubaker, 2000: 2) He argues that this kind of usage of identity makes social sciences complex and catastrophe since the problem is not primarily about the term itself, but rather how it is used. Problem simply arises from the usage of identity as "categories of analysis", instead of "categories of practice" by researchers; while identity is both used as analysis and practice in their daily life and activities. Not only in identity issue, but also conceptualization of race could be another example. According to him, there is no need for understanding race issue by taking it for granted that 'race' exists. "One does not have to take a category inherent in the practice of nationalism-the realist, reifying conception of nations as real communities- and make this category central to the theory of nationalism." (Brubaker, 2000: 5) Malesevic criticizes the same point: "collective perceptions of reality (…) are also perceived by social actors as real entities. As social researcher we are aware that ethnicity is a social construct, but what is important for us is to find out why most social actors tend to view it as a 'real thing'. (Malesevic, 2004: 75) To conclude, problematic nature of identity could be overcome through what Brubaker calls "reification" process. It should be explained that "the processes and mechanisms in which putative identity can crystallize, at certain moments as powerful, compelling reality." (Brubaker, 2000: 5) This can provide an understanding of identity not something always omnipresent, but becoming more 'visible' at certain time, place or contexts. Under this criticism towards identity in the literature, the investigation of an organic relation between work life and Gypsy identity makes more sense. As work life and concentration on certain jobs are considered as a place where Gypsiness is constructed and reconstructed; then the question of whether meanings, cultural codes, positive or negative values of work life in Tepecik Gypsy/Roma community give significant clues for Gypsy/Roma identity formation should be evaluated. However, while following the traces of reification mechanism through these stated areas; one should "avoid unintentionally reproducing or reinforcing such reification by uncritically adopting categories of practice as categories of analysis." (Brubaker, 2000: 5).

2.1. Ethnicity Approaches

2.1.1. Primordial and Circumstantial Approaches

Assimilation Theory which assumes assimilation of immigrants in United States through four specific phases, such as contact, competition, conflict, accommodation, and finally assimilation into society could be a starting point in identity theories. Founder of this model, Robert Park suppose that immigrants will turn into good participators of society who are able to share economic, cultural and social life in an expected way by majority. (Cornell and Hartman, 1998) However the assimilation model failed since identities have kept their importance and did not disappear totally. To the question of why these identities did not dissolve and kept their power is one of the key problems primordial perspective tries to overcome. "Primordial" is used first time by Shils as a concept explaining the source of commitment of soldiers in the World War II. Dedication of soldiers was much related to close relations with family and friends, rather than nationalist feelings or party symbols; term is improved by other scholars trying to understand the nature of primordial ties. Here primordial refers to small scale, face to face communities who share similar practices and social solidarity.

Primordial approach perceives ethnicity as a stable feature of both individual and group and at the same time long-lasting that is able to continue over historically long periods of time. Ethnicity is for the most part equated with certain understanding culture, and culture itself is considered as constant, persistent, static, almost unchangeable feature that clearly demarcates groups one from another. The reason to conceptualize ethnic identity 'an imperative status, as a more or less immutable aspect of the social person' (Eriksen, 1993, in Smith and Hutchinson, 1998:31) is fed from the assumption that it is regularly internalized through the process of primary socialization in early childhood. Process of internalization are provided by common cultural characteristics such as language, tradition, customs, regional attachments, rites, religion or ancestry which are also perceived as the major elements of one's ethnic identity.

Interpretation of primordial perspective could be followed in sociobiology and functionalism. These two see ethnicity as a priori given, objective and overpowering; but there are differences in terms of perception of primordiality. Sociobiology inspires from ethnic bonds originally defined in biology. In order to maintain genetic pool, 'kin over non-kin', is preferred by human beings. Long lasting and persistent nature of ethnic ties are explained with reference to these primordial sentiments, as well as permanence of in-group forms. According to functionalist perspective being atavistic and pre-modern characterizes ethnic sentiments. Traditional communities and modernized societies are differed on the basis on strength of primordial ethnic ties.

Clifford Geertz defines "primordial attachment" as "stems for the 'givens' –or more precisely, as culture is inevitably involved in such matters, the assumed 'givens' –of social existence: immediate contiguity and kin connection mainly, but beyond them the givenness stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language or even a dialect of a language, and following particular social practices. These congruities of blood, speech, custom, and so on, are seen to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering, coerciveness in and of themselves." (Geertz, 1973:259) It is also important in which context he conceptualizes primordial elements. In his article of 'The Integrative Revolution', he sees primordial ties as thread to modern state and civic ties. Persistence of primordial elements may result in tribalism or communalism due to the lack of improvement of civic ties in the era of modern state. (Geertz, 1973) In this case, ethnic ties are considered as pre-modern in some sense and possible to overcome through internalization of civic political traditions and an understanding of non-personal citizenship.

Another primordialists, Harold Isaac who inspired from the work of Geertz defines ethnic identity as "basic group identity" in which "the physical body, a person's name, the history and origins of the group one is born into; one's nationality or other group affiliation; the language one first learns to speak; the

religion one is born into; the culture one is born into; and the geography and topography of the place of birth" shapes. (Cornell and Hartman, 1998: 48) As a result of these characteristics, ethnic identity is immutable and out of any rational choice. Isaac emphasizes 'givenness' of ethnic identity with references to stereotypical characteristics which implies that being a member of an ethnic group means having certain behaviors and attitudes. Another important point related to Isaac's argument is his "secondary identities" definition. Ethnic identity is considered as more basic, as he define it "basic group identity", than "secondary identities", such as occupational or class identities. However, picking ethnic identity which is more basic than others is not able to cover all of the cases in which other powerful dynamics has been shaping, such as religious beliefs or political choices. As the relation between Gypsy/Roma ethnic identity and perception of occupation will be discussed in the analysis part, the heterogeneity within community towards Gypsiness could be an example to see ethnicity is not that homogenized and unitized and important than any other identity, as it is asserted by the primordialist understanding.

Primordial perspective is criticized by Jack Eller and Reed Coughlan. In article of "The Poverty of Primordialism", they group main weaknesses of primordialism under three points, "apriority, ineffability, affectivity" (Eller and Coughlan, 1994, in Cornel and Hartman, 1996). Primordialism asserts that identities and attachments are 'given', a priori and underived. Rather than relating with social, it is based on nature. It is ineffable since ethnic ties and feelings must be overpowering and coercive. Despite of the variation of strength and type of bonds, primordialism does not explain the reason behind this variety. And, if it a question of emotion or affect, it is difficult to analyze primordial attachments, sentiments or bonds which is differed qualitatively from other kinds of identities, such as class identity. According to authors, opposed to being a priori, ethnic identities are renewed and changed from one generation to another. With references to the "volitional and fluid" nature of identity, they underlie the socially constructedness of ethnicity. When primordialism is defined on the basis of ineffability, this makes

attempts for a synthesis of primordial and circumstantial perspectives impossible. As primordial feelings are ineffable by definition, it is not possible to be changed in terms of different circumstances or conditions. For example, "the concept of opposition" in which arising of ethnic feeling is related to the experiences threat or attack from outside to the ethnic group is seen against to nature of primordialism. Finally, as these feelings, attachments are not assessed in social interaction; it leads to "mystification of emotion and desocializing of the phenomenon". (Smith, 1986)

To conclude, Ellen and Coughlan criticize primordialism with reference to Geertz's argument: "…a picture of underived and socially-unconstructed emotions that are unanalysable and overpowering…A more unintelligible and unsociological concept would be hard to imagine. (Eller and Coughlan 1993: 187 in Jenkins, 1997: 45) Jenkins also sees primordialism as a tool for justification of ethnic chauvinism. The emphasis on givenness of ethnic identity could be seen in a correlation to ethnic conflicts and tensions. For example, discourse of ethno-nationalism is fed from defining an ethnic member as a member of big extended family, as Connor states 'the language of ethno-nationalism is the language of blood, family, brothers and sisters, mothers, ancestors and nation. (Fenton, 2001: 129)

However, there seems to be an important point that critics of primordial ignore. What primordialist perspective contributes to ethnicity studies is more than an explanation of ethnic ties on the basis of reality of blood, speech, custom and so on. On the other side, perception and attribution are more important than the presence or absence of primordial elements. Geertz states that the strength of primordial ties comes from "some unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself". (Cornell and Hartman, 1998: 55) What matters is how those ties are conceived as ineffable and essential; how they are perceived by the members of the group or what they attribute to them. Even Geertz himself expects that

possible tension between primordial and civic sentiments is going to change through modernization of nation-building.

Although primordialism is helpful to understand the power and maintenance of ethnic ties, it is not able to analyze the variety and the change of ethnicity. Variation and change on ethnic groups and identities are analyzed by diverse perspectives in ethnicity literature. Circumstantialist and constructivist approaches are preferred to understand the complicated nature of ethnicity in different contexts and under different circumstances. Although there are differences between these two, both see ethnicity as open to change and diverse interpretation. How these perspectives conceptualize ethnicity could be understood from the critics towards primordialism.

Circumstantialism argues that ethnic identities become more visible and stressed by members, when there is possible advantageous. Reversely, ethnic identities of counter-sides could be given emphasis to, in order to turn any disadvantageous position into advantageous one for the ethnic group itself. In this context, ethnicity is seen as a boundary among groups which facilitates or impedes access to sources, such as housing or health. (Cornell and Hartman, 1998) Circumstances and contexts play an important role in following individual or collective interests. It does not strictly assert that people shape their identities in terms of its effectiveness under circumstances but it assumes that ethnic identities could take diverse forms under diverse conditions, circumstances and contexts. As the exact opposite of primordialism, identity is defined as fluid, contingent, rather than fixed, mutable. Practical uses of ethnicity are seen as an answer to the question of why ethnic identities still exist.

In order to explain the conflicts among ethnic groups, Circumstantialism provides three perspectives: internal colonialism, split-labor market theory and middleman/enclave theory. (Cornell and Hartman, 1998) Middleman theory analyses the positions of ethnic groups within the larger economy. Through the

concentrated small business networks, ethnic groups form their specific niches which are not interested by other dominant groups. Members of groups are given priority as work partners. They employ for majority, other minority groups and their own group, as well. Middleman group is concentrated spatially in the economic niche and operates through intense ties. Ethnic strategies such as unpaid or low paid family labor force are used to mobilize scarce resources. (Bonacich, Edna, 1975) However, there seems to be contradictory interpretation of middleman discussion in Gypsy literature, especially ones analyzing Gypsy groups and their economic activities. For instance, Marlene Sway argues that Gypsy minority could be seen as middleman since they prefer to be self-employed and working in mobile jobs less desired by others, such as traders, craftsman. (Sway, 1988) Gypsies are able to get over any kind of structural obstacle they may encounter since they are adaptable and creative. Okely also sees Gypsy community as mediatory position. As Okely states in her book "Own or Other Culture", "Unlike migrant workers who move from place A to place X for 'settled' and wage-labor jobs, Gypsies operate largely independently of wage-labor. The greatest opportunities for Gypsies lie in those occupations which others are *less able* or less willing to undertake." (Okely, 1996:46) She argues that unlike other migrant workers, Gypsies prefer to be self-employed, rather than taking wage-labor and static small business jobs. Rejection of wage labor as a result of free Gypsy spirit is accepted as a key marker of Gypsiness. However, when it comes to the conclusion that is mainly related with their Gypsy nomadic life style and essential characteristics of Roma community, this may lead to ignorance of circumstances, socio-economic conditions or contexts in which Gypsy identity are shaped. In addition, being nomadic does not primarily overlap with middleman feature since the majority of Gypsies is settled in Turkey. These theories of circumstantialism provide more satisfactory explanation than primordialism does to the persistent and diverse forms of ethnicity through analysis of ethnic conflicts in terms of impulses of inequality and power.

However, circumstantial approach is criticized by Fenton. According to him, the concept of circumstantial ethnicity gives freedom and preference to some extent.

However, the idea of multiple identities under different circumstances, instead of one basic identity does not mean that one prefers how to present himself/herself, on the opposite, different circumstances require different identities. He gives the work of Eriksen as an example. While Eriksen analyzing interaction between Indian Mauritius group and Creole Mauritius one, he argues that there is no set of rules determining being Mauritius but diverse interpretations exist on the basis of gender or wealth. According to Fenton, it could be seen that there is no escape from Mauritius identity but there are intonations and different meanings attached to each. (Fenton, 2001)

Defining ethnicity only on the basis of changeable circumstances may lead to ignorance of perception of ethnic identity on the individual level, as well as the reason of persistence of it. In the same way, overstressing primordial elements may lead to missing of social and historical processes effective in production and reproduction of ethnic identity. As Banks states, these two perspectives stand in opposition as "ethnicity in the heart" and "ethnicity in the head" (Banks, 1996: 185, in Jenkins, 1997: 46). The need for a synthesis of primordial and circumstantial understandings could be followed through social constructivist approach. But before it, one of the main sources of its theoretical framework, symbolic interactionist perspective should be covered.

2.1.2. Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic interactionism is chosen to be emphasized due to its closer interest on the individual and group action and the interactive relation between them. General principles of interactionism could be summarized as emphasis on agency over structure, as well as symbols and values over material interests and political motives in everyday life of different ethnic groups. (Malesevic, 2004) Conceptual framework of symbolic interactionist could be traced through the works of Simmel. His conceptualization of society composed of a web of patterned interactions, for this reason the task of sociology should be studying the forms of these interactions taken place in any moment. (Coser, 1976) Beside the fact that fundamental patterns of interaction among individuals are related with the larger

social formations; he prefers to focus on the relation between the flow of life and forms. Even though forms are created within the life itself, they have become fixed and concrete in time. However, life keeps flowing under fixed forms and it is impossible to resist for old ones to the strength of life which results in the creation of other forms in time. This dialectical relation of forms is constructed in interaction. (Özbudun, 2007) Then "*sociation*" refers to particular patterns and forms in which men associate and interact with one another and become more important as a field of study.

Blumer summarizes nature of symbolic interactionism: "the first one is human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them. Such things include everything that the human being may note in his physical world. The second is that the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows. Third one is that these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters." (Blumer, 1986:2) Then the main concern of sociology should be figuring out how 'social action' appears in human beings' act in terms of their interpretations and understandings. Here, the symbolic feature is arisen from the selves who create their own meanings through action. This provides a diverse understanding of social reality since individuals and groups are able to interpret situations on the basis of their perceptions. This is conceptualized by him as 'definition of the situation' which relativizes the nature of the social reality: there is no single universal reality; it is rather that individuals and groups define what their particular social reality is. (Malesevic, 2003: 65)

In the study of Hughes, 'Institutions and the Person' which analyzed occupational socialization on the basis of interactive relation of institute and its members, two principles of symbolic interactionism are expressed: socialization and personal action. The case of medical students proved that instead of 'assimilation and internalization of the core values of the medical profession', they developed kind of 'collective perspectives' which could be seemed as 'strategies and survival tactics'. (Atkinson, 2003: 10) While the mechanism of strategy and tactic could

become 'self-sustaining culture' revealed in the practices of daily life, it also emphasizes socialization as a 'process of mutual adaptation between institution and its members'. (Atkinson, 2003: 11) Here, the critic of interactionism towards structuralism is followed through the stress on agency over structure.

Goffman has an important place among symbolic interactionists due to his significant works. In "The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life" (1969) his aim is to show how one presents himself and his action to others and at the same time how he controls and manages the pressure coming from others. Interaction Ritual (1967) argues that how daily face to face meetings are constructed on the behalf of continuation of the face, escape from fear and prevention; how social life is ritualized in institutions and face-to-face meetings. Goffman's world is composed of relative strangers who are thrust together into enforced intimacy; it is a world of appearances and messages. The gaze of the other can affirm positively or negatively our sense of self as a moral agent. Equally, it can threaten and destroy this sense. (Atkinson, 2003) Labelling takes attention to the point of how labels are internalized and made one's own, as in the case of mental patients or prisoners.

In order to understand ethnicity from the symbolic interactionist perspective, the work of Blumer analyzing "ethnic prejudice" is significant. Blumer argues that ethnic prejudice should be evaluated as a form of group relations, rather than racist individual feelings. Positive or negative feelings towards ethnic groups arise from how one perceives his/her own group's position in relation to other groups. Prejudice is functional in a way that it provides maintenance of hegemonic position of the dominant group. Socialization and the role of the political elites are considered as two powerful bases for ethnic prejudice. By the help of socialization, the elites use the 'group-centred' perception of the world on behalf of preservation of their privileged position. However, the possibility of diversity of perception within one collectivity towards ethnic prejudice is missing in his theory. For this reason, Blumer is criticized for one directional analysis which overstresses the dominant group's position and ignores the dominated groups in

his analysis. As a response, he conceptualizes "collective definition" as following: "the basic process by which racial [ethnic] groups come to see each other and themselves and poise themselves to act towards each other; the process is one in which the racial [ethnic] groups are defining or interpreting their experiences and the events that brings these experiences about." (Blumer and Duster, 1980: 222, Malesevic, 2003: 68)

Blumer's study becomes important, while variation of identities is questioned. Through the concept of "collective definition", Blumer defines ethnic groups as open to collective experiencing that could be happened in any part of life. Diverse definitions of a situation within one community have also effects on the other groups' collective interpretations.

Another example for how symbolic interactionism conceptualizes ethnicity could be seen in the work of Richard Jenkins. According to him, ethnic identities are interpreted in terms of the actor's self-definition of the situation. It is variable rather than fixed state of being; it is a cultural phenomenon based on shared meanings; it originates and is dependent on social action, it is a segment of a broader social identity, it is shaped through a dialectic relation of between similarity and difference. (Jenkins, 1996) Different from main stream symbolic interactionism, he underlines the point that the external categorization of ethnic groups is important as internal processes of group identification. Neutralization of the exaggeration of internal knowledge over an external one as well as group identification over social categorization is attempted by Jenkins' argument. Social categorization, that is, "the capacity of one group to successfully impose its categories of ascription upon another set of people, and to the resources which the categorised collectivity can draw upon resist, if need be, that imposition" (Jenkins, 1997: 23) is always in a dialectical relation with an internal group definition.

The main concerns of symbolic interactionism are individual and group perceptions of reality, such as concepts of meaningful action or active social agents which are inspired from Simmel's theory. Symbolic interaction theory

showed successfully how ethnic relations are variable and fluid and how unstable and situational are the boundaries of ethnic groups. This also gives inspiration to constructivist theory. Despite of the fact that social actors still tend to see their ethnic groups as given and static, and boundaries are clearly demarcated; these successfully delegitimized any coherent attempt to make a case for the primordial 'naturalness' of ethnic group membership.

While symbolic interactionism defends the importance of face-to-face mechanisms in which social life embodies, it is criticized for overstressing on micro analysis and ignoring the macro. In other words, symbolic interactionism focuses on the importance and meaning of ordinary people' ability in attributing symbolic meanings to things, other people in their own worlds. By doing this, they expect to understand the social organization based on forms of interaction. However, overstressing of individual and group perceptions may lead to underestimation of material factors and blind spots in the analysis of symbolic interactionist. Another critic is about ignoring whether the position of the sides experience inequality in terms of power relations. For this reason, characterizations, social reactions and labeling should be understood from the perspective of power inequality and assessed through this framework. (Jenks, Chris, 2005)

2.1.3. Constructivist Approach

Constructivist perspective is much influenced from symbolic interactionism which could be seen through its conceptualization of ethnic identities and relations. It supports the concept of 'interaction' against isolation. Ethnicity is not given; but it is created in interaction and dependent on a variety of factors such as the impact of the social and political environment, actors' beliefs, individual self-interest, and actors' perceptions and so on. It recognizes the strength of circumstantialist approach, as well as the fundamental claims of primordialism. One of the major contributions of constructivism is the idea that groups contribute to construction of others' and its own identities. It is not something external, but it is constructed

in interaction with the other. In this point, it differs from circumstantialism that argues ethnic identities are constructed externally by circumstances but it ignores the fact of mutually construction of identity.

The influence of symbolic interactionism is seen through three main concepts summarizing constructivist understanding: "Perceived position", "meaning" and "boundary". These three are interrelated to each other in a way that one perceives one's own group position on the basis of attributed and attached meanings to it through the boundary separating group members from non-members. (Cornell and Hartman, 1998) One's group position implies stratification and could be perceived in terms of power relations, status differentiations. Perceived positions are also attached to meanings both positively or negatively. 'We' versus 'They' are separated with references to superiority or inferiority.

Constructivist perspective aims to explain ethnic group solidarity and maintenance of intensive ethnic group bonds underlining historical, structural and cultural contingencies and circumstantial aspects in ethnic relations. The notion of interaction between culturally diverse groups and 'boundary maintenance' are the key terms in their analysis. Ethnic relations are seen in dynamic terms as fluid and changeable- not as a property of a group but as an aspect of relationships between groups.

'Boundary' is fundamental concept of Barth's argument. In his famous work of 'Ethnic Groups and Boundaries', (1969) it is attempted to explore the different mechanisms of generating and maintaining ethnic groups. Barth's understanding opposes to definitions of ethnicity as biologically characterized, having set of cultural values, behaviors and codes which were at that time strongly accepted. He suggests that ethnic groups existed in interaction, rather than isolation. In other words, he concentrates on the 'relationships of cultural differentiation' and 'constitution of ethnic group' rather than 'cultural characteristics of ethnic groups' and 'ethnic units'. (Barth, 1969)

28

If ethnic group has success in keeping its identity in interaction with others, it means they improve mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion. The important point is to see how ethnic boundaries organize these mechanisms in order to define their own group. Since Barth defends that differences are able to continue despite interaction and contact among groups, not in isolation. This explains the reason why he sees ethnic groups as "culture bearing units", culture or cultural differences are not seen as primary characteristics of groups by definition. They are rather implication or results. As a result, this understanding of culture and ethnic groups differs Barth's argument from primordialist one whose claims are accepted on the basis by constructivists.

Darfur case could be an example for how ethnic boundaries are maintained. (Haaland, et. al. Barth, 1969) Fur and Baqqarah groups in West Sudan represent interesting identity formation in which being Fur or Baqqarah is not only limited to birth. Besides, they are classified on the basis of way of life – nomadic versus settled and occupation division –husbandry versus farming. As it is stated by Gunnar Haaland, despite of having cultural differences, there have been interactions among these two groups. There is a tendency towards acceptance of Baqqarah identity due to several reasons. The changing of identity from Fur to Baqqarah community is much related with limited Fur economic system and the ecological problems of husbandry in the region of Darfur. As a result of economic circumstances, identity change could be possible via changing life style from settled to nomadic one, getting married and learning Arabic language. After that, s/he is included to group and expected to be acting as Baqqarah in the eyes of community. The mechanism providing ethnic boundary maintenance is based on agrarian mode of production. The separation of modes of production, that is, husbandry and farming, leads to ethnic differences since each one is attached to one group. Following the boundary argument, the importance of the jobs of Tepecik Gypsy community should be questioned in this process of generating and maintaining Roma identity.

Constructivist stance on identity is criticized for its tendency to soften the term as constructed, fluid and multiple: "If identity is everywhere, it is nowhere. If it is fluid, how can we understand the ways in which self-understandings may harden, congeal and crystallize? If it is constructed, how can we understand the sometimes coercive force of external identifications? If it is multiple, how do we understand the terrible singularity, mere groups into exclusive and unitary ones? How can we understand the power and pathos of identity politics?" (Brubaker, 2000: 1)

As the concept of identity, taken-for-granted "group" has possible dangers. According to Brubaker, problem of groupism should be overcome through emphasizing on 'groupness' which is 'relational, processual, and dynamic.' Groupness and group is differed from each other, the first one refers to events and moments in which collective solidarity intensely felt. As it touched upon the issue on difference of category of analysis and category of practice, it does not mean that minimizing their power; the reality of ethnicity does not depend on the existence of ethnic groups as substantial groups or entities. Possibility of groupness means groupness may not happen.

2.1.4. Ethnic Group as Status Group

In the literature focused on Gypsy/Roma communities and work, the particular relation between identity and occupations are emphasized. In addition, the high status position of some occupations in the eyes of communities is described. For this reason, while analyzing Gypsiness and occupation, Weberian understanding of "status/status groups and ethnic groups" should be considered. Weber defines ethnic groups as 'those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonisation and migration; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists. (Weber, 1968:389) Belief in common ethnicity implies 'communal consciousness', as in the form of brotherhood, rather than 'rationally regulated action'. Ethnic membership is characterized on the basis of "shared political memories", "persistent ties with the

old cult", and "the strengthening of kinship and other groups. Where these ties are lacking, or once they cease to exist, the sense of ethnic group membership is absent, regardless of how close the kinship may be. For this reason, ethnic membership is seen as a kind of presumed identity, not a group with concrete social action. As a result they are only potentials for group formations, especially in the political area. It seems similar to argument of Brubaker who discusses "grouping", rather than "group" itself. (Brubaker, 2004) Political requirements of group make ethnicity a process. Besides, the conduct of everyday life is another key marker. Common language, ritual regulation of life, as determined by shared religious beliefs, are conducive to feelings of ethnic affinity. Since the intelligibility of the behavior of others is the most fundamental presupposition of group formation. The belief in ethnic affinity has at all the times been affected by outward differences in cloth, style of housing, food and eating habits, division of labor between sexes. These things concern one's sense of honor and dignity. All these things are objects of specific differences between status groups. The conviction of the excellence of one's own customs and the inferiority of alien ones, a conviction which sustains the sense of ethnic honor, is actually quite analogous to the sense of honor of distinctive status groups.

The sense of ethnic honor is a specific honor of the masses; behind all ethnic diversities, there is somehow notion of chosen people, counterpart of status differentiation. Their similarity rests on the belief in a specific "honor" of their members, not shared by the outsiders, that is "the sense of ethnic honor". It is closely related to status honor.

For Weber, ethnicity is amorphous, determined by a certain 'social estimation of honor, and created through specific upbringing, training or other means of socialization. It is expressed in a specific lifestyle and it is often able to successfully claim 'a special social esteem' and 'status monopolies'. Ethnicity tends towards endogamy, but an ethnic group's emphasis on common descent makes it 'hereditary status group'. The hereditary status group expresses itself

through what Weber calls 'ethnic honor', which is defined 'as the conviction of the excellence of one's own customs and the inferiority of alien one's and is a 'specific honor of the masses, for it is accessible to anybody who belongs to the subjectively believed community or descent'. (Malesevic, 2004) In addition, social esteem may vary in terms of positive and negative privileges.

According to Weber, status expresses itself through "connubium", "commensality" and "monopolistic appropriation of privileged modes of acquisition" (Weber, 1968) Although there are other conditions of being status group, what underlies Gypsy identity and status group is characterized style of life and particularly the type of vocation i.e., "self-styled" or "occupational status groups", through hereditary charisma, by virtue of successful claims to higher ranking descent. Whether some occupational positions form a status group amongst the Gypsy/Roma community will be discussed in the analysis in a more detailed way.

Another concept related to ethnicity is monopolistic position which means restricted character of status membership provides a possibility for closing ranks around ethnic group membership. This is ethnicity as a device of monopolistic social closure. Weber distinguishes open and closed relationships: open being those that allow voluntary participation of the 'outsiders', and closed being those 'closed against outsiders so far as, according to its subjective meaning and its binding rules, participation of certain persons is excluded, limited or subjected to conditions'. Status groups often operate on the basis of social closure where their monopolistic position is regularly used to prevent non-group members from acquiring symbolic or material benefits. It is powerful mechanism to maintain out-group political, economic, and symbolic dominance as well as in-group solidarity and homogeneity. Monopolistic closure is interpreted by Frank   Parkin in the argument of "social closure" which refers to maximization of the in-group benefits by the restriction of out-group access. (Malesevic, 2004)

However, there are critiques on ethnic groups considered predominantly as status group. When it comes to the ethnicity studies from Weberian perspective, it is preferred to work with status-centred concept of ethnicity. Although there is a clear and intensive ethnicity literature on diverse forms of ethnic attachment, it is too static and group centric. Malesevic criticizes that his idealization of ethnicity since only inward looking and group dynamics are taken into consideration but no out-group relations or external categorizations mentioned. The static nature of status-centred analysis fails to understand transformations in in-group and out-group perceptions among individuals and sub-groups. (Malesevic, 2004)

2.2. The Concepts of Bourdieu

Before explaining the concepts of "habitus", "types of the capital" and "disposition", the reason of why it is needed to use these concepts of Bourdieu should be stated. While trying to analyze the relation between occupation and Gypsy identification process, the particular co-existence of external dynamics on the basis of socio-economic conditions and internal ones with references to community's own identity definitions and social/cultural codifications is significant in the identity formation. In order to see the relational and complementary state of external and internal, Bourdieu's perspective, as an attemp to cope with the dualities, could be used in order to understand how identity, even though considered as individualistic, is open to the social construction through objective conditions.

Bourdieu criticizes the dualism of structuralism and agency. According to him, structuralism fails to ignore the role of agent since it explains the social action in terms of determinative structures and objective conditions. On the other hand, subjectivist point of view with the emphasis on the strategies of the actor is also criticized for its ignorance of social reality and structures. The main project of Bourdieu is to explain that how the individuals contribute to the reproduction of the "objective patterns" through their practical strategies used by them, even

though they are not consciously aware of those patterns or they do not choose. In this context, he defines his theory as "constructivist structuralism" or "structural constructivism". (Bourdieu, 1989:14, in Grenfell, 2004) Bourdieu sees this relation as dialectical in which characterized by "externalization of internality and internalization of externality". (Bourdieu, 1977:72) It means that society has been embodied and internalized by the agents; that particular embodiement reflects itself in the examples of long lasting "dispositions".

In-between of objectivity and subjectvity, the social is tried to be conceptualized through the understanding of "habitus" that is defined in "Outline of a Theory of Practice" (1977). The production and reproduction of the habitus are based on a dialectical process in which social agents and objective conditions play an interactive role. Wacquant defines the concept of "habitus" as "mediating notion that helps us revoke the commonsense duality between the individual and the social, (…) the way society becomes deposited in persons in the form of lasting "disposition" or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel and act in determinate ways…"[13] When his critique of structuralism with its deterministic emphasis is concerned, then the question of how the action gains its particular "pattern"? At that point, Bourdieu states the importance of habitus as a system of social structures leads agents to social practice and adaptation. (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2003) However, it should not be ignored that habitus not only functions in systematization and configuration of actions, but also it is "structuring structures" which means "principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations (…) collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor." (Bourdieu, 1977:72) Although Bourdieu is not primarily focused on identity, the concept of "habitus" is significant in the analysis of identity since it provides an understanding of identity as a process open to the re-construction of objective/socio-economic conditions.

---

[13] http://sociology.berkeley.edu/faculty/wacquant/wacquant_pdf/HABITUS-INTERENCYECOSOC.pdf, available at 2008, september

In this context, it refers to agent-based definitions of identity in which the traces of objective conditions agents have been experiencing could be followed. In other words, it provides an understanding of the relation between the mental map of agents and the social structures they have been exposed to, as well as their particular dispositions and corresponding social position.

In addition, habitus describes the entirety of individuals' durable dispositions and tendencies. However, Bourdieu differenciate "habitude" from "habitus": while the first one implies routine habits, second one addresses at dispositions which are not given but achieved. Rather than being a mechanical production, habitus provides a understanding in which individual produces its own production of social conditions. Through this particular conceptualization, habitus could not be considered as deterministic and ahistoric. (Goker, et. al. Bora, 2007).

When it comes to the definition of habitus as dispositional philosophy of action arisen from socially constituted but individually embodied, it should be taken into consideration that each class has its own habitus, and unconscious schemata is achieved through lasting exposure to particular social conditions and conditionings, as well as the internalization of external constraints and possibilities shared by people subjected to similar experiences. (Ozen, Yelda, 2008) This refers to two points, which will be discussed in the analysis part, related with Gypsiness and occupation. First one is about the question of what the role of socio-economic conditions Gypsy/Roma community subjected to plays in identification process. Second one is related to whether Gypsy/Roma community have particular dispositions or tendencies which could be considered as effective in defining their identity on the basis of particular occupations. In addition, it should also be analyzed that whether there are special characteristics of internalization of habitus due to a member of the Gypsy community.

To sum up, habitus is used to describe "a set of generative structures defined in phenomenological, social and psychological terms. Fluid, dynamic, constantly changing and developing *structures*, but also durable and stable in establishing

dispositional knowledge: a tendency with limits towards certain responses when faced with external stimuli." (Bourdieu, 1993:80/87 in Grenfell, 2004:27) It also leads to particular social identity re-produced by the individuals who share the particular social positions or class through combination of dispositions and interests. Under the light of these, primordial approach to ethnicity, ethnic identity with its emphasis on naturalness, fixed and given characteristics could be interpreted through the perspective of Bourdieu implying re-constructed improvisation of the habitual characteristics of social identity, i.e. without even needing to do so consciously by the individual himself/herself.

Another important concept of Bourdieu is the capital. According to Bourdieu, capital is "accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its "incorporated," embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor. It is vis insita, a force inscribed in objective or subjective structures, but it is also a lex insitai the principle underlying the immanent regularities of the social world." (Bourdieu, 1986:241) Bourdieu defines different forms of capitals: economic, social, cultural and symbolic. Here social and cultural ones will be focused on, rather than other types. Bourdieu defines "economic capital" as "immediately or directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property right"; "cultural capital" is "convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications"; and "social capital" is "made up of social obligations which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of nobility." (Bourdieu, 1986:243) Besides these three forms of capital, there is symbolic capital. Göker argues that symbolic capital is not a form of capital but it could be rather defined as 'capital-in-general". (Göker, et. al. Bora, 2007) Symbolic capital has value in as far as it is known and recognized by 'agents' who 'possess power in proportion to their symbolic capital, i.e. in proportion to the recognition they receive from the group'. (Grenfell, 2004:28) One only knows one holds capital when its practical

power is activated by recognition. Here his concept of "misrecognition" should be stated. When symbolic capital such as accent, cultural possessions or education is taken to be inherently more valuable than what it is –i.e. culturally arbitrary, this leads to misrecognition. It will be discussed in the following chapters in terms of particular perceptions of education, especially in the case of musicians.

In addition, what characterizes the capital is its convertibility which leads to reproduction of it. Capital is needed to be reproduced in the each generation, otherwise it could disappear. That particular conversion is also an important part of the reproduction of the capital. Educating in a collage as a child of rich parents could be an example for convertion of economic capital into cultural one. The reproduction of the capital is as important as the accumulation of it. This will be discussed on the particular transfer of the occupational positions from one generation to the next in Tepecik, Tenekeli neighborhood.

However, there are critiques to his perspective. Jenkins argues that the concept of habitus reproduces determinism which it is considered as overcoming the duality of subjectivity and objectivity, especially the deterministic understanding over agent. He also states that such a conceptualization has difficulties in perceiving 'social change' since agents is not capable to act and alter. For these reasons, Jenkins considers habitus as unsatisfactory conceptual tool. (Jenkins, 1992) This critique is mainly arisen from Bourdie's own statement, which implies that structures produce habituses which determine the practices determining the structures. It refers to an understanding of habitus as determinist. However, it should not be ignored that habitus does not consider social agents both not determined totally by the external conditions and totally determined by the internal ones. In other words, social agents are able to determine themselves whereas through the categories which has been socially constructed and reconstructed.

CHAPTER THREE

3. THE CONCEPT OF WORK AND ROMA COMMUNITY

In this chapter, the concept of occupation and its particular importance within Roma community historically and presently will be analyzed. Besides explaining historical background of the relation between occupation and Roma community briefly, the present situation displaying the characteristics of the work life of Roma will also be figured out. This chapter could be seen as a previous one explaining the working patterns of the Gypsy community with references to historical and present examples, before the main analysis of work life of Tepecik Roma community in the following chapter. While first part covers the historical overview, second part focuses on present conditions of Roma community. Whether there is still continuation of a particular social structure mainly based on differentiation of life style, i.e. nomadic and settled, and occupational positions among the Gypsies will be discussed in this chapter. These two parts are necessary to explain how occupational categories fused with ethnic identities through history and present time, as well.

3.1. Historical Overview

The historical dynamics shaping the forms of particular occupations plays an important role in order to understand the present working patterns of Gypsy community. It is important to see that how it has been framed by nomadism and craft-oriented works and now has been exposed to drastic transformation within new market relations. Then, it should be questioned in which ways Roma identity and occupations interact should be asked. As being aware of the fact that it is such

a broad question to answer in this study, I will try to outline a historical and social frame work.

It is described by many scholars that Roma community has been classified into different groups due to the different occupations each one has been dealing with. (Fonseca, 1996; Renard, Fellman and Manus, 2007, Marushiakova, 2001) Known as "traditional Gypsy/Roma occupations" could be defined in terms of specific craft. The group identifies itself with that specific craft and takes the name of craft as a group name. This craft oriented subsistence which is much related with nomadic way of life and its practices provides Roma groups recognizing each others in terms of the special occupations; for example it is illustrated in the article of "Understanding the Complexity of Romany Diaspora" that "The Rom tribes distinguish themselves by the names of their trades: *Lautari=musicians and dancers, Kalderash=tin and coppersmiths, Argintari=jewelllers, Fierari=blacksmiths, Zlateri=gold panners, Ghurara=sieve makers, Lovar=horse dealers.*"[14] As Fonseca says, "It is really noteworthy that Gypsy Groups were defined with their traditional occupations although they haven't excercised their jobs, even built a wall, make a comb or picked grass off for many generations." (Fonseca, 1996: 112) According to the studies mainly conducted on the Balkans, the historical importance of occupation could be seen easily.

As Zsolt Csalog argues in the article "Gypsies in the Hungarian Labour Market", "In the centuries following their appearance in Central Europe, Gypsies came to be integrated into feudal society's division of labour by practicing certain traditional crafts. These crafts found no support in the guild system; they were 'uncodified', and lacked legal regulation and protection.(…) For the most part Gypsies manufactured goods and provided services which had always had restricted markets; thus both the production and the sale of their products forced Gypsies to maintain a semi-nomadic lifestyle. This circumstance accounts for the fact that Gypsies took centuries to settle following their migration into the

---

[14] (http://necsi.org/events/iccs7/papers/8914dd21fd6c18ed5437d025a87d.pdf)

Carpathian basin. Their mobility, for its part - a result of traditions as well as of persecution by the authorities - prevented Gypsies from taking up non-traditional occupations. Among other trades, traditional Gypsies might be coppersmiths, tinkers, or ironworkers: craftsmen who produced a limited range of products usinarchaic technology (Csalog, 1994:75). This may be seen as an example to understand historical back ground of the working life of Gypsies.

Another example is from Romania where the largest Gypsy population in Europe has been living. It is peculiar due to the experiences of slavery of Gypsy population which was also much relate to the historical place of occupation among Roma groups. From 1385, when the first documentation of Romani slavery was recorded in Wallachia, till its abolishment in 1864, slavery categorized sharply the occupational structure among Gypsies. As Beissinger quoted from historian Kogalniceanu, there were two large groups of Rom by nineteenth century: 'nomadic slaves who engaged in services that involved in itinerant labor' and 'slaves who were sedentary' divided into 'field Gypsies' and 'household Gypsies'. While household Gypsies had clearly high status relative to the field ones, the musician group called 'lautari' among household Gypsies had the top position. Beissinger argues that 'Social stratification among Roms emerged on the basis of the settled versus nomadic distinction of slaves as well as the level of specialization of their occupations.' (Beissinger, 2001:28-29)

This categorization in terms of occupation and life style could also be seen in the examples in Turkey. Although studies focusing on particularly the historical background of Gypsy community in the Ottoman time are not many, Marushiakova and Popov describes the situation of Roma in the Ottoman time, they categorize the occupations Gypsy groups had been dealing with at that time in terms of issue of craft and nomadic way of life. To summarize, the music formed the widespread occupation, besides other traditional crafts. As they argue in her book of 'Gypsies in the Ottoman Empire: A Contribution to the History of Balkans', "In the 1522-3 tax register, among the recorded occupations of the Gypsies, apart from musicians, there are also tinsmiths, farriers, goldsmiths,

swordmakers, stovemakers, shoemakers, slippermakers,…, and others, occasionally army officers, janissaries, policeman, doctors, surgeons, monks. (Marushiakova and Popov, 2001:44). They argue that "Gypsies in Ottoman Empire maintained their ethno-culturel charactaristics, nomad life style and traditional occupations and expressed themselves better compared to Medieval Europe." (Marushiakova and Popov, 2002: 21). To compare with other examples given from Balkans, situation of Gypsy community in Ottoman time were different in terms of not having experienced slavery and having guilds. The study of Altınöz analyzing the Gypsy community in sixteenth century Ottoman times not only acknowledges their craf-based talents in blacksmithing while but also humiliates and discriminates the community since he considers Gypsies as responsible of increasing numbers of prostitution, murder and theft in the society. (Altınöz, 1995:25, 26)

To conclude, occupational differentiation relatively due and to different kinds of life styles could be seen as significant for identification for Gypsy/Roma community historically. In the following parts, it will be described whether they are still valid in community and if yes, in which ways these dynamics have affected to the present times specifically in the case of Roma from Tepecik, Izmir.

3.2. Present Conditions

Examples given mainly from Balkans and the Ottoman time give clues to understand present structure of Gypsy/Roma community. In this part, it is aimed to analyze whether this asserted social formation including occupational differentiation and its own hiearachy is applicable to Gypsy communities in Turkey. However, it should not be ignored that Turkey has different Gypsy/Roma groups in terms of religious beliefs, regional characteristics, language and tradition. As it is described in the report of Helsinki Citizens Assembly (2008) which conducted a field study in many cities in Turkey, Gypsy community in general could be categorized under three main groups, which are 'Roms', 'Loms' and 'Doms'. It could roughly be said that Rom group has been living in the West

41

regions, Loms has been living in the Black Sea region, and finally Doms have been living in East and South East part of Turkey. Under these three groups, Gypsies in Turkey could be also considered in terms of occupational differences; neighborhoods, religion and the dialect of Romani they have and take the names such as Çelgar, Mangosur, Gövende, Karaçı, Mıtrıp, Cano, Poşa and Abdal. (Helsinki Report, 2008: 3) The multifaceted nature of Gypsy identity -ies needs to be analyzed in a more detailed ways in Turkey. There is a clear necessity for studies especially on Doms and Loms group. In my thesis, I tried to focus on the Rom group; known as 'Romanlar' in Izmir, Tenekeli neighborhood.

After analyzing whether social formation has an organic relation with occupational positions within Tepecik Roma community, the transformation of traditional Gypsy occupations will be examined. Through the apparent erosion in the field, it should be questioned that how they re-locate themselves in the labor market, and what the main characteristics of these new locations are. The variety of jobs, the specific concentrations on certain sectors, work conditions, the nature of jobs they are mainly dealing with will be described.

3.2.1. The importance of life style and occupational differentiation in Turkey

As it is discussed how it is important in group organization historically, what it refers to among Gypsy groups in Turkey should also be discussed. The Roma communities and their occupational differentiation take place in Duygulu's book named 'Türkiye'de Çingene Müziği, Batı Grubu Romanlarında Müzik Kültürü'.[15] According to Duygulu, it is necessary to consider Gypsies in Turkey as differentiated on the basis of diversified and gradual rather than consider them as a homogeneous structure. In this context, Gypies are considered as nomad, semi-nomad and settled. The nomad groups that are known as "Elekçi"[16], "Kalburcu"[17],

---

[15] "The Gypsy Music in Turkey, The Music Culture in West Roma Group

[16] Sieve maker

[17] Riddler

42

"Oba Çingenesi[18]" are adapting to semi-nomad or settled life sytle as the condition of nomad life sytle are getting harder and difficult. The second group of semi- nomads is known with their characteristic of migration from their hometown to another place in order to perfom their jobs changed according to seasons even though they are setlled down in an Anatolian village or town, or sometimes in slum quarters of cities. (Duygulu, 2006: 23) The majority of the occupations included in this group consists of musicians and skilled trade such as farm labor, shimmer, basket making, ironworking and sieve making. The settled ones differentiate themselves from nomads and semi-nomads and emphasize that they are different from others due to their sytle of living and occupations. Duygulu uses two important criteria while explaining the differentian and contradictions between nomad and settled groups: one of these two is "blood relationship" whereas the other is "occupational closeness".[19] (Duygulu, 2006: 25) The social structure that Duygulu defines as " 'occupational castes' is consisted of basket makers, bear dancers, blacksmith dealers, musicians and so on. This division of occupations is historical and identical since each group is defined in terms of its own group's characteristics and sometimes even special dialects of Romany. (Helsinki Report, 2008)

In the case of Izmir, differentiation of the life style from nomadic to settled is always expressed to distinguish "Roma" from "Gypsy" in the meetings. As it will be discussed in a more detailed way in the chapter of identification, it is a crucial distinction which is made by "Roma" people who define themselves as settled, having a legal job and peaceful nature against the "Gypsy" ones who are nomadic, dirty, illegal and violent.

In Izmir, Tepecik, it could be stated that there are different groups with special names attributed to them by community. Although I did not give priority to the

---

[18] Nomadic Gypsy

[19] Mesleki yakınlaşma

historical back ground of the groups, it is said that groups have been living in Tenekeli neighborhood at least for four generations. The groups I encountered during my fieldwork are "Danacılar", the musicians, "Sepetçiler", the basketmakers, "Serezliler"[20], the cotton workers, "Sırbialılar"[21], not specific occupation, "Mangosarlar" who are always associated with illegal works and "Menebolar"[22], the scrap dealers and garbage collectors. The reason underlying that particular categorization is explained as following by a basketmaker:

Mustafa says,

> Of course, we Romas, as if there exists a race difference, take names out of our belongings. Some came from Greece, some came from Bulgaria. Sepetçi is as its said, basket makers. Also there are the Danacı. Why do they say Danacı? (Silence) I don't know. And then, there are also the Roms, Doms. Plenty. Serezli, Sırbialı... they are grouped according to where they have come from. As in Serez, Serez is in Greece, I guess. Karaferis are from Yugostlavia. They do have their names from where they came, but we also name them. (Separating) We called them, this is the Serezli, this is Sepetci Gypsy, this is Danaci Gyspsy, this is Mangosar, and this is Karafereli. So we also seperated ourselves as that. That's why there is too much of seperation. And that;'s also because we are too much isolated ourselves from the others. People can not sense their identities when there are no counter parties. In isolated societies you can not find a counter party from the outside, so you sould create a group within the group. So that you can sense the identity. This time what do you do? You say, those are the Sepetçi, so you compete against them, identity so to spoeak. They say Serezlis are useless, Karaferelis are awful, Mangosar people are like that, and Sepetçi does not make any good men. We create such a competition, and we live through this inner group competition. (...) Green Bloods (Mangosar group). Yes, Green Bloods, they are brave, they are the original Romans, the orginal. They are also a bit nervous, agressive, more like brave. They hit and break. They have those qualities, but this is also because of ... being an isolated society. They are all alone, and since they are isolated, they are marginalized.[23]

---

[20] It also refers to place of origin, which is Serez. Serezliler means those who comes from Serez.

[21] Like Serezliler, I was told that it is possible to guess that Sırbialılar are those coming from Serbia.

[22] Menebo is a word in Romany which means "the polluted", "Kirliler" in Turkish.

[23] Tabi şimdi bizim Romanlar'da da, sanki ırk ayrımı varmış gibi, mesela geldikleri yere göre isim alırlardı. Kimisi Yunanistan'dan gelmiş, kimisi Bulgaristan'dan, kimisi bi yerden. Sepetçiler zaten adı üstünde, sepetçi grubu. Bi de Danacılar derler. Danacılar neden derler? (Susuyor.) Hiç bilmiyorum. Şeyler var mesela, Romlar var Domlar var, değişiyo yani. Serezliler, Sırbialılar var. Geldikleri yere göre gruplaştırılıyorlar, mesela Serez, Serez şeyde zannedersem, Yunanistan'da. Karaferililer var, onlar Yugoslav. Geldikleri yerdeki isimleri var zaten, bi de biz kendi aramızda yaparız onu. (Ayırırken) İşte bu Serezli dedik, bu Sepetçi Çingenesi dedik, bu Danacı Çingenesi dedik. Mangosar dedik, bu Karafereli dedik. Bi de kendi içimizde böyle farklar oluşturduk. E tabi

As is seen in the quotation, the primary reason for group formation is the necessity for group existence which is supposed to be felt through the differentiation of the groups under the common Gypsy identity. Categorization refers to moral hierarchy among groups, as well. Especially the Mangosar group is always posited at the bottom of this hierarchical structure in Gypsy community and defined as the real Gypsy/Roma.[24] The function of categorization is emphasized by the interviewee himself as a result of being closed community and provides fragmentation an even sub-group identities within Gypsy community.

Although groups mentioned above still carry their names implying the its specific occupation, it does not mean that they are homogeneous groups whose members are inheritedly work on that occupations. As it will be discussed in the following part, there has been radical change within Gypsy communities in Turkey.

3.2.2. The Occupational Change

Although traditional occupations seem still functional particularly in identification, it is clear that traditional occupations have been exposed to change dramatically, accompanying with change in life style. Craft-based occupations have almost disappeared and not being demanded by younger generations. However, it does not mean all of them are disappeared. There are families who have been having the same occupations for generations and generations, such as

---

o zaman bölünme parçalanma daha çok oldu. O işte bizim kapalı toplum olmamızdan. Şimdi insanlar rakip olmayınca kendi varlıklarını sezemezler. Kapalı toplulukta, dışarıya da açılamıyosun, o ihtiyacı nasıl karşılıycan, bi grup kendine var etmen lazım. Varlığını hissedesin diye. Bu sefer napılıyo, a işte bunlar Sepetçi, onlara karşı bi mücadele, varlık nedeni yani, Serezliler yaramazdır derler mesela, Karafereliler berbat, Mangosarlar şöyledir, Sepetçiler, onlardan adam olmaz derler. Böyle karşılıklı rakip oluştururuz, böyle kendi kapalı toplumumuz içerisinde yaşayıp gidiyoruz senin anlayacağın. (…)Yeşil kan. (Mangosarlardan bahsediyor.) Evet. Yeşil kan. Has Roman onlar işte. As Roman. Şeydir de onlar, asabidirler, daha kavgacıdırlar, daha cesurdurlar yani gözleri karadır. Vururlar kırarlar yani. Böyle bi şeyleri vardır onların, ama şeyden kaynaklanıyo bu, böyle mesela (…) Kapalı toplum. Kendi içlerinde, dışarıya karşı da kapalı olunca, biraz uçta kalıyo.

[24] This issue will be discussed in a detailed way in the Identification chapter.

basket-maker informant and his family whom I have been talked to in Tenekeli neighborhood.

One of the occupations which is almost disappeared in Izmir centre is basket-making. As it is explained that basket making in urban have become less important generation by generation. It means "dying of the basket-making" resulted in hardened life conditions of the Sepetçiler group, when the erosion of their craft-oriented occupation, the diminishing demand of the younger generations are considerd together.

Mustafa says,

> (Talking about the decline of basketry) Making money, yes. For example all my relatives... they are not dealing with the basketry now, I am the last one. I also didint raise my son for basketry, put him in a position in the print house. (In basketry) there are too many changes, TV and stuff. I used to be hungry till noon. There's this saying, a basketmaker is hungry till noon, because he makes baskets till noon. (he) Then goes to a market and sells those to eat. Back then we didn't needed that much. I used to live in Tepecik with my dad and grand father. We had a small room, 5 brothers and dad would make 3 or 4 baskets to bring us bread. There were no electiricity or water in Tepecik back then, it is not much we had those. We used to gayher our water from a fountain in the distrck. Electiricity (light he means) would be only by the gas lamb. There was electiricity supply but we were not a part of it. That was a luxury for the Romans. That's not the way for now. They want fridge, they want TV, washing machine, computers. You can't get those with basketry. He'll stay hungry till noon and then gat bread in the afternoon... no. That can not be done with basketry, so what does he do? He leaves basketry for good. So what you said is true, basketry died hence the supply dead. Because back then there is no job, so one says "what shall I do till noon?" but this s almost 40 years ago. I am a basketmaker since I was a child, since I was 8 years old. Back then the half of the district, and thirty percent of my relatives were basketmakers. I had uncle R, uncle K, my father's cousins. We were able to anage but now it's not possible; it's only me at the end. What you said is true Ceren, basketry died but I hope (inşallah) it does. We are not too much into baskets, I hope it dies but the social structure of those people shall change.[25]

---

[25] (Sepetçiliğin bitmesinden bahsediyor.) Para kazanmak konusunda, evet. Mesela benim bütün sülalemde sepetçi kalmadı şimdi, en son benim, ben de kendi oğlumu sepetçi yapmadım, matbaaya verdim. (Sepetçilikte) Şu değişti, biliyosun bir sürü değişmeler var, televizyonlar, şunlar bunlar. Eskiden ben öğlene kadar aç olurdum. Meşhur lafımız, bir sepetçi öğlene kadar açtır, çünkü öğlene kadar bir sepet yapar. Gider onu pazarda satar, gene karnını doyurur. O zamanlar böyle, çok fazla ihtiyacımız da yoktu. Ben tabi, Tepecik'te oturuyorum, babamlarla, dedemlerle oturuyorum, böyle küçücük bi odamız vardı, 5 kardeştik ve babam 3, 4 sepet yapar bize ekmek getirirdi. Elektrik yok, su yok Tepecik'te o zaman. Elektrik su geleli ne kadar oldu ki? Eskiden biz su alırdık, mahallede çeşme vardı, ordan. Elektrik dediğin de gaz lambası, ha o arada yok muydu elektrik? Vardı ama bizim dışımızdaydı. Romanların dışında bir lükstü o. Şimdi öyle değil, şimdi biraz gelişiyoz. E bizde de insanlar buzdolabı istiyo, televizyon istiyo, çamaşır makinesi istiyo, bilgisayar istiyo. E

On the other hand, it still exists to some extent in the villages. Basket-making is the only way of subsistence of basket-maker Roma groups living in villages close to Izmir. (for example Aydın, Ilıcabaşı or Çırpı Village, Izmir) There is a difference between urban basket-maker and rural one: Roma from rural area collects raw material from forest where Roma families together are camping according to specific timetable. Urban basket maker buys the raw material from rural groups, makes baskets and sells in the city. It seems like urban basket making had to reformulate itself in order to survive. Mustafa explained that his way of working is different than rural ones, he makes baskets for souvenirs or for flower-shops. Monopolization of the basket sector by Roma basket-makers and no competition with non-Roma and other Roma groups are observed by Heinschink in Izmir. (http://romani.uni-graz.at/rombase/). However, it is ignored that despite of the fact that basket-making is mainly composed of Roma, it does not mean that it is a total advantage. The cheap labor of basket-makers could be considered as being exploited sharply by customers, shop-owners and so on.

> There are also 100 households and those 100 households are squeezed down there. And I am lucky in metropol, because since it is the center everybody there exploits them. For example one opens a shop in Marmaris, buys for 5Liras and those people are isserable there. He sells that for 100 Liras in Bodrum maybe. You might have seen the exhibitions, just for an example for you to understand, we call them "pano(s)", you knitt with "cibik" in one day and he buys them for 20 Liras and goes to Bodrum and sells for 150 Liras. And the basketmakers down there have certain merchants and they do not raise the prices. I mean if one, even if he needs the panos immediately, does not say 50 Liras for each. One goes and buys all goods for 20Liras and gives to that shop for 150, and the shop sells them for 200 Liras.[26]

onu sepetçilikle yapamaz. Öğlene kadar aç kalcak, öğleden sonra bi ekmek alcak, yok. Onu sepetçilikle yapamaz, noluyo? Herkes uzaklaşıyor. O yüzden dediğin doğru, sepetçilik öldü derken insanların ona rağbeti öldü. Çünkü o zamanlar iş yok güç yok, adam diyo ki e yaparım öğlene kadar, ama bu söylediğim kırk yılın başı, kırk yıl öncesinden bahsediyorum. Ben çocukluğumdan beri sepetçiyim, 8 yaşından beri sepetçilikle uğraşıyorum. O zaman mahallenin yarısı sepetçiydi, benim o sülalemin yüzde otuzluk kısmı sepet yapıyodu. R. amcam vardı, K. amcalarım vardı. Babamın amca çocukları. O zaman idare ediyoduk am şimdi hakketten öldü. Mesela şimdi Izmir'de arıycan bi tane sepetçi bulamazsın, bi tane ben varım zaten. O dediğin doğru Ceren, sepetçilik öldü ama inşallah ölsün. Çok da meraklı değiliz sepete, inşallah ölsün ama şu insanların sosyolojik yapısı değişsin.

[26] Orada da dahi 100 tane hane var ve bu 100 hane orada sıkıştırılmış durumda. Ve ben şanslıyım büyükşehirde diye, çünkü orası merkezi olduğundan herkes orada onları sömürüyo. Mesela adam Marmaris'te bi dükkan açıyo oraya geliyo 5 liraya alıyo, o insanlar perişan orda, 100 liraya satıyo Bodrum'da. Belki görmüşsündür sergiler falan var, hani bi örnek vereyim aklına yatsın diye, bizim

Even the cases in which the change is expressed show that loosing traditional occupation is attached to loosing identity in some sense. This quotation specifically indicates the match of occupation and identity in Roma community. As he mentioned moving from Gypsy neighborhood and finding a waged-labor job also mean loosing one's Roma identity.

Caner says,

> Well, as much as I know they have come to Tenekeli, time by tme. Because I am guessing the motherplace of the Danacılar might be Thessaloniki. They came in certain durations and whoever came took a place. I mean they claimed the land. Since they were all Gypsies(Roman citizens) they had houses made out of tin, thats why they called there "Tenekeli"(Tinny). Now they are living mixed. They used to live in seperate districts. Now they are miwed. (...) Still speprated actually. Mangosars are seperated. (Sepetcis) do not exist any more. (...) They still do basketry in Çaybasi, Karabaglar. They do. There's also good money in basketry. But now ofcourse they are loosing their identtis, since they suffered a lot for their identities, you can not go anywhere if you are a Gypsy(Roman citizen), if you are Gypsy (Roman citizen) they isolate you from certain places, so they slowly getting a regular citizen identity. I ean they find jobs with insurance and they are moving away from Tepecik with their families to establish a nice living. I eman engaged in some kind of a job with insurance... they stated to walk that way, as if our kids will be in upper class.[27]

Disapperance of traditional occupations, settled way of life and coexistence of the groups performing same jobs cause hard living conditions. For instance, when

---

pano dediğimiz, çıbıktan örüyosun 1 günde, o 20 liraya satın alıyo onları, Bodrum'a getiriyo 150 milyona satıyo. Ve o çevrede bütün o 100 tane sepetçinin belirli tüccarları vardır ve fiyatı arttırmazlar. Yani bi tanesi çok sıkışsa da, 100 taneye ihtiyacı olsa ya ben sana 50 milyon lira veriyim tanesine de ver demezler. Bi kişi gelir bütün malları toplar 20 liradan o gider o dükkana verir 150ye satar, öteki 200e satar.

[27] Valla Tenekeli'ye benim bildiğim kadarıyla zaman zaman gelmişler, yani belirli aralıklarla. Çünkü Danacıların geliş yerinin Selanik olması lazım diye düşünüyorum. Belli aralıklarla gelmişler, her gelen yer kapmış. Yani parsellenmiş buralar, Tenekeliye Roman vatandaşlar geldiği için tenekeden evler oluşuyomuş, o yüzden Tenekeli mahalle denmiş. Şu an karışık karışık (oturuyorlar). Eskiden ayrı ayrı gruplar halinde oturulurdu. Şimdi karışık oturuyor. (…) Ayrı ayrı gene aslında. Mangosarlar ayrı. (Sepetçiler) Kalmadı onlar artık. (…) Şimdi de sepet örüyolar. Çaybaşı'nda, Karabağlar'da. Örenler var. Bayağı da iyi para var. Ama tabi artık yavaş yavaş, Roman kimliğini yitirmeye, çünkü Romanlıktan çok gördükleri için, hani Roman olduğunda bi yere giremiyorsun, Roman vatandaş diye seni bazı yerlerden kısıtlıyorlar, artık yavaş yavaş normal bi vatandaş sıfatına kimliğine bürünmeye başladılar. Yani kendilerine bi sigortalı iş bulup, kendisini de ailesini de Tepecik'ten çekip, güzel bi yaşam kurmaya başlıyorlar. Yani belli bi sigortalı maaşa bağlanıp, artık…yani artık ama o yolda yürümeye başladılar gibi, sanki bizim çocuklarımızın çocukları daha üst seviyelerde olucak.

"basket maker" group and "tinsmith" group settled down, they perfom their traditionals occupation by trading basket, tin the kicthenwares in the nearest settling area for a short time. In the meantime, other Roma groups also settle down which makes the population crowded and job oppurtunities limited. In the course of time, basket making and being tinsmith are not profitable compared to the past. Roma who perform this occupation for a while face to the fact that this occupation is death in a short time.[28]

In the case of Tepecik, although each group has its different mostly craf-based occupation in the beginning, as time passeses they were left or combined to each other by the members of community. The most alive and popular group seems like the Danacılar who still maintains their old occupation; number of the Sepetçiler has been discreasing day by day and about to disappear. Cotton workers Serezliler group is also not dealing with cotton any more. Musicianship is the most demanded occupations among the others. There is an increasing interest towards it among young generations. In that sense, the necessity of the kinship characterizing the occupational group seems to be not that important, as it had in the history of occuational Roma castes. As one interviewee states,

Kemal says,

> All those who came (to the distrct), Danacılar, Serezlis, Sepetcis, etc. have a certain artscrafts places, some does basketry, some does cottonwork. Danacılar are musician. Some are tin plater, some are basket makers; Sepetcis. They used to go to grapesyards and make baskets there. Every one has his/her artscrafts. They ofcourse learn it from their parents, ancestors. They are obliged to manage that. Danacılar have an art (understanding) from their ancestors either. But time passes and time changes; youngsters now can play instruments, becoming friends with the instruments. I mean the Danacılar, there's no such thing that musicians will be only come from them. Everyone can be a musician, every group has one. For example my nephew can play org, does stuff; my main roots are in Danacılar actually.[29]

---

[28] www.sosyalhizmetuzmani.org, available at, 2008, september

[29] (Mahalleye) Gelenlerden herkesin, Danacılar, Serezliler, Sepetçiler olsun bunların herkesin bi *sanat bölgeleri* var, kimi sepet örer kimi pamukla uğraşır, Danacı kısmı müzisyen aileleri, müzisyenlikle uğraşır. E gelelim bazı bi kişiler var kalaycı, bazı bi kişiler sepet örer Sepetçi. Zaten eskiden üzüm bağlarına girerken orda küfe yaparlardı. İşte herkesin kendine göre bi zanaatı vardı. Onlar tabi analardan, babalardan, atalardan kalma sanatlardı. Bunu yürütme mecburiyeti vardı.

3.2.3. Present re-location

As the erosion on traditional occupations increase, it has sharp results in the labor market positions. This title will also explain the details of their jobs, the characteristics of their jobs and particular sectors are they concentrating on including work conditions.[30]

In general, it seem like there are common points underlying the nature of Roma dealing with. They have multioccupational existence, low level of income; occupations do not require much capital accumulation, unqualified jobs, flexible work hours, and uninsured, not waged labor but daily, unsecure work conditions, not limited to one fix work place but in different places, placed in informal economy, out of legal regulations. Although occupations could be diversed in terms of the region of Gypsies have been living[31]. Gypsies' occupations mostly correspond to marginal and low prestigious ones. This also refers to poverty which is characterized by long term unemployment, being poorer than other groups, more likely to fall into poverty, more likely to remain poor.

When it comes to the work past, the child laboring seems significant in the cases of Gypsies in Turky. Since some occupations that have been performed for generations requires to be trained from childhoods, working age is very young. It corresponds to a high percentage of child labouring: Along with the fact starting to work at early ages is too hard for all children, little girls who perform belly dancing experience different conditions. The other children stories about taking to work extremely differentiated from the stories of belly dancer girls.

Şimdi Danacıların anasından dedesinden babasından gelen bi sanat. Ama şimdi çağ değiştikten sonra, yeni yetişen gençler bi müzik aleti çalıyo, kendi kendine o onla arkadaş oluyo, o onla arkadaş oluyo. Yani şimdi Danacılık, yani müzisyen illa onlardan olacak diye bi şey kalmadı. Şimdi herkes müzisyen olabiliyo, her kısımda (grupta) var yani. Benim misal yeğenlerim var org çalıyo bilmem ne yapıyo, aslında benim kendi kökenim Danacılık.

[30] Other Dynamics like their specific work past, work places, which age they start to work, time duration of work will be given in the following chapter which analyzes deeply the work life of the Tepecik Roma on the basis of these three selected occupations.

[31] Romanlar ve Sosyal Politika, a report by Sosyal ve Kültürel Yaşamı Geliştirme Derneği and Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Sosyal Politika Forumu, 2008

Izmir case shows also similarity to the common characteristcs mentioned above. Even though there is a occupational hierarchy based on status in Roma community, it can not be disregarded that currently performed occupations have common aspects. It is possible to enlarge upon this subject via the examples from Izmir: It is possible to figure out what kind of occupations Izmir Roma generally perform, whether they deal the same occupations taken over from the elder generations or how they articulate to the labor market. A questionnaire study named "Romanies in the Metropolitan Municipality Area of Izmir" was applied to 253 interviwees in densely populated Roma quarters of Izmir (Toprak, et al. 2007). In this context, it is seen that Roma generally perform the occupations that are second class, without guarantee, marginal and not desired by the majority of society. Even though these occupations are diversified as they are in the case of Tarlabaşı survey, the common point of these jobs is to be a part of informal economy such as portage, itinerant trade, being daily servant, tobacco labouring or shoeshining. On general, they are not engaged in a single bussiness. They perform several unqualified occupations that are included in informal economy, without any social security in the face of low income, long wroking hours and tough working conditions. All of these factors deepen the existing poverty and reproduce it.

In Tarlabaşi, Izmir, men mostly work as porter, scrap dealer, junk collector, bootblack, tobacco worker or musician.These jobs might be performed by Gypsies who are retired from public of private sector after the retirement. Women work as cleaning lady or tobacco worker. Whereas young ladies or daughters in law are not engaged in the earning jobs at all, young men perform above occupations. Generally, Tarlabaşı Gypsies have flexible and strategic occupational preferences. In the context of Bornova, especially portage, shoeshining and shoe making are the occupations that are monopolistic.

The leading occupations that are desired to be performed by the interviewees in their life time are the profession of doctor and teaching. These top two are followed by being policeman and army officer and being actor/actress, translator,

member of parliament, journalist, prayer leader, lawyer, artist stand close a second. The occupations that the interviewees think of for themselves are similar to the jobs that they desire for their children. However, when the insufficient and limited market is begun to be shared with a new group, this dominant situation that seems privileged, which refers to engagement in the occupations that have been performed for generations and its gainings, deepens the poverty more and more and causes some conflicts at the same time. As it is in the case of Tarlabaşı Roma whose majority manage their lives by portage, the performing of the same jobs by emigrant Kurds restricts the market that has been already limited and causes a tension.

However, Tepecik Tenekeli seems to have its own working patterns different from other Gypsy neighborhood in Izmir. Unlike other Roma neighborhoods, there are different occupations in Tepecik. It is mainly distinguished on the gender. Unlike Tarlabaşı women, Tepecik women are mainly working as belly-dancer, singer and "vekil" (who are responsible of all organization such as work hours of women or cleaning of the rooms in Izmir Tepecik whorehouse), besides common ones like domestic-labor or tobacco-worker in factories. The concentration of Tepecik Gypsy women on certain sectors creates negative stereotypes and labelling towards them by the majority, as well as other Gyspy/Roma groups. In addition, Tepecik takes the first place in terms of the number of musicians, if it is compared with other neighborhood in Izmir. Tepecik is known by its famous musicians. Working as musician is seen mainly in Tepecik rather than other neighborhoods in Izmir centre. To conclude, there is intense concentration on occupations placed in the night life. In addition, the criminal feature of Tepecik and Tenekeli neighborhood should not be ignored while the ways of subsistence are emphasized. As I witnessed in the fieldwork but not observed in a detailed way, there are some jobs taken by settlers in Tepecik, such as theft, drug-dealing or being member of kind of mafia organizations. For example, there is one called "tezgahçı" who takes the punishment of a superior positioned person in the gang and goes to prison instead of him/her. S/he is also paid weekly and her/his family

is looked after by the gang. Although there are other complicated details and networks in organization of the illegal works in Tepecik, I prefer not to mention them due to several the reasons. Firstly, I did not focus on those parts of working life in Tepecik in this thesis. Secondly the people of Tepecik have been suffering from the stigmatization as criminal and dangerous neighborhood and reproduction of this stigmatization without necessary knowledge would not be proper. It would also be disadvantege for the people who have taken more attention of the security forces in Izmir and always under the risk of being labeled.

Although except from three occupations, i.e. scrap-dealing, belly-dancing and musicianship, focused on this thesis, other occupations have not been searched in a detailed way. According to the study of Izmir Municipality, Tepecik Gypsy group does display similarities on the basis of their existence in labor market. The characteristics of jobs in Tepecik could be described as working unqualified, low income, under hard work conditions, in flexible work hours, uninsured and unsecured which seem to be common with other Gypsy/Roma groups in Izmir. If the work hours are considered, it seems more difficult especially for belly-dancers and musicians who work at night time till day time. Belly-dancers work mainly out of Izmir, in small towns or provinces near to Izmir. I was told it takes sometimes even five or six hours to go to work places and turn back to Tenekeli. They spend the whole night and first hours of the morning in working in places, which is a very similar case to musicians who also work at night till the morning. On the other hand scrap-dealers work more flexible; I was told that sometimes there are days they do not go to work. This is much related to the nature of the occupation which is unsecured and unpredictable.

The common and distinguishing characteristics of the working life of Tepecik will be explained in a more detailed way in the following chapters. These characteristics are significant in order to make a proper analysis of occupational positions of Tepecik Roma and its relation to particular Gypsy/Roma identity formation.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. ANALYSIS OF WORK LIFE OF TEPECIK ROMA

The reason underlying the focus on work life and its particular intersection with Roma identity on the basis of certain occupations is based on an understanding of labor concentration as one of the identity construction sites. As Cornell and Hartman discusses, "as persons are distributed into the categories that the division of labor offers, group identity construction is one eminently possible outcome." (Cornell Hartman, 1998:160) Jenkins also underlies the role of labor market where identities are imposed to the individuals in a dialectical process of internal and external definition. (Jenkins, 1997) Whether there is an organic relation between identity and occupation, and if so, how it expresses itself on identity formation through the channels of occupation concentration are the main focus of this chapter. In this context, ethnic identity formation is considered as open to external factors, which could be considered as particular socio-economic conditions of Tepecik Roma community experiencing. Although there is an emphasis on the external dynamics, they should be tried to be understood in terms of the self-perceptions of the community itself. Through this perspective, it is aimed to understand the significant and complementary relation of external factors and internal mechanisms in identification process. Socio-economic conditions are interpreted in three parts. First one tries to make an analysis of education and Roma. Second one points to the occupational zones of Tepecik Roma community in terms of its particular mechanisms operating in maintenance of certain occupations. The final one describes the social stratification based on the prestige and status of occupations attributed by Tepecik Roma community. To conclude,

what underlies this chapter is an attempt to describe the suppressed and limited closed work structure of Tepecik Roma community and to understand how Roma identity is in relation with this particular structure.

4.1. On Education/Literacy

4.1.1. General Perception of School and Education

Educational background and perception of being educated by Gypsy/Roma from Tepecik are chosen to be elaborated assuming that education plays a significant role as a socio-economic condition in identity formation. Bourdieu sees education as an important dynamic producing and reproducing stratification in society. He tries to understand the role of cultural capital in the case of "the unequal scholastic achievement of children originating from the different social classes by relating academic success". (Bourdieu, 2007:243) He says "School system (…) maintains the status quo, that is, the distinction among students whose cultural capitals are not equal to each other. Through several selecting processes, it differentiates those who have cultural capital by inheritance from those who lack of it. One can not separate social distinctions that are shaped in terms of inherited cultural capital from talent distinctions; as a result, social distinctions keep their existence." (Bourdieu, 2005: 37) While three forms of cultural capital are defined by Bourdieu, i.e. the embodied, the objectified and the institutionalized states of cultural capital[32], the embodied state is preferred to be focused on aiming to cover educational background and certain attitudes of Tepecik Roma. The concept of 'embodied capital' is chosen to be focused on since it refers to the closed socialization process of Roma and families' attitudes towards children' education. Although it describes rather detailed visible inequalities among children experienced during the education, it addresses to a different situation in Tepecik case, which covers internally embodied forms of cultural capital during their informal occupational training. Although there is no satisfactory information for detailed analysis of objectified and institutionalized states of cultural capital,

---

[32] It is discussed in theory chapter.

significance of these two states should not be ignored which closely relate to occupational positions of Roma. For example, "institutionalized cultural capital" also functions in creating occupational hierarchies. Institutionalized cultural capital leads to reproduction of class hierarchies through the hierarchy among educational institutions which is decisive on advantageous and disadvantageous occupational positions. (Göker, 2007)

Analysis of production and reproduction of cultural capital and whether it has an affect on the relation between occupation and Gypsy identity will be discussed in this part. However, it should be stated that when Bourdieu's analyses is applied to Turkish education system, different mechanisms operating to produce inequalities can be observed. Aktay states that Bourdieu analyzes subtle distinctions in the French education system in which each child is supposed to have equal educational rights. However, Turkish education has "more clear, visible and rough inequalities, compared to French one." (Aktay, 2007:476) How education functions amongst Roma and further how it relates to identity formation should be argued considering these differences.

Education is generally problematic, when Gypsy/Roma groups are considered. There are many cases from many countries where Gypsies have encountered problems in having access to education as an equal opportunity; having higher education and so on. Through special curricula, classes or even nomadic schooling, problems are tried to be overcome. However, it still remains problematic. (Lassen and Wickström, 1991, Mavrommatis, 2007) The case of Gypsies in Turkey is not exceptional. Although it differs from the others in that they do not demand education in mother-tongue Romany or there are no special classes in which only Gypsy children are educated, there are serious problems in completing compulsory education because of the low and irregular attendance of children. As it is stated in the report of "Roma and Social Policy"[33], there is a high

---

[33] Romanlar ve Sosyal Politika, a report by Sosyal ve Kültürel Yaşamı Geliştirme Derneği and Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Sosyal Politika Forumu, 2008

rate of leaving school, attendance problems, and illiteracy in third or fourth classes at primary school among Roma children.

When it comes to how Roma from Tepecik Tenekeli perceives education, it can be said that there is a negative attitude towards education in general, covering all the work groups. It is often emphasized by interviewees themselves that Roma children do not like attending the courses in the school and they do not give importance to the formal education. Members of all three job categories feel the same towards education. Although children must attend school for eight years as part of the compulsory education in Turkey, it is seen that even the compulsory education is not completed by the majority of the community. As most of them are primary school graduates, their children are also experiencing the same. Even in the case of graduation from compulsory one, the quality of the education seems to be clearly questionable. I was told that education in school is not satisfactory for the children; they sometimes do not have teachers and further the children are criticized by teachers implying that there is no future for them.[34] Their education level is generally primary school or less. It is mentioned that this is not the case for just one generation but lasts for generations in Tepecik. Peculiarity of Turkish educational system could be seen here, where students are excluded from the beginning, even in terms of the school they start education. Insufficiencies of the school and teachers, as well as the education itself are stressed frequently by interviewees. As Turkish school system is based on neighborhood schooling, students are supposed to be enrolled to schools in their own neighborhood. Schools in Tepecik, which is a socio-economically disadvantaged neighborhood, are not only problematic for Gypsy children. In other words, educational inequalities are experienced by all the settlers of Tepecik who are Gorgio, Kurdish or Gypsy.

Tepecik case shows similarity to Greek one. As Mavrommatis explains the situation of Gypsy minority in Kalkanca, Greece, "they are illiterate, majority of

---

[34] I was told that teachers used to tell to the students frequently "Sizden birşey olmaz.", which is "You do not have the potential to be successful".

them work temporarily in unqualified jobs and they do not have the chance to change their position through education. They have spent all the time in life struggle and it refers to deprivation for the families and working at the early ages for the children." (Mavrommatis, 2007:57)

Nedim says,

> I got out of school, but actually my father wanted to send me to school. I didn't have it in me to study though, to be honest. I mean, even the ones who are going to school now, they do it by force saying 'We wish it ended already.' They don't like studying.[35]

Serdar says,

> Ask my friend. She dropped out of the first grade in the elementary school. I finished the first grade in three years. In the third year, I slashed the principle's head in the meeting, he threw me out of school. That's where it comes from - not studying. I mean, they don't like studying.[36]

In addition to the statement of "We do not like school", they seem to internalize the failure of Roma children in education. It is seen that negative feeling towards education and school is perceived something intrinsic to Roma. It is sometimes stated as a result of their 'disability', especially in the case of having difficulties in mathematics. Some specific courses are perceived as ones which they are not able to understand and be successful. That particular internalization may express itself in "the negative dispositions and predispositions leading to self-elimination, such as, self-depreciation, devalorization of the School and its sanctions or resigned expectation of failure or exclusion" (Bourdieu 1977:204/5, in Jenkins, 1992:112)

Bourdieu explains the 'failure' in terms of the mechanism dominating the pattern of production of cultural capital. He says that as education operates through dominant cultural codes, lower class children who are not familiar with them can

---

[35] Ben de okuldan çıktıktan sonra babam beni okutmak istedi aslında, e benim içimde okumak yoktu aslında ne yalan söyleyeyim. Yani şu an gidenler bile zorunlu gidiyo. Yani bitse de kurtulsak diye. Sevmiyolar okumayı.

[36] Arkadaşıma sor, ilkokul birden terk. Ben ilkokul biri üç sene okudum. Üçüncü sene müdürün kafasını yardım toplantıda, beni okuldan attı. Bundan kaynaklanıyo zaten. Okumamaklıktan.Yani okumayı sevmiyolar.

not read those codes. Success in school is much related with the pre-school education; for this reason, only children who "internalize" the necessary knowledge and skills can have the chance to be successful. System of education as a system of elimination determines the success of the social group in terms of its cultural capital. This can also be seen in the processes of choosing or excluding someone from a specific occupation. As one scrap-dealer states below, his occupation tends to be kept by next generations of the family since they are not successful in school and for this reason they do not seem to have a future through education. (Aktay, 2007)

Bekir says,

> The truth is, I am not in favor of them (children) doing these jobs. There's no end to it. It looks like they will also be doing these jobs. (...) Good! One of them dropped out of fourth grade. How was it gonna be? One of them dropped out of middle school. And we send the other one to school by force. He is only in elementary school. Can you make anything out of him? He's going to become a scrap-dealer like us or a porter. What else can he be? Isn't that right? I am telling the truth. Should I lie now? They don't like the school. Their father didn't finish to school, what do you expect of them to be? Their mother, father and siblings didn't finish school, either. There isn't anyone around here that has finished school. There were a few, but we see them now around, they've become porters. Like I said before, a guy who finished university is now a porter at Tekel carrying bales in a tobacco factory.[37]

Mustafa says,

> What I want to say is that the fact the Roma are basket makers puts a social pressure on us. Otherwise, man has nothing no other skill. Guys at the age of 17, 18 learn the basket making skills from their fathers. You might ask if they go to school or not. Even if they do, their environment, the father, the mother, don't think it's important.[38]

---

[37] Valla, pek taraftar değilim ben bu işleri yapmalarına. (çocukların) Sonu yok yani. Ama görünümde onlar da galiba bu işleri yapcaklar. (…) İyi! Biri dördüncü sınıftan bıraktı. Nasıl olcak yani? Bi tanesi ortaokulu bırakıp? Öbürünü desen, döverek gönderiyoz okula, daha ilkokulda. E bu adam ne olur? Bizim gibi hurdacı olucak. Veyahut da hamal olucak, başka ne olucak? Doğru di mi? Doğruyu konuşuyorum abi, yalan mı söyliyim şimdi? Okulu sevmiyolar. E babaları okumamış ki, anası ne ki danası ne olsun? Anası da okumadı, babası da okumadı, kardeşleri de okumadı. Burda okuyan yok abim, bi kaç kişi okudu bu mahallede, onları da görüyoz sağda solda, hamallık yapıyolar. Herif üniversiteyi bitirmiş, dedim ya demin, Tekel'de hamallık yapıyo, tütün fabrikasında balya taşıyo.

[38] Yani şunu demek istiyorum, bizim Romanların özellikle el sanatı konusunda, Romanların sepetçilik yapması bizi o sosyal konuda sıkıştırdığı için. Yoksa adamın başka mesleği yok. 17 18 yaşında çocuklar babalarının yanında sepetçilik öğreniyo. Okula gitmiyo mu dicen abi bunlar, bunlar gitseler bile okula çevreleri o okulu önemli olarak benimseyemiyo, baba benimseyemiyo, anne benimseyemiyo.

4.1.2. Occupational Training

Tepecik Gypsy/Roma has a tendency toward maintaining the occupation which passed from his family. For this reason, they see no necessity to take formal education. That particular professionalization is achieved through certain patterns in Tepecik, Tenekeli neighborhood. The question of what kind of training they experienced before they began working as musician, belly-dancer and scrap-dealer and how they learn their jobs should be covered.

Ahmet says,

> I mean, the whole family is musicians. My uncles are musicians. They showed me how to do it, I played by myself. They taught me the notes. We practice at home, play usual. We are not virtuoso. Enough to make ends meet.[39]

Halit says,

> My grandfather -my mother's father- was a musician. He was a national drummer and clarion player. He could also play the clarinet. I learned it from him. Apart from that, there were a lot of respected musicians in our neighborhood. I took lessons from them. (The elders) give lessons. Just have the desire to learn. But of course it doesn't come free. They would give lessons to anyone in the neighborhood if they paid the fee. They help us out.[40]

Fatma says,

> It runs in the family. This belly dancing thing is something from my aunt. My aunt used to belly dance. We took it from her. In this neighborhood, all the Roma people know how to dance and they love it. They're talented. They have good voices and moves. For instance, in wedding celebrations, the girls dress up in gowns for belly dancing. The dress up in nice clothes and they dance terrific. There's no need to take lessons. They have it in them.[41]

---

[39] İşte valla, aileden müzisyen hep. Amcamlar müzisyen. Onlar bana göstere göstere. Kendim çalışıyorum. Nota gösterdiler. Evde çalışa çalışa, normal bi şekilde çalıyoruz yani. Çok virtüöz gibi değiliz de. Yani ekmeğimizi kazanacak kadar

[40] Klarneti, benim annemin babası, büyük babam, müzisyendi. Milli davulcu ve mili zurnacıydı. Aynı zamanda klarnet de çalabiliyodu, kendisinden öğrendim. Ondan sonra, mahallemizde çok değerli müzisyen abilerimiz vardı. Ders aldım kendilerinden. (Büyükler) Veriyolar, yeter ki öğrenmek isteyin. Ama tabi bi bedeli var. Tabi bi bedeli var. O bedeli ödedikten sonra herkese ders veriyolar yani mahallede. Yardımcı oluyolar.

[41] (Ailede) Var. Bu oryantallik halamdan gelme. Halam oryantaldi. Ondan bize kaldı. Şimdi bu mahallede bütün Romanlar oynamayı bilirler ve çok severler. Kabiliyetliler. Sesleri güzeldir, oyunları güzeldir. Düğünlerde mesela, kızlar tuvalet giyerler ama oryantal tuvaleti giyerler. Güzel elbiseler giyerler ve muazzam oynarlar yani. Hiç ders almaya gerek yok. Doğuştan yetenekli.

Didem says,

> I didn't learn it from anyone. My friends used to go. I separated from his father at a young age, I became widowed and there was no one looking after me. My sister had started working then and I said 'I will, too.' I only had me. I didn't take anything (lessons), anyway. Roma people know how to dance.[42]

None of these work groups have taken vocational training related with their jobs. What is intersecting all groups is that the resource of the training is neighborhood and close family members, as well as neighbors. Musicians mention "music courses" given by the experienced older musicians in addition to the atmosphere at home and in neighborhood, covering their growing up period. Belly-dancers underline the importance of the rituals, such as wedding, kına, sünnet, asker uğurlaması[43] in Tenekeli neighborhood functioning as a school where one learns how to dance without any additional training or course. Scrap-dealers state that they rather learned the work by the previous generation or they did it on their own. However, this pattern of workis much related with the multi-occupational existence of scrap-dealers. Their occupational positions are unstable and adaptable in terms of the changing economic conditions. As they grow up by experiencing different marginal branches, they rather learn the work at work which is called 'rising from the ranks' by the interviewees themselves.

Kemal says,

> Look my brother; I became a scrap-dealer 20 years ago more or less. It's been exactly 20 years that I've been doing this (scrap-dealing.) I started school at the age of six and the work at the age of seven. (...) I was in leather business then for about ten or fifteen years. Then we saw that business was going nowhere, that it wouldn't sustain us. My father was a package maker. he showed us the business. So we dropped the other one and started doing this one. (...) I had no other job in my mind. I did it because it was my father's occupation. We learned the business from him. Actually, he wasn't always a package maker. He also used to be a porter. A long time ago, they used to sell sacks and made hoops and packages to make money. I mean, they were wherever they could make ends meet. (His father) He helped us out, of course, in the beginning. The truth is I lost money for the first time while selling his goods. Look, it's something like this: When you do the same thing all the time, your eye becomes a scale itself of kilos and centimeters. If you bring me a package now, I can tell you how much it weighs or its dimensions without even measuring it. The eye gets used to it. You learn what is what when you do deal with

---

[42] Ben hiçbi yerden öğrenmedim. Arkadaşlarım gidiyodu, ben de çok küçük yaşta babasından ayrıldım dul kaldım yani, bakanım da yoktu, ablam da işe başlamıştı ben de dedim başlıcam, aldım kendimi çıktım. Hiçbişi almadım zaten Roman insanları oyunu biliyo ki.

[43] These are social, religious and cultural rituals.

the same goods, same things all the time. [44]

One important distinction emerges, when the attitude towards music conservatoire is analyzed. Educated position on the basis of conservatoire is perceived as something disadvantageous for Roma musicians. There are several reasons underlying this particular attitude: First one is based on pure economic reasons. They argue that graduation from conservatoire may lead to limitation of musical options since "conservatoire" is considered as opposed to the popular music market where there are more job opportunities. Second reason is much related with identity. It seems like there is a division between conservatoire and informal musical training; first one attaches to "rational" "pure" musical knowledge and second one refers to "free emotions", "feelings". Roma musician emphasizes the superiority of Roma way of playing which draws inspiration from Roma feeling deep inside. This argument goes parallel with the stereotypes of Roma identity attached to free nature. Similar argument could be observed in an interview conducted with Hüsnü Şenlendirici in the work of Değirmenci. (2008) Hüsnü Şenlendirici is a famous Roma clarinet player and calls himself as a world-musician. He stresses over the importance of being trained from the childhood (alaylı) in his music career. He states that raising up in a local place, -Bergama, and learning the instrument mostly in the weddings has contributed to his musical perspective. As the musicians of Tenekeli, he distinguishes Roma way of playing from other ones on the basis of the specific style, i.e. not playing in terms of the musical notes but playing free. (Değirmenci, 2008)

---

[44] Ben mi abicim bak, ben hurdacılığa aşağı yukarı 20 sene oldu başlayalı, tam 20 sene oldu hurdacılık yapıyorum. Ben altı yaşında okula başladım yedi yaşında iş hayatına başladım. (…) Aşağı yukarı orda da on, on beş sene falan bi dericilik hayatımız oldu. Ondan, baktık işin gidişatını dedik bu işler bizi kurtarmaz, e babamın da işi kolicilik, babam yapıyodu. O da işte gösterdi bize işi, o işi bıraktık bu işe devam ettik. (…) Başka bi meslek yoktu abicim benim kafamda. Başka bi meslek, işte babamın mesleği diye biz de devam ettirdik, babamın yanında gördük bu işleri, yani babamın da kökeni kolicilik değil yani, kökenine bakarsan o da hamallıktan gelme. Çarşıda tabi uzun yıllar önce, çorba çıksın diye çuval satardılar, çember yapardılar, koli yapardılar. Yani ekmek nerden çıkıyo ordaydılar. (Babam yardım) Etti canım, etti. Baştan etti. Hatta ilk onun malını satarken zarar ettim. İlk yaptığımda zarar ettirdim. Bak şimdi öyle bi şey ki devamlı aynı işi yaptığın zaman gözün kilo gibi oluyo gözün santimetre gibi oluyo. Şimdi ordan bi koli getir bana ben bakıyım ona, hiç ölçmeden hiç çarpmadan söyliyim sana gramını metresini. Artık göz alışıyo, devamlı aynı malı aynı, aynı şeylerle uğraşa uğraşa öğreniyosun yani neyin ne olduğunu.

In other words, certain clichés identifying Gypsiness are internalized and embraced as a part of identity. Conservatoire is even seen as a threat to essential characteristics of Gypsy musician in some sense. However, this perception ignores the difficulties to achieve an education in conservatoire and represent it as a matter of choice of Gypsy musician. Mechanisms of education as in Bourdieu's argument operate through elimination of Tepecik Gypsy/Roma musician from conservatoire, and conditionally, it is reproduced through 'choice discourse', that is ignorance of structural factors which do not allow them to have educationed in conservatoire and consequently the musicians stress over their "own" preferences and choices for the reasons mentioned above. Bourdieu defines it as "choice of the necessity" which is also shaped by habitus. "The most improbable practices are exluded, either totally, without examination, as *unthinkable*, or at the cost of the *double negation* which inclines agents to make a virtue of necessity, that is, to refuse what is anyway refused and to love the inevitable." (Bourdieu, 1977:77) In addition, perception of conservatoire and re-production of the clichés concerning Gypsy nature and musicianship also remind of what Bourdieu calls "misrecognition". The case of Tenekeli musicians could be an example of how they are tended to misrecognize the lack of access to conservatoire education and perceive this situation on the basis of "the taken-for-granted quality of naturalness" (Jenkins, 1992) This is also significant since these taken-for-granted talents are key-markers of Gypsy musician identity formation.

Nedim says,

> To tell you the truth, if you ask me, I wouldn't send my son to the conservatoire. Because he would fall behind the market in there. If he'll be a musician, he falls behind the market there. Now you will ask me if conservatoire is a bad thing, no it's not. He can go but the conservatoire will keep him behind the market. The market is where we make the money. There isn't anyone from conservatoire making any money. I have a friend, a conservatoire graduate and a good musician but he plays at a pub. How is that? Is that the reward you get coming out of the conservatoire? Playing at a pub? When he can make 100 lira, he goes to a gig with a guy from conservatoire and will get 20 lira. That's why, I'm against it. You understand? If my friend had been hung up on the conservatoire and gone to study there, he and his wife would have nothing to eat now.[45]

---

[45] Ya şimdi ben açıkçası bir şey söyleyeyim mi, bana sorarsan konservatuara falan göndermem ben oğlumu. Çünkü konservatuarda piyasadan geri kalır. Müzisyenlik yapıcaksa piyasadan geri kalır. Hani konservatuar diyceksin şimdi, kötü bi şey mi diyceksin, gitmesin, hayır gitsin ama şimdi

Halit says,

> I didn't study, I am an alayli. I studied outside and learned everything from outside. But of course, although we are not in the same league with the conservatoire people, we also know what they know. Compared to our friends from the conservatoire, our emotions are more in the foreground. they only learn the theoretical side of things. They learn the notes. But we, the alaylis, have the same amount of knowledge as they have.[46]

Ahmet says,

> There's no such thing as going to the conservatoire among 90% of the Romas. Romas don't go to the conservatoire thinking that these thoughts, principles the style of singing would change if they went to the conservatoire. (How it would change) Now, every one has a style of their own. Since we this occupation comes down to us from our fathers, we think that if we go to the conservatoire, we'll learn the technical side of things and as a result, our style of playing will change. That's why; we don't go to the conservatoire.[47]

This dichotomy of educated versus risen from the ranks[48] refers to cultural codes, in the cases of scrap-dealers. Emphasis on rising from the ranks includes inferiority of educated people. As being aware of the fact that being uneducated is judged and unapproved by the dominant codes of society, they consider themselves more capable and skillful, compared to those who only know theory of the work. The educated person is defined as one who has nothing beside the pure education. Their ability on governing practical cases makes them more talented on commercial works.

---

konservatuar onu piyasadan çok alıkoycak. E zaten biz piyasadan ekmek yiyoz. Konservatuardan ekmek yiyen yok yani. Bi arkadaşım var, konservatuar mezunu iyi müzisyen ama birahanede çalışıyo, nasıl olcak şimdi? Yani konservatuarın ödülü bu mu? Birahanede çalışmak mı? Alıyo 100 milyon lira atıyorum, e konservatuarla işe gidicek konservatuar dalgasına alıcak 20 milyon. Bu yüzden ben karşıyım. Anladın mı? Arkadaşım konservatuara taksaydı kafayı, gitseydi konservatuarla işlere karısı da aç kalırdı, kendi de aç kalırdı.

[46] Okumadım, alaylıyım. Dışardan okudum, her şeyi dışarıdan gördüm. Ama tabi ki, konservatuarlılarla, aynı kefede olmasak da, onların bildiklerini biz de biliyoruz yani. Yani konservatuarda çalışan arkadaşlarla, yani daha doğrusu, onlara nazaran bizim duygularımız daha çok ön planda. Onlar sadece işin nazari boyutunu öğreniyorlar. İşte notayı öğreniyolar. Ama bizim de en azından onlar kadar bilgilerimiz var. Alaylıların da.

[47] Konservatuar yok, Romanların yüzde doksanında konservatuar yoktur. Konservatuara gittiğimizde, bu düşüncelerin, prensiplerin, söyleyiş tarzının değişeceğini düşündüğümüzden dolayı konservatuara gitmez Romanlar. (Nasıl değişeceğinden) Bayağı şimdi kendine göre herkesin bi tarzı var. Genelde babalarımızdan geldiği için bu meslek, sonuç olarak konservatuara gittiğimizde işin teknik bilimini öğrenicez, teknik tarafını öğrenicez o zaman da bu çalış tarzımız değişicek diye düşündüğümüzden konservatuara gitmiyoruz.

[48] It refers to being alaylı.

Kemal says,

> We call other people Gaco. This Gaco, although he's received education and is cultured, he is a bigot. For instance, I read once the owner of Vestel saying that he wouldn't trust an educated person even with a teahouse. Now, let alone the elementary school, I hadn't gone to school at all, would you judge me by that, by school? The other person has gone to school, but he is a bigot who cannot bring two words together in a sentence. He has no essence in him. Now look, I express myself to you how nicely. Am I a cultured person? I can talk about anything. I express myself well in front of people. I am not ashamed of myself. There are people among us without any knowledge. People think we are not well mannered because of this culture issue.[49]

Bayram says,

> In order to get somewhere, you have to rise to that point from below. Some would know everything technically, but when it came to doing, they couldn't do anything. We worked at such places that we rose from the ranks. There was no such thing as machinery back then. Everything was done manually. We worked during the big industrialization period. We had important, responsible people supervising us. But they wouldn't know how to open a locker door. Oh, he is a university graduate! But there's no performance! He studied and became an engineer. Mister L. in Alfa - Cukurova, he finished I-don't-know-what, became the responsible person for this huge factory, but he wouldn't know how to pass goods through a sift. In order to do such things, you have to come from the lower structure. I'm not saying this to you, but when you learn something, learn also how to do it. I mean, it's not just about telling people how to do it. (...) There are a lot of university graduates out there. They are ignorant but they manage people in very high ranks. Trade is also about personal skills. You have to have personal skills. You can't do it just with a machine or stuff like that. The one who rises from the ranks and the one who studies never in the whole wide world is the same thing. No matter how educated you are! Maybe I can't put two words together in a sentence, but my performance is bigger than his. Ataturk saved the thing, did he do it by himself? But who was declared a hero in the end? Ataturk. Did Ataturk do it all alone? Isn't that right?[50]

---

[49] Şimdi biz başkalarına Gaco diyoz, Gaco, adam harbiden yobaz, kültürü varmış bilmem nesi varmış, misal ben okudum Vestel'in sahibini, ben diyo nice üniversiteliler gördüm diyo, ama bi çay ocağı teslim etmem. Ben, bırak ilkokullu olmayı, hiç okul okumamış bi insan olsam, ki Allahın verdiği bi yetenek var benim üzerimde, nasıl olucak şimdi, beni okulla mı yargılıycaksın, okul okumuş ama yobaz. Yobaz, iki kelimeyi bir araya getiremiyo. Yobaz eğitilmemiş bi insan, kendinde üstünde hiç bi cevheri olmayan bi insan. Ama şimdi bak, ben ne güzel anlatıyorum kendimi burda, ben kültürlü bi insan mıyım? Anlat de bana her daldan anlatayım ben sana kendimi. Herhangi bi insanın da karşısına geldiğim zaman gayet kendimi anlatırım. Kendimle mağdur bi insan değilim zaten. Var insanlar, işte genelimizde bizim kültürümüz yok ya, kültürden dolayı görgüsüz olarak bizi biliyolar.

[50] Bi yerlere gelmek için, bi işin alt tabanında gelmek lazım. Adamlar kağıt üzerinde bilir ama, icraata geldi mi yapamaz. Biz öyle yerlerde çalışırdık ki, biz işin tam çekirdeğinden yetişmeyiz. Makine denilen hiç bi şey yoktu. Her şey elle olurdu. Biz büyük fabrikalaşmaya başladığı yerlerde çalıştık, başımızda büyük sorumlu insanlar vardı, ama gelip de bi tane dolap kapağını açmayı bilmezdi. Ha, o üniversite mezunu! E icraat yok! Okumuş mühendis olmuş o. Alfa Çukurova'da L. Bey, bilmem neyi bitirmiş adam, koskoca fabrika ona teslim ama gelip de bi tane eleğe mal atmasını bilmez. Yani bunları yaparken, tam yani yerinde olmak için, biraz daha alt yapıdan gelmek lazım. Lafım sana değil ama bi şeyleri yaparken icraatını da öğren. Yani sadece insanlara anlatımla olmuyo. (…) Çok, dışarıda üniversite mezunu var. Çok cahil ve çok yüksek makamlarda, insanları yönetiyo. Ticaret, biraz da kişisel beceriklilik olacak, insanın kendi becerisi de olacak.

As it is seen in the quotation, there are conflicting attitudes. Even if he overstresses the position of uneducated but talented by nature, there is still perception of education and culture as a result of in which he feels himself as uneducated, uncultured and ill-mannered. Through 'reversed hierarchy', places of educated versus uneducated get blurred and seem to be affected by different dynamics, not only on the basis of the pure education level.

In this context, education is perceived in a contradictory way among Roma community. Besides implications on disability, failure or incapability of Roma, education seems to be disadvantageous, especially for musicians who consider musical training unprofitable as a threat to their essential Roma talents. On the other hand, the emphasis on the importance of being risen from the ranks, compared to being educated legitimizes their occupational positions in which there is no need for formal or higher education. If it is analyzed in terms of the specific logic of transmission of cultural capital, the hereditary aspect becomes considerable, as it is seen in Tepecik case.

According to Bourdieu, the most powerful feature of cultural capital lies in the logic of its transmission: It should be primarily possessed by family, i.e. the cultural capital should be embodied in the whole family. In addition, the accumulation of capital starts in the early agess and lasts for whole socialization period. He argues that "the transmission of cultural capital is no doubt the best hidden form of hereditary transmission of capital." (Bourdieu, et. al. Sadovnik, A. R, 2007:246) As a result of that, it is significant in reproduction strategies. In other words, families tend to invest in education, only if they have high volume of cultural capital by inheritance. The hereditary transmission of cultural capital of Tepecik Gypsy/Roma community shows itself through informal training which

---

Sadece öyle makineyle bilmem neyle olmaz. Çekirdeğinden yetişenle okuyan, hayatta bir olamaz. Sen ne kadar bilgili olursan ol, ha ben belki iki kelimeyi bir araya getiremem, iki kelimeyi bi araya getiremem ama yaptığım icraat ondan büyüktür. Atatürk şimdi kurtardı şeyi, tek başına mı kurtardı? Ama kim kahraman ilan edildi? Atatürk kahraman ilan edildi. Atatürk tek başına mı yaptı bu işi? Öyle değil mi?

may result in concentration on certain occupations. These dispositions are revealed as strategies of individuals who internalize that it is not that possible to survive through education. For this reason they prefer to concentrate on non-formal trainings to keep occupational existence. Formation of dispositions and strategies could be considered as operating on the basis of the logic of accumulation and reproduction of capital. (Calhoun, et. al. Bora, 2007)

If education is considered as a dynamic factor in reproduction of certain socio-economic conditions which are highly decisive for identity formation of Gypsy/Roma, those mentioned attitudes and perceptions toward education and its relation to identity could be evaluated accordingly. For example, educational attitude affects the tendency towards certain occupational choices, and those choices are important parts of identification, such as attachment of occupation and identity in the case of Gypsy musicians. Contrary to the understanding of educational success or failure as effect to natural aptitude, it is rather related to the dominant pattern of reproduction of cultural capital shaping Tepecik Gypsy community. As an interviewee states, "In order to make a child doctor, you should give education to him for years and years, and our conditions, it is also because of our conditions, the atmosphere here is not suitable for such a kind of thing."[51] As it combines with concentration of child laboring and dramatic necessity for it, different identification process may be formulated which is open to construction of external factors, such as education case.

4.2. Occupational Positions

> If you are examining it from the perspective of Roma people, basket making is indeed a grand art within the Roma people. Some say, for instance, that it's the music, because there are a lot of them dealing with it, and really successfully; because they rise from the ranks and arrive to a very different level in music as they don't have any patterns in their head. From the ranks they come, our Roma don't know any musical note. Put the one who says that he is notis, meaning educated, next to our one that is not, you'll see the difference immediately. Because our kind is raised without patterns, like our basket makers, who make the baskets without patterns. Despite their lack of a social pattern,

---

[51] Biraz da imkanlarımız, doktor okutmak için çocuğu senelerce okutmak lazım. Buna atmosfer olarak da uygun değiliz yani."

knowledge of musical notes or learning they sometimes brag about it saying, "No one can make the music we make," just because of this suppressed social structure. But they forget one thing: This happens exactly because of this suppressed social structure, it's not actually something to brag about. If that kid went to university, to the music academy and got that learning as well as acquiring that ear for music within the family, then the best musicians would come from among us. Well, today the most guitarists in Spain are Gypsies, the Roma people, but they are famous world wide, why? That's that, I told you before, we cannot see the developed sides of Europe applied here in Turkey. And we cannot do anything about that, aren't there bright ones among us? We have people out of this world, they come from real life but they don't find these opportunities. They don't have something to lean on to, something to trust like "We have our government backing us, it will give us scholarships, it will give us this and that, we should encourage our kid to something." For instance, there are no army officers or soldiers from among us. It is social pressure. Like it's trendy to say these days, "This is neighborhood pressure." The real neighborhood pressure is right here! Don't look for it anywhere else. The Roma people have a lot of distress![52]   Mustafa, basket-maker

The reason underlying the analysis of the place of social and ethnic ties/network is based on an understanding of the transfer of jobs the Gypsy community deals with. I tried to understand how these jobs with certain characteristics are occupied by the Gypsy community. Is there a continuation on these works in the community, if so, how they are transferred from one generation to the next, and especially which networks and connections in the work life are operating in this process? In order to understand the important points defining this transfer,

---

[52] Gerçekten sepetçilik, Romanlar açısından inceliyosan, belki de Romanların içerisinde çok büyük bi sanat. Kimisi der ki mesela müzisyenliktir, tabi öyle çok olduğu için o, hakketten de başarılıdır Romanlar müzikte, çünkü çekirdekten yetişiyo onlar ve müzikte çok farklı bi boyuta geliyolar çünkü kafalarında bi kalıp yok dikkat edersen, çekirdekten, öyle nota falan pek bilmez bizim Romanlar. Ama bugün notis olduğunu söyleyen, yani ilimle hareket ettiğini söyleyen kişiyle, bizim çekirdekten yetişeni yan yana koy, hemen fark eder. Çünkü bizimkiler kalıpsız yetişiyolar, hani bizim sepetçiler kalıpsız yapıyolar ya. Onlar da toplumsal bir kalıba, bir nota bilgisine, bir ilim bilgisine sahip olmamalarına rağmen, işte o sıkıştırılmış sosyal yapı yüzünden, bazen bizimkiler övünür bununla, "bizim müziğimizi kimse yapamaz" der ama şunu unutuyolar, sıkıştırılmış bi toplumsal yapı yüzünden oluyo bu, bu övünülecek bir şey değil aslında. O çocuk üniversiteye gitse, konservatuara gitse, o ilmi de alsa, çocuk gene ailesinin yanında o müzik kulağını yakalasa, dünyada en büyük müzisyenler çıkar bizden. Yani bugün İspanya'da gitarist olanların çoğu Çingene. Roman'dır ama dünyaca ünlüdür adam, neden? O işte, demin söyledim ya, Avrupa'nın gelişmiş yanlarını biz Türkiye'de göremiyoruz. Yapacak bir şeyimiz de yok, bizim içimizde akıllı insanlar yok mu? Süper insanlar var, hayatın içinden geliyolar ama o imkanı bulamıyolar. Yani okuma imkanı bulamıyolar, üniversite imkanı bulamıyolar, hayata böyle dayanıp güvenecekleri, "ya bizim devletimiz var, bize burs verir, şunu verir, bunu verir, çocuğumuzu şuna teşvik edelim" Bizde mesela subay çıkmaz, bizde asker çıkmaz, bu bir sosyal baskıdır, hani mahalle baskısı diyolar ya bugün modadır o, asıl mahalle baskısı burda! Yani arama başka yerlerde, Romanların derdi çok!

questions such as "how did you find this job?", "how did you choose this job?", "how did you gain the necessary connections for your work?" are asked. These networks play an important role to have a job, as well as to find extra works. "The extra work" which means additional to regular ones and usually happens on special days, such as New Year's Eve and bairam celebrations offers more opportunity for musicians and belly-dancers. Social and ethnic ties are also crucial in order to make and maintain the contacts with factories and other small-scale scrap-dealers for the scrap-dealers.

These specific ties and networks are placed in the analysis of identity and work trying to understand whether the self-perception of Gypsy identity is in relation with the continuation of the specific jobs which have been taken by the community for generations. In addition to the fact of continuation of jobs for generations, the question should also cover how it is understood, that is, whether as something intrinsic to the Gypsy identity or not by the members of the community themselves. The perception of Izmir Gypsy/Roma should also be taken into consideration in order to understand how they associate job and identity when they are talking about their community and its characteristics. In other words, it should be discussed how valid it is to use the so-called attachment of "Gypsy nature" and these "Gypsy jobs" as an explanation to the present socio-economic position of the Gypsy/Roma musician, belly-dancer and scrap-dealer. Although the differentiation of the self-perceptions in terms of each category will be analyzed in a detailed way in the section on status/prestige, it is still important to see how these stereotypes prevailing in defining Gypsy/Roma community are perceived by the members. The opposition between wage-labor and self-employed and their attitude towards working as waged-labor is used to understand how they relate the characteristics of their jobs with their identity.

From my observations and conversations with members of community, I learned that there are places called "Aboneler Durağı[53]" and "Müzisyenler Kıraathanesi[54]"

---

[53] Aboneler Stop is a stop where all 'abones' are spending their day and working. Abone is an organizer for belly-dancers.

which are physically separated and function differently addressing at different occupations. It was told that the information about these extra works for musicians or belly dancers are generally found in Musicians Café and Aboneler Stop. The "ekstra[55]" extra work has much importance among the people; members of the community and inhabitants of the neighborhood have priority to be informed and selected for the extras.

4.1.1. Analysis of Continuation of Occupations

It is aimed to figure out how these occupations are transferred from one generation to next and what kind of social and ethnic networks are effective on the field of work among Gypsies in this part. The quotations selected are the ones which include specific concepts characterizing the transfer, such as "continuation of the occupations", "social and ethnic networks".

The quotation which belongs to Osman who is a 31 years-old, male, primary school graduate musician may be taken as a typical example of how musicians get involved in music and choose being musician. Most of the musicians whom I made interviews with have mentioned the guidance and encouragement of the elder generations, as they have grown up in an atmosphere in which there were many musicians and singers.

Caner says,

> I am a musician; I work as a pianist chanteur. (…) No, well, by myself, how to say this? We got violin lessons from our teachers in the neighborhood, and then, started to play keyboard with our own band. Well we try to play all the stringed instruments: violin, clarinet, kanun, lute. Of course we play them all. Whatever comes to your mind: tomtom, saz. We learned them all in the neighborhood, yes. With our own skills, I mean most of our neighborhood is like this, I mean musicians. My brother is a saxophone master himself. My father was also a musician, may he rest in peace. He was also a music

---

[54] Müzisyenler Kahvesi is a functional place both for joy and work for musicians of Tenekeli, Tepecik.

[55] 'Ekstra' is additional work to regular ones.

master. Cirpi Village[56]. Our grandfather, he also had the music thing but, he was more of an artisan, I mean he had a grocery store in our neighborhood. But here our father is a musician, all our lineage, all of our gang are musicians, and good ones, exceptional ones.[57]

Although the children are still encouraged to be a musician, this is not the case for belly-dancers and scrap-dealers. The differentiation of the self-perceptions through the different jobs is clear, there are tough life stories including poverty and violence told by belly-dancers during the field work.

Berrin is a 21 year old, female, illiterate, and belly-dancer, she tells how she started,

> I had nothing in my mind. What can a twelve-year old have in her mind? As long as you have to. I had to. My father had lung cancer. Excuse me but when I wore the costume, twelve years old; they were putting cotton pads underneath. For my breasts. (…) Well, I was really young. My aunt's daughter took me. I wore the costumes. I wasn't keen. The waiter was taking me by the hand and pulling me up the stage and I was hiding behind the wardrobe. The men there are drunk, I say, what if they beat me up at the table? Imagine a kid playing in slides going on stage! But then I got used to it, because we have this in the family. My aunt's daughter took me, my father got lung cancer, he was in the hospital; my mom was working back then. She was a belly-dancer, too. (…) And here the musicianship and they take it from their fathers. Like let's say my son is small now, I say, I will give him the violin. I am a drummer; I will make him also a drummer. For instance my mom is a belly-dancer, my daughter too will be one. (…) My mom didn't want me to become a belly-dancer. Well, she knew the hardships of this profession, it's a nasty job. (…) my mom was at work when I went to work, when I ran away. My mom left, I followed suit and I was very young. She didn't see me going to work. First day, she didn't know that I went. Of course, she went to work, and then I did. After her, my aunt's daughter took me to work. My mom arrived at night. Together with my sister. They were having a bite. My mom was crying. And then I showed up. She says to me, 'Where have you been?' I said that I had gone to work with the man, with my aunt's daughter. Well how many years ago is that? I was 13, now I'm 21. How long has it been?[58]

---

[56] Çırpı Köy, a Gypsy village, well-known for its famous musicians.

[57] Müzisyenim, kendim piyanist şantör olarak çalışıyorum. (…)Yok, kendi yani böyle, nasıl diyeyim, mahalledeki hocalarımızdan, keman dersi aldık, ondan sonra, kendi grubumuzla klavye çalmaya başladık. Bütün sazları çalmaya çalışıyoruz yani, keman, klarnet, kanun, ud. Tabi, hepsini çalıyoruz. Aklına ne gelirse, darbuka, saz. Hepsini de mahallede öğrendik, evet. Kendi becerimizle yani, zaten bizim mahallemizin çoğu hep böyle yani, müzisyen. Abim kendisi saksafon üstadı. Babam da müzisyendi. O da müzik üstadı, Çırpı Köy. Dedemiz, onda da müzisyenlik vardı ama o daha çok böyle esnaf, yani böyle mahallemizde manavı vardı. Burda, ama babamız müzisyen, bütün sülalemiz, bütün tayfamız, hepsi müzisyen yani, hepsi de iyi müzisyenler. İzmir'de sayılı müzisyenlerden.

[58] "Kafamda başka şey yoktu. On iki yaşındaki çocuğun kafasında ne olabilir ki? Mecburiyet olduktan sonra. Mecburdum. Babam akciğer kanseriydi. On iki yaşındaki çocuğa afedersin, kostümün üstünü giydiği zaman, alta pamuk konuyodu. Göğüslerinin altına. (…) İşte, çok küçüktüm. Halamın kızı aldı beni. Ben kostümleri giydim. Heves yoktu. Garson beni elimden tutuyo, sahneye çekiyo, ben gidiyom dolabın arkasına saklanıyom. Adamlar sarhoş, ya diyom beni döverlerse masada? Kaydırak oynarken düşünsene bi çocuğun sahneye çıktığını. Ondan sonra alıştım zaten çünkü bizim ailede bunlar var. Halamın kızı aldı beni, babam hastanede yatıyodu

In the case of belly-dancers, it seems that they are forced to the belly-dancing, rather than choosing it. This kind of starting stories as it is quoted above is very common among the belly-dancer women[59]. Although they attach the ability to dance and sing well and being Roma, at that point it is clear that the transmission of the belly-dancing from mother to daughter is not based on 'the value ascribed to the belly-dancing itself'. The emphasis over "innate" characteristics of Roma could be seen as legitimization of the hard socio-economic conditions. The important role of the structural obstacles should not be ignored in the analysis of occupational transmission among Roma.

It should be stated that scrap-dealing is divided into two parts which are capital-oriented scrap-dealers and garbage-collectors. There are only two interviewees who have been dealing with the garbage collecting among the collectors. While capital-oriented scrap-dealing is transferred from one generation to the next, garbage-collecting is not. Capital-oriented ones buy the garbage from garbage-collectors and sell it to other firms; their role could be considered as mediators. On the other hand, there is no continuation on garbage-collecting. One of them told that he used to work as an apprentice in a coffee shop. After he lost his job, he had to begin collecting garbage. Garbage collecting has inferior position in the eyes of Tepecik Roma community. Even in the case of a "superior" position of scrap-dealing, they emphasize the lack of possibilities or resources which could have affected their occupational choice.

Aydın is 27, male and high school educated, working as a scrap-dealer notes,

---

annem çalışıyodu o zaman. Annem de oryantaldi. (…) Burda da müzisyenlik, onların da babalarından geliyo. Mesela şimdi benim oğlum küçük, diyorum ki ben, oğluma keman vericem. Ben davulcuyum, oğlumu da davulcu yapıcam. Mesela benim annem oryantal, benim kızım da oryantal olsun. (…)Benim annem istemedi oryantal olmamı. İşte benim annem biliyodu bu işin zorluklarını, bu iş çirkin. Annem işteydi ben işe gittiğimde, kaçtığımda. Annem gitti annemin arkasından ben gittim ve çok küçüktüm. Yani annem gitti ben arkasından gittim. Bilmiyodu gittiğimi. Annem gece geldi. Ablamla ikisi geldi. Yemek yiyolar. Annem ağlıyodu. Ben geldim bana nerdesin sen? Dedim adamla işe gittim, halamın kızıyla. Bundan işte kaç sene önce? 13 yaşındaydım, şimdi 21 yaşındayım. Kaç sene olmuş?

[59] The relation between belly-dancing and Roma identity will be discussed in the next section of prestige/status.

> First of all, my father, his family, they are all scrap-dealers. I mean, his lineage, his whole family, siblings, friends and acquaintances, his close circle, they are all scrap-dealers. And there was no option for us to become something else. Like the musicians, when we met them a while ago, all of their kids will become musicians. I very much wanted to study, but I couldn't manage in any way.[60]

It seems like transfer of certain occupations within the community is still valid with the exception of some of the jobs which are known as "traditional Roma jobs". Traditional ones are mainly based on a craft which is about to disappear. It can be seen in the example of basket-makers. Mustafa is one of them, 48 years-old, primary school educated and working as a basket-maker in Tepecik, Izmir. As it is discussed in the previous chapter, some of their traditional work has disappeared as a result of the changes in market structure.

He says,

> Here is the thing: 95% are the Roma people. And now you'll say 'what's this 5%, bro?' They are the bosses who find the money for the Roma people's business. Let's put it this way: deduct that 5% and who do the job is 100% Roma people. I haven't seen even one single basket maker who is not from Roma people. There is none. Only the Roma people. Roma people are the basket makers. Look, I'm 48 years old; my father was a basket maker, my grandfather too. I haven't seen any basket makers from those people that we call in our language Gaco, whom we consider as non-Roma people. But I wouldn't know if there was, since I haven't seen any. (…) As far as I know, my father, my grandfather, who was a violinist at the same time, and my great grand father; I remember up to that point. I asked the relatives. No one knows before that. But a basket maker doesn't come about so easily. You can make baskets every now and then, but to make it a profession and to earn money from it! If we do it for one more generation, it will be the 5th generation. Let's say that it's 60 years on average, it makes 300 years that we have basket makers in our lineage. It may go even further than the time of the Ottomans' collapse. It comes down from that generation. For instance; there were some relatives of ours, who were also basket makers. If I think of it, 30% of my lineage is basket makers. The rest of it has become either musicians or workers.[61]

---

[60]Öncelikle şimdi babamlar hepsi, sülalece hurdacı. Sülalesi öyle yani, bütün ailesi, kardeşleri, eşi dostu, yakın çevresi hepsi hurdacı. Bizim de başka bi şey olma imkânımız yoktu. Nasıl müzisyenler, biraz önce görüştüğümüzde, çocukları hepsi müzisyen olucak. Ben çok okumak istedim ama beceremedim bi türlü.

[61] Şimdi şöyle, yüzde 95 Roman, abi diycen bu beş noluyo, bunlar Romanların o işlerine yarıyacak parayı bulan patronlar. Yani şöyle diyelim, o yüzde beşi çıkaralım, yüzde yüz hepsi Romanlar yapıyo. Ben bi tane Roman olmayan sepetçi görmedim. Yok yani. Sadece Romanlar. Sepetçiliği Romanlar yapar, ben görmedim bak ben 48 yaşındayım, benim babam da sepetçiydi, dedem de sepetçiydi, ben bize göre, bizim dilimize göre, Gaco dediğimiz, yani Roman dışı düşündüğümüz insanlardan ben sepetçi görmedim. Ama var mı bilmem, görmediğim için. (…) Benim bildiğim, işte babam, dedem, dedem aynı anda kemancıydı da, bi de işte, dedemin babası, oraya kadar hatırlıyorum ben, sora sora akrabalardan, ondan sonra bilen yok. Ama bi sepetçi kolay kolay yetişmez, arada yaparsın sepet de fakat bunu meslek haline getirmek ve bundan para kazanmak

It can be concluded that there is a clear continuation of certain occupation categories among the members of the Gypsy community from Tepecik/ Izmir. However, the stories including how they started to work or how they chose to be scrap-dealers, belly-dancers or musicians differ for each job. In addition to family background and historical past of Tepecik Roma community that provide keeping these occupational concentrations in the new coming generations, what other mechanisms have been effective in producing and reproducing that particular concentration should be found out.

4.1.2. Ethnic and Social Networks

Before analyzing ethnic and social networks experienced in Tepecik, what they refer to should be detailed. Ethnic and social networks are defined on the basis of family relations, neighborhood, friendship and being Roma in the case of Tepecik Roma. Moreover, it should not be ignored that Tepecik, Tenekeli could be considered as a rather homogenous town quarter. As a matter of fact, it turned to "locality" and it provides a relatively isolated position both physically and socially. In this context, it is asked how they managed to keep these jobs and find necessary contacts and what kind of a function do social and ethnic networks have and whether these networks have affected continuation and concentration. How do they find extra works or connections?

There is a kind of system for women who work as singers or belly-dancers in the neighborhood. A singer or a belly-dancer woman does not find her work on her own, instead; there are men who are called 'abone'. Abone works somehow as an organizer. He finds work places and extra works via his networks. He is Roma and mostly from the neighborhood. Abone is responsible for the woman as she is dancing or singing at the places, such as rural/urban weddings, casinos, night

---

için, yani ben eğer dedemden sonra bi kuşak daha yaparsam 5 kuşaktır. Yani ortalama 60 yıldan olsa, 300 yıldır bizim kuşakta sepetçi var. Belki bu Osmanlı'nın yıkılma tarihinden çok çok evveline gidiyo. O kuşaktan geliyo, mesela bizim akrabalar da var. Onlar da sepetçiydi, benim bildiğim sülalem, bi düşünürsem yüzde otuz sepetçi, geri kalanların kimisi müzisyen kimisi işçi oldu.

clubs (pavyons) or kadın sazları[62]. He informs women and checks if they are available or not for each program/night. He generally takes from five to ten women into his car and drives them to the places and come back. He is paid twenty lira for his duty. Abone people also have a "stop" where they spend the daytime together and organize the works and women. It is called Aboneler Durağı/Abone Stop. Belly-dancers and female singers are the only ones who have guides like this. This is not the case for musicians and scrap-dealers.

Fatma and Didem describe the abone system,

> No. There are subscribers. Our driver… He sets things up, comes to the girls, asks 'Sis, are you free, are you working or not?' 'No son, I'm not working.' 'Then come with me, sis.' Before, there were managers, now there are subscribers. The places we go are far away. We go long distances. From here, for instance, to Alasehir, it takes two and a half hours. But when you go with the driver, your business is more secure. When you're done, you can get into your car and go home. When you go on tour, like to Bodrum, a far away place, you can stay the night at a pension. Then you can go without the driver and stay there. .) They are Roma people, too. They are the people of your neighborhood. And those bosses are usually Kurds. (…) No. Roma people don't do that. They anyways go back and forth with subscribers and neighborhood boys. Our neighborhood kid is already at the casino. When a boss and a belly dancer have an affair, first of all our subscriber doesn't agree to that. Right at that point, we leave. How many people are we there? 5, right… And the subscriber himself makes it 6. We, that gang quit the job immediately that night and don't go. Sure, of course… He never lets a word passed out at us. Let's say a girl doesn't bring in any money or the boss doesn't give the daily wage, the subscriber goes in and has a chat with him saying, ' Why don't you give the the daily wage; it's her first night. She can make good money afterwards.' He defends her, you know. [63]

---

[62] Kadın sazları is an old entertainment in which only musician and belly-dancer women and young boys are allowed to participate in the rural areas.

[63] Aboneler var. Şoförümüz. Şoför işleri ayarlar, kızlara gelip "Abla boş musun, çalışıyo musun, çalışmıyo musun?" der. "Yok, oğlum, çalışmıyorum." "O zaman abla benle gel." Önceden menajerler vardı, şimdi aboneler var. Bizim gideceğimiz yerler uzak. Uzak yola gidiyoruz. Burdan mesela bi Alaşehir, iki buçuk üç saat tutuyo. Ama şoförle gittiğinde işin daha garantide, işin bittiğinde arabana binip evine gelebilirsin. Tura çıktığında, bi Bodrum böyle uzak bi yere yani, orda yatılı kalabiliyosun yani, pansiyonda. O zaman şoför olmadan gidebiliyosun kalabiliyosun. (Aboneler) de Roman, onlar da bizin mahallenin insanı. O patronlar da çoğunlukla Kürt oluyo. (…) Romanlar (ahlaksızlık) yapmıyo, zaten aboneyle, mahalle çocuğuyla gidip geliyo. Biz hiç, mahalle çocuğumuz zaten gazinoda, şimdi bi patronla bi insan beraber olduğu zaman bizim abonemiz ilk başta izin vermez, hemen olduğu gibi, kaç kişiyiz biz? 5 kişiyiz, di mi bi de abone 6, olduğu gibi o araba o gece işi bırakır, gitmeyiz yani. Tabi, tabi. Kesinlikle laf söyletmez. Hani şimdi para çıkaramadı bi kız diyelim, yevmiye vermedi (patron) diyelim, girer içeri konuşur, girer yani. "Neden yevmiye vermedin, bu kızın ilk gecesi yani. Yarın öbür gün iyi para çıkarır." Savunuyo yani.

As respondents mentioned, there is another work environment different from musicians' or scrap-dealers' which implies gender differentiation. Being belly-dancer as a woman is needed to be kept under surveillance and protection implying control, organization and chastity. They are seen as purity of men. Woman as the belly-dancer and man as the abone refer to division of labor in the belly-dancing. Belly-dancing is unique on this issue since others do not have a company like this, even when musicians have mediators for extras, they are male. The network between the bosses of the work places and the abone himself makes him work as a manager who organizes who is going to dance, in which places and for how long. Moreover there is another system which is similar to abone system in the music sector of Gypsy community in Tenekeli. Musician network serves to find their jobs and extra works via social and ethnic ties, as well as at the place "Müzisyenler Kıraathanesi' that I mentioned above.

As Nedim explains the function of "Müzisyenler Kırathanesi",

> Well, like I told you, we have the Musicians' Café. Mostly, the work comes there. Did you ask how the extras come about? Well, everyone has a circle of his own. Let's say that you're my friend, we've met now. A month from now you call me and say, 'N, I need this and this and this; I need five people.' I okey everything with you, go up to the café and who else is there, my friends, people I like, who is there, this and that. That's how the extras come about, got it? Some have friends working for their band. That means that they don't take anyone in besides those. But of course in Tepecik… We have friends in İkiceşmelik too. Musician friends. Mostly the extras go up there, not here. (…) Yeah, yeah. Asmalı Café is there. We have friends from there as well. Of course, it's to my advantage that my father is also a musician. Look, for instance, I didn't have any work for Friday and Saturday. Yesterday, my father called and said we're going to work this Friday and Saturday.[64]

---

[64] Ya şimdi, dedim ya, bizde "müzisyenler kahvesi" var. Çoğunlukla işler oraya gelir. Sizin dediğiniz de bu ekstralar nasıl geliyo dediniz di mi? Ya işte herkesin kendine göre dışarıda bi çevresi var. Şimdi mesela sen benim arkadaşımsın, biz seninle şimdi tanıştık bi ay sonra sen beni aradın dedin ki N. bana bu bu bu lazım, beş kişi lazım. Ben senle okeyliyorum her şeyi, çıkıyorum kahveye mesela, kim var, sevdiğim arkadaşlarımı, kim var şu var bu var, bu ekstralar genellikle böyle oluşuyo yani anladın mı? Kiminin kendi gruplarında çalışan arkadaşları var, yani kendi grup haricinde adam almazlar işe. Ama tabi Tepecik'teyse, bizim bu İkiçeşmelik'te de bizim arkadaşlarımız var. Müzisyen arkadaşlarımız. Çoğunlukla ekstralar oraya gidiyo, buraya gelmiyo. Asmalı kahve orda. Ordan da var arkadaşlarımız. E benim tabi babamın da müzisyen olması yararıma. Bak mesela benim Cuma cumartesi işim yoktu, dün babam aradı, işe gitcez dedi bu Cuma cumartesi.

Although ethnic and social ties are significant for continuation of scrap-dealing, there is no particular visible place for scrap-dealers, as in the cases of musicians or belly-dancers. There are old and desolate buildings functioning as 'stores' for scrap-dealers, and used in common by work partners.

In order to understand the relation between persistence of occupations in Roma community and the role of social and ethnic ties/networks, the concept of 'social capital' could be used. It is "aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition –or in other words, to membership in a group- which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word. (Bourdieu, 1986: 249) In the case of Tepecik, Aboneler Durağı or Müzisyenler Kıraathanesi operate as important places organizing and distributing the possible jobs amongst the members of community. Social network here is closely attached to ethnic network and implies intense solidarity. The ways of transferring occupations from one generation to the next, as well as sustaining them through certain networks and connections could be considered as the transfer of the social capital in Tepecik. Social capital is re-conceptualized in two types by Wacquant as formal and informal. While informal social capital refers to "resourceful social ties based on interpersonal networks of exchange, trust and obligations", formal one is defined as "ties (positive or negative, desired or not) anchored in formal organizations to which one participates as member, client or ward." (Wacquant, 1998:28, in Ozen, 2008:67) Social capital for Tepecik community seems to fit to informal one, rather than formal, if neighborhood, family and friendship relations are considered.

Bourdieu sees the reproduction of the capitals through generations even more vital than the struggle for the accumulation of capital. (Calhoun, et. al. Bora, 2007: 107) The absolute necessity of producing and reproducing capital in every generation is also seen in Gypsy community in Tenekeli. Dealing with the same job for generations and transfer of the necessary occupational knowledge provide

the members of community to be privileged in that area. It is clearly seen that concentration on specific occupations through the transformation of the social capital provides employment, job security, job guarantee and the transfer of network, experience and information. If it is analyzed as ethnic economy[65] in which ethnic strategies operates, the internal solidarity of an ethnic group is often described as the main resource for mobilizing resources and overcoming the obstacles at all levels of economic development. For instance, ethnic networks could provide information about markets, regulations and suppliers or capital can be raised through ethnic channels. Although these can be considered as reflections of solidarity to that point, it could also refer to the work force recruited among members of that ethnic group who are considered loyal, and willing to work for low wages and under poor conditions. It could also be seen among Tepecik Gypsies who work as unsecured, low-paid and unguaranteed through the ethnic and social ties.

On the other hand, closed occupational structure also refers to obstacles which has limited their work life and led to exclusion of the members from the other working possibilities. Alejandro Portes asserts that the concept of social capital is tended to be conceptualized positively that ignores possible weakness of the term with references to 'not-so-desirable consequences of sociability'. (Portes, 1998:4) He uses the term of 'bounded solidarity' which means 'identification with one's own group, sect or community' as a source of social capital. It refers to certain experiences of one, as a result of being member of his own group, sect or community. Unless it is perceived from fatalistic perspective which may result in strict identification of individuals with their group or community, it could be helpful to understand how life in Tepecik with its cultural, economic and social implications is experienced by members of it and has been influential on identity

---

[65] Gypsies and their ethnic niches are open to discussion. In the case of Tepecik, they are definitely not the only one group working in each sector. Kurdish musicians has tendency in working "Türkü Bars", scrap-dealers mention the long-lasting success of the group of "Niğdeliler", or belly-dancers stress discriminatory attitudes of Gorgio belly-dancers while they are working. In other words, rather than forming a homogenous ethnic niche in the labor market, there is a tendency among Tepecik Gypsy community to concentrate on certain occupations.

formation. In the case of Tepecik, the two-sidedness of continuation refers to bounded solidarity; on the one hand this makes community members advantaged as a result of intense solidarity among the members, on the other it leads to a restriction of other chances.

In Bourdieu's analysis of capitals, social capital is always assessed with the cultural and economic capital. As he argues: "…although it is relatively irreducible to the economic and cultural capital possessed by a given agent, or even by the whole set of agents to whom he is connected, social capital is never completely independent of it…" (Bourdieu, 1986:249) In other words, the stress on social capital to understand persistence of occupations of Roma should not ignore the role of economic and cultural capitals. As in the case of educational attitudes, current socio-economic position of Roma could be described in terms of different mechanisms, operating differently and relationally at the same time.

4.1.3. Choosing Work Partner

Another important point underlying all three work groups is their preference on working with Roma whom s/he is known by them. They have the same attitude towards non-Roma, who is Gorgio[66] and Kurdish people. There are several dynamics affecting this choice: "the feeling of trust to their own people", i.e. the sense of community is commonly emphasized during the meetings. Any person from outside is seen as unable to understand their mentality, and their way of living by the members of the community. Although relation between Roma and non-Roma is constructed organically on the basis of the work, they choose their work partners mostly from their close circuit which is based on kinship and neighborhood relationships.

The relation with outsiders based on work differs in terms of the particular occupation. Musicians evaluate working with Gorgio musicians on the basis of

---

[66] Gorgio, which is Gaco in Turkish, is a word in Romany for describing non-Roma. What it refers is not always clear. The criteria for calling one as Gorgio could be variable in terms of religion, ethnic back ground, or language. For instance, Turks are Gorgios in the eyes of Tepecik Roma but Kurds are called as 'villager'.

learning "the way" which implies how to behave, how to act, how to play and work, while they are with strangers outside of the neighborhood. They prefer to work with their own people since they feel comfortable and safe; they perceive the other work environments with Gorgio as an advantage on the basis of their benefits and interests.

Nedim tells the difference between working with his own people and strangers,

> We work as a band. We are five people there. There is one tomtom player, one violinist, one kanun player, one soprano saxophonist and I. All our own people… There are no strangers among us. (Upon being asked if they work with strangers) I did. Two years ago at a mall in Balcova. For two years, I kept going to M. When I worked there, I worked with strangers, with people I never knew, we had just met. If you look at it, working with your own people is nice, but working with people from outside is more different. I mean, when you work with your own people, they are the people you know. You're comfortable in everything. I mean, even if something out-of-the-ordinary happens, you don't hesitate, because the ones around you are not strangers. But when you work with strangers, there might be a song you don't know, an incident in which you don't know something, you can't ask, you get shy. 'How was this?' and stuff. The good thing about that is that you understand more about how to sit and stuff, you know better then. I mean, what if something you do stick out? Anyways, if you don't know about these, you can't work outside with strangers. You can't make money. First you'll shut up, stay out of things and talk when is expected of you. If you jump to every conversation when it's not your turn to talk; if you act on the stage like 'You don't play; I'll play!' then you cannot find work outside and you come to your own people. I mean maybe your own people don't fancy each other but they got your back. When it comes to work issues, everyone backs each other and hold on to one another.[67]

On the other hand, scrap-dealers emphasize the importance of trust in their job. Regardless of the ethnic background of the other side, they mention the importance of being trusted and honest in the scrap-dealing since it is 'commerce'

---

[67] Grupça çalışıyoz. Beş kişiyiz orda biz. Bi darbukacı var, bi keman bi kanun, saksafon soprano, bir de ben. Hep mahalle insanı. Yabancı yok aramızda. (Yabancılarla) Çalıştım. İki seneden M.ye gidip geliyodum. Orda çalışırken yabancılarla çalışıyodum, hiç tanımadığım insanlarla çalışıyodum, yeni tanışmıştık. Ama ona bakarsan mahalle insanıyla da çalışmak güzel ama dışarıdaki insanla çalışmak daha farklı. Ya şimdi mahalle insanıyla çalıştığın zaman, bildiğin tanıdığın insan. Her konuda rahatsın yani. Yani bilmediğin bi şey bile olsa bi tereddütte değilsin. Yanında çünkü yabancı insan yok. Ama şimdi yabancıyla çalıştığın zaman bilmediğin bi şarkı olur, olur ya, bilmediğin bi pozisyon olur, soramazsın yani utanırsın. Bu nasıldı falan. Onun da güzelliği işte, oturmasını kalkmasını daha iyi anlıyosun, daha iyi biliyosun. Yani yaptığın bi hareket göze batar mı batmaz mı. Zaten bunları bilmedin mi dışarıda yabancılarla çalışamazsın. Ekmek yiyemezsin. İlk önce ağzını kapatıcan, hiç bi şeye karışmıycan sana söz düşerse konuşucan. Sana söz düşmeden herkesin lafına atladın mı, sahnede siz çalmayın ben çalayım yaptın mı dışarıda ekmek bulamazsın, gelirsin mahalle insanına. Yani burda, belki mahalle insanları birbirini sevmez ama kollar, bu iş konularında herkes birbirini kollar, daha çok birbirini tutar.

which primarily depends on the feeling of trust. It does not mean that scrap-dealers treat equally to Gorgio and Roma in work issue, but even though they prefer Roma as the work-partner, their work ethic covers other people who are not Gypsy, in a more equal way than musicians and belly-dancers' do. When they are asked to define the characteristics of a successful scrap-dealer, being honest and reliable is emphasized frequently. According to scrap-dealers, there is not much difference between a Gypsy scrap-dealer and a non-Gypsy scrap-dealer, which shows that scrap-dealing, is not a significant marker in identity definition.

Kemal notes,

> Now, there are some places where you work regularly. As long as you don't do them wrong, the guy calls you or let's say we don't have goods now, then we jump into our car and go to our places in the morning. We check if there are goods or not, if so we buy them. Sometimes it's the case that we cannot make it to some places, or don't stop by. If we have something good going on, the guy gives us a call and we go get our goods. Our money we get in cash in the steelyard. You go to the steelyard and get the worth of your goods right there. There is no going back and forth.[68]

In addition to the close circuit of ethnic and social ties, there are other dynamics for scrap-dealers in finding the necessary network. As a result of they are working as capital-oriented scrap-dealing; they have more connected to outsiders who are factory-owners, shop-owners, other scrap-dealers or garbage-collectors. As this circle of contacts become broader during the years spendt in the work, it results in maximization of the profit. Although they generally have family-work partners, they have close ties with outsiders as well. It could be stated that scrap-dealing requires more face-to-face relations; but on the other hand, musicians and belly-dancers have mediators. Besides not perceiving scrap-dealing as a key marker for Roma identity, through working, their identity tends to be rasped in some sense.

Aydın says,

---

[68] Şimdi, o işler, devamlı çalıştığın yerler oluyo, o yerlere de yanlış yapmadığın sürece, adam sana telefon açıyo, veya da biz kendimiz her gün malımız yok diyelim şimdi, şu an bizim malımız olmasa, biz arabamıza biniyoz sabah bütün yerlerimizi dolaşıyoz. Mal var mı yok mu diye kontrol ediyoz varsa mal alıyoz. Kimi zaman yetişemediğimiz yerler oluyo, mesela uğramadığımız yerler oluyo, eğer iyi bi çalışmamız varsa adamla o bize telefon açıyo, çağırıyo bizi, gidiyoz malımızı alıyoz, paramızı keş para, kantara giriyo kantarda hemen paranı, bugün git yarın git yok.

We work with partners. Remember the guy from before? We are partners. Actually they can be considered our relatives; one is the brother of A, the other of K, one of them is my brother, we are all like brothers. (Upon being asked how they choose their partners) Everyone has a specific subject. My bro and I, our job is packages, they do the textile goods, or I don't know, the metal goods. The rest of the profit is gathered together. (Upon the question if they would prefer people from outside) No, no. No way with people from outside! Cos we don't know them. You never know in this business. For instance, I count the goods and put them in the truck. Sometimes we don't count. And let's say A person is a stranger. I count for him, and the truck leaves. But his eyes are on the truck. Let's say there are 5000 goods in the truck; A says 4000. How am I gonna know? Or he says 4500 and pockets the 500. You have to build trust here. Say that I know A, I trust him and tell him to take the goods somewhere and I go off to do another job. I send A to the customer, and I take another truck load of goods ang go off to Manisa to sell them. How am I gonna know hat he has done, how much he has done? You can't really trust the outsiders, either. We don't know them. Eventually it's money business. It's like that. (Upon being asked how they have got to know the factories that they are currently working with) Over time. It develops over time through recommendations. Say, I'm selling to you; you recommend A; A recommends K. That's how it develops. Twenty years ago, when we first started, we didn't have such a circle. While selling to a few places, over time our circle grew.[69]

The effect of discrimination which they have been exposed to should not be ignored while the preference on working with their own people is considered. While the members of the community sublimate their own people and decry the strangers on the basis of experiences; it could also result in shaping identity, i.e. self-identification which is based on the perception of the other side, describing and comparing with themselves at the same time. This self-identification reflects itself also in the work, in the cases of attempts to break the closed circle of occupations through other job opportunities. Besides being discriminated specifically with the neighborhood they live, i.e. the place they live is identified as Roma; exclusion is more than a spatial one. One interviewee emphasizes below the labeling of outsiders' both in private sector and public one.

---

[69] Ortaklı çalışıyoruz. Deminki arkadaş var ya, 5 ortağız biz. Ya akrabalarımız sayılır hepsi, biri birisi A.nın biladeri, biri K.nın biladeri, ya hepimiz bi kardeş gibi. Yok, yok. Mahallenin dışından olmaz. E tanımıyoz ya, bu işlerde belli olmuyo yani, mesela ben şimdi kamyona saydım da attım malı, bazen saymıyoz, gidiyoz diyelim ki ben buradan, A. yabancı mesela, ben saydım A.ya kamyonu burdan gitti, bitti, A.nın gözü orda, kaç tane çıktı A.? Kamyonda diyelim 5000 tane var, A. dedi 4000 tane. Ben nerden anlıycam onu? Veya 4500 dedi, 500 tanesini cebe indirdi. Burda bi güven sağlamak yani. Ben A.yı tanıyorum, A.ye güveniyom, mesela git ver bunları diyom. Ben gidiyom başka işe. Mesela A.yı gönderiyom müşterinin yanına, ben bi kamyon daha atıyom gidiyom Manisa'ya mal satmaya. E ben nasıl anlıycam A.nın ne kadar yaptığını, kaç tane yaptığını. Mahalle dışındakilere de pek güvenilmiyo. Bilmiyoz, tanımıyoz daha doğrusu, sonuçta para işi bu. Böyle yani. (Çalıştığınız fabrikaları nasıl tanıdınız sorusu üzerine) Zamanla ya. Zamanla geliştire geliştire, tavsiye üzerine, mesela sana satıyoz daha evvelden, sen A.yı tavsiye ediyon, A. K.yı tavsiye ediyo. Öyle öyle gelişiyo. Yirmi sene önce tabi, ilk başladığımızda bu kadar çevremiz yoktu. Bi kaç tane yere verirken, zaman zaman zaman açıldı çevremiz.

Aydın notes,

> You don't have this outside. I share everything with him (referring to Kemal). But you can't do that with a stranger. I don't know him anyways, man. If you're partners with that stranger, I invite him home even when we eat olives or onions. I say 'Let's eat together.' But the stranger doesn't think of that. That's why we don't do business with the others. He doesn't care about you but his money. If you go to sleep hungry he says 'I don't care.' But the people here aren't like that. Whether he's your partner or friend from the neighborhood, he doesn't think like that, he always tries to help. (upon being asked if he's ever applied for a job and been turned down) Well, after I'd come back from the army, I didn't think of doing this business, before I started doing it. But when I see it didn't work, I went back to this business. But I have a memory from an Arçelik service. I mean the sales subsidiary. I was looking up at the yellow pages; I found it there and called the guy. It was located in Çankaya. I said, 'Good day brother, you are looking to hire, I saw your ad.' 'Yes,' he said, 'where did you graduate from?' I said that 'I'm a middle-school graduate. I need a job urgently.' He said, 'We urgently need a worker.' And I said,' well, can you tell me where you're located?' And he said, 'Where do you live?... We've found someone, bro!' and hung up on me. It was so degrading that he hang up the phone when he heard that I was from Tepecik. A lot of people like me are isolated like this, we can't work in governmental or state offices, for instance. And why can't we work at such places? We can't work there because we don't study at school. We have friends who went to school. Even they get a secondary treatment there. (…) Because they are from the Roma people. I mean, they have left such an impression with people, I mean the Roma people. Actually, I feel like… (…) I mean… How should I tell you this? Did he think of me as a thief or that I would steal? 'He would do me wrong, steals or whatever.' From that angle. I don't know what he thought of me, but this's what I think.[70]

This quotation is important since while emphasizing on Tepecik Roma's preference on working with people from their own community, discrimination should not be ignored. These two processes are tied to each other. As they are

---

[70] Bi de dışarıda şey yok, ben şimdi bunla (K'yı kastediyor.) her şeyimi paylaşırım. Ama dışarıdaki adamla paylaşamıyosun. Tanımıyom ki zaten dışarıdaki insanı ya. Çünkü şimdi dışarıdaki adamla ortaksan, bizim evde zeytin de kırsan soğan da yesek onu, çağırırım onu gel beraber yiyelim ama dışarıdaki adam bunu düşünmez. Biz de onlan başkalarıyla iş yapmıyoz. Seni düşünmez dışarıdaki adam, bakar parasına. Ya sen aç yatsan dışarıdaki insan bana ne der ya, ama buradaki insanlar öyle değil. Ortağın da olsa öyle düşünmez normalde mahalle arkadaşın da olsa öyle düşünmez, hep yani yardımcı olmaya çalışır. Şimdi ben askerden döndükten sonra bu işe girmeden yapmayı düşünmüyodum açıkçası bu işleri. Baktım ki olmuyo bu işlere döndüm. Ama bi anım var yani, bi Arçelik servisi. Yani satıcı bayi. Gazete ilanlarına bakıyodum, orda buldum, adama telefon açtım. Çankaya'daydı bu yer. Hayırlı işler abi dedim işte işçi lazımmış size, ilanınızı okudum. "Evet" dedi "abim" dedi "ne mezunusun" dedi ben dedim ortaokul mezunuyum. Hemen dedim çok acil işe ihtiyacım var. "Bizim" dedi "çok acil işçiye ihtiyacımız var" dedi. Peki dedim sizi yerinizi öğreneyim nerdesiniz dedim. "Sen" dedi "nerde oturuyosun" dedi. "Abicim biz işçi bulduk" dedi adam suratıma kapattı telefonu. Tepecik'i duyunca yüzüme kapaması telefonu çok aşağılayıcı bi olaydı yani. Benim gibi çoğu insan da böyle dışlanıyo, mesela devlette kamuda çalışamıyoruz. O da neden çalışamıyoruz? Okumadığımız için çalışamıyoruz. Çalışmış olan arkadaşlarımız var. Onlar da orada bile ikinci sınıf muamele görüyolar. (…) Roman oldukları için. Yani öyle bi, insanların gözünde öyle bi şey bırakmışlar ki yani Romanlar için. Aslında gelip böyle. (…) Yani. Nasıl söyliyim sana bunu. Hırsız gözüyle mi gördü beni, bize bi hırsızlık yapar gözüyle mi gördü? Yamuk yapar, çalar falan, neyse. Öyle bi gözle. Bilmiyorum nasıl bi gözle baktığını bana ama benim düşüncem öyleydi yani.

excluded for the reason of unqualified, uneducated or even as a result of common stereotypes, it forces community to a more closed and suppressed structure. The relation between these two is highly open to production and reproduction of the situation of Roma. In other words, statements of the interviewees stressing over their preference on partners from their own community should not be interpreted independent from structural dynamics forcing them into a closed circle.

Concentration on certain occupations, tendencies toward keeping and sustaining them through strategies in education and choosing work partners from one's own community seem to be special practices of Tepecik Roma in their work life. However, Gypsy/Roma is not the only community which uses these kinds of strategies to maintain its economic position, and then the question should be addressed in a way that whether and how these strategies relate to Gypsy identity. It seems that these practical strategies may indicate identifications of non-Roma who is not merciful and stranger to life experiences of Roma. While Bourdieu refers to 'practical strategy', his aim is to analyze its function in reproducing the objective patterns. He argues that by the help of practical strategies one can make contribution to the reproduction of objective conditions, even if he is not aware of them or does not choose them. In the case of Tepecik, these strategies of a Roma person may lead to reproduction of his occupational position as musician, belly-dancer and scrap-dealer. Continuation of close circuit also implies characteristic improvisation and long-lasting dispositions. The concept of 'habitus' should be mentioned in this context.

The concept of "habitus" is defined by Bourdieu as the "pattern of unconsciousness preferences, classificatory schemas and taken-for granted choices which differ between groups and classes and distinguish them one from the other, are relevant to an understanding of the ways in which sub-cultures pass on practices and beliefs." (Bourdieu, 1984:221, in Ozen, 2008:62) In the case of Gypsy community and its niche in the market, the importance of habitus could be seen in the reciprocal nature of relation between the dispositions that they possess and their socio-economic position. Although the concept of habitus is not defined

particularly in occupational positions, this close circuit of work life determined by certain dispositions and strategies could be defined as 'work habitus'. Continuation of specific work categories and tendency to choose a work partner who is known as a member of community and habitant of neighborhood could be evaluated as a reflection of the habitus which a Gypsy from Tenekeli experiences. It shows similarity to the case of Kabyle through which Bourdieu tries to describe "economic habitus" in terms of experiences on the individual level. He shows how economic conditions are effective in changing the system of beliefs and expectations of various social classes by telling the story of a Kabyle cook and his encountering of new economic logic. It is important since it offers a "picture of economic topography of a society and 'knowing one's place' in it. (Grenfell, 2004:119) Story of cook refers to 'process of acquisition of a certain economic habitus.' While Tepecik community, - except from the groups' whose occupational zone is about to disappear, has not been exposed to radical changes as in the case of Kabyle whose agricultural activities are transformed to waged work, persistence of occupational zones on the basis of a closed circuit of ethnic and social ties may be evaluated through their work habitus. Although "work habitus" is interlinked to "economic habitus", economic habitus seems a broad concept to analyze Tepecik Gypsy case.

Although Bourdieu does not focus solely on ethnic identity, it may be interpreted through his perspective. Seeing how Gypsy identity formation is open to influences of economic conditions and reproduces certain strategies and dispositions reciprocally, "self-understanding and social location" could be discussed as an alternative to the term identity. Brubaker argues that it is a "dispositional term that designates what might be called "situated subjectivity"[71]: one's sense of who one is, of one's social location, and of how (given the first

---

[71] Dispositional analyses of 'identity' - drawing on Bourdieu's theory of practice - have attempted to transcend this gap, by pointing to the situated subjectivity that derives from social location and its associated habitus. Such accounts attempt to indicate the limits of reflexivity, and the grounding of the symbolic construction of identity in tacit social practice. (Bottero, Wendy, University of Manchester,
http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/0/9/7/1/1/p97111_index.html ,
available at, 2008, september)

two) one is prepared to act. As a dispositional term, it belongs to "sens pratique", the practical sense, by Bourdieu, -at once emotional and cognitive- that persons have of themselves and their social worlds." (Brubaker, 2000:17) In other words, self-understanding and social-locatedness should be in relation to each other. Self-understanding lacks the reifying connotations of identity. Yet it is not restricted to situations of flux and instability. While self-understandings may vary across time and across persons, they may also be stable. Identity implies sameness across time or persons, self-understanding, by contrast, has no privileged connection with sameness or difference. However, the concept of self-understanding seems to have limitations: Firstly, it is subjective, as a result ignores "others' understandings, even though external categorizations, identifications, and representations may be decisive in determining how one is regarded and treated by others, in shaping one's own understanding of oneself." Secondly, it underlies cognitive awareness, as a result it misses the cases in which self-understanding is stimulated or determined. And thirdly, it is not able to capture 'objectivity' or the role of objective conditions. (Brubaker, 2000) The necessity of the discussion on identity versus self-understanding and social locatedness lies on a more proper analysis of the process of identification. While analyzing the limitedness of occupational zones, it is important to understand how it is related to identity formation and particularly in which ways that structure leads to the crystallization of Gypsy identity. As it is seen in the examples of identification of Gorgio through work relations, the term self-understanding needs to cover how it posits itself in relation to 'Gorgio', or other groups. Then even it seems to be natural, other decisive objective and structural dynamics should be taken into consideration in order to understand that identification is a process in which both external and internal mechanisms operate through interaction.

From a Weberian perspective, choosing partners from one's own community could be an example of 'monopolistic position' in which ethnicity is functioned as a device of monopolistic social closure. Weber distinguishes between open and closed relationships: 'open being those that allow voluntary participation of the

outsiders, and closed being those 'closed' against outsiders so far as, according to its subjective meaning and its binding rules, participation of certain persons is excluded, limited, or subjected to conditions'. (Malesevic, 2007:26) While there are cases in which Tepecik Roma works with non-Roma, even if conditionally as in scrap-dealing, or on behalf of learning the patterns of working out of Tepecik, as in musicianship, their preference on partners from their own community is clear. This closed relation, with few exceptions of openness refers to restricted work habitus of Tepecik Roma community. In addition, closeness may function as an 'exclusionary mechanism' which results in sharpening of identity and even ethnocentrism. While Roma describes non-Roma with negative adjectives, it is partly raised from the closed work structure of community. To conclude, although Roma interacts with non-Roma in the basis of work, closeness still remains to a significant extent. Here occupations function as a boundary which both provides interaction with non-Roma groups and prevents the differentiation through the closed circle, as Barth discussed. (Barth, 1969)

4.1.4. Perception of Continuation

In addition to reflexive nature of Gypsy identification on the basis of objective conditions they have been experiencing in the field of education and occupation, it should be stated how they see their own social location in terms of continuation. Is it perceived as part of Gypsy nature by the members of Gypsy community or as a result of socio-economic position they have? How "Roma and work" perceived in Romany literature, on the basis of so-called "the attachment of Gypsy nature and Gypsy jobs" should be discussed before analyzing how it is interpreted by Tepecik community. The discussion on whether there is an organic and even primordial match between being Gypsy and dealing with particular occupations is tried to be argued on the basis of two field studies conducted on Roma communities. Okely (1975, 1983) and Stewart (1997), discussing whether it could be asserted to define Gypsy/Roma identity in terms of their rejection of wage labor.

87

As conducting a field work with British Traveler Gypsies, Okely considers the Gypsy family as mobile or supposedly mobile. The Gypsy people's mobility is seen as an advantage in the market for "…the occasional supply of goods, services and labor to a host economy where demand is irregular in time and place." (Okely, 1975:1996) Their self-employment status, especially in the informal economy, is one of the most important characteristics of their Gypsy identity. It creates a special economic niche that ordinary migrant worker or guest worker does not have. When Okely was studying the British Gypsies, who still continue with their nomadic way of life in remarkable numbers with motorized transportation instead of caravans or trailers, she made a list of occupations that they had such as hawking of manufactured goods, dealing of antique goods, seasonal farm work etc. According to Okely, the most important thing is the "form of these occupations", rather than their content. On the other hand, it should also be questioned whether the Gypsy/Roma identity and their special way of economic exchange are necessarily connected. To put it differently, while analyzing the special economic niche attached to their identity, wage-labor occupations should also be emphasized besides the self-employed jobs in the market. Wage-labor versus self-employment depends mainly on the separation of settled and nomadic way of living. As Jonathan Schwartz states "Due in part to pressure from Gorgio, Gypsies tend to distinguish between 'travellers' and 'settled' in their own ethnic identifications." (Schwartz, 1985:40)

Judith Okely further argues in defense of this specification concerning the "form" instead of the "content", that it is chosen consciously. In other words, the Gypsies economic niche is not the result of their exclusion from the opportunities of wage-labor market or of the prejudices towards them: "The Gypsies use of the informal economy provides the material context for their cultural identity, which is bound up with the rejection of wage-labor." And "The Gypsies' history is also the history of their refusal to be proletarianized…Self-employment is bound up with

88

Gypsy identity. There is shame attached to a wage-labor job…" [72](Okely, 1983:53)

However, Michael Stewart argues just the opposite, "…the rejection of wage-labor by the Gypsies in Western Europe has been taken, by both themselves and their ethnographers, as a key marker of their identity. But in Hungary and other Communist countries, nearly all the Gypsies work for wages. So the Gypsies can be sedentarized and proletarianized –they can give up what seem to be defining features of their identity- without that leading to their cultural extinction." (Stewart, 1997:13) Unlike the paradoxical conclusion of Okely, Stewart's argument holds more truth in this context that the Gypsy/Roma people, by nature, are more capable for certain jobs. However, the last part of Okely's sentence[73], their being "less willing to undertake," gives a more reasonable explanation. Analysis of the market position of an ethnic group and their occupations should not ignore socio-economic conditions they are exposed to, rather than focusing on the capability for a certain kind of occupation. Although they create new occupations or a special economic niche, they do it in a dialectical relation with the non-Roma that they have always been a part of. The Gypsy identity construction can not be understood in isolation.

Here what will be analyzed is the perception of Izmir Roma towards the specific jobs taken by them for generations in order to cover whether they relate their identity and these occupational positions.

---

[72] The opposite situation could be seen in the project work on Gypsy identity formation, including a fieldwork conducted in Sandholm refugee camp, Copenhagen, Denmark with Kosovo Roma. The case of Kosovo Roma shows that this cannot be attributed to all Gypsy/Roma groups as some people who had worked at factories or in companies stated that they were not feeling disadvantaged or ashamed for working as wage laborers. They did not even mention this, for they had no such separation between types of employment. To them, working as a wage-laborer or being self-employed did not refer to having good or bad moral values or characteristics that each kind of employment has come to represent. The only time that they did mention it in the context of employment and identity was while describing how they had lost their wage-labored jobs after the war just because they were Roma. This case seems as approving Stewart's argument.

[73] This quotation is used in theoretical framework: The greatest opportunities for Gypsies lie in those occupations which others are *less able* or less willing to undertake." (Okely, 1996:46)

Caner notes,

> Being a musician, scrap-dealing, belly-dancing, selling roses, going to house cleaning. This is how the Roma people are employed. It's come to be and still continues to be like this. That's what he learned from his family; the family can afford to a certain amount, they can't send them to school. The level of education is low. They weren't able to fully receive education. His environment, where he lives, his acquaintances are also important in this. If she had been born to a judge, she could have been a judge. If she had been the daughter of a politician, she could have gone to school in America. The Roma people weren't the masters of their destiny. Eventually, that's how they have been raised. I mean, a certain job was done in their family and it continued.[74]

Didem notes,

> They have to. Because they have to. They don't have bread at home, they don't have anything to eat or drink. They have to go; the men struggle, run to illegal work, sell this or that, goes into jail. What is he to do? Our women, if they have young daughters, they bring them in this business, introduce them to belly-dancing. They tell me now, 'When your daughter grows up, she'll belly-dance.' I say, 'No.' I lived through that. I'm not gonna let my daughter go through that. (Upon being asked what she plans for her daughter) I don't want it. God forbid no! Because I suffered that, a lot. She might end up with a vagabond. I don't want her to suffer. (Upon being asked what she would like her to become) What can you be in a gypsy neighborhood? Never have there been a lawyer or a doctor coming from our neighborhood. I mean, there's nothing like that. But I would really like that. I would like my daughter to live in nice places, to go to school. I mean, I want my daughter to go to school. If you ask me what I want her to be, I would like her to be a doctor, a nurse. I want it; I'll send her to school.[75]

In these two examples, both emphasize the importance of the conditions in which they were born into. As they have been surrounded by limitations of the conditions, most of the interviewees whom I talked to are aware of the fact that

---

[74] Müzisyenlik, hurdacılık, oryantallik, gül satmak, ev işlerine gitmek. Çünkü Romanların istihdamı böyle. Yani böyle gelmiş, böyle gidiyo, ailesinden böyle görmüş, ailesinin maddi durumu o kadar, okullara gönderilmemişler, eğitim düzeyleri düşük, eğitimi tam olarak algılayamamış, çevresi, oturduğu muhit, çevre de çok önemli bu işlerde, belki de bi hakimin kızı olarak doğsaydı, o da bi hakim olarak, o da bi siyasetçinin kızı olsaydı o da Amerikalarda okuyabilirdi. Tabi kendi kaderini yazmamış ki Romanlar, yani sonuç olarak böyle yetişmiş. Yani bunların soyunda böyle bi iş varmış, öyle olarak gitmiş.

[75] Mecbura kalıyolar. Mecbura kalıyolar ondan. Ekmeği yok evinde, yemeği içmeği yok. Mecbur gidiyo, erkekler mücadele ediyo, gayrı meşru işe koşuyo, onu satıyo bunu satıyo, içeri giriyo. Napsın? Kadınlarımız, genç kızları varsa, bu işe getiriyolar, oryantalliğe sürüyolar. Bana diyolar şimdi kızın büyüyünce oryantalliğe gider, hayır diyorum, ben bu işi yaşadım, ben yaşatmam kızıma. İstemem. Tövbe istemem. Çünkü ben onu çektim, çok çektim, düşer bi berduşun eline, çeksin istemem.(Ne olsun istersiniz sorusu üzerine) Çingene mahallesinde ne olunuyosa? Hiç bu mahallemizden bi avukat çıkmış yok, bi doktor çıkmış yok. Yani hiç böyle şeyler yok, ama gerçekten ben isterim kızım güzel yerlerde yaşasın isterim, okumasını. Ben kızımın okumasını istiyom yani. Ne çıkmasını istiyon diyosan ben onun doktor istiyom olmasını, bi hemşire. İstiyom yani okutcam onu.

access to certain occupations seems impossible for Tepecik Roma. As it will be discussed in identification chapter, being settled and having a job are seen as significant features of being Roma to differentiate themselves from those Gypsies who are considered as nomadic and unemployed idle. For that reason, rejection of wage labor as a key marker of Roma is also not embraced by the members of Tepecik community.

However, this is not the same for all the informants; some of them mention the importance of characteristics of Roma people which do not fit to other jobs. For this reason, the question of whether they would like to prefer a waged-labor job is asked; they mentioned the incompatibility of the jobs to their characteristics. This is also seen in the study of Kolukırık, which analyzes the Gypsies' work life: He states that working seasonal, temporary and daily –as peddler, porter or shoeshine boy could be more desirable due to the reason of being more profitable than the stable ones. As he quotes from the interviews he made, "permanent jobs are not suitable jobs for us" or "discipline and boredom are not for the Gypsies." He argues that a kind of work ethic including being flexible and seasonal is emphasized and maintained by the Tarlabaşı Gypsies in Izmir.[76] Internalization of characteristics of Gypsy identity with its certain stress on primordial elements seems like matching with occupational choices, as well as certain cultural and social codes.

Bayram notes,

> Our people are laid bask, my brother. They would get bored working at a specific place. We are used to making a lot of money by working less. Get up at six o'clock in the morning, run from one service bus to the other. In the end, you look at your wage. 500 lira per month, divided by thirty, 15 lira per day. Leave it, what am I gonna do with that? The money I spend on my cigarette is 15 lira. Most people here smoke Marlboro or Parliament. Here, both the poorest and the richest live a luxurious life.Seriously, look, what does the richest in this country smoke? He smokes Marlboro. I smoke Marlboro, too. As far as I can remember, I've been smoking Marlboro. I never smoke Samsun or stuff like that. We go to the fanciest restaurants here to eat and at our home as well. (...) I stayed at Sheriton Hotel in

---

[76] Kolukırık, http://www.cingene.org/semp05/tr/suat.pdf

Cesme. If they can stay there, why can I not?[77]

However, the common reason for not having stable, secure and waged-labor which are voiced by most of the informants is related with the fact that they all started to work life, while they were children. They were mostly pushed to these specific jobs by old generations. For this reason and others including being uneducated and unqualified for other sectors, they emphasized that working as waged-labor is not a choice for them.

As Mustafa states,

> Until recently, it wasn't a conscious decision for us to choose these jobs. It's a sociological coercion. This has not been a decision of anyone to become, for instance, a basket-maker or a shoe-maker. Usually, the Romas find occupations in which they can rise from the ranks and learn like shoe-making, basket-making -like in my case, it came down to me from my father and my grandfather- , playing instruments. It's the music. And that is not because they direct themselves. Romas are a group created and pressurized by their environment. It is so in all the countries.[78]

It can be concluded that the continuation of the jobs are not primarily perceived on the basis of the characteristics of being Gypsy/Roma by the members of the community. Rather than explaining the situation in terms of the nature of the identity, the socio-economic position and their limited conditions to get qualified for other work categories are more emphasized. In addition, the most important reason underlying this tendency within the Gypsy community in Tenekeli is based on specific growing habits.

---

[77] Bizim insanlarımız rahat insanlar abicim, öyle belli bi yerde çalışmak sıkar onları, bizler alışmışık az çalışıp çok para kazanmaya. Sabahın altısında kalk, o servisten o servise ne bileyim ordan oraya, sonunda bi bakıyosun yevmiyeye, 500 milyon aylık, otuza böldün mü onu 15 milyon günlük, hadi ya napıyım benim 15 milyon sigaram der. Burda çoğu malbro içer parlement içer. Burda en açı da lüks yaşar, en zengini de lüks yaşar. Gerçekten bak, bu ülkenin en lüks insanı ne içiyo? Malbro içiyo ben de malbro içiyom. Ben de malbro içiyom, bildim bileli ben malbro içiyom. Samsun mamsun hayatta içmem ben. Burda en lüks lokantalara gideriz yemek yeriz, evimizde yeriz.(…) Çeşme'de sheriton otelde kaldım ben, onlar kalır da biz kalamaz mıyız?

[78] Bizim gibi, bizim bu meslekleri seçişimiz bu son zamana kadar, pek bilinçli bi seçim değil. Bu sosyolojik yapının getirdiği bi zorlama. Ve bu hiç kimsenin de tercihi olmamıştır, mesela sepetçilik, mesela kunduracılık. Genelde şimdi Romanlar bizim bu çevrede nerde kendilerini çekirdekten yetiştircek bi meslek buluyolar, kunduracılık, e ben babamdan dedemden kaldığı için sepetçilik, çalgı meselesi müzik meselesi. O da böyle kendi yönlendirmeleriyle değil çevrelerinin oluşturduğu, sıkışmış bi topluluk Romanlar. Ve bütün devletlerde de böyle.

To sum up, it could be observed from the particular work life of Gypsy/Roma and their working patterns that they have been experiencing the double face of "being restricted and closed community". Besides the significant erosion of the 'traditional occupations', re-location on the particular occupations, poverty, being uneducated and unqualified which has limited the other job chances characterize the particular 'work habitus' of Tenekeli Gypsy community. In this context, the transformation of occupations become more important, as it is seen in the cases of musicians, belly-dancers and scrap-dealers. Double face of restricted and closed community reflects itself in two ways: as mentioned above, there are limitations whereas it also provides experience, necessary information, contact and network, as well as employment through the transformation of occupational positions.

4.3. The Stratification within Community

In this part, the relation between Roma identity and his/her perception of work will be discussed. Besides its importance for identity formation, whether this relation refers to hierarchical formation within community, and if so, what kind of structure it is and in which ways, being musician, scrap-dealer or belly-dancer mean to the members of the community should also be questioned. The questions analyzing self-perceptions such as; if they like their job, how being musician, scrap-dealer or belly-dancer is perceived among Gypsies, whether they are planning to continue their jobs in the future, what their plans are for their children; if they want their jobs to be kept and continued in following generations are addressed to understand the notion of prestige and status within the community. What kind of relation they see between working as musician/scrap-dealer or belly-dancer and Roma identity gives clues to understand the basic dynamics of identification process. In addition, positively and negatively privileged jobs within community in terms of self-ascriptions are covered.

4.3.1. Roma and scrap-dealing

As mentioned in previous part, there are two types of collecting in Tepecik. One is based on the capital, the other one is not. Capital-based scrap-dealing is generally

done by family members, close friends or neighbors. Garbage-collectors work alone; collect the garbage all day then sell it to the ones who re-sell it to some bigger recycling factories placed in formal sector. Another difference between these two is that capital-based ones also buy other types of garbage in factories which is unused or extra material in order to sell it later to other firms even in other cities or regions. Scrap-dealers collect any kind of material, from zippers, gripper to can, package or selenoid, fabric. Bekir explains the process:

> For example, we can use many things here which many people can not do. For example these metal zippers, they are thrown out by the factory owners so we go and get them. The textile producers do not use of them. We can get and use them. Look at the yellow parts in the metal, we can take it off, cut it and burn it. Then we sell it again.[79]

In general, collectors emphasize that there is no relation between their job and Roma identity. While it is asked whether they experience any advantage due to being Roma in collecting, they are clear that there is none. On the contrary, some stated that it is even not known among factory owners that they are Roma. They see no relation between their identity and their occupations, even they state it as clear as "They do not know that we are in this job because we are Roma." by one of the scrap-dealers. Although I have talked with scrap-dealers who have been in this job for more than one generation, it is mentioned that there are also other groups working on scrap-dealing, such as "Niğdeliler". In other words, Gypsy/Roma group has no monopoly on the sector of scrap-dealing; it is shared by other groups. While they say that they are scrap-dealers since they are Roma, they seem to refer not the essential characteristics underlying being Roma, but to socio-economic conditions of Roma. It is not seen as something related with Roma identity and it has no contribution to their work, as stated by interviewees.

Bekir says,

> (Has the fact that you are a Roma been beneficial for you in this occupation?) No, no. No way. The people that we do business with don't know that we are Roma. For instance, there

---

[79] Mesela çoğu insanın değerlendiremediğini biz alıp değerlendirebiliyoz, mesela bu fermeuarlar oluyo, bu metal fermuarlar, onları hurdaya çıkartıyolar atıyolar mesela tekstilcinin hiç bi işine yaramıyo. Biz alıp değerlendirebiliyoz. Mesela bak bunun ucundaki dişler sarı oluyo, alıyoz bunu burdan, burasını böyle kesiyoz, başını çıkartıyoz, yakıyoz…

are factories that we buy goods from with contract, or companies that we sell goods to, they don't know we are Roma. In some places they know bout Tepecik, in some they don't. But usually they don't know that we are Roma children. For instance, they don't know we do these jobs because we are Roma.[80]

As Bayram says,

> What I don't like about is working like this and loading cars. What I like about is making money. There's nothing more to that, you work and you make money. What we do has no alternative. What is important in this job is to make money and nothing else. I mean, we can't do anything if we don't make money. (...) (For your children) The truth is, I am not really in favor of them doing these jobs. It's better, like you said, if they go to school and do better things. These jobs have no guarantee. It has no end. Very well if you make money and be permanent. But from the looks of it, they will be doing these jobs, too. I guess.[81]

The general attitude towards collecting is not in a positive way. One of the interviewees described collecting as 'lost work'. By this, he implies that there is no future for him and his family through scrap-dealing. It has an ambiguous character so one can never know what is going to happen in following days. In addition to the undesired nature of job, being Roma and being scrap-collector do not stand together. It seems that it has no importance in identification of Roma scrap-dealers.

Although there are not enough interviews done with two types of collectors in order to understand whether the perception towards collecting changes, it could be said that there are few points underlying it. As only two garbage-collectors were interviewed, there is no sufficient data for any conclusion on perception of how they see capital-based ones. However, it is often underlined by the other side that those who are collecting garbage are very few in numbers in Tepecik, or they are not Roma but Gypsies. One interviewee states that there is even a particular name

---

[80] (Roman olmanız size bu meslekte bi kolaylık sağladı mı) Yok, yok. Alakası yok. Bizim bu işi yaptığımız insanlar bizim Roman olduğumuzu bilmiyo. Mesela bizim anlaşmalı mal aldığımız fabrikalar var; veya ordan buradan mal sattığımız firmalar bizim Roman olduğumuzu bilmiyo. Tepecik'i kimi yerde biliyolar, kimi yerde bilmiyolar yani. Ama genelde bilmiyolar yani. Roman çocuğu olduğumuzu. Mesela, Roman olduğumuzdan bu işleri yaptığımızı bilmiyolar.

[81] Sevmediğim tarafları, böyle çalışıp araba yüklemek. Sevdiğim tarafları da para kazanmak. Başka yok yani, çalışcan para kazancan, başka çaresi yok bizim işimizin. Önemli olan bu işte, para kazanmak, başka bi şey değil. Para kazanamazsak biz bi şey yapamayız yani. (…) (Çocuklarınız için) Valla, pek taraftar değilim ben bu işleri yapmalarına, okuyup da sizin dediğiniz gibi daha iyi bi şeyler yaparlarsa daha iyi olur. Bu işler pek garantisi olmayan işler. Sonu yok yani. Kazanırsan tutarsan yani ne ala. Ama görünümde onlar da galiba bu işleri yapcaklar.

for them: "There is also that part, yes, for example Menebo part. First they came to Cesme then to Tepecik. **Menebo.** It means dirty ones. (The name) comes from thier ancestors. The Dirties used to deal with the garbege collecting. Basket-making. Yes, Menebo. Nobody knows that part."[82]

As Anthias argues, "symbolic aspects of work relations include ideas that some jobs are cleaner and some are dirty, the former often being seen as more desirable even irrespective of the economic rewards entailed as in the difference between white collar vs. blue collar or non-manual vs. manual. (Anthias, 2001:381) Scrap dealing is perceived in a negative sense and also attached to inferior position both economically and morally. Altuntaş gives the example of Kurdish and Gypsy groups as street collectors in Ankara. When low-status dirty job is attached to a certain ethnic group, it may lead to cultural exclusion and even accusation, which is not considered on the individual level any more. In the case of street collecting[83], perceptions of collectors also get sharpened through stigmatization of "They (Kurds or Gypsies) do it anyway." Attachment of inferior-status job and ethnic group could affect on identification process. (Altuntaş, 2008:31) It may lead to strengthening of ethnic identity by its members since ethnic identity is seen as a resource of the experience of humiliation, contempt and subordination by others. It is important for the understanding of ethnicity as circumstantial and constructed, rather than primordial. Strengthening or weakening of ethnic belongings under different conditions shows how important the role of context in which identity takes its shapes is. (Altuntaş, 2008)

However, Roma scrap-dealer differs himself from garbage collector both economically and morally. As it is mentioned above, dirtiness is even a name given to others by Roma community: 'Menebo' group. The attachment of being Gypsy and being collector directly refers to it. Besides implying dirtiness of that

---

[82] O kesim de var. Mesela Menebo dediğimiz kesim, ilk önce Çeşme'ye gelmişler ordan Tepecik'e gelmişler. *Menebo*. Kirliler yani. (Bu isim) Onların dedelerinden gelmiş. Kirliler, hurda toplayıcılığıyla falan uğraşırlarmış. Sepet falan. Evet, Menebo. O kısımları mesela kimse bilmez.

[83] Sokak toplayıcılığı.

group, there are also attached characteristics to them. They are positioned at the bottom of the community in the eyes of the more superior others. When that group is described, the boundaries of being garbage-collector, being poor, thief or immoral get blurred. The superiority of capital-based collecting even expresses itself in deference.

As Aydın notes,

> I love what we do. It's no good if you don't love what you do. In the end, I provide for my family by this. I mean, it's been our occupation for centuries. For instance, I go to a factory, you are a famous businessman and I am a simple artisan. When I arrive, you stand up, show me a place to sit, give me a chair, offer me tea. A person would like that, right? You sit in front of a famous person and do business. I do business.[84]

Requirements of being a good scrap-dealer depend on honesty and reliability. It could be said that there is a work ethic describing work rules and characteristics of the job among scrap-dealers in Tepecik. However, it is not seen by them as something related with being Roma. Stressing on honesty and reliability as obligatory characteristics of tradesman could be seen in any tradesman's speech. Rather than being attached to Roma ethnic identity, scrap-collecting is perceived on the basis of work. However, identity is still needed to be hidden in the work relations, or at least not be mentioned. As it is seen in the examples, work environment of Roma scrap-dealers differs from Roma musicians' or belly-dancers' where these occupations are accepted, approved and tolerated by the majority with their ethnic stickers on Roma.

4.3.2. Roma and belly-dancing

Most of the women in Tepecik work as belly dancers for generations. How belly-dancing is perceived by Roma belly-dancers and whether there is a specific relation they consider between being Roma and being belly-dancer is tried to be figured out during the interviews. Firstly, they all see that being Roma refers to

---

[84] Yaptığımız işi seviyorum. Yani yaptığın işi sevmezsen iş iş değil yani. Sonuçta bundan ailemi de geçindiriyorum. Yani bizim yüzyıllardandır süregelen işimiz bu. Mesela ben bi fabrikaya gidiyorum, sen ünlü bi iş adamısın ben küçük esnafım. Ben geldiğim zaman sen bana ayağa kalkıyosun, oturtuyosun, sandalye veriyosun, çay ikram ediyosun. E bu insanın bi hoşuna gider heralde di mi? Tanınmış bi simanın karşısında oturuyosun, iş yapıyosun. Ticaret yapıyorum ben.

being talented in dancing and singing. They assert that they have intrinsic ability in dancing and singing which makes them superior than Gorgio ones' in this job. They stress given talents of Roma community, as well as the environment, that is growing up in Gypsy/Roma neighborhood. As it is mentioned, they all have begun dancing when they were children. For these reasons, the match of Roma identity and bell-dancing are explained on the basis of talented Roma identity.

Didem states,

> Yes (mostly from among Romas who are belly-dancers). Mostly from among Romas, since we love dancing. That's the reason. Yes, there is. Most of my friends in Istanbul are Gacos. A Roma belly dancer is surely better than a Gaco one. 90% of them are Romas. Because they know how to dance. Gacos don't. We can do what they do, but they can't dance like we do. For instance, we dance to Konya melody, when it plays we get up and dance. But a Gaco can't dance to a Roma melody. When there's a wedding, (we dance) for the sake of dancing. We, the Romas, really love dancing.[85]

Zeynep says,

> The people who imitate Romas are the ones who want to dance. Sure sure. For instance, we go somewhere, my friend and I, they play a Roma tune, we get up and dance just like that. They come to us and say 'Can you give us dancing lessons? How do you dance? Show us.' We say, 'You can't show that, it's God-given,' and we continue dancing.[86]

In spite of the clear understanding of given talents of Roma people, the job of belly-dancing itself is far from a desired one. When it comes to the work life of belly-dancers, it is clearly understood that belly-dancing is not a choice, but an obligation of the poverty and hard life conditions of families in Tepecik. Some of the women are the only ones who have incomes in those families. For this reason, they have great responsibility in taking care of the rest of their families. Starting

---

[85] (En çok oryantal Romanların arasından) Evet. En çok Romanlardan. Oynamayı sevdiğimizi için. O yüzden. Var, İstanbul'dan benim çoğu arkadaşım Gaco. Roman bi oryantal tabi daha iyi Gacodan. Yüzde doksanı. Romanlar. Oynamayı daha iyi bildikleri için. Gacolar bilmiyo. Gacoların oynadığını biz oynarız, Gacolar bizim oynadığımızı oynayamaz. Konya havası oynarız biz mesela. Biz bi Konyalı'yı çalar oynarız ama Gaco kalkıp bi Roman havası oynayamaz. Bi düğün olsun, oynamak için, biz Romanlar oynamayı çok seviyoz gerçekten.

[86] Romanlara özenenler, oynamaya özenen insanlar.Tabi tabi. Mesela biz gezmeye gidiyoruz arkadaşımla, bi Roman havası oluyo, kalkıp şak şak oynarız. Gelirler bizim yanımıza, şey bize oynama dersi gösterir misiniz? Nasıl oynuyorsunuz gösterin. Bunun göstermesi olmaz, bu Allah vergisi der tekrar oynamamıza bakarız.

belly-dancer in early ages of childhood refers to child labor which most of the belly-dancers in Tepecik experience.

Didem says,

> When you go to gig, you don't even want to dance. Because you dance all night long. You get sick of it. You dance all night, you're on you feet, I mean. Now, we didn't used to sit at tables. There was this place where we were working. When the clock hit 11, we would go on the stage and until six o'clock in the morning, we would be on our feet in high heels. We would kick off the high heels at some point. We would go inside and put our head in cold water, it was so hot. And then we would go back on stage. We would change clothes. We were dancing sweating. (...) In this world, it's not enough to dance, it's not useful. You have to chat, that's how you get money from your customers. Nowadays, the customers don't even put money on you (while dancing). They order drinks to the table, no money.[87]

They all have the same negative attitude and perception towards their job; life stories refer to child laboring as they frequently emphasize that they had no choice except from working. In addition to their hard responsibilities, the work conditions themselves are hard and insecure. Being talented as a Roma woman, according to them, has no consequence on working as a belly-dancer. Although they are gifted by nature, belly-dancing itself is not perceived and embraced as the presentation of Roma identity. On the other hand, one Roma singer states that being Roma has contributed to her job. She differentiates herself from other Gorgio singers and perceives Gypsiness as being more warm-blooded, alive, joyful, easy going which provides her open to communication with the customer and facilitates her job. It should be stated that she is the only one who considers her job and identity in this way.

---

[87] Ama bu işe çıktığın zaman oynamak bile istemiyosun. Çünkü bütün gece oynuyosun. Bıkıyosun, bütün gece oynuyosun, ayaktasın yani. Şimdi daha evvel masalara oturmak yoktu, şimdi bizim bi çalıştığımız yer vardı, saat 11 dedin mi çıkıyoduk, sabah 6ya kadar yükseklerlen ayaktaydık. Oynuyodun, artık ayakkabıları atıyoduk ayağımızdan. İçeri giriyoduk, o sıcakta kafamızı suya sokup çıkarıyoduk, tekrar sahneye çıkıyoduk. Üstümüzü değişiyoduk, ter içinde oynuyoduk. (…) Bu alemde oyun geçmiyo, oynaman işe yaramaz ki bu alemde. Muhabbet etcen, sohbet etcen, öyle de alırsın parayı yani müşteriden. Şimdi para bile takmıyo artık müşteriler. İçki söylüyo masalara para bile yok yani. (…)Yok onla (ablamla) hiç çalışmadık bi yerde. Zor geliyodu birbirimize. Yapamıyoduk bi yerde, üzülüyoduk. O bi masada oynuyodu, ben bi masada oynuyodum. Üzülüyoduk. Bir iki sefer gittik öyle, gördük birbirimizi, yani mücadele ediyosun sonuçta, çıplaksın yani, üzülüyoduk. Ağlıyodu ablam, ben de ağlıyodum. Çalışmadık yani, bir iki sefer çalışmışızdır. Normalde hiç çalışmadık on sene içinde yani. Ablam devam ediyo.

As Zeynep says,

> What are the difficulties? You agree on a daily wage with the boss. If you make money, he gives you money; if you dont' he doesn't give the wage. You can leave with 10 liras or 500 lira. That's your major. He wouldn't give it. You would put the 10 liras in your purse, on the way you bought cigarettes, smoke a pack six o'clock in the morning. You came home with 5 liras without making any money. (...) I didn't like it, I did it forcing myself. It's not something to be done. We are used to having money. We are in a financial distress now a little bit. Sometimes when I sit at home, I say, 'Should I go to work? Should I start again?' 'I can't,' I say. I went one night, I couldn't do it and came back. I mean, I don't know. I can't do it now. I can't. because when you go there, you have to drink. You can't do it without drinking. I haven't been drinking for a year now. I mean, I would be drunk with half a glass right now. I drank raki for 11 years. I used to drink a lot. I could take it back then, but I can't know. i can't do this job anymore, I can't.[88]

Berrin says,

> Let' say you bump into a bad person. For instance, there's this place in Salihli called D. A man, drunk, high, pulls out the gun. He shoots around randomly, shoots the boss, fires bullets everywhere. And we have our friends there; they run inside wearing the costumes.[89]

One of the belly-dancers could be a significant case for its implications on past and present situation of the job. Fatma is a 37 years old, old-generation bell-dancer who has been working as a belly-dancer since she was 9 years old. She has been known as "Snake" since she has started to dance.

> My fame came along naturally as a result of my dance. That's why, I came to be known as Kobra. Back then, when I was dancing, there was respect to art. When I was dancing, everyone would say, 'You dance like a cobra snake, like a cobra, like a snake, mashallah.' I 've been carrying this name for twenty years. I still do. But now there's nothing left of that old dance. because the environment is different. Back then, only one belly-dancer would go on stage. Now, five, ten, twenty, forty (dancers) can go on the stage.[90]

---

[88] Zorlukları ne oluyo şimdi, yevmiye anlaşıyosun patronla. Para çıkarırsan veriyo para çıkarmazsan sana yevmiye vermiyo. 10 milyonla da inersin 100 milyonla da inersin 500 milyonla da inersin. O senin branşın yani. Vermez. Aldığın 10 milyonu koyarsın çantana yolda alırsın sigara içersen bir paket sigara sabahın altısında 5 milyonla evine gelirsin. Hiç para kazanamadan.(…) Sevmiyodum, zorlukla yapıyodum. Yapılmaz. İyi ama yapılmaz bu meslek. Bin tane erkeğin kahrını çekiyon. Olmaz. Valla olmaz. Biz paraya alışkın insanız, şimdi biraz sıkıntı çekiyoz, bazen oturuyom evde diyom ki işe mi gitsem acaba? Tekrardan başlasam mı diyom. Yapamam diyom. Bi gece gittim, yapamadım, çok ağladım, geri geldim. Bilmiyom yani. Yapamam diyom bu saatten sonra. Yapamam. Çünkü oraya gittiğin zaman içki içmek zorundasın. İçmeden yapamazsın. Bi senedir alkol almıyom şu anda. Yani ben şimdi yarım duble içsem sarhoş olurum, ben 11 sene rakı içtim. Normalde yani çok içki içiyodum. Kaldırıyodu bünyem, şimdi kaldırmaz. Yapamam zati ben artık bu işi, yapamam.

[89] İşte diyelim çıktı kötü bi insan karşına. Mesela, geçenlerde Salihli'de D. diye bi yer var. Adam sarhoş, kafası güzel, çekiyi silahı. Önüne geleni vuruyo, patronu vuruyo, sağa sola sıkıyo. Bizim de arkadaşlarımız var orda, kostümlerle içeri kaçıyo.

[90] Zaten şan şöhret benim kendiliğinden geldi. Dansımdan geldi. Kendiliğimden geldi. İşte bu yüzden de adımız Kobra oldu. Dans ederken tabi, o zaman sanata hürmet vardı. Dans ederken

She separates the old and present times of the belly-dancing in terms of how it was perceived by society and how it is presently understood. It is necessary to mention that there is a generation difference. According to her, it was possible to say that dancing could be characterized with respect and status in the past. However, she is aware of how it is perceived today by both Roma community and majority.

> But there isn't any business like in the old times. There used to be a nicer environment and it used to give money in abundance. (...) I worked alone. There weren't a lot of belly-dancers. Only one artist, only one bell-dancer would work. There was respect to art back then. For instance, when I went to the casino, the boss or the customers would stand up saying that Kobra had arrived. They would take our bags. They would invite us kissing our hands and show us seats. Now, the environment is very bad. There's no respect to art. There were girls who made mistakes because they didn't do (their jobs) being aware. There would be a nicer environment if they did so. They perform unaware. A lot of people don't know this. I mean, I don't know. There are a lot of offers. It's hard to take. If you're honest, you can make money anywhere. But if you're not, you fall into obloquy. I'm sorry but I see the places where we work as mud-holes. Can you understand? The environment is really different. There are places that serve food, people there are more decent. But where we go is not classy, of course, it's a village. The villagers come there, sometimes city people as well. And they have a bad opinion of a person who goes on stage there. There are a lot of offers. Do you understand what I mean?[91]

Fatma has a different perception towards belly-dancing from others'. She is the only one who defines belly-dancing as sinful. The difference between her perception and other dancers' is based on the religious emphasis on her understanding. In addition to the emphasis on hard work conditions and negative

---

herkes "kobra yılanı gibi dans ediyon, kobra gibi, yılan gibi yılan gibi maşallah" diyodu. Yirmi senedir bu ismi taşıyorum. Hala da taşıyorum. Ama şimdi eski dans kalmadı. Çünkü ortam değişik. O zamanlar tek oryantal sahneye çıkardı. Şimdi beş altı on yirmi kırk sahneye çıkabiliyo.

[91] Ama eskisi gibi iş yok. Eskiden daha güzel bi ortam, daha güzel bol parası vardı. (…) Tek çalıştım. O zaman oryantal çoğunluğu yoktu. Tek sanatçı, tek oryantal çalışılıyodu. O zaman sanata saygı vardı. Mesela, ben bi gazinoya gittiğim zaman patronu veya müşterisi ayağa kalkardı. Kobra geldi diye. Valizlerimiz ellerimizden alınırdı. Ellerimiz öpülerek davet edilirdik. Yer gösterirlerdi. Şimdi ortam çok kötü. Sanata saygı yok. Çok açığı çıkan kızlar oldu. Bilinçli yapmadıkları için, bilinçli olsalar daha da güzel ortam olur bu alemde. Bilinçsizlikle bu sanatı yapıyolar, bi dünya insan bunları bilmiyo. Hani ne biliyim, şimdi bunlar da çıktı, çok teklif eden oluyo, insanın zoruna gidiyo. Dürüst oldun mu, her yerde ekmek yersin. Ama olmadın mı, adın kötüye çıkar. Özür diliyorum, bizim çalıştığımız yerlerde, ben bir batak yeri gibi görüyorum, anlayabiliyo musun? Ortam çok değişik. Şimdi mesela böyle yemek yenen yerler var, ordaki insanlar daha düzgünler. Ama bizim gittiğimiz yer, klas değil tabi ki, köy. Köylüler yani geliyo, bazen şehirliler de gelir. Oralarda çıkana da iyi gözle bakılmaz. Çok teklif eden var yani. Anlayabildin mi dediğimi?

labeling of dancing which are also shared by others, she underlies one's responsibility to God.[92]

> (Being a belly-dancer) It doesn't look decent to me. Like I said, I've been crying since my childhood. It will be a little hard for me to account for myself before God. The longer you are in this business, the more sinful you become. God is up there. (Isn't that skill God-given as well?) Surely, but people decide on their own destiny. I may choose not to do this job if I want to. It's up to me. God gives me a few opportunities for work. Why is it my word and not His? For instance, I quit this job countless times, worked as a server, went to house cleaning, worked at (public) toilets. I did so many things. But I couldn't make ends meet, because I am the only person working in the household. Debts, food, then rent, electricity and water bills. It's hard for one person to deal with.[93]

Belly-dancers' life styles are clearly separated in terms of the moral values attached to each other. If it is considered that musicians form a status group which is positively privileged, belly-dancers are perceived as another group who are negatively privileged. In other words, it should be noticed that even though they work as hard as musicians under similar work conditions and they both have jobs on the basis of "talent" which is seen as natural attributes of Roma people, belly-dancers and musicians are not perceived in equal sense. Belly-dancer Roma is negatively privileged. Being belly-dancer is labeled in a negative way, which sometimes implies even prostitution, by the moral elements of the community. During the field work, it was not always easy to go to their homes and talk with belly-dancers. After few interviews, my contacts stated it was not easy for them to reach these women. Belly-dancers are not only perceived in a negative way by non-Roma community, their own community also has the same attitude towards them. It leads them even working far from Izmir, in other cities or regions.

As Fatma says,

---

[92] Although it may seem as a religious concern on the individual level, it is also much related with tendency towards veiling in Tepecik –as it is observed and told during the fieldwork.

[93] (Oryantallik) Benim açımdan bana dürüst gelmiyo. Ben küçüklüğümden beri ağlıyorum. Allaha hesap vermek biraz benim açımdan zor olacak. Bu işte ne kadar çok kalır ve çalışırsan o kadar günaha girersin. Allah yukarda. Ben istesem bu işi yapmayabilirim. Bu benim elimde. Allah bana bi kaç iş fırsatı veriyo? Neden onun dediği değil de benim dediğim? Mesela ben bu işi defalarca bıraktım, hizmetçilik yaptım, temizlik işlerine gittim, tuvaletçilik yaptım. Bi çok işi yaptım yani. Ama yettiremedim. Bi de evde tek çalışan ben olduğum için. Borç olayı, boğaz olayı sonra kira, ceryan, su. Tek kişi çok zor.

The truth is, my aunt took me out to work. The one who is a belly-dancer. I started going along with them unaware. I was a kid, didn't think much. I would dance next to them. Later on, I learned how to be a belly-dancer. But I've always cried since my childhood. I did other things in rder not to do this job. I still cry. i got married, and was saved from this job, but when the father of my son died, I went back to it. I was left alone with a kid without a house and a job. There wasn't anyone looking after us. (...) There are different places. For instance, we go to Salihli, Turgutlu or Bodrum, Marmaris, Antalya, Mugla. Of course, there are places in Izmir, too, but I don't prefer them. (Why?) Like that. When you work like this (pointing to her belly-dancer custome)... I mean, when the people from the neighborhood see me like that... Although my costumes cover a lot. The only place that shows is my neck, the rest is all covered. I don't want the neighborhood people to see me like that. It's not like that outside. But when you work inside Izmir and neighborhood people see you, I don;t want them to say 'this woman is like this.'[94]

Tepecik neighborhood is differed on the basis of division of labor from other Gypsy/Roma neighborhoods in Izmir. Tepecik, Tenekeli is the one whose women work as belly-dancers or "vekil" (who is responsible of any organization in Tepecik whorehouse). Because of this differentiation, Tepecik has also negative perception among other Gypsy settlements. For example, one woman, dealing with illegal works from Kuruçay, which is very close to Tenekeli, states that she has honor since she always wears pans under her skirt so that nobody could see her legs; but women of Tepecik are immoral due to their job as belly-dancers. As it is seen, purity codes work intensely through woman. While belly-dancers are seen as immoral, they also see Gorgio belly-dancers in the same way. They state that Gorgio dancers are tended to have affairs with the bosses or the customers, while Roma only do her job in those places. Codification of moral values attached to women can be perceived on different levels and contexts.

This also refers to another point. Gypsy/Roma community does not seem to differ from the main codification towards woman. Gender differences are observed

---

[94] Valla çocuktum, çocukluğun verdiği bi şey, bu işe ben istemeyerek halam çıkardı. Oryantal olan halam. Bilinçsiz olarak ben onlarla işe gitmeye başladım, çocukluk aklı ya. Oynardım, onların yanında. Sonra sonra bu oryantallik işini kaptım. Ama çocukluğumdan beri hep ağladım. Evlendim bu işten kurtuldum, ama oğlumun babası ölünce tekrar bu işe çıktım. Çocukla ortada kaldım, ev yok, iş yok. Bakan yoktu yani. (…) Değişik değişik yerler var. Mesela Salihli, Turgutlu ya da Bodrum, Marmaris gibi. Antalya gibi. Muğla. Gidiyoruz. Tabi, tabi. Izmir içinde de yerler var ama ben Izmir içinde çalışmayı tercih etmiyorum. (Neden) Öyle. Öyle çalıştığın zaman (açık oryantal kıyafetini göstererek), yani benim mahalle insanı gördüğü zaman o halde, gerçi benim kostümlerim de kapalıdır. Sadece yakam açıktır, diğer yerler kapalıdır. Bizim mahalle insanı beni gördüğü zaman, öyle görmesin. Dışarsı öyle değil. Ama Izmir içinde çalışırken, mahalle insanı seni gördüğü zaman, o kadın böyleymiş demesin.

strongly in the case of belly-dancers. In addition to "Abone system" which provides control and surveillance on women, their negatively privileged position make Gypsy/Roma community from Tepecik indifferent with the dominant codes of the non-Roma majority. While dancing is seen as one of the most significant characteristics of Gypsy/Roma, when it comes to performance of it, it is far from being embraced or supported by the community. The attachment to the dancing itself, rather than to occupation could be understood in this framework. In other words, identity formation is not independent from the context in which it is constructed and reconstructed. Perception towards woman, working woman and specially belly-dancer woman in Tepecik affects identity formation. Primordial elements of Roma identity, especially those of being talented in dancing and playing, are open to different interpretations and constructions under different contexts, as it will be seen in musicians' case. Here primordial elements stressed by dancers legitimize and justify the situation of belly-dancers.

4.3.3. Roma and Musicianship

The relation between Roma identity and the perception of musicianship constitutes unique case compared to others. It could be seen that musicianship has the top position within the hierarchical structure of Roma community. Musicianship is privileged by members in terms of its positive features itself among other occupations done in Tepecik, such as scrap-dealing, shoe-shining etc.

Ahmet says,

> It's wonderful thing for a person to play an instrument. I mean, as an occupation, like I said, when we go classy jobs. There are very good musicians, virtuoso when it comes to his saz. They know the notes and their saz very well. I feel very proud when I go to a job with these masters. I see that I am the simplest among them. Because they know a lot. Some work at the radio and some in Istanbul, here and there, in very good places. I'm trying to keep up with them. They play some hard pieces like longos or siplos. When we do it together, I like it very much and take pleasure from the music I make. You wear your suits nicely, take a shower, shave. Your friends and band are shining. You take your saz in your hands. Let's say, you'll play at Hilton at that night. You get food. It's a decent job, not heavy. You do

something in line with your occupation.[95]

As Halit notes,

> It is a privileged thing. Right? It is a privileged thing. I like it so much. It's not like how it looks from outside. Not everyone can play their saz and sing very well. Everyone can become a musician or a singer, but not everyone can sing and play beautifully. With Romas, it's mor different and more beautiful. I don't want to put the Romas on the foreground, as there are really very important musicians who are not Roma. But there is surely a Roma involvement somehow. It's either that they hang out together or they've worked together for years. There is Roma involvement in them, for sure. (...) Even the Romas who are not musicians have feeling for rhythm and dance beautifully. But it wouldn't look good on others. But the Romas have that feeling. At the same time, you said a privilege, both inside and outside the neighborhood, being a musician is a privileged occupation everywhere. For instance, there are a lot of scrap-dealers or house-painters here, a lot of them. Musicians are high on top compared to them. [96]

Musicianship means more than just an occupation, it implies a different life style and daily practices which are perceived in a very positive sense. In addition to playing an instrument, improvement of playing skills, the way of dressing, the work places they play, talent, better social positions or other people' perception towards Roma musicians may lead to embracement of musicianship both as occupation and identity. This refers to what Weber calls 'status' reflecting itself through group's particular pattern in style of life, formal education, empirical

---

[95] Bi insanın bi enstrüman çalması çok güzel bi şey. Ya meslek olarak, dediğim gibi, kaliteli işlere gittiğimiz zaman. Çok iyi müzisyenler oluyo böyle, sazına böyle çok, böyle virtüöz gibi adamlar var. Notayı çok iyi biliyolar, sazını nerden ne yapacağını çok iyi biliyolar. Mesela onlarla, çok ustalarla, onlarla beraber bi işe gittiğim zaman çok gurur duyuyorum yani. Bakıyorum onların içinde en basit kalan benim. Çünkü onların bilgisi çok, kimisi radyoda kimisi İstanbul'da. Orda burada çok iyi yerlerde. Ha ben onlara ayak uydurmaya çalışıyorum işe gidiyosam. Zor şeyler çalıyolar mesela, longolar çalıyolar, siplolar. Birlikte yapıyoruz ya hoşuma gidiyo o zaman, zevk alıyorum çaldığım müzikten. Sen işe giyiniyosun siyah takım elbiseni, güzel böyle. Yıkanıyosun traşını oluyosun mesela, arkadaşların grubun, pırıl pırılsın. Alıyosun sazını eline, gidiyosun mesela Hilton'da çalıcaksın o gece. Yemeğini yiyosun, temiz iş yani böyle ağır iş değil. Mesleğini yapıyosun yani.

[96] Ayrıcaklı bi şey di mi, ayrıcaklı bi şey. Benim çok hoşuma gidiyo mesela. Dışardan görünüşteki gibi değil bi de herkes çok iyi çalmıyo sazını yani, ve çok iyi okuyamıyolar. Herkes müzisyen olabiliyo, solist de olabiliyo ama herkes güzel söyleyip güzel çalamıyo. Bu Romanlarda daha değişik daha güzel. Romanları aslında ben ön plana çıkarmak istemiyorum, müzisyen, gerçekten çok önemli müzisyenler var Roman olmayıp da. Ama mutlaka müzisyenler, o önemli müzisyenlerde Romanların bi parmağı vardır. Ya beraber takılmışlardır, ya senelerce beraber çalışmışlardır. Ya mutlaka Romanların bi parmağı vardır orda. (…) Fakat Romanların yani müzisyen olmayıp da çok iyi ritm duygusu olabiliyo, mesela Romanlar çok güzel oynayabiliyo ve de bunu böyle başkalarında bu oyun yakışmıyo, yakışmıyo başkalarına ama Romanlarda o duygu var. Aynı zamanda da, bi ayrıcalık dediniz ya, mahalle içerisinde ve dışarısında müzisyenlik her yerde bence ayrıcalıklı bi meslek. Hani burada mesela hurdacılık da yapan çok var. Çok var. Boyacılık da yapan çok var. Müzisyenlik onların yanında çok zirvedeymiş gibi kalıyo.

training, and forms of behavior, hereditary, as well as occupational prestige. In this context, the position of the musician in Tenekeli, Tepecik could be considered as forming a status group. (Weber, 1968) However, Weber uses status group as the ethnic group itself, but in Tenekeli case, status refers to one specific group within the community. It seems that Danacılar group has superior position amongst others. High status of musicianship expresses itself even in marriage patterns of Roma community.

As Nedim says,

> My mother would say back then, 'My son, you will grow up, go to work, get its taste, spend the money you earn out of it and one day we'll go to ask for the hand of a girl. They will ask us, 'What does he do for a living?' Should we say a vagabond or a musician?' They have always humiliated me like this, do you understand?[97]

It is seen that Roma identity and music are inseparable for the members themselves. Unlike scrap-dealers who see no relation between their identity and the job or belly-dancers whose job is perceived in a very negative and exclusionary sense, Roma musicians tend to embrace this attachment and be proud of being a Roma musician. The relationship they have with musicianship is fed from their Roma identity. They all accept that being Roma contribute much to their music. Roma musician is differed from the Gorgio one on the basis of that specific way of feeling. It is perceived as something essential in Roma identity. This discourse is similar to belly-dancers' which asserts that they are able to dance as Gorgio dancers, but the Gorgio can not dance as the Roma does. Superior position of Roma is even attached to the claim that Gorgio musicians lead to a decrease on the daily wages of musicians. This claim of social esteem could be seen as an indicator of the status group.

Caner says,

> It's a privilege (to make music as a Roma musician). A big privilege. The difference

---

[97] Annem o zamanlar diyodu ki işte "oğlum yarın öbür gün sen büyüycen işlere gidicen bu işlerin tadını alıcan, parasını yiycen yarın öbür gün kız istemeye gidicez sorucaklar bize ne iş yapıyo, berduş mu diyelim müzisyen mi diyelim? Beni hep böyle aşıladılar yani anladın mı?

between them (a Gaco and Roma musician) is the difference in feeling. The Roma feeling is nowhere else in the world. God gave us a different feeling. It's a privilege as it is to be born a Roma, no one else has our privilege. I did my army service. The guy who finished a technical university, an academic guy, would come and watch me play my keyboard with admiration. They don't give that feeling. Clarinet players play it on a theoretical basis. They don't give the feeling that Husnu gives. It's a different feeling to be a Roma.[98]

Nedim states

Now talking about Gaco musicians, they are mostly good musicians but they don't have the attitude. You got it? There is an attitude in Izmir. Do you know what attitude means? Playing, the skill. They are also good musicians and professionals *but here it's our essence*. Look , we have talked about Gacos. 10 or 15% of them are very good , quality musicians, but they drop the market value a lot. Let's say that I do a gig for 1 lira, he does it for 25 cents. That's it, I mean, I'm telling you honestly. Two years ago, when I was working for a daily wage of 60 lira, they came and wanted to do it for 25 lira. Now where's the musician value in that?[99]

Being musician is also characterized by certain behavior and attitudes. Peaceful and sober nature of musician and its reflections on daily life in Tepecik compared to other groups are stressed by interviewees. Symbolic aspects of musicianship attach it to purity, while Mangosar group sticks with dirtiness implying illegal works. Musicianship with reference to giftedness, certain attitude and behavioral codes is posited on the top within the hierarchical structure of Roma community in Tepecik.

Osman says,

I haven't thought of any other occupation. Because being a musician is very natural and away from evil. Being a musician is a more decent occupation. For instance, we want to look clean where we go with our suits, ties, a good shave, cleanliness. Because we address

---

[98] (Roman olarak müzisyenlik yapmak) Çok ayrıcalık. (Gaco ile Roman müzisyen) Arasındaki fark duygu farkı. Çok büyük bi duygu farkı var, Roman duygusu dünyanın hiç bi yerinde yok, o duyguyu Allah bize değişik vermiş. Roman olarak yaratılmak zaten bi ayrıcalık, bizim ayrıcalığımız kimsede yok. Adam ne kadar teknik üniversite, ben askerliğimi yaptım, adam o kadar üniversite bitirmiş, akademik bi adam. Gelip beni hayran hayran izliyodu. Çaldığım klavyeyi. O duyguyu veremiyolar. Klarnetçiler teorik olarak çalıyo, bi Hüsnü'nün (Hüsnü Şenlendirici) duygusunu veremiyolar. Roman olmak ayrı bi duygu.

[99] Şimdi Gaco müzisyen derken, Gaco müzisyenler çoğunlukla iyi müzisyenler yani kaliteli müzisyenler ama tavır olayı yok. Anladın mı? Izmir'de bi tavır var. Tavır ne demek biliyo musun? Çalmak, yetenek. Ordakiler de iyi müzisyen, çok profesyonel. *Ama bizim burdaki özünden, işte özünden*. Gacolardan bahsettin bak, Gacoların tamam yüzde onu yüzde on beşi çok iyi müzisyenler var, iyi müzisyen kaliteli müzisyen ama piyasayı düşürüyolar çok. Atıyorum ben bi milyona gidiyosam o 250 bin liraya gidiyo. Bu kadar yani ben size açıkça konuşayım. Ben 60 milyon yevmiyeyle çalışırken iki sene evvel, geldiler bizim oraya 25 milyona başlamak isteyenler oldu. E nerde kaldı senin müzisyenliğin?

people. Being a musician looks more beautiful to us. It's a decent occupation with good conditions.[100]

Nedim says,

> Now, most of the musicians are of Danaci origin. There are Kerostos and Mangosars. Kerostos are worse than Mangosars. Sure. Look, I'm telling you honestly, the best people in this neighborhood are the musicians and the artisans. There is no other. You get along well first with musicians and second the artisans. Like I said, musicians don't get involved in fights with no one. Artisans likewise. How should I tell you this? The way a person is brought up is really important. I grew up with my saz, with my job, with my keyboard. Like we said a while ago, if I am going to make money out of this, I have to learn how to be a musician. Now that guy grows up with pills, weed, in jail. You understand? This is the difference in growing up. I grew up with my job, this guy grew up with artisanship, but that man grew up with a gun. It's family influence. His father smoked and swallowed the pills next to him. I mean, there's difference in growing up. I could have been in jail or selling weed in front of the coffee-house and waiting for customers like them.[101]

Weber argues that what underlies ethnic membership is the members' belief on specific 'honor' which is not shared by the outsiders. He calls it "the sense of ethnic honor", which is closely related to status honor. The sense of ethnic honor is a specific honor of the masses; which is fed from the notion of chosen people, complement of status differentiation. However, different from status group, ethnic group takes a special form due to its tendency toward endogamy and claim on common descent. It is defined as hereditary status group. (Malesevic, 2004) Although Tepecik Roma case does not fit totally into the concept of hereditary status group, the feeling of ethnic honor is significant, especially in the case of

---

[100] Başka bi meslek düşünmüyorum. Çünkü müzisyenlik çok doğal ve kötülükten uzak bi meslek. Müzisyenlik biraz daha temiz bi iş. Mesela gittiğimiz yerlerde, daha temiz görünmek isteriz. Böyle, takım elbisemiz, kravatımız, sakal traşımız, elimizin yüzümüzün düzgün olması. Çünkü insanlara hitap ediyoruz. Müzisyenlik bizim için, yani daha güzel geliyo bize. Daha temiz iş, imkanlarımız da iyi.

[101] Şimdi, zaten müzisyenlerin çoğu Danacı. Kerestolar var, Mangosarlar var. (Kerestolar) Mangosarların bi adisi. Tabi. Bak samimi söylüyorum sana şu mahallede en temizi insanlar müzisyenler, esnaflar. Başka yok. Bi esnaflarla çok iyi anlaşırsın, bi müzisyenlerle. Dedim ya müzisyenlerin kimseyle kavgası gürültüsü olmaz, esnafın da öyle. Ya insan şimdi, insanların nasıl diyeyim sana, yetişmesi çok önemli. Ben sazımla büyümüşüm, ben işimle büyüdüm, orgumla büyüdüm, yani nasıl dedik biraz evvel, ekmeğimi bu işten çıkarıcaksam, ben o müzisyenliği öğrenmek zorundayım. Şimdi o adam hapla büyümüş, esrarla büyümüş, cezaevinde büyümüş, anladın mı? Yetişme farkı budur yani. Ben işimle büyüdüm, bu adam esnaflıkla büyümüş o adam ama silahla büyümüş. Ailesinden. Babası yanında yakmış cigarayı, yutmuş hapları. Yani yetişmeden yetişmeye fark var. Ben de onlar gibi şu an belki ya cezaevindeydim ya da kahve önünde esrar satıyodum. Müşteri bekliyodum orda.

Roma musician. The specific honor expresses itself even in perception of success of popular Roma singers or musicians. Roma musician/singer considers himself as representing the community to outsiders, which is not the case for belly-dancers who share the same intrinsic talents of Roma identity.

Halit says,

> It looks to me like there has been a revolt on Romas' part recently. But it hasn't been through fighting or rumbling, I mean, they have been trying to me into the spotlight through their work. And there are a few examples of this. There is nothing else left in the music sector without this. For instance, Husnu, Hamdi-Mehmet duo, Kibariye. they have recently started to have tv shows. They give a warm feeling to people who have been kicked around. It is a different feeling to see one of your own up there.[102]

Parallel with this argument of honor, one of the musicians argue that the reason of not having experienced discrimination or on the minimum level, being compared to the other Gypsy/Roma "Esmer Vatandaş[103]" is much related with their musicianship and its privileged status in Roma community, as well as in non-Roma community. This shows similarity to the understanding of Lautari group who is composed of professional male musicians in Romania. As Beissinger quotes from one Lautari, "prejudices by Romanians against tigani (gypsy) exist and have always exist, but not against us *Lautari*. (…) I am referring to tigan Lautari, between Romanians and the other tigani, there is a difference." (Beissinger, 2001:24)

Musicianship classifies talented Roma and non-talented Roma within community. As musical talents of every Roma are seen generally superior from those who are Gorgio, there is also a division in the Roma community itself. This provides a higher status to musicians.

---

[102] Son zamanlarda ama Romanların bi başkaldırısı oldu sanki, bana öyle geliyo. Ama kavga veyahut da gürültüyle değil yani yapmış oldukları işlerle ön plana çıkmaya çabalıyolar. Ve de bunun belli başlı iki tane üç tane örneği var. Onsuz yani müzik sektöründe bi şey yok. Mesela işte Hüsnü, bi Hamdi-Mehmet ikilisi, Kibariye, efendime söyliyim, bunlar son zamanlarda program yapmaya başladılar. Çok böyle itilip kakılan insanlara onlar böyle sıcak bi duygu veriyo. Onları yani orda görmek, kendi milletinden bi insanı orda görmek, farklı.

[103] It means "dark citizen" which is a common saying particularly used in Aegean and Thrace parts of Anatolia to define Gypsy.

Caner says,

> Not everyone can become a musician. Not everyone has that gift. For instance, 60% of Romas has that and 40% of them don't. That's a God-given feeling. I can bring you ten Roma people who have nothing to do with music, they might be able to produce something in front of people, but God hasn't given them that feeling. That's a different feeling. Can you imagine playing a musical instrument without getting any direct education? This is completely a different feeling. Any one can become a shoe-shiner including you. But you can't be a musician. That's a different feeling and a different skill.[104]

There is even name given by community to define this group, as "Sosyete Romanı"[105] which defines a specific group of Roma in terms of the occupation, way of living, dressing and higher status among other groups. Here the image of "white Gypsy" is opposite to the common saying of Gypsy as "esmer vatandaş". The color seems to be used both to differentiate two different socio-economic groups and two different physical characteristics. Duygulu asserts that the division of Sosyete Romanı and others also arise from the division between urban and rural. Settled Gypsies whose economic position is relatively better than rural ones are labeled in a negative way, as Sosyete Romanı. Gypsy groups living in the rural areas accuse others as acting like Gorgio and loosing their Gypsy essence. (Duygulu, 2003:63) Sosyete Romanı is a significant combination of primordial and constructivist understandings of ethnicity since it refers to both socio-economic conditions and color. It defines an unusual type or situation which is different from general definition of Roma by the members.

As Caner defines;

> I wrote a song called 'Roma Socialite.' It was the debut song of the second album. Roma Socialite refers to a Roma with an established circle, who made something out of himself, who is accepted by every circle with his looks and talks. (...) Yes, it's usually used for musicians. There is also one for girls. For instance, if you saw a Roma girl with green eyes and blonde hair, you would say that she's not a Roma girl. There are white Gypsies, too. It's another group. The girl is all white, her family is all white. That's a another group.

---

[104] Şimdi müzisyen herkes olamaz ki. Herkeste o yetenek yok. Mesela Romanların da yüzde altmışında var, yüzde kırkında yok. O duyguyu almak, o allahın verdiği bi duygu, yani kendiniz ille, yani ben sana on tane Roman getiriyim, müzikle hiç ilgisi olmayan, belki çıkarırlar bi şeyler diğer insanlara karşı ama o duyguyu Allah vermemiş onlara, o ayrı bi duygu. Hiç bi eğitim almadan direkman bi müzik aleti çalmak, düşünebiliyo musun? Apayrı bi duygu, yani herkes ayakkabı boyacısı olur, sen de olursun, ama müzisyen olamazsın, o ayrı bi duygu o ayrı bi yetenek.

[105] Sosyete Romanı means high class Roma and refers to the Roma musician group

(Gypsy/Roma) They are usually dark-skinned and called brunette citizen.[106]

This classification refers to the importance of occupation amongst Gypsy/Roma people and reminds the notion of "Crafted Castes" of Duygulu. Duygulu defines this specific stratification within Gypsy/Roma community in terms of occupational differentiation in his book "The Gypsy Music in Turkey, The Music Culture in Roma from West Side" (2006). According to him, "Occupational status among Gypsies is an important indicator to put the differences clearly between Gypsies and others. It is also called "Occupational Kinship or Crafted Castes". The difference between Gypsies who primarily define themselves as 'Selanik migrants and Sosyete Roma' and other Gypsy groups who work in tinsmith, scrap-dealing or 'bohçacılık'[107] is also decisive in social relations as well as their locations in neighborhoods.

The privileged position of musicians could be exampled through the case of "Lautari" group. In the study of Beissinger, she argues how Roma musician identity is constructed through convergence of occupation and ethnicity in the case of Lautari group in Romania. From the historical perspective, she says "Social stratification among Roms emerged on the basis of the settled versus nomadic distinction of slaves as well as the level of specialization of their occupations." (Beissinger, 2001:29) The Gypsy community in Turkey, as Duygulu mentions, has a stratified formation, yet there is no slavery experience. Duygulu sees this specific community formation exemplified in the case of 'musician caste', and gives the guild formation of Ottoman times as an example. He says 'Either they practice music by kinship or qualifications which they have learned in time, it is clear that occupational entirety forms 'musician caste' or 'guild' –as it is called in Ottoman time-. (Duygulu, 2006: 35) In other words,

---

[106] Sosyete Romanı ben şarkı da yaptım. İkinci albümün çıkış parçasıydı. Şimdi sosyete romanı belli bi çevreye sahip olan, belli yerlerde kendini aşmış, her çevreye hitap edebilen, giyimiyle kuşamıyla konuşmasıyla. (…) Evet, genelde müzisyenler için kullanılır. Kızlar için de vardır. Mesela bi Roman kızı görürsün, bu Roman kızı değil dersiniz yani. Gözleri yeşil saçları sapsarı. Beyaz Çingeneler de vardır, o kısım da ayrıdır. Kız bembeyaz, ailesi bembeyaz. O da ayrı bi kesim. (Çingene/Roman) Genelde esmer. Esmer vatandaş denir.

[107] Selling clothes on the streets

being musician still refers to more than a job category in the Gypsy/Roma community with its particular identity formation. Although it should be discussed in a more detailed way whether the position of the musicians is important enough to form "musician caste" as it is mentioned in Duygulu's argument; it is clear that musicians have a special place in the eyes of both the members of their own community and the rest non-Gypsy majority.

This match of occupation and ethnicity, as in the cases of Lautari or Danacılar group in Tenekeli, could be seen as one of the ethnic boundaries marking 'us' and 'them'. Here, occupational position of Roma could be considered as boundary that functions for identification. While Lautari distinguishes himself from other Gypsies and takes a position in between, it also refers to "being culturally akin to, and even artistically superior to non-Roms." (ibid; 34) Occupational position plays an important role both in the construction Roma identity and classification of Roma community. When particular identity formation of musicianship is considered, the self-perceptions of musicianship and its relation to identity should not be ignored. On the other hand, the external categorization of identification is as important as the internal one. The perception of the Roma musician by a non-Roma group has also affected identification process by allowing and appreciating being Roma within the borders of musicianship.

4.3.4. The Analysis of Hierarchical Formation

It can be concluded that there is a hierarchical stratification in Gypsy/Roma group from Tenekeli/Izmir. As it is seen in the examples from interviews including whether they like their job, they are planning to continue and they want their kids to have the same job, there are different perceptions of jobs with different references to the identity. Differentiation on occupation positions arise from each one's status and place among community, as well as from the common values of society. These marginal positions do not solely belong to the Gypsy community, that is, there is no monopolization on these occupations. It is significant to understand these perceptions of work as not independent from non-Roma

112

community's perceptions. Especially the case of belly-dancers refers to that point. Drawing on the gender issue, belly-dancers are stigmatized both by their own community and non-Roma community.

While scrap-dealer feels neutral in some sense about his occupation, belly-dancer considers it in a very negative way. Musicians have the most privileged position in the hierarchical structure and even could be asserted as forming a status group on the basis of particular life style, behavioral codes, occupational and even hereditary prestige. Hierarchical social structure of Izmir Roma community provides an understanding of how each occupational category constructs particular identity formation. It makes the boundaries among the community itself even clearer by displaying the possibility of diverse perceptions of Gypsiness in terms of different occupations. While there is a tendency to take ethnic groups as homogenous units, it is important to see the differentiation of identity perception of belly-dancer Roma from the musician one, and so on. It does not refer to lack of common points describing Roma as a community but shows the key position of occupation in identity formation. In other words, it is important to see when and under which conditions the different Gypsy/Roma groups create and maintain similarity and dissimilarity towards Gypsy/Roma identity.

For the reason of not having chance to compare Danacılar from Tenekeli to another well-known Gypsy musician group, it would be injustifiable generalization to assert that any musician group among Gypsy community is perceived in equal status. As this issue has not been studied enough in the Gypsy/Roma community, there are few examples to discuss what other dynamics could be effective to create differences within one ethnic community. Although Duygulu asserts that occupational stratification forms social layers among Gypsies, he adds that the importance of the economic dynamics which also effect stratification should not be ignored to understand the stratification of Gypsy/Roma community. This could be observed in the example of Kurtuluş and Sulukule Gypsies, who are attached to each other by both kinship ties and the occupation

but still differs from each other, as a result of different economic conditions they experience. (Duygulu, 2006)

Another example related to work and status within Roma community is given by Kolukırık who has been studying Tarlabaşı Roma group. In the study conducted in Tarlabaşı, another neighborhood in Bornova, Izmir, interviewees are asked to list occupations in terms of prestige and status from their own perspective. Occupations are listed from the higher to the lower position as following: working in the public (worker or officer), transporters, and musicians, working as insured, peddlers, and sellers in a market, shoe-shiners and porters. In this ranking, the security of the works/jobs and the income are determinant factors. (Kolukırık, 2006: 14) However, it should be noticed that Tarlabaşı Gypsies have a different formation than Tenekeli Gypsies in terms of the work/job distribution and the work environment: Porters, 14.4%, drivers 6.7%, peddlers 4.4%, carpenters 3.3% and shoe-shiners 3.3%. There is a small group who are working as musicians among Tarlabaşı Gypsies which is 2.2%. In addition, woman labor is limited to specific works which serve only as domestic labor and workers in the tobacco fabric, unlike to Tenekeli Gypsy woman who also works as belly-dancer, flower-seller, fortune-teller, beggar, "vekil" or konsomatris. (Kolukırık, 2006: 12) In other words, Tenekeli neighborhood has its own specialization in some specific works. This is also used by the members of Tarlabaşı Gypsies to separate themselves from Tenekeli ones who are considered immoral and criminal by the others.

Another study analyzing the socio-economic conditions of Izmir Roma is based on a questionnaire applied to 253 informants from different Gypsy neighborhood of Izmir. When they are asked which occupation they associate with Gypsies, the first one is musicianship with the highest rate, 74.7%. Flower-selling, 4.7%, scrap-dealing, 32.41% and belly-dancing 30.83% are other occupations which are considered as the most related to Roma. It is mentioned that selection of the categories depends on the literature itself, data is interpreted as verifying the match of certain occupations and Roma community due to the reason of its

selection by Roma himself. (Toprak, et. al. 2007:79) However, this study is open to criticism in a way that these occupation categories are preferred to be given to the informants, rather than trying to understand what they really perceive or consider. It does not mean that musicianship or other mentioned occupations are not associated with Roma, in the eyes of Roma. But it is still important how external categorization is also effective in shaping identity.

To conclude, this chapter aims at a description of the work life of Tepecik Roma community on the basis of three selected occupations. The closed circle of occupational zones with references to certain socio-economic conditions they have been experiencing for generations and the perceptions of those conditions seem to define the attitudes towards education, certain strategies of Roma for the maintenance of the occupational positions or perceptions of each occupation categories through internal stratification of the community itself. In the light of these concerns, the particular identity formation in relation with the work life is attempted to be covered. To understand the peculiarity of Roma identity formation, the term of habitus provides an explanation which tries to figure out the balance among objectivity and subjectivity. Habitus could be conceptualized as a form in which objective conditions derived from one's own social group or class and subjective expectations shaping the perception of the outside stand together. The case of Algerian villager could be an example: while objective structures may give an understanding of the forced migration of the villages from his agricultural fields and the role of exploitation, subjective dispositions characterizing how villager perceive and internalize this situation as a result of fate also expresses how objectivity is experienced in subjectivity. (Grenfell, 2004) When it comes to Roma case, it could provide an understanding of how Tepecik Roma experience and produce tendencies towards internalization of objective socio-economic conditions and reflections on Gypsiness. The educational attitudes and clear distrust towards mobility as a result of education characterizes the long lasting transmission of occupations in Tepecik. It is considered as fate; "Our fathers used to be like this, we are like this and our children will be the

115

same."[108] However, on the other hand there seems that Tepecik Roma considers himself as naturally talented in music, especially in playing and dancing issues which refers to the definition of a certain Gypsy/Roma nature. In the case of musicians, they see Roma identity and their occupations as complementary in some sense.

In this context, Wallerstein states as following:

> There seem to be various advantages to the ethnicization of occupational categories. Different kinds of relation of production, we may assume, require different kinds of normal behavior by the work force. Since this behavior is not in fact genetially determined, it must be taught. Work forces need to be socialized into reasonably specific setsof attitudes. The "culture" of an ethnic group is precisely the set of rules into which parentsbelonging to that ethnic group pressured to socialize their children. (…) But 'ethnic groups' not only *may* socialize their respective members differently from each other: it is the very definition of ethnic groupthat they socialize in a particular manner. (Wallerstein, in Balibar and Wallersitein, 1991:83/84)

The case of Gypsy musicians and their perception of music and musicianship could be interpreted in terms of Wallerstein's discussion emphasizing ethnicization of occupational categories and complementary attitudes reflected in the culture of the ethnic group. Although musician group has a positively privileged status in the eyes of the Gypsy/Roma community, the rest of them seem to be subjected to low-status and low-income jobs within the closed and restricted circuit. Even the musician group itself does not differ in terms of income levels from the other groups, in the case of Tepecik, with few exceptions. The attachment of musicianship and Gypsiness indicates that there is almost no other option for Gypsy/Roma community. Here the association of occupation to Gypsiness could be seen as a two-sided 'labelling': while one discriminates and excludes Gypsy/Roma, as in the case of disapproval of a job application, another side of labelling expresses itself in the case of music. As Jenkins argues external processes of social categorization always include exercise of power and

---

[108] Babalarımız da böyleydi, biz de böyleyiz, çocuklarımız da böyle olacak.

domination and asymmetrical relations of power from which labelling can not be considered apart.

In this context, particular dispositions revealed during the maintainance of limited occupational positions operate on the basis of social closure where their monopolistic position is regularly used to prevent non-Roma from acquiring symbolic or material benefits. This could be observed in their preference of working partners, working patterns, as well as solidarity ones. Jenkins explains occupational concentration on the basis of ethnicity According to him, the only solution considered by the ethnic group itself is to improve or develop the ethnic occupational niches which make the mobility possible. He argues that there is an organic relation between occupational concentration and identity:" "not only the experience of discrimination but also the impact of common occupational activity and interpersonal interactions in the workplace may sustain a sense of being somehow different." (Jenkins, 1994:60) Occupational concentration leads to diverse identity formations in Tenekeli case as a result of complicated external and internal dynamics.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. POSITIONING ETHNIC IDENTITY

The preference of overstressing the term of identification mainly depends on the argument of Brubaker who considers identification as complicated *processes*, while the term "identity" designating a *condition* rather than a process, implies too easy a fit between the individual and the social.

Brubaker describes "identification" as a processual and active term that lacks the reifying connotations of "identity". While it specifies the agents that do the identifying, it does not presuppose that such identifying will necessarily result in the internal sameness, the distinctiveness, the bounded-groupness. If the fragmented and heterogenous structure of Roma community is considered, the term of identity could be seen as ignoring mentioned differences on the community. Identification is intrinsic to social life; for this reason the relation between *self-identification* and *the identification and categorization of oneself by others* is significant to understand both sides of identification process. It is a dialectical interplay in which self-identification and external identification take place but not necessarily converge. External identification also refers to "the formalized, codified, objectified systems of categorization developed by powerful, authoritative institutions." (Brubaker, 2000) In this context, besides external factors determining identity formation, there is also an internal mechanism which is a part of identification process. In addition to the factors constructing identity mentioned in the previous chapter, how Roma identity is perceived from the community's own perspective should be analyzed with references to what characterizes being Roma and the sense of community.

5.1. Self-perception(s) of identity

As Barth argues, the elements defining belonging to ethnic group are not the objective differences but socially constructed ones. Why one feels like a member of Roma community, rather than Gypsy should be questioned in terms of the elements used to define their own identity, instead of analyzing the objective differences among the groups. (Barth, 1969) As the relation between Gypsy/Roma identity and the role of work in identity construction is tried to be uncovered in previous chapters, different dynamics effecting identification process will be analyzed. The main questions in this chapter could be summarized as what Tepecik Roma feels about their ethnic identity or how they describe being a Roma, what being Roma means to the people in Tepecik, Tenekeli neighborhood. In addition, it aims to figure out how these different perceptions of the Roma identity change, thus the reasons behind this diverse conceptualization of being a Roma will be manifested. Besides fragmentation within the community itself on the basis of 'Roma and Gypsy', how Gypsy/Roma is posits itself against Kurdish and Gorgio whether there are some conflicts or disagreements between the concerned sides and how these differences are formed and shaped will also be laid bare in the course of this chapter.

5.1.1. Adjectives

According to Eidheim who studied the situation of Lapp community in terms of the ethnic boundaries with Norwegians, "the recurrent management of these themes *(local people eager to stress),* combined with the fact that themes which pointed to ethnic differentiation in the population were obviously avoided" could be seen as "a vital part of a process of presentation of identity." (Eidheim in et. al. Barth, 1969: 42) Parallel to this argument, it is seen that there are some adjectives which are frequently stressed by the interviewees while definining their identity in the case of Tepecik. These adjectives define Roma people and community as 'honest, religious, civilized, merciful, living for the day and clean'. These selected ones are closely related with the common stereotypes of the majority towards the

Gypsy/Roma community. Apart from the general attachment of thief and Gypsy in the eyes of the majority, strong emphasis on honesty could also be related with Tepecik, Tenekeli neighborhood which is the one of the most criminal places in Izmir.

As Bekir answers the question of how he would describe the Gyspy/Roma group,

> We are very good people. I mean, we are civilized people. Very merciful, helpful people. We don't have any evil inside, we're not barbarians. maybe people see us as barbarians outside, but we are not like that. They see us as barbarians, like I said a while ago, if there are 3000 people living here, only 200 or 300 of them are robbers, snatchers, racketeers, swindlers. Their bad image also makes us look bad. But we are very very different from them. In our neighborhood, there are 5-6 dervish lodges. There are religious people here, too. Like, for instance, I've just come from the dervish lodge. See, my gown is still on me. I mean, people here are usually good; even the ones you call robbers they are conscientious. If you said now that you were hungry, even the ones you call robbers they would give you food and drinks, offer you their house to stay in, give you clothes, even give your road fee and then let you go. If you say you are staying here, you will. They would look after you. They are not like the other ones. We don't have it here.[109]

Bayram says,

> The people outside judge us as being heathens. I mean, everyone here believes in God and His Prophet. Most people here have been on the pilgrimage. We have dervish lodges here and places for discussion. I mean, we are dedicated to our religion and country.[110]

Kemal says,

> Come visit our houses today, they are cleaner than the houses in Kordon. Yes, our ladies go around with a broom every second of every day cleaning all the time, all the time. The other hires a worker and gets her to do this and that by the power of money.[111]

---

[109] Çok iyi insanlarız biz. Çok medeni insanlarız biz yani. Çok insaflı insanlar, çok yardımsever insanlarız. Bizim içimizde hiç kötülük yok yani, böyle barbar insan değiliz. Belki bizi dışarıda barbar olarak görüyolar ama biz öyle değiliz. Bizi barbar olarak görüyolar, hani demin de söylemiştim ya, burda mesela 3000 kişi varsa, bunun 200ü 300ü hırsızdır, kapkaççıdır, ne bileyim dolandırıcıdır, üç kağıtçıdır, onların öyle bi kötü imaj bırakması bizi de kötü gösteriyo. Ama biz onlardan çok çok farklıyız. Burda bizim mahallemizde, belki 5, 6 tane dergah var ya. Hacı da var hoca da var. Bak şimdi ben mesela şu anda dergahtan geliyorum. Bak dergah üniformam bile üzerimde. Yani burda genelde iyi insanlar, o hırsız dediğin bile vicdanlı. O hırsız dediğin bile, sen şimdi şurda var ya açım de, hangi eve istersen gir, yemeğini, içmeni, seni yatırırlar, giydirirler, kuşatırlar yol paranı da verirler gönderirler. Burda kalacam de burda kalırsın. Yani bakarlar, sahiplenirler sana. Öbür şeyler gibi değiller, yok böyle.

[110] Dışarı kesimi, bizi dinsizlikle yargılıyolar bazı. Yani burda hepsi allahına peygamberine inanan insanlar. Çoğu insan burda hacca gitmiştir. Dergahlarımız var bizim burda, sohbet yerlerimiz var. Yani biz dinimize, memleketimize düşkün insanlarız.

[111] Bugün gelin bizim evlerimize Kordon'daki evlerden temiz, evet, her gün her dakka bizim hanımların elinde şey durmaz. Süpürgeler durmaz, durmadan temizlik durmadan temizlik, öbürleri işçi tutar onu yaptırır bunu yaptırır parasının gücüyle.

During the conversations, interviewees had a *defensive attitude* while defining Roma identity. Being Roma is preferred to be defined on the basis of what their characteristics are not, rather than what characterize them. It is arisen from oppositions of thief vs. honest, barbarian/uncivilized vs. religious and living for the day etc. The perception of Roma in the eyes of the majority even though not a homogenous one, Gorgio and Kurdish groups, affects group members' definitions about how they are seen by the others. The most important point underlying the nature of identity definitions are fed from discrimination and common stereotypes towards Gypsy/Roma groups. This goes parallel with Jenkins's argument of 'external categorization'. According to him, if ethnicity is considered as transactional, it means that it is consisted of two processes: internal definition and external definition. However, it should be noted that this distinction is merely analytical as compared to the complex nature of daily social life. Definitions are generally made according to outsiders' point of view about their community. As he argues, 'the individual is identified in a particular way by significant others, who by virtue of their power or authority are in a position to make their definition of the person and the situation count, and thus to constitute that person's subsequent career in terms of identity in question.' (Jenkins, 1997: 60) That individual's experience of being categorized may lead to an adjustment in her self-image in the direction of the stigmatizing public image. As a result of this, an individual who is exposed to stigmatization on the public level experiences changes on his/her self-image in the direction of public image. Regardless of adjustments on personal characteristics, common adjectives used and underlied by the members of Gypsy/Roma group in Tepecik could be an example of how the imagination of a Gypsy/Roma by the outsiders is effective in defining his/her identity.

Although some stereotypes are strongly resisted by the members of group, some clichés are accepted and internalized. Besides musical and dancing talents which are considered as an important part of the Gypsy/Roma nature, other attached

Gypsy characteristics are also represented, such as living for day. This internalization also provides the continuation of the Gypsy myth in the eyes of the outsider. According to Goffman, this is the strong part of labeling which may lead to internalization of labels and make it one's own identity definition. (Goffman, 1967) Although interviewees do not accept and acknowledge all of the Gypsy/Roma myth, they actually tend to filter it. Through filters, some are chosen in identity perceptions, and others are kept out of Gypsiness.

Halit says,

> A person who is not a Roma thinks more, lives a planned life. But the Romas don't have any plans, they don't live thinking about the future, they live for the day. Their common feature is, ask whomever you want, that they like living for the day. The other side moves more carefully. For example, when I call a friend of mine who is non-Roma, and ask him if we could meet up, I receive responses like 'Oh, I wish you had told me earlier, I wouldn't have made plans' and such. That's why I say that they are more careful people planning for the future, the non-Romas. We also think about it, but not that much. The others think about it more. The truth is, a man is a man but they are doing the right thing. but we have it, too: seize the day, live for the day for body and soul. We like living for the day financially as well. We love it. We want the best of everything. We may make less money, but wherever the beauty is, we want to go there, see that place. Wherever there's good food, we want to eat it. We indulge in the most beautiful of everything. It is so in music, in personal life, in everything.[112]

At this point, the case of Lapp community in Norway shows similarity to Tepecik group. Eidheim argues that Lapp culture is defined in terms of life style (nomadic), the way of dressing and Lapp language. While Lapp community tries to access to social services, goods or oppurtunities through avoiding from any social characteristic which could be interpreted by the Norwegian as a sign of Lapp culture. (Eidheim in Barth, 2001: 49) Self-definition of Lapp community

---

[112] Roman olmayan bi insan daha çok düşünerek yaşar, çok planlı yaşar. Ama Romanların bi planı yok yani, yarına dönük yaşamıyo, mesela günlük yaşıyo, hepsinin tek bi özelliği, kime sorarsanız sorun, günlük yaşamayı sever Romanlar. Öbür taraf daha planlı hareket ediyo. Mesela, ben bi arkadaşımı aradığım zaman, Roman olmayan bi arkadaşımı, bi planın var mı yarın için, bi planın yoksa yarın beraber olabilir miyiz? Bu tip cevaplar yapar, ya keşke daha evvelden söyleseydin plan yapmazdım, gibi cevaplarla karşılaşıyorum, o yüzden daha çok planlı daha çok yarını düşünen insanlar. Roman olmayanlar. Bizler de düşünüyoruz da, onlar kadar değil. Öbürleri daha çok düşünüyo. Aslında insan insandır ama onlar en güzelini yapıyo bence ama bizlerin içinde de bu var. Gelişi güzel yaşamak, veyahut da günlük yaşamayı seviyoruz, maddi manevi. Maddiyat açısından da günlük yaşamayı seviyoruz yani. Her şeyin güzelini istiyoruz. Az kazanıp ama, nerde güzel var, oraya gitmek orayı görmek istiyoruz mesela, nerde güzel bi yiyecek var onu yemek istiyoruz. Her şeyin güzeliyle meşgul oluruz aslında. Bu müzikte de böyle, bireysel yaşantıda da böyle, her şey de böyle.

then is based on being settled and home owner, clean and speaking Norwegian just like Norwegian people, all of which refer to the Norwegian identity. As it is stated above, these adjectives are also emphasized by the Tepecik Gypsy/Roma group. In addition to being aware of the discriminated and differentiated position of 'Gypsiness' in the eyes of the outsiders, they try to reverse attached adjectives from negative –dishonest, dirty, irreligious to positive –honest, clean, religious in order to neutralize their position. In this context, it is not only the adjectives used for this purpose, but the emphasis on Turkish citizenship, being Turkish or Muslim which is seen helpful in the attempt of equalization. "For the reason of being considered ethnic identity as spot, various ways are created in order to provide the complete participation to society and articulate it." (Einheim, et. al. Barth, 1969:40) These points emphasized above provide ways to articulation to majority in the case of Tepecik Gypsy/Roma.

As Nedim describes characteristics of Roma people,

> Most people know the Romas from Ederlezis, you got it? From Hidrellez. The Romans arrange the Hidrellez, drink alcohol, eat and have fun. And afterwards, half of them go to the Fair. That's how most people know the Romas as fun people. What the Romas are like, I'll tell you: We the Romas eat the best food, dress in the best clothes, have a very good dialogue with people; we don't humiliate them. We are not disgusted by them, we sit at the same table and eat with them. The racism and stuff, if it exists or not, we don't have ulterior motives. We think of everyone as equals to us. We invite them to our weddings. we have the best of everything, the most beautiful. I would tell them like this, I guess.[113]

As it is understood from the quotation above, stereotypes are not functioned in one way direction, on the contrary, Gypsy/Roma group creates and maintains its own stereotypes towards outsiders. In other words, ethnic stickers are not only used for Gypsy/Roma, but also Gypsy/Roma has certain values and thoughts categorizing 'outsider and his/her specific kind of mentality and way of living'.

---

[113] Çoğu insan, Romanları Ederlezilerde tanır, anladın mı? Hıdrellezlerde. Romanlar işte Hıdrellez yapıyo, içki içiyo, yiyo, eğleniyo işte yarısı fuara gidiyo. Çoğu insan Romanları bu halde tanıyo. Neşeli tanıyo. Romanlar nasıl bi insan, ben söylerim, biz Romanlar yemeğin en güzelini yeriz, giyimin en güzelini giyeriz, insanlarla diyalogumuz çok iyidir, insanları aşağılamayız. İnsanlardan iğrenmeyiz, aynı sofrada oturur yemek yeriz. Irkçılık filandır falandır yoktur, hiç bi kimsenin hakkında art niyet düşünmeyiz, herkesi kendimiz gibi zannederiz. Düğünlerimize davet ederiz, her şeyimiz bizim en iyisidir, en güzelidir. Böyle bu şekilde anlatırım heralde.

Although this difference between mentalities of Gadjo and Roma is observed especially in relations regulating work conditions, the choice of work partners etc., it is seen that it also works through daily relations. As Zehra says, "Do not misunderstand me, I am not saying to you, but Gorgio is close hand, and shameless, immoral. They have bad soul but there is nobody like that amongst Roma people."[114] I was also told that Gorgio has different social relations than Roma has in Tepecik which depends mainly on solidarity and trust. Aydın says "As we talked before, would you know that if your upstairs neighbor died? You get it only from the smell. Do you? So, do you go and see her? Or does she come to see you? She does not."[115] I frequently faced with these kinds of statements implying distant and intimate nature of Gorgio relations. Gorgio is categorized in the eyes of Gypsy/Roma, as well as Kurdish groups which will be analyzed in following pages.

Another important point about identity construction reveals itself in the issue of fragmentation within community. Here fragmentation refers to the hieararchical structure which also has status connotations among Gypsy/Roma. While it covers the Gypsy image of Roma, Kurdish group and Gorgio one, different perceptions could be observed under different contexts. On the one hand, when discrimination, poverty or bad living conditions are mentioned by Roma, Gypsy or even Kurdish could become part of the humanistic discourse saying 'human should be perceived in terms of his/her own characteristics regardless from his/her ethnic back ground, wealth, or place of living. "We are all human beings."[116] This discourse provides an equal base for all labelled groups and embraces them. On the other hand, Kurdish people are generally seen as terrorists and killers and this makes Gypsy/Roma placed on higher level of social hieararchy. It shows that crucial fractures in humanistic discourse do not appear as a result of collective

---

[114] Yanlış anlama bak, lafım sana değil, Gacolar sıkı olurlar, parayı vermeye kıyamazlar, bi kuruşun hesabını yaparlar, arsız olurlar, içi bozuk olurlar. Kötü huylu olurlar yani, ama Romanlarda öyle yok."

[115] "İşte dediğimiz gibi, üst kattaki ölse sen bilecek misin, kokusundan anlarsın. Öyle mi? Yani çıkıp sen onun kapısını çalıyo musun? Ya da o gelip senin kapını çalıyo mu? Çalmıyo."

[116] "Hepimiz insanız."

consciousness. Although there is empathy for the other, who experiences similar conditions, it is not beyond individual level which does not evaluate the collective dimension.

5.1.2. The Gypsy Image in the Eyes of Roma: The Mangosar Group

Such a "fragmented" understanding of community makes it clear that understanding the community as a homogenized and idealized entity is problematic. When the term "fragmented" is used in this context above, it is to question a collective identity referring to being a Gypsy/Roma, how and in which ways the identity -referring to the state of belonging to collectivity- is fragmented. In other words, how it presents itself in different groups among the Gypsy/Roma people. It should also be taken into consideration that what Roma community means is critical in the sense whether and which terms such a community exists. Consequently, how the Gypsy/Roma identity has multiple connotations and how it is constructed by different dynamics should be analyzed.

'Gypsy' is perceived on three levels. According to some interviewees, Gypsy is totally different from Roma on the basis of racial and ethnic background. Another perception argues that Gypsy and Roma come from the same origin but Roma is differed in terms of the way of life, moral values, and participation to work life, etc. Last one sees Gypsy and Roma as different names for the same group and thinks that there is no specific difference between these two. The third one is not supported by interviewees; most of them defend the second one. The common point underlying these three is three perception of Gypsy as being on the lowest level in the hieararchical strucuture of community.

First view could be exemplified by the quotation of Bekir,

> The truth is I don't acknowledge this Gypsy thing, brother. I mean, really, sometimes here we talk between ourselves, I make a distinction between those two words. For example, I prefer to be Roma, to be called Roma; but I don't accept to be called a Gypsy. I don't prefer that. The thing is, I get angry at that. I don't think that those Gypsies belong to our race. We are not Gypsies, we are the sons of the Romas. For me, Gypsy is one thing, Roma is another. They are nomads, brother. Maybe you see them around here putting up a tent in one of the corners. They exist in the neighborhood. Sometimes, they come from outside. I regard them as Gypsies. The nomads are the Gypsies. I don't accept this Gypsy thing for

myself. If they call me a Gypsy, I get mad. If someone is coming at the Romas, I would get into a fight with them, if necessary, if they are bad people. But I don't acknowledge the Gypsies. We are not Gypsies, we have a house for God's sake.[117]

Although there is no interest and information about the origins of Gypsy/Roma groups or racial characteristics of Gypsy/Roma during the conversations; Gypsy is excluded on the basis of racial background in this perspective.

As Zeynep describes the difference,

> Gypsies and Romas are different. The Gypsies are low life. We are not that kind of people. We have manners. When we go somewhere, we don't cause people to think we are not worthy. I'll tell you, of course there's a difference between the Romas and the Gypsies. We are the Romas. The Gypsies are the basket makers with horse carriages. We are different from them. Of course. When we go somewhere, we know how to behave. We know the best of things. We know how to talk. We don't cause any shame. We are not Gypsies but Romas. The Gypsies are the basket makers, scrap dealers, garbage collectors, not us. For example, my daughter goes on the stage in the best place. Can a Gypsy do this? Go on that stage? Her bosses come to pick up my daughter from our house. The don't pick up everyone. Let's see if he would do it for a Gypsy? He wouldn't. The Romas dance very well. They eat the best, dress in the best, go to the best places. We know how to live. We are different from the Gypsies. When our girls dresses up, the whole neighborhood sighs at the sight of them. You cannot call my daughter a Roma, I myself am not a Gypsy. We are from Pristine. We were born and raised here as Romas, but my father and all the family are all Gaco. But I acknowledge being a Roma, not that.[118]

---

[117] Valla ben Çingeneliği kabul etmiyorum abim. Yani, hakketten, burda da bazen kendi aramızda konuşmalar oluyo, ben o iki kelimeyi birbirinden ayırıyom. Mesela Roman olmayı tercih ediyom, Roman denmesini tercih ediyom, ama Çingene denmesini kabul etmiyom. Tercih etmiyom. Kızıyom daha doğrusu. Ben onları bizim ırkımızdan görmüyorum ya Çingene'yi. Biz Çingene değiliz, biz Roman çocuğuyuz. Çingene ayrı, Roman ayrı bence. Onlar göçebe abim be. Mesela belki bazen dolaşırken buralarda görüyosunuzdur, bu kenarda köşede çadır kurmuşlar. (onlar mahallede) var. Bazen geliyolar dışarıdan. Ben Çingene onları görüyom. Göçebeler çingenedir yani, ben kabul etmiyorum Çingeneliği. Çingene derlerse, ben kızıyom daha doğrusu yani. Çingenlere laf konuşurlarsa kabul etmem, ama Romanlara bi laf konuşulursa, gerekirse kavga bile yaparım yani. Kötülerlerse yani. Ama Çingeneleri ben kabul etmiyom, Çingene değiliz biz, bizim evimiz var ya.

[118] Çingenelerle Romanlar ayrı. Çingeneler *daha* aşağılık. Biz öyle insanlar değiliz. Oturduğumuzu biliriz, kalktığımızı konuştuğumuzu biliriz. Bi yere gittiğimiz zaman kendimizi aşağılatmayız. Ben anlatayım sana, Romanlarla Çingenelerin arasında fark var tabi. Biz Romanız, Çingeneler nasıl böyle, sepetçi, at arabasında, at arabaları var. Biz onlardan farklıyız. Tabi. Biz bi yere gittiğimiz zaman, yiyeceğimizi biliriz, oturcağımızı kalkcağımızı. Her şeyin iyisini bilen insanlarız. Konuşmamızı biliriz. Rezil etmeyiz. Çingene değiliz biz Romanız, *Çingeneler sepetçiler, hurda toplayanlar, çöp toplayanlar onlar Çingene biz değiliz. Mesela benim kızım en güzel yerde program alır, en güzel yerde, Çingene gidip bunu alabilir mi? O programı? Patronlar gelir benim kızımı evden işe almaya. Herkesi alamaz, e çingeneyi bi alsın bakayım. Alamaz. (...)* Romanlar güzel oynar. En güzelini yer, en güzelini giyer, en güzel yere gider. Yaşamayı bilen insanlarız. Çingeneler bizim gibi farklı mı, biz farklıyız onlardan. Giyinmesini biliriz. Bizim kızlarımız giyindiği zaman bütün bi mahalle imrenir onlara. Mesela benim kızım giyindiği zaman bütün bi mahalle arkasından bakar. Benim kızıma Roman deyemezsin, zaten ben kendim Roman

In this quotation, it is seen that 'Gypsy' is differed on the basis of daily cultural habits of Roma community as well as job differences. The job Roma deals with is seen as something unreachable for Gypsy which provides a higher status for Roma. Beside status, differentiation of Gypsy and Roma also refers to the differentiation in perception of economic position. Although it does not necessarily refer to the immense economic difference between these two groups, it is rather important how being Gypsy is perceived in the eyes of Roma who differentiaties himself/herself. The achievability of jobs for Roma, and not for Gypsy provides that job difference is perceived as a boundary between Gypsy and Roma.

While Gypsy refers to undesired jobs, as in the example of garbage-collecting, the difference between Roma and Gypsy could be interpreted as a cultural one covering daily life practices, life styles and tastes. Being nomadic versus being settled and all the implications of this dichotomy, -settled/urban who knows how to live and behave in a proper way- underpins distinction. According to Duygulu, the tension between Gypsy and Roma mainly depends on the difference between nomadic and settled ways of life. Through this differentiation, Gypsy is coded as immoral, attached to negative behaviors and attitudes. This sublimation of Roma over Gypsy is also related with the preference of Roma, instead of Gypsy, as one of the interviewee states "Roma is more sympathetic".[119]

Berrin says,

> Gypsies sleep in tents. For example, there's a soccer field here in our neighborhood. Those are whom we call Gypsies, the ones without shelter, who live in tents, garbage collectors. They are the Gypsies, not us. We are the Romas. But we don't look down on them. You understand? (...) The Romas are very good people. Now let's say I were a stranger, and you were a stranger coming from a far away land, I would give you all the support I could. I would tell you to sleep over at my place, give you food and drink. You understand? It shows compassion and goodness. (...) (referring to the people who live in tents) They collect garbage. But they come here. To beg is a sin, but after all it's alms. For example, they ask for clothes. (...) I mean, we don't look down on them. What do we say? 'Everything

---

değilim. Biz Priştinalıyız. Bakma biz burda doğduk, burda büyüdük ama Roman diye, benim baba tayfam hepsi Gaco. Ama ben kabul etmem. Ben Romanlığı kabul ederim.

[119] "Roman daha sempatik"

is from God.' Don't get me wrong now, but the Gorgio looks down on the Romas. We don't look at it that way, though.[120]

Rather than constructing Roma as a new ethnic identity, which is based on kinship/blood ties, Romany as mother tongue and origin, the preference on Roma is generally associated with a higher level of social status, and having more access to better living conditions. In this context, the Roma identity could be considered as adaptive rather than a political. When Roma organizations in Turkey are considered, it is seen that Roma identity is not conflictual, unlike the Kurdish one. They are not demandable on the issues of right to education in mother tongue or being represented by Gypsy party in political arena. Improvement of conditions which Gypsy/Roma has been experiencing is given priority, such as education or health care. These are expressed through human right discourse which has no disagreement with authorities.

In the light of these, Gypsy/Roma cases in Turkey, -being aware of the variety of groups and their experiences, require reinterpretation of primordial and circumstantial perspectives. Although Roma is perceieved by members of the community in a more positive sense, it does not mean that it is totally independent from primordial elements. As it will be explained in the following paragraphs, there are definitions made on the basis of primordial elements, such as color, language etc. For example, the following quotation covers all the perception of differences and similarities.

Caner says,

(Gypsies) They are different in their life style, ideals, houses, where they work. There is a

---

[120] Çingeneler çadırda yatar. Mesela bak bizim burda top sahası var, Çingene onlara deniyo yani. Barınağı olmayan, çadırda yatanlar, çöpçüler, onlar Çingene bizler Çingene değiliz. Bizler, Romanız. Çöp toplayanlar, evleri olmayanlar. Ama bizler onları hakir görmeyiz. Anladın mı(…) Romanlar çok iyi insanlar. Şimdi ben çok garibim, sen de garipsin, uzak memleketten geldin, ben sana her türlü desteği veririm. Mesela derim sana gel bende kal, sana yediririm, içiririm. Hani merhametli demek iyi demek. (…) (çadırda kalanlar) Çöp topluyolar. Ama mesela bak ordan buraya geliyolar. Dilenmek günah, ama sadaka işte. Mesela senden giyim eşyası istiyo. (…)Yani biz hakir görmüyoz. Ne diyoz, her şey Allahtan. Şimdi bak Gacoyu diyceksin. Sakın bak benim sözümü yanlış anlama. Gaco Romanları hakir görür, Gaco öyle görüyo. Bizler öyle görmüyoruz ama.

big difference between between what we call Roma and Gypsy. What we call the difference is the ethnic origin, the way of life. Roma is sedentary and has nuclear family. I mean the ones who have two or three kids. They have jobs. Some work at the municipality, some are musicians, some go to houses for cleaning. They have moved to sedentary way of life with places to live. This is what we call Roma. What we call Gypsy lives in tents and makes a living as basket makers. (...) I mean, 70% of the Roma in Izmir is sedentary, and 30% of them lives in rural areas. You know, in tents and stuff. Yes. The Gypsy is a nomad. Cool, yes. (Do they speak the same language?) No, they don't. For instance, very few people speak Romany and Gypsy language in Tepecik. I don't speak the Gypsy language, for instance; 80% of the people in Tepecik don't. It's the same thing, anyway. The Gypsy and the Roma belong to the same race. I think, Gypsy is a different form of Roma. Alright, some distance themselves from them, but we do it because of this. We have a certain way of living, we are not nomads. (...) I mean, to separate themselves by pulling themselves out.[121]

The complexity of Gypsy/Roma identity could be exemplified by different examples in which being Gypsy/Roma is interpreted with multiple definitions. For example, the situation of Muslim Gypsy minority in Greece shows similarities to Tepecik case. According to Mavrommatis who has been studying the relation between poverty, social exclusion and education, there is a complex identification process in Kalkanca which is also known as a Gypsy neighborhood. While people of Kalkanca are named as Muslim Gypsy by the majority, they do not accept this definition and assert that they have a Turkish identity. According to them, 'not being Gypsy' is proven by 'having fixed home address' and 'being Turkish' is proven by 'speaking Turkish and their Muslim religion'. (Mavrommatis, 2007: 44) However, this kind of identity perception does not mean that they are accepted by outsiders; the fact is that they are embraced neither by Greek majority, nor by Turkish minority. As there are different dynamics compared to Izmir case, such as

---

[121] (Çingeneler) Onlar daha değişik, yaşama tarzları, yaşama idealleri, evleri barkları çalıştıkları işler. Roman dediğimiz kısımla Çingene dediğimiz kısım arasında aslında büyük bi fark vardır. Fark dediğimiz etnik köken, yaşama tarzından dolayı. Roman dediğimiz kesim yerleşik yaşayan, genellikle çekirdek aile tarzında olan, hani çekirdek aile dediğim kişi de iki üç tane çocuğu olan, ondan sonra belli bi işe güce sahip, kimi belediyede çalışır kimi müzisyenlik yapar kimi ev temizliğine gider. Yerleşik hayata geçmiş kişiler, evleri barkları yaşadığı yer belli olan kişiler. Roman dediğimiz kısım bu. Çingene dediğimiz kısım çadırda yaşayan, işte sepet örerek geçimini sağlayan. (…) Yani Izmir'deki Romanların yüzde yetmişi yerleşik yüzde otuzu kırsal alanda yaşıyo. İşte çadırda falan filan yaşıyo. Evet, Çingene göçebe. Süper, evet. (Aynı dili mi konuşuyorlar?) Hayır. Mesela bizim Tepecik'te Romanca, Çingeneceyi bilen çok azdır. Ben bilmem mesela Çingenece. Tepeciktekilerin yüzde sekseni bilmez. Aynı şey, aynı şey zaten. Çingene Roman soy olarak ırk olarak aynıdır yani, ha Çingene, Çingene Romanın değişik halidir bence. Yani tamam hani bazıları soyutluyo kendilerini de, bu yüzden soyutluyoruz. Bizim belli bi yaşamımız var, biz göçebe değiliz. (…) Ha ayırmak için, yani kendilerini biraz daha çekerek.

religion or attempt to articulate to another ethnic minority, people of Kalkanca's way of describing Gypsy and perception of stigmatization could be seen as an example for the fragmented nature of Gypsy groups.

While analyzing the impossibility of 'one single universal model and directional development of the Gypsy group', Marushiakova and Popov describe four Gypsy groups in terms of tendencies towards segmentation and consolidation processes. In Crimea, Crimian Tatars population sees them just as Chingene, but the Gypsy Dajfa group prefers to be called Tatar. Dajfa is used, too. However, Tatar identity is dominant over Dajfa identity. While Dajfa Gypsy firstly identifies himself/herself with Crimean Tatar, community has a certain attitude towards another Gypsy group –Krimurja-who is described as 'typical representatives of Gypsies'. According to one Dajfa interviewee "…They are not like us, we do not understand their language, we are settled, we have always had our homes and even if some of our ancestors traveled in the past, it was only for a couple of days, we are honest, etc. so we must not be mixed with them." (Marushiakova and Popov, 2004: 155) This case shows similarities in ways used by members of the communities to differentiate their own position. It is conceptualized as a *two level identity* by authors; giving priority to Tatar and Gypsy origin after that.

In this context, this differentiation of Gypsy/Roma identity is not something unique to Turkish context. Every group has its own Gypsy who is stigmatized through stereotypes used also for themselves. The example of a real Gypsy is the Mangosar group in Tepecik context. Gypsy identity is more often associated and attached with the Mangosar group. The Mangosar group is one of the groups living in Tepecik, Tenekeli neighborhood. Mangosar is defined as 'They are real Gypsies, they are the originals."[122]

Osman expresses the Mangosar group,

---

[122] Gerçek Çingene onlar işte, has Roman onlar.

Yes. Their blood is a bit green. That of Mangosars. Cheleshtos. They, Mangosars and Serbs, came from Serbia. They used to be acrobats back then, horse acrobats. I mean, the ones we say that have green blood, they are a bit more grumpy and wilder. Wild people, you got it? Because they dealt so much with horses and stuff, their relationship with humans got a bit... (...) They are more aggressive, get offended easily. But, i mean, now, there are some exceptions (he looks at at his friends who say 'go on, relax'). There are good people among them, not all five fingers of a hand are the same. We cannot talk badly of all of them saying they are Mangosars. It depends on the individual. There are both good and bad among them. We have a lot of Mangosar friends in prison now. But they are more useless, have more of a bad side, i mean. Because the people in our musicians' gang don't offend or mean bad to anyone. We have it in us, that feeling of a musician. We don't want to hurt anyone. We care only about our music and family, that's all.[123]

Nilay says,

> No, my sister, let me tell you. Mangosars don't have anything to do with us. We are different from them and they are different from us. They are busy with drugs and killing, we run to earn our bread with great effort. Their business is with grasping, drugs and fighting. Their life is spent to an extent in the jail, they steal mostly. No, my brother, no. They don't have any crafting skills.[124]

The distance between the Mangosar group and other groups in Tenekeli mainly depends on illegal activities which are considered as Mangosar jobs. In the past, this distance used to cover daily practices, such as marriage patterns. To marry with Mangosar was -and still is to some extent, not something approved by the rest of the community. Although marriage between Mangosar and others was not preferred, today I was told that there are some. In addition, the Mangosar group is often associated with Romany language. According to other group members,

---

[123] Evet. Onların biraz kanı yeşil. Mangosarların. Çeleştolar. Onlar da Sırbia tarafı yok mu, o taraftan gelmiş onlar. Mangosarlar, Sırbialılar falan. Bunlar cambazlıkla uğraşıyolarmış o zaman, yani at cambazıymışlar. Ya yeşil kan dediklerimiz, bunlar biraz daha, biraz daha aksi, vahşi insanlar. Vahşi insanlar, anlayabildin mi? Daha çok böyle hep atlarla şeylerle uğraşmaktan, insanlarla ilişkileri yani. (…) Daha agresif insanlar, ufak bi şeyde hemen alınıyolar. Ama, şu anda yani, bazı insanlardan hariç, (arkadaşlarına bakıyor, onlar da "rahat ol, rahat ol" diyorlar.) iyisi de var tabi beş parmağın beşi bir değil şimdi, Mangosar deyip de hepsini kötüleyemeyiz tabi, insanına göre değişiyo, iyi arkadaşlarımız da var kötü arkadaşlarımız da var. Şu an cezaevinde çok arkadaşlarımız da var. Mesela, Mangosar. Ama onlar biraz daha hayırsız insanlar, biraz daha kötü yani, bizim çünkü müzisyen grubunda olan insanlar kimseyi kıramaz, kimseye kötülük yapamaz yani böyle müzisyen grubunda insan. Kırmak istemez çünkü içimizde var bizim o yani, o müzisyen duygu var ya, kimseyi kırmak istemeyiz, hep işimiz gücümüz müzikle bizim yani, evimiz ve müzik, bitti.

[124] Yok be ablam gel anlatıyım, Mangosarlar bizle alakası olmayan insanlar, *biz onlardan dışız onlar bizden dış.* Onlar uyuşturucuylan kesmeklen kıymaklan uğraşır, bizler ekmeğin peşindeyiz hayatımızı alın terimizle kazanıyoruz. Onların işi başka iş işte, gaspla uyuşturucuyla kırmakla dökmekle. Onların hayatları bi nevi içerde geçer yani, hırsızlık yaparlar çoğunlukla.Yok abim, yok. Onların yok, onların zanaati yok.

Mangosar group knows Romany better than other ones. Romany language is seen as an important boundary maker distinguishing Gypsy and Roma. Gypsy/Roma from other groups describes Mangosar with negative adjectives and name them as real Gypsies. It also refers to hierarchy within the community itself in terms of the attributed characteristics of different Gypsy/Roma groups.

As Brubaker argues "Identification does not require a specifiable identifier, it can be pervasive and influential without being accomplished by persons or institutions; it can be carried by public narratives." (Brubaker, 2000:16) The image of the Gypsy in the eyes of Roma could refer to a kind of narrative which is narrated regardless from the Gypsy group itself. Although the Gypsy is embodied in the case of Mangosar group, sometimes it refers to the image of Gypsy. As Aydın states, "Well, as far as I know, our elder generations define Gypsy as nomadic people People who do not have home, live in the tents. They steal. You know from the films, there was a film of Türkan Şoray, called Gypsy, they live in large areas; they have horse cars. They steal and hustle."[125]

To conclude, differences between Gypsy and Roma are based on specific ways of living, work/occupation as well as moral behavior and attitudes. As there is a Gypsy/Roma for Gorgio, there is also a 'Gypsy' for Gypsy/Roma. Gypsy is considered as immoral, thief, lazy to work etc. by Tepecik Roma. Stereotypes which are produced for Gypsy/Roma are reproduced by Roma in order to differentiate its own position and structure the community. As experiencing discrimination and 'being second citizens', it could be seen contradictional. According to Wacquant, people living in the stigmatized neighborhood in terms of poverty, ethnicity or migration experiences dissolution of internal solidarity. As stigmatization strenghtens, it makes solidarity ties weaker through "horizontal humiliation". Acording to Wacquant, horizontal humiliation is helpful in understanding the humiliation which occurs even between two neighbors

---

[125] "Valla, benim bildiğim kadarıyla, Çingeneler göçebeler diye tarif ediyolar bizim büyükler. Evi olmayan insanlar, çadırda yaşayanlar. Bunlara deniyo yani. Hırsızlık yapıyolar bunlar. Filmlerde var ya, o Türkan Şoray'ın filminde var, Çingene diye bi film var. Büyük arazilerde yaşıyolar, at arabaları var. Hırsızlık yapar, onla bunla yatar kalkar."

experiencing similar socio-economic conditions. It results in disappearance of collective solutions. The reproduction of stereotypes towards Gypsies by Roma could be evaluated in this context. This particular social hierarchy also addresses to another point. Thomas Eriksen asserts 'ethnicity does not necessarily refer to rank; as a result ethnic membership could be considered as egalitarian." (Eriksen, 1993 in Smith and Hutchinson, 1998:30) It is different from class ranking which presupposes ranking in terms of "property or achieved statuses". However, the Tepecik case shows that there is a kind of correlation among these two types of ranking. Although here ranking within Roma community is based on both economic differences between groups and cultural differences on the basis of prestige and status attributed to each group.

5.1.3. Sonradan Roman Olmak/To Become Roma

To analyze the dynamics of identity construction, interpretation of identities on the basis of primordial and circumstantial perspectives is important. Whether Gypsy/Roma identity is perceived as something taken for granted or socially constructed by the members of the community is a key distinction in the argument of identity construction. The question of whether it is possible to have Gypsy/Roma identity for an outsider who has no relation with the community before provides an understanding of dynamics underlying being Gypsy/Roma in the eyes of Gypsy/Roma. Answers could be classified under two categories. One side emphasizes the importance of blood and family ties, as well as certain colour of the member of community. On the other hand, others argue that it is possible to be Gypsy/Roma but conditionally, such as getting married to Roma person, living in the Tenekeli, Tepecik neighborhood. These are considered under the name of circumstantialist perspective. Parallel to the answers, sense of origin, colour and language are taken as primordial elements. These are also revealed as key clues for members in order to decide whether somebody belongs to Gypsy/Roma community or not.

General attitude of interviewees towards their ethnic origin or migration stories could be described as uninterested and apathetic. Perception of the Gypsy identity as rooted could also be followed in the studies of Stewart and Fonseca. In his book "The Times of The Gypsies", Michael Stewart argues that "…my extended experience in Hungary and shorter trips elsewhere in Eastern Europe have convinced me that, with the exception of educated Gypsy intellectuals who run the Rom political parties, the Rom do not have an ethnic identity. For them, identity is constructed and constantly remade in the present in relations with significant others, not something inherited from the past." (Stewart, 1997:28) The same statement is also seen in Isabel Fonseca's book "Bury Me Standing"; she states that she hardly met any Gypsy people who were interested in their original back ground or in the "Real Gypsies" except for the Gypsy associations or parties whose Gypsy identity construction is different all together (Fonseca, 1996). Although the idea of Gypsy migration from India has become more popular among Gypsy/Roma groups, it is not observed that Tepecik, Tenekeli neighborhood has any interest in their origin. There is even weak recognition and information about other Gypsy/Roma groups. Although this situation has changed a bit through the activities of Roma organizations, for the people who have no organic relation with any organizations, Roma ethnicity with references to language, place of origin, different cultural practices etc. does not have too much importance.

Halit says,

> They are both the same thing. But Gypsies are the ones who usually wander around. They don't have a place to live. Actually, the meaning of the word 'Cingene' comes from a very different place. But that I don't know, where it comes from. This word Cingene is actually a foreign word. This subject came up once, our elderly told us a lot about it. 'Cingene' had a totally different meaning. I guess in Bulgaria, or in Spain, they would dance noises coming out from the bells in their hands -I don't know what it's called- and wearing skirts like Scots. The word 'Cingene' belonged to them. We've never been in contact with the Gypsies like this. We are the Romas and the Gypsies. That's my understanding, what I know. But I think the Gypsies are a bit different. Romas are the ones in this neighborhood that I know.[126]

---

[126] İkisi de aynı. Ama Çingeneler daha çok genelde böyle gezginler. Evi barkı olmayanlar. Aslında bu Çingenenin çok başka yerlerden geliyo anlamı. Onu da ben bilmiyorum nerden geldiğini ama. Bu Çingene yabancı bi kelime aslında. Öyle bi konu olmuştu arkadaşlarla aramızda,

Osman says,

> Actually, I read somewhere about this word Gypsy. During the time of the migrations, there were tribes called the Chinese (Çinliler) and the Gens (Genler), ok? While these tribes were migrating at the same, the Chinese and the Gens, a girl and a boy, each one from one of these tribes, fell in love with each other. Seriously, that's the truth, i read about it! They had children. And what are they called? The Gypsies (Çin-Gen). That's how they came about. Seriously, I read about it. My brother, don't they, the Romas and the Gacos, call us Roma? We're migrating at the same time, ok? We fell for each other and their children, those tribes I mean, came to be called the Gypsies. I read it somewhere, but I don't know how much truth there is in it. Look how old I am. I mean, there are ones call it Roma and some say Gypsy. I mean, Gypsy sounds more vulgar.[127]

Despite the relative weakness of primordial dynamics constructing Gypsiness during interviews, there are definitions in which the importance of colour, blood and family ties are asserted as a condition of being Roma. According to these interviewees, being Roma is something directly associated with given characteristics of a person and it is not possible to have these after birth. These arguments perfectly go with the primordial perspective which underlies the importance of acceptance of the primordial attachments without any question. This situation also refers to what Cornell and Hartman defines as "constructed primordiality". (Cornell and Hartman, 1998) They assert that although primordial ties, that is, blood ties, kinship metaphors or common ancestors, has not much importance in daily life or social organization, they are still attributed to ethnic identity by members. That particular combination may capture the division of primordial and circumstantial approaches, and provide an understanding of

---

büyüklerimiz bize bunu daha çok anlatmıştı gerçi. Çingenenin anlamı başkaymış böyle, bu daha doğrusu, Bulgaristan'a mı böyle bi, Çingenece oynarlarmış, şıkır şıkır falan, İspanya mı, öyle bi yer yani, etekler İskoçların da etekleri var ya öyle bi etekler giyerlermiş, ellerinde böyle, ismini bilmiyorum o şeyin, zil gibi bi şey tıkır tıkır tıkır falan ötüyomuş. O onlara ait bi Çingene lafıymış aslında. Burda öyle Çingenelerle hiç muhatap olmadık. Çingene de biziz Roman da biziz. Benim anlayışım, benim bilgim o. Ama Çingenelerin biraz daha ayrı olduğunu düşünüyorum. Romanlar işte bu mahalle içersinde olan tanıdığım kişilere deniyo işte.

[127] Aslında ben bi yerde okudum, bu Çingene lafının bi yeri şeye bakıyomuş, o zaman göç zamanı, Çinlilerle Genler diye bi kabileler varmış tamam mı? Bu kabileler aynı esnada göç ediyolar ya, mesela şimdi bi tane çift, Genlerle Çinlilerle bi kız bi erkek aşk yaşıyolar, aşık oluyolar tabi, bunlar tabi doğru söylüyorum ben okudum bunu! Bunların çocukları oluyo, bunlara da ne diyolar? Çingene. Öyle çıkıyo işte ortama. Valla, ben okudum. Abi, Roman demiyolar mı bize şimdi? Romanlarla Gacolar? Hep birlikte göç ediyoz, tamam mı, aldın birbirini, onların çocuklarına da o zaman Çingene demişler, o kabilelere yani. Ben öyle bi yerde okuduydum, ama ne kadar yalandır ne kadar doğrudur, bizim yaşımız kaç? Yani, Çingene diyenler var, Roman diyenler var. Ya, Çingene biraz daha kaba gibi geliyo.

identity in the heart and mind at the same time. Another point is the role of language which is one of the fundamental primordial elements. As will be discussed in a more detailed way in the next part, Gypsy/Roma from Tepecik considers their specific 'Turkish' accent as a distinguishing factor; rather than the Romany language. According to interviewees, language issue is more significative than color in some cases.

Bayram says,

> It happened to us in the army and happened in a nice way. I was with Tombul. There was a dark-skinned Roma boy from Istanbul, all black. His name was D.K., you wouldn't know, he was a guy minding his own business. When we just arrived, I said to Tombul, 'Look, this guy is a Roma.' He said, 'You're right.' He called for him and said, ' Come here.' ... (Asking 'Are you Roma?' in Roman) He asked him, 'Are you Roman?' He answered, 'No way!' (laughter) I said, 'I mean, bro, you don't look like one!' I mean, he's black from head to toe, bro! He was uneducated, illiterate. He was married. He would receive letters and I would read them to him. But he is a good person.[128]

Aydın says,

> You cannot become a Roma. Because you are nowhere near looking like a Roma. Why is that? Because they are not your family. For example, if you dyed your hair blonde now, you wouldn't be a real blonde. What is blonde about it when you have black eyebrows and blonde hair, right? What I mean is that you don't become a Roma, you are born as one.[129]

Halit says,

> The Roma community would know that you were a Roma. How long could you hide this? A person can hide his feelings, but not his color. He is either black or white, beautiful or ugly. This is how it works. We can even smell them. We say, 'This one is a Roma, definitely a Roma.'[130]

---

[128] Askerde bize oldu, güzel oldu, Tombul'la beraberiz, kapkara bi İstanbul Romanı, kapkara, biz de yeni geldik, o da D.K., D. K. işte, sen bilmezsin, bi çocuk, karıştırıyo bi şeyler, Tombul dedim, "bak bu Roman çocuğu." "doğru söylüyon" dedi. Çağırdı onu, gel bakayım buraya dedi. …(Romanca sen Roman mısın diyor.) dedim. Roman mısın yani, Roman mısın dedi. "yok bea" dedi. "nerden oluyomuşum ben Roman" dedi. (kahkahalar) Ben dedim, "valla bilader, hiç de benzemiyon!" Simsiyah bilader simsiyah! Cahil, okuma yazma yok, evli, mektubu gelir, ben okurum mektubu buna, ama iyi insandır.

[129] Sen Roman olamazsın. Çünkü Romanla uzaktan yakından alakan yok. Neden yok? Ailen değil çünkü. Mesela sen şimdi saçını sarıya boyasan zoraki sarışın olucaksın di mi, kaşların siyah, saçların sarı, nerde bunun sarışınlığı di mi? Yani, Roman olunmaz, doğulur.

[130] Roman olduğunu Roman kesim biliyodur zaten senin, ne kadar saklayabilirsin ki? İnsan kalbini saklar, rengini saklayamaz. Mutlaka esmerdir, veya beyazdır; güzeldir veya çirkindir. Bi şekilde o vuruyo yani, bizlere geliyo onların kokuları. Diyoz ki bu Romandır, mutlaka Romandır bu.

On the other hand, general attitude towards the question of whether it is possible to have Roma identity afterward is positive. However, it is conditional. In order to be accepted to the community, one should be living in the neighborhood for a while and get used to that life style. Under these circumstances, one could belong to community. There are expressions describing this specific situation, such as 'Accepting or not accepting Roma-ness, accepting being Gorgio"[131]

Zeynep says,

> I mean. (If I settle down here) Yes. Back there, you've acknowledged being a Gorgio, here you will acknowledge becoming a Roma. There is no one like a Roma, is there? Our door is open to anyone. (The blood tie). No, it's not connected to that. You rent a house here and you get used to it. You'll get used to it. In Tenekeli, everyone is Roma. Whoever comes into this neighborhood, be it a Gaco or a Kurd, once they've come into this neighborhood, you call them Roma. From the way he talks to wearing baggy trousers, everything they do resembles to Roma.[132]

Fatma says,

> Romas are the ones who know how to live truly. Look, our young girls dress up really classy. They care a lot about having pleasure like myself. What do I mean by that? I pay attention to the way I dress. You see me now in my house clothes. But you wouldn't recognize me on my way to work or when I go out. I change a lot. Let me show you a picture. I am not Roma, but I know how to be one. (...) Even though you are not a Roma, you can become one. Yes. You can live like them, talk like them. I mean, in this Roma neighborhood there's freedom of speech and no restrictions. That's why I like the Romas very much.[133]

Another way for being accepted is marriage. If someone gets married with a Roma person, s/he could be considered Roma. Although Roma identity seems to

---

[131] Romanlığı kabul etmek/etmemek, Gacoluğu kabul etmek'.

[132] Yani. (mesela burda yerleşsem, otursam) Evet. Sen orda Gacoluğu kabul etmişsin, burda Romanlığı kabul edersin. Romanlar gibi güzel insan var mı, kapısı herkese açık. Soframız herkese açıktır. (Kan bağı) Yo, hayır. Alakası yok. Burda ev tutmuşsun oturmuşsun, alışır, alışır. İnsan nerede oturuyo, oranın düzenine alışıyo. Alışırsın, alışırsın. Tenekeli'de hepsi Roman. Bu mahalleye giren yani Gaco da olsa Kürt de olsa, mahalleye girdikten sonra Roman dersin. Konuşması artık her şeyi, şalvar giyişinden her şeyi Romanlara benziyo yani.

[133] Romanlar gerçekten yaşamasını bilenlerdir. Bak bizim genç kızlarımız, çok klas giyinirler. Zevklerine gerçekten çok düşkündürler, ben de zevkime çok düşkünüm. Ama ne gibi düşkünüm? Giyimime çok önem veririm. Şimdi benim bu halim, ev halim. Ama ben bir işe ya da dışarı gittiğimde beni tanıyamazsın. Çok değişirim. Aşırı bi şekilde değişirim. Bak sana bir resmimi göstereyim. Roman değilim ama Roman olmayı bilirim. (…) Roman olmasan bile. Roman olabilirsin. Evet. Onlar gibi yaşarsın, onlar gibi konuşabilirsin. Yani bu Roman mahallesinde konuşma özgürlüğü var, kısıtlama yok. Bu yüzden Romanları çok severim.

be conditional, Gypsy/Roma community is a closed community in the sense of marriage patterns. According to interviewees, people generally prefer to get married from their neighborhood where they know each other. It could be defined as endogamic which leads to choosing partners from Tepecik neighborhood. Under these conditions, the state of belonging to Roma identity also requires belonging to identity implying a *specific way of life* in which the circle of social relations becomes limited, such as in the case of marriage. Although primordial elements are not stressed to have Gypsy/Roma identity, as Fenton argues, "the givenness" should not be limited with biological essences, but it could refer to "identities are things which are internalized by people, while they learn how to act and to whom they should be responsible. Under some conditions, these identities go deep in the roots in people' and collective expressions. (Fenton, 2001: 146) Givenness of an identity could take other forms, as stated below, different from biological characteristics.

Essential characteristics of Roma identity is described by one of the interviewees as following, "His occupation, life style, family, behaviors. What makes a Roma Roma is firstly the nieghborhood he lives in, secondly his accent, thirdly his way of life."[134] The importance of job, neighborhood as well as way of life and speaking are seen as aspects constructing Roma identity. This definition highlights how they consider identity, to what extent this consideration is related to outsiders' point of view. In other words, identification is a process in which identity is shaped and formed through interactivity, rather than isolation. In addition, such an identity definition shows that identity is perceived beyond merely economics such as income difference and also refers to cultural and social aspects. It leads to acknowledgement of the role of social, cultural, symbolic relations and economic ones in order to understand dynamics of society. It does not mean that these two sides are independent from each other, on the contrary they seem to be complementary, in the case of Tepecik.

---

[134] "Mesleği, yaşantısı, ailesi, hareketleri. Romanı Roman yapan şey ilk olarak oturduğu semt, ikinci olarak konuşması, üçüncü olarak yaşayış tarzı."

The role of stigmatization in identification should be remembered. It could affect on denying and hiding identity not to be humiliated by outsiders. For example, mother of Serap is Roma but she says that she does not see herself as Roma. When I asked the reason why she does not prefer Gypsiness she states that:

> I took the other one from my mother... First thing first, we haven't acknowledged being a Roma. I don't like it, Roma and stuff. I don't know, I didn't feel like being a Roma. I didn't fancy that. But I don't know, I really like the Romas. I like its people, but the language (Romany)... I didn't do it. I don't know, maybe it's my character. (...) No, why would I be a Roma? I am not a Roma, my mother is. It comes from the father's side. My father is from Kurucay, Izmir. You should see him. He is a gentleman, a pasha-like man. I don't say that we are Romas. Why should I? When I go somewhere and am asked where I live, I don't even mention Kurucay. It's marked. They don't give a damn. (When his son is taken into custody, she goes to the police station. During the conversation with the police officer, she was asked about where she lived) 'See, you're guilty of living there,' said the police officer. I mean, even living here is an offense. That's why, in unfamiliar places, I don't tell people that I am from Kurucay. Why should I? I don't look like a Roma anyway, why should I get myself marked out? (Saying that you are Roma) finishes your life in a way, noone gives a damn.[135]

This quotation shows similarity to the one whose job application was refused due to the neighborhood he lives. The attachment of the bad reputaion of the neighborhoods and the settlers living there may lead to double stigmitazition in terms of space and the ethnic identity.

5.1.5. Perception of Kurdish Group

> Never in the whole world have I hidden the fact that I am a Roma knowing that I am one, be it in the army or in any other society. I say it in this world that I am a Roma. I prefer saying that I am a Roma rather than saying that I am a Kurd or from PKK. What do people think about the Romas here? As people who like having fun. But not as the likes of the ones from PKK. Our Roma people don't go and do criminal acts. bad things and torture. They

---

[135] "Ama öbürünü annemden ben… Bir kere Romanlığı kabul etmedik biz. Sevmiyorum ben öyle, Roman moman. Ne biliyim ben içimden gelmedi Romanlık. Hiç heves etmedim, ama ne bileyim ben, çok severim ben Romanları. Seviyom insanları, ama o dile (Romanca'dan bahsediyor.) öyle şey yapmadım, ne bileyim belki de benim kendi karakterim. (…) Hayır canım, niye Romanım? Ben değilim ki Roman, annem Roman. Babaya bakar, babam Kuruçaylı, Izmirli. Sen babamı gör, beyefendi, paşa gibi adam. Hani biz öyle Romanız, şeyiz demem yani, niye diyim ama, ben bi tarafa gittim mi nerde oturuyon dediler mi Kuruçay'ı bile söylemiyorum. Çünkü damgalı yer, önem vermiyolar. (Oğlu gözaltına alındığında karakola gitmiş, oradaki memurla konuşurken oturduğu mahalle sorulunca) "İşte suçunuz orda oturmak" dedi oradaki memur. Yani oturmak bile suç, o yüzden ben gittiğim yerlerde mesela çok yabancı yerlerde Kuruçaylıyım demem, niye diyim? Zaten benzemiyom Romana, niye damgalattırıyım kendimi? (Romanım demek) Bitiriyo insan hayatını bi yerde, önem vermiyolar.

are conscientious people.[136]

In the 'Research of Reaching Romanlar' which was conducted in İstanbul, Gypsy/Roma idenitiy is defined as 'proud of being Turkish and Romani'. The other characteristics mentioned to be mentioned are contra-identification with the Kurdish population, having no separate ethnic/national identity, feeling like they are entitled to Turkish citizens, being neither passive, nor assertive about Gypsy identity and adopting primary identification as Turkish. These definitions are similar in the case of Tepecik, especially when they describe their identity in terms of Kurdish minority. Positioning towards Kurdish group leads to an understanding of how they locate themselves in the social stratification.

One of the interviewees states that 'The Kurd despises us. As if second class, third class. There are Kurds, Laz people, and Alevi people. Roma is seen at the bottom amongst the all. However we never discriminate any of them, and let them in our homes and eat and drink together like sisters and brothers."[137] In these words, humiliation by Kurds refers to something different than Gorgio's. Besides having lower social status than Kurds, it is even more humiliating to be seen in that position by Kurds. As mentioned before, they use the statement of 'We are all humans' and wish not to be discriminated in terms of any criteria such as ethnic or economic background. Although they assert that there is no discriminative attitude towards non-Gypsies from the side of Tepecik, it is not the case for Kurdish people. I was asked a few times whether I was Kurdish or not. After they learned that I am not, they felt more comfortable. The Kurdish group is excluded despite the emphasis on merciful character of Roma people. Similar to the case of Gypsy versus Roma, Kurds are labelled with negative adjectives and there is apparent hate towards them in which all anti-discriminatory attitudes disappear. As Bekir

---

[136] "Ben asker ocağında da olsun, herhangi bi toplumda da olsun, Roman olduğumu bilip de Romanlığımı hayatta saklamam. Bu alemde söylerim yani, ben Romanım derim yani. Kürdüm diyeceğime, PKKlıyım diyeceğime, Roman diyim. Romanları burda nasıl tanırlar, eğlenmeyi seven insanlar, öyle insanlar bilirler bizi. Ama PKKlı diye bilmezler ki. Bizim Romanımız gidip insana canilik yapmaz böyle. Böyle kötü işkenceli şeyler yapmaz. Vicdanlı insanlar."

[137] "Kürt bizi hakir görüyo. İkinci sınıf üçüncü sınıf görüyo. Türkiye'de üçüncü sınıf görüyo. Şimdi Kürtler var Lazlar var, Aleviler var. Bunların en aşağı tabakasında Romanları görüyolar. Ama biz hiç birini ayırt etmeden kardeş gibi evimize sokarız yediririz içiririz.'

says, "Our people are really beautiful people, clean people. They are not barbarian like Kurdish ones. We do not like Kurdish people at all. They can not come here, we do not like them. Because they are barbarian."[138]

Bayram says,

> Now, they (Gacos) see us as behind, as the ones who have fallen behind. For instance, we have just met, you have come to our house and seen for yourself. How do you look at us now? I mean, we cannot judge people before we know them up close. But these people looking at us from outside... For instance, we said that Mangosars were garbage and card board collectors. When people see them, they think they are Gypsies. 'These are Gypsies!' But not all five fingers of a hand are the same. It's wrong to look at people and undermine them saying that they are Romas. Don't the Kurds have this, too? They are in the mountains. There are terrorists, for instance. But not all of them are terrorists. Can we say that all Kurds are terrorists? We can't. But where does it come from? From among Kurds themselves, right? Same thing with the Romas. There are really nice ones, ones who have come to nice places. But the man who is having a hard time goes and collect garbage and nylon bags and sell them to provide for his family. The aim is to make ends meet. The fact that we are dark-skinned citizens make them look at us like that. But we also have very good looking brothers. Not everyone is the same.[139]

Roma is primarily Turkish and patriotic and civilized, compared to barbarian, divisive, traitor Kurdish people. They assert that Kurdish people want to learn English and use it for the relations with foreigners whose aim is to disintegrate Turkey. 'Kurdish way of speaking' is also one of the reasons for humiliation by Roma. As Gypsy is characterized by garbage collecting, perception of Kurds is attached to terrorism. This negativity is considered as something making two groups equal.

---

[138] "Bizim insanlarımız, gerçekten, güzel insanlar, temiz insanlar. Kürtler gibi barbar değiller. Bizim hiç sevmediğimiz insanlar Kürtler. Buraya giremezler Kürtler, biz Kürtleri sevmeyiz. Onlar barbar çünkü.'

[139] Şimdi onlar (Gacolar) biraz daha bizi, daha geri düşünüyolar. Geri kalmış diye bakıyolar. Mesela sen, şu anda, biz daha yeni tanışıyoruz, evimize geldin, gördün, nasıl bakıyosun bize şu an? Yani içimize girmeden kimseyi yargılayamayız. Ama bunlar dışarıdan bakıp da, mesela şimdi ne dedik, Mangosarlar, çöp topluyo, karton topluyo falan, dışarıdan bunları gördüler mi, hep yani Çingene gözüyle bakıyolar. "ha işte bunlar Çingene!" ama beş parmağın beşi bir değil tabi ya. O Roman deyip de, yani pasif görme amacıyla bakmamak lazım hiç bi şeye. Şey, Kürtlerde yok mu? Kürtler de dağda. Teröristler var mesela, ama Kürtlerin hepsini biz terörist yapamayız. Yani bütün Kürtlere terörist diyebilir miyiz? Diyemeyiz. Ama nerden çıkıyo bunlar? Kürtlerin içinden çıkıyo di mi? Romanların da işte, çok iyisi de var, çok iyi yerlerde olan insanları da var, tabi, ona göre sıkıntısı olan, adam napıyo, gidiyo evini geçindirmek için çöp topluyo, naylon poşetleri gidiyo topluyo satıyo, ama evine bakıyo gene. Amaç yani geçinmek. Biraz bizim tenimizin rengi de siyah, kumral olması, esmer vatandaş olmamız, daha çok şey görüyolar yani. Ama mesela çok yakışıklı kardeşlerimiz de var. Hepsi de bir değildir yani.

Kemal says,

> Surely, not all five fingers of a hand are the same, but generally it is so. They are bad. Can you call this a man who shoots at soldiers and policemen, who detonate bombs? (referring to a nearby Kurdish neighborhood) No, they are useless as well. We have nothing to do with them. Do you know what their mentality is? Always to multiply. Always to multiply. 20 people sleep in the same room. They all eat from the same pot. They are such a race. Most scrap dealers are Kurds. They've increased in number. The scrap dealers are mostly Kurds, our people don't do it that much. Look, the people from Nigde and the Kurds do this job. They risk their lives to do all kinds of things. ... Look, the Kurds have the control of important places in Turkey where there's a big cash flow. It's the same everywhere. Excuse me for saying, but the public toilets are theirs where they make a lot of money every day. Go to food markets where there are one hundred stores. 80 of them belong to Kurds. Without a doubt. Entertainment places, bars.[140]

Besides political elements, the tension among Kurds and Gypsies is also much related to the re-distribution of the limited economic spheres. As in the case of Bornova where Gypsy/Roma group has dominated portage work for a while, the enforced migration of Kurdish group in Izmir led to conflict in sharing marginal economic activities. Gypsies accuse Kurds of being the reason for the harder economic challenge they experience. (Kolukırık, 2002) Since the tension of between Gypsies and Kurds is not the main concern of the thesis, the data collected is not enough in this framework. However, there are some parts in conversations covering their work relations with Kurds. In Tepecik musicianship is highly dominant. According to one musician, Kurdish and Roma musicians have different audiences and work places which blunt the tension in some sense. While Kurds mainly work at Türkü Bars with a different repertoire, Gypsy musicians' repertoire is composed of Turkish Folk music, Classical Turkish Music, popular music and fantazi music. According to him, Kurds can not sing classical Turkish music since they have bad pronounciation. He says that Kurds

---

[140] Tabi beş parmağın beşi de bir değil ama (Kürtlerin) geneli öyle. Kötü. Askere silah sıkan insandan, polise silah sıkan insandan bomba patlatan insandan adam olur mu ya? (çok yakındaki bir Kürt mahallesi) Yok, onlar da yaramaz insanlar. Onlarla bizim bi alakamız yok. Onların var ya, zihniyeti ne biliyo musun? Hep çoğalmak. Hep çoğalmak. Bi odada 20 kişi yatıyorlar. Hepsi bi tencereye kaşık sallarlar. Öyle bi ırk. Bak bu hurdacılığı yapanların çoğu Kürtler, Kürtler de çok hurdacılık yapıyorlar. Çoğaldılar. Genelde Kürtler yapıyo aslında, bizim insanlarımız pek yapmaz. Bak, Niğdeliler, Kürtler çok yapar bu işi. Ya kelle koltukta iş yapıyorlar, her türlü yapıyorlar. … var ya, bak, Türkiye'de önemli noktalar, hep Kürtlerin elindedir. Çok para dönen yerler, en azından canlı para dönen yerler, hep aynı. Afedersin, umumhane, buralarda canlı para döner, her gün para basar oraları, onların elinde. Hale git orda, halde yüz tane dükkan var, gözü kapalı seksen tanesi Kürt. Gözü kapalı. Eğlenme merkezleri, barlar.

are not able to play classical music whereas Gypsy musician can play any kind of music. In addition Kurdish musicians have primarily Kurdish –Doğulular-audiences. These economic practices could be evaluated within circumstantialist framework in which reasons of ethnic conflicts are explained in terms of resistance of ethnic groups, economic interests and social status. As split labour-market theory underlies the competition between different ethnic groups which have similar class positions. (Cornell and Hartman, 1998) In these cases, employers tend to use the labour of one ethnic group to make other's labour cheaper. It is frequently seen in the cases of strike breakers. In addition, labour–market is divided into three groups by Bonacich: "those who control and own enterprices ('the business class'), those who are better paid (and/or are already employed under certain 'ethnic' conditions), and those who are less well paid (or are seeking employment) because of their ethnic/racial standing. (Malesevic, 2004: 33) She explains the ethnic tension with the second group's dangerous position under the risk of cheap labor force. "Differential labour price" is seen as the main source of ethnic antagonism. Bonacich is criticized for ignoring the more complex social structures in which more than two ethnic groups exist. Contrary to what the split labour-market theory asserts, in Tepecik case there is a third group, that is the Gorgios and furthermore Gypsies do not have the positionattributed to the second group. It is important to see that Gypsy/Roma group and Kurdish group, who feel tension, experience similar socio-economic conditions. In Tepecik, there are Kurdish neighborhoods where they live next to Gypsies. While ethnic tension in Tepecik is considered, it could be stated that these two groups are not experiencing differential labor price, at least in the examples of portages in Bornova or Kurdish and Gypsy musicians which may result in ethnic antagonism. It seems to be competition on marginalized and limited economic niches. These niches are tried to be kept and maintained against the attacks of other groups. Due to the fact that the tension and the reasons of it are not the main concerns of the thesis, there is no enough data to make a proper analysis. It needs to be searched in a more detiled way.

The hostility towards Kurdish group could be seen as a reflection and at the same time approval of 'dominant discourse' in which nationalist elements are embraced. Rather than analyzing what 'dominant discourse of Turkishness' is and how it should be characterized, it is more important to understand how it is described from the perspective of Gypsy/Roma. In other words, while trying to analyze identity construction, the feeling of being entitled to Turkishness should be followed.

Kemal says,

> My brother, if this (Romany) is something like our native language, I don't know. It's not like Kurds, their native language, Turkish speaking. We don't know if our native language is Romany. I mean, calling us Roma... (the record is unclear) But if you ask me if I am Turkish, I am Turkish, my brother! But a member of PKK wouldn't say this. He wouldn't say that he was Turkish but a Kurd. If they ask me what I am, I don't say Roma, I say I am Turkish. But no one else would say this. A Kurd wouldn't say this. If they asked me where I was from , I would say I was Turkish and a Muslim, thanks to Allah. I tell you this in honesty, my brother, that in this neighborhood, there are lots of religious people truly living the religion knowing what it is.[141]

Elin Strand observes the similar attitude towards Kurdish groups with references to being Turkish and Muslim among Istanbul Gypsies. She quotes from a Gypsy who "spoke in the same sentence of how he hated "all forms of discrimination and prejudice, and the Kurds."" (Strand and Marsh, 2005:100) Strand indicates that the stress over Turkishness and being Muslim could be even perceived as "ethnic false consciousness" or "the lack of ethnic consciousness" by other European Gypsy/Roma groups not from Turkey. (Strand and Marsh, 2005, Değirmenci, 2008) Roma from Turkey posits himself/herself closer to Turks, even though s/he shares the same ethnic identity with the 'foreigner Roma'. It shows that an understanding of ethnicity and ethnic identity regardless of its own particular

---

[141] Abim bu (Romanca) bizim ana dilimiz gibi bi şey mi artık, bilmiyorum ana dilimiz midir, Kürtler gibi değil yani anadilleri, Türkçe konuşma, bizim ana dilimiz Romanca mıdır değil midir bilmiyoz. Ya bize Roman mısın dendiği mi …(kayıt anlaşılmıyor.) ama Türk müsün dersen Türküm kardeşim! Ama bunu bi PKKlı demez, Türküm demez Kürdüm der. Bana sorsalar nesin deseler ben Romanım demem o zaman Türküm derim. Ama bunu bi başkası demez, bi Kürt demez. Bana sordukları zaman sen nerelisin diye Türküm derim ya, elhamdülillah müslümanım. Bu mahallede, inan bak abicim sana bunu samimiyetimle söylüyorum, yani dini bütün insan çok. Ve dini gerçekten yaşayanlar da var, bilerek yani.

socio-economic and historical conditions is not as applicable as it is considered to be. In this context, socially constructedness of ethnic identity is significant.

Besides recognizing the importance of nationalist emphasis in the words of Roma, it is vital to see that it is complementary to other dominant codes characterizing Turkishness in the eyes of Gypsy/Roma. Another dominant code also works in the case of belly dancer women in which conservative purity values concerning woman are strongly embraced by community. In this sense, Gypsy/Roma group from Tepecik regard itself as sharing main attitudes and values with the majority. By means of these channels, the community tries to erase its differences and be articulated into majority.

5.2. The Perception of Languages

In this part, the perception of the language will be discussed. Besides being a key marker for an identity, language is also used for engendering the sentiment of 'likenesses' by the community. Likeness is created through the language which makes mutual understanding possible or easier amongst the members of a certain group. In the case of Tepecik, one of the most important characteristics of the language lies in that assumption. They assert that the only thing they need in order to understand whether one belongs to Roma community is to hear his/her way of speaking. However, the language is not primarily Romany but Turkish accent of Roma.

5.2.1. Romany Language

The language of Romany is not generally perceived as mother tongue. Almost all of the interviewees state that they know little Romany, and their primary language is Turkish and they are proud of it. Elder generations are considered as knowing Romany in Tepecik neighborhood whereas following ones are not able to speak Romany, even if they understand a little. Romany is perceived as a rude language in the eyes of Roma, as in the case of the word Gypsy which is also considered as rude, compared to more sympathetic word Roma. As one of the interviewees says,

"Gypsy is like vulgar. Roma is more sympathetic. "Are you Roma?" That means "Are you Gypsy?" Yes, I have already accepted Gypsiness. They can call me Gypsy; it is not a problem for me. But the name Roma sounds more aesthetic."[142] Ignorance and denial of Romany as mother tongue is frequently observed in the neighborhood. They state that they are not interested in learning Romany since it is useless. However, that particular relation between Roma and the language Romany is not something specific for Roma community.

The Romany used by the members seems as a hybrid language, few words are known and frequently used. It is combined with Turkish words, as well. It may be considered as slang. However, when it comes to the point when Roma speaks Romany language, usage of Romany is functional. When it is used by elder generations, it is sometimes spoken in family meetings. If they need to talk about something not wanted to be known by the other members of family, they prefer to speak in Romany. However, this is not the case for younger generations who are not familiar enough to the language. As one interviewee states, "For example we are in a family meeting and something secret happened. We all do not know, the Romany, they are talking to each other at that moment and communicate but they did not teach us the language."[143] Although the uninterested attitude towards Romany is common, one of the interviewees state that it is not possible to learn Romany in the Turkish education system, even if they want to since there is no Romany classes, or language courses. In addition to these, it is not a language which is transmissed from one generation to the next any more. His interest and tendency towards learning Romany could be considered exceptional since stressing over another language, even though it is their own mother tongue, could refer to nationality, national feelings and Turkishness of Roma. The insistence on speaking in one's own language is frequently attached to minority politics whose

---

[142] "Çingene biraz daha kaba gibi geliyo. Roman biraz daha sempatik oluyo, 'Aaa, Roman mısın sen?' Yani Çingene misin sen, evet, ben kabul ediyorum Çingeneliği zaten. Bana Çingene desinler yani sorun değil. Ama Roman demesi biraz daha estetik gibi geliyo insana.
[143] "Mesela ailece toplandık, o an gizli bi şey oldu, hiçbirimiz bilmiyoz, dili bilmiyoz ya, hemen onlar dedemle ikisi birbirine söylüyolar anlaşıyo ama bize öğretmediler."

aim is to destroy Turkey, as in the case of Kurdish groups and Kurds' demand in education in Kurdish.

As Kemal states,

> My brother, if this (Romany) is something like our native language, I don't know. It's not like Kurds, their native language, Turkish speaking. We don't know if our native language is Romany. I mean, calling us Roma... (the record is unclear) But if you ask me if I am Turkish, I am Turkish, my brother! But a member of PKK wouldn't say this. He wouldn't say that he was Turkish but a Kurd. If they ask me what I am, I don't say Roma, I say I am Turkish. But no one else would say this. A Kurd wouldn't say this. If they asked me where I was from, I would say I was Turkish and a Muslim, thanks to Allah. I tell you this in honesty, my brother, that in this neighborhood, there are lots of religious people truly living the religion knowing what it is.[144]

It is seen that Romany language means more than just a language amongst Tepecik Roma community. It is an important part of the identity in an opposite way. As mother language is considered to be characterizing the ethnic identity of the group, this case implies a different attitude in which ignorance of Romany could be interpreted as strengthening the ties attaching Roma to Turkishness. The perception of Turkish and Romany language also functions to formulate counter-identification with Kurdish group.

Another usage of Romany in daily life of Tepecik Roma could be seen at times of a defensive attitude. When there is need to warn somebody against police or another officer, Romany is used.

The mother of Didem states;

> For instance, when something happens or when there's a stranger around you, you immediately say 'as.' That means 'shut up.' Around kids, for instance. ... You would speak (in Romany). For instance, a police officer arrives. How do you make a sign? 'He has come, run (in Romany)! Like that. You say 'as.' ... 'He is coming (in Romany). The police officers are called 'mendek.' We say it a lot.[145]

---

[144] Abim bu bizim ana dilimiz gibi bi şey mi artık, bilmiyorum ana dilimiz midir, Kürtler gibi değil yani anadilleri, Türkçe konuşma, bizim ana dilimiz Romanca mıdır değil midir bilmiyoz. Ya bize Roman mısın dendiği mi …(kayıt anlaşılmıyor.) ama Türk müsün dersen Türküm kardeşim! Ama bunu bi PKKlı demez, Türküm demez Kürdüm der. Bana sorsalar nesin deseler ben Romanım demem o zaman Türküm derim. Ama bunu bi başkası demez, bi Kürt demez. Bana sordukları zaman sen nerelisin diye Türküm derim ya, elhamdülillah müslümanım.

[145] Mesela bi şey olduğu zaman, mesela baktın yanında bilmediğin yabancı bi kişi var, hemen dersin as. O sus demek, hani çocukların yanında mesela, … (Romanca) dersin. (Annesi) Mesela

Nedim says,

> Of course we speak (Romany). I mean, let's say you're at work. When they talk about us, if it is hard to take, we talk it between us like 'It's a lie, bros, let's get lost,' for instance or 'hit it.' I mean, there are a lot like this but you have to live it at that moment so that you can talk this way. I can't say much now. We don't know a lot but there are the musician dialect and codes, for instance, you got it? For instance, 'nash' means 'let's get out of here.' Like this. Like I said, you have to live it.[146]

It is also used in work places against bosses. In this context, Romany could be seen as an advantage for Tepecik Roma in order to control the work environment and protect musicians' particular interests. It is stated that Romany is mainly spoken or known more amongst the musician group, Danacılar. Nedim defines it as a special code amongst musicians. As they are more attached to Roma identity and embrace the essences of Gypsyness, it may lead to differentiation of the perception of language amongst Roma musician. It could be seen as an approval of the attachment of occupation and ethnic identity of Roma musicians in Tepecik. However, the usage of Romany is still limited.

Halit says,

> (...) Usually, it's the musicians who speak Romany, and the Danacılar speak more. They really know Romany well. Like I said, the word 'as' means 'shut up.' We know a few things like that. I wasn't curious to learn, I must admit, I never wanted to learn. But if we are somewhere making our music and if someone does something that shouldn't be done to my friend, I say 'as' in an appropriate manner. We can communicate with our looks as well at that moment. I don't know more Romany than that. I wasn't curious.[147]

---

geldi şimdi memurun biri, nasıl işaret edecen? … (Romanca) geldi, kaç! İşte öyle. As diyosun … (Romanca) geliyo. Polislere mendek diyosun. Çok denir.

[146] Konuşuyoz tabi. Ya şimdi bi, iş yerindesin mesela, bi bizim hakkımızda konuştukları zaman, belki bize o an ağır geliceğini hissettiğimiz zaman da bazı oluyo tabi aramızda konuşmalar. Koftilik var beyler naş, mesela, maru yürü mesela gibisinden. Ya bunun gibi daha çok var ama o an yaşanması lazım ki o muhabbetin konuşasın. Şimdi böyle fazla bi şey deyemiyorum ben. Ya çok bilmiyoruz öyle ama, *müzisyen ağzı, şifreleri* mesela anladın mı? Naş mesela kaçıyoz. Bunun gibi, dedim ya yaşamak lazım.

[147] (…) Genelde bunu müzisyenler daha çok konuşuyo, bi de Danacılar daha çok konuşuyo. Gerçekten çok iyi biliyolar Romancayı. Mesela dediğim gibi as kelimesi sus anlamına geliyo, böyle ufak tefek şeyleri biliyoruz yani. Hiç de merak etmedim açıkcası, hiç de öğrenmek dahi istemedim. Ama müzik adına bi eğer yerdeysek, arkadaşıma ordan, yapılmaması gereken bi hareket varsa, uygun bi dille as diyorum, o an bakışlarımızla da anlaşabiliyoruz. Başka bilmiyorum Romanca, merak da etmedim.

The diverse usages of Romany could be interpreted in terms of the argument of Edwards which asserts that even if there are differences between public and private manifestations of language of an ethnic group; it does not mean that it disappears but "the value of the language as a symbol can remain in the absence of communicative function". (Edwards in Smith et. al., 1996:227) The case of Lapp community could be an example to this argument. Einheim argues that as opposed to the comfortable usage of Norwegian language in the public, Lapp language is spoken in the places where there are reliable Lapp identities and evaluated as a secret language. (Einheim in Barth et.al., 1969) It does not seem that Romany is used in public; it is rather used amongs the members of the community under certain conditions. Although it is not known by the following generations deeply, it still functions within community.

5.2.2. Turkish Accent as a Key Marker

Weber underlies "the intelligibility of the behavior of others is the most fundamental presupposition of group formation". Rather than perceiving Romany as a key adjective to characterize Gypsy/Roma, their Turkish accent becomes more important to recognize and be recognized as Roma. Almost all of the interviewees state that whether one belongs to Roma community or not is understood from his/her accent. Then it should be analyzed what is specific and characteristic for the language which Gypsy people speak. It seems that there is a sense of community due to the usage of language in a particular way.

Ahmet says,

> For instance, whoever listens to this tape, no matter how much I try to talk politely or choose nice words, a Roma would tell that I am a Roma. You can't hide it. I mean, there is a side that attracts their attention. He could tell. *There is such communication, such connection among the Romas.* Maybe I can hide it in my looks by dressing up. It's not written on our forehead that we are Roma or Gogio, for that matter. We are human-beings at the end of the day. But, when he starts talking in the end, his Roma identity gets reflected on the outside. You can decide after you have a chat with him. We have a certain vocabulary. For instance, now I speak openly and from my heart, since we are a little uneducated as a people, we cannot speak properly. That's what I generally think. The Romas play with the words a lot. That's how you tell them apart. No matter how much he works, studies, achieves a certain place, in the end he's still a Roma. He can educate himself, he can be an educated person. Then you would say, he's made it, he's not like a Roma anymore. But when he comes among us again, he feels that Roma identity and talks

to us in that way.[148]

The language of Roma is described as a "contact" amongst the members of the community. Even though the outward differences could be covered, the language still continues to exist as a key marker. However, it is not the point that whether they really recognize each other through the particular language of Roma, but the significant point is that there is belief in knowing each other. Language is considered as leading to "intelligibility" which underlies the sense of community and identity. Although the belief of community in some sense is not primarily related to the mother tongue, it still refers to primordial attachments of Roma.

This quotation has significance due to features considered as characterizing their language skills. They believe that those skills are insufficient since they are uneducated and as a result do not know how to speak properly. Even one gets educated and "does not look like Roma any more", as he states, that person has still tendency to feel his/her Roma identity when s/he is back in the community. This again refers to the division of public versus private usage of language. One of the interviewees states this as following: "For example, my sister, even she swears, it is all at home. For example, if we go to another place, we never talk like this, we hesitate."[149] It seems that there is a difference between the languages used within and outside the boundaries of the neighborhood.

---

[148] E şimdi sen, sen beni mesela, bu röportajı kime dinletirsen dinlet, ben ne kadar kibar konuşmaya çalışıyım veyahut da ne kadar böyle güzel kelimeler seçmeye çalışıyım, mutlaka Roman insan anlar bu der ki Roman. Saklayamazsın yani, bunun mutlaka onu çeken bi yanı vardır. Roman der yani. *Öyle bi iletişim öyle bi bağlantı var yani Romanların arasında*. Belki ben saklayabilirim böyle dış görüntüyle, giyinip kuşandığı zaman insan kimsenin alnında Roman yazmıyo. Veya Gaco yazmıyo, insandır işte. Ama sonunda mutlaka muhabbet etmeye başladığı zaman Romanlığı bi şekilde vuruyo yani. Onunla muhabbet ettikten sonra karar verebiliyosun yani, bizim belirli başlı kelimelerimiz var. Mesela doğru düzgün, aslında çok açık ve kalpten konuşuyorum bak, biraz cahil kesim olduğumuz için, yerli yerinde konuşamıyoruz mesela, genel olarak bunu düşünüyorum, Romanlar açısından, kelimelerde çok oynama var mesela. Burdan ele veriyo kendini. Ne kadar da çalışırsa çalışsın, bi şekilde okusun, yani çok zirvede olan bi insan olsun, bi şekilde yine Roman, aa bu insan kendini eğitebilir, eğitimli bi insan olduktan sonra, dersin ki tamam bu kendini yırtmış gibi artık benzemiyo bile. Ama tekrar bizim aramıza geldiği zaman, o tekrar Romanlığını hissedip bizimle o şekilde konuşur.

[149] Mesela benim kardeşim küfür söylerse de, ağzını bozarsa da konuşma tarzı hep evde, hep buralarda. Mesela biz burdan başka yere gidelim, asla böyle konuşmayız, çekiniriz yani."

Osman says,

> (I spot it) Right away from the way he talks. Even a person that I don't know personally. Sometimes, you can find out by his color or moves. Look, for instance, the other day a guy was on tv on Popstar. Before you said anything -he was only singing then- we said he was a Roma, that's it. It was apparent from the way he talked, his condition, my brother. Look at the way you talk. There is a difference between the way you talk and the way we talk. You talk differently, we talk differently. We talk freely. Our people talk freely. We swallow the letter 'h' in between words and stuff.[150]

However, language is frequently intersected with other dynamic, such as color which gives the feeling of community. The word of "leş"[151] is even used for the color of Roma who has dark skin.

Bekir says,

> It is also apparent from the color of the skin. I mean, it's only us who can tell. Usually, they are dark-skinned. (...) I mean, nor dark-skinned like that. Take a look at him and a look at yourself. We are good at telling people apart. Look, once we sold some goods, on the way back in the car, I said 'Let's drop off the workers.' We took them in. We paid attention to the way one of the guys was talking. K. (his partner) looked at me and I at him. At the end, K. said, 'Bro, are you Roma?' And what does the boy say? 'No way! *Yok bea!* What do you mean Roma?' Just like that. 'Yok bea! What do you mean Roma?' We said, 'Get out of here, are you playing?' And he said, 'Yok bea, bro, I'm not a Roma.' I said, 'Be a man! Are you a Roma or not?' 'My brother, I am a Roma boy.' It was apparent from every single one of his moves.[152]

What underlies the particular accent of Roma is that it always includes language mistakes. As they state that they do not know how to use language in a proper way and speak in a free mode rather than in terms of the rules of language, one

---

[150] Anında (Roman olduğunu anlarım). Konuşmasından. Hiç tanımadığım bi insanı da. Bazen renginden de, tipinden de çözersin yani. Bak mesela, geçen gün televizyonda popstarda çıktı, daha o söylemeden, daha şarkıyı okuyo, çocuk daha şarkıyı okuyo dedik abi bu Roman çocuğu ya, tamam. Konuşmasından, halinden belli abim ya. Bak şimdi senin konuşman nasıl? Senin konuşmanla bizim konuşmamız arasında fark var. Sen şimdi farklı konuşuyon, biz farklı konuşuyoz. Biz serbest konuşuyoz. Serbest konuşurlar yani bizimkiler. Yani aradaki (h)arfleri yutarız, bilmem ne yaparız.

[151] Carcass

[152] Renkten de anlaşılıyo. Ya, bunu bi tek biz anlarız. Genelde esmer oluyolar yani. (…)   Ya, öyle esmer değil, bi ona bak bi sana bak. İnsan sarrafıyız biz. Bak, arabayla bi mal sattık, arabaya bindik geliyoz, arabadayız, benim de şu işçileri bi bırakıverin. İyi dedim abi getir, iyi, aldık içeri biz. Gidiyoz, çocuğun konuşmasına bakıyoz, K. bana bakıyo (ortağı) ben K.ya, en sonunda K. "bilader sen Roman mısın?" dedi. Çocuk demez mi "yok bea abim ne Romanı?" aynen böyle. "Yok bea abim ne Romanı" ya hadi git be kardeşim sen Romansın dedik bize mi tezgah yapıyon sen? O da "yok bea abim değilim" diyo. Ulan dedim "delikanlı gibi olsana, Roman mısın değil misin?" "Abi Roman çocuğuyum ben ya." Belli yani, her halinden belli.

who hides his/her Roma identity could be easily understood through the usage of language. It is considered as something specific to Roma by the members of Tepecik community.

Fatma says,

> I can tell. For instance, I pay attention to how they talk. You got it? He will make a mistake there, for sure. when he speaks, I can tell from a single word. 'A be, sus!' If he uses the expression 'A be,' I can tell from that. They make it obvious in their walk, talk or their face. There's always something that gives them away. For instance, once we went to a gig one evening. On the way back, we went to drink soup together with the girls. There were two really classy ladies accompanied by a man. They didn't look like Roma. Do you understand? But I was eavesdropping sitting behind the lady. I pay a lot of attention to such matters. She made a mistake there. She spoke in Romany and 'As,' she said, 'shut up, di bakma' meaning 'don't say.' You got it? When she was talking to her friend, I understood that she was a Roma.[153]

Zeynep says,

> Some girls hide it. There was a girl that we were working with. She lives in Basmane. She's a Roma but she doesn't like it. She doesn't behave like a Roma but a Gaco. Some girls don't acknowledge being a Roma and they don't behave like one. But we know she is a Roma, she can't hide it from us. (whether she is a Roma or not). Of course. We take to her. You understand from the way she talks no matter how much she behaves like a Roma. It's obvious that she's a Gypsy, a Roma. You sit down and have a chat with her and she blunders. She behaves like a Gaco. There are some girls who behave like that and say, 'I live in Hatay; I live in Sirinyer.' (with omittance of some letters) The way she talks, the way she dresses up. Ok, she dresses up nicely, behaves nicely but she gives herself away by the way she talks. Then you understand if she is a Roma or not.[154]

---

[153]Anlarım. Mesela onun konuşmasını takip ederim. Anlayabildin mi? Helbet orda bi falso kıracaktır. Konuşurken bir kelimede ben onu yakalarım. A be, sus, eğer a be kelimesini kullanıyosa, ordan anlarım. Belli ediyo yani, belli eder. Ya bi yürüyüşünde, bi konuşmasında, bi yüzünde belli eder. Muhakkak bi açıklık vardır. Mesela bak akşamüstü bi işe gittik, iş dönüşünde hep beraber kızlarla bi çorbacıya gittik. Çorbamızı içerken iki tane çok klas bir hanım vardı yanında da bir bey vardı. Görünüşleri Romana benzemiyo, anlayabildin mi? Ama ben kızın arkasında otururken, kulağım ordaydı. Ben bu gibi konulara çok dikkat ederim. Orda bi falso verdi. Romanca konuştu. As dedi sus, di bakma, yani söyleme. Anladın mı? Arkadaşıyla konuşurken. Ordan ben yakaladım onun Roman olduğunu.

[154]Saklıyo kimi kızlar var. Bizim çalıştığımız bi kız vardı, Basmane'de oturuyo, Roman kendisi, sevmiyo, Roman yapmıyo kendini, Gaco yapıyo. Kabul etmiyo kimi kızlar Romanlığı, Gaco yapıyo kendini. E biliyoz biz onun Roman olduğunu, bizden saklayamaz ki. (Roman olup olmadığını). E heralde. Kanımız ısınır, konuşmalarından anlarsın. Ne kadar yani Gaco yapsa da kendini, Çingene olduğu Roman olduğu belli. Bi potu tak kırıyo o, oturuyon mesela muhabbet ediyon, Gaco yapıyo kendini. Şimdi kimi kızlar yok ben, işte Gaco yapıyo kendini, "ben Hatay'da oturuyom, Şirinyer'de oturuyom." O konuşması, o giyinmesi. Ya tamam güzel giyiniyo düzgün yapıyo kendini ama bozuyo kendini konuşmasından. Anlıyon Roman mı değil mi.

Main dynamics of identity formation on the basis of the primordial and circumstantial characteristics of Roma identity in the case of Izmir is covered in this chapter. As the main focus of this thesis is the relation of occupational positions and Roma identity construction, the other dynamics mentioned briefly which are strongly effective on identification process of the Tepecik Gypsy needs further analysis.

In the part of self-perceptions of identity, it is seen that identification is a reciprocal process in which perceptions of both Roma and non-Roma, that is Gorgio or Kurd, lead to identity formation through interaction. The ethnic prejudices, towards Gorgio, Kurd and the Gypsy play an important role. Blumer sees ethnic prejudices as a form of group relations. According to him, "Ethnic group animosities or sympathies are for the most part derives from one's sense of one's group's position in relation to other groups." (Malesevic, 2004:68) Ethnic prejudice could be seen as a strategy to improve the collective status of the group, this improvement is seen as "being of a symbolic ('status-oriented) rather than of an economic nature." (Blumer, ibid) However, understanding of ethnic prejudice, labeling or stigmatization regardless of power relations may lead to a weak analysis. Jenks argues that the stress over interaction have tendency in overlooking whether there is an inequality among the sides who participates in interaction. (Jenks, 2005) In the case of Roma identity formation, the role of the adjectives and prejudices towards non-Roma should not be considered only as markers for identity but interpreted on the basis of particular socio-economic position of the Tepecik Roma community.

While Bourdieu defines "language/linguistic habitus" as a series of socially constructed dispositions, this addresses to the discussion mentioned above. Those dispositions mean both certain conversation patterns with certain concerns and the linguistic skills. Linguistic skills are composed of two inseparable skills: production of innumerable discourse in terms of correct grammer rules and the proper usage of that skill in a given situation. According to Bourdieu, linguistic skills are not only related to technical power but also capacities and this refers to

status. While language inequlities could be followed through daily interactions, they function as distinguishing markers. (Wacquant andBourdieu, 2003: 140, 142) The case of language in Tepecik and their own perceptions towards themselves could be evaluated from this perspective. The insufficient usage of Turkish and their particular accent which are considered as characteristics of Roma identity by the members of Tepecik community refer to status differences and social inequalities expressing themselves through the issue of language.

CHAPTER SIX

6. CONCLUSION: "ROMA COMMUNITY IS A GROUP OF PEOPLE WHO ARE STUCK IN A CIRCLE"[155]

In this thesis, the identity formation of Roma from Izmir and its relation to particular socio-economic conditions and occupation positions have been covered. The main dynamics of identity formation, especially the primordial and circumstantial characteristics of Roma identity in the case of Izmir have been investigated. Rather than picking up one approach, e.g. primordial approach and ignoring the other, e.g. social constructivist approach, they have been articulated to each other in an eclectic way. Identity is here taken as an interactive process of identification in which both internal mechanisms and external categorization shaped by objective conditions operate. While the particular ways in which these two understandings of identity articulated to each other have been analyzed, the role of work in this process of generating and maintaining Roma identity has also been discussed.

Although identity is conceptualized differently in the literature, here it is primarily discussed on the ground that identity is "collective phenomenon, sameness among members which reflects itself in solidarity, in shared dispositions or consciousness, or in collective action" (Brubaker, 2000: 7). However, it should not be ignored that there are also particular fragmentations within that collective identity driven by diverse dynamics in the case of Tepecik. Those diverse dynamics have been taken into consideration within the framework of both socio-economic conditions the Gypsy/Roma community has been exposed to and

---

[155] One of the interviewees defines Roma community as following "Romanlar, daire içinde kalmış insanlar grubu."

particular cultural and social codifications which are produced and reproduced by the community itself through interaction with different groups, such as Gorgio or Kurdish ones. If Gypsy/Roma identity formation is considered as a construction, it could be stated that it is constructed by both external dynamics and internal ones. Although the external dynamics affecting identity formation are given priority in this thesis, internal ones are as important as the others.

Brubaker define "the danger of groupism' as "the tendency to take discrete, bounded groups as basic constituents of social life and fundamental units of social analysis; as if they were internally homogenous, externally bounded groups, even unitary collective actors with common purposes." (2003: 11). However, it should not be perceived that the power of ethnic identity is ignored or minimized, on the contrary it leads to an understanding of ethnicity not conditionally depend on the existence of ethnic groups as substantial groups or entities. Besides considering Roma identity with references to both collectivity and specific fragmentations within that collective, the role of the working life of Tepecik community in identification process requires to be analyzed in order to reach a complementary evaluation of identity formation.

The analysis has attempted to understand the particular construction of Gypsiness, taking into account both primordial connotations and constructivist features. As it is discussed in this study, the concept of identity has been problematic both analytically and practically. The concept of "identification" has been preferred to be used in order to describe relational, processual and dynamic characteristics of identity. While seeking to explain the processes and mechanisms in which the putative identity of ethnic group tends to be crystallized at certain moments, examining Gypsy/Roma ethnic identity in its relation to both external and internal dynamics is important. It could provide an understanding of identity as not in isolation but open to construction and reconstruction. In this thesis, identification refers to certain areas in which the identity of Gypsy/Roma has been crystallized and felt in a more strong way by the members of the Tepecik Gypsy/Roma community. This underlies the preference of occupational positions in order to

understand the process of identification. Identification of Gypsiness with particular occupations makes Gypsy/Roma community exceptional since it has historical importance which could be followed presently in the stratification of Tepecik community. The match of occupation and Gypsy identity has been also acknowledged by the non-Roma communities and reflected itself in the examples of Gypsy musician or belly-dancer.

Significantly, such a primordialist association of Gypsy identity with particular occupations can also be observed in some Romany Studies which tend to romanticize Gypsy/Roma groups. According to Suat Kolukirik, who has been studying on Izmir Gypsy/ Roma groups, the important point underlying the occupations of Gypsies is their own preference on flexible and seasonal occupations, rather than stable ones. He refers to Fonseca who argues "Occupations for Gypsies has always been the key point to survive as culturally." (Fonseca, 2002: 112). On the other hand, well-known attachment to their musical identity has been problematic since it ignores the social and historical conditions that they have been exposed to. (Kolukırık, 2003) Regarding the relation between the Gypsy identity and occupational positions, he argues that besides characterizing one certain race/ethnicity, "Gypsyness" also refers to certain kinds of occupation and its quality and status. Moreover, the features characterizing Gypsy way of work could be found in monopolization in the labor market and work solidarity, i.e. working together. However, these mechanisms operating within working patterns are not only used by Gypsy community. It is well-known that different groups or communities in Turkey have organized their work life through the channels of being member of same locality, or being the member of religious sect etc. In other words, to use these strategies is not something unique to the Tepecik Gypsy/Roma community, but this significant attachment could be found rarely as strong as in other kinds of groups in terms of the occupational positions and ethnic identity.

Under the light of these, the field work was conducted in Izmir, Tepecik, Tenekeli neighborhood where the Gypsy/Roma community constitutes majority of the

population. The relation between identity and the particular occupational positions has discussed on the basis of three selected occupations which are scrap-dealing, belly-dancing and musicianship. These are preferred due to several reasons; firstly they are very dominant occupations amongst the members of community and also there is strong tendency to transfer of them to the next generations by the elder ones. In addition, occupational positions are significant in order to understand the role of particular working patterns of Roma in identification with references to how they perceive those positions in a relation with their identity.

It is seen that the identity of Tepecik Roma is constructed multi-dimensionally as it has been shaped by several dynamics, such as ethnicity, poverty, criminality, gender. The reason underlying this complexity is not only the Gypsy/Roma community living in Tepecik for generations but Tenekeli neighborhood has an exceptional structure. As it is stated, Tepecik, Tenekeli is the only Gypsy neighborhood professionalized and well-known in those occupations amongst the other Gypsy neighborhoods in Izmir. In addition, it is strictly hierarchical in terms of the occupational groups, as well as ethnic origins and gender differentiation.

One of the aims of the thesis was to describe the socio-economic conditions of Roma community which are intensely reflected on identity formation. For this reason, the educational back ground which is effective in shaping the occupational positioning has been tried to be covered. It is seen that attitudes towards education, especially formal education to which the Gypsy/Roma does not have enough access and the clear stress over the non-formal ways of training for occupations lasted for generations are important parts of identification process. This "habitual" understanding of education is much related with concentration on certain kinds of occupations amongst the members of community in Tepecik. However, it is contradictory towards education. On the one hand they degrade formal education and stress over the importance of non-formal training; on the other hand they underline their lack of access to that kind of education. Their perception of conservatoire could be an example in this sense. Almost never

mentioning the socio-economic limitations to afford education, they perceive conservatoire as a destructive threat to talented characteristics of Gypsy nature.

In addition, Tepecik Roma are surrounded by kind of 'work habitus' i.e. close circuit shaping working patterns. When it is considered together with other powerful dynamics such as discrimination, stigmatization and so on, the self-definition of one of interviewees seems understandable: "Roma community is a group of people who are stuck in a circle."[156] The close circuit has been functioned in a two ways; firstly such a position makes Gypsy/Roma able to have experience and the necessary information or contacts. As they are born into that particular occupation and s/he is expected to learn it and lead the next generations into the same occupation, as well. It also provides job security and employment through the ethnic and social networks. However, it limits the other occupational choices and reproduces that restricted work habitus at the same time. This also refers to important role of cultural and social capital and certain dispositions which make such jobs as scrap-dealing, belly-dancing and musicianship the "choice of the necessity". (Bourdieu, 1984) The role of the social capital has been significant which reflects itself through diverse channels in Tepecik, such as family ties, neighborhood/mahalle[157] or friendship as a result of being socio-economically disadvantaged. The close circuit has been functioning diversely in each occupational group. While the occupational chances have been created by ethnic and social networks, "Müzisyenler Kıraathanesi" amongst the musicians and "Aboneler Durağı" amongst the belly-dancers have been functioning in Tenekeli neighborhood. These operate very strongly in the concentration in the particular occupations, as well as transfers of them.

These dispositions/strategies of Gypsy/Roma with respect to work could be seen in the cases of preferences over one who is from neighborhood and known by community, or transfer of the networks, experience, contacts etc. or usage of Romany language in the exceptional situations such as in a need to hide

---

[156] Romanlar, daire içinde kalmış insanlar grubu.
[157] The quarter that people live in.

something from manager/boss in the work place. As mentioned above, these particular dispositions/strategies of working patterns underlying Gypsy/Roma identity could be also observed in any other group or minority, as well. For instance, in the study of Altuntaş, she states that there is a tendency towards ethnic-homogenization in the paper collecting: they are mostly Kurdish group from Hakkari who had migrated to Ankara. (Altuntaş, 2003) Even though it is important to see the reciprocal nature of relation between the dispositions that they have possessed and their socio-economic position which could result in shaping identity; it is still necessary to question whether those solidarity patterns are distinctive to only Gypsy/Roma community. It seems that the local dimension is also significant in sustaining those kinds of dispositions amongst the members of Tepecik. In other words, the local-based solidarity is seen highly effective in Tepecik. Although there is an emphasis on ethnicity, I did not observe strong solidarity ties with other Gypsy/Roma groups or neighborhoods. This again has much to do with the rather isolated and exceptional structure of Tepecik neighborhood. In the case of Tepecik Gypsy/Roma community, considering Gypsiness as being settler of the neighborhood and being member of the community seems more significant key markers in the identification process. This shows similarity to the work of Mischek who studied the Roma neighborhoods of Istanbul, Bülbül and Tophane. He also states the mahalle identity is very strong amongst the Roma groups and important key marker in defining their identity. (Marsh and Strand, et. al. 2003)

In this context, social constructivist approach seems useful in order to conceive ethnicity and ethnic identity as not independent from particular circumstances or conditions in which it is constructed and reconstructed. However, as stated before, internal mechanisms operating within the community is as important as external ones. This could be followed through the community's own hierarchy based on occupational positions. The hierarchical structure provides that there are classifications and categorizations in terms of the prestige and status. The musicianship seems to have the top position due to the fact that music,

musicianship and musical talents of the Gypsies are considered as representing the community to the non-Roma community. They are thus accorded a privileged status which is not the case for belly-dancers whose singing and dancing talents are also attributed to their Gypsiness. Hierarchy amongst members of Gypsy/Roma community is also much related with identity, as well as gender problematic. When it comes to the relation between Gypsy identity and the occupation, it could be seen that there are different perceptions of Gypsiness. The association of occupation and Gypsy identity/nature could be varied, as in the cases of musicians, belly-dancers and scrap-dealers. It could be seen clearly in the case of how belly-dancer perceives and associates her Gypsy identity and occupation. When this is compared to musicians' cases, the variety of Gypsiness could be followed.

These diverse perceptions of identity are indicative of "the relativity of ethnic identity" which is one of the main concerns of this study. The fragmentation in collective identity is evident in the social hierarchies the Gypsy community establishes on the basis of prestige and status, i.e. describing some Gypsy/ Roma groups as 'more original' Gypsies, distinguishing Gypsy groups in terms of having real Roma identity, which refers to different perception of identity in different contexts by different groups. This could be seen in Mangosar group who is labeled as original Gypsy. While Roma distinguishes himself/herself from the Gypsy, s/he tends to use the similar stereotypes reproduced by themselves. Gypsy versus Roma has been expressed within the oppositions, such as nomadic versus settled, having inferior and low-status jobs versus superior ones, inferior characteristics –criminal, lazy, so on versus superior ones, -hard-working, honest etc.

This fragmentation also includes the dominant codes of non-Roma society and Gypsy/Roma's place in there on the basis of nationalist discourse, as well as traditional moral values concerning woman. As Roma re-produces the common stereotypes towards Gypsy through negative labeling, it also refers to another hierarchy covering Gorgio, Kurdish and Gypsy/Roma. These different perceptions

of identity imply that there are some other dynamics of identity construction on the basis of social and cultural codification. Perception of the Kurds as terrorist/barbarian makes Gypsy/Roma group patriot, civilized and superior than them in the social hierarchy.

These dynamics characterizing Gypsy/Roma identity mentioned above show similarities to the study of Marsh and Strand. (2005) Study of "Reaching Romanlar" could be seen as the example of relativity of ethnicity among Gypsy/Roma community. According to the results of study conducted in the neighborhoods of Istanbul: "there is little understanding about Romani or other Gypsy people in Turkey as ethnic or cultural groups, with a differing history than the majority population." Secondly, "there is strong differentiation between Romany communities, and identification is one of family/clan/community, and national identity/faith/ethnic identity." Beside the different perceptions of Gypsy identity in European context, in which "ethnic minority status is seen as measure towards integration and human rights, and Turkish context in which regarding Gypsy identity as separate ethnic minority is largely rejected, "even by Gypsies themselves", it is stated that Gypsies from Sulukule have been willing to differentiate themselves from other Gypsy groups who define themselves as Abdal –known to pursue 'unclean' occupations by Sulukule Gypsies. And Gorgio who is non-Gypsy has not formed necessarily an ethnic boundary maker, separating Gypsies from the others. All these shows similarities to Tepecik Gypsy/Roma group. The study has observed identification on the local-based ethnic membership and internalization of national identity as well as separation from the "Mangosar" group who considered as dealing with illegal work and dirty.

To sum up, the identity formation of Tepecik Gypsy/Roma group has very complicated nature. In addition to socio-economic conditions resulted in certain occupational concentration which brings different associations with the identity, there is also multi-dimensional identification map mainly constructed by several characters, such as "the Gypsy", Gypsy, Roma, Gorgio, Turkish and Kurdish. It

seems that how they perceive their identity is primarily defined by the context itself. That particular kind of context-bounded identification may change the position which is very relational. It has complicated composition including self-positioning, perception of the others and identification as a consequence of that interactive process. In addition, the constructed identity is deeply contradictory. On a slippery ground, the definitions could include both humanistic and discriminative implications.

There are some limitations of the study that are not unrelated to the fact that no other studies on Tepecik Roma community have been conducted before. First of all, ethnicity/ethnic identity is defined descriptively in the study since it is considered as not independent from the socio-economic context in which it becomes crystallized. In other words, it does not represent all Gypsy/Roma groups experiencing different socio-economic positions. In order to assert the common characteristics underlying Gypsiness and possible fragmentation within identity, some other studies comparing different groups are needed. Also needed is the analysis of class dimension which I was not able to focus on in this thesis.

As mentioned above, this study does not attempt to generalize the community and the identity. It should not be ignored that there are significant regional differences, as well as distinctions between rural groups and urban ones. I believe that the life style, i.e. nomadic or settled way of living, is also very decisive in identification process. Besides, other occupational categories, except from scrap-dealing, belly-dancing and musicianship, could make differentiation in another analysis of Gypsy identity. Another limitation of the study lies in the gender dimension. Although I was aware of the fact that the in-depth interviews with belly-dancers mainly address to the gender discrimination, I was not able to cover that issue. The situation of Roma belly-dancers should be analyzed in a more detailed way covering the gender dynamic which intersects with the ethnicity in that particular case. One of the limitations is the relation between Gorgio and Roma, i.e. the question of who refers to Gorgio in the eyes of Gypsy/Roma from Tepecik. This limitation is also valid for the case of specific contra-identification with Kurdish

group which needs more detailed consideration. These limitations are arisen from the main focus of the thesis which is the nature of the relation between identity perceptions and occupational positions of Roma.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aksu, M. (2003). *"Türkiye'de Çingene Olmak"*. İstanbul: Ozan Yayıncılık

Allen, K. (2004). *"Max Weber, A Critical Introduction"*. London: Pluto Press

Alpman, N. (1997). *"Çingeneler, Istanbul"*. İstanbul: Ozan Yayıncılık

Alpman, N. (2005). *"Trakya Çingeneleri, Sınırda Yasayanlar"*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları

Altınöz İ. H. (1995). *"Osmanlı Toplumunda Çingeneler"*, *Tarih ve Toplum*, sayı 137 (sayfa 278-285)

Altuntaş, B. (2003). *"Mendile, Simite, Boyaya, Çöpe… Ankara Sokaklarında Çalışan Çocuklar"*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları

Altuntaş, B. (2008). "Enformel Bir Emek Biçimi Olarak Sokak Toplayıcılığı", *Toplum ve Bilim*, No 112, (pp. 31-60).

Anthias, F. (2001). "The Material and The Symbolic in Theorizing Social Stratification: Issues of Gender, Ethnicity and Class", *British Journal of Sociology,* No 52 Issue No.3 September (pp. 367-390).

Atkinson, P. and Housley, W. (2003). *Interactionism*. London: Sage Publications.

Asseo, H. (2003). *"Çingeneler, Bir Avrupa Yazgısı"*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları

Barbalet, J. M. (1998). "Principles of Stratification in Max Weber: An Interpretation and Critique", *The British Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 31 No.3, Special Issue (pp. 401-418)

Barth, F. (1969). *"Ethnic Groups and Boundaries"*. London: Little, Brown and Company.

Becker, H. S. and Carper, J. (1956). "The Elements of Identification With an Occupation". *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (pp. 341-348)

Beissinger, H. (2001). "Occupation and Ethnicity: Constructing Identity among Professional Romani (Gypsy) Musicians in Romania" *Slavic Review*, Vol. 60, no. 1(pp. 24-49)

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *"Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste".* translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press

Bourdieu, P. (2006). *"Pratik Nedenler".* Çev. Hülya Tanrıöver İstanbul: Hil Yayın

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *"Outline of a Theory of Practice"* England: Cambridge University Press

Bourdieu P. (2007). *"The Forms of Capital"* in The Sociology of Education edited by Sadovnik, A. R. New York: Routledge

Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. (2001). *"Düşünümsel Bir Antropoloji için Cevaplar".* İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları

Bourdieu, P. (1999). *"Understanding"* in "The Weight of the world: Social Suffering and Impoverishment" et. al. Accardo A. trans. Ferguson P. Oxford: Polity Press

Bora, T. edt. (2007). "Ocak ve Zanaat Pierre Bourdieu Derlemesi" İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları

Brubaker, R. (2004). *"Ethnicity Without Groups",* Cambridge: Harward University Press

Brubaker, R. (2000). "Beyond Identity" *Theory and Society.* 29: 1-47

Ceyhan, S. (2005). *"Shifting Identities of Gypsy/ Roma Community in the Context of Modernity and Popular Culture in Edirne, Turkey*" paper presented at the CMR/ IRSN Romani Studies seminar at Istanbul Bilgi University

Cornell, S. and Hartman, D. (1994). *"Ethnicity and Race"* London: Sage Publications

Coser, L. (1971). *"Masters of Sociological Thought, Ideas in Historical and Social Context"* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

Davics, C. (1994). *"Interviewing in A Reflexive Ethnography: A Guide to Researching Selves and Others*" London, GBR: Routledge.

Duygulu, M. (2006). *"Türkiye'de Çingene Müziği, Batı Grubu Romanlarında Müzik Kültürü".* İstanbul:Pan Yayıncılık

Duygulu, M. (1998). "Türkiye'de Çingeneler", *Müzikalite* sayı 6 (pp.34-38).

Fenton, S. (2001). *"Etnisite".* Çev. Nihat Taş Ankara: Phoenix

Fonseca, I. (1996). *"Bury Me Standing: The Gypsies and Their Journey"* London:

Vintage

Geertz, C. (1963). *"Old Societies and New States: The Quest for the Modernity in Asia and Africa"*. New York: Free Press

Geertz, C. (1973). *"The Interpretation of Cultures"* New York: Basic Books, Inc. Publishers

Goffman, E. (1969). *"The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life"*. London: Penguin Press

Goffman, E. (1967). *"Interaction Ritual, Essays on Face-to-Face Behavior"* New York: The Anchor Books

Grenfell, M. (2007). *"Pierre Bourdieu Agent Provocateur"* London: Continuum

Hall, S. (1991). *"Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities"*. Culture, Globalization and the World System, edited by King, Anthony D. 41-68, University of Minesotapress

Hall, S. (1996). *"Who Needs Identity"* Questions of Cultural Identity, edited by S. Hall and Paul de Gay London: Sage Publications

Hastrup, K. (1992). *"Writing Ethnography State of Art"* in Anthropology and Autobiography Okley and Callaway (edt) London: Rouledge

Hutchinson, J. and Smith A.D (1996). *"Ethnicity"* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Incirlioglu, E.O. (2003). "A Place of Identity and Fear: Boundaries Experienced in a Gypsy Quarter in Ankara", in E. Strand and A. Marsh (eds.), in Contextual, Constructed and Contested: Gypsies and Problems of Identities, presented to a conference held at the Swedish Research Ins. In Istanbul. Istanbul: Numune Matbaası

Jenkins R. (1997). *"Rethinking Ethnicity Arguments and Explorations"*. London: Sage Publications

Jenkins, R. (1992). *"Key Sociologists Pierre Bourdieu"* London: Routledge

Keyes, F. (2002). "Weber and Anthropology". *Annual Review of Anthropology.* Vol.31 (pp.233-255)

Kolukırık, S. (2002). *"The Social Life of Roma (Gypsies) in Izmir, Turkey"* in S.Salo and C Pronai (eds.) Ethnic Identities in Dynamic Perspective- Proceedings of the 2002 Annual Meeting of the Gypsy Lore Society, Budapest, Gondolat Publishers and the Ethnic and National Minority Studies Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

167

Kolukırık, S. (2005). "Türk Toplumunda Çingene İmgesi Ve Önyargısı" *Sosyoloji Araştırmaları Dergis.*, Cilt 8, Sayı 2, sayfa 52-71

Lee, K. (2000). "Orientalism and Gypsylorism" *Social Analysis*. Issue 44 (2), November

Malesevic, S. (2004). *"The Sociology of Ethnicity"*. London: Sage Publications

Marushiakova, E. and Popov V. (2004). "Segmentation vs. Consolidation: The Examples of Four Gypsy Groups in CIS" *Romani Studies* 5, Vol. 14, No.2 (pp.145-191)

Marushiakova, E. and Popov V. (2001). *"Gypsies in the Ottoman Empire: A Contribution to the History of the Balkans"*. translated by Olga Apostolova; edited by Donald Kenrick. University of Hertfordshire Press UK.

Mavrommatis, G. (2007). çeviren Myisli, B. *"Kalkanca'nın çocukları: Yunanistan'da bir Müslüman Azınlık Toplumunda Yoksulluk, Sosyal İzolasyon ve Eğitim"* İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi

Mavrommatis, G. (2004). *"Roma in Public Education, Raxen"* National Focal Point for Greece, Antigone Information and Documentation Center

Okely, J. (1996). *"Own and Other Culture"*. London: Routledge

Okely, J. (1992). *"The Traveller-Gypsies"*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Özbudun, Ş. Altuntek, N. Şafak B. (2007). *"Antropoloji, Kuramlar/Kuramcılar"*. Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları

Özbudun, S. (2002). *"Kültür Halleri Geçmişte, Ötelerde, Günümüzde"*. Ankara: Ütopya Yayınevi.

Özyeğin, G. (2005). *"Başkalarının Kiri Kapıcılar Gündelikçiler ve Kadınlık Halleri"* İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları

Portes, A. (1998). "Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology" *Annual Review of Sociology* 24. ABI/INFORM Global (pp.0-12)

Reed-Danahay, D. (2005). *"Locating Bourdieu"*. US: Indiana University Press

Sağır, M. Ö. Akıllı S. (2004). "Etnisite Kuramları ve Eleştirisi". *C.Ü. Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* Mayıs Cilt: 28 No: 1 1-22

Schoepfle, G. Marc and Werner, O. *"Systematic Fieldwork, Volume 1 Foundations of Ethnography and Interviewing"* California: Sage Publications

Schwartz, J. (1985). "Reluctant Hosts: Denmark's Reception of Guest Workers", Kultursociologiske Skrifter no. 21 Københavns Universitet, Institut for Kultursociologi, Denmark

Schwartz, J. (2003). "Roma in Denmark: Some Representations and Realities", in Seminar November 7-8, 2003 on Minorities in the Baltic Sea Area, http://www.jur.ku.dk/Balticlaw/PDF/schwartz.PDF

Smith, A.D. (1986). *"Ethnic Origins of Nations"* USA: Oxford

Somersan, S. (2007). *"Swapping Identities in Sulukule"* Conference "INTER: A European Cultural Studies Conference in Sweden, Advanced Cultural Studies Institute of Sweden

Spradley, J. (1979). *"The Ethnographic Interview"* Florida: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers

Stewart, M. (1997). *"The Time of The Gypsies".* Colorado: Westview Press

Strand E. and Marsh A. (eds.) (2003). *"Contextual, Constructed and Contested: Gypsies and Problems of Identities",* presented to a conference held at the Swedish Research Ins. Istanbul: Numune Matbaasi

Stub, H. (1972). *"Status Communities in Modern Society: Alternatives to Class Analysis"* Hinsdale III: Dryden Press (pp.336)

Sway, M. (1988). *"Familiar Strangers: Gypsy Life in America"* Urbana: University of Illinois Press,

Toprak, Z. et. al. (2007). *"İzmir Büyükkent Bütününde Romanlar",* Ankara: Nobel Yayın Dağıtım

Van de Port, Mattijs (1998). *"Gypsies, Wars and Other Instances of the Wild, Civilization and Its Discontents in a Serbian Town",* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press

Wallerstein, I. and Balibar E. (1991). *"Race, Nation, Class: Ambigious Identities"* London: New York: Verso

Weber, M. (1968). *"Economy and Society"* Berkeley: University of California Press

Weber, M. (2006). *"Sosyoloji Yazıları"* çev. Taha Parla İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları

Wright, E. (2002). "The Shadow of Exploitation in Weber's Class Analysis" *American Sociological Review* Vol.67 No.6 (pp 832-853).

Wacquant, L. (2004) "Following Pierre Bourdieu into the Field." *Ethnography* 5-4 (pp 387-414)

THESIS

Özen, Y. (2008). *"Health and Illness Experiences among the Urban Poor: The Case of Altındağ"* Ankara: METU

Ceyhan, S. (2003*). "A Case Study of Gypsy/Roma Identity Construction In Edirne"* Ankara: METU

Kolukırık, S. (2004). "*Aramızdaki Yabancı: Çingeneler"* Izmir: Ege Üniversitesi

Değirmenci, K. (2008)*. "Turkish World Music: Multiple Fusions and Authenticities"* Ankara: METU

Doğruel, F. (2002). "*The Dynamics of living together and abstaining from conflict: A case study of Nusayri Alawite, Arab Christian and Armenian communities in Hatay"*, Ankara: METU

WEB PAGES

www.romnet.org

http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=320 European Roma Rights Center

http://www.romano.dk/romano/page2.html ROMANO Association

http://www.cingene.org

http://romani.uni-graz.at/rombase/

http://www.sulukulegunlugu.blogspot.com/

http://www.sulukuleyasasin.blogspot.com/

http://www.bianet.org/bianet/kategori/bianet/106771/fotograflarla-ahirkapida-hidrellez

 http://sociology.berkeley.edu/faculty/wacquant

The Sociological Life of Pierre Bourdieu." *International Sociology* 17-4 (December 2002) 17-4: 549-556.

"Everything is Social: In memoriam Pierre Bourdieu, 1930-2002" (with Craig Calhoun). *ASA Footnotes* 30-2 (February 2002): 5, 10. [long version]

"Habitus" Pp. 315-319 in *International Encyclopedia of Economic Sociology.*

(Edt.) Jens Beckert and Milan Zafirovski. London: Routledge, 2005.

"Proletaryadan 'prekarya' ya: Loïc Wacquant'la 'Sehrin Dislanmislari' uzerine" [From Proletariat to Precariat: On Loïc Wacquant's "Urban Outcasts"]." *Express* (Istanbul) 73 (June): 40-41.

"Pierre Bourdieu" (revised and expanded chapter), in Rob Stones (ed.), Key Contemporary Thinkers. London and New York: Macmillan, new edition, 2006

http://www.cingene.org/semp05/tr/suat.pdf Kolukırık, S., Çalışma Yaşamında Çingeneler: Çingene İş ve Meslekleri

REPORTS

Akkan, B., Karatay A., Erel B. And Gümüş G. (2008). *"Romanlar ve Sosyal Politika"* a report on a project of *"Roman Topluluklar için Yerel Düzeyde Sosyal Politika Önerisi Hazırlama Önerisi"* held by Sosyal ve Kültürel Yaşamı Geliştirme Derneği (SKYGD), Edirne Roman Kültürünü Araştırma Geliştirme Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Derneği (EDROM) and Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Sosyal Politika Forumu (SPF) Istanbul, financed by European Union, European Comission and Open Society Institution.

Marsh, A and Strand E. (2005). *"Reaching Romanlar: a Report on the Feasibility Studies "Mapping" a Number of Roman (Gypsy) Communities in Istanbul"*, International Romani Studies Network Istanbul: Bilgi University