A CASE STUDY OF GYPSY/ROMA IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN EDİRNE

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ABSTRACT

A CASE STUDY OF GYPSY/ROMA IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN EDİRNE

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The aim of this thesis is to argue about a Gypsy/Roma community's identity construction from the point of view of classical literature on ethnicity, class and gender dimensions in the symbolic identity construction in the case of Turkey. In this regard, it is important to examine whether this community benefits from citizenship rights. For this purpose, Edirne is chosen as a sample of Turkey because majority of Gypsy/Roma population lives in and this border city into which migrations took place from Bulgaria and Greece. Also for practical reasons of building a communication network, Edirne is selected as a case.

A qualitative study, using in-depth interviews with a total of 36 married persons of Gypsy/Roma community referring 18 household in-depth-interviews have been conducted from 2003 winter to summer. Besides, in-depth-interviews with 13 non-Gypsies have been conducted. All interviews were recorded, transcribed and the transcribed texts were used for discourse analysis. During the interviews socio-economic profile, marriage, practices of cultural habits, neighbourhood partnership, political identity, religious rituals and perceiving own identity were inquired.

There are three major conclusions of this thesis. The first finding is related to Gypsy/Roma community's socio-economic status. Gypsy/Roma community has problems accessing social benefits of education, health and the labour market in addition to having negative living conditions. The arguments of ''underclass'' and ''urban marginalization'' coincide with these results. Not only occupation, but also race, ethnicity and gender are linked together with Gypsy/Roma status as 'inferior' citizens. Secondly, Gypsy/Roma community is a closed community in their relations with non-Gypsies with regard to marriage and social network. The third finding is associated with Gypsy/Roma community's perceptions of their identity, which shows variations within community. In this regard, Roma is taken to be the ''other'' of not only the non-Gypsies but also Gypsy identity is accepted as the ''other'' even of Roma.

Key Words: Gypsy/Roma, ethnicity, class, gender, symbolic interactionism, identity, Edirne, underclass, other, nationalism.

ÖZ

EDİRNE'DEKİ ÇİNGENE/ROMAN KİMLİĞİNİN OLUŞUMU ÜZERİNE BİR SAHA ÇALIŞMASI

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Bu tezin amacı, Çingene/Roman topluluğunun kimlik oluşumunu, klasik literatür bakımından etnik, sınıfsal ve toplumsal cinsiyet boyutunun sembolik kimlik oluşumu içinde Türkiye örneği olarak tartışmaktır. Bu bakımdan, bu topluluğun vatandaşlık haklarından yararlanıp yararlanmadığını incelemek önemlidir. Bu amaçla Çingene/Roman sayısının fazla olduğu ve Bulgaristan ile Yunanistan'ın Edirne ile sınır komşusu olmaları ve buradan Edirne'ye göçlerin gerçekleşmesinden dolayı Edirne, Türkiye örneği olarak seçilmiştir. Ayrıca iletişim ağı kurmaya yönelik pratik sebepten dolayı Edirne saha çalışması olarak seçilmiştir.

Bu amaçla 2003 kışından yaz mevsimine dek Çingene/Roman topluluğundan 36 evli kişi yani 18 hanehalkı ile derinlemesine görüşme yöntemi ile niteliksel çalışma yürütülmüştür. Ayrıca araştırmayı tamamlamak için Çingene olmayan 13 kişi ile derinlemesine görüşme yapılmıştır. Tüm görüşmeler kaydedilmiş, çözümlenmiş ve çözümlenen metinler söylem analizi için kullanılmıştır. Görüşmeler esnasında sosyo-ekonomik kesit, evlilik, kültürel alışkanlıklar, komşuluk ilişkileri, politik kimlik, dinsel törenler ve kendi kimliğini algılayışı hakkında bilgi edinilmiştir.

Bu tezin üç temel sonucu vardır. İlk bulgu Çingene/Roman topluluğunun sosyo-ekonomik durumu ile ilgilidir. Çingene/Roman topluluğu hem eğitim, sağlık ve iş olanaklarına ulaşmakta sorunlar yaşamakta, hem de olumsuz yaşam koşulları göstermektedirler. "Alt Sınıf" ve "Kentsel Marjinalleşme" argümanları sonuçlar ile uygunluk göstermektedir. Sadece meslek bakımından değil; fakat aynı zamanda ırk, etnisite ve toplumsal cinsiyet açısından da Çingene/Roman'ın statüsü "aşağı" vatandaş olarak algılanmaktadır. İkinci olarak, Çingene/Roman topluluğu, Çingene olmayanlar ile evlilik ve sosyal ilişki bakımından kurulan ilişkilerinde kapalı bir toplumdur. Üçüncü bulgu, Çingene/Roman topluluğunun her biri için farklı olan kimlik algılayışları ile ilişkilendirilmiştir. Bu bakımdan, Roman, Çingene olmayanlarca "öteki" olarak algılanmış Çingene kimliği ise Roman kimliğinin ötekileştirilmişi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Çingene/Roman, etnisite, sınıf, toplumsal cinsiyet, sembolik etkileşim, kimlik, Edirne, altsınıf, öteki, milliyetçilik.

I hereby declare that all 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 to this work.

Date: Signature:

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to examine ethnic identity formation of Gypsy/Roma community. For this purpose objective conditions including class positions and gender will be focused on. The thesis will also try to show the significance of symbolic interactionist approach in explaining the development of an ethnic identity among Gypsy/Roma community. Hence, I decided to analyze the social and demographic profile of a Gypsy/Roma community living in Edirne.

There are disadvantaged groups in Turkey because they have difficulty in reaching citizenship rights, which manifests the right of participation and appropriation of the collective product, which are implied in the right to city[1]. Heterogeneous metropolitan areas in Turkey were prepared to address the major issues of urbanization caused by different ethnic groups having different language, religion, and culture from the rural areas. These different groups have an agreement within space to share all opportunities of the city; such as, employment, education, health and housing. Gypsy/Roma community is one of the disadvantaged groups in Turkey. The Human Development Index published every year for Turkey helps us to understand the disadvantaged regions and towns with respect to employment and education indicators but these indicators are not specified according to various social groups. Hence, it becomes almost impossible to prove the disadvantaged position of such groups in Turkey because of lack of statistical information. Not only

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[1] Lefebvre, H. (1996). The Production of Space (p.173). Oxford: Blackwell.

information about the objective conditions like employment and educational opportunities are missing, data on access to health, rate of infant mortality, life expectancy, women's participation in the labour market, participation in political decisions are also missing with respect to communities and various social groups living in Turkey. So like many other social groups, information on Gypsy/Roma community is not available. Still, it is almost common knowledge that Gypsy/Roma people can only enter low paid, low status jobs, which need no training. They have few educational achievements. They live in the poorest quarters of the cities, which are like ghettos in segregated urban areas. Their access to health, infrastructural facilities and housing amenities are almost non-existent. Additionally, it is hard to see them represented in political organizations or in any decision-making mechanisms. Only by looking into these common knowledge indicators it is easy to see the disadvantaged position of Gypsy/Roma in Turkey besides other disadvantaged groups.

On the other hand, there are some subjective aspects, which should also be considered in order to understand the disadvantaged position of communities. In this respect Gyspsy/Roma people are faced with various stigmatizations, labelling and stereotyping in the larger society, which encourages prejudices against the members of this community and further strenghtens their disadvantaged positions. For example, before 1960 the label *Kıbdi*[2] was written in the identity cards of Gypsy/Roma people that denoted them as a foreigner and minority status despite the fact that they have been living in this country for many years.

Although Gypsy/Roma people and rural migrants in the urban areas are similarly disadvantaged groups and live in bad housing conditions in the fringes of the cities, Gypsy/Roma communities are not rural migrants. They have lived in the urban periphery as nomads for a long time but settled recently in the urban neighbourhoods and tried to benefit from the priviledges of citizenship. At present most of the second and third generation Gypsy/Roma people have been settled and accustomed to living in city. Hence, they are urban settlers not of rural origin and

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[2] Kıbdi means in English 'Egyptian', assumed who came from Egypt.

they are very different from the rural migrants. In this sense they displayed urbanized attitudes. Besides, Gypsy/Roma people are different from rural migrants due to their ethnic identities. Stereotyped images of Gypsy/Roma community has been constructed and developed from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries onwards all over the world. Migratory communities have been seen as suspicious by the settlement societies. Likewise, Gypsy/Roma identity description were considered nomadics and vagabonds of the worst type, whose way of life, habits and characteristics were not acceptable to members of a society structured chiefly around permanency of settlement. Gypsies/Roma are always distrusted by the host society in a Simmelian sense[3]. According to stereotypes about Gypsies, they are segregated and stigmatized. The most dramatic example can be seen in Germany during Nazi genocide. Besides, this example not only belongs to German history but also can be seen in many countries. In this regard, Gypsy/Roma communities become more disadvantaged groups rather than any other disadvantaged groups in the world and in Turkey in reaching and sharing the opportunities offered to the citizens, owing to their ethnic identities. To verify such disadvantages due to stereotypes a study with the non-Gypsies will also be very significant. Hence, their prejudices and labels about Gypsy/Roma community may be a proof of such discrimination.

Meanwhile, Gypsy/Roma community has become not only ''other'' of non-Gypsies but also they represent the ''other'' of other disadvantaged groups. The other disadvantaged groups, mostly composed of rural migrants also cannot access to many privileges of urban life but at least they do not suffer from the lack of citizenship rights. As we know from few observations on Gyspy/Roma people in Turkey, most of the first generation lacked their identity cards for a long period since they were not counted in the censuses. Only recently the municipalities in metropolitan urban areas have been recognizing their existence in various neighbourhoods and trying to reach them. The basic motivation for municipalities and the police to deal with Gypsy/Roma people is their assumption that such

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[3] According to Sımmel, the "stranger" is considered by the eyes of the other as not owner of land. Besides, stranger's identity is "dispositioned", "dislocated" and "disremoted" through interaction with others and internalizing the attitudes of others. Hence, I made a correlation "stranger" and Gypsy/Roma community's identity.

unregistered groups may easily turn into crime and delinquency. So this appears to be another negative labelling against the Gyspsy/Roma people. On the other hand, the second and third generation youth of this community is more and more getting registrated and obtaining identity cards. Still this shows us that Gypsy/Roma people are gaining their rights of citizenship just recently.

This study focuses on the objective and subjective aspects of Gypsy/Roma community's identity construction in Edirne. In this regard, objective aspects include education, occupation, neighbourhood as well as social network. Subjective aspects of Gypsy/Roma people's identity are elaborated in accordance with politics, religious identity, ingroup-outgroup relations and perceptions of Gypsy/Roma people's own identity. There is a mutual effect between objective and subjective dimension of identity because identity reflects in modern society dialectical pluralism. Hence, objective aspects are essential factors to understand subjective aspects of a Gypsy/Roma identity in this dialectical process. Besides, I also interviewed non-Gypsies, to compare and comprehend a Gypsy/Roma identity. By the help of these interviews, the difference between 'real identity' and 'perceived identity' of a Gypsy/Roma community will be better understood. The thesis also aims at exploring the dimensions of identity construction through which the feeling of 'we'ness' and 'otherness' are weakened or strengthened.

Until today, Gypsy/Roma identity construction has not been studied comprehensively in Turkey. Edirne is chosen in this study because a majority of Gypsy/Roma population lived in and close to the border where migrations took place from Bulgaria and Greece. Also for practical reasons of building a network, Edirne is selected as a case. Therefore, this study will provide important knowledge as it will give an explanation a Gypsy/Roma identity construction.

In this study it is expected to reveal underlying features of a Gypsy/Roma community's identity construction from the point of a view of households, which include married couples. It is also expected to display whether a Gypsy/Roma community have access to citizenship rights and to what extent they can benefit from the privileges of being a registered citizen.

This study is composed of seven chapters. The first chapter is Introduction. The second chapter outlines the theoretical framework and informs us about the approaches in ethnicity theories, race, class, gender and all of their relations to each other. Besides, these theories are constructed with regard to symbolic interactionist approach[4] because perceptions of identity by ''self'' and ''other'' are products of culture and society. The third chapter is about the ethnic ties of Gypsy/Roma people with regard to language, nomadism, race and name. In addition, Gypsy/Roma community's social, economic, political conditions will be examined in the case of Germany, Bulgaria, Romania and Spain. Having information about the Gypsy/Roma community in the world is very crucial to compare the Gypsy/Roma people's identity constuction in Turkey, then in Edirne. The fourth chapter on the methodology used explains the aim of the study, sampling and data collection methods used in the case study of Edirne. Then, in the fifth and sixth chapters, the data of the thesis will be analyzed in terms of the objective and subjective aspects of a Gypsy/Roma identity. Fifth chapter examines the socio-economic profile of a Gypsy/Roma identity in Edirne including job opportunities, education and health conditions. In addition, social network -marriage patterns, weddings, funerals, neighbourhood- is examined under the title of objective aspects of identity. The sixth chapter focuses on the political and religious aspects of Gypsy/Roma identity as well as their relationship with non-Gypsies and their perception of their own Gypsy/Roma identiy are elaborated to determine the feelings of we'ness and otherness. Meanwhile, the effects of objective aspective of Gypsy/Roma community to subjective identity construction are examined. Seventh chapter introduced non-Gypsies' perceptions and level of information about Gypsy/Roma community. Because identity also constitute by the other. The last chapter aims to give the conclusion of this thesis.

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[4] Symbolic interactionist approach focuses on the issue of attaching meaning or interpretations of human interaction.

CHAPTER II

A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR ETHNIC IDENTITY FORMATION

2.1 Introduction

The spread of a globally based economy as well as migration to cities have built upon existing hierarchies of class, ethnicity and gender promoting new patterns of social and economic inequality. Bradley (1996) views all as being at the heart of the processes of social change. Ethnicity, class and gender are dimensions of this study and it is hard to separate out these factors from one another and assign each a weight. Each factor needs to be considered in its own right, while awareness and understanding of their interaction is retained.

Ethnicity and race will be examined in this section whether they are related to Gypsy/Roma identity. Primordialist and Circumstantialist approaches will be examined on the account of the ethnicity theories. The concept of race will also be argued regarding biological and Circumstantialist views.

That ethnicity and race cannot be thought as solely as class discussions are also important to define ethnic identity. Class theory has always been much of importance to understand social stratification and inequality. However, the class structure has changed so rapidly and radically in the past twenty years. Hence, thinking about class solely now no longer applicable, then, a new set of concepts is needed. In this regard, it is necessary to explain how occupational categories fused with ethnic identities. Cohen makes an evaluation of a sort of paired 'ethno-class', a

phenomenon evoked by these familiar descriptions; such as, Chinese traders, Indian coolies, Scottish engineers (Cohen, cited in Mortimer and Fine, 1999:8).

In addition, theorists of gender argue that ethnic identity might affect the labour participation. In this section, gender is selected as a dimension of ethnic identity to argue how gender roles develop through relations among ethnicity, gender and class stratification.

One of the reasons why ethnic differences arise is related to the various kinds of coerced migration from rural to urban. The space is urban in this research. Literature review made researchs on the ground different migrant groups to what extent benefit from citizenship rights in urban. Urban might also affect the identity construction. Moreover, the identity construction will be assessed in terms of the symbolic interactionist perspective because it is thought that primordialist and circumstantialist ethnicity theories cannot merely explain the identity construction.

2.2   Different Approaches to Ethnicity and Race

In this part, approaches to ethnicity and race will be elaborated. Although the terms are related, they refer to different categories. Hence, ethnicity will be examined regarding Primordialist and Circumstantialist approaches and race will be discussed in terms of biological and social construction views.

2.2.1   Primordial Nature of Ethnicity

Ethnicity refers to a particular way of defining not only others but also ourselves. Ethnic identity and ethnic origin can be defined as the sense of individual that he/she belongs to a particular cultural community. Cornell and Hartman mention that an ethnic group cannot exist in isolation. 'To claim an ethnic identity is to distinguish ourselves from others; it is to draw a boundary between us and them, that we share something that they do not' (Cornell and Hartman, 1998:20). Hutchinson and Smith make a definition of the term ''ethnie'': 'a named human population with myths of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more elements of common culture, a link with a homeland and a sense of solidarity among at least

some of its members' (Hutchinson and Smith, 1996:6). Rex relates the notion of ''ethnie'' to the sense of emotional belonging and sacredness, which is to be found in the smaller groups (Rex, 1996:99). Although the ''ethnie'' does not have its own structure of social relations, there is usually some sort of status and economic differentiation and complementarity between its members and there will be some type of role differentiation. Meanwhile, 'ethnocentrism -a belief in the normality and superiority of one's own people and their ways of doing things- is a common aspect of ethnic identity' (Cornell and Hartman, 1998:30). This means thinking of your group as well, others as ill.

Existing approaches to ethnicity can be divided into two broad camps and a number of alternative approaches. First come so-called 'primordialists'. Primordialists explain ethnic identities as having a character coming from birth. Ethnic identities are seen as given, natural, they are primordial and deep-seated ties, which are fixed, unchangeable and rooted in unchanging conditions or circumstances of birth. Edward Shills and Clifford Geertz firstly suggested this approach. Geertz argues that ethnicity is primordial and defines primordiality as follows:

> By a primordial attachment is meant one that stems from the givens of existence or culture is inevitably involved in givens of social existence; such as, congruities of blood, speech, custom and so on. The strength of these such primordial bonds are important different from one person to person, from society to society and from time to time (Geertz, 1963: 110).

According to Geertz's assumption, 'given' primordial ties; such as, biological relatedness, territorial proximity, shared religion, language and so on are excluded from personal liking, from having to act together in a deliberate way to pursue interests and achieve goals. Geertz allows that the strength and type of bond may vary but offers no notion of how such a natural and underived phenomenon could vary or any language to describe such variation. According to this assumption, ethnicity is an emotional power and Cornell and Hartman assessing the great strength of the primordialist vision is on the ground that it focuses on the intense, internal aspects of ethnic group solidarity, the subjective feeling of belonging that is often associated with racial or ethnic group membership (Cornell and Hartman, 1998: 52).

Harold Isaacs treats ethnicity as a basic group identity and he adopts the primordialist approach. Language is an important issue in ethnicity theories. As

Isaacs says 'Language is one of the basic group identities but its weight, value and importance in relation to the other elements vary greatly in varying situations' (Isaacs, 1989:100). However, the role of language, for Isaacs, is not same everywhere nor ever the whole story. Language is crucial to the way any individual sees the world; but it not only shapes, it is also shaped by what is seen. Isaacs found his overreaching concept in Erik Erikson's notion of "group identity". To understand group identity he explored the significance that people ascribe to the body (including skin color), to the importance of names, language, the role of history, myths of origin and finally the roots of nationalism. Therefore, for Isaacs, language is one of the group identification features.

Name is also seen a primordial attachment. 'Name' is the most simple and obvious of all symbols of identity and it is the beginning of a language. As Isaacs says, 'a name will seldom itself to be heart of the matter of group identity, but it can often take us to where the heart can be found, leading us deep into the history, the relationships, and the emotions that lie at the center of any such affair.' (Isaacs, 1989:73). Isaacs also believes that the uttering of name itself serves as an instant signal for behavior based on group affiliation, producing its almost automatic response such as, welcoming or rebutting, including or excluding the stranger. According to Isaacs's argument, 'ethnic identity is more basic than what Isaacs calls secondary identities, such as occupational or class identities' (Cornell and Hartman, 1998:50) Cornell and Hartman makes critique of Isaac's argument, for some people, however, ethnic and racial identities may be less compelling and important than other identities.

2.2.2   Circumstantialist Assumption in Ethnicity

Rex (1996) criticizes primordialist assumption because for him, religious, linguistic and cultural communities are much wider in scope than the kin and village based community of birth. We may replace the ties, which are given to us in our families of birth by others, which we choose. He says leaders have affective roles in stratification of ethnic groups. Such stratification might rest on property or on status closure or simply on the emergence of elites.

The other basic assumption about ethnicity is Circumstantialist or Instrumentalist approach emphasizes on the contextuality of ethnicity. Circumstantialist scholars discuss the ethnic group identities and relations in the modernist vein. In this regard, ethnic identities are considered to be the products or end-result of certain contexts. Specific and immediate circumstances or situations bring about the ethnic identities. Circumstantialism is a way from Primordialism, which has been the target of sustained criticism because as Cornell and Hartman mentions: 'Supposedly elemental givens of social life often do not appear to have quite the deeply embedded. There is too much change and variation in ethnicity and race around the world to support the primordialist account' (ibid, p.52).

Ethnic identities overlap with other kinds of social identity and people may assume different identities and contexts. In this regard, class has compiled an uneven but substantial record as a foundation of collective action in the industrial nations of the world. Main idea of Instrumentalists is that ethnic groups are socially constructed and individuals are able to cut and mix from a variety of ethnic heritages and cultures to forge their own individual or group identities. Interests and utility usually remain as central features of this approach. Cornell and Hartman express how social change and circumstances sometimes encourage or produce ethnic and racial identities without the intervening mediation of interests. According to them, circumstances may create ethnic and racial groups and identities not through logic of interests. Cornell and Hartman argue this in an example:

> For example, even in the absence of a clear set of economic or political interests, immigrant groups sometimes find themselves concentrated in housing areas or jobs or social institutions. Accordingly, they may come to see themselves as a distinct ethnic or racial population simply by virtue of their circumstances, which tend to sustain daily interactions among them and discourage interactions with others. Ethnic persistence among some European-descent groups in the United States, for example, is a result not only of explicit economic or political interests and calculated strategies but also of the changing circumstances of urban work and life. Many immigrant groups entering American cities found themselves residentially and occupationally concentrated. Only certain jobs or residential spaces were open to them. This may have resulted from intentional exclusion, but it is also resulted at times from a lack of sufficient skills or connections to obtain other jobs or from the cost of housing (ibid, p.60).

Assimilationist theory, then Park's assertion is that ethnic and racial identities would disappear because of the steady progress of rationality and science. Although Assimilationism and Circumstantialism share some aspects, Circumstantialism differs in taking into account the non-ethnic forces determining ethnic outcomes and

according to it, not all changes in ethnic and racial relations finish by assimilation. Robert Park saw 'assimilation as a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other groups and by sharing their experience and history are incorporated with them into a common cultural life' (Park and Burgess, 1924:735). According to Park's race relations, global processes such as, migration bring previously separate populations into contact with one another, a contact typically followed by competition as those groups struggle for territory or jobs.

Frederick Barth expresses shifting identities. Barth (1996) states that the term ethnic group is generally understood in anthropological designate a population which is largely biologically self-perpetuating; shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms; makes up a field of communication and interaction and has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order. Therefore, the ideal type of ethnic group definition is that: a race = a culture = a language and that a society = a unit which rejects or discriminates against others. However, Barth's main objection is that such a formulation prevents us from understanding the phenomenon and of ethnic groups and their place in human society and culture. What Barth suggests is that the question of who and who is not a group member varies according to the situation and according to the interests pursued. Barth mentions that,

> Firstly, if differences between groups become differences in trait inventories; the attention is drawn to the analysis of cultures, not of ethnic organization. Secondly, it is thus inadequate to regard overt institutional forms as constituting the cultural features, which at any time distinguish an ethnic group-these overt forms are determined by ecology as well as by transmitted culture. Nor can it be claimed that every such diversification within a group represents a first step in the direction of subdivision and multiplication of units' (cited in Hutchinson and Smith, 1996:77).

Barth gives importance to the reproduction of ethnic groups referring to the definition of the situation in interaction. Rex calls this an alternative theory, situationist theory of ethnic boundaries (Rex, 1996:85). Rex argues that perhaps unconsciously, the groups formed in this way serve particular purposes. For Rex (1989), ethnicity may or may not be involved as a boundary marker, the actual

markers chosen will vary according to the circumstances, then the location of the boundary might alter.

Barth's attention of ethnicity is mainly related to the situation of interaction. Hence, ethnic groups and their features are produced under particular interactional, historical, economic and political circumstances. As Barth mentions, 'ethnic categories are organizational vessels that may be given varying amounts and forms of content in different socio-cultural systems' (Barth, quoted in Rex, 1989:92).

In this regard, Barth thinks the boundary as a vessel in varying contents; such as, economic practices, symbols and language. Barth (1994) develops three interweaving levels: micro, median and a macro level. Micro level examines personal experiences, interpersonal interaction and the formation of identities. This level is important in the identity formation because the boundary consciousness begins within individual sense. Then, median level is examined through enterpreneurship, leadership and rhetoric. On this level, for Barth, 'processes intervene to constrain and compel people expression and action on the micro level' (Barth, cited in Vermeulen and Govers, 1994:20-21). Finally, macro level includes the state policies as well as Barth sees international organizations playing an important role on this level, which affect the median level.

Wallman developed Barth's ideas on ethnicity. For Wallman, boundaries have two aspects: 'One is structural and organizational. The boundary marks the interface of one system and another. The second is subjective. It marks the difference between us and them. It indicates identity' (cited in Rex, 1989:93). Wallman thinks boundaries like ballons. For Wallman,

> The skin of balloon is seen as being subject two kinds of pressure; from inside and from outside, and its size and location vary accordingly. So also the boundary of an ethnic group will alter when subject to pressure from the outside envirorement or from inside the group' (ibid, p.93).

For Wallman, the need for identity will lead to the adoption of strong boundary markers. Wallman considers whether ethnicity or some other factor is the basis of a boundary, but she emphasizes that boundary processes are not dependent upon macro-political processes.

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Ethnic groups, as Horowitz mentions, can be placed at various points along the birth-choice continuum. Ethnic groups vary in the fluidity they are prepared to tolerate at their margins and their willingness to adapt their identity to changing conditions' (Horowitz, 1985:55). Horowitz also argues that changes in territorial boundaries can lead to significant changes in ethnic identities. Individuals may also regard each other as ethnic strangers in one place, but as ethnic kin in another where they may discover both common cultural commitments and common material interests in the face of competitors from radically different cultures. Horowitz says that 'ethnic and national groups can similarly fuse or split apart. Such processes may combine primordial sentiments and strategic calculations' (Horowitz, 1985:70).

Competition and conflict are key concepts in the Circumstantialist view. In this regard, ethnic and racial identities are thrown into competition with one another for relatively scarce jobs because of getting of house, political power or social status. ''Split market theories'', sharing Circumstantialist view, emphasize competition between ethnic groups for resources, but they bring the mobilization and the use of power to the forefront. As Aguirre and Turner say,

> Market for labor become portioned, with members of certain ethnic groups being confined to some jobs in the labor market and not allowed to work in higher paid jobs. The pressure to split the labour market comes from those in the more powerful ethnic populations fearing that they might lose their advantage if the labor market were to be opened up to other groups who would be willing to work for less and who would increase the supply of labor relative to the market's demand, thereby driving wages down as more workers compete for jobs (Aguirre&Turner, 1998:29).

Therefore, argument is based on the fact that bourgeoisie to manage high profits to keep labor costs low. For example, low-wage African-American workers were imported by northern industrialists as strike-breakers to undermine the effects of white workers to develop a power base for securing higher wages and better working conditions.

According to ''split-class theories'', there are splits within each class along ethnic lines. Members of some ethnic populations are subordinate within a class and are often relegated to the less desirable, lower payment and less secure jobs within this class. As Aguirre&Turner mention:

> Within the working classes, subordinate ethnic minorities were until recently always excluded from the most desirable jobs -unionized craft positions (carpenters, plumbers, electricians,

sheet metal workers, machine workers, and the like- and dramatically over-represented in low-skill, low-pay and low-job-security positions (day labourers, seasonal workers, and domestics). This is the case for African, Latino and Native Americans or many Asian groups-Koreans, Vietnamese and Chinese, for example (Aguirre&Turner, 1998:31).

2.2.3 What is Race?

Cornell and Hartman (1998) mention the notion of race in four ways. Firstly, race typically originates in assignments by others. It is a way of describing "others" in that "they" are not "us". Secondly, 'race is a product of the global era, with roots in European colonialism in places such as Malaya and in Asia, Africa and the Americas' (Cornell and Hartman, 1998:27). Hence, in the European conception, Whites represented the norm, and the others were just that "other". Thirdly, the designation of race is an assertion of power to define the "other" and in doing so to create it as a specific object. Finally, racial designation typically implies inferiority through the history. In this classification, others are thought as uncivilized or pagan or incapable as well as less intellectual or less cultured.

Primordialist and Circumstantialist approaches in ethnicity also interpret the notion of race. In historical order, Social Darwinism and Socio-biology theory developed as radical forms in Primordialist approach. Social Darwinists focus on human being is deeply rooted in biology. For this purpose, ethnic and racial differences can be explained biological terms. This theory was effective since 1880. Sociobiologist' view is a radical form of Primordialism and it is closer to Social Darwinism. This view emphasizes the biological character of ethnicity. In this view, race and nation are ultimately derived from genetic re-productive drives. Van Den Berghe is well known in Socio-biological approach. To him, 'human can only be understood within an evolutionary framework that gives equal weight to genes and environment acting in concert' (Van Den Berghe, 1996:62). He sees genetic effect on behaviour, which directly results from natural selection. Hence, it can be understood that genetic reproductive capacity is the basis of families, clans and also wider groups. Race is an extention of the idiom of kinship. Although he draws a clear linkage between genes and behavior, he considers racism as a case of culture.

Assimilationist theory emerges as a reaction to Darwinism in the 20th century. According to this theory, differences between ethnic and racial groups are rooted in

culture, not in biology. Chicago School was particularly influential in the emerging of this theory. Cornell and Hartman (1998) mention that Park developed race relation cycle. Accordingly, immigrant groups in USA went through a series of steps as they gradually melted into the larger society. Hence, minority identity would disappear and melt into the culture.

Cornell and Hartman argue that 'race is a group of human beings socially defined on the basis of physical characteristics…[N]either markers nor categories are predetermined by any biological factors' (Cornell and Hartman, 1998:24). According to their argument, racial categories are not natural categories; on the contrary, they are created, inhabited and transformed by human action. Cornell and Hartman see that ethnic groups are not fixed and racial groups are redefined on the basis of circumstances.

2.3   Class Dimension in the Formation of Ethnic Identity

The notion of class is so fundamental to Marx's writing that it is impossible to review class without Marx's class analysis. Marx developed a social typology based on the concept of relations of production through which classes are formed. As Giddens argues, 'according to Marx, classes emerge where the relations of production involve a differentiated division of labor which allows for the accumulation of surplus production that can be appropriated by a minority grouping, which thus stands in an exploitative relationship to the mass of producers' (Giddens, 1996:36).

Although, Marx distinguished a number of different modes of production, he gave most of his attention to the typical class relations of a capitalist society producing antagonistic classes, dominant one is bourgeoise and subordinated one is labourer. The labourers own nothing but sell their labour power in the free market for a wage. In this regard, exploitation occurs by increasing length of the working day, which leads to increase absolute surplus. In Marx's usage, class of necessity involves a conflict relation (Giddens, 1996; Bradley, 1996). Marx also indicates a relationship between ruling class's force and its mentality. As Marx points out in German

Ideology that 'the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production' (Marx, 1970:64).

> In Weber's usage, classes can only exist when such a market has come into existence, and this in turn presupposes the formation of a money economy. According to Giddens's interpretation, 'Weber admits, with Marx, that ownership versus non-ownership of property is the most important basis of class division in a competitive market' (Giddens, 1996:164). In this regard, ownership classes are owners of property receiving rents through their possession of land, mines, etc. These classes are positively advantaged. On the other hand, 'negatively disadvantaged' ownership classes include all those without either property or skills to offer. In addition, Weber also regards middle classes, commercial classes and wage-labourers. Bradley argues that Weber's class analysis allows for the interaction of class with other dimensions of stratification (Bradley, 1996:51). Weber rejects the notion that economic phenomena directly determine the nature of human ideals. Therefore, such valuations have to be conceptualized independently of class interests. Although Weber used the term of class, he never formulated a clear and systematic model of class.

Bradley offers a broad definition of class. As he explains:

> Class is a label applied to a nexus of unequal lived relationships arising from the social organization of production, distribution, exchange and consumption. These include: the allocation of tasks in the division of labor (occupation, employment hierarchies); control and ownership relationships within production; the unequal distribution of surplus (wealth, income, state benefits); relationships linked to the circulation of money; patterns of consumption (lifestyle, living arrangements) and distinctive cultures that arise from all these. Class is much broader concept than occupational structure (ibid, p.46).

2.3.1 The Relationship Between Ethnicity and Class

Bradley argues about the fragmentation of class, which was started by Weber's pluralistic model. Rex also supports this. 'Ethnies are entering a complex pre-existing order involving both class and status' (Rex, 1996:192). Weber described stratification in general terms in relation to the distribution of power within a community. The features of Weber's model of stratification are related to the not only economic power, but also status and power are aspects of power. 'The status of an individual refers to the evaluations which others make of him or his social position, thus attributing to him some form of social prestige or esteem' (Giddens, 1996:166). For Weber, status groups are not as same the social classes. Status groups are generally moral communities which are more likely to have a powerful sense of their own common identity and of the social boundary separating them off from others, especially if there is a racial, religious or ethnic component present. Weber's concept of status provides a way of conceptualizing racial and ethnic divisions.

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Parkin argues that 'Weber sometimes thinks of status groups as agencies of collective action that serve as alternatives to class-oriented action' (Parkin, 1997:99).

To understand Weber's stratification in a society, it is useful to describe his notion of social closure. Weber's discussion of ''social closure'' is that the process by which various groups attempt to improve their lot by restricting to access to rewards and privileges to a limited circle. 'Exclusionary social closure is thus action by a status group designed to secure for itself certain resources and advantages at the expense of other groups' (Parkin, 1997:100). Cornell and Hartman argue competition often leads to social closure, which is likely to reinforce and reproduce ethnic and racial boundaries. Ethnic closure has normally followed in the wake of colonial conquest or the forced migration of populations, creating a sub-category of second-class citizens within the boundaries of nation-state; such as, Catholics, Jews, and blacks. Social closure is used to mark out the social boundaries between groups and maintain the hierarchical ordering of society. Parkin also says about Weber that the educational system is an especially refined instrument for guarding and controlling entry to the charmed circles. According to this, 'paper qualifications and certificates were almost as effective as lineage or skin color or religion as a means of monitoring the entry of the chosen few into the greener pastures' (Parkin, 1997:101).

To Weber, ethnicity and race would decline as significant social forces in the modern world. Unlike ethnicity, which was a communal relationship and based on subjective feelings of the parties, the rationalization of human action and organization was the most important characteristics of modernization. According to Bradley (1996), Weber's account of gender and ethnicity as aspects of status did not carry this insight far enough; the notion of fragmentation arises directly from Weber's pluralistic view.

Marx was also thinking in the same way that capitalism would dissolve ethnic ties and link people to each other on the basis of their position in the process of economic production. Seeing ethnicity as an instance of false consciousness, Marxists sought to abolish ethnicity. Whereas, for Marxist scholars, the only true form of consciousness was class-consciousness. Bradley (1996) indicates that Marxist theory gives primacy to class or class conflict and it blames capitalism for

ethnic and racial conflict but it seeks class-based explanations for communal solidarities. Class theories emphasize the economic exploitation of the lower classes by those in the higher classes.

Rex also considers the most corrosive factor of ethnicity as the emergence of markets. This is a major structuring factor in modern society. Rex argues that 'Markets generate shared and conflicting interests, that is group arising, to use Geertz' term, from tactical necessity. This is what Weber means when he defines class-situation as market-situation and this is why Marxism is inclined to see any form of bonding which arises other than from the pursuit of interests of interests as resting upon false consciousness' (Rex, 1996:191). However, Rex sees class in an advanced market-based society is inevitably involved with ethnicity of this kind; both regional ethnics and ethnic minorities entering the society may have a class position. Moreover, Rex adds that 'if class is seen as arising from the relation of varying strength and weakness in relation to the means of production, bears the consequence that regional and ethnic groups become quasi-classes or, as some like to say, class fractions' (ibid, p.192). That Rex called quasi-classes are not simply ethnies but also have a place within a status order which is closed to Weber's status groups and his term of 'social closure'. Status groups are generally moral communities and having powerful sense of their own identity. They are seen as arranged in stratification for all practical purposes. Upper-status groups employ strategies of closure to exclude members of lower groups (Parkin, 1997).

According to Bradley's argument, race and ethnicity also act as a source of division within classes giving example as black and white workers are in competition for jobs. In this regard, since Black African Americans are at the bottom of the employment hierarchy, white working people see themselves as in a position of relative privilege. Migration is also an important component in the relation between race and class. Ethnic minorities are often used to supplement the indigenous working class when labour is short. Bradley mentions they usually fill the worst, low-status dirty jobs rejected by the native populace. For example, the extensive recruitment of Afro-Caribbean workers into public sector jobs in transport and the health service has probably contributed both to low pay in those areas and to the

growth of public-sector militancy. However, better-paid jobs remain the preserve of white workers. Therefore, Bradley, labour is not an ethnically neutral category.

Castles and Kosack (1973) examined the relation between immigrant workers and class structure. For them, immigrant workers in France, Germany, Switzerland and Britain are usually employed in occupations rejected by indigenous workers. They are inferiorly positioned in the labor market concentrating on certain occupations such as, building, clothing, and domestic service. Overwhelming majority of them are manual workers, usually unskilled or semi-skilled. Moreover, immigrants tend to be at a disadvantage with regard to unemployment. For Kosack and Castles, although immigrant workers belong to the working class, within this class they form a bottom of stratum due to the subordinate status of their occupations.

Ethnic stratification can be summarized as Aguirre and Turner (1998) argue. There are interrelated processes in the ethnic stratification: the amount, level and type of resources; such as, jobs, education, health, prestige- an ethnic subpopulation typically receives- the degree to which these resource shares locate most members of an ethnic subpopulation in various social hierarchies. The extent to which these resource shares contribute to those distinctive behavior, organizations and cultural systems that provide justification to the dominant group for making them targets of discrimination.

Rex also argues about ethnic mobilization in the case of a new non-ethnic modernizing state. He says that 'the members of the various ethnies might adjust to the situation by developing dual loyalties. They may still have a sense of belonging to their own group, but also enter into the new modern world of the market place and the polity' (Rex, 1996:86-87). To Rex, this process leads to having multiple identities. Identity reflects in modern society dialectical pluralism. Multiple identities should not think simply as a feature of post-modern society but also related to the integration of ethnic groups in the nation-state. Hall also emphasizes identities are not fixed, rather identities change as discourses about ethnic relations change. As he states: 'Identities are never unified and in modern times, increasingly fragmented and

fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions' (Hall, 1996:4).

2.4 Gender Dimension in the Formation of Ethnic Identity

The main point of the feminist theories is that the subordinate position of women in the labor market and in the home/family are interrelated, and part of an overall social system in which women are subordinated to men. The position of woman within the labor market depends on the society's structure in terms of economical and cultural modes. Economic growth affects the position of woman in the labor market through the transformation of the division of labor and the process through which new or old occupations are gendered. It should be emphasized that gender is socially constructed and institutionalized in the fabric of race and class. In this regard, gender is integral processes of class formation. Women's ethnic identity might affect the labour participation. Not only culture is provided as an explanation but also economic development is an important factor for women's marginalization. The development process involves a restricting of the labor force from traditional and subsistence type rural employment to modern , organised urban employment.

2.4.1 Relationship Between Ethnicity and Gender

According to Bradley's (1996) argument, women appear more marginalized in the hierarchy of class formation. Although women provide backing for the economic and social reproduction of capital, they are also an important element as constituting the reserve army of labour. Segura argues that women employed in minority-female jobs were more vulnerable to economic fluctuations than women in white-female dominated jobs. Segura's respondents are selected sample of Chicana and Mexica immigrant women and they are occupationally segregated. According to results of her research, 'employment in jobs occupationally segregated by gender and race restricted opportunities for advancement. Among the respondents, promotional opportunities were greater in white-female-dominated jobs' (Segura in Chow, Wilkinson, Zinn 1996:149-165).

Bradley also argues the relationship among gender and class, ethnicity. Bradley states that

> Skilled minority ethnic women are twice as likely to be unemployed as white women; they face difficulties in gaining access to some parts of the female labour market, such as, clerical work. Afro-Caribbean women are concentrated in lower-grade caring work and public sector jobs, Pakistani and Bengali women in semi-skilled or unskilled factory work, such as textiles and in home-working (Bradley, 1996:108).

As understood from the examples, there is a dialectical correlation among ethnicity, class, gender and ethnicity. Women who are parts of an ethnic minority group have been positioning in low-skilled jobs lacking of benefits of jobs such as security. This signifies disadvantaged position of women who are part of ethnic groups in job opportunities.

2.4.2 Discussions on Marginality in the Urban Arena

Marshall outlines a discussion of a citizenship in the late 1940s. Marshall analyzes citizenship in terms of civil, political and social rights. Civil rights are related to individual freedom and these are 'liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property, and right to justice' (Marshall, 1983:248). For Marshall, civil rights developed in the eighteenth century. Marshall sees 'political rights to participate in the exercise of a political power as a member of a body invested with political authority or as an elector of the members of a such a body' (ibid, p.249). At last social rights are related to the institutions of welfare state in the twentieth century including the national system of compulsory education, health and social services. Although Marshall sees citizenship rights as a system of equality, capitalism is a system of inequality for him. Besides, he pays attention to class inequalities. Many scholars criticize Marshall's account of citizenship. According to Nash,

> Marshall neglected dimensions of social inequality other than those of class, notably of gender, race and ethnicity…he supposed cultural homogeneity cultural homogeneity among the citizens of the nation but citizenship is now being considered as multi-cultural and post-national as a way of ensuring rights for migrants and other minorities within states (Nash, 2000: 157-159).

Although Marshall's account of citizenship is important in the cultural politics, the heterogeneity and fluidity of social identities is important to a

consideration of citizenship rights. Hence, ethnicity, class and gender are dimensions of citizenship.

Castells is concerned with urban phenomenon within the problematic of urban culture. For Castells, 'urbanization must regard it is a process of organization and development and, consequently, set out from the relation between productive forces, social classes and cultural forms (including space)' (Castells, 1977:8). In this regard, for him, the culturalist tendency in the analysis of urbanization is related to the correspondence between a certain technical type of production, which is essentially defined by industrial activity), a system of values (modernism) and a specific form of spatial organization, the city whose distinctive features are a certain size and a certain density. Castells does not think size as a descriptive element in the evolution of societies. Instead of size, dimension and diffentiation of a social group is itself the product and the expression of a social structure. He sees a simultaneous and concomitant production of social forms in their different dimensions in particular in their spatial and cultural dimensions. We see Castell's explanations on the formulation as an ideological question, which concerns the process of the reproduction of labour power and that of the cultural specificity of modern society. The concept of ideology is linked to the social forms of space, the conditions for the realization of the reproduction of labour power. Therefore, for Castells urban refers not only to a spatial form but expresses the social organization of the process of reproduction. He also thinks space as a social product, which is a definite relation among the different instances of a social structure, the economic, the political the ideological and the conjuncture of social relations that result from them (Castells, 1977:429-430).

Castells argues the urbanistic thinking of one of the greatest theoreticians of contemporary Marxism, Henri Lefebvre's ideas of urban. Castell summarizes Lefebvre's ideas on urban:

> Lefebvre's the term of urban society is developed within a historical process; the agrarian, the industrial, the urban which is a production of social content by a trans-historical form (the city) and beyond this, it expresses a whole general conception of the production of social relations, that is to say, a theory of social change, a theory of revolution. For the urban is not only a libertarian utopia; it has a relatively precise content in Lefebvre's thinking: It is a question of centrality or of concentration (Castells, 1977:89).

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Castells argues Lefebvre that since Lefebvre thinks the urban is a productive force one is directed toward a transcending of the theory of the modes of production, reducing urban to the ranks of Marxist dogmatism. For Lefebvre, class struggle is a determining role relating to space and as expressing a project of freedom. He also relates declining of class struggles to the alienation of everyday life.

It must be emphasized that for Lefebvre, the city projects on the terrain a whole society, with its superstructures, its economic base and its social relations (Castells, 1977). Space is a critical element in the process of urbanization. Lefebvre constructed a theoretical unity among fields, which are apprehended separately. These spaces are physical space; the Cosmos; mental space including logical and formal abstractions and social space incorporates social actions of objects. For him, the focus is more specifically on the social space of lived action. Social space is not a thing but rather a set of relations between objects and products. For Lefebvre, space is the result of the social agents' or actors' interactions, strategies, successes and defeats also give the qualities and properties of urban space. Inhabiting and everyday life produce space. Everyday life cannot be understood without understanding the contradiction of Marx's analysis between the forces of production and social relations of production according to Lefebvre's analysis. As Lefebvre puts it, 'Space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and action; that in addition to being a means of production, it is also means of control, and hence of domination' (Lefevbre, 1996:26). Castells criticizes this issue because to Castells (Castells, 1977), if urban practice is understood as a practice of transformation of everyday life, it comes up against a number of obstacles in terms of institutionalized class domination. Therefore, Lefebvre 'posed the problem of urbanism as one of ideological coherence and as the repressive-regulatory intervention of the state apparatus' (Castells, 1977:93). Lefebvre mentions how capitalism and hegemony of bourgeoisie affect the society in relation to space. In addition, how class, ethnic, racial and gender struggle is inscribed in space as Lefebvre put it. Lefebvre also proposed the concept of the right to city. As he states, 'the right to the city manifests itself as a superior form of rights: right to freedom, to individualization and socialization, to habitat and to inhabit…The right to the collective product, to participation and appropriation are implied in the right to the city' (Lefebvre, 1996:173-174).

Following Lefebvre, Castells also argues whether certain spaces determine a certain form of behavior. Examining Suzan Kellner research Castells arrives a point that the feeling of attachment to the quartet seems to reflect a general attitude in relation to living conditions, rather than to the characteristics of the surrounding context. The direct link between social and spatial variables, for Castells, is at the center of the whole problematic of urban-sub-cultures. Castells accepts the relation between habitat and inhabiting but in a segmented way. Castells gives an example:

> The case of marginal communities established on the periphery of the Latin American cities, the social differentiation explodes the cultural norms into so many segments. Each of the subpopulations such as, in Santiago, Chile shows that each of the sub-populations-differentiated above all in terms of resources and occupation- reveal different standards of living, a different set of values and various degrees of social participation (Castells, 1977:107).

Therefore, we understand from Castells that there is no systematic link between different urban contexts and ways of life. For Castells specific urban milieux must be understood as social products and space must be established as a problematic, as an object of research rather than as an interpretative axis of the diversity of social life.

Harvey argues spaces asking the questions of what the space is for and how it is to be managed diverge radically among competing factions. For Harvey, it is necessary to conceptualize to answer the questions within a background of the political-economic transformations now occurring in the urban life. Transition from welfare state capitalism to free-market capitalism has produced widespread unemployment, radical restructuring, slow growth, environmental degradation, etc. Harvey argues that spatial space is a crucial aspect of accumulation of different forms of capital and reproduction of class relations. Harvey agrees with the definition of Marion Young. That different groups dwell in the city alongside one another, of necessity interacting in city spaces called by Young as 'openness to unassimilated otherness' (Harvey, 1996:417). In this regard, with the new transformations oppression conjoins marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence. In the first sight, oppression seems in the work place. Harvey argues the classic forms of exploitation, which Marx described, cannot explain the present conditions. In this exploitation, the conditions of the unemployed, the homeless, the lack of purchasing power for basic needs and services for substantial portions of

population have to be addressed. 'Marginals are people the system of labour cannot or will not use' (ibid, p.431). Individuals marked by race, ethnicity, region, gender, immigration status and etc. Marginalized people are expelled from useful participation in social life and this causes them to be potentially subjected to severe material deprivation and even extermination. Cultural imperialism refers to rendering the particular perspective of one's own group invisible as well as stereotyping one's group and marking it out as the 'other' by the dominant meanings of a society. These are outlined as marginalized, the oppressed and the exploited in this time and place.

Like Harvey, Mingione (1996) discusses marginalization in terms of the concepts of urban poverty and underclass focusing in particular on disadvantaged minorities and immigrants. It is useful to describe the term "underclass". As Bradley mentions it, 'in the sense of a socially marginalized group outside of the traditional class structure, is relatively recent. It was coined to describe the position of black people in the ghettoes of America' (Bradley, 1996:49). However, for Bradley, the idea of outsider or outcast group is not new. The Victorians referred to such a group as the residuum and Marx also used the term in reference to 'the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of the old society' (ibid, p.49). Such a group is often considered as a threat to the order of a stable society and it has a position culturally or structurally distinctive. Bradley argues that the term is used by many scholars such as, Glasgow, Rex, Giddens, Dahrendorf referring to the position of African Americans, the position of Black minorities in Britain, the long-term unemployed. However, Marxists do not accept this term, arguing that the unemployed are part of the working class but they constitute reserve army, a pool spare labour available.

Poverty and the term of underclass seem so close. Mingione extended the definition of poverty that is actually excluded from benefits in terms of education, health, culture and more generally social integration. That population finds themselves into social marginalization. As Mingione says,

> In advanced welfare societies a particularly low standard of living, independently of the capacity to survive, may constitute the starting point for malign circuits of social exclusion…Large groups of people are in very serious difficulties and, at the same time, neglected or stigmatized by welfare programmes. The specific features of the processes of social marginalization lead to social exclusion and remain largely hidden by viewing poverty as synonymous with low income (Mingione, 1996:11).

For Mingione, income level is not necessarily an index of poverty. Like Mingione, Castells accepts that urban marginality did not correlate with occupational marginality. He sees the roots of "urban marginality": 'the state employing different policies for different social groups, and the abuse of this attitude by economic groups or political forces taking advantage of a deadlock situation over the marginality of urban dwellers' (Castells, 1983:189). The capability of using income to attain the social objectives and life conditions are necessary in the problem of poverty. Here, there can be seen a relationship between Lefebvre's social space and Mingione's definition; factors, conditions and behavior are important elements to understand poverty. As a result of social exclusion and underclass raise the question that urban poor concentrated in ghettos or decaying peripheries or dispersed as homeless. However, Mingione does not tie ethnic-racial homogeneity into the narrative on the ghetto poor (violence, low level of education, poor quality of services, absence of work opportunities, discrimination and so on). For example, Latino migrants and minorities in the US are different from typical of the ghetto poor. Mingione says 'in all the cases a two-parent nuclear household which may be larger than average and also supported by other relatives, resists collapse under the pressures of joblessness or extremely low worker incomes' (Mingione, 1996:32). However, these families stuck in discrimination in terms of accessing to good education, health or rights. Therefore, there is a local concentration of highly cumulative forms of chronic poverty. Mingione argues that such exclusion and the social construction of poverty is linked to the modern system of citizenship and to the welfare mix. This kind of poverty and underclass generally include disadvantaged groups, such as minorities, immigrants and inhabitants of economically depressed regions and concentrating on the risk of poverty within the life-course of common workers. Isin and Wood argue that the initial forms of citizenship, due to their connection to capitalism, were articulated in such a way as to oppress and silence as Mingione's defined such groups that interfered the relentless pursuit of accommodation. (Isin and Wood, 1999: viii). Mingione (1996) sees the current employment transformations having an influence on the risk of poverty are increases in unemployment and a large number of new jobs in the services sector are badly paid, insecure and unstable. Mingione links these economic conditions to the urban poor. As he states:

In the case of minorities and immigrants, economic poverty may cumulate with serious discrimination in access to housing, health, education and other crucial services and the targeting of these groups for racist intolerance, constitutes another negative element in the picture of the malign circuit of social exclusion (ibid, p. 29).

Ethnicity, class and gender are three dimensions, which interact and effect the social and symbolic construction of identities in everyday life. Below I will discuss this relationship as reflected especially in Simmel's, Mead's and Goffmann's approaches.

2.5   Symbolic Interactionism

The main theme in cultural politics is ''difference''. This difference is linked notably to ethnicity, class and gender. For example, as Nash states, 'in Europe, ethnicity is used to denote cultural difference but only those groups distinguished by color are referred to as ethnic groups' (Nash, 2000:179). If these identities do not fit a particular social group such as, white, heterosexual, male heads of households and so forth, individuals are perceived as ''other''. In this sense, symbolic interactionist approach gives us a bridge between the individual and society with regard to how both are affected of each other in everyday life. This assumption is a clue to understand of 'why the ''other'' is placed as against of society', 'how is the relationship between individual and society, in Mead's description who is ''I'' and who is ''me''.

Symbolic interaction view has been seen the loyal opposition to structural functionalism, which represents that individual is a product determined by the society. In this regard, persons apply subjective meaning to their world of objects rather than simply accepting a designated interpretation of the objective reality that they encounter. Weigert mentions, 'symbolic interaction theory emphasizes the interactive process in the "looking glass self" or mirror theory of identity which argues that we are what others reflections make us' (Weigert et al., 1990:53). Hence, self and other have been in interaction. Apart from ethnicity theories, symbolic interactionist perspective helps us to understand the subjective meaning in identity construction and then how it is related to shifting identities because socialization is a dynamic process. Self might get one identity and get rid of other. Weigert (1990)

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mentions about the multiple of identities. For Weigert, multiple of identities of self are fitted to the hierarchy of importance expected by others and flexible enough to be adapted to situational demands. For this reason, the works of Simmel, Mead and Goffman has been examined on the construction and transformation of the ''self'' and the ''other'' during the process of their interaction have been examined.

Simmel (1971) developed the concept of stranger, which involves the unity of nearness and remoteness organized in every human relation. Stranger's identity is composed of as dislocated, dispositioned and disremoted through interaction with others and internalizing the attitudes of others. As Simmel expresses, 'stranger is fixed within a particular spatial group…but his position in this group is determined, essentially, he has not belonged to it from the beginning, that he imports qualities, which cannot stem from the group itself' (Simmel, 1971:144). Simmel gives an example of the trader, then, the history of Jews to illustrate conditions of stranger because stranger is considered by the other, as not owner of soil.

The other feature of stranger is having objectivity. In this regard, the mind is not passive inscribed things of their qualities but its full activity operates according to its laws and to the elimination of accidental dislocations and emphases, whose individual and subjective differences and produce different pictures of the same object. Hence, Simmel's stranger is a freer man. This explanation can help us to understand the relationship between dominant culture and minorities. Simmel mention this freedom:

> Stranger is the freer man, practically and theoretically; he examines conditions with less prejudice; he assesses them against standards that are more general and more objective and his actions are not confined by custom, piety or precedent…the stranger is close to us in so far as we feel between him and ourselves similarities of nationality or social position of occupation or of general human nature (Simmel, 1971: 147).

Having defined Simmel's stranger, it is useful to relate it with Rittersberger-Tılıç's study (2003), which examines the 'migrant identity' as well as reconstruction of 'Alevi identity' in terms of being social and flexible identities and she shows unfinite nature side of identities. She defines a returnee Alamancı Alevi community that tries to get rid of Alamancı identity because of negative meaning in their community in return, adopt Alevi identity again. The aim of this reason is related to the fact that 'Alamancı' identity is seen as culturally polluted, without roots and

alienated among Alevi community. She states that staying abroad put the returness in a status of stranger in Simmelian sense. According to Rıttersberger, 'revival of Alevi consicoussness is recent in Turkey both at the national and local level. Therefore, the returnee community shows a tendency towards a reorientation to Alevi values and to an Alevi identity' (Rıttersberger, 2003:72).

Hence, Simmel's ''stranger'' is also related to the construction of identity in terms of ethnicity, class and gender. In fact, ''stranger'' also includes socially excluded women and men from racialized minority groups. Hence, the production of ''otherness'' is relevant in this case, too.

The other thinker is Goffman who is a sociologist of everyday social life. Branaman argues Goffman's work into four categories (Branaman, 1997:int). First and central idea in Goffman's thought, according to Branaman, is that the self is a social product in two senses. The sense of self arises as a result of publicly validated performances on the ground that individuals are rather constrained to define themselves in accordance with the norms of a stratified society. However, for Goffman, individuals are not entirely determined by society; they are able to manipulate strategically the social situation and other's impression of themselves. Goffman's argument about this manipulation is important in that of shifting identities as I argued in ethnicity part. Goffman's (1959) work, entitled 'The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life' provides the basis for his theory on the individual acting in the social world. As Goffman points out:

> Society is organized on the principle that any individual who posseses certain social characteristics has a moral right to expect that others will value and treat him in an appropriate way…when an individual projects a definition of the situation and implicit or explicit claim to be a person of a particular kind, he automatically exerts a moral demand upon the others, obliging them to value and treat him in the manner that persons of his kind have a right to be expect (Goffman, 1959:24).

Poloma (1979) argues that Goffman's persons are actors in life's drama according to a script designated by social milieu. They in part follow the script as well as they react against it. As Poloma expresses, 'persons work the system in order to present a favorable image of self' (Poloma, 1979:161). We find a parallelism among Simmel's stranger, Rıttersberger's returnee Alamancı and Goffman's person's aim in community.

Mead is one of the symbolic interactionists who consider symbolic interaction as the dynamic and interpretative nature of social action. Mead's explanation of the self represents subjective interpretation of the objective reality of the larger structure. Poloma expresses Mead's explanation of self that 'it is actually a person's internalization of the generalized other or the social habits of the larger community' (Poloma, 1979:165). Mead sees a dialectical product between biological and psychological 'I' and social 'me'. Therefore, self enters into games rather than playing to learn and take the role of others because recognition of the roles are important for the individual. However, persons not only interact with others but interact symbolically with themselves as well. Poloma mentions that symbolic interaction is accomplished through the use of language. 'Symbols emerge in a continual process. People in interaction learn to understand conventional symbols and they earn to employ to take the roles of the other actors in a game' (ibid, p.165). Mead's term is generalized social attitudes, which make an organized self-possible. As Mead states:

> The institutions of society are organized forms of group or social activity-forms so organized that the individual members of society can act adequately and socially by taking the attitudes of others toward these activities. Oppressive, stereotyped and ultra-conservative social institutions- like the church- which by their more or less rigid ad inflexible unprogressiveness crush or blot out individuality, or discourage any distinctive or original expressions of thought and behavior in the individual selves or personalities implicated in nd subjected to them, are undesirable but not necessary outcomes of the general social process of experience and behavior (Mead, 1959:262).

Symbolic interactionist approach is a social psychological approach to explain the feeling of we'ness and otherness. In the following chapter, this perspective will be based on the concepts of race, nation, and nationalism through the some historical case studies about Gypsy/Roma communities in Europe. It is aimed to argue that ethnic relations are defined on the social construction of difference.

CHAPTER III

GYPSY/ROMA COMMUNITY

My aim in this chapter is to introduce Roma/Gypsy community in terms of their ethnic, social and cultural bonds. In this regard, Gypsy/Roma community will be elaborated according to language, nomadism and migration, race and name issues. Having elaborated these issues, I will mention some case studies about Gypsy/Roma community's social, economic and political conditions in terms of a historical perspective in four countries, namely, Germany, Bulgaria, Romania and Spain.

3.1   Significance of Language for Gypsy/Roma Identity

The general assumption is that Romani people are of northern Indian origin. Fonseca mentions, '[t]he Indian origin of the Gypsies has been known to scholars since the eighteenth century, when a few European linguistics became aware of people in their midsts who spoke an Oriental language' (Fonseca, 1996:86). Okely says 'language has been equated by the Gypsiologists with race. It has been implied by some that those Gypsies who use the most Romani words have the closest genetic links with India' (Okely, 1992:8). These scholars' assumption is that language is transmitted or learnt only through biological descent. According to nineteenth century Gypsiologists, language provided the key to the differences between the Gypsies and non-Gypsies. In this regard, the nineteenth-century social and scientific investigators presented knowledge of language as a product of pure-blood. Scholars who studied Gypsies' origin could not explain how Romany language changed from Indian origin to Europe languages.

The commonly held assumption was that all Gypsies were able to speak Romany to some extent, with the greatest fluency coinciding with the purest blood. Studies of the language or dialects of Gypsies in Europe in the late eighteenth centuries revealed a connection with a form of Sanskrit. Fonseca says, 'language is the memory, and the presence of the Gypsies' ancestors in Persia is marked by many Persian words in modern Romani language' (Fonseca, 1996:93). Okely criticizes this relationship because for her the other circumstances should also be considered. Okely uses the example of trade to illustrate the importance in Gypsy community. As she says, 'Given the special economic niche of all Gypsies who can never approximate to economic self-sufficiency, but must always trade with outsiders in the surrounding society, their language usages have to be consistent with this position. In order to earn their living, the Gypsies need to be fluent in the languages of non-Gypsies' (Okely, 1992:9). Therefore, according to Okely, any forms of Romanes used among Gypsy groups cannot and never have been the sole or necessarily the dominant language of a Gypsy group. In the British Isles, for example, English is the dominant language also for Gypsies. Similarly, according to Mayall, that language provided the key to the differences between the Gypsies non-Gypsies does not withstand critical examination because he supports not all speakers of Romany were necessarily Gypsies. Besides, as Mayall expresses:

> It seems probable that a Romany language did once exist, and that it was widely spoken by Gypsies of every description…However, by the latter stages of the nineteenth century, the language had become increasingly corrupted. According to S. Macfie of the Gypsy Lore Society, Romany was subordinate to the vernacular grammar of the country, adding that the Gypsy noun had lost its nine cases and the verb its moods, tenses and persons. The vulgar tongue of nineteenth-century Gypsies combined Romani words with English method in syntax and sentence structure. Only a very few aged Gypsies' knows the deep or old Romany dialect (Mayall, 1988:86).

Mayall (1988) says that the reason suggested that for this progressive decay of a language was a greater degree of intermixing taking place with indigenous population, both as travellers and settled folk. In spite of this, for Mayall, language became a central concern among Gypsy lorists, keen to record and preserve before it disappeared altogether from living memory. The aim of this was its emergence as a major feature in isolating the true Romany from the half-blood. Likewise Okely, Mayall rejects primordialist view that language and race cannot be related directly. 'Ethnic groups, as Horowitz mentions, can be placed at various points along the

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birth-choice continuum. Ethnic groups vary in the fluidity they are prepared to tolerate at their margins and their willingness to adapt their identity to changing conditions' (Horowitz, 1985:55). Horowitz also argues that changes in territorial boundaries can lead to significant changes in ethnic identities. Individuals may also regard each other as ethnic strangers in one place, but as ethnic kin in another where they may discover both common cultural commitments and common material interests in the face of competitors from radically different cultures. Horowitz says that 'ethnic and national groups can similarly fuse or split apart. Such processes may combine primordial sentiments and strategic calculations' (Horowitz, 1985:70).

Although these circumstances are important, 'there are three language groups for Roma people: the *Domari* in the Middle East and Eastern Europe, the *Lomarven* in Central Europe, the *Romani* of Western Europe'. However, there is no universally written *Romani* language in use by all Roma.

3.2 Significance of Nomadism and Migration in Determination of Gypsy/ Roma Identity

Migration and nomadism are seen as natural attachments to Gypsies. In this part, it will be criticized. There was no agreement over the original location of the Gypsies, or timing of their first migration. Some favored Egypt as the homeland, suggesting the Gypsies were forced to become an itinerant tribe as punishment for making the nails hammered through the hands of crucified Jesus. Other writers looked instead at India and the impetus given to travelling by the fearsome rampaging of Timur Beg in the late fifteenth century. The Indian theory was especially popular by the late nineteenth century, relying heavily on the philological links between the Romany and Indian languages, as we mentioned in language section. There was, however, little disagreement among the lorists that the Gypsies were able to trace their ancestry to a foreign land.

Crowe expresses migration of Gypsies according to Indian theory. As he says, 'the Gypsies or Roma entered Eastern Europe and parts of the former Russian Empire and the Soviet Union during Middle Ages from Northern India' (Crowe,

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1994:Int, xi). It is generally accepted that Gypsies arrived in Europe around the 14th century. Hancock also mentions why Gypsies migrated to Europe from India that

> At the very beginning of the eleventh century, India came under attack by the Muslim general Mahmud of Ghazni, who was trying to push Islam eastwards into India, which was mainly Hindu territory…Aryans had moved into India many centuries before, and had pushed the original population down into south, or else had absorbed them into the lowest strata of their own society, which began to separate into different social levels or castes…Islam was not only making inroads into India to the East, but was also being spread westwards into Europe, this conflict carried the Indian troops the early Roma or Gypsies further in that direction, until they eventually crossed over into southeastern Europe about the year 1300 (see, http/www.geocities.com/patrin/hancock.txt).

According to the Indian theory, 'when Gypsies migrated from India through Persia and into Europe between the fifth and thirteenth centuries commercialized nomadism was a vibrant and acceptable feature of the medieval economy' (Laughlin, 1995:14). Astrology, witchcraft, magical healing and divination were taken seriously in pre-Reformation Europe and were closely associated with, but by no means to exclusive to Gypsies. Laughlin also connects the demonisation of nomadic peoples both in Europe and India with the emergence of capitalism, the collapse and disintegration of feudalism in Europe, the collapse of the Asiatic mode of production in India and the progressive modernization of these societies. Victimization of Gypsies in European society generally coincided with periods of recession. It also occurred during the tortuous transition from feudalism to capitalism, during the Black Death and throughout prolonged periods of famine and economic depression. As Laughlin mentions, 'at such times national, ethnic and religious xenophobic scapegoating of exogenous minorities and endogenous nomadic peoples reached new heights. "Outsiders" like Jews and Muslims, and travelling peoples like Gypsies suffered more than most as a result of this' (Laughlin, 1995:15). As a result, in most European countries, Gypsies were considered as "outsiders". Laughlin also adds that 'unlike 'settled people' who possess what Wright Mills calls the ''sociological imagination'', travellers or at least the nomadic element of the population, have what Harvey calls a highly developed ''geographical imagination'' (Harvey&Mills, quoted in Laughlin, 1995:16). They think across space and place and regard geographical mobility as an integral, but by no means defining, feature of their way of life. Sway argues that 'nomadism offers Gypsies complete economic freedom and it is a defensive form of commercial behavior' (Sway, 1988:120). She gives American Kalderash Gypsies who operate the travelling cinema in Mexico as an

example to demonstrate Gypsies from highly developed capitalist society quite well economically in a less developed Third World country.

Europe's travelling people are especially concentrated in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. The social distance between the settled population and nomadic communities will increase, thus giving rise to further anti-Gypsy racism. The rise of anti-Gypsy prejudice throughout Europe means that nomadic communities find it increasingly difficult to cross political borders.

Ghail (1999) argues the notion of racism in historical juncture. For Ghail, colour racism projected on the key index of real racism in terms of establishing the power differentials around the signifier of colour for materialist account. According to materialist accounts, from an anti-racist stance, 'power is conceptualized as a negative repressive force. In this way, social identities are reproduced through the systematic restriction as a control of social collectivities' (Ghail, 1999:62). Ghail gives blacks as an example of specifically the racialized colectivities. Ghail also gives the definition of Carmicheal and Hamilton's definition of racism: 'The predication of decisions and practices on considerations of race for the purpose of subordinating a racial group and maintaining control over that group' (Carmicheal and Hamilton, quoted in Ghail, 1996:63). As Ghail argues, Carmicheal and Hamilton examined the notion of racism in terms of individualized racism resided in the explicit actions of individuals and institutionalized racism referred to the practices and the non-practices that helped to maintain racialized group in a disadvantage position. Hence, as Ghail draws attention, the notion of racism is mainly related to hierarchical relations.

Ghail (1999) argues the thoughts of Spivak, Bhapha, Gilroy and Said on the ground that in constructing human identity we cannot appeal to any fixed or essential characteristics that exist for all time. These scholars argue that 'we need to move away from theories which suggest that racial and ethnic relations are shaped by a single, overarching factor, that is colour racism…The changing meanings around racism and ethnicity can be seen to multidimensional including issues of migration, nation-making, religious and cultural identities and generation' (Ghail, 1999:7-8).

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The racialization of Europe's Gypsy communities reached unprecedented heights during the Darwinian nation-building period of the nineteenth century. Laughlin says that 'the fusion of social Darwinism with bourgeois nationalism during this time contributed to a radical disavowal of Gypsy and Traveller claims for special treatment…It was also evident in theories which defended bourgeois property rights, which legitimised the domination of nomadic societies in the colonies by white 'settlers' and which justified the marginalisation of nomadic groups including Gypsies, Travellers and the rural poor within Europe, on the grounds that, as propertyless people, they had no right to be included within the political or moral structures of European societies'(Laughlin,1995:23).

In Okely's rejection of the quest for Indian origins and racial purity, 'Okely tends to stress characteristics which all Gypsies share and she comes close to rejecting a historical approach as well as focus on cultural differences between different groups of Gypsies' (Okely, quoted in Mc Cann and Ruane, 1994: int). Okely argues that various theories of Gypsy origin have much more to do with the needs of settled community theorists than with historical fact. She suggests an example that there are genuine pure-blooded Gypsies, of Indian origin, as opposed to unauthentic drop-outs, Tinkers etc, is a reflection of the dominant society's need to project its longings onto 'other' imaginary peoples.

According to Sway's argument, 'India is no more idealized than any of [Gypsies]' former stopping places. For the Gypsies, India is history. In this regard they exhibit a strong future-time orientation' (Sway, 1998:126). In the similar way, Fonseca (1996) who visited Gypsy/Roma communities in Albania, Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Romania, Moldova and Germany says she did not meet many Gypsies who were interested in ancient history. Fonseca says, for the most history consisted of the oldest living person among them. In addition,

> The Gypsies themselves have no heroes. There are no myths of a great liberation, of the founding of the "nation" of a promised land. They have no monuments or shrines, no anthem, no ruins. But they do have myths of ancestry and of migration or such myths have been attributed to them (Fonseca, 1996:89).

Acton's plea for a comparative approach rests on a different argument. He argues that over-focus on local identities diverts attention away from the shared fate of European Gypsy-Travellers historically in our peril. His thesis is that:

> There was an influx of Gypsy-Travellers from India at an identifiable period in European history that a trans-European commercial nomadism flourished for some time subsequently; and that a major genocide of Gypsy-Travellers took place, connected with the emergence of agricultural capitalism and the nation-state' (Acton, quoted in Mc Cann and Ruane, 1994:xxii).

In response, Gypsies could only survive by becoming localized, taking on local identities and patrons, within the new political units. Far from attempting the kind of economic autocracy that permits substantial limitation of information, the Gypsy economy is highly dependent on the *gaje* [non-Gypsy] world. As is well known, Gypsies tend to cluster in extremely narrow occupational niches serving as coppersmiths, fortunetellers, musicians, horse-traders, and so forth. Unlike Okely, Acton gives importance to the Indian origin of Gypsies but he emphasizes the how agricultural capitalism and 'nation-state' affected Gypsies or Roma. While Okely rejects Indian origins of Gypsies and emphasizes the goal behaviors of Gypsies, Acton does not reject Indian origin but mention the reciprocal affects of situations. In his view, Gypsies are active.

Eli Frankham who is a Romani poet and Chair of the National Romani Rights Association in Britain says that

> Gypsy travellers who are in the course of their history have preserved and sometimes acquired beliefs, customs and traditions which are paralleled in many cultures. A people's who's history is preserved in oral traditions and legends, for being nomadic the Gypsies have not left behind archeological evidence of settlement or cultivation, and because of their history of illiteracy no written documentation of any note (see http/www.geocities.com/patrin/history.htm).

On account of the Gypsies or Roma have scarcely written their own history so theirs is non-literate tradition we followed their history in the documents of non-Gypsy or *Gorgio* (non-Gypsy) society. It is believed that 'as much as half of the Roma in Europe, from the 14th century until Romani slavery was abolished in the mid-19th century' (Crowe, 1994:int, xii). Hancock criticizes presenting the Rom as primordially nomadic and anthropologists have tended to build their theory around this and according to Hancock 'they ignore the fact that many of their subjects are only four generations from slavery. Nor have Gypsies in general been able to challenge these perceptions. At the time of liberation the freed slaves were

considered as criminals. Ex-slaves tried to make out as free craftsman or like nomadic kin or else try to assimilate'. Slavery issue is related to the notion of "racism" because one group sees itself on the other as superior. Slave traders saw Gypsies as permanently inferior. According to Banton's view,

> [C]ulture affects the way that people perceive physical variation and constructs the categories in which people classify these perceptions. Societies are organized in ways that make physical features relevant to behavior in certain situations and which determine how people of intermediate appearance are classified (Banton, 1997:43).

Therefore, for him, popular ideas about physical classification are themselves influenced by social and cultural pressures. To explain the direction of ethnic conflict, Horowitz makes a distinction between ranked and unranked ethnic systems. According to Horowitz's model, 'if ethnic groups are ordered in a hierarchy, with one superordinate and another subordinate, ethnic conflict moves in one direction, but if groups are parallel, neither super ordinate to the other, conflict takes in a different course' (Horowitz, 1985:22). According to this model, slavery represents a hierarchical ordering in ranked groups. Slaves are treated as subordinate status by the dominant society. In addition, in ranked systems, the unequal distribution of wealth between superiors and subordinates is acknowledged and reinforced by an elaborate set of behavioral prescriptions and prohibitions. Horowitz also mentions Weber's similar distinction between ranked and unranked systems. ''Caste structure'' is used to refer to hierarchically ordered groups and 'ethnic coexistence' to denote parallel groups. Gypsies' relation to dominant society looks like a caste structure, which transforms the horizontal and unconnected coexistences of ethnically segregated groups into a vertical social system of subordination and superordination. The caste structure brings about a social subordination and an acknowledgement of more honors in favor of the privileged caste and status group.

3.2.1 Nomadic Stereotypes Dominating the Major Outlooks of the People in the Settled Society

It is common for Gypsy/Roma community to be linked to any form of nomadism. From the perspective of the old settled communities, the nomadism and/ or migrant nature of any community brings out a contrast or conflict. These two groups of communities are expected to have opposing ways of life, which form the

heart of the problem. The clash is more fundamentally between two different ways of life increasingly moving in opposite directions, the standards of one being flagrantly disregarded by the other. As migrants and nomads, therefore, Gypsies were considered to be separate from settled society and in some way different from the sedentary inhabitants. My argument is that both the self and stereotypes are products of culture and society, so it is important to identify some of the images that stand for the ''other'' and to contextualize observations of ''otherness''.

Mayall mentions that 'travellers of whatever description were considered rogues and vagabonds of the worst type, whose way of life, habits and characteristics were not acceptable to members of a society structured chiefly around permanency of settlement' (Mayall, 1988:89). Into this context of general antipathy to nomadism wandered the Gypsies. They were seen as unwelcome and unsavory parasites. The nomadic way of life stood in defiance to that experienced and suffered by the sedentary population. It rejected materialism, conformity and subjugation to industrial discipline. Mayall gives an example to illustrate the situation:

> By traveling in vans, carts and tents they escape the school boards, sanitary officers, rent and rate collectors; today they are unthinkingly undermining all our social privileges, civil rights and religious advantages, if encouraged by us, bring decay to the roots…To support his argument that settlement was the only solution he presented examples of sedentary Gypsies who were industrious, clean and religious. They complained to him about their lack of education and related stories of their former life on the road, which concentrated on a series of crimes, fights and child- stealing (Mayall, 1988:91).

Mayall mentioned that how settled and nomadic Gypsies are seen by the society. We see that there are some stereotypes about nomadic Gypsies. Nash argues the core elements of ethnicity in terms of the ethnic boundaries. For Nash, 'where there is a group, there is some sort of boundary, and where there are boundaries, there are mechanisms to maintain them'. (Nash, cited in Hutchinson and Smith, 1996:25). As Mayall mentions, there are ethnic boundaries between Gypsies and settled society. However, settled society uses some stereotypes about Gypsies. The strength of the stereotyped themes and images lay in their emphasis on generalizations borrowed and learned from others, which were constantly repeated in newspapers, literature, folklore, common hearsay and nursery rhymes.

According to Sibley, 'stereotypes play an important part in the configuration of social space because that is, distancing from others who are represented

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negatively, and because of the way in which group images combine to create landscapes of exclusion.' (Sibley, 1995:14). Therefore, the stereotype may capture something that has been lost, an emotional lack, a desire; at the same time that it represents fear or anxiety.

For Sibley, a stereotype may be good or bad and it often includes elements of place so that discrepancy or acceptance depend on the degree to which a group stereotype matches the place in which it is located. As Sibley mentions, 'in addition to the racist stereotype, there is an enduring image of Gypsies in northern Europe as a constituent part of the rural scene' (Sibley, 1995:102). Therefore, rural image related to Gypsies is mysterious and romantic harmonizing with nature in a way which members of civilized society cannot. Both the Gypsies and countryside are seen through a mist of nostalgia. To illustrate a good stereotype of Gypsies, Hermann Hesse's poem, Glorious World, in which the Gypsy is conveyed as a good object an association of Gypsies with desire. Closely associated with the notion that Gypsy life was guided by omens and ritual was the romantic relationship they were said to have with nature.

Sultry wind in the tree at night, dark Gypsy woman

World full of foolish yearning and the poet's breathe. H. Hesse (quoted in Sibley, 1995:18)

However, Gypsies in the city are likely to appear out of place and to be represented in negative and malign terms. Hancock mentions that the Roma were kept on the move by legislation. As he says, 'current laws forbid Romani Americans to remain in some states, while in modern Britain Gypsies may only stop legally on government reservations, and in modern France they are obliged to carry passes that must be stamped by the police in each parish' (Crowe and Kolst, 1992:5). Although Gypsies are required to keep moving by the law, the establishment reinterprets this as evidence of their romantic and free spirit. If we compare with a characterization of Gypsies by Gina Ferrero, the daughter of the racist anthropologist Cesera Lombroso, in a commentary on her father's writing: '[A]n entire race of criminals, with all the passions and vices common to delinquent types: idleness, ignorance, impetuous fury, vanity, love of orgies and ferocity'(quoted in Sibley, 1995:18).

For Sibley, it is negative stereotypes, which are of greatest consequence in understanding instances of social and special exclusion. According to World Bank Report, 'aspects of Roma culture and living conditions also reinforce stereotypes by limiting communication between Roma and non-Roma, and contributing to a vicious circle of isolation and marginalization' (World Bank, 2000:viii, int).

Mayall also stresses the overt racism contained in the association of malicious stereotypes with a separate alien race perhaps the least common of these various nineteenth-century perspectives. As he mentions that 'this position came to the front most clearly when the country experienced periodic visits from foreign Gypsies, notably with the arrival of the Greek Gypsies in 1886 and later followed by the Hungarians, Serbians, Germans and the *Calderari* Gypsy coppersmiths from Hungary in 1911. As obviously of foreign origin as they were of nomadic disposition, these Gypsies offered the lorists an opportunity again to romanticize about past origins, strange beliefs and customs. In contrast, almost every other section of the community responded with horrifying xenophobic crudity' (Mayall, 1998:91). However, as Sibley says, 'there is nothing fixed or stable about these images and place associations because the designation of place for Gypsies depends on whose interests are affected by their presence and where the antagonist or supporter is peak from' (Sibley, 1995:102).

''Ethnocentrism'' is generally used as a synonym for thinking well of those in our own group and ill of others and for a sense of uniqueness and centrality. As Cornell and Hartman mentions, 'ethnocentrism is a belief in the normality and superiority of one's own people and their ways of doing things. Ethnocentrism is generally less virulent than is the assumption of inherent, biologically based inferiority and superiority typically attached to race' (Cornell and Hartman, 1998). Therefore, the term ''ethnocentrism'' is useful to understand these stereotypes. Taking form of these stereotypes, the conditions should not be neglected. Hancock assesses these conditions. Stealing has become a part of stereotype because of forbidden to do business with shopkeepers, the Roma have had to rely upon subsistence theft to feed their families. Besides, uncleanliness is attributed to Roma, however, forbidden to use town pumps or wells, denied water by fearful householders. Using fortune telling as a means of livelihood suitable to life on the

move, and sometimes as a means of protective control, socery becomes a part of the stereotype as well.

3.3 Significance of Racial Origins in the Determination of Gypsy/Roma Identity

The issue of race was central, according to Gypsiologists, with these characteristics derived from and reinforced by racial attributes in a link of inevitably securing birth with behavior, attitudes, language and appearance. In technical terms, a race can be thought of as a genetically distinct subpopulation of a given species. On the other hand, as Hartman and Cornell emphasize that races are products of human perception and classification, in this regard racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed and destroyed by human action. According to Cornell and Hartman, 'race has been a way of describing 'others' of making clear that 'they' are not 'us' (Cornell and Hartman, 1998:23).

By distinguishing Gypsies as a race apart, defined by hereditary and cultural characteristics, the Romany was distanced not only from the indigenous settled population but also from non-Gypsy nomads. There have been some racial categories about Gypsies. Okely says that 'both in the nineteenth century and after, the Gypsiologists claimed the existence of a 'pure-blooded' minority who had almost never married *Gorgios* (non-Gypsies)' (Okely, 1992:16). Okely adds that it was no accident, and indeed part of the logic of Gypsy-Gorgio interaction, that the Gypsies who chose to befriend the Gypsiologists were classed as 'real Romanies' while others who perhaps avoid them or who offended them in some way were rejected and branded '*didakais*' or some other pejorative term. Therefore, we can see it easily that these racial categories are arbitrarily located by Gypsiologists.

> Although the 'true' Gypsies were called as the *Romanies* or *Romanichels*, while the half-bloods were the *poshrats*, *pushcats*, *didakais*, *mumplies*, *mumpers*, *posh* and *posh*…Some occupational categories remained closely linked to racial variation, such as *chorodie* (English rogues, tinkers and travellers), *hindity-mengre* (Irish tinkers). The terms *tinker*, *tinkler*, *mugger* and *potter* more usually cut across racial divisions (Mayall, 1988:79).

I mentioned that a variety of terms are identified in terms of the scale of hierarchy. These arguments were the creation of Gypsies' hierarchy based on race,

with the elevation of the pure-blood Romany as the central feature, were adopted overtly and tacitly by most people. Mayall says, 'this model was used to argue for regional differences between travellers, with the persistence of language and customs evidencing racial purity. It also served to romanticize the Romany and place him in a position of unassailable virtue' (Mayall, 1988:79).

Okely says that the Gypsiologists' racial theories conflicted with their own evidence, for her, pure-blooded Romany was nothing more than a category. As she explains,

> Hindes Groome was to some extent aware of these problems. While he supported the notion of 'full-bloods' and 'half-bloods' and classified Gypsies by the Romani look, language, habits and modes of thought, at the same time he noted the difficulties in equating specific physical or racial attributes with knowledge of the Romany language and traditions. Moreover, he recognized that Gypsies marry with outsiders (Okely, 1992:16).

Although Okelly, Mayall and other scholars criticize this classification, the majority of Gypsiologists used the category pure-blooded or true Romany as if it is an empirical fact. The beliefs in a mythical minority of real Romanies and a genetic explanation for culture were recorded in government documents through the 1950s and 1960s. 'For example, the first government survey of Gypsies in Kent, which is in England, in 1952 considered that only 10% of its eleven hundred Gypsies appeared to be members of the Romani families' (Okely, 1992:16). Okely adds that the Gypsiologist Vesey-Fitzgerald made a direct link between the concerns of government and those of Gypsiology literature. He affirmed the distinction between *Romanies* and *Travellers*, using the traditional but unscientific category full-blooded to describe the Romanies for whom he advocated preferential political support. According to Mayall, 'to deny the Gypsy-travelers racial unity and separateness is not to suggest that they did not form a relatively cohesive group distinguishable both from settled society and the large amorphous collection of travellers of every description' (Mayall, 1988:93). Therefore, for Mayall, the key to this distinctiveness though is not to be found in any racial explanation but rather in cultural patterns, which incorporate particular life-style, and employment habits, which is essentially the product of itinerant descent. We understand that Mayall's observation is close to instrumentalist approach so social and cultural factors are more important than primordial attachments.

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Having outlined this second racial construct we will return to consider both structures and their foundation more critically. Mayall argues that probably the most potent of the antipathetic stereotypes was that associating the Gypsy race with various crimes. 'Perhaps the most common accusation was that the Gypsy race possessed a particular propensity towards stealing. This was said to be due to hereditary factors and also result from their way of life and occupations in that regular thefts were necessary in order to supplement their financial income and vary their diet' (Mayall, 1988:81). Therefore, criminality is combined with race issue. However, the 'other' socially constructs these.

The other issue is color, which is related to race issue. The use of color to signify positive/negative, life/death, superior/inferior, safe/dangerous, and so on is evident in all cultures. In this regard, black and white as racial signifiers have deep significance. As Sibley mentions that

> White has been normalized in Europe, North America and Australia; in order to recognize that what seems normal is also a symbol of domination…As Sasssoon remarks, white has a highly accentuated hygienic symbolism. As a marker of the boundary between purified interior spaces-the home, the nation and so on- and exterior threats posed by dirt, disorderly minorities or immigrants, white is a still potent symbol (in Sibley, 1995:24).

Sibley also argues that the color stereotype is also based on racism that black-haired, dirty Gypsy combines to suggest a threading difference, drawing on an ethnic stereotype well established in British culture. According to Sibley (1995), the nature association is not a peculiar characteristic of patriarchy, but is a more general feature of scaling of beings by dominant groups, which is closely associated with the history of colonialism, the rise of science and growth of capitalism. To dehumanize through claiming animal attributes for others is one way of legitimating exploitation and exclusion from civilized society, for Sibley, it is unsurprising that it is primarily peripheral minorities, indigenous and colonized peoples, who have been described in these terms. Mayall makes this observation about Gypsies, a minority who were subject to very harsh laws, including transportation and execution, in several European states in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries:

> Perhaps the most overtly antagonistic and antipathetic of all the images of a race of Romanies was the likening of people to animals:- The Gypsies are nearer to the animals than any race known to us in Europe. –This statement appeared in an article entitled 'In Praise of the Gypsies'. The intention, then, was to place the Gypsies on the lowest possible level of human existence. They were said eat more like beasts than men (Mayall, 1988:82).

3.4   Attributing Names to Gypsy/Roma Community

The first argument is that the word 'Gypsy' derives from Egyptian. One origin for this *Egyptian* label in Europe was first recorded in 1514. Clebert says 'Egyptian label, well before Gypsies or '*Tsiganes*' were publicly recorded in western Europe…Persons believed by many Gypsiologists to be first Gypsies arriving in Western Europe presented themselves as *pilgrims*, some from 'little Egypt' understood to represent the Middle East' (Okely, 1992:3). According to Thompson's argument, the term Egyptian or later Gypsy could have been useful as a means of self-identification and it was not likely to be just a stigmatic label imposed by persecuting outsiders' (quoted in Okely, 1992:4).

To identify the extent of purity among travelling families, Charles Godfrey Leland even went so far as to produce a list of names of pure-blood and half-blood of Gypsies, giving to each family group particular physical characteristics and directions where they could be found. Many subsequent writers suggested the high incidence of traditional Gypsy names among canal boatmen indicated their Romany ancestry. This methodology assumes the use of surnames to identify a separate race of Romany Gypsies. Mayall criticizes this methodology because such examples indicate the impossibility of assuming any clear correlation between surname and racial origin. One explanation for the weakness of the method can be found in the following statement issued by the Gypsy Lore Society:

> All members are warmly urged to look through such Parish Registers as they can obtain access to. Every entry in which the descriptions 'Egyptian', 'Gypsy', 'vagrant', 'vagabond', 'wanderer', 'stranger', or their Latin equivalents, occur, should be noted down… Entries containing obviously Gypsy names should also be copied, even when there is no description (Mayall, 1988:85).

The Romani people have been known by many names, including *Gypsies* (or Gipsies), *Tsigani*, *Cigano*, *Zigeuner*, and others. Willems argues the term Gypsies appears to embrace different ethnic groups with their own designations, such as *Gitanos*, *Sinti*, *Rom* and *Kalderash*. Willems says, 'there seem to be mutual ties on only a modest scale and the groups do not appear to feel united by any awareness of a common history' (Willems, 1997:5).

> Most Roma have always referred to themselves by their tribal names, or as *Rom* or *Roma*, meaning 'man' or 'people'. In this regard, Rom, *Roma*, *Romani*, and *Romaniya* should not be

confused with the country of Romania, or the city of Rome. These names have separate, distinct etymological origins and are not related. The use of *Rom*, *Roma*, *Romani*, or the double 'r' spelling is preferred in all-official communications and legal documents. The trend is to eliminate the use of derogatory, pejorative and offensive names, such as Gypsies, and to be given proper self-appellation of Roma or Rroma (see, http//: www.geocities.com/patrin/history.htm).

I preferred to argue the issue of attributed names because these names are also seen as a primordial attachment. Name is the most simple and obvious of all symbols of identity and it is the beginning of a language. As Isaacs says, 'a name will seldom itself to be heart of the matter of group identity, but it can often take us to where the heart can be found, leading us deep into the history, the relationships, and the emotions that lie at the center of any such affair.' (Isaacs, 1989:73). Isaacs also believes that the uttering of name itself serves as an instant signal for behavior based on group affiliation, producing its almost automatic response such as, welcoming or rebutting, including or excluding the stranger. As it is argued, *Romani* people do not like calling themselves as Gypsies; instead they prefer *Roma* or *Romani*[5]. For Isaacs, in all the cases the function of basic group identity has to do most crucially with two key ingredients in every individual's personality and life-experience: his sense of belongingness and the quality of self-esteem.

3.5   Some Gypsy/Roma Case Studies in Different Arenas of Europe

In this part, I will focus on some case studies about Gypsy/Roma communities in European countries: Germany, Bulgaria, Romania and Spain. I will describe some of the historical studies about the conditions of Gypsies in these countries just before and after the communist period. ''Nation'', ''nationalism'', ''minority'' will be key concepts in this section.

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[5] The name of Roma and Gypsy are both used in Edirne. I will also use both Gypsy/Roma together. This issue is also will be elaborated in Chapter 6.4 'Perceiving Their Own Identity Among Gypsy/Roma Inhabitants'. Besides, Roma refers 'Roman' and Gypsy refers 'Çingene' in Turkish meaning.

Germany Case

The Nazi Genocide of Gypsies in Germany and Eastern Europe may be the most striking and horrifying ethnic conflict throughout the history. During the World War II, Gypsies confronted with mass sterilization. Huttenbach mentions that

> [B]y September 1933, the Ministry of Interior announced a more realizable preliminary plan to arrest persons with no fixed and permanent addresses (i.e., primarily Gypsies) and to place them in special detention camps to take them out of mainstream of society. There the Gypsies would be rendered criminally harmless and biologically 'futureless' through mass sterilization (quoted in Crowe and Kolst, 1992:31).

In 1933, Hitler's cabinet passes a law called "the law for the prevention of hereditarily diseased offspring" that orders sterilization for certain categories of people, specifically Gypsies and most of the Germans of black color. From 1934, Gypsies are being selected for transfer to camps for processing, which includes sterilization by injection or castration. In Europe generally, only Jews and Gypsies come under consideration as members of alien people according to Nazi party statement. Hancock mentions that Dr. Robert Kőrber writes in his book *Volk und Staat* that

> The Jews and the Gypsies are today remote from us because of their Asiatic ancestry, just as ours is Nordic…German anti-Gypsism becomes transnational in Europe. The main Nazi Institution to deal with Gypsies, the Racial Hygine and Population Biology and Resarch Unit of the Ministry of Health expressed purpose is to determine whether the Romani people are Aryans or sub-humans (Crowe and Kolst, 1992:16).

Gypsies and Jews were seen as genetic potential threat to Aryan security. The Nationalist Socialist vision was a racially purified Europe. In this regard, the Nationalist Socialist dream of an Aryan-German dominated empire from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ural Mountains encompassed a revolutionary rearrangement of Europe's demographic composition. Gypsies, like Jews were considered a race because they had alien blood. According to Cornell and Hartman, 'race has been a way of describing of ''others'' of making clear that they are not us. ''Racialization'' is the process by which certain bodily features or assumed biological characteristics are used systematically to mark certain persons for differential status or treatments' (Cornell and Hartman, 1998:23). In addition, racial designation implies inferiority. We see in the example of Gypsies in Germany during the World War II, ''otherness'' refers to evil. So far it is useful to explain Social Darwinism assumption in ethnicity

theories. According to this theory, human behavior is deeply rooted in biology. Accordingly, 'it conceived ethnic and racial groups as biologically distinct entities and gave to biology the larger part of responsibility for differences in the cultures and the political and economic fortunes of these groups' (Cornell and Hartman, 1998:42). Those who prevailed in the struggle for wealth and power and those who spread their cultures across the world did so thanks in large measure to their genetic superiority. Social Darwinist's theory is linked with Germany issue because Nazis believed that themselves as Aryan and superior race, the others-Jews and Gypsies were put to death. During the war, Gypsies were subjected two consecutive genocidal policies. The former used Gypsies as exploitable labor, where excessive work was combined with extremely cruel treatment and workers were deprived of all basic needs. The latter involved those too ill or weak to work whom were put to death. Racial designation of race is particularly an assertion of power. Race and power historically have been tightly intertwined. Michael Freeman says 'where the ethnic group constitutes a tribe or nation, violence against outsiders is more likely to be tolerated or even praised' (quoted in Hutchinson and Smith, 1996:29).

Bulgaria Case

Crowe (1992) shortly summarizes the history of Gypsies in Bulgaria. The expansion of Turkish power in the Balkans during 1413 to 1481 saw a wave of Gypsy migration into the region. Crowe says,

> The Turks relegated the Gypsies to the lowest rung of the Ottoman social ladder because they had no visible permanent professional affiliation. Ottoman officials pressured Gypsies and others who fell into the category to move away or to settle into useful occupations. Despite the prejudice toward them, the Roma (Gypsies) were a strong presence in Bulgarian town and villages. Gypsies in Bulgaria did also have an impact on the Romani language (Crowe, 1994:2).

Gypsies in Bulgaria confronted with a different threat because of religion, whether they are nomadic and Muslims or settled and Christians. The steady presence of Gypsies in Bulgarian towns and cities made them liable for Ottoman taxes. 'Christian Gypsies were to pay 250 akçes and Muslim Gypsies, 180 akçes…in 1684 each Muslim Roma was to pay 650 akçes, while his Christian counterpart was to pay 720 akçes. Only one official was appointed to collect all of the taxes from the Gypsies, since the Gypsy race lives separately and is numerically limited, but is free

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in every respect' (Crowe, 1994:4). Fonseca (1996) also mentions about two differentiations of settlements of Sliven Gypsies in Bulgaria according to becoming Christian Gypsies or Muslim Gypsies.

The decline of Ottoman influence and the rebirth of Bulgarian national consciousness marked the end of the seventeenth and the entire eighteenth century in Bulgaria. Begging, basket making, tinkering and iron forging were Roma's chief occupations.

> St. Clair and Brophy found local attitudes toward Gypsies quite unfair, since they earned their living by harder labour than the Christians, who hated the Roma more than the Muslims did. Christian Bulgarians in Derekuoi consistently overcharged the Gypsies for food and other items, for example, or exacted excessive labour from them when they could not pay in cash (Crowe, 1994:6).

Crowe also expresses Gypsies' conditions in the intense struggles that strengthened the growing sense of Bulgarian national and religious identity. Traditional prejudices against Gypsies are institutionalized, particularly those that were Muslim. 'In the 1860s, some of the new Bulgarian Orthodox bishops, possibly in response to the wave of Gypsy immigration from Romania, decreed that it was a great sin to give alms to a gypsy or an infidel' (Crowe, 1994:8). In 1878, Russia and Turkey signed the Treaty of Yeşilköy, which creates a Bulgarian state. However, the political upheaval in Bulgaria prompted some Gypsies to leave the country for places as distant as Great Britain and the United States. 1886 laws were designed to combat Gypsy nomadism and to stop Gypsies from entering Bulgaria from other countries.

When we look at the 1900s years, two of the measures of a nation's policies toward minorities can be seen; education and literacy. One Bulgarian source indicated that 'there were three primary schools for Gypsies in 1910 for the country's 121.600 Roma. Comparatively, however, this ratio is far less than that for Turks, Pomaks, Jews, Armenians and other minorities' (Crowe, 1994:13). As a result, there was serious problem with Gypsy literacy during this period also shared by Turks and Pomaks.

As the pace of Bulgaria's transition to communism quickened between 1946 and 1948, the Roma found the support they received from the country's increasingly powerful rulers to be quite fruitful. Fonseca says, '[i]n the 1947 Constitution,

Gypsies had the status of a national minority, allowing them at least to use their knowledge' (Fonseca, 1996:116). An increasing number of Gypsies acquired the seats in the national legislature. A Gypsy school opened in Sofia in 1948. Officially, Bulgaria's new rulers castigated the fascists for neglecting the Gypsies completely. According to a 1947 article in the Samokov Tribune, the goal of the Fatherland Front was 'to make every effort to change the life of the Gypsies for the better, and to weld them into the political, social and economic life of the Bulgarian People's Republic' (Crowe, 1994:20).

However, the real shift began in 1947 with the adoption of a new constitution modeled closely on Stalin's 1936 Soviet constitution. During Stalin nationalistic policy 'Subjected all religious orders to direct state control and prompted the government to begin a policy of forced emigration of Turks and Jews. Caught up in this net were Muslim Gypsies, who were forced into Turkey during 1950-1951'(Crowe, 1994:21). The effort to force Gypsies to leave Bulgaria heralded a new era for this minority. In this regard, it is useful to describe Stalin's nation term. For Stalin, a nation is primarily a community; a definite community of people but a nation is not a racial or tribal, but a historically constituted community of people. As Stalin describes it that 'A nation is historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture' (Stalin, cited in Hutchinson and Smith, 1994:20). Stalin emphasized that none of these characteristics taken separately is sufficient to define a nation. Therefore, it is sufficient for a single one of these characteristics to be lacking and the nation ceases to be a nation. When we look at the Bulgaria example, Gypsies are seen as threat to this nationality, because they are seen having lacked common history, territory, language, economic life and psychological make-up. Balibar relates the notion of ''racism'' with ''nationalism''. In his view, racism reveals the non-universalistic character of nationalism, which was hidden within it, thereby obstructing the primacy or even the manifestation of the universalistic component. Balibar defines nationalism is about the creation of national unity which is endangered by class struggles. There are different and powerful institutions that help create that kind of unity such as army, the school

system that universalizes language or substitutes ''sociolinguistic'' particularities for ethnic particularities. Balibar says this occurs at least two ways. As he mentions:

> One, by introducing divisions and discriminations inside the so-called national community, just Gypsies in Europe-it reconstitutes the status groups. Two, by precisely identifying the alleged national character, or singularity, with some hereditary element, pseudo-or quasi-biological, or even cultural, it in fact segregates the nation itself, or, to put it better, the ideal nation inside the nation, from the community of mankind (Balibar, 1994:194).

Authorities implemented a program to settle nomadic Roma and began to encourage Muslim Gypsies to change their names. In 1944 a large part of Gypsy population joined in the socialist material and spiritual culture of Bulgarian life. Furthermore, groups of activists among Gypsy communists began to work among nomadic and isolated Gypsies to find them gainful employment. Gypsies were offered new apartments in Bulgarian neighborhoods. These new regulations, according to Crowe shocked the nomadic Roma (Crowe, 1994:23). However, in 1960s efforts were begun to force Gypsies and non-Turkish Bulgarian Muslims (Pomaks) to Bulgarianize their names. So Ali became Ilia and Timaz became Todor. Isaacs says that 'the purpose of changing names is sharing anonymity with the identity of dominant group' (Isaacs, 1989:72). However, Crowe says Bulgarian Gypsies found ways around some of restrictions. They officially adopted Bulgarian names, which they used for documents and school, but continued to use their Gypsy names at home and in the Gypsy community. In addition, when they chose Bulgarian names, they often picked those of famous politicians, composers or music stars. Military and labour officials were responsible for 'the correct education of the young Bulgarian Muslims, Gypsies and Tatars to strengthen…national awareness of communist and patriotic education' (Crowe, 1994:25). Meanwhile, 'Gypsies were no longer allowed to speak Romani, to play music, to wear folkloric clothes. Many Gypsies lost their traditional professions, such as basketmakers, smiths, musicians' (Fonseca, 1996:116). In 1971, Bulgarian officials began to talk of a 'unified Bulgarian socialist vision' claiming almost one ethnic types, and is moving toward complete national homogeneity. This argument overlaps with Balibar's argument of national unity.

According to Isaacs,

> [D]efining a nation includes what he has called basic group identity; usually shared culture, history, tradition, language, religion some adding race as well as the elements of territory, politics and economics that all go in their varying measures into the making of what is called a nation (Isaacs, 1989: 174).

Isaacs's this primordial definition fits into the communist regime of Bulgaria. Furthermore, Isaacs clarifies distinction between nation and nationality as in essence cultural or political. 'These two views do not appear or develop separately, but they do wind in and out of the design, making different patterns as they go' (Isaacs, 1989:177).

The cultural concept of nationality is used by eighteenth-century German poet, philosopher Johann Herder who conceived of a Volk formed around the core of a common language as the keeper and the carrier of the common heritage. According to Isaacs, the evolution of the nation that grew out of these ideas moved, not like Herder's from the cultural to the political but from the political to cultural. The rise of the bourgeois, the development of modern capitalism, the industrial revolution, the establishment of new systems of government based on popular sovereignty, all created their own new cultures in the nations. We can also mention that the distinction of Isaacs is meaningful because in Bulgaria example, policies about minorities then Gypsies are much more political than cultural. In addition Isaacs thinks about minorities that:

> In Eastern Europe and beyond nationality remained the term applied to particular communal groups whose cultural features were their own but whose political status was fixed by the places they held in some larger imperial power system, as under the Hapsburg, Romanous, and the Ottoman rulers. These groups were defined by region, by language, and in the Ottoman Empire especially, by religion (Isaacs, 1989:179).

In 1984, the government began to forbid the performance of Gypsy music throughout the country. Crowe says that 'the aftermath of the 1989, collapse of the *Zhikov* regime saw an increase in hostility towards the Gypsies. Many Bulgarians blamed the Gypsies for the dramatic increase in crime. Despite this atmosphere, the Gypsies have made greater strides in post-1989 Bulgaria. A number of new Roma organizations have emerged to give Gypsies a greater voice in Bulgarian politics and society. Under the new Bulgaria government, everyone in Bulgaria will able to choose his name, religion and language freely. Crowe mentions,

> By 1992, three separate Roma political organizations had evolved, and five more represented Gypsy cultural interests. Unfortunately, they were fragmented and poorly organized which

meant that Bulgaria's Roma population has thus far been unable to establish a politically powerful interest group (Crowe, 1994:29).

Apart from politics, Fonseca argues (1996) Bulgaria's urban Gypsies are among the most deracinated in Eastern Europe. She took a photograph of street children who are addicted to glue and survive by begging and stealing in Sofia. Fonseca says, most of them live in train stations, with intermittent periods in children's homes.

Romania Case

When we examine historical background of Roma in Romania, we are confronted with Gypsy slavery. Crowe mentions that 'by the 15th century, Gypsy slavery had become widespread throughout the Romanian provinces' (Crowe, 1994:108). Gypsies were also persecuted in Transylvania (then under Hungarian rule and now part of Romania) where the Crown forced them into slave labor. Hancock also mentions that

> Gypsies were made the property of landowners during the Austro-Hungarian Empire that during the reign of Empress Maria Theresa (1717-1780), special efforts were made to assimilate the Gypsies by forbidding them to speak Romani and prohibiting Gypsies from practicing their traditional professions (Helsinki HRWR, 1981:10).

By the mid-19th century, Western Europe was beginning to urge the abolishment of slavery. Many Gypsies fled to Balkans after the abolition of slavery and headed toward Europe and on to North America.

In the pre-World War II period, Gypsies in Romania began to organize collectively. In 1933, Romanian Gypsies founded the General Association of Gypsies (*Tziganes)* of Romania (Crowe, 1994:129). The Union held numerous meetings and was actively involved in the fight for Gypsies' rights between 1934 and 1939. 'The goals of new association, which opened its offices in Bucharest were designed to counter the destruction of traditional Rom culture and traditions, yet also help the Gypsies to function better in Romanian society' (Crowe, 1994:129). The Gypsy organization also asked for land for a large garden for *Tsigane* children, a library, a maternity hospital and office for the settlement of claims. Rom leaders were sensitive to the general prejudice toward Gypsies in Romania and demanded complete equality for Gypsy citizens. Progress in the area of political organization,

Romania's Gypsies seemed to have achieved an extraordinary self-awareness. This political progress is important as Cornell and Hartman argues 'the great strength of primordialist vision focuses on the intense, internal aspects of ethnic group solidarity, the subjective 'feeling of belonging' that is often associated with racial or ethnic group of membership.' (Cornell and Hartman, 1988:52). Therefore, this feeling of belonging issue is seen within Roma people and they struggled for their rights in political arena.

However, pro-Nazi government of Marshall Ion Antonescu, which came to power in 1939, was vocal in its anti-minorities and anti-Gypsy sentiment. 'On the order of Antonescu, more than 26.000 Gypsies were deported to camps located in the Romanian occupied areas of the Soviet Union from the fall of 1942 to the summer of 1944'(Helsinki HRWR, 1981:12). Nomadic Gypsies were particular target of the round-ups because they were considered largely made up of criminal elements. According to the Romanian War Crimes Commission, 'set up by the Romanian People's Court after World War II, 36.000 Gypsies died during the war, making the number of Gypsy deaths in Romanian occupied territory the highest in any country in Europe' (ibid, p.13). According to this report, many of the Gypsies interviewed could not distinguish the period of war and attribute this to the fact that although many Gypsies were deported, those who were not captured remained free and comparatively unaffected by the war. As a consequence of the deportation of Gypsies during World War II and the general atmosphere of hostility toward minorities, some Gypsies felt it wise to assimilate as best they could.

The other issue we will elaborate on is the treatment of Gypsies during the communist rule. According to Helsinki Watch, 'During communist rule Gypsies were never officially considered a national or ethnic minority. By the early 1970s the official policy was simply to ignore the existence of the Gypsies' (Helsinki HTWR, 1981:16). The party leadership was quite aware of Romania's sizable Gypsy population and was attempting to address whatever is considered to be a serious problem with the Gypsy minority. 'In 1977 the Central Committee of the RCP decided that additional efforts should be made to integrate Gypsies' (ibid, p.18). New era begins in minorities' policy under Romania's new dictator, Nicolae Ceauşescu. In 1977, the government decided to do more to integrate the Gypsies into Romanian

society. Crowe says, 'according to an extensive report on Roma integration prepared by propaganda section of the central committee of the RCP in 1983, the work of committees prompted a number of efforts to help nomadic and semi-nomadic Gypsies to settle' (Crowe, 1994:139).

However, as discussed before, many Gypsies in Romania had already been settled for several centuries as a result of slavery. The Romanian government considered it necessary to settle nomadic Gypsies forcibly by such measures as confiscating horses and wagons. As one Gypsy man in the town of Braşov described it: 'The police came and took my horse. Others, my brother-in-law, many others, lost wagons. It was my way of making a living, but no one cared. They just wanted us to stay in one place. It was a shock. I could never understand why (Helsinki HRWR, 1981:17).

In addition to forced settlement program, government also worked to persuade Gypsies to take jobs in fields of activity such as agriculture, industry, handicrafts, service rendering, and socio-cultural areas. These integration, but essentially assimilationist policies were to be made up of educators, health officials and representatives from the RCP and the police. According to this committee:

> The effects of integration program varied widely depending on which people were involved at the local level. Mostly, the committees just gathered statistics. Some also tried to force more Gypsies to work. Although the committees were to be made up representatives from various governmental and party bodies, the police were the most active elements. They worked to disperse large groups of Gypsies. Dispersion was seen as the best way to integrate Gypsies into society. But integration meant assimilation. It was part of the socialist program (Helsinki HRWR, 1981:19).

The aim of this communist regime was to create the conditions for the multilateral social assertion of all the country's citizens, irrespective of nationality; the strengthening of the brotherhood between the Romanian people and co-inhabiting nationalities underlies the national policy of the Romanian state. During the peak period of nationalism in the 1980s, Romanian culture was emphasized at the expense of the cultures of minorities within Romania' (Helsinki HRWR, 1981:21). In this respect, Gypsy history and culture were never part of the school curriculum. There were no publications specifically for Gypsies in Romanian or Hungarian. Gypsy musicians and singers are considered by many to be the best entertainers in Romania. However, even in this area Gypsies were frequently confronted with discrimination.

Gypsies intertwined by Helsinki Watch also reported that they were not able to play traditional Gypsy music and were not able to sing in the Romani language on state radio and television (ibid, p.21).

When we examine housing issue, there are also many problems in Romania. Crowe mentions 'Ceauşescu's post-1983 housing and employment efforts for Roma met mixed success. The housing goals were part of his 'systematization' scheme, which centered around a massive program of reorganization of the countryside and was seen by some as directly discriminatory' (Crowe, 1994:142). According to Helsinki Watch, Gypsies were targets of Ceauşescu's 'systematization' program, which called for the razing of whole districts, especially those with run-down, older houses, and the construction of modern, high-rise apartment buildings in their place. In addition, Roma were often given the housing of other minorities, particularly Hungarians and Germans, who had left Romania because of Ceauşescu's policies. Helsinki Watch considers the effects of 'systematization' policies on the Gypsy housing situation that:

> The traditional Gypsy quarters were destroyed. In some cases this improved the lives of Gypsies. But Gypsies were concentrated in blocks of flats, in urban ghettos. So many people are concentrated in such a small amount of space. The blocks of flats were built in bad condition. Water is not running. Some Romanians live in these conditions as well, but mostly Gypsies. The result is a deterioration of social life (Helsinki HRWR, 1981:23).

Of the all-ethnic minorities in Romania, Gypsies were the least advantaged group in terms of education. 'The 1956 figures for illiteracy indicate that among eight years old over, 37.7% of Gypsies were illiterate (compared to 10.9% for Romanians, 3.1% for Hungarians and Jews, 1.1% for Germans)'(ibid, p.24).

After the collapse of the Ceauşescu's regime, Iliescu was filled by National Salvation Front (NSF) that become identified within the Romanian Communist Party as opponent to Ceauşescu proclaimed the rights and freedoms of national minorities and their full equality with Romanians. Demographic evidence pointed to the Gypsies as one of the country's largest minorities. 'In 1987, the Minority Rights Group in London estimated that there were 760.000 Gypsies in Romania out of a population of 22.683.000, though more generous estimates put the figure between 1 and 2 million' (Crowe, 1994:144).

Crowe also argues that there had been a frenzy of Gypsy political activity since the overthrow of the Ceauşescu dictatorship. Initially, most Roma had declared themselves supporters of the NSF, though in time more and more independent Gypsy organizations began to crop up. However, as Crowe mentions ' this growing body of Gypsy political, literary and cultural activities fed a growing wave of anti-Roma sentiment that continues to haunt Gypsies. It has manifested itself not only in increasing physical violence toward Gypsies but also in press accounts of the Roma' (ibid, 145). As a result of violence and attacks on Gypsies they emigrated. As Crowe mentions:

> The violence combined with the Roma's extreme poverty, the prejudice and discrimination they are subject to, their traditional inclination to a nomadic way of life, and even their seemingly innate ability to cross frontiers illegally, triggered a massive Gypsy emigration from Romania (ibid, p.147).

Many of the Rom emigrants fled to Germany, a country increasingly troubled by the social and economic costs of reunification and a growing non-German immigrant population. The new arrivals were soon subjected to an upsurge of neo-Nazi and right-wing violence that resulted in a growing number of Gypsy/Roma people deaths.

Under the communist regime we examined assimilationist policies toward Gypsies. Can we say that these policies are successful? Assimilationists were confident that ethnic and racial identities would disappear because of the steady progress of rationality and science but most scholars working in Circumstantialist vein avoided Assimilationists' expectations. Cornell and Hartman argue that 'assimilationists projected a general process in which minority identities eventually would disappear. Ethnic, and even racial groups would be integrated into the majority society's institutions and culture' (Cornell and Hartman, 1998:44). However, we cannot say this ''melting pot'' is true for Roma because despite assimilation policies they kept their traditions and culture.

Spain Case

Numerous civilizations-the Iberians, Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Goths, Arabs, Jews and Christians- have passed through Spain throughout its history and left cultural marks. Barberet and Garcia argue that 'although Spain has had a

multicultural past, at present it is a relatively homogenous country with regard to race and ethnicity, although regionalism has given Spain a new heterogeneity' (cited in Marshall, 1997:176). However, Barberet and Garcia see that in recent years the phrase ethnic minority has been used as a catch-all concept to encompass two recent phenomena in Spain: the historically constant case of Gypsies and immigrants coming from Maghreb and South America. 'Each group constitutes about 2% of the Spanish population and both of these groups have been plagued with criminal stereotyping, and both profess to being disproportionately victims of crime, discrimination and unfair treatment by the authorities' (ibid, p.176).

According to Barberet and Garcia, Gypsies entered to Spain probably in 1415. (ibid, p.176). They are believed to be descendants of Egyptians, with their origin in northern India. We should mention that Gypsies'origin of assumption is again based on according to language evidence, then, primordial ties are accepted. They divide Gypsy history in Spain into four periods. During the first 'idyllic' period, Gypsies entered Spain as religious pilgrims and were largely welcome; during the second period (1499 to 1633), they were seen as conflictive nomads and decrees were issued against them by the crown aiming to disperse, expulse or sedentarize them. It was also this period that criminal labels were applied to Gypsies. The third period was one of legal integration and refers to efforts by the enlightened King Carlos III to treat Gypsies the same as all other subjects, while still trying desperately to eliminate their nomadism and convert them into productive subjects. (ibid, p.177). The fourth period covers 1783 to present, when Gypsies settled definitely in Spain and acquired socio-cultural traits that would come to identify them as Spanish Gypsies. In addition, during the dictatorship of Franco, Gypsies are persecuted and Gypsy horse traders who did not carry the appropriate license are arrested.

Barberet and Garcia find the current social policy in Spain toward Gypsies is integrationist. They say that there are some difficulties in quantitative study of Gypsies in Spain. First, there are no census data on Gypsies because it is considered unconstitutional to ask about one's race or ethnicity (but not one's nationality) in the Spanish population census. Second, objective and subjective measures of Gypsy status are fraught with problems; although they have discrete physical features (dark hair, olive-toned skin), quite often these features are melded and hard to detect. A

subjective measure would also be problematic. There are those who were born in Gypsy families who no longer consider themselves Gypsies; there are half-Gypsies who call themselves by other names, and most of all, there is a certain resistance on the part of Gypsies to be identified and counted, which is a past and present persecution.

3.6 The Situation of Gypsy/Roma People in Turkey

Having elaborated the Gypsy/Roma people through four countries, it became a curiosity what is the situation of Gypsies/Roma people in Turkey. Since they live in many different regions they tend to take the specific characteristics of those regions. Turkey is one of the countries where the Gypsy/Roma population is high. On the other hand, this number may be higher than the estimations because there are almost no statistics or any documents about Gypsies/Roma community in Turkey. Hence, Gypsy/Roma people are an officially non-existent and the most invisible minority group.

One of the migration roads, which started in India, of Gypsies was Anotolia. There is no a definite proof about the roots of Gypsies in Turkey but there are some historical facts. As Duygulu mentions, 'Gypsies settled in Anotolia coming from Caucasia and Persia. After that they dispersed from here to Egypt, North Africa and Europe. Gypsies who stayed in Anotalia passed through the Balkans' (Duygulu, 1998:34). Duygulu also mentions that Turkish traveller Evliyâ Çelebi shows motherland of Gypsies as Egypt. Çelebi also writes in his *Seyahatname* (the book of travels) that Gypsies were brought by Fatih Sultan Mehmet from Gümilcine and Menteşe flag. To Duygulu, 'Gypsies living in İstanbul and Thrace mention coming from Salonika and they are inhabited in İstanbul and Thrace' (ibid, p.35).

Gypsies have names in Turkey in terms of locality. Gypsies living in Anotolia and Aegean are called *Cingân, Çingâne, Mıtrıp, Poşa, Karaiçi, Gurbet, Poşa, Abdal*. Gypsies living in İstanbul and close to İstanbul localities are called *Kıpti, Roman, Pırpırı, Karaoğlan, Todi, Mango*. According to Duygulu, Abdals are excluded by all of the other Gypsy/Roma groups.

Duygulu examines Gypsies/Roma in Turkey in terms of social structure. In this regard, he sees three main groups among Gypsies/Roma: Nomads, semi-nomads and settled Gypsies/Roma people. Nomads travel from village to village or village to city according to season. Although semi-nomads are settled in periphery of cities, they move according to seasonal labor. Settled Gypsies/Roma see themselves more superior than nomads and semi-nomads. They call themselves as Roma and call others as Gypsy. Besides, Roma people do not adopt jobs, which are made by Gypsies because they are settled in urban.

So far Gypsy/Roma people's religion, they almost have Muslim religion but, according to Duygulu, some Gypsies living in East Anotolia and İstanbul are Christian and they are mostly called as *Poşa* or *Paşo*.

Gypsy/Roma is the unique indigenous group in Turkey, which is systematically excluded from citizenship rights, even to the extend that not regarded as citizens. The fundamental feature of the Gypsy/Roma experience is discrimination and exclusion. Moreover, there is an article in Turkish law, which is published in June 14 1934. According to this law, 'Gypsies cannot be accepted as a refugee to Turkey. (Article 4 of the Resettlement Law and the Law No: 2510) That caused many tragedies during the migration of Turks from Bulgaria to Turkey. One of the deputies in 1993, Erdal Kesebir who was deputy Democratic Left Party tried the abolition Article 4 of the Resettlement Law and the Law No: 2510, but Kesebir's this proposal was rejected in the National Assembly (Alpman, 1997:130). According to Kesebir, this law is against 'equality principle' in Constitution. Although many Gypsy people living in the Balkans have acquaintances in Turkey, they cannot enter Turkey because of anti-Gypsy refugee law in Turkey. This stands opposite to citizenship rights.

Gypsy/Roma people are also largely excluded from the mainstream of normal life. Many Gypsy/Roma communities in Turkey are characterized by extremely poor living conditions and lack of access to public services. Marshall's definition of citizenship rights including civil, political, social do not overlap with Gypsy/Roma community because they are deprived of basic human rights, being refused the right to employment, housing, health, education, being denied justice. This denial and

exclusion is due to the discriminatory and racist attitude towards them. This leads to marginalisation, social exclusion and poverty increase.

They work in most socially degraded jobs like floriculture, shoe-shinning and collecting cans and paper from garbage, sewerage worker, etc. Hence, they are usually lower income groups. As they form a segmentation of the poor, they are recognized as "criminals". Although some concerns have been shown to the definition of the Roma people in dictionaries, there has been no mechanism developed to remove prejudices and attitudes of the society towards them. Mustafa Aksu who is Gypsy in Turkey gave a conference at Bilkent University on 4 April. He argued that Gypsies in Turkey are now settled but he says they are segregated in terms of their identity. He talked about many stereotypes about Gypsies like as being thief, unfaithful and non-married. He tried to abolish these stereotypes from the dictionary of National Education and Religious Affairs.

3.6.1   Gypsy/Roma People in Edirne

Edirne is one of the most populated and oldest regions where Gypsy/Roma people used to live in Turkey. Especially being close to the borders of Greece and Bulgaria, Gypsy/Roma community migrated during the exchange of minorities between these countries. Besides, many of the respondent's mother and father were born in Greece or Bulgaria. This also signifies the migration from Bulgaria and Greece.

Although there is no official record on the number of Gypsy/Roma community in Edirne, it is estimated to be quite high and they are one of the most vulnerable groups in Turkey, then in Edirne. Many Gypsy/Roma communities in Turkey, like in Edirne are characterized by extremely poor living conditions and lack of access to public services such as, education and health. They also live in sub-standard houses. I examined neighborhoods of Gypsy/Roma community, namely, Ayşe Kadın, Gazimihal, Gülbahar-Küçükpazar, Küçükpazar and Yıldırım Beyazıt but I will discuss this issue in the Methodology Chapter.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

The aim of the thesis is to examine the significance of objective and subjective aspects of life in the ethnic identity formation of Gypsy/Roma community. To construct identity formation of Gypsy/Roma community, different approaches to ethnicity and race are argued in the conceptual framework whether these arguments are sufficient to understand Gypsy/Roma identity or not. Hence, the reader should wait until the datas are interpreted. Specifically, this study was designed to understand how Gypsy/Roma community benefits from basic citizenship rights in a city like Edirne as well as how they constructed their identities and develop a feeling of we'ness and otherness in terms of social, political and economic life.

In this research, I made two main data analysis chapters. The first one is objective aspects of Gypsy/Roma identity and second is subjective aspects of Gypsy/Roma identity. Objective and subjective dimensions are not seperated from each other but it is aimed to examine how objective aspects affect the subjective identity formation of Gypsy/Roma community. In the thesis, Gypsy/Roma community's social, cultural and economic conditions will be examined in terms of basic citizenship rights which includes education, health, job opportunities and living conditions. I categorized these aspects as objective factors. In this regard, I will examine to what extent they access to education, employment, health and living conditions is limited. The aim is not to aim to measure poverty but to argue the concept of marginalization refering to exclusion from benefits in terms of education, employment, health and social integration whether overlaps with Gypsy/Roma community. Besides, as discussed in the conceptual framework, I will also discuss

the relationship between class position and ethnicity. In addition, I will argue how gender roles are developed in the formation of identity.

There is a mutual effect between objective and subjective dimension of identity because identity reflects in modern society dialectical pluralism. Hence, to understand Gypsy/Roma identity conditions it is also necessary to examine the subjective aspects of this community. This dimension includes in the thesis that politics, religion, in group-out group relations as well as perception of Gypsy/Roma identity differentiation in their community in terms of job opportunities, neighbourhood relations, use of language, living a settled or a nomadic life style using a symbolic interactionist approach. Symbolic interactionist approach is useful because to understand "closed communities" like as Gypsy/Roma, the concepts of "self" and the "other" is organized in the society through interpreting of symbols. In this regard, identity socialization is a dynamic process. Then "self" has active role. In this regard, I aim to bring out what extents to these roles are developed in terms of ethnic identity or race.

I also interviewed non-Gypsies in Edirne in order to learnt about their perceptions of Gypsy/Roma community and their level of information about this community. Including non-Gypsies in the research, I aimed two things. Firstly, I wanted to compare Gypsy/Roma's self-perceptions with non-Gypsies' perception and level of information about Gypsy/Roma community. Secondly, from a symbolic interactionist perspective, I will argue that whether Gypsy/Roma community's ethnic identity will also be affected by non-Gypsies perceptions because non-Gypsies' perception may also lead to shifting identities.

4.1   Assumptions

1. This study will be held on Gypsy in Edirne. Since there has been a prominent Gypsy population, not enough academic works about Gypsy/Roma community and working conditions are appropriate, this study will be held in Edirne.

2. Political and social rights are included in citizenship rights entailing to benefit from job, education, accommodation, health and other utilities.

3. That there has been difference among Gypsy population benefits from citizenship rights whether they are female or male, the questions were asked separately to females and males.

4. Citizenship rights entail that all people and minorities should benefit from these rights, so do Gypsies.

4.2   Hypotheses

1. Social marginalization cannot only be defined by the material level of survival, but also includes lacking access to benefits in terms of education, health, job opportunities, and more generally social integration.

2. Gypsy/Roma people find jobs, which are mostly casual or low skilled. In addition, Roma people are usually marginalized and excluded. Hence, they have difficulties in the pursuit of economic activities, which made it difficult to integrate into society.

3. It is expected that Gypsy/Roma people have difficulties in making use of the social and political civil rights and living conditions.

4. Gypsy/Roma community is differentiated within itself according to access to social benefits, such as education, health and public services.

5. Gypsy/Roma women have dual disadvantages in terms of gender roles and ethnicity.

6. Education attainments among Gypsy/Roma community are low because of limited financial resources.

7. Gypsy/Roma community tends to group on the outskirts of cities in poor conditions.

8. Parallel to urbanization and modernization, Roma/Gypsy community is dispersed in urban space.

9. In Gypsy/Roma community to have access to health care is the most problematic one to access education and employment.

This not a positivistic understanding of an identity construction but the above hypotheses were constructed on the basis of drawing a road map for the thesis. Hence, the reader should not expect a cause-effect type of positivistic methodology during the thesis.

4.3   The Setting and the Research Sample

In this thesis, I decided to do my study through a qualitative approach to grasp the meanings that social actors themselves give to their activities. This was based on the understanding that quantitative research methods do not adequately capture these meanings since the major aim of the thesis is to try to capture the dimensions of identity construction among Gypsy/Roma people in Edirne.

Qualitative study helps to understand the discourses of respondents on identity in depth, in detail and contextually. I was concerned with exploring people's wider perceptions on everyday behaviour. 'This method is based on the presumption that meaning and human practice merit scientific interest as genuine and significant phenomena in their own right' (Weinberg, 2002:13-17). Since there was no research on Gypsy/Roma community in Turkey before, the most suitable method was qualitative one to discover the recurring patterns of behaviour and relationships within this community. The study is also an ethnic study and partially a social-psychological evaluation of identity, so symbolic interactionist approach is used. In this regard, since the topic of investigation is a sensitive issue qualitative method proves to be indispensable for this study.

In the framework of the qualitative research, I decided to do in-depth interviews with Gypsies and non-Gypsies in Edirne. Since the issue was firstly related to Gypsy/Roma community, the amounts of Gypsy interviews are more than

the amount of non-Gypsies' in-depth interviews. I prepared Gypsy in-depth interviews as a household interview, which includes questions to both partners. Since urban citizenship rights and ethnic identity construction affect male and female's views separately, I decided to make in-depth interviews with male and females separately. Hence, on the whole I conducted 36 in-depth interviews within 18 Gypsy households. To compare and contrast the relationship between Gypsies and non-Gypsies as well as to complement the identity construction of Gypsy/Roma people, I also made in-depth interviews with 13 non-Gypsies who are born and live in Edirne.

In the research, I used snowball sampling, which begins on a small scale but becomes bigger and bigger (Bailey, 1987:95). To start a snowball sampling, it is necessary to find a mediator who will make contact with acquantiances, friends or neighbours. This issue is especially important for closed communities. As Bailey says, 'in the study of deviant subcultures where respondents may not be visible, routine sampling procedure may be impractical, snowball or chain referral sampling is particularly useful (ibid, p.95). Although Gypsy/Roma community is not a deviant subculture, it is a closed community. Hence, it is not easy to enter within this community. So far the research process, first of all I should mention that I have lived in Edirne. Hence, it was easy for me to know the environment.

The second and main issue is who was the mediator or mediators in this research. My experience, living in Edirne, helped me to find a mediator. My family has been living in Ayşekadın neighbourhood in Edirne. Our apartment's janitor accepted to help me in my research on the ground that he could introduce me with his acquaintances and neighbours because he identifies himself as Roma. He was my first mediator and his wife also helped us to introduce females in their neighbourhood, Yıldırım Beyazıt. These persons were as informants to identify other households for inclusion in the sample. They introduced me to the other Gypsy/Roma people and let me conduct the household interviews then, it was useful to use snowball sampling. With the help of mediators, I was welcomed very hospitably. Besides, this help was obviously very important for the continuation of the research. Without such networking beforehand it would be almost impossible to conduct the research. So one important strategy of research in Gypsy/Roma

community is to make friends and gain their trust beforehand, since they are a close and very much controlled community within.

Tbe other important issue about my mediator is how his socio-economic level affects his identity definition. He is a janitor and lives in Ayşekadın neighbourhood, which is generally non-Gypsy settlement. He defines himself as a Roma not a Gypsy. Mediator defined also his family, acquantiances in his neighbourhood as Roma people. For him, socio-economic level is important in defining Gypsy/Roma people. His socio-economic level is a determining factor in defining his ethnic identity. He not only works in our apartment, but he is also janitor of next apartment. His household's socio-economic level is satisfactory. On the other hand, he defines Gypsy people as garbage collector, knowing Romani language and living in definite neighbourhoods. Hence, he draws a hierarchical strafication within Gypsy/Roma community. For the mediator, Gypsy people are identified negatively in the society; they have very low socio-economic status. My mediator introduced me to Gypsy people and he defined Gypsy people as nomad, having traditional Gypsy jobs such as basketmaker, knowing Romani language and have low socio-economic level. On the other hand, Roma people have a job but not knowing Romani language according to my mediator. Language is also a boundary between Roma/Gypsy identity definitions. I again emphasize that my experience of living in Edirne as well as my mediator's being my neighbour affected this research positively. He gave reliable information. Besides, he and his wife showed me Gypsy/Roma neighbourhoods and introduced me to their acquaintances. I found new mediators and conducted my reseach. This colloboration is important because it is too hard to enter in Gypsy/Roma community without these mediators.

I mentioned this first participant observation because the research developed regarding to this identity differentiation. I recognized the possibility of strafication within Gypsy/Roma commuity in terms of the means of production, as I explained janitor's position. In this case, ethnicity overlaps with stratification. There is not a cruel boundary between objective and subjective aspects of Gypsy/Roma identity. My aim is to understand the subjective aspects of Gypsy/Roma community's identity differentiation by the help of the objective aspects of this community.

These 18 Gypsy households live in different quarters in Edirne; these were, *Gazimihal*, *Gülbahar-Küçükpazar*, *Yıldırım Beyazıt*, *Küçükpazar* and *Ayşe Kadın*. Since I used the snowball sampling, there had been no criteria of quarter. Although I knew the importance of the quarter of *Menziliahir* or *Kıyık*, which was the basic setting of Gypsies, I could not conduct in-depth interviews with any persons because of not finding any medium who know them. I hope that other researchers will fulfil this deficiency in the future.

To gain a better understanding of the Gypsy/Roma minority identity in Edirne, I chose to take the evaluations of non-Gypsies and compare their discourses with the identity discourses and self-perceptions of the Gypsy/Roma group. So I asked non-Gypsies how their relationship with Gypsy/Roma community in social, political and economic life were and how they perceived Gypsy/Roma identity in these arenas. It was easy to conduct in-depth interviews with them. Unlike Gypsy/Roma community, they were settled in the centre of the town. On the whole, I completed 18 Gypsy household and 13 non-Gypsies in-depth-interviews in five weeks. Then I classified the Gypsy/Roma interviews according to the criteria of age, gender, education, occupation, child number, ages of children, social insurance and neighbourhood. (see, table 4.1)

4.4.   Data Collection Methods

Methods are selected and evaluated according to their appropriateness to the subject under the study. For this reason, in-depth interviewing, participant observation and literature analysis were used as data collection methods during my research.

In-depth interviewing has an interactional character, which is like a pipeline for transmitting knowledge. 'It provides a way of generating empirical data about the social world by asking people to talk about their lives' (Holstein & Gubrium cited in Weinberg, 2002:13) but as Silverman says it is not a conversation. 'It is a deliberately created opportunity to talk about something that the interviewer is

interested in that may or may not be of interest to the respondent' (Silverman, cited in Miler and Dingwall, 1997:59).

I constructed a structured in-depth interview form for a systematic data collection with both sides of Gypsy and non-Gypsies. There has been a degree of systematisation in questioning but sometimes I did not follow the order of questions especially in ethnic identity ones so that they did not feel uncomfortable.

In this study, I also used participant observation as a method, which is a fundamental and critical method in all-qualitative inquiries. I used participant observation as a complementary part of a research. During the research I was a witness how respondents react to what happens around them. Goffman mentions that 'that tunes your body up and with your tuned up body and with the ecological right to be close to them, you are in a position to note their gestural, visual, bodily response to what's going around them and you are emphatic enough' (Goffman, cited in Weinberg, 2002:149). For this reason, participant observation was helpful to complement my research.

In-depth interviews, participant observation and literature analysis are effective techniques in data collection process. These strategies and techniques allow me to learn about the background expectations associated with social settings. Hence, this method is useful for me to reach deeper cultural knowledge of Gypsy community. As Silverman says, 'social settings consist of more than territorial sites and their typical participants. Social settings are also organized as interpretive and interactional practices that may be used by participants to construct a variety of claims and social relationships' (Silverman, cited in Miller and Dingwall, 1997:160).

In the interviews, firstly I tried to understand the households' socio- economic profile. In this regard, I asked to respondents' occupation, education, and health profile. Then, I inquired family relations, which are asked only women. Besides I asked only men about settlement questions. Other questions were related to neighbourhood, social network, and lastly political identity and ethnic identity. I asked these questions in order to understand the effects of ethnic perceptions, class and gender identity in the construction of symbolic interactionist view. In this

research, I intended to make a good identity formation of a Gypsy/Roma community in Edirne.

4.5   Difficulties of the Research

This type of interviewing has some disadvantages that I was confronted with. First of the meeting I was a stranger asking questions to them. Bailey (1987) says, the respondent's identity becomes very important in gaining their confidence. To gain their confidence, I took a break during the conversation and talked about other things so that they did not get bored. Through the end of interview, respondents usually felt more comfortable so I sometimes learned trick answers after the interview. In these cases, I wrote them after the conversation.

Some of the respondents were sometimes hesitant to give answers because they were afraid that such information would be used against them. Therefore, they did not want to answer in some cases. Most of Gypsy/Roma respondents expressed their economic and living conditions but when the issue came to the identity construction, they preferred not to answer the relevant questions. In these cases I tried not to force them to make deep explanations on points that they did not want to explain. In addition, I tried to convince them that I made interviews with other people and this would be useful for them in the future because their thoughts were important for the research.

In some cases, some people around us during the interview tried to manipulate respondent's answers because some questions were complex or sensitive, respondent could not answer my questions. In these circumstances, some people, usually their neighbours, tried to misdirect and distort the questions. I could not separate the respondent because I usually conducted interviews in a crowded place. In addition, I was accepted as a guest, like a stranger although some of the Gypsies were my friends. In these circumstances, I felt that there had been a gap between beliefs and action and between what people say and what people do. Despite these conditions, I tried to reach the accurate and personal answers as much as I can with complementary qualitative methods, such as participant observation.

Table 4.1 Social Demographic Profile of Gypsy/Roma Households

	Names*	Sex	Ages	Neighbour-Hood	Education	Occupation	Child Number	Ages of Children	Social Assurance	House Ownership
1	Mustafa	M	38	Ayşe Kadın	Primary S.	Janitor	2	19-16	SSK	Rented accomodation
	Güler	F	37		Primary S.	Domestic Cleaner				
2	Turhan	M	47	Küçükpazar	Primary S.	Garbage Collector	3	16-12-7	SSK	House Owner
	Aynur	F	37		Primary S.	UNEMPLOYED				
3	Tuncay	M	36	Yıldırım Beyazıt	Primary S.	Worker in cleaning firm	1	7	SSK	House Owner
	Saliha	F	35		Primary S.	UNEMPLOYED				
4	Hüseyin	M	32	Küçükpazar	Primary S.	UNEMPLOYED	1	8	Green Card	Mother's House
	Kıymet	F	28		NE	UNEMPLOYED				
5	Ömür	M	36	Yıldırım Beyazıt	Primary S.	Garbage Collector	2	17-14	-	House Owner
	Sema	F	37		Primary S.	Seasonal Worker				
6	Yaşar	M	35	Küçükpazar	Primary S.	Apart. Cleaner	2	10-8	Green Card	House Owner
	İlknur	F	31		Primary S.	Apart. Cleaner				
7	Hüseyin	M	48	Küçükpazar	NE	Porter	3	25-21-16	Green Card	House Owner
	Ayfer	F	42		NE	Textile fac.worker				
8	İsmail	M	51	Gazimihal	NE	Basketmaker	8	37-30-27-24	Green Card	House Owner
	Elfida	F	51		NE	Basketmaker		19-16-15-11		
9	Hasan	M	36	Yıldırım Beyazıt	Primary S.	Tradesman	2	9-6	SSK	House Owner
	Bayise	F	34		Primary S.	UNEMPLOYED				
10	Mehmet	M	22	Yıldırım Beyazıt	Primary S.	Waiter	2	4-1.5	Green Card	House Owner
	Nergis	F	21		Primary S.	UNEMPLOYED				
11	Hakkı	M	29	Yıldırım Beyazıt	Primary S.	UNEMPLOYED	2	12-4	-	House Owner
	Sevinç	F	31		Primary S.	UNEMPLOYED				
12	Hakkı	M	43	Yıldırım Beyazıt	Primary S.	Driver	3	21-13-6	SSK	House Owner
	Remziye	F	41		Primary S.	UNEMPLOYED				
13	Erdem	M	32	Yıldırım Beyazıt	Primary S.	Worker	2	8-6	SSK	Mother's House
	Süheyla	F	26		Primary S.	UNEMPLOYED				
14	Remzi	M	60	Yıldırım Beyazıt	Primary S.	UNEMPLOYED	3	30-19-14	Green Card	House Owner
	Zühre	F	53		Primary S.	UNEMPLOYED				
15	Selahattin	M	53	Küçükpazar	Primary S.	Worker	4	33-30-26-23	Green Card	House Owner
	Sadiye	F	48			Dom.Cln, Brush M.				

*   All names are pseudo-names

NW: Non-working woman.

NE: Non-educated.

CHAPTER V

OBJECTIVE ASPECTS OF THE GYPSY/ROMA IDENTITY

This chapter analyses the objective aspects of the Gypsy/Roma identity with regard to education, occupation, and health. These objective aspects will also be examined regarding to gender issue. Besides, Gypsy/Roma community's marriage patterns, relations during weddings and funerals and relations of solidarity within social networks and neighbourhoods will be considered within the objective aspects of their existence. Drawing these features, it is aimed to identify socio-economic sphere of Gypsy/Roma community.

5.1   The Socio- Economic Conditions of Gypsy/Roma in Edirne

5.1.1   The Level of Education of Gypsy/Roma

Gypsies/Roma living in Edirne usually have a low degree of education. Apart from four non-educated respondents, 36 Gypsy/Roma people are graduated from Primary School. This fact annoys almost all my Gypsy/Roma respondents. In fact, they claim that to get access to education for their children will be an important social indicator for their upward mobility. So they desperately want their children to be involved within the education and obtaining the benefits of it when they search for a job later on. On the other hand, there is a serious handicap to let their children to

continue to schooling because of economic reasons. Parents feel themselves inadequate for finding the money for their children's school costs.

As Güler (37, F, Primary S., Domestic Cleaner) [6]mentions,

I was graduated from Primary School. I am glad with my level of education. In old times, there weren't such big schools. If we had got education it would have been better. We could have found a good job if we had taken an education. We had more salary, it would be fine. But it was inevitable…My eldest son left junior high school and the younger one left high school. I want good jobs for them. I want them to live in better conditions. Wherever my sons find a good job or settle, I would go with them inevitably; to look after the kids. It is most important that they work themselves.

İlkokul mezunuyum. Aldığım eğitimden memnunum. O zamanlar yoktu böyle büyük okullar. Olsaydı, belki de okurduk, okusaydık iyi olurdu. Okusaydık belki de iyi bir işe girerdik. Daha geçimimiz olurdu. Valla iyi olurdu. Ama mecburiyet karşısında…Büyük oğlan ortaokuldan, küçüğüde liseden. İkisininin de iyi olmasını isterim işlerinin. Onlar iyi geçinsinler. Çocuklar nerde iş iyi olursa, konaklarsa ben de onlarla mecburen gidecem; çoluk çocuğa bakmak için. Yeter ki kendileri çalışsınlar.

On the similar lines, Aynur (37, F, Primary s., NW) notes,

I was graduated from primary school. According to those times, I am glad with my education level. It is something like that, I also try to improve myself. For example, what shall I know, I try to practice whatever I see: books, TV. I want my children to have a good education. I want my son to graduate from a University. An occupation that is suitable for the school he had attended to, an occupation suitable for his profession. For example, he will graduate from 'trade high school', he will choose banking industry. I want that he works in a bank. My daughter wants to be a lawyer. I don't know anymore, if she attends. That is her ideal at the moment. It is too much difficult. We have three children, it is difficult with solely my husband working. Because every thing depends on materiality.

İlkokul mezunuyum. Valla o zamana göre memnunun tabiki. Şöyle bir şey, ben kendimi de geliştirmeye çalışıyorum yani. Mesela, ne bileyim gördüğüm herhangi bir şeyi uygulamaya çalışıyorum. Kitap, TV. Valla çocuklarımın iyi bir eğitim görmesini isterim yani. Oğlumun üniversite mezunu olmasını isterim. Okuduğu okula, mesleğine uygun bir işi olsun yani. Mesela Ticaret Lisesi mezunu olacak, bankacılığı seçecek. Bir bankada çalışmasını isterim. Valla kızım hep avukat olmak istiyor. Bilmiyorm artık, okursa. İdeali o, şimdilik. Valla şartlar zor yani. 3 tane çocuk, bir eşimin çalışmasıyla zor. Her şey maddiyata dayanıyor çünkü.

At last respondent Mehmet (30, M, Primary s., Musician) says,

We want to get to be educated of Roma children. We have intelligent children among of ours but have no budget. If our Çeri Başı is taken to hospital, he has got no Green Card. My wife will give birth, we will make something. Government personel shold help us. Even our children might become chief of police. In Europe, government stands as protector to Roma people. There is no such a thing in here. For example, Kemikçiler are uneducated people. They drink, cut themselves; government does not stand as protector to them. They are undeveloped. I

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[6] The data collected from the interviewees stressed the significance of factors like age, gender, level of education (non-educated and primary school) and the type of occupation. For this reason, I used these abbreviations to represent these factors in sequence.

wish my child got to be educated and have a labour. After education, I wish he became a musician. He graduates from school of music then he works in TRT (Turkish Radio Television Association). What a beautiful thing to become an educated musician.

Biz Roman çocuklarını okutup güzel yerlere getirmek istiyoruz. Bizim çocuklarımızdan öyle kafası çalışan var ki, ama bütçe yok. Bizim Çeri başlarımız hastaneye düşse, Yeşil Kartı yok. Hanım doğuracak, bir şeyler yapıcaz işte. Devlet büyüklerimiz yardımcı olmalı. Bizden de emniyet amiri çıkabilir. Avrupa'da sahip çıkmış devlet Roman kardeşlerimize. Burda yok. Mesela *Kemikçiler*[7] eğitimsiz adamlar. İçerler, birbirlerini keserler, devlet sahip çıkmıyor kendilerine. Geri kalmışlar. Çocuğum eğitimli olsun, işi olsun, okusun. Okuduktan sonra müzisyen olsun. Konservatuarı bitirir. TRT'de çalışır. Okuyup da müzisyen olmak ne güzel bir şey.

This respondent signified the importance of education but he also mentioned there is no budget for this. He also complained from the lack of public services for Gypsy/Roma as it is in Europe and points out to the significant need for the "protection of the Roma by the state". This for him represents a major diversity between Europe and Turkey in terms of of Gypsy/Roma people where he finds Europe more advantegous owing to this protection. In short, respondents mentioned education is an important level to get a good job. All of them want their children to be educated such as, a lawyer, a banker and a musician. They also emphasized that for education financial resources are essential which they lack. According to World Bank Report 2000, education is one of the social benefits and the problem of low education levels may be the most pressing issue facing the Gypsy/Roma people. 'Low education levels also lead to unemployment and risk of being poor, which is observed in Central and Eastern Europe' (Ringold, 2000). World Bank Report mentions the relationship between the poverty and low education level: 'Poverty affects children's prospects, both of attending school and performing as well. Children from poor families are more likely not to attend or to drop out of school than other children for a range of reasons including financial and opportunity costs' (Ringold, 2000:25). The relationship between poverty and education levels of Gypsy/Roma community is also valid for Edirne case as respondents mentioned. This case is not only valid in Edirne, but also the same reasons for discontinuity to school is prevalent for Gypsies/Roma in Ankara, Bursa, Malatya, Muğla, Emirdağ etc. (Şen&Yüksel, Öğretmen Dünyası, 1998).

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[7] Kemikçiler is a public name of Menziliahir Neighborhood, which is also known as Gypsy settlement in Edirne.

In short, it can be said that the major reason why Roma children cannot continue to school is more related to the lack of economic means and poverty rather than the parents being unwilling towards sending their children to school. Hence, the hypothesis of 'education attainments between Gypsy/Roma community are low because of limited financial resources'is confirmed.

5.1.2 Labour Market Participation of Gypsy/Roma

Gypsies/Roma people living in Edirne generally have difficulties in economic activities. Respondents in this study usually work in low-skilled jobs. Besides, men sometimes do two jobs at a time because of economic difficulties. Unemployment is also widespread among Gypsy/Roma community.

The latest *Çeribaşı* Hüseyin Bıçakçıoğlu (48, M, Primary s., Çeribaşı[8]) mentions different occupations among Gypsy/ Roma community.

> There are horse carts drivers, curling ironers, tinsmiths and smiths in Edirne. They are grown of nucleus from the Ottomon times.

> Edirne'de at arabacısı var, maşacısı var, kalaycısı var, demircisi var. Osmanlı zamanından çekirdekten yetişme.

Apart from respondents who are low-skilled labour, Çeribaşı Bıçakçıoğlu, pointed out different kinds of artisans such as, tinkers, ironworkers, musicians and basketmakers who take part in the informal labour market in Edirne. On the other hand, my respondents have no artisan skills and working in low-paid and low-skilled jobs. Moreover, most of them lack any kind of social security coverage.

Ömür (36, M, Primary s., Garbage Collector) talks about his work experience,

> Now I am working in Alipaşa as a garbage collector. I work in the evenings. Now there is not any social security. Now there are Vakıflar. I belong to Vakıflar. Now, I do not have insurance but probably they can insure me later on. Before I had insurance I was working in municipality. They fired me from 'Şafak Cleaning'. They fired me anyway. They do not hire for long years. Now this is private sector, they may fire you whenever they want. They do not let us work for many years for not paying compensation. My last work: I was suppressed to work. Even it is good or bad, we have children, and we have responsibilities. You have to work. Now, at the moment, I do not remain free at any time. Look now, I sell roll of bread in

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[8] Çeri Başı is assumed as a leader of Gypsy/Roma community who is selected by election. His duty lasts for 5 years and he has 'Çeri Başı' Card, which is published by Muhtarlık.

the daytime, I come back toward evening and go outside for selling appetizer. I can not stop. Do not look, this Sunday my wife did not let me go. It is not certain. We may get 400, 500, 600, 3000. It depends on the day. Everyone would want to do his own job. Anyway, now there is not something like civil service post in private works. I would also like to work in an insured job, in a guaranteed job but we do could not find. Everyone would like to keep himself safe, and keep social security for himself. I have insurance for 10, 12 years. I should work nearly 5-6 years more, then I will get insured and retired. Almost I had worked in pastry shop. It went bankrupt then we left there. I was in production unit. I was working as an assistant. I was earning 150-200 million but that was many years before. It has been 5, 6 years since I left. If I had stayed there, it would have been 500-600 million. Now I would have had insurance. It would be 13, 14 years. My wife was with me. I was taking unemployment benefit from municipality, from Şafak Cleaning. Even in that, you should not be previously convicted of crime. Your judicial record should be clear in your jobtime. After then, you get right for taking benefit. I got right to that, I have taken unemployment benefit for 6 months. Actually I would not have been paid benefit if they had found me a job. This means there is not any job in the labor market therefore, they could not find a job for me. State does not give work benefit for nonsense. If they had found me a job, they would have cut my salary.

Ben şu an Alipaşa'da çöpçü olarak çalışıyorum, gece gidiyorum. Güvence hiç yok şimdi. Orda şimdi Vakıflar var, Vakıflara aitim ben. Şu an sigortasızım; ama ilerde yapacaklar herhalde. Önceden sigortalıydım. Ben belediyede çalışıyordum, attılar beni Şafak Temizlik'ten. Attılar yani. Çok sene çalıştırmıyorlar. Ya özel iş, istediği zaman atabilir yani. Çok sene çalıştırmıyorlar. Tazminat olmasın diye. Son işimi mecburi çalışacaktım yani. İyi de olsa, kötü de olsa çoluk çocuğumuz var, sorumluluğumuz var, çalışacaksınız. Ben şu an hiç boşta kalmıyorum. Bak şimdi, gündüz simit satarım, akşamüstü geliyom, çereze çıkıyom. Hiç duramıyorum. Bakma bu Pazar hanım göndermedi beni. Belli olmuyor. 400 geçer, 500 geçer, 600 geçer, 300 geçer. İşine göre değişiyor yani. Herkes ister kendi işini kendi yapsın. Zaten şimdi özel işlerde memuriyet denen bir şey yok, her şey özel şimdi. Ben isterim, sigortalı bir işe, garantili bir işe girelim, o da bulamıyoruz yani. Herkes ister kendi emniyetini alsın, kendi güvencesini. Benim 10 senelik, 12 senelik sigortam var. Daha burda 5-6 sene çalışsam kendimi garantiye alcam, emekliye ayrılcam. Daha ben ....Pastanesinde çalıştım iflas etti, biz de ayrıldık. Ben imalathanedeydim, yardımcı olarak çalışıyordum. Onda yaklaşık 150-200 milyon alıyordum fakat ordan çok sene oldu ayrılalı. 5-6 sene oldu ayrılalı. Ben şimdi orda kalsaydım 500-600 milyon olurdu. Şimdi benim sigortam olurdu. 13-14 senelik olurdu. Hanım yanımdaydı. Ben şimdi işsizlik parası alırdım belediyeden, şeyden Şafak Temizlik'ten. Onda da sicilin olmayacak, işinde vukuatın olmayacak, ona hak kazanıyorsun. Ben ona hak kazandım, 6 ay işsizlik parası aldım. İş bulsalardı bana zaten, işsizlik parası vermeyeceklerdi. Demek iş yokki piyasada, bana iş bulamadılar. Devlet haybeye iş parası vermez yani. İş bulsaydılar maaşımı keserdiler.

This respondent is garbage collector but he does not have a social insurance. Besides, he is working also as a peddler to support his family. As he mentioned, he has faced with very hard conditions in his work. Meanwhile, when he talks about difficult conditions of his job, he also criticizes private sector and desperately wants to be insured. 'Multioccupational existence'seems widespread in Gypsy/Roma community. This is caused by economic adaptation. As Sway argues, 'all Gypsies engage in at least two occupations simultaneously, a practice highly valued among the Gypsies' (Sway, 1998:123).

As Simmel mentioned, 'strangers are not organically connected to their customers, which gives them the freedom to be objective in the marketplace'

(Simmel, 1971). Agreeing with Simmel, Sway (1988) argues Gypsy/Roma community economic aspects under the discussion of "middleman minorities". As Sway describes, 'middleman minorities are ethnically dissimilar from the host populations, are imported or lured to these economic niches by governmental invitation or summons, the promise of exceptional economic opportunity or situational creativity' (Sway, 1988:18). According to Sway, one major feature of middleman minorities is that they tend to be self-employed in "portable" occupations and professions such as, traders, manufacturers of small or unusal items, craftsmen and artisans. As Sway says, '[often] they take jobs that no one else in the society wants' (Sway, 1998:27). This discussion overlaps with my respondents' jobs such as, they are sewerage workers, garbage collector. Sway adds that middleman minorities are willing to take risks; they are creative and can sometimes found in semi-legal business endeavors. She evaluates Gypsies as middleman minority because they have capacity to exploit certain economic opportunity regadless of the structure of the society. For Sway, Gypsies overcome any structural reorganization with increased diversity and adaptability. According to Stewart, 'ethnic minorities may take on the role of "intermediary" and play an especially prominent role in trade and markets is a very familiar one in social science' (Stewart, 1997:11). Gypsies are middleman discussion is also parallel to Fonseca' (1996) view. As Fonseca says,

> In medieval Central and Eastern Europe the Gypsies had work: they labored on their own in the jobs that no one else would or could do, so they sold their goods and skills door-to-door. But this for the moment is where the parallel between Gypsies and Jews as migrant middleman ends (Fonseca, 1996:98).

İsmail (51, M, NE, Basketmaker) talks about the relationship between the Gypsy/ Roma identity and labor market relations. As he notes,

> They are making race discrimination. They employ us when there is work. They are calling us Roma.

> Irk ayrımı yapıyorlar. İş olduğu zaman çalıştırıyorlar. Roman diye hitap ediyorlar.

This respondent signifies the 'discrimination' because of his 'race'. He says working conditions is negatively affected when they are Gypsy/Roma. Hence, discrimination and segregation occurs in business life. Cornell and Hartman (1998) mention the designation of race is an assertion of power to define the ''other'' and in doing so to create it as a specific object. In this power relation, racial designation

typically implies inferiority. Besides, Whites have been more likely than others to have the power to make racial assignments historically. Likewise, İsmail's feeling can be expressed with regard to this race and power relation.

Unlike İsmail, Mustafa (38, M, Primary s., Janitor[9]) mentions his job experience and future plans with his children.

In winter we run the central heating system, in summer we take the responsibility of doorkeeping and look for the garden. I have naturally been within this occupation more or less for 15 years. That is to say, I am within this occupation as long as I know myself. Thanks God, God bless us, we scrape along. We do not have obligation for anybody, by thanks to God. They pay us minimum wage; more or less 200 million... Now, as an individual, there is no possibility for me to have my own workplace, because I do not have any profession but my sons may do have. Anyway, I am planning to set up work with my sons in the future. Especially my big soldier son is preparing for the mastery examinations now. Formally, he is taking the education apprenticeship but he is having the mastery. He took the experienced apprenticeship before, now mastery has remained. Master workmen are joining to the courses and examinations. With the God's help, if there may, after military service, we are planning to set up a workshop that would be dealing with the repairment, upkeep and restoration of the elevator in Edirne or İzmir. I am glad with my job. I would not be there if I were not glad. (He says with smiling). May God bless us... Prior to furnacing we were preparing home brooms. Once there were such home brooms. But this had happened in my childhood. I did not have such knowledge about it but I was getting my pocket wage for not being a load to my family. That is, when I was in the age of 4th or 5th class student we were doing something at nights for not being dependent on our family. It was not even a work. But for me, it was a job, I was getting my pocket money. I was pleased. That is to say I did not feel that I was dependent on my father... I have tried to go abroad. Still there is my application at Job Finding Association but they did not give importance to it since they were looking for skilled person for abroad. It was that way... I did not have difficulty because I have always found a job with the help of my acquaintances. Now, for example, we are both the janitor and watchman of an apartment. That is, in some cases this apartment should asked from myself. Since they need reliable individuals, they didn't look for whether we were Roma, Pomak or from Karacaoğlan. That is, for I was from Edirne and known with the market I was given full guarantee and social rights related with this job. This job, in such, provided me to secure my whole life.

Kışın kaloriferleri yakıyoruz, yazın kapıcılığı üstlenmiş bahçeye bakıyoruz. Bu doğal olarak aşağı yukarı 15 yıldır mesleğin içindeyim. Yani kendimi bildim bileli bu mesleğin içindeyim. Çok şükür, bin bereket versin, geçinip gidiyoruz. Kimseye muhtaçlığımız yok, Allaha şükür. Biz asgari ücret alıyorsun. Aşağı yukarı 200 milyon civarı falan...Valla şimdi benim birey olarak yani kendime ait bir işyerim olmasına imkan yok, çünkü benim bir mesleğim yok, ama oğullarımın olabilir. Ben onlarla ileride zaten düşünüyorum. Bilhassa büyük oğlum asker, ustalık sınavlarına gidiyor şimdi, çıraklık eğitimi okuyor, ama ustalık üzerine okuyor. Kalfalığını aldı, şimdi ustalık var. Ustalar sınavlara kurslara giriyorlar. Eğer olursa, askerlikten sonra kısmet olursa Edirne'de veya İzmir gibi bir yerde bir dükkan açıp yani asansör tamiri üzerine böyle, bakım onarım için, oğullarımla başbaşa verip bir işyeri açmayı düşünüyoruz yani. İşimden memnunum. Memnun olmasam zaten, burda işim olmaz (Gülerek söylüyor). Allah bin bereket versin... Kalorifercilikten önce bu ev süpürgeleri yapıyorduk böyle, ev süpürgeleri vardı. Ama o çocukluk döneminde falan oldu. Pek de bilgim yoktu; ama eve yük olmamak için harçlığımı alıyordum. Yani dördüncü, beşinci sınıf çağlarında falan. Eve muhtaç olmamak için, akşamları gidiyordum birşeyler yapıyorduk ama, pek de iş sayılmazdı yani.

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[9] Janitor is a person hired to care of an apartment house.

Ama bana göre işti tabii, cep harçlığımı alıyordum. İyi oluyordum. Babama muhtaç olmuyordum yani. Yurt dışına gitmeye çalıştım ben. Kaydım halen daha iş bulma kurumunda var. Ama tabii yurt dışına da öyle kalifiye elemanları aldıkları için pek önemsemediler yani. O şekilde... Valla benim bir sorunum olmadı, çünkü ben hep tanıdık vasıtasıyla işe girdiğim için. Bir yerde de şimdi benim mesela, biz şimdi apartmanın hem kapıcısı hem bekçisiyiz. Yani bu apartman bir nevi benden sorulur. Güvenilir insanlara ihtiyaç olduğu için ben Roman mışım, bilmem Pomak mışım, bilmem Karacaoğlan'lıymışım onu gözetmediler bizde. Yani benim Edirneli oluşum, bir de piyasada tanınmış olmam bu işle ilgili bana tüm güvenceyi, sosyal hakları, bir nevi hayatımı garanti altına almamı sağladı yani.

Unlike other respondents, Mustafa considers himself as 'reliable' and 'successful' in his job experience. Mustafa's position is related to exercise control of assets, which are valued by other groups in the system. He has got future plans and he is hopeful because of his sons, whereas the other respondents were desperate. Mustafa evaluates his job, janitor, as 'not skilled and not professional'. He talks about the past when he wanted to go abroad to work, but he couldn't because he found himself as 'unqualified'.

In short, jobs of Gypsy/Roma community vary but these respondents were generally working in low-skilled jobs and had insurance problems. Long-term unemployment or having two different jobs is a problematic issue in Gypsy/Roma people' labour participation.

5.1.2.1 Labour Differentiation According to Gender

The type of occupation varies according to gender. Women usually are domestic cleaners, baby-sitters and factory workers, whereas men are porters, garbage collectors, janitors, peddlers and factory workers etc…Besides, some female respondents also have handicap to work because of no permissions of their husbands.

Ömür (36, M, Primary s., Garbage Collector) does not approve of his wife working outside of the home. As the same respondent says:

A general characteristic of our neighbourhood is that everyone works. In our district/neighborhood, women work more. There is not job for men. In fact there was job but there is not any person to do it. Women go cleaning and men stays at café. Let me give you myself as an example. For example, I do not want my wife to work. I am a man and I work. She goes hoeing but she gets bored and therefore she goes. But I do not want to sit down. Men should work. There is not such character in the neighborhood. I always work. Look, I get up late and now I have headache. I get used to get up at 5 o'clock.

Bizim mahallemizin genel bir özelliği, herkes çalışır. Bizim mahallemizde çoğunlukla kadınlar daha çok çalışıyor, erkeklere iş yok. Aslında iş vardı, yapacak adam yok. Kadınlar işte temizliğe gider, beyler de kahvede oturur. Ben sana örnek olarak mahallede kendimi vereyim.

Mesela ben kadınımın çalışmasını istemem. Ben erkekim, ben çalışırım. Sen bakma o çapaya falan gider; ama kendisi canı sıkılır, gider işte, fakat kendim hiç oturmayı sevmem ama. Erkek adam çalışır. Mahallede öyle bir kişilik yok yani. Ben devamlı çalışırım yani. Bak geç kalktım uykudan, kafam ağrıdı daha çok. Ben alıştım sabah 5'te kalkmaya.

Saliha (35, F, Primary s., NW) notes,

I am a housewife. Only my husband works. I have never worked. Once at a time I did childcare. Before, when I was a girl, 22-23 years before. I quitted when I got married. I would like to work but my husband did not want me to work.

Ev hanımıyım. Beyim çalışıyor sadece. Hiç çalışmadım. Bir ara çocuk baktım işte. Daha evvel, yeni kızdım. Çok önce, 22-23 sene önce. Evlenince çıktım. Çalışmak isterdim; ama beyim hiç salmadı yani. Çalışmamı istemedi.

Aynur (37, F, Primary s., NW) also says,

I am a housewife. For a short while I worked in a factory. I was working at the quality and control department and I quited when I was engaged. At the moment, my husband provides the means of subsistence. He works in the Sate Water Supply Administration as a garbage collector. He takes 500 million TL. Unfortunately, this is not sufficient. 3 children, furthermore they attend school. That is to say, it is not adequate.

Ben ev hanımıyım. Kısa süre çalıştım. Bir süre kadar fabrikada çalışmıştım. Kalite kontrolde çalışıyordum. Nişanlanınca bıraktım... Şu an evin geçeimini eşim sağlıyor. Devlet Su İşlerinde çalışıyor. Hizmetli olarak. Valla bir 500 milyon alıyor. Maalesef yetmiyor, 3 çocuk, okuyorlar üstelik. Yeterli olmuyor yani.

These Gypsy/Roma respondents do not work at present because their husbands do not allow them to work based on the claim that the women should have substantial family responsibilities in the house. Even females having a job, after the marriage, dropped their jobs.

On the other hand, Sema (37, F, Primary s., Seasonal w.) talks about having no chances of a continuous job and how hard it is for her,

Now I am a housewife. I go to hoeing, when time comes I go to rice fields. We do not have much work so far. It is in summer we do these. Now, daily salary of hoeing is 10 million. We go till the work ends. It lasts at most in 20 days. From 10 million per day, it makes 200 million. At most we earn that amount. Afterwards you wait for the rice farming. Rice farming time is around September and October, before winter starts, at fall. Now (about the payments), it changes according to the job. Sometimes they pay daily wages, sometimes they pay after the job is completed. It changes but daily work is better for us...It is not sufficient, is it? Because we work temporarily, not permanent. It would be better if it was a permanent job but there is not such a job. I had gone babysitting before. I will do if there is any more. But we can not find job. It becomes a contribution to my family budget. Since it is a permanent job, it would be better. I have never made any job applications. But I am thinking to make some. I would not like to be a vagrant like this. . My child has grown up. What shall I do at home staying vagrant?

Ben şimdi ev kadınıyım, çapaya gidiyom, zamanı geldimi çeltiğe gidiyoz. Bu kadar fazla bir işimiz yok yani. Yazın oluyor. Şimdi çapa yövmiyesi 10 milyon. İşte iş olduğu kadar gidiyoz.

Şimdi bitene kadar tahminin 20 gün en çok. İşte 10 milyondan 200 mi yapıyor. En fazla o kadar. Ondan sonra çeltik zamanını bekliyorsun. Çeltik zamanı Eylül-Ekim arası işte….kışa girerken oluyor., sonbaharda. Şimdi o işine göre değişiyor. Bazen yövmiye oluyor. Bazen götürü oluyor. Götüre veriyorlar biçmeyi. Değişiyor yani; ama yövmiye bizim için daha iyi yani. Kazancım valla yetmiyor aslında, yetermi? Çünkü ara ara çalışıyoruz, devamlı çalışmıyoruz ki. Devamlı olsa daha iyi olur, ama yok. Çocuk bakıcılığı yaptım, önceden. Olsa gene yaparım; ama iş bulamıyoz. Evime bir katkı oluyor; çünkü devamlı olduğu için daha iyi olur. Hiç iş başvurusu yapmadım; ama yapmayı düşünüyorum yani. Böyle aylak olmuyor yani. Çocuğum büyüdü. Aylak ben ne yapayım ki evde?

On the similar lines with Sema, Ayfer (42, F, NE, Factory Worker) mentions how her work is compelling.

I was hoeing, cleaning the stairs of apartment before. I had four stairs but the firm got hold of all of four. I am working with my daughter in tile factory, we are carrying the tiles at the moment. We are daily labourers. We earn 6 million in daily labour. I heard women who are our neighbourhood were going to work. I am hardly satisfied from my job, it is very hard, and we are making the job, which is made by men. We are living awckward in every moment. Man gets angry with somebody else and he curses us. I want to work as babysitter or care of with patient in an old age asylum…My husband is a sewerage worker, he is going when he receives information. He is earning 10 million TL…Today we have got no money for even our funeral.

Daha önce çapa kazıyordum. Merdiven siliyordum. 4 merdivenim vardı ama dördünü birden şirket aldı elimden. Şimdi kızımla birlikte kiremithanede kiremit taşıyoruz. Yövmiye ile çalışıyoruz. 6 milyon ben, 6 milyon kızım alıyor. Mahallede kadınlar gidiyormuş. Kulaktan kulağa duydum. Sabah 8, akşam 5 yapıyoruz. İşimden hiç memnun değilim, çok ağır, erkeğin yaptığı işi biz yapıyoruz. Her an bir sıkıntı yaşanıyor. Erkek bir başkasına kızıyor, bize küfrediyor. Huzurevinde hasta bakmak ya da çocuk bakmak isterim…Kocam lağım açıyor, duyduğu zaman gidiyor, 10 milyon alıyor. …Bugün cenazeyi kaldırmaya paramız yok.

Aguirre and Turner states, 'market for labour become portioned, with members of certain ethnic groups being confined to some jobs in the labour market and not allowed to work in higher paid jobs' (Aguirre&Turner, 1998:29). This is also valid for these respondents. They want continuous and more comfortable jobs, but they could not find. For example, babysitter seems a good job for both of Sema and Ayfer because they can get access to it as a continuous job. As World Bank Report suggests 'because of their low skill levels, as well as discrimination in labour market, Roma were frequently among the first to be laid off when labour shedding began. Therefore, long-term unemployment is high between Roma' (Ringold: 2000:14).

Ayfer said that she lost her job, as an apartment cleaner, because a cleaning firm got hold of her job. As respondents mention, poverty among Gypsy/Roma people living in Edirne is one of the most discussed issues in the development literature. World Bank Report (2000) suggests poverty among Gypsy/Roma community is multidimensional and is related to a broad range of factors including poor health, educational status, limited chances in the labour market as well as

discrimination which together contribute to their exclusion. In addition, these respondents were women as well as being from the Gypsy/Roma community. Hence, they are more disadvantageous in the market; they are low paid and uninsured. This refers to my hypothesis that Gypsy/Roma women have dual disadvantages in terms of gender and ethnicity. As Ayfer said carrying tile was man's job but women were also doing it for earning more money.

Besides, I also encountered making 'home brooms' in some families. Home brooms were hand-made. Only women were making it with family scale in their houses. When I visited houses in *Gülbahar-Küçükpazar* neighbourhood, women were sitting in front of their houses and making home brooms. This occupation was made according to order of small-scale firms. These women also work as domestic cleaners. Hence, multioccupation is also seen among women. As Sway argues, 'Gypsies have become a middleman minority par excellence is by avoiding sex classification of work. All members of the extended family share work as needed to maximize fully the potential of an economic opportunity' (Sway, 1998:122). Women were low paid which is caused by increasing sub-contracting of production. As Ecevit argues, 'it takes apart within Post-Fordism and flexible productivity in economy. Enterprises encourage women to work at home give some machinery to compete with other firms and reach the external market standarts. Outside of the coverage of the Labour Code, women were employed without insurance and with low pay' (Ecevit, cited in Tekeli, 1995:122).

Women generally want stable jobs. For example, Gypsy/Roma women who were working especially in rice- fields complain that this work is made for only one or two months. After the work, they are unemployed. During the research, I learnt that going to rice-field and working as seasonal worker for two months was a 'traditional occupation' among Gypsy/Roma families. This seasonal work is used to base on family scale. In this study, I only met Gypsy/Roma women who were working in this job.

Regarding both male and female differentiation in labour market, this issue overlaps with my hypothesis about labour participation of Gypsy/Roma community. In this regard, Gypsy/Roma people find jobs, which are mostly casual or low skilled.

In addition, Gypsy/Roma people are usually marginalized and excluded. Hence, they have difficulties in the pursuit of economic activities, which made it diffucult to integrate into society.

5.1.3 Conditions of Health and Access to Health Care

Gypsies/Roma living in Edirne generally have difficulties of economic activities. Respondents in this study usually work in low-skilled jobs. Besides, the type of occupation varies according to gender. Women usually are domestic cleaners, baby-sitters and factory workers, whereas men are porters, garbage collectors.

In this part, I analysed Gypsy/Roma people living in Edirne about their level of access to health care, whether they have health insurance or not, whether they can afford to go to the doctors or buy medicines and what they do when a member of the families got ill. When one is asking such questions related to health, it becomes almost inevitable that one hears about numerous chronic illnesses of the respondents (digestive illness, psychological disturbances). In terms of access to health care, many of them have a 'Green Card'[10] but reimbursement of medical expenses was problematic. I also asked them about the attitudes of doctors towards them.

Kıymet (28, F, NE, NW) notes,

I only go to the hospital. We have Green Cards. We took out green card. We go in those machines, kidney machine. I go three days a week. Yes, it covers. Only we go in kidney cure. I cannot buy my medicines, they do not give. Medicines are very expensive, so we cannot afford. My husband does not work, my mother -in -law looks after us. I do not know how much she earn. (Her mother- in law speaks: nearly 200 million TL.)

Hastaneye gidiyom işte, geliyom. Yeşil kartımız var, Yeşil Kart çıkardık. Onlara giriyoz, makineye, diyaliz makinesine. Haftada 3 gün gidiyorum. Yetiyo işte. Sade diyalize giriyoz, çıkıyoz. Haplarımı, ilaçlarımı alamıyom, vermiyorlar. Çok pahalı ilaçlar, alamıyoruz...Eşim çalışmıyor işte. Kayınvalidem var, o bakıyor bize. Valla bilmiyorum ne kadar aldığını. (Kayınvalide sesleniyor:200 milyon kadar)

Sema (37, F, Primary s, Seasonal w.) mentions

For example, generally we catch cold. My son's tonsils are always getting swollen as an example. If a bit he catches a cold it swells up. That means, we, from one day to another, go to

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[10] Green Card: A health card given to the poor people (without any income, job, property) for access to health care. It only gives them a chance to see the doctor in a public hospital and a diagnosis, but no medical treatment. Unless it is an urgent case and the patient requires bed treatment in hospital. It is ,in use since 1991 with a related legislation.

doctor. Therefore, we get in difficulty… We never come to an agreement with our doctor. We usually go to local health center. In there, recently they also want examination payment. Furthermore, doctor is scolding the patients. He even does not want to examine the children anymore. He tells us to go to the state hospital. Now if we have money, we buy medicine. If not, we are trying to get it from any places. You cannot leave that child in that situation. They mostly write down antibiotics. Now an antibiotic does not cost less then 10-15 million. There is also analgasic. It reaches to 20-25 million.

Grip oluyoruz mesela çoğunlukla. Oğlumun mesela bu bademcikleri devamlı şişiyor. Biraz üşütse, hemen şişiyor. Yani iki-bir doktordayız. Bu yüzden zorlanıyoruz yani… Valla doktorumuzla hiç anlaşamıyoruz, çünkü çoğunlukla sağlık ocağına gidiyoruz. Orda da muayene ücreti çıkardılar bize. Bi de doktor azarlıyor hastaları. Muayene etmek bile istemiyor çocukları artık. Devlet hastanesine gidin diyor. İşte elimizde varsa alıyoruz, yoksa bir yerlerden denkleştirmeye çalışıyoruz. O çocuğu öyle bırakmazsın sonuçta. Valla çoğunlukla antibiyotik yazıyorlar. Şimdi bir antibiyotik 10-15 milyondan aşağı değil. E ağrı kesicisi var, 20-25'i buluyor yani.

Hüseyin (32, M, Primary s., NW) notes,

I get inspection with Green Card. While I was working with insurance as an example, even they wrote 10 million cost medicine we were at most paying 1,5-2 million with report for medical reasons. We were buying all of them. I can buy some medicine, but I can not buy others. If we need medicine urgently we go to City Health Administration and demand for our medicines to be covered immediately by the fund . They only give analgasic or blood pressure pills. There is not any other.

Yeşil Kartla çıkıyorum doktora. Sigortalı çalışırken mesela 10 milyonluk da ilaç verseler, raporla 1.5-2 milyon veriyorduk en fazla, alıyorduk hepsini. Bazı ilaçları alabiliyor, bazı ilaçları alamıyorum. Acil ilaç olursa, Sağlık İl Müdürlüğüne gidip o ilaçların fon tarafından acilen karşılanmasını talep ediyoruz. Bir ağrı kesici veriyorlar, tansiyon hapı veriyorlar. Başka da yok.

Aynur (37, F, Primary s., NW) says,

In reality the previous day I went to a doctor. For example, we bought a medicine for 5 million by insurance that cost 50 million TL at outside. But if this service were private, I could not be able to buy it. 50 million is huge money. We sometimes get on well but sometimes do not. When you make a little oppression, they examine more carefully. Let me give my son as an example. Recently he came from school. Murat's hands and legs were turned to be deep purple. I brought him but the doctor didn't pay any attention. Once we shout, we scream then, that time, they show concern. Sometimes they are indifferent.

Valla geçen gün ben çıktım mesela 50 milyonluk dışarda bir ilacı 5 milyona alabildik sigorta ile. Ama özel alamazdım. 50 milyon çok büyük bir para Valla anlaştığımda oluyor, anlaşamadığım da. Biraz baskı yaptığın zaman dikkatli bakıyorlar. Mesela oğlumu örnek vereyim. Geçenlerde okuldan geldi. Eli ayağı mosmor oldu Murat'ın. Götürdüm, ilgilenmedi doktor. Bir bağırdık, bir çağırık; o zaman başladılar ilgilenmeye. Bazen umursamıyorlar.

As respondents mentioned, they have difficulties especially in reimbursement of medical expenses. The Gypsies/Roma who have insurance felt themselves lucky because 'if they had not insurance, they would not be able to buy the medicines and got treatment'. Besides, they claim that usually the doctors' attitude are negative towards them. As respondents claim, doctors have an uninterested attitude towards

their illnesses. In this regard, my hypothesis is confirmed on the ground that for Gypsy/Roma community to have access to health care is the most problematic one. Gypsy/Roma people send their children to school owing to compulsory education system. Besides, they have a job whether it is low skilled or not but reimbursement of medical is so problematic in this community because of lack of insurance.

5.2   Social Network and Relations Within Gypsy/Roma Community

The social network and relations are analysed in two levels. One is within Gypsy/Roma community itself and the other between them and the non-Gypsies, with regard to marriage patterns, weddings and funerals as well as neighbourhood relations. This two level analysis is thought to be useful to understand whether there is a relation between members of Gypsy/Roma and non-Gypsies on the social-cultural basis.

5.2.1   Marriage Patterns within Gypsy/Roma Community

Marriage patterns within Gypsy/Roma are asked with the expectation that it might be an indicator of their attitudes about marriages with non-Gypsies thus, heteregenous marriages. Especially whether they are tolerant of such marriages is a major concern since it is a major finding in Turkey that families, in general, want their children to marry with their own kind (in terms of ethnic origin, sect, religious belief, class) (Atalay et al., 1992). Therefore, I asked the interviewees, how they met with their wives/husbands, who decided about the marriage, how they would consider marrying with an individual (or their children marrying to a person) not belonging to their own community.

The Gypsies/Roma interviewees generally reported that in their families marrying to a person from their 'own community' is a very strict rule. However, a few Gypsy/Roma respondents said that they give much more importance to 'the character of the person to be married' rather than to which community he/she belongs.

Mustafa (38, M, Primary s., Janitor) accepts marriage only from his own community. As he says,

> Now like all other mothers and fathers, I would like to marry my daughter to a lucky man with whom she could have peace. But also let me say this; I wouldn't give my daughter someone outside my community. This is also a fact, because they are too much fractious. I mean we lived the examples. Such things exist.

> Ya şimdi her anne-baba gibi bende kızımın en azından rahat edebileceği gibi talihi iyi olan bir insana verirdim. Ama şunu da söyleyeyim, kendi milletimden haricine vermem yani. Bu da bir gerçek, çünkü geçinmezlikler çok oluyor. Örneklerini yaşadık yani, var bunlar

On similar lines, Mustafa's wife Güler (37, F, Primary s., Domestic cleaner) does not approve to get married out of Gypsy/Roma community.

> I have been married to Mustafa for 22 years. I didn't have any problem with him yet. We got on well. I eloped with my love. I was 16 when I was married. My family accepted Mustafa with perforce when I eloped with him... I would show response to marry with strange person with someone other than my community because there would be disagreement. It would be difficult for us to go and come. My mother loved and went to but it would be difficult for me, so would it be for them.

> Mustafa abinle 22 senelik evliyim, daha bir sorunum olmadı. Çok iyi geçiniyoruz. Severek, kaçtım. 16 yaşındaydım evlendiğimde. E mecbur kabul ettiler, ailem kaçınca... Kendi insanlarımdan olmayan insanlarla evlenmeye, ona karşı gelirdim. Çünkü anlaşmazlık olur, gidip gelmemiz de zor olurdu. Anam sevmiş gitmiş ama; zor olurdu benim için, onlar için de zor olurdu.

Sema (37, F, Primary s., Seasonal worker) is rigidly against out of community marriage.

> I am against. I do not let my girl get married for unknowned persons but I do not want bride for them, either.

> Ben karşıyım. Ben tanımadığım, bilmediğim insanlara kız vermem; ama gelin de almam, karşıyım.

As these interviewees state, the tendency in the Gypsies/Roma community towards marriage with members of non-Gypsies is generally negative. Besides, some of these women mentioned that many women, in order to get over these strict rules of the community, first escape to their prospective husbands and then they got married. Having eloped, families are forced to approve the marriage.

On the other hand, Saliha (35, F, Primary s., NW) says that she gives importance to the characteristics of a person to whom her daughter can marry, such as 'having a good job' and 'a person having good habits'.

We eloped. It was a glance, so far, we loved each other. And then we got married, engaged. He hired a house for me. From the beginning we lived in a rental flat but we were better in the rented flat. We had a house anyway. Then my father in love bought this place. We have stayed here so far... I do not want to marry my daughter to a person around here. I will actually let her get education. That is to say, she should have a job for herself. From somewhere else, that is not from here. That is, we think everything for our daughter's future. Anyway, I would not give my daughter to anyone from here. I will get her educated.

Kaçırdı işte. Bir görüştü, yani birbirimize aşık olduk. Ondan sonra evlendik, nikahlandık. Kiralık ev uttu bana. Baştan kiradaydık ;ama kirada daha iyiydik. Evimiz vardı yani orda. Sonra kayınpeder bizi , kaynatam buraya aldı. Burda da kaldık yani... Vallahi ben burdan hiç istemem yani kızımı vereyim. Ben zaten okutacam kızımı. Yani kendine göre onun da işi olsun. Dışardan. Burdan değil yani. İyi yer olacak yani, çok iyi. İşi olacak, kendi iyi olacak. Anlaşması yani, anlaşacak Kızımın geleceği için herşeyi düşünüyoz yani. Burdan zaten kızımı vermem. Kızımı okutacam yani

Another variation is that there are persons who have moderate attitudes towards getting married with a non-Gypsy. Turhan (47, M, Primary s., Garbage Collector) reports that mutual agreement is an important issue in marriage, besides being 'honest' and 'lacking bad habits'. As he mentions,

We are married with a great clotter but we are against to this. In what sense we are against? The youth will see each other, will love and will decide together. If also we approve, we will say ' let's my daughter, walk and go your home'. What else can we say? (Meanwhile, one of them interferes to my question: let us a bit make this issue clearer. We are a Gypsy race. The child goes and brings a 'Pomak', would you ever say 'ohh my son, this is Pomak, This is Bosnak, why did you take her?' this doesn't become us.) But the youth know each other. You bring up your son from small childhood and if you do not know her behaviours, style, if you do not see her all events, you cannot say that take her and go. Of course first you investigate and if they love each other, you approve though. Therefore, it is not important who is he/he. We have not got strict rules. Everybody should want his or her right in the democratic system.

Biz hanımla paldır- küldür evlendik ama biz buna karşıyız. Nasıl karşıyız? Gençler birbirini görecek, sevecek, karar verecek. Biz de onaylarsak, haydi kızım yürü evine diycez. Ne diycez başka? (Arada birisi soruma müdahele ediyor: Şimdi bunu biraz açalım. Biz bir Çingene ırkıyız. Gitti çocuk, Pomağın birini aldı. Sen dermisin, yav çocuğum bu Pomak, bu Bosnak. Sen bunu niye getirdin bunu. Bize uymaz). Ama gençler birbirlerini tanırlar. Sen küçücükten büyütüp bir oğlunu, onun davranışlarını, tarzlarını, her türlü olaylarını görmeden sen al bunu, git diyemezsin. Tabiki bir araştırırsın, birbirlerini seviyorlarsa verir, gidersin.. Gene verirsin, gönül işidir. Kim olduğu önemli önemli değil yani. Katı kurallarımız yoktur. Demokratik düzende herkes hakkını arasın.

I also came across a heterogenous marriage. I took the information from her husband. As he claims, his wife defines herself as a Gypsy/Roma woman as well as a Turkoman. Actually, he himself is a Turkoman but his wife is a Gypsy. Therefore she felt the need to live with both identities in order to reach to a mutual agreement with her partner.

Mehmet (22, M, Primary s., Waiter) says,

I am a Turkoman and my wife is Roma. I think that everybody should get married with the person they love… Although I am a Turkoman, I can say that non-Gypsies make discrimination towards Gypsy people. I want my girl to get married whoever she loves.

Ben Türk, eşim Roman olduğu için, herkes sevdiğiyle evlensin... Türk olmama rağmen, Roman olmayanların Romanlara karşı ayrımcılık yaptığını söyleyebilirim. Kızımın sevdiğiyle evlenmesini isterim.

In general, marriage patterns of Gypsy/Roma community show us a ''social closure'' in Weberian terms. In this regard, they were against heterogeneous marriages. They said to me, 'everybody belongs to one's own community'. This message "refers to internal aspects of ethnic group solidarity, the subjective feeling of belonging that is often associated with racial or ethnic group membership" (Cornell and Hartman, 1998: 52). Ethnocentrism is described by Hutchinson and Smith (1996) as a synonym for thinking well of those in our own group and ill of others and for a sense of uniqueness and centrality. Horton and Hunt (1984) argue that in matters of marriage ''ethnocentrism'' is conspicuous.

5.2.2 Weddings and Funerals Within Gypsy/Roma Community

Wedding and funerals as rituals play important element in continuation of tradition and strengthening the solidarity among Gypsy/Roma community. They describe their weddings as 'enjoyable' and 'cheerful'. Besides, especially Gypsies/Roma's weddings are known by everybody in Edirne and described as striking.

As Turhan (47, M, Primary s., Garbage collector) notes,

Of course, that is a general appearence of our neighbourhood. We like it. We will go and dance, at least without fighting each other. If you attend today, he will also come tomorrow or another day. This event is the reflection of solidarity.

Düğünler zaten mahallemizin genel bir görünümüdür, severiz. Gidecez, oynıycaz; yeter ki kavga etmeden. Sen gidersen, o da gelecek yarın öbür gün. Bu olay birlik, beraberlik.

Tuncay (36, M, Primary s., Worker in Cleaning Firm) reports,

We go to our close friends', relatives' wedding ceremonies. In those ceremonies we help each other, because another time they would help us.

Düğünlere biz yani pek öyle yakın arkadaşımız, dostumuz, akrabamız onlara bi gideriz. Yardım ederiz düğünlerde birbirimize; çünkü zamanı gelir, onlar da bize yardım eder.

Ömür (36, M, Primary s., Garbage Collector) says,

Wedding ceremonies are also excellent. Normally, the ceremony lasts in 2 days. You give the girl at Hannah Night. And that day is held in the man's house. It becomes very beautiful. Roma's entertainment occurs better. Now, formerly there was drum and 'zurna'. Elder women, elder people were keeping drum and zurna. Now, youths do not even keep this instrument, they prefer organ... We give much importance to funerals. We do not go to work that day. Although becoming a civil servent, I would not go to work. We give much importance to funerals. We help each other in neighbourhood. If money is not enough, we gather it. That is, it is very fine here.

Düğünler de mükemmel olur. Düğünler normalde 2 gün sürer. Kına gecesi, kızı veriyorsun. O gece de çocuk evinde oluyor. Cuması falan hep birarada oluyor. Çok güzel oluyor yani. Romanların eğlencesi güzel oluyor. Şimdi eskiden davul-zurna vardı. Eski kadınlar, eski insanlar davul zurnayı tutardı. Şimdi gençler ince çalgıyı bile tutmaz, orgu severler. Bizde cenazelere çok önem veriyorlar. İşe gitmeyiz o gün. Memur olsun, ben olsam işe gitmem. Cenazelere çok önem veririz. Mahallede yardımımız olur, para yetmezse para toplarız. Yani çok güzel olur.

On the similar lines, Sema (37, F, Primary s., Seasonal w.) says,

Our funerals take place very well, and crowded. We do respect for our corpse. That day, men do not go to work. They help. Men and women are seperated there. In the funerals, women console family members, help to them. They also make the morsel and semolina and distribute them. Those things anyway. She helps as far as she can.

Cenazelerimiz çok iyi olur, kalabalık olur. Yani saygı duyarız cenazelerimize. Erkeklerimiz işe gitmez o gün. Yardımcı olurlar. Erkekler ayrı, kadınlar ayrı. Kadınlar mesela cenaze gittiği zaman o aile fertlerini teselli eder, yardım eder. Lokması, irmiğini falan yapar, dağıtır. Bunlar yani. Elinden geldiği kadar yardım eder.

In short, weddings and funerals are traditions providing 'solidarity' to its members as respondents mentioned. Weddings are described as 'cheerful' and 'enjoyable'. Women and men' s roles vary in funerals. In this regard, Gypsy/Roma men do not go to work in that day. Women are making domestic works but the common goal is to help the dead person's family. Gypsy/Roma community's solidarity might be argued in Durkheimian sense. Durkheim describes two types of solidarity; "mechanical" and "organic solidarity". Craib mentions, 'mechanical solidarity implies the similarity of individuals. Mechanical solidarity is not itself a form of social structure but it is the form of solidarity found in segmented societies originally clan (kinship) based but later based on locality' (Craib, 1997:66). On the other hand, organic solidarity is seen in complex and organized societies where the division of labour is highly organized. So far solidarity is important in Gypsy/Roma community not only in Edirne. Lieogis mentions how solidarity is important for Gypsy/Roma identity:

They are never isolated or alone, but are always dependent on and in solidarity with the group in which they are included…What counts most of all in Gypsy social organization-more than individuals, more than the various ethnic sub-groups, and more even than the fragmentary

family group-is the system of family groups, which exist in a never dynamic of cooperation and struggle for influence (Liegois, 1986:64-65).

My argument is that Gypsy/Roma community's solidarity might be expressed with "mechanic solidarity" because this community engages in all basic activities and the individual is absorbed in the collective conscience. As Liegois mentions, basic solidarity occurs within family. People know better each other and solidarity is widespread among Gypsy/Roma community rather than societies in which organic solidarity is seen. Hence, weddings and funerals are important for this society and you can see how solidarity performs along these patterns. Weddings and funerals have a function to integrate people based on locality. Especially wedding ceremonies are seen like as ethnic festivals. 'Gathering money' or 'division of labour' in funerals reinforces solidarity. Solidarity will be argued in the following section on the ground that how it works in neighbourhoods.

5.2.3 Neighborhood in Gypsy/Roma Community

In Edirne, there have been some basic Gypsy/Roma settlements such as, *Menziliahir (Kıyık or Kemikçiler* are the others names of it) *Gazimihal, Küçükpazar*. These settlements are placed in the outskirts of Edirne. I only talked with respondents from *Gazimihal, Küçükpazar, Gülbahar-Küçükpazar, Yıldırım Beyazıt* and *Ayşe Kadın* neighborhoods. I asked the respondents, 'Where would you live in Edirne?' and 'Are you satisfied with your neighborhood?' I tried to take their evaluations of Gypsy/Roma community whether there is solidarity among neighbours within Gypsy/Roma community or not. Hence, I also analyzed what is the reason for living in certain settlements inhabited by Gypsy/Roma. The question in my mind was whether it was a spatial reflection of their ethnic identity or it was a forceful living together because of a lack of sufficient economic resources.

Turhan (47, M, Primary s., Garbage collector) lives in *Küçükpazar* neighborhood and mentions,

> Now, we always wish better places, better things. For me also for example; I do not want it for me but it would be adventageous for my children. Tomorrow, following day, when I am retired, I am planning to buy a house from 'Binevler'. Anyway, the fact is that; we anyhow, brought up here, we want to bring up our children in better conditions, in a better environment. What have we done? We haven't been able to change economically much, we came together in near surroundings. But now I think that, if I had an opportunity, it is not need to be Binevler,

more different, more calm, more peaceful environment. That is, I would like to go to a place where the social life of the societies at least different. If your budget is much enough, you may go. We do not say that these people can never seperate from each other or they can never live seperately. Don't produce such an impression along this interview. Our people are struggling for better places, struggling to improve themselves as much as they can. There are some that has seperated. This means that they have reached to a specific economic level, they took the advantage of opportunities well. They are able to manage their life in better places. What are we doing so far? Since we couldn't catch that environment, we would are still, in our meaning, managing our life. Don't we want to go? We would like to go, this is also a fact. There is not an obligatory thought that we should live all together with our blood relationships like an ethnic group, like a tribe. But this is also a fact. Look I nearly know eveything about Binevler, Yıldırım, Yenimahalle. Let God not to seperate us from this neighbourhood. We have trust to ourselves and we have a thing to join to anykind of event with gladness. Because we have confidence to each other. Let's say that in some district in Binevler there are various persons Neither the comer nor the leaver is obvious. No one give greeting. They do not know each other. I wouldn't like to be in such an environment. If I do something, I want like friends, close friends. I wouldn't like to go in such a place. This place is better for me (A women there adds: They make ethnic discrimination, class segregation).

Şimdi yeğenim, gönlümüz hep daha iyi yerde, daha iyi şeyde. Benim de mesela şeyi, kendim için değil, çocuklarım için avantajlı olması. Yarın, öbür gün emekli olduğumda Binevler'den bir ev almayı düşünüyorum. Yani işin gerçeği. Biz nasıl olsa burada büyüdük. Çocuklarımızı daha iyi şartlarda, daha iyi çevrede yetiştirmek. Naptık biz? Ekonomik olrak fazla bir değişime uğrayamadık, böyle yakın çevrede toplandık. Ama şimdi ben düşünüyorum, elimde bir olanağım olsa, Binevler olması şart değil, daha değişik çevre, daha sakin, biraz daha huzurlu. Yani en azından toplumun sosyal yaşantısının farklı olduğu yere gitmek isterim. Bütçen müsaitse, gidebilirsin. Biz illlaki, bu insanlar birbirinden kopamaz, ayrı yaşayamaz diye bu ankette bu düşünce yaratmayın. Yani bizim insanlarımız mümkün olduğu kadar daha iyi yerlerde, daha iyi gelişmek içi mücadele eden insanlarımız var, kopan insanlarımız da var. Demek ki onlar belli bir ekonomik düzeyi yakalamış, fırsatları daha iyi değerlendirmiş, daha iyi çevrelerde yaşamını idare ettirebiliyor. İşte biz ne yapıyoruz? O ortamı yakalayamadığımız için, hala böyle kendi anlamımızda, kendşi yaşantımızı sürdürüyoruz. Gitmek istemezmiyiz? Gitmek isteriz, o da bir gerçek. Yani illa da kan bağımızla bir arada yaşayalım, belli bir ırk gibi, belli bir kabile gibi yaşayalım düşüncesi yok. Ama şu da bir gerçek. Bak ben hemen hemen Binevler, Yıldırım, Yenimahalle ben herşeyi bilirim. Allah yine de bizi buralardan ayırmasın. Bizim birbirlerimize güvencimiz vardır yani ve her türlü olaya da seve seve katılma şeyimiz vardır; çünkü itimatımız vardır. Diyelimki Binevler'in belirli muhitlerinde, çeşitli kişiler var. Ne giren belli, ne çıkan belli, ne selam veren var. Tanımıyorlar birbirlerini. Ben öyle bir ortamda olmak istemem. Ben şey yapıyosam, dost, arkadaş isterim. Öyle bir ortama hiç gitmek istemem. Burası daha iyi benim için. (Ordan bir kadın ekliyor: Irk ayrımı yapıyorlar, zengin-fakir ayrımı yapıyorlar.).

Küçükpazar is an old Gypsy/Roma settlement in Edirne. Turhan talks about his and neighbours' insufficient economic conditions . The main reason of staying in *Küçükpazar* is resulted of these economic conditions, according to Turhan. During my research, I saw the houses of respondents living in *Küçükpazar*, which had poor conditions and gece-kondu. There had been a local concentration of highly cumulative forms of chronic poverty, although each respondent was house owner. Turhan warned me not to create in this research that Gypsy/Roma people are living together like as tribe or clan. For Turhan, 'if your budget is convenient, you can go

wherever you want, such as *Binevler*[11] in Edirne'. As Castells accepts roots of 'urban marginality' the state employing different policies for different social groups, and the abuse of this attitude by economic groups or political forces taking advantage of a deadlock situation over the marginality of urban dwellers' (Castells, 1983:189). In addition, Mingione (1996) and Castells (1983) say occupational marginalization does not mean directly urban marginalization. Hence, Gypsy/Roma community's conditions might be argued under the concept of ''urban marginalization'' On the other hand, Turhan criticizes neighborhoods such as *Binevler*. The settlers of these neighborhoods do not become acquainted, although they live in the same place, according to Turhan. 'Friendship' and 'confidence' are important concepts for him but he evaluates that other neighborhoods lack of these features. A lot of people are living side by side without getting acquainted with each other. Turhan's feelings are related to disturbances of modernity's negative sides in urban. Hence, Turhan feels essentially alienated in urban but this feeling does not appear in his neighbourhood. One woman said during my interview with Turhan that 'they make discrimination of race and poor segregation in non-Gypsies' places. Feeling this segregation also leads them to stay in Gypsy/Roma settlements. Turhan, same respondent, also explains how 'solidarity' and 'division of labour' is important in his neighbourhood:

> Now, the good thing with here is that; there is unity, solidarity. Let's say that a man came here. He is swearing recklessly, he is shouting and calling out. He abuses someone's daughter. All neighborhoods will beak of. And this will be such a break off that even the earth would move from its place. There is faithfulness in those aspects. That is, if something has happened to your neighbor this means that it is done also against to you. Everyone will go and guard each other. Let's say that there is an emergency situation with your neighbor. Her mother is fainted or she feels unwell suddenly. Eveyone would run after, say, go and look what has happened there. If it is needed, one will not wait for her relative but take her neighbor to the hospital first. These are good occasions. This is the best example of our assembled life. İf there is a fire, he wouldn't wait, and he would take the fire extinguisher and put out the fire himself. He would take the things off. He will say someone to look for the furniture for not anyone to steal. That is, we have a division of labor among us. You take this, and you put it there, bring those so that no one should steal. We also do this anyway.
>
> Şimdi güzel olan tarafı, birlik, dayanışma var. Diyelim bir adam, gelmiş. Ulu orta küfürler ediyor, bağırıyor, çağırıyor. Birisinin kızına cinsel tacizde bulundu. Bütün mahalle kopar. Öyle bir kopar ki yer yerinden oynar. Böyle şeyler birbirine bağlılık var. Yani komşuya olmuş denen olay sanki o kişiye olmuştur. Herkes gider, birbirine sahip çıkar. Diyelim komşuda acil bir olay oldu. Annesi bayıldı veyahutta rahatsızlandı acilen. Herkes koşar gider, gidin bakın ne oldu oraya. Gerekse biri kendi akrabasını beklemez; alır taksiye, hastaneye götürür. Öyle güzel

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[11] Settlers of Binevler have generally medium or better economic conditions. In addition, settlers are generally known as non-Gypsies. Their houses are apartments.

olaylar bu. Bu toplu yaşantımızın en güzel örneği budur. Komşu olsa, gider evine. Yangın olsa beklemez. Alır eline gider söndürür, kendi çıkartır. Birine der ki sen bu eşyaylan burda dur, çalmasınlar diye. Yani kendi aramızda bir işbölümü yaparız. Sen bunu al, sen oraya koy, sen oraya koy. Bunlar gelsin aman, kimse de çalmasın. Bunu da yaparız yani.

As respondent mentioned, Gypsies live in 'solidarity' and 'unity' in their neighbourhoods whether a case occurs or not.

Tuncay (36, M, Primary s., Worker) talks about his neighbourhood, *Yıldırım Beyazıt* and on the similar lines, he explains how he is satisfied of his neighbourhood because of affiliation. He notes,

Actually, most of our grandfathers came from Bulgaria. There are also comers from Greece. For example, they were born and brought up here. We were also born and stayed here, in this neighborhood, Yıldırım Beyazıt district. This is our own environment. You cannot grow up in foreign places. Actually in order to settle in foreign places there need to pass much time to get used to, to know people. And since we were born and brought up here we don't have hesitation.

En çok dedelerimiz Bulgaristan'dan gelme, Yunanistan'dan da gelme var. Mesela onlar, burada doğmuş, büyümüş. Biz de burda doğduk, kaldık. Bu mahallede, Yıldırım Beyazıt mahallesi yani. Tabi etrafımızda bizim kendi muhitimiz, tanıdık çevremiz. Yabancı bir yerlerde yetişemezsin. Zaten yabancı bir çevrede yerleşebilmen için, çok zaman geçmesi lazım; alışabilmek için, çevre edinebilek için. Eee, burada doğduğumuzdan, büyüdüğümüzden çekingenliğimiz yok.

This respondent mentioned being 'satisfied' in living *Yıldırım Beyazıt* Neighbourhood. Likewise other respondents, he talked about difficulty in living in other neighbourhoods because of being 'stranger' in there. Gypsy/Roma respondents generally give importance to the 'affiliation'.

Conversely, Saliha (35, F, Primary s., NW) does not want to live in her neighbourhood, *Yıldırım Beyazıt*. As she expresses,

I am not glad with my neighborhood. Look, it has been 12 years since I have settled here. That is to say, I can not get on well with them. Those people are rude. I can not adopt. Be it inside Castle, I don't know where it should be. Be it a good place. I never want to settle here... I do not like. I do not like anyway. That is, I do not even let my daughter, Neslihan, out the street. She always plays in the garden. In the garden, she does not go out the street.

Hiç memnun değilim mahalleden. Bak 12 sene oldu ben burdayım. Yani ben anlaşamıyorum. Burdaki insanlar terbiyesiz. Ben ayak uyduramam. Kale içinde olsun, bilmem nerde olsun. yaşamak isterim. Güzel bir yerde olsun. Burda hiç istemiyorum yani. ... Sevmiyorum, sevmem yani. Yani kızım bile Neslihan'ı bile bu sokağa çıkarmıyorum. Hep bahçede oynuyor. Bahçede, sokağa çıkmıyor.

Although Saliha mentions her unsatisfied of her neighbourhood, generally 'affiliation' is important element in Gypsy/Roma community. They usually said to

me the proverb: 'The stone is heavy in its own place'. This shows belonging to a community is important. Respondents generally were born in their neighbourhoods in which they have been living now. On the other hand, poor economic conditions determine where they live. As Turhan emphasized 'Gypsies/Roma people are not obligatory to live together side by side like tribes, but economy determines where we live'. In this regard, my hypothesis is 'Gypsy/Roma community tends to group on the outskirts of cities in poor conditions' is approved but reason of this should be emphasized that they have no chance to live other neighbourhoods owing to the lack of financial resources. In addition, they feel more comfortable in their neighbourhood.

My observation is that the concepts of 'friendship' and 'affiliation to group' and 'solidarity' are mainly important in Gypsy/Roma community. Family is an important key for solidarity. In this regard, my result is that Gypsy/Roma people have their own settlement because of not only economic conditions but also giving importance to these values. Besides, they behave more comfortable in their settlement, although some neighbourhoods are heterogeneous with non-Gypsies. I must also emphasize that *Menziliahir* Neighbourhood is also important because its settlers belong to only Gypsy community. Other Gypsy/Roma and non-Gypsies assume this settlement like as 'Gypsy ghetto' on the ground that non-Gypsies/Roma, even the police cannot enter this settlement. I could not go there because of not having a mediator in this settlement. Mingione (1996) says as a result of social exclusion and underclass raise the question that urban poor concentrated in ghettos or decaying peripheries or dispersed as homeless. Mingione's this description overlaps these settlements.

5.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I examined how Gypsy/Roma identity is constructed with regard to education, occupation, health as well as social network including marriage patterns, weddings and funerals, neighbourhood. Today, the Gypsies/Roma's residence in the urban was economically determined. Hence, they are settled and perform jobs which non-Gypsies/Roma people are less able or willing to undertake. Their position in the labour market can be discussed related to notion of "middleman minorities"position as Sway (1988) argues. In this regard, they possess a cultural traditions composed of social and economic mechanisms for survival in varied economic settings. Occupation also varies according to gender. Women usually work as domestic cleaner, baby sitter, apartment cleaner, brush maker, worker in factory as well as seasonal worker. Men also perform low-skilled jobs such as garbage collector, janitor, sewerage worker, porter, worker, basketmaker etc. In addition, apart from my respondents there have been artisans of Gypsy/Roma community, such as musician, iron maker, and driver of phaeton. Long-term unemployment is also a problem.

The other objective feature of Gypsy/Roma respondents was having low level of education. Apart from non-educated respondents, all of them were graduated from Primary School. However, many of the respondents mentioned to become educated because they think there is a close relationship between education levels and finding a job. Besides, Gypsy/Roma parents want their children continue to schools. The children are going secondary school and high school. Although parents think education is an important investment for the future, respondents consider their budget unsufficient.

Roma/Gypsy people have limited chances in labour market in addition discrimination and segregation together contributes their exclusion. They also lack access to social benefits. For example, most of the respondents have 'Green Card' and also the other respondents have lack of insurance. Even for Gypsy/Roma people having Green Cards, reimbursement of medicine is problematic. Hence, Gypsy/Roma people belong to lower class and class position is seen like a stigma.

They are marginalized to access social benefits, especially in terms of health. Residence and housing are also problematic since poor living conditions and residential segregation is also predominant.

I examined these issues as objective aspects of a Gypsy/Roma identity. By this I will pursue that how objective aspects affect the construction of subjective aspects of a Gypsy/Roma identity because identity reflects in modern society dialectical process. In this regard, I will follow identity praxis. That means two processses of objectivation and subjectivation produce identity as a social object.

CHAPTER VI

SUBJECTIVE ASPECTS OF THE GYPSY/ROMA IDENTITY

Social construction of a Gypsy/Roma identity is formed in this chapter with regard to political attitudes including opinions about organizations and leadership, religious practices, ingroup-outgroup relations as well as identity differentiation among Gypsy/Roma communities. Identity is constructed as processual and dialectical between objective and subjective identity. This means "self" is active. Hence, objective aspects are essential factors to understand subjective aspects of a Gypsy/Roma identity in this dialectic process.

6.1   Gypsy/Roma Community's Opinions about Politics

Politics is one of the identity constructions of Gypsy/Roma community because it is also related to the concept of ''citizenship''. As Nash describes it, 'citizenship in a welfare society is not a simply a matter of formal, legal rights; it is also about material goods and possibilities they afford for social life' (Nash, 2000:195). In this part, I asked respondents, 'Are you voting?' 'Did you see any charity from political parties?' 'What do you expect from government? and 'What do you think about politics? Hence, respondents assessed how they affected political decisions in terms of their social and economic life.

Ömür (36, M, Primary s., Garbage collector) notes,

> I do not see any favor from political party. I support which party gives me bread. I vote. I have been voting for Motherland Party since my childhood. Whoever comes is something like...I vote for Motherland Party. I do not any see any charity from the party. If I work, I earn; if I do

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not, I won't. Everybody sympathises something. I support that party since my childhood, I vote for that party. This is all the reality with that. I am not a member of a union. I am the member of Motherland Party. I don't also trust anybody in finding me a job. Because the situation looks like so bad now. No one can put other into a job. It depends on influence your torpedo, if you have torpedo you shall find a job. Now in Europe, they consider this dust work as disease, therefore they pay more. For example, if a civil servant takes 500 million they pay, 1 billion to dustman. Why? This is the dirtiest, the most contaminated job but they pay the least amount of money to the most little job. (His voice is getting thicker and louder). In here, they are taking 230 milion for dust even they want torpedo to enter this job. You can get in by torpedo... State was before. State has privatised everything. Electricity, water, even the watchman is privatised. You do not have any guaranty anyway. Formerly, you could have retirement. Why? For example, if my father were smart, formerly they called for too many men to the municipality but the salary was not enough. They could go for many jobs and they could have earned more. If he were smart enough now he might have been retired. I would prefer to earn 150 million to 400 at least I have a job with insurance. Now everything has got privatised. When the election time comes they help to the poor. Afterwards, they do not help. Let me speak to you honestly. When the election comes they distribute provisions whatever they distribute. After then, whomever selected do not look behind. It is only to get vote.

Ben partiyle pek ilgilenmem. Hangisi bana ekmek verirse ben ordayım yani. Oy kullanıyorum. Ben mesela küçük yaştan beri Anavatan'ı tutuyorum. Kim gelirse gelsin gelen bir şeydir yani bu, Anavatan'ı tutuyorum. Ben partiden hayır görmüyorum. Ben çalışırsam kazanırım, çalışmazsam kazanamam. Herkesin gönlünde bir sevgi vardır. Ben de küçük yaştan beri o partiyi tutarım, o partiye oy veririm. Budur yani herşeyin gerçeği. Ben sendikaya üye değilim. Anavatan'a üyeyim. Ben kimseye de güvenmiyorum yani, beni işe soksun. Çünkü durumlar şimdi durumlar çok bozuk. Kimse kimseyi işe sokamaz. Torpile bakar, torpilin varsa işe girersin. Şimdi bu çöpü Avrupa'da pis, mikrop görüyorlar daha çok maaş veriyorlar. Mesela bir memur alırsa 500 milyon alırsa, ordan çöpçüye verirler 1 milyon. Neden? En pis, en mikrop iş fakat burda en küçük işe en az parayı veriyorlar. (Sesi kalınlaşıp yükseliyor) Burda 230 milyon para alıyorlar çöpe, ona da girmek için torpil istiyorlar. Torpille girebiliyorsun... Devlet eskidendi. Devlet herşeyi özelleştirdi. Ceryan, su, bekçi bile özelleştirildi. Bir garantin yok yani. Eskiden bir emekli olabilirdin. Neden? Mesela babamın kafası çalışsaydı, eskiden belediyeye çok fazla adam çağırdılar fakat eskiden maaş yetmezdi. Daha çok işe giderdiler, daha çok kazandılar. Kafası çalışmış olsaydı, emekliydi. 400 kazanacağım yerine 150'yi tercih ederim yeter ki sigortalı bir işim olsun. Herşey özelleştirildi şimdi ya. Seçim geldiği zaman fakir fukaraya yardım ederler. Ondan sonra yardım etmiyorlar. Ben sana açık konuşayım. Seçim geldiği zaman erzak dağıtıyorlar, bilmem ne dağıtıyorlar. Ondan sonra kim seçildi dönüp arkasına bakmıyor. Sadece oy almak için.

Ömür does not 'trust' in any political party. He assesses that politicians do not work for people but they come before selections and help the poor to take their votes. 'After the elections, they even do not care about them'. Respondent also finds government not affective and old organization because for him, 'everything has been a private enterprise'. As a result, he expresses how affected negatively from these developments in his social and economic life. He is a garbage collector without insurance. Respondent also compares a garbage collector working in Europe and his position in Edirne. Hence, he indicates inequality in terms of class and social benefits.

Kıymet (28, F, NE, NW) says,

We vote. Once we vote. Afterwards we have not. I did not see any favor. What should I know, let them give us job, our medicines, our things. Let them find a job for my husband. I want that.

Oy atıyoruz işte. Bir kere attıydık. Bi daha atmadık. Yok bir hayır görmedim. Ne bileyim yani. İşte iş versinler bize. İlacımızı, şeyimizi versinler. Eşime iş bulup versinler. Onu isterim.

Saliha (35, F, Primary s., NW) notes,

I hear news but as far as politics is concerned I do nothing. I vote. Who is it? That Ozon, I vote for Cem Uzan. He made a good speech and I liked very much. I vote for him anyway. No, we do not find any favor. We have not seen any favor or support. Never, we do not see any favor. We have not seen any favor. In fact we want their support. Whenever you say state, we want its support to poor, to the ones who do not possess a house. We do not get any benefit from the state. They always look after themselves. They always drop the state to their pockets.

Haberleri dinliyorum da siyaset olarak şey yapmıyorum. Oy kullanıyom. Valla nedir o, Ozan. Cem Uzan'a atmıştım. O çok iyi konuşma yaptı, çok beğendim. Ben ona attım yani. Valla hiç hayır, fayda görmüyoruz. Hiç faydaları, yardımlarını göremedik. Yardımlarını istiyoruz yani. Devlet dedi mi fakire olsun, şeye olsun, yardımlarını, faydalarını istiyoz. Evleri olmayanlara. Devletin hiç faydası yok. Devlet hep kendilerine bakıyor. Devlet hep ceplerine indiriyorlar.

Both of the respondents want to take their major basic needs from government such as, a job, and medicine. Meanwhile, they have generally no definite political attitude on the ground that they sometimes vote left wing or sometimes vote right-wing parties. Hence, I could not generalise my respondents' political party attitude whether left wing or right wing. In addition, Roma/Gypsy respondents find new parties hopeful. My observation is getting provisions from these new parties may be affective to vote them. Distribution of provisions is made from the elections. Hence, their party allegiance is not rigid but shifting within political tendencies.

On the similar lines, Tuncay (36, M, Primary s., Worker in Cleaning Firm) mentions,

I have nothing with politics. We have our vote, but nothing. But in fact, I can say that, this does not make any difference, none of the politicians may rescue Turkey. The state should work for the Turkey's interest. It should not show Turkey as a debtor country. Why do not they accept Turkey for European Union? Now IMF set quota for what you have produced; you will not harvest rice, you will not harvest beet; for sugar. Who do you think you are, telling to carry out those restrictions. They say that we are giving that money to you but you will buy from me. You are giving up producing the most quality rice, wheat then you get starve. Afterwards, you go and buy the least quality with the most expense.

Siyasetle hiçbir şeyim yok. Oyumuz var, öyle bir şeyimiz yok. Ama ben derim ki Türkiye için zaten hangi bir siyaset adamı gelse de gelmese de hiçbir şey bu Türkiye'yi hayatta kurtaramaz kardeşim. Devlet dediğin Türkiye için çalışması lazım. Türkiye'yi borç olarak göstermeyecek. Neden bizim Türkiye'yi Avrupa Birliği'ne almak istemiyorlar? Ya sen burda kendi ürettiğine IMF burda sana kota koymuş; pirinç ekmeycen, pancar ekmeycen, şeker için. Türkiye'ye sen kim kalkıysın da bunları uygulaysın yağ? Onlar bunlara hep, sana bu parayı veriyim diy,

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gelcen sen benden alcan diy. Sen en kaliteli pirincini, buğdayını, sonra sen aç kaliysin. Gidiysin en pahalısını sen aliysin, sonra en adisini sana veriy.

Respondent makes a critique of Turkey's economic conditions in that IMF and debts. He does not fell any 'trust' to politicians in addition he lacks any hope to future of Turkey.

At last, Turhan (47, M, Primary S., Garbage collector) notes,

Now look, I don't like politics much. You have to be a liar, you have to be shameless, you have to be forger. I would go and vote and do my citizenship duty. - I have never seen any favor. Probably I do not intend to see either. Now in our society the politicians are those who take money from his political party and do its job with all his soul to decieve people. We do not have such a case. During the election time if the men shouts among everyone, we say that he took the money and put it in his pocket, look how he is beautifully shouting. He will also come to me and call me out. We don't have such politics. Last day we look at the situation of Turkey. That is, in that day we comment on who said what, who has lied. But whether we have done the wrong decision or the right one, we vote accordingly with Turkey's circumstances.

Bak şimdi siyaseti ben pek sevmem. Yalancı olman lazım, yüzsüz olman, sahtekar olman lazım. Gider oyumu atarım, vatandaşlık görevimi yaparım yani. Hiç de fayda görmedim. Görmeye de niyetim yok herhalde. Şimdi bizim toplumumuzda siyasetçi kişiler şunlardır.: mutlaka bir partiden para almalıdır ki o işi canla başla yapsın, adam kandırsın. Bizde böyle bir olgu yok. Seçim zamanı kim ortada bağırıyorsa, bu adam parayı aldı, cebe koydu; bak ne güzel bağırıyor. Bana da gelecek, beni de çağıracak. Bizde o siyasi yok. Son gün gelir bakarız Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin gidişatına. İşte bu o gün içerisinde kim söyledi, kim yalan attı, o andaki yorumu yaparız; ama yanlış yaptık, ama doğru yaptık. Türkiye şartlarına göre oyumuzu veririz.

The general attitude of Gypsies/Roma people to politics is negative sense. They are voting according to politician's promises. However, any of the respondents say in return of votes, could not see any favor. They find politicians as 'liar' and 'non-honest'. They also find government's working as unsufficient.

6.1.1   Opinions about Organizations

Romani political mobilization has so far been largely ineffective. This is valid in not only Europe but also in Turkey. Besides, shortcoming of Gypsy/Roma political organizations is one reason of this ineffectiveness. Barany mentions political mobilization, 'it denotes the deliberate activity of a group of individuals for the realization of political objectives' (Barany, 1998:309). Mobilization needs to produce and maximize political resources, which include attracting votes, activating sympathetic third parties, forming coalations and lobbying. So far a variety of causes

may bring about ethnic mobilization, according to Barany. In this regard, the ethnic community in question may suffer real or perceived discrimination at the hands of another ethnic group or groups, and/or it may be excluded from or denied political, social or economic goods.

Although, Gypsy/Roma respondents do not feel any affinity with politics as well as assessing politicians as deceitful, they do not make any decision and consensus about certain goals, such as economic, political, cultural issues. Therefore, they cannot increase the group's ability to take joint action. Besides, the institutional form is one of the most significant aspects of ethnic mobilization. Mustafa Aksu came to Ankara and talked about the organizational forms of Gypsies/Roma. He said that trying to establish an organization to search and preserve Gypsy culture. Aksu said this association would be open to all people. He also talked about Romani self-organization in Europe and he finds this attempt successful. He criticizes that the Roma/Gypsy were not organized in Turkey. They find Gypsy/Roma organizations successful. Hence, I asked Gypsy/Roma interviewees how they feel about affiliating this association, introduced by Aksu? I asked these questions to determine how political mobilization is thought. Two opposite views appeared. First ones are against it and find it discriminatory. The others accept this association but their main expectation is economic not social or cultural. None of the poles about Gypsy/Roma organization refer to the realization of political objectives. They generally do not want to form any coalitions or associations for Gypsy/Roma community but respondents who support this association, hope only financial assistance from this Gypsy/Roma association. Therefore, there is no desire for political mobility among respondents.

Following Aksu, if we examine political organizations and mobilization in Europe it gives us a comparing aspect. Barany (1998) argues the selection of ''Gypsy King'' in Poland after the seventeenth century demonstrated a certain desire and aptitude for Romani self-organization in the early modern-state. A small number of associations and loose-knitted organizations were brought into practice in the interwar period such as, General Union of Roma (Romania) and Future (Bulgaria). However, they were loose associations whose existence was cut short because of infighting in the beginning of the war, subsequent anti-Romani programs, and

restrictive laws. In general, The Roma/Gypsy was not organized, according to Barany (1998). On the other hand, Liegeois and Gheorghe argue recent Roma/Gypsy organizations at European level. 'Recognizing the necessity of developing partnership with European institutions such as the Council of Europe and the European Union, and they are clarifying their own self definitions in order to optimize their response' (Liegeois and Gheorghe, 1995:26).

Mustafa (38, M, Primary s., Janitor) mentions positive attitudes to this association.

Now, in my opinion, it would be fine. Why shall it be fine? As far as I see on TV, media, today in Iraq there are Arabs, Şiis and they are separated within three different groups. Today, for example, in various districts in Edirne some individuals, those Comrades, has set up an association with the invitation from İstanbul. Why could not be a Roma Association established? In my opinion, it would be very fine. Whenever we need, whenever we become tightly wedged, they may solve our difficulties. That is I think they could at least gather under one roof. It would also be very good. I would appreciate this.

Şimdi, bence iyi olur. Neden iyi olur? Ben mesela televizyonda, basında gördüğüm kadarıyla bugün Irak'ta Araplar var, Şiiler var, daha bir farklı kesimlerde 3 gruba ayrılıyorlar. Ha bugün görüyoruz mesela, Edirne'nin muhtelif yerlerinde, İstanbul'dan haber geliyor bana admalar dadaşlar bilmem ne derneği kurmuş. Niye Romanlar derneği de kurulmasın? Bence çok güzel olur yani. Herhengi bir ihtiyacımızda, herhangi bir başımız sıkıştığında belki de başımız çözülür. Yani en azından bir çatı altında toplanırlar diy düşünüyorum. Çok da güzel olur! Memnuniyetle karşılarım.

Turhan (47, M, Primary s., Worker) says negative attitudes to this association.

If I find an opportunity to met this person I would say to him that you are setting up an association, whatever it is, first tell me that. I would say. First of all he has to convince me. What is the purpose of that man? It is also wrong in terms of politics, in terms of ... I would look for the political side of this aim. Today he set up that association, tomorrow; another day also Kurds shall set up, Lazs as well. There were associations in Ottoman Empire; Pasaeli Association, Greek Association, I don't know else. Kurd will go for his rights, these things has recently been put on the agenda. This is missing. I feel that he is a bit trying to alter the politics to other directions. I would suspect of this man's good will. Something like that is wrong. It is also wrong as far as state is considered. Those are wrong things. Now, those associations will lead to segregation regarding the membership in some occasions and disassociation of other. This would scatter and pull state into pieces.

Once there was a sentence written like *Egyptian* in our identity cards. In 1960 Adnan Menderes realized that this would bring us to a situation of a minority and told that this will not happen like that, he mentions this already in those times. What happened? This Kıpti sentence, step by step, is removed from our identity cards. If such an association will be set up, I will say write down *Egyptian*, that is Gypsy. In those times I went to Germany, let also German write this, let them write *Zigeuner*. In German language *Zigeuner* is Gypsy. What is this so far? Where is free thought? Where is the principle of non-seperation of ethnicity? Let us go then. This is a wrong idea. If it give harm to my country, I do not accept. If it will not then I will accept.

Şimdi bu kişiyi bizzat tanıma olanağı bulsam, bu adama ben derimki sen dernek kuruyorsan, vakıf kuruyorsan, ne kuruyorsan, bunu bana bir anlat derim. İlk önce beni bir ikna etmesi lazım. Amaç bu adam nedir? Siyasi yönden de yanlış, ...yönden de. Bu işin siyasi yönüne bir

bakarım. Bugün kalktı , bu derneği kurdu. Yarın öbür gün Kürtler de bir dernek kursun, Lazlar da. Osmanlı imparatorluğunda dernekler vardı; Paşaali derneği, Rum derneği, bilmem ne. Kürt gidecek kendi hakkı, zaten bu şeyde son zamanda gündemde. Bu eksik, sanki biraz da siyaseti başka yönlere çekme niyetinde gibi hissediyorum. Ben bu adamın iyi niyetinden şüphe ederim. Böyle bir şey yanlış. Devlet açısından da olması yanlış. Yanlış şey bunlar. Şimdi dernekler, belirli şeylerde üyelik ve dağılımında gruplaşmaya sebep olacak. Bu bize ülke olarak dağılma, parçalamaya sebep olacak.

Nüfus cüzdanlarımızda Kıbdi diye yazan bir ibare vardı. 1960 yılında adnan Menderes bunun böyle olmayacağını, Türkiyede de bir sanki azınlıklar gibi düşeceğimizi adam o zamanlar bunu dile getirmiş. Ne oldu, peyder pey nüfus cüzdanlarında bu kıbdi ifadesi çekildi. O zaman böyle bir dernek kurulursa, yaz derim Kıbdi, yani çingene. O zaman ben Almanya'ya gittim, Almanlarda yazsın, *Zigeuner* yazsınlar. *Zigeuner*'in Almancası da Çingene'dir. O zaman bu nedir? Hani özgür düşünce? Hani ırkın ayrılamayacağı ilkesi? Biz gidelim o zaman, bu yanlış bir şey. Ülkeme zarar verirse kabul etmiyom, ama zarar vermiyecek boyuttaysa kabul ederim.

According to Turhan, it does not make sense to establish a Gypsy Association because for him it is a 'discriminatory' issue. If such an association is to be established, each of the minorities does the same, for him. This leads to destroy of nation. He talks about the name of Kıbdi, which used on Gypsy/Roma people's identity cards before 1960. Distinguishing Gypsy/Roma people as writing on identity cards as Kıbdi leads to discrimination and stigmatization, for the respondent. He indicates living as mosaic in this nation. In general, members of Gypsy/Roma respondents do not give respect Gypsy/Roma organizations. Hence, the Roma/Gypsy political movement is not successful in the case of Edirne.

6.1.2   Leadership

Most Gypsy/Roma are traditionally suspicious of authority and hierarchies imposed upon them or operated by the outside world. Traditional Romani leaders in Europe (such as, *bare*, *phure*, *voivade*) exert a great deal of influence on their people and have been reluctant to interact with white politicians primarily for cultural reasons as Barany (1998) argues. However, the interviewees in Edirne do not accept the *Çeribaşı*. They say he is respondent for *Menziliahir* or *Kıyık* Neighboourhood. We have no relationship with him. There were no exceptions in these answers.

Çeribaşı Hüseyin Bıçakçıoğlu (48, M, Primary s., Çeribaşı[12]) mentions his duties:

> Because of being a Çeribaşı, I gather money for children who have no money for dress, I get these children to be dressed and send them to schhol. Aged old, women, children cannot appropriate funds for Green card. As helping from important persons, I undertake to care of them. I am taking help from big businessmen; İpsala Municipality, Young Party, Governership, Administration of Police. I compensate the expenses of who have funerals; I find them 'mevlüt' money. My music and dance group go to the weddings without money and I take the steel golden.

> Ben Çeribaşı olduğum için, kıyafetleri olmayan çocuklara para toplayıp, giydirip okula gönderiyorum. Yaşlı, kadın, çoluk-çocuk Yeşil Kart, ödenek alamıyor. Büyüklerimizden yardım isteyerek onların bakımını üstleniyorum. Büyük iş adamlarından yardım alıyorum: İpsala Belediyesi, Genç Parti, Valilik, Emniyet Müdürlüğü. Cenazeleri olanların masraflarını karşılıyorum, onlara mevlüt parası buluyorum. Benim müzik ve dans grubum düğünlere parasız gider, çelik altın alırım.

On the other hand, one person living in *Küçükpazar* neigbourhood in Edirne rejects *Çeribaşı*. For him, nobody accepts *Çeribaşı* in *Küçükpazar* only from *Menziliahir* or *Kıyık* neighbourhoods accept it. As he says:

> None of these take up Çeribaşı seriously. Those people are against to that way of thinking. Upper side people are either against. But one of the jackal has been put into jail, he has lost his balance. I am the leader of these people. Let us gain this man for the sake of society. Now that unwise man will direct us. First let him correct his badly behaviours. Once you look in a week he travels with a knife, he gives harm to the neighborhood. This case is wrong: but he remains like a symbolic thing. That is he does not have any validity. He does not have any validity.

> Çeri Başı'nı bunların hiçbiri benimsemiyor. O yaklaşıma burdaki insanlar karşı. Yukardakiler de karşı; ama çakalın biri hapishaneye girmiş, sosyal dengeyi kaybetmiş. Napmış dediler ki hatta bunların ele başı da benim. Bu adamı topluma kazandıralım, hani bizi yönlendirecek aklı sıra, kendi kötü davranışlarından uzaklaşır. Bir bakıyorsun adam bir haftayı ikinci hafta bıçakla geziyor, mahalledekilere zarar veriyor. Bu olgu yanlış; ama öyle bir sembolik gibi kalıyor. Yani bir geçerliliği, bir gündemliği yok.

Mustafa (38, M, Primary s., Janitor) have been living in *Ayşe Kadın* neighbourhood. Likewise Turhan, he does not accept Çeri Başı as leader. As he notes,

> I have never met 'Çeribaşı'. I saw him once in TV. We do not have any relation with such activities. Now, we should follow this issue closely. We shouldn't take one's right. Maybe he does represent the Roma people. Since I am not interested in, in fact I do not find it necessary, because why? I already have a specail job. I have specific daily bread. We are trying to burn down within our oil. I didn't even necessitate it.

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[12] After the Ottoman borders expanded through the West, the Gypsies living in Rumelia Province and İstanbul are accepted as one flag or standart in 1520. Then, Flag or Standart Chief is assigned among Gypsies. He was also called as Gypsy Flag Chief. See Altınöz, İ. (1995). 'Osmanlı Toplumunda Çingeneler, Tarih ve Toplum, Number 135, (pp.278-285).

Valla kardeşim, Çeri Başı'nı hiç tanımadım. Televizyonda bir defa gördüm. Yani bizim o tür etkiliklerle bir alakamız olmaz yani...Valla şimdi, onu yakından takip etmek lazım. Şimdi kimsenin hakkını yememek lazım, belki de Roman halkını temsil ediyordur. Ben ilgilenmediğim için, daha doğrusu gerek duymuyorum; çünkü neden; benim zaten belli başlı bir işim var, belli başlı rızkım var. Kendi yağımızla kavrulmaya çalışıyoru yani. Gereksinim bile duymadım yani.

As respondents indicated, there has been a tendency to reject *Çeribaşı*. First respondent assumes *Çeribaşı* as a symbolic leader. The second respondent indicated no relation with *Çeribaşı* because for him, he needn't have a job. *Çeribaşı* expressed his duties to help poor Gypsy/Roman people. Hence, there have been also no unitary of acception of rejection of *Çeribaşı*. Liegois says, 'neither the Roma as a whole nor any of the sub-groups have a leader…there is no structure of chieftancy' (Liegois, 1996:58). This structure is valid also in Edirne. In general, Gypsy/Roma people lack political unity even in terms of traditional Gypsy/Romani leader. The respondents attribute Çeribaşı leadership for merely *Menziliahir* neighbourhood.

6.2   Religious Practices of Gypsy/Roma Community

Gypsies/Roma interviewees define themselves as Muslim in terms of religion and say fulfilling Muslim religious practices.

Sema (37, F, Primary s., Seasonal w.) notes,

I pray when I do not go to the work. We do not have any relation such a secular world but when the job is, we go. I usually pray and worship in the daily life.

Şimdi ben işe gitmediğim zaman namaz kılıyorum. Böyle dünya işleriyle pek ilgimiz yok; ama çıktığı zaman işe gidiyorum. Genellikle günlerimi namaz kılarak, ibadetle geçiriyorum.

On the similar lines, Mustafa (38, M, Primary s., Janitor) says,

In terms of religious aspects, thank God we are all Muslim. I am also too much dependent on. That is to say, I say my own opinion. I go to religious festival 'namaz' with my son. I never miss any religious festival namaz. I try to go to the Friday namaz as far as I can. I am very respectful to others religious belief. Everyone's religion, sect is different. I am 'hanefi'. We perform our religious trust in that way. I try to fast in Ramadan. Even so I could not fast for a full month I try to for one week or 10 days due to my intense work.

Dini inançlar konusunda, elhamdüllah hepimiz Müslümanız. Çok da bağlıyımdır. Yani şahsi görüşümü söylüyom. Bayram namazlarına oğullarımla giderim. Hiç bir bayram namazını kaçırmam. Cuma namazlarına elimden geldiği kadarıyla gitmeye gatret ederim. Karşımdaki kişinin dini inançlarına çok saygılıyımdır. Herkesin farklıdır dini, mezhebi. Ben Hanifiyim. Bu şekilde dini inançlarımızı yerine getiriyoz. Ramazan'da oruç tutmaya gayter ederim. Tam bir

ay tutamasam da, işim yoğun olduğu için 10 günde, 1 haftada tutabiliyom yani, en azından tutmaya gayret ediyorum.

Güler (37, F, Primary s., Domestic cleaner) signifies the lines when they are feasting with non-Gypsies/Roma.

> Depending on the sequence, now my celebration of 'Bairam' with a member of my community is different. With those other person we say 'hi' and we come and pass alongside.

> Şimdi kendi insanlarımla bayramlaşmam başka olur. O insanlarla merhaba ederiz, gelip geçeriz yanlarından.

Although they define themselves as Muslim, their religious festivals are known as May 5 *'Kakava'* and May 6 *Hıdırellez*. Muslim religious practices are seen in Gypsy/Roma community such as namaz, prayer and fast in Ramadan. On the other hand, respondents do not affiliate their ethnic identity with any religious parties. Women do not use head-covering as well but Gypsy/Roma people go to the same mosques with non-Gypsies.

6.2.1   Kakava and Hıdırellez

Alpman (1997) argues *Kakava Festivals*, being held instead of *Hıdırellez* in Kırklareli, has a tradition of six thousand years. This tradition is a kind of spring-ceremony that is performed along threee days following May 6 every year. Namely, it is a spring ritual. Even if the regions and the local places change, the tradition does not (ibid, 98). Alpman's definition of *Kakava* is having validity in Edirne.

According to Karaçam,

> The place of origin of Kakava is Egypt and Front Asia. It is an ancient people culture that contents belief. According to Gypsy/Roma mythology and belief, Kakava is the transformation of miraculous events to "a belief" based on oppression towards another society in times of ancient Egypt God-King pharoah living together with Kopt people (Kıpti people). Events starts with mirtaculous escape of people getting oppressed in Egypt. While following them, Pharoah's army with all soldiers is drowned within the sea. The rest believes that again a "Savior" would come and rescue them because the Savior is immortal. Gypsies go down to the edge of a river at the 6 May that they decided as the day Rescue Event had happened. They go in river for the memory of the miraculous day. Main source of joy is the immortality of the Savior. For that reason, they entertain madly (Karaçam, quoted in Alpman, 1997:98-99).

Karaçam also argues that *Kakava* is the beginning of a new year and defines it with universal name, as ''Gypsy Easter''. It is also called as a ''Gypsy Godot''. *Kakava* has a history for four thousand years in different geographical places. It is

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celebrated on stream and water edges and in greenness. (Karaçam, 2000:16). It is enthusiasm and enjoyment and celebrated as beginning of spring.

According to Karaçam, Çeribaşı has made Kakava invitiation for Ottoman State. During my research, I also met Çeribaşı while he was inviting his people for *Kakava*. He was going around with drummers and pipers and distributing programmes of *Kakava* in the streets of Edirne.

Various entertainments are arranged on account of May 6, *Hıdırellez*. In that day people run through the resting places. They wish good thing for the future, sing songs and play games. Gür Karasu, Edirne Culture Manager, expresses Kakava why it is celebrating at the edge of the waters. For him, it is related to observe better spring's coming and yearning spring through the winter. (Karasu, 2000:14-15). Karasu also mentions some beliefs, which are coinciding with my interviewees, noted in the day of Hıdırellez. The day of Hıdırellez no work is done so that through the year being healthy, fertile and going work better. In the centre of Edirne, Gypsies/Roma avoid bad behaviors and speechs. If they were not, the same year would pass in the same bad condition. It is also believed that waking up early is a provision to laziness. Rolling on the grasses is made to become healthy. Jumping on fire refers to get rid of illness through the year. Picking branch and hanging it on the door refers to fertility.

Çeribaşı Hüseyin Bıçakçıoğlu (48, M, Primary s., Çeribaşı) said to me the elections of *Çeribaşı* is made on the day of Kakava. Neighbourhoods, muhtars, journalists and police watched the election. He was on duty since 2002. He showed me the *Çeribaşı* card, which is tied to Menziliahir neighbourhood and valid for 5 years. One of the duties of *Çeribaşı*, according to Bıçakçıoğlu, is to offer pilaf with meat and buttermilk to the people. This is the traditional food of *Kakava.* Bıçakçıoğlu said an important thing that 'non-Gypsies also come to *Kakava Festival* and this festival is open to all people. I do not make any discrimination. We are living under one flag. Friendship and broterhood refers to *Kakava*'.

Tuncay (36, M, Primary s., worker) notes,

> Now, around Edirne there are villages, small towns and large towns. Those festivals are being celebrated differently. But ours is not the same. Here, you walk around waterline, countryside.

You also have picnic, you jump rope, you play with ball, you break a branch of fruit tree; they call it as breaking of a branch. Toward evening there is fire, you jump over the fire and keep a wish. We do such things. Others do differently, that is to say; those villages and large towns celebration are different.

Şimdi her bir yörede şimdi Edirne civarında köyleri, kasabaları var, ilçeleri var. Bu şenliklerin hepsinin ayrı ayrı kutlamaları var; ama bizim burda pek öyle değil. Bizim burda çıkarsın bir gezmeye, su boyuna böyle, kıra böyle. Piknik de yaparsın, öyle ip atlarsın, top oynarsın, meyva ağaçlarından dal koparırsın; dal kırarsın derler ona. Böyle akşam üzeri ateş olur, ateşin üzerinden atlarsın, dilek tutarsın. Onları yaparız yani, kimisinin daha başkadır. Yani köyleri, ilçeleri daha başkadır.

Sema (37, F, Primary s., Seasonal worker) says about *Kakava,*

We go anyway. We break branch, then we set fire. We jump over the fire. Our young girls gather. Any of them becomes bride; others become bridegroom. We do such entertainments. We read traditional quatrains.

Gideriz. Valla gideriz işte, dal koparırız, ordan gelir, ateşler yakarız. Ateşin üzerinden atlarız. Genç kızlarımız toplanır. Kızlar damat kıyafetine girer, erkekler gelin . Öyle eğlenceler yaparız yani, maniler okuruz.

Mustafa (38, M, Primary s., Janitor) says,

Kakava, Hıdırellez is now being celebrated in every district in Edirne but of course everyone celebrating it with their own styles. We for example in Yıldırım, celebrate it in that way: We have a hill somewhere called Sarıbayır. At nights all family with women and kids are there. They make such a walk and there is a belief; they broke a branch, they take ant-soil, for the fact that may it be plentiful. Afterwards, they took a wish, they go through river and they jump over the fire. It is celebrated in this way but I don't know how it is being celebrated in other regions.

Kakava, Hıdırellez şimdi Edirne'nin bütün mahallelerinde kutlanıyor; ama tabi kendine has üslubuyla herkes kutluyor. Biz Yıldırım'da mesela şöyle kutluyoz: Bizim bayırımız var, Sarıbayır diye bir yer. Akşamları bütün aile orada kadınlı-çocuklu. Şöyle bir gezinti yaparlar, dal kırarlar, inanç vardır, karınca toprağı alırlar, bereket olsun diye. Ondan sonra dilek tutulur, sabahası suya gidilir, ateşten atlanır. Bu şekilde kutlanır; ama başka başka memleketlerde gidip görmedim nasıl kutlandığını.

As it can be understood from the reporters, the rituals are nearly made by the same way. Gypsies/Roma people also talk about the non-Gypsies' participation in *Kakava* and *Hıdırellez Festival.* Besides, natives are 'happy' and 'enjoyable' and sometimes more enjoyable than Gypsy/Roma people during the festival. Celebrating together is an important element.

6.3   Ingroup/Outgroup Relations According to Gypsy/Roma Community

Common ingroup-outgroup relations are crucial in understanding to what level Gypsy/Roma and non-Gypsies are open to each other and share a social-cultural basis. For this reason, I asked to Gypsy/Roma respondents, 'To which community(s) your neighbours belong to and how is the relation between you and them?' 'How do you access people, coming from other communities because of migration or other reasons, becoming settled in your neighbourhood?'

Gypsies/Roma in Edirne are sometimes living in the same neighbourhoods with other ethnic groups such as, *Kurds*, *Pomaks* who migrated from Greece and Bulgaria as well as non-Gypsies who are natives of Edirne. Relationships among these groups generally occur in business life but their relationship is limited in especially in social life. The reason of limited relationship is that Gypsy/Roma people and non-Gypsies mutually see each other as stranger. As Jones describes, 'social categorization, them, and us refer to a pervasive tendency to see out-groups as more homogenous than in-groups. This homogeneity effect leads to perceive out-group in that 'they are all alike' (Jones, 1999:135). In this regard, Gypsies/Roma community do not differentiate *Kurds, Pomak and* other ethnic minorities in terms of relationship. Apart from exceptions, they do not enter close relationships, especially in marriage.

Sema (37, F, Primary s., Seasonal worker) notes,

There are Kurds, Macır but we do not pay attention. I, personally, do not pay attention. I do not know, I could not accept those persons. I see them like a foreigner. I am not interested in very much… Of course I love this neighborhood. I do not want to live in another neighborhood. No, I would not think such a thing. I am also against foreigners to come and settle in my neighborhood. I am too much opposed to that. That is, they come from very distant places. Let him stay in his own place. They are coming from distant places.

Kürtler var, Macırı var; fakat ilgilenmiyoruz. Ben şahsen ilgilenmiyorum. Bilmiyorum, benimseyemedim o insanları. Yabancı gibi görüyorum yani. Pek ilgilenmiyorum… Bu mahalleyi seviyorum tabi. Başka bir mahallede yaşamak istemem, hayır, öyle bir şey düşünmem yani. Valla ben mahalleme yabancıların gelip yerleşmesine de karşıyım, çok karşıyım hemde. Yani ta nerelerden kalkıp buralara geliyorlar. Otursun kendi yerinde yani. Ta nerelerden kalkıp buralara geliyorlar.

On the similar lines Kıymet (28, F, NE, NW) reports,

Naturally, strangers come to our neighborhood. Let them settle. Lazs also come, those Kurds either. Everyone do settle... I do not know due to the fact that I do not talk to strange people, I might not know. I do not talk to strange people. We talk to our people.

Haliyle geliyorlar yabancılar mahalleye. Yerleşsinler işte. Lazlar da geliyor, Kürtler de. Herkes yerleşiyor...Onları tanımıyorum. Yabancı insanlarla konuşadığım için bilemem. Yabancı insanlarla konuşmuyorum. Kendi insanlarımızla konuşuyoruz

Saliha (35, F, Primary s., NW) says,

The relations with my neighbors are very good. I talk, for example; hi, hi. I talk like that, not too much; I don't talk about my problems. It is like that. They are fine anyway. I talk to Kurds anyway. The group you said Turks, Pomaks are very good persons. They speak beautifully. Their speech is very good. They do not come. I talk with them outside. I have the ones that I talk. Actually I do not speak, they speak to me. She asks where I am going to and I answer: to my mother. She asks how I am and I say: fine and reply as how they are. She answers that she is fine. That is not a deep relation we have.

Konuşuyorum mesela, merhaba-merhaba. Öyle konuşuyorum, fazlada dertleşmiyorum yani. Öyle. Onlar iyidir yani. Öyle Kürtlerle zaten konuşuyorum. Türkler, pomaklar dediğin onlar çok iyi bir insan yani. Çok güzel konuşuyorlar. Konuşmaları çok güzel. Gezmeye gelmiyorlar. Ben dışarda konuşuyorum. Konuştuğum var yani. Zaten ben kendim konuşmuyorum, onlar konuşuyor. Nereye gidiyorsun diyo, ben anneme gidiyorum. Nasılsın diyor bana, iyiyim sen nasılsın diyorum. Ben de iyiyim diyor. Fazla da muhatap değil yani. Hoş geldin diyoruz, güle güle oturun. Bu kadar yani.

All of the interviewees indicated that they have well but not close relations. They also describe non-Gypsies as 'strangers'.

Aynur (37, F, Primary s., NW) says

Non-Gypsies that live in Edirne look us something like whatsoever, I think, they look down on us, they despise us. Probably I would't like strangers in this neighborhood. Because everyone here knows each other.

Edirne'de yaşayan, Roman olmayanlar Valla, biraz hani şey bakıyorlar herhalde, küçümseyerek bakıyorlar gibime geliyor. Valla istemem herhalde yabancıları. Şimdi herkes burda birbirini tanıyor çünkü.

And lastly, Mustafa (38, M, Primary s., Janitor) notes,

Let me explain it in that way: forexample, consider that today a Roma and a Turkish child is working in the same factory. Both of them are working in the same place. I think, in my opinion, there would be too much disagreement. Because the same events has also happened in the military service. That is, they do discrimination. But such a differentiation do not arise from our side but from other group. If they make segregation, you are forced to do it. In my opinion they can not reach to an agreement. That is, they may never come to an agreement.

Şöyle söz edeyim. Mesela şimdi, bugün bir Roman çocuğuyla Türk çocuğu fabrikada bir yerlerde çalışıyorlar. İkisi de aynı yerde çalışıyorlar. Yalnız bence çok anlaşmazlık olur diye düşünürüm; çünkü asker ocağında da yaşandı bu olaylar. Yani ayrıma gidiliyor; ama bizim tarafımızdan değil de karşı grup tarafından ayrıma gidiliyor. Bu sefer gidilince, mecburen sende gidiyorsun. Bence anlaşamazlar, yani kesinlikle anlaşamazlar.

It can be understood from the interviews that Gypsies/Roma do not enter close relationships with ''others''. Last two interviewees emphasized the 'segregation', which originates from the attitudes of non-Gypsies. On the other hand no close relations with 'strangers' on the side of Gypsy/Roma might also bring and encourage more 'segregation'.

6.4   Differentiation Of Ethnic Identity Within Gypsy/Roma Community

In this part, self-ascription in establishing Gyspy/Roma identity will be elaborated on the ground that what Gypsy/Roma identity means to Gypsies/Roma community themselves. Identity and group attributes are among the most important criteria, which help to distinguish the groups from each other as well as in analysing the differences and similarities between them. Cornell and Hartman (1998) follow Richard Schermerhorn's definition of ethnic group. Ethnic group is a collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood, discuss that ethnic groups refer to the self-consciousness of the communities. However, in the literature there are many definitions of identity. For Marx, the only consciousness was related to class-consciousness. For Weber, not only classes but also status groups give people powerful sense of their own common identity. On the other hand, Bradley (1996) and Rex (1996) define class in an advanced market-based society as inevitably involved with ethnicity both in terms of regional ethnics, and also as ethnic minorities in the society, which may have a class position. Hall (1996) sees identities are not unified in modern times, they are increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions. Hutchinson and Smith (1996) also emphasize that ethnic groups undergo many transformations and adopt multiple identities due to interactions of individuals with other kind of groups. Hence, identity and group attributes help us to understand whether there is a shift of identity construction of Gypsy/Roma communities. I will pursue the subject of Gypsy/Roma people's own power to define their ethnic identity. In this regard, my aim is to show how

boundaries in Gypsy/Roma community have been changing in terms of Barth's sociological view of boundaries. According to Barany's study about the Roma in Eastern Europe,

> The ethnic identity of the entire East European Romany population is multi-dimensionally diverse and difficult to define. Although members of individual tribes such as, the *Calderas, Lover,* and *Beach* usually share a strong sense of belonging, the ethnic identity of the region's Romany population is weak (1998:313).

Liegois (1986) critisizes to search for the "true Gypsy" since non-Gypsies call Gypsy people as a rich mosaic of ethnic fragments under diffrerent names: *Kalderaš, Lovari, Sinti* and others. According to Liegois, all these various groups distinguish themselves sharply from one another. Hence, for Liegois, it is not easy to single description. In line with the discussions in the literature about identity formation in Gypsy or Roma, I asked the Gypsy/Roma people in Edirne, whether they feel themselves related to a community. Besides, I inquired about the basic features of the community to which they feel as attached, which identity, Roma or Gypsy, do they accept, why do they prefer it. I also asked them how non-Gypsies perceive them and their community identity.

Although, both Gypsy and Roma identity seemed to co-exist alongside each other, these identities were perceived by these people differently. The different attributes by the respondents of Gypsy/Roma origin about themselves and about each other varies depending on the nature of their jobs, the neighbourhoods, in which they live, lenghth of settlement and use of Gypsy language.

The respondents who accept themselves as Roma not as Gypsy perceive Gypsy identity as 'polluting', 'making unclean jobs' (such as collecting paper from rubbish) 'having a leadership (*Çeri-Başı*)' and also 'knowing a *Romanı* language'. On the other hand, the other respondents say, 'we are Gypsies', in fact they claim that 'Roma is referring to Gypsies in a more polite manner'. They assert that 'the word of Roma is new in our society and it is mostly understood as being from Sulukule'. In addition, they say 'in the popular culture Roma is perceived as higher / more acceptable status'. In this study, when Roma/Gypsy people define their identity they mostly emphasize their cultural attitudes and personality characteristics as well as their class positions and their faith as 'humanist', 'honest' and 'enjoying life'.

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Çeribaşı Hüseyin Bıçakçıoğlu (48, M, Primary s., Çeribaşı) talks about Gypsy/Roma identity. As he notes,

> There is no thing as Roma. We are real Gypsies; Roma is polite one. We do not speak Romani language when we are together with our children. I am thinking to publish an alphabet. We have lack of opportunities and work. We cannot have our children educated. We have no money to buy dress. Government should provide employment to our people. There has been theft owing to lack of jobs and material things. They introduce wrongly our people, such as beggar, prostitute. There was a book introduced us like this, I seized it.

> Roman diye bir şey yok. Biz gerçek Çingeneyiz, o kibarcası. Dilimiz unutuluyor. Çocuklarımızın yanında Romanca konuşmuyoruz. Alfabe çıkartmayı düşünüyorum. İmkanlarımız yok, işimiz yok, gücümüz yok, çocuklarımızı okutamıyoruz. Kıyafet alacak paramız yok. Biz evlatlarımızın cahil kalmasını istemiyoruz; ama durumumuz yok. Devlet Roman halkımıza iş versin. Hırsızlık var, çünkü iş yok, maddiyatı yok. Roman halkımızı yanlış tanıtıyorlar; dilenci, fuhuş yapan. Böyle tanıtan bir kitap vardı, toplattırdım.

On similar lines an interview published in Internet with a *Çeribaşı* also supports my argument. Mehmet Ali Körüklü who is an old Çeribaşı says,

> My grandfather was also 'Çeribaşı'. However, neither my grandfather nor my father was a musician, they were blacksmith. When I was a child, traveled all over my country by horse car. Nomad gypsies could not feed up very well. And when the war and scarcity began, we totally became starved. While Germans and Italians move through the Greece, we were wandering around the borders and we could not sleep because of hearing the bombings. When storm began my mother and father hold tent poles to prevent our tent to fly away. When we were shaking, they were trying for us not to remain under the rain. And now, at least we have houses built by straw and tin. Nevertheless, our roof does not fly away and snow cannot come inside. Our language has gone away when comfort came. We have forgotten the Gypsy language. Today's teenagers get assamed when called as Gypsy. They are proud of being called as "Roma". However, "Roma" is a bit made up. I prefer Gypsy. It is supposed that Gypsies only dance and perform music. However, this nation had brought up many big artist. In past, there were three craftmenship of Gypsy such as: tinker, ironworker and basketmaker. Now, go to a city, whoever you met as a master of ironworker, you will find that whether he or his master is Gypsy. It was written 'Kıpti' in my grandfather's identity card. In Ottoman times, it was written like that in Gypsy identity cards. Now it is not written anymore. Therefore, when they ask me how much is the population of Gypsy in Turkey, I say 65 million. Because, in census the same questions are being asked both to the President of Republic and a pathetic Gypsy resideing in Kolive District. Politics teach human existence and non-existence. If that chest is not put in front of us which politician would come and kiss from our dark cheek. (see as 28/04/2003 http://www.istanbullife.org/maasli-cingeneler.htm)

> Dedem de Çeribaşıydı. Ama dedem de babam da müzisyen değil, demirciydi. Çocukluğum at arabası üstünde geçti. Göçebe Çingene'nin karnı pek doymazdı. Bir de savaş ve kıtlık gelip bastırınca epten aç kaldık. Almanlar ve İtalyanlar Yunanistan içlerine doğru ilerlerken biz sınır boylarında dolaşır, geceleri kurşun ve top gürültüleri uykularımızı bölerdi. Fırtına çıktığında çadır uçmasın diye anacığım çadırın bir direğini, babacığım da ötekini tutardı. Biz ortada titrerken onlar, yavrucaklarımız yağmurun altında kalmasın diye çabalardı. Şimdi tenekeden, samandan da olsa bir evimiz var. Hiç olmazsa dam uçmuyor, kar geçmiyor içinden. Rahatlık gelince lisan elden gitti, çingeneceyi unuttuk. Şimdiki gençler kendilerine Çingene denilmesinden alınıyor, Roman denilince koltukları kabarıyor. Halbuki Roman biraz uydurma. Ben Çingene'yi tercih ediyorum. Çingene bir oynar, bir de müzik yapar zannediliyor. Oysa bu millet çok büyük sanatkarlar yetiştirmiştir. Eskiden kalaycı, demirci ve sepetçi Çingene diye üç meslek erbabı var idi. Şimdi şehirlere gidin hangi demirci ustaysa onun ya kendi ya da ustası Çingenedir. Dedemin kimliğinde "Kıpti" yazardı. Osmanlı zamanında tüm Çingenelerin nüfusunda böyle yazarmış. Şimdi bu yazmıyor. O yüzden bana 'Çingenelerin Türkiye'de

nüfusu kaçtır?' diye sorduklarında '65 milyon' diyorum. Çünkü nüfus sayımında Cumhurbaşkanımıza da Koliva Mahallesi'ndeki gariban Çingene'ye de aynı sorular soruluyor. Siyaset insana varlığı da yokluğu da öğretir. Türkiye'de o sandık önümüze gelmese hangi politikacı gelip bizim kara yanağımızdan öper ki.

Mustafa (30, M, Primary s., Musician) notes,

Roma is polite representation of Gypsies. How you say 'anne'instead of ana, on the similar lines, they say 'Gypsy' instead of 'Roma'. This Roma is put forward by Gysies like you. (He shows the crowded women in room as well as women are laughing). I do not know language (Romani) but I am a Gypsy. All of them are Gypsy. We want from government to get illiterate people educated. The Roma-Gypsy differentiation is occurring.

Romanlık kibarlaştırılmasıdır Çingenenin. Nasıl anne yerine ana diyorsanız, Çingeneye de Roman diyorlar. Bu Romanı sizin gibi Çingeneler çıkarıyor. (*Odadaki kalabalık kadınları gösteriyor, kadınlar gülüşüyor*). Dil bilmiyorum (Çingenece); ama Çingeneyim. Bu eğitim görmeyen kardeşlerimizi de devlet eğitsin istiyoruz. Roman –Çingene ayrımı oluyor.

Both of the *Çeribaşı* do not prefer to use the word of Roma. 'New generations have been using the word of Roma according to *Çeribaşı*. They also refer to some problems about Gypsy/Roma people. Firstly, they signify that the *Romani* language is forgotten. The young Gypsies/Roma cannot speak nor use the language and because of this there is no literature in Romani language. They also complain about identity construction of Gypsies/Roma. Third respondent, Mustafa also does not approve the word of Roma. For him, using the word of Roma is new thing. Besides, knowing a Romani language is not a necessary feature to become a Gypsy. In this regard, he does not know this language and describes himself a Gypsy person. The first *Çeribaşı* complains about some streotypes about Gypsies/Roma people such as naming them as beggars and/or thieves. In his explanation of this situation, such naming does not reflect the real characteristic of Gypsies/Roma people but it mainly comes out in the society as a result of lacking benefits and poverty of the Gypsy/ Roma people. The second *Çeribaşı* argues that Gypsies/Roma are not only musicians. This is only one of the skills they have but they can do different jobs, such as blacksmith, basketmaker, etc. The first Çeribaşı's views also coincide with it. Old *Çeribaşı* also compares the experiences during the nomadic and settled lives of Gypsies/Roma. He says, in Edirne, Gypsies are mostly settled in the urban areas and are more comfortable than their nomadic times.

Elfida (51, F, NE., Basketmaker) mentions her identity as Roma. She says,

We are not nomadic. We are the settled Roma of Gelibolu... We speak Romani language which is mother's and father's language. This time we are making of basket in Edirne, then in winter we back to village; Evroşe.

Biz gelme değiliz. Biz Gelibolu'nun yerleşik Romanıyız... Ana baba dili olan Çingenece konuşuruz. Bu zamanda Edirne'de sepetçilik yapıyoruz. Sonra kışın köye Evroşe'ye dönüyoruz.

The emphasis on the identity is not being a Roma but a "settled Roma". Hence, this respondent avoids being perceived as a 'nomad'. Attributing nomadism as polluting thing is related to the romantic stereotype of Gypsies as carefree, rural vagabonds (Gmelch, 1982). Including basketmakers of Roma/Gypsies, although they are not completely settled, all of the respondents define their identity as settled. This emphasis is important because in Edirne, Gypsies/Roma are predominantly urban. Then, Roma/ Gypsies residence in the city was economically determined. However, in reality they are considered to be nomads because they come to Edirne in summer to work, (making and selling baskets) and then back to their villages, *Evroşe*[13]. This can be understood with Gmelch's definition (1982), that follows Acton's description and refers to this type of economic adaptation as 'commercial nomadism' and 'service nomadism'. During my research, I visited Roma/Gypsies, who are basketmakers, in their work place. Their neighbourhood is called as *Gazimihal*. They were working as large-scale family based business so all of the members of the families are basketmakers. They were working under the tents. Apart from the tents, they had houses in *Gazimihal*. They spend their lives partly in Gelibolu and partly in Edirne. They have been known in Edirne as basketmakers and/ or Gypsies. However, these people themselves do not call themselves as Gypsy but prefered the name of Roma. The other respondents (Roma/Gypsy) called these people as Gypsy, according to them; they are nomads and knowing Romani language. For Isaacs (1989), language is one of group identify features. As some respondent's mentions, to know Romani language means being Gypsy. Hence, language is attributed as a common ethnic identity. For Jones (1999) the role of language sometimes reflected in the labels used to refer to social groups.

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[13] Evroşe is the village of Gelibolu.

On the other hand, Mustafa (38, M, Primary s., Janitor) constructs his identity as a 'Roma' rather than a 'Gypsy'.

There is a saying: The bird processes what she sees in the nest. I know such man, who is told to be Turk, inferior than me. Let me say this first. But how is he? He does not have humanity, he speaks sharply to a person, that is to say he does not share anything he posesses. For me this man is inferior than a Gypsy and he may not be considered as human. In general sense Roma people are good. In what sense they are good? Firstly they are humane, they are compassionate, they do not say something for that they do not look for someone else's wife or daughter that is they do not look to anyone other than their legitimate spouse. There may be ones looking each other but even this is mutual among them. This does not bother me. I don't know that. They carry on their lifes in that way. They have humanity in their origin. There is sharing and compassionate. This is their origin... Now we do not know any other languages. With that aspect, those 'Kıyık' places, I told it before, Gypsies know the language but Roma do not. Also there is a fact that most came from different regions. That is, in what way? My mother is from Selanik, so does my father. There is only such a thing that I am a bit hybrid. I think, I am a hybrid, because my mother, now departed, was not from Trakya also my father has a mixed blood but there lies Roma in his origin. I never deny and I wouldn't... Now, against us, I do not know so far; their attitude to me is different but from top above (he is mentioning Menziliahir district) they are a bit despising those garbage mixers. They despise. Now the why they despise is that Gypsies do not have a specific job. They look for their daily bread in waste boxes. Generally, from time to time, they are being scolded. What should I know, they are treated as third or fourth class individual. Since their situation is not appropriate, Roma reside in the same district. There are also some Roma within the Castle area but they are rich. But they can not call them as Roma. They can not humiliate them. This is it.

Hani derler ya kuş yuvada gördüğünü işler. Hani ben öyle insanlar tanıyorum ki ne bileyim ben. Türk derler mesela, benden aşağılıktır. Onu söyleyeyim bir defa. Ama nasıldır? İnsanlığı yoktur, insana ters davranır, yani bir şeyini paylaşmaz. Bence o Çingene'den de aşağılıktır, insan değildir beni sıfatımda. Genel anlamda Romanlar iyidir. Ne bakımdan iyidir? Bir defa insandırlar, sevecendirler, kimsenin bir şeyler söyleyip karısında kızında gözü kalmaz. Yani kendi helalinden başkasına bakmaz. Ha bakanlar vardır, o karşılıklıdır; o beni bağlamaz. Tabi bilemem orasını. Bu şekilde hayatlarını devam ettiriyorlar; ama özlerinde insanlık yatar, paylaşma yatar, sevecenlik yatar. Özleri budur yani. Ben Romanlığımla iftihar ediyorum. Çünkü neden? Romanların özünde dürüstlük yatar, Romanların özünde sıcaklık yatar, insanlık yatar, paylaşmak yatar. Ben şahsen gurur duyuyorum Romanlığımla... Şimdi biz hiç dil bilmiyoruz. Şöyle, o Kıyık tarafı, ben onu daha evvel de söyledim. Dili Çingeneler bilir, Romanlar bilmez. Bir de şimdi farklı yerlerden de gelme var. Yani ne şekilde? Benim annem Selanikli, babam Selanikli. Bir de şu var; biraz da ben melezim herhalde, yani ben melezim diye düşünüyorum; çünkü rahmetli annem Trakyalı değildi yani. Babam da biraz bulaşıklık varmış; ama özünde Romanlık yatıyor. Ben hiç bir zaman inkar etmiyorum, etmem de…Şimdi bize karşı, yani bilmiyom bana karşı daha bir farklı;ama o yukardan *(Menziliahir Mah.* bahsediyor) torbacıları falan, biraz küçümsüyorlar yani. Onlar küçümsüyorlar. Şimdi küçümsemelerinin sebebi de onların belli başlı bir işleri olmadığı için, genellikle rızklarını o çöp bidonlarında aradıkları için. Genelde zaman zaman azarlandıkları da oluyor. Ne bileyim böyle üçüncü veya dördüncü sınıf bir insan muamelesi görüyorlar yani. .. Öyle Romanlar var, kale içinde de Romanlar var;ama zengin. Ama olara Roman diyemiyorlar mesela, onları küçümseyemiyorlar.

Ömür   (36,M, Primary s., Garbage collector) says,

Now Romas like to make fun. They like to support each other. Now there are more Roma in Kıyık. There is not more in here. I would advice you to go there. But I do not know there, I do not go there. Actually I do not want to go there. That is a psychopath place. The real Romas are there. Have you ever heard about Crazy Selim? All are in Kıyık actually. All of them are tradesman, musician. They like music, commation, and carousal... Now this man is Roma. I do

not accept this. Do you know who we call Gypsy? The ones gathering bag are Gypsy. When you say Roma, Roma is different. There is Roma and there is being Roma. Now there is tinker Gypsy, basketmaker Gypsy. These are all by degrees.

Ya şimdi Romanlar eğlenceyi severler, birbirlerine destek olmayı severler. Şimdi Kıyık'ta daha çok Romanlar var. Burda o kadar yok. Sizin oraya gitmenizi tercih ederm ;ama arasında pek tanımıyorum ben. Orasına gitmiyorum, pek istemem ben gideyim zaten. Orası psikopat bir yer. Esas Romanlar orda var yani. Deli Selim'i hiç duydunmu? Hepsi Kıyıkta'dır zaten. Onların hepsi esnaf, çalgıcı. Çalgıyı, şamatayı, cümbüşü seven insanlar... Çingene kime deriz biliyormusun hani torba toplarlar ya, çingene onlardır. Roman dediğin zaman, Roman ayrıdır yani. Roman var, Romanlık var. Şimdi kalaycı Çingene var, sepetçi Çingene var, bunlar hep kademe kademedir.

First interview defines Roma people as 'reliable', 'humane' and 'compassionate'. However, when he talks about other Roma people living in *Kıyık* or *Menziliahir* neighborhood he calls them as ' Gypsies'. Respondent's position in Edirne is settled although his father and mother have migrated from Greece. His job is a janitor but other Gypsies, as he calls them, are only garbage mixers[14]. Respondent sees his position more advantageous and constructs his identity according to the existing hegemonic values of the society. Albert Cohen states, 'not only is consensus rewarded by acceptance, recognition and respect; it is most probably criterion of the validity of the frame of reference which motivates and justifies our conduct' (Cohen, 1997:47). The reason for this could be Roma identity definition could be more acceptable by the majority of non-Gypsy to avoid the negative stereotypes of Gypsy identity.

Dominant group believes that 'our way is the best way' such as becoming more success-oriented, achievement-oriented, future-oriented, etc. Hence, this reflected in a tendency to ignore the achievements and contributions of another ethnic group in education and other social benefits. Respondent sees being Roma as more advantageous than being a Gypsy. He is also sensitive to class differences between different Gypsies/Roma and seemingly despises the poor who lack material opportunities. He claims, 'If you are rich, you cannot be discriminated because of your identity whether you are a Gypsy or not'. Both of the respondents attribute to Gypsy identity more features of disadvantage than the Roma identity because of the lacking of job opportunities. Hence, when the respondents were talking about

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[14] This word refers to people in Turkey who search for paper and cans in the garbage, then collect and sell to earn money.

Gypsy/Roma identity, they tended to stratify these identities according to perceptions in the society. When they differentiate themselves with the saying, 'we are Roma, they are Gypsy', at this level 'Gypsy' is defined as a loser which then takes a negative meaning within their stratification scale. In this perception, although Roma is taken to be the ''other'' to non- Gypsy natives living in Edirne, Gypsy is accepted as the 'other' even to Roma. Here it is possible to see the dynamic and interpretative nature of perception of identities as argued by Mead (1959). Mead's explanation of the "self" represents "subjective interpretation of the objective reality of the larger structure" (Poloma, 1979). Poloma expresses Mead's explanation of the self as 'actually a person's internalization of the generalized other or the social habits of the larger community' (Poloma, 1979:165). Hence, constructing of Roma identity depends on the generalized other, who is non-Gypsies. In addition, for Goffman (1959) the sense of self arises as a result of publicly validated performances on the ground that individuals are rather constrained to define themselves in accordance with the norms of a stratified society. Respondents in the study give more attribute to the Roma identity than the Gypsy identity. They think that Roma people find better jobs than Gypsies and are in the higher echelons of stratification. Roma are settled much earlier in the urban areas, although there has been no ethnicity differentiation apart from language, this identity classification is made through society's social values as Mead and Goffman argue.

On the similar lines, the identity diffrentiation among Gypsies is also made in Spain. Wang (1985) argues how identity differentiation varies among Spanish Gypsies whether *Rom* or *Gitanos* according to social class and knowing *Romani* language. For Wang, with the technical development in Spanish, Spanish population of Gypsies, the greatest part of which are *Gitanos*, have been forced into the big cities where they try to fend for themselves by collecting scrap metal and selling fruit, vegetables, flowers, cheap jewelry, carpets, and so forth. In addition, at harvest time they go out to the provinces to earn some extra cash as woker. As Wang expresses this identity differentiation,

> The Gitanos constitute the majority of Gypsies in Spain, as distinct from socalled ''Hungarian'' group, and they are subdivided into *Béticos*, *Catalanes*, *Castillans* and *Cafeletes*, but differences among them are due largely to social class, rather than to culture. Apart from nomadic Gypsies, few of them have knowledge of Caló (the Romany language) and they resort

to it mainly in the presence of payos (non-Gypsies) whom they may wish to mislead, and to distinguish themselves from (Wang, 1985: 93).

Hungarian group is called as Ŕom discussed also by Digiacomo (1985) that 'among the Ŕom, patrilineal descent to a depth of three or four generations establishes a person's identity within a tribe; tribes are distinguished from each other by variations in cuatom. The *Gitanos*, in contrast, give primacy to a folk concept of ''race'' based substantially on flamenco song in distinguishing themselves both from payos (non-Gitanos) and from other categories of persons often identified by payos as *Gitanos'* (Digiacomo, 1985:95).

As it is exemplified from Spain and in the case of Edirne perceiving identity varies according to cultural artifact. This view is close to Circumstantialist approach, which assumes ethnic identities are constructed socially and culturally. This argument continues regarding with respondents' explanations:

The discussion on identity continues with a different emphasis on the situation of being Gypsy or Roma is unnecessary and fragile issue.

Turhan (47, M, Primary s., Garbage collector) says,

No, we do not introduce ourselves as Roma. We do not encounter with any situation that will make us say 'I am Roma'. I think to ask such a question is also disturbing. Are you Gypsy or Roma. This does not make any sense... Now the event that we call 'Roma', there is a special accent difference among the regions anyway. Around this environment we live, everyone speaks in a normal way, speaks in what Turkish language requires. But in other regions, in terms of speaking language structure, Simple Present Tense is used. I come, you come, she comes, we come. That is Simple Present Tense. Also some sayings like 'yav, abe, gelirsin be, kızanımdır'. Language structure is widespread in that sense; but this is not spoken way in every place. Today what the language structure that well known actors in media are using is not prevalent among us. But generally there is a language structure like that. This is also prevale in İstanbul, around 'Sulukule'. It is not used in here. Gypsy like dance anyway, she likes red color. That is in this way, why should not people like the red color? First you look: are you Gypsy? Why? It seems pretty to eyes. This means that we understand from the colors. Color of our flag. In that way.

Kendimizi Roman ya da Çingene olarak tanıtmıyoruz. Yaşamımızda da bizi böyle hemen, ben Romanım diye söyletecek, tanımlatacak bir olaya da şahit olmuyoruz yani. Sorması da bence kişiyi rencide edecek bir şey. Sen Çingene misin veya Roman mısın? Bunun anlamı yok...Şimdi Roman dediğimiz olay, belli bir şive farkı vardır, bölgeler arasında yani. Şu yaşadığımız çevremizde, herkes normal şekilde, Türkçe'nin gerektiği gibi konuşulur; ama diğer bölgelerde konuşma dil yapısı olarak geniş zaman konuşurlar;gelirim, gelirsin, gelir, gideriz. Geniş zaman işte. Bir de sözler; yav, abe, gelirsin be, kızanımdır. Böyle yaygındır dil yapısı; ama her yerde bu konuşulmaz. Bugün medyada bildiğimiz tanınmış tiyatrocuların, seslendirmeye çalıştığı o dil yapıları bizim aramızda yoktur; ama genellikle böyle bir dil yapısı vardır. O da İstanbul'da Sulukule ve İstanbul çevresinde toplanmışlar bu şive yapısı. Burda yoktur. İşte Çingene oynamayı sever, kırmızıyı sever, işte bu şekilde halk arasında. Kırmızı

niye sevilmesin yani? Bir bakıyorsun, siz Çingene misiniz? Niye göze hoş geliyor. Demek ki biz biraz renkleden daha iyi anlıyoruz acaba. Bayrağımızın rengi. O şekilde.

Tuncay (36, M, Primary s., Worker) notes,

Now there is not such discrimination. Now it is like that: it became usual that when you say Edirne they understand 'Roma'. That is, you have made discrimination to yourself. This is reality. For example, let us say that you are in a foreign country, where are you from? From Edirne, They will immediately say that you are Roma. They will call you like that, they would not define you as a person from Edirne. They will define as Roma and that is it. This is painfull, this is Roma, all right. In fact, you are not a Roma. If you are settling in Edirne you are a Roma. This is how he will define. Now my grandfathers and my father come from Bulgaria. Now am I Roma? No I am not. But since the settlement place is Edirne, even you are now in Ankara, let us say where you are from: Edirne. They will call you as Roma... This is not related with Roma. Let us say it in this or in that way. Due to unemployment people are getting poorer here. Therefore they call Roma. But actually there is not any kind of Roma or Gypsy. There is nothing. In fact the pathetic with this place is that they get poor and therefore is considered as Roma Neighborhood. In fact this district is not such a kind. Since this is a touristic place and since there is unemployment, the neighborhood remains poor. Today, why are they poor? The person does not steal, and since he does not commit such things, he is forced to work. And this time as he works for rich he remains poor. As he fell poorer he is considered as Roma. In fact he has not any relation with Roma.

Şimdi bizim yani, öyle bir ayrıcalık yok, şimdi şöyle. Öyle bir alışılmış ki Edirne dediğin zaman Roman geçiyor, öyle bir kendini bir ayrımcılık yapmıysın. Gerçekçilik bu yani. Mesela diyelimki yabancı bir ülkede olsan; nerelisin? Edirne'li. Hemen Roman derler. Öyle tanımlar. Hani Edirneli olarak tanımlamazlar. Öyle bir Roman olarak geçerler. Acı, bu Roman, tamam. Halbuki Roman değilsin, muhitin Edirne mi Roman geçer. Öyle tanımlar yani. Şimdi benim dedelerim, babalarım Bulgaristan'dan gelme. Şimdi ben Roman mıyım? Değilim; ama yerleşim birimi Edirne'de olduğun için sen dahil, şimdi Ankara'dasın, diyelimki nerdesin? Edirne. Sana Roman derler... Bizim buranın muhiti işsizlik yönünden fakir olarak düşüyor. Roman diye öyle geçiyor. Aslında böyle bir Romanlık olsun, afedersin Çingenelik olsun bir fark, hibir şey yok. Esasında bizim buraın garibanlığı fakir düşüyor ve burasını bir Roman mahallesi gi bi görüyorlar yani. Esasında bizi buraları öyle bir yer değil. Bizim burası turistik bir şehir olduğu için, burada işsizlik yönünden olduğu için, burası fakir bir mahalle. Bugün neden dersin fakir? Adam hırsızlık yapmıyor, yani bir şey yapmadığı için çalışma şeyi geliyor. Bu sefer de zenginin yanında çalıştığı zaman fakir düşüyor. Fakir düştüğü zaman Roman manasına geçiyor. Esasında Romanla ilgisi yok.

Turhan, first respondent, makes a relation with appearing Roma identity and public eyes's of the Roma or Gypsy in theater, or typically known with Sulukule. Hence, there have been in transformation of Gypsy identity through Roma identity in terms of "popular culture". This term is a key to understand production and reproduction of social relations in everyday life. Storey (1996) follows Antonio Gramsci's definition of hegemony and suggests that 'popular culture can be empowering to subordinate and resistant to dominant understandings of the world' (Storey, 1996:5). In this regard, there is a confirming idea of the interests of dominant groups. Accordingly, stereotypes about Gypsy such as vagabond, nomadic, low-skilled jobs, knowing Romani language lead to diminish in Gypsy identity. Public refers as Mead 's description ''generalized other'' and what public wants to

see. As we mentioned before dominant ideas refer to more success-oriented, achievement-oriented, future-oriented as well as stable job, becoming settled, having high education levels and so forth. Popular culture is one of the elements of identity differentiation of Gypsy/Roma community because it raises Roma identity and uses such a word in films, newspapers. Besides, popular culture treats using the word of Roma is a polite manner of saying Gypsy. It discharges the ethnic identity of Gypsy/Roma into the only to the mass culture. It codifies Roma identity as some personal characteristics, such as 'enjoyabe', 'quarrelsome' but not refers their ethnic differentiation. Identity is constructed within and by a milieu of dominant ideas, according to Joffe. As she argues, 'the very sense of a positive identity is constructed by comparing others unfavorably to the in-group. A superior positioning is thereby assured for the in-group. Yet this process is corroded if one's in-group is a marginalized group in terms of the dominant ideas of the day' (Joffe, 1999:104). However, whatever you construct Gypsy or Roma, these categories are codified socially and culturally. They want to be harmonious in the society. Thus, as Okely points out, 'self-ascription is decisive in establishing specific Gypsy identity; that is if a group of Gypsies…recognises as a member of person calling him/herself a Gypsy, then his/her Gypsy identity is a social fact' (Okely, quoted in Digiacomo, 1985:95).

The other respondent, Tuncay, makes a relation between class position and Roma identity. 'If you are poor, you are Gypsy/Roma'. In that context, they belong to lower class. Cohen described it as ''ethno-class'' (cited in Mortimer and Fine, 1999). Respondent also draws our attention to 'if you are living in Edirne; everybody calls you as Gypsy or Roma'. He objects these generalizations and wants to be called as from Edirne. It is easy to make a correlation between Gypsy or Roma identity construction and Georg Simmel's classic essay, the ''Stranger'' (Simmel, 1971). As Sway says, 'Simmel observed that the stranger appeared everywhere as a trader, providing his customers with goods and services that could only have originated outside their physical setting' (Sway, 1988:16). The ''stranger'' is always distrusted by the host society. He is not organically connected to his customers by kinship, locality or occupation. And while this allows him an advantage in the market place, it excludes him from acceptance because as Sway mentions, '[w]hen trouble within the

greater society occurred, the stranger was suspected because the dominant group perceived him as an inner enemy'(Sway, 1988:16). In this regard, Gypsy identity is ''stranger'' in a Simmelian sense but Roma identity seems more acceptable. Besides, Rittersberger's study (2003) about how Alamancı identity transforms and regains Alevi identity refers to our study. It is again emphasized that there have been no ethnic differences between Roma and Gypsy identities. Only one difference is language but a few respondents know it.

In short, my respondents are settled in Edirne, and then they are not nomadic. Hence, the first differentiation starts with being 'settled Roma' or 'nomadic Gypsy'. Becoming "migrant" or "nomadic" is always distrusted by the host society. Avoiding from calling as nomadic leads to a new definition. Gypsy/Roma people are settled in urban now and this leads to the occupational differentiation. It is meaningful here to correlate objective and subjective aspects of Gypsy/Roma in one dimension because we will see dialectical relationship between two aspects. So far class relations, respondents who define themselves Roma have a labour whether it is low skilled or not. However, Roma people define Gypsy people as vagrant, garbage collector and third or fourth-class citizenship. I emphasize that defining themselves as Roma people make this codification. Besides, for Roma people, Gypsy people settle especially in *Menziliahir* neighbourhood, besides they have a Çeribaşı and know Romani language. According to this identity differentiation, some essential elements of Gypsy/Roma ethnic identity have been diminishing and the need for a new identity leads to the adoption of strong boundary markers between Gypsy and Roma. If we explain it with Barth's sociological view of boundaries, the need for a new identity is made through personal relations referring micro level. The other important level is macro level. I will mention the effects of this level with regard to urbanization, modernity and popular culture. Becoming setled leads to new job opportunities, which are different from traditional Gypsy/Roma jobs. In addition, popular culture's effect of defining Roma in a one dimension led to thinking of Roma as having wider applicability. Hence, my hypothesis is valid which mentions that modernization and urbanization are effective in recreation of Gypsy/Roma identity. Although the diversity, the feeling of belonging to the same category of individuals is stronger than the sense of difference that divides them. Non-Gypsies'

perception and level of knowledge also affect Gypsy/Roma peeple's adoption of boundary markers. Gypsies/Roma assert their identity through opposition to non-Gypsies. This is not grounded on the level of structural but in terms of socio-psychological view. This issue will be examined in the following chapter.

Table 6.1 Social demographic profile of Gypsy/Roma households respondents' views about social, economic and political life summary table (Number = 36 Wives – Husbands, representing 18 households)

	Adequte	Non-Adequate	Partial		
About Wages	2	28	6		
About non-Gypsies' attitude towards Gyspsies	Positive	Negative	Partial		
	2	28	6		
About marriage relationship with non-Gypsies	Positive	Negative	Partial	Decision Belongs to Child	
	4	18	3	11	
About representation of Gypsies in Parliament	Positive	Negative	Partial		
	1	31	4		
About representation of Gypsies in municipality	Positive	Negative	Partial		
	5	30	1		
About representation of Gypsies in local authority (muhtarlık)	Positive	Negative			
	18	18			
Satisfaction from their neighbourhoods	Positive	Negative			
	26	10			
Who says the last word in the household consumption (Only females)	Female	Husband	Grand M-F	Together	Children
	5	9	1	2	1
Who decided about the marriage? (Only females)	With her own will			With her parent's will	
		9		9	

CHAPTER VII

NON-GYPSIES' PERCEPTIONS AND LEVEL OF INFORMATION ABOUT GYPSY/ROMA COMMUNITY

Non-Gypsies' perception and level of information about Gypsy/Roma community is also an important element coinciding and clashing sides of Gypsy/Roma themselves. We'ness and otherness is a dialectical process in constructing of identity. In this regard, symbolic interaction theory is useful to understand this dialectical process. 'Symbolic interaction theory emphasizes the interactive process in the looking glass self or mirror theory of identity which argues that we are what others reflections make us' (Weigert et al., 1990:50).

7.1 An Assesment of the Situation of Gypsy/Roma Community in the Labour Market by non-Gypsies

Having defined the job differentiation of Gypsies/Roma in the objective aspects of a Gypsy/Roma community, I also decided to ask non-Gypsies, how they would evaluate the conditions of Gypsies/Roma with regard to their living standards, social status and labour market. They generally think that Gypsy/Roma people are working in bad conditions and in low-skilled jobs.

Mustafa (44, M, University) notes,

> In my opinion that they usually work in low-skilled jobs is saying the truth. These people have low life standards and they have been despised for many years. For example, they are taken to municipality as sewerage workers or musicians. I mean the worst jobs are given to them. The boy whom you saw before is from Karaağaç. He works as a cleaner for a cleaning company. I mean they work in the worst jobs. They have always been despised in Edirne like most of other

places. In reality, they are the same as us...They have five senses, they have hearts, they have feeling, they have honour.The situation in Edirne and in many other cities is the same as the one in America where they have bad behaviors towards Negros. It is very wrong. Day by day their pride is hurt. Their life styles resemble us, they dress like us, they eat like us.I sometimes tried to help some of them in buying cars and make them taxi drivers. The ones who have acquaintances in Germany have higher life standards. The ones who live in Germany have higher economical status. Some of them buy houses from city center or from other places, some can't leave their district since they feel more comfortabe with living with other Gypsies so continue to live in Yıldırım or Karaağaç.

İş durumunda ağırlıklı olarak daha çok toplumun alt kademedeki işlerini yaptıklarını söylemek gerçeği söylemek anlamında olur kanaatindeyim. Şimdi bu insanların hayat standartları düşük ve bu insanlar yıllarca aşağılanmış. Örneğin belediyeye alınmış bu insanlar, kanalizasyon işçisi olarak alınmışlar ya da bunlar çalgıcı olarak alınmışlar ya da bunlar işte en pis işleri örneğin şu anda temizlik şirketinde, az önce orda gördüğün de Karaağaç'lı bir çocuktu, temizlik şirketinde temizlik işçisi olarak alınmışlar. Yani pis işlerde kullanmışlar ve bu insanları bi çok ilde olduğu gibi Edirne'de de aşağılamışız. Halbuki insan noktasında bu insanların bizim gibi işte beş duyuları, bizim gibi kalpleri, bizim gibi sevgileri, bizim gibi onurları, bizim gibi yani farklı ne olabilir ki. Burda çok ciddi bir Amerika'nın bu zencilerine benzer, Siyahi'lerine benzer bir olayı Edirne'de de birçok ilde bu söz konusu ve bu yanlış. Bu kınamalarla beraber, bu aşağılanmalarla beraber bu insanların ben daha fazla onurlarının kırıldığına inanıyorum. Yaşam tarzlarıyla bizim gibi giyiniyorlar, bizim gibi yiyip içiyorlar, o noktada bizden çok fazla farklı değiller. Bunların içerisinde zaman zaman bizim de önayak olduğumuz, öncülük ettiğimiz birkaç tanesine bir araba almaya çalıştık, otomobil almaya çalıştık. Alıp da taksicilik yapmalarını sağladık. Yine bunların içerisinde Almanya orijinleri, Almanya da bir yakınları olanların hayat standardının daha yüksek olduğunu görüyoruz. Yine bunların içerisinde özellikle Almanya'da ekonomik durumu biraz daha iyi olanlarının bu durumdan çıkmak anlamında çarşı merkezinde ya da yeni yerleşim merkezinde ev satın alıp oraya yerleşmeyi düşündüklerini görüyoruz ve bu kadar da hayır biz kendi mahallemizde rahat ediyoruz, biz devam ettiklerinde aynı miktarda, aynı oranda görüyorum.

Fatma (49, F, Primary s.) says,

Their wives go to clean houses. Their husbands work as workers at the arable fields, shepherd or driver. For example, they do the most difficult jobs like smith or ditch digger...Nowadays; they go to reap rice in paddy. The rice of Edirne is very famous. They go to reap as a family and stay for 40 days continuously reaping. They pitch a tent near the paddy and 15-20 people stay within. They stay for one or two month there. In the past this job was widespread among them but today their wives mostly work as babysitter, charwoman. They continuously work. They also go to the arable fields and hoe. For examples, now all of them are working in the fields and pecking up the ground.

Şimdi hanımları temizlik işlerine gidiyorlar, ev temizliklerine. Beyleri tarlada çırak, çoban, şoför. Mesela en ağır işlerde, çelik işlerinde hendek kazmakta falan erkekleri. Şimdi onlar çeltiğe gidiyler. Edirne'nin çeltiği meşhurdur o Ergene taraflarında. Oraya gitti mi onlar ailesiyle mesela 1 ay 40 gün devamlı orda çeltik biçerler. Pirinç. Pirinci ekiyorsun, pirinci biçmeye onlar gitti mi 1 hafta 10 gün. Biz bir aile oldu mu 15-20 kişi. Çadırlarını koyarlar çeltiğin başına, orda 1 ay, 2 ay çeltik biçerler. Bu gelenek şimdi de var da eskisi gibi değil. Şimdilerde hanımları temizlik işleri yapıyler, çocuk bakıyler, bütün gün merdiven siler. Hiç durmaz yani. Tarlaya gidiyler. Çapa işi de yaparlar. Şimdi bak, hepsi çapada mesela.

Both of them say Gypsy/Roma people are doing low-skilled and hard jobs such as, dustman, and seasonal worker, domestic cleaner, sewage worker, garbage collector and so forth. One reason of this situation, according to these respondents, is 'discrimination and segregation in social and cultural life'. According to World Bank

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Report (2000) Roma are poorer than other ethnic minorities and more likely to fall into poverty. On the other hand, the first interviewee reported that some 'Alamancı' Gypsies/Roma who return to Edirne have better opportunities and money than the other Gypsies/Roma in Edirne. During my research I visited *Yıldırım Beyazıt* neighbourhood and saw some Alamancı Gypsy's houses, which were striking when I compared with other Gypsy's houses. It was interpreted as an economic improvement of Alamancı Gypsies/Roma. This signifes that Gypsy/Roma community is not homogenic in terms of economic level. The second interviewee signified 'going to the rice-fields'[15] was a traditional Gypsy/Roma occupation but this tradition has decreased. This information also corresponds to responses from some Gypsy/Roma female respondents'interviews.

Unlike other non-Gypsies, Abdullah (45, M, High s.) mentions one Gypsy/Roma family, who have artisanal skills as a tinsmith and a sculpturer. As he says,

> There were Roma people in our distric; once there were a spherd in our village. He worked in our village for many years being away from his people. I still see his children. Today only one person can make enumeration and he is Roma and also his cousin is a very famous sculpture. He is originally from Bayramköy. He is now in Germany.

> Mahallemizde vardı Roman vatandaşlar, köyümüzde çoban vardı bi zamanlar. O vatandaşlardan uzun yıllar, çoban olan kişi uzun yıllar bizde çobanlık yaptı. Çocuklarıylan hala da bugün görüşüyorum. Bugün Edirne sanayinde tek döküm kaynağı yapabilen kişi Romandır. Tek döküm kaynağı yapabilen dikkat edin ve bugün heykeltıraş üzerinde yine o kişinin amcasının çocuğu çok ünlüdür, dünya piyasasında ünlüdür bakın heykeltıraş konusunda ve Bayramköylüdür onun asıl kökeni. Şu anda da kendisi Almanya'dadır.

Çeri Başı Hüseyin Bıçakçıoğlu similarly reported these few number of artisans among the Gypsies/Roma as we mentioned it before. Hence, non-Gypsies living in Edirne define Gypsy/Roma people's occupations within two different poles. First one is situated in low-skilled, non-continuous and heavy work, whereas the other refers to mostly artisanal jobs, such as, blacksmith, basketmaker, and founder. In addition, economic conditions vary between Gypsy and Roma, according to non-Gypsies. For example, although Alamancı Gypsies/Roma people who are settled in Edirne have obtained better living standards at present, my respondents were mostly

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[15] Gypsies/Roma and non-Gypsies call this occupation in Turkish meaning as 'çeltiğe gitmek'. It was a seasonal work and made during between September and November.

low skilled and they have difficult living conditions. I only met artisanal Gypsies/Roma who were basketmakers. But they had very difficult living conditions as different from other Gypsy/Roma artisans mentioned by non-Gyspsies. If the Gypsy/Roma and non-Gypsy respondents' statements are compared, the general result is that members of Gypsy/Roma are often relegated to the less desirable, lower paying and less secure jobs, which create a sub-category of second-class citizens. As Rex (1996) argues class in an advanced market-based society is inevitably involved with ethnicity. In addition, he sees regional and ethnic groups as quasi-classes or, as some like to say, class fractions. Rex's this argument refers to our research.

7.2 Opinions about Marriage with Gypsies by non-Gypsies

Likewise Gypsies/Roma, non-Gypsies in Edirne are also very rigid towards getting married with Gypsy/Roma people. Although there have been moderate views about marriage among Gypsy/Roma participants, non-Gypsies are more strict about heterogenous marriages.

As Aynur (41, F, University) says,

To allow my son or daughter to marry a Gypsy... In reality I could allow; but owing to their living styles I still do not allow. It doesn't make any difference for me to allow my son or daughter to marry a foreigner or a Gypsy, however I wouldn't allow.

Kız alıp vermek şöyle bir şey. Yani asıl fikrim olarak verebilirim;ama yaşayış tarzları, yine de vermem yani, bir yabancıya nasıl veriyorsam ona da ayrım yapmıyorum; ama vermem diyorum yine de.

On the similar lines, Ayşe (38, F, University) notes,

I wouldn't allow my daughter to marry a Gypsy in terms of their life styles either but when the situation is different, I mean when the guy is educated, then you cannot know. By the way, when your child falls in love, she marries even if you accept or not but of course I wouldn't accept this marriage willingly.

Yani ben de kız vermem. Yani yaşayış tarzları açısından vermem; ama ola ki başka bir yerdesindir dediğim gibi, eğitim seviyesi yüksektir, kendini aşmıştır o zaman bilemezsin. Gönül verdi mi sen vermesen de kızın gidicek oldu mu gidiyor; ama gönülden vermek istemem tabii ki.

Likewise, Nuran (41, F, University) says,

We are not tolerant about marriages with the Gypsies. As they say, it is stuck within our brains; we cannot get rid of it. We cannot give permission marriage with Gypsies because of lineage.

> Kız alıp vermeye sıcak bakmıyoruz. Yani ne derler, bu beynimize yerleşmiş artık, onu atamıyoruz. Soy önemlidir diyerek onlarla alışveriş gerçekleştirmiyoruz.

As interviewees mentioned, Edirne's non-Gypsies are against to get married with Gypsies/Roma. The last respondent signified that it is related to race. For her, it is necessary that 'generations should continue without mixing with other communities (Gypsies, to be more specific)'. They are not familiar to heteregonous marriages. Some other non-Gypsy respondents point to a different fact about their unwillingness to this kind of marriages. They emphasize Gypsies/Roma people's lifestyle as a negative aspect of this community and this is a major reason why marriage with a Gypsy/Roma will be impossible.

Ahmet (45, M, University) is a respondent, who is against marriage with Gypsies/Roma owing to their 'lifestyle'. Ahmet says that the only relationship with Gypsies/Roma people might be tolerated in business life. As he says:

> There is some special point in marriage. This is not due to the racial difference but their way of life is not the same as ours. For that reason, it is not possible. We do not have a common social life. Only our business life is common. For that reason when the time comes in evening, locking door and go through your house. Everyone turns back to his own life. As a result marriage is not possible.

> Şimdi kız alıp vermede bakın şimdi şöyle bir şey var. Kız alıp verme insan olarak bir şey düşünemezsiniz. Fakat onların yaşayışı tarzlarıyla bizlerin yaşayış tarzlarımız aynı değil. Aynı olmadığı için mümkün olmuyor. Ya aynı kesimde bir sosyal yaşamımız yok onlarla. Sadece iş yaşamlarımız içinde var. onun için yani akşam kapıyı kilitleyip gittiğin zaman herkes kendi tarafına gidip kendi herkes onların hepsi kendi yani kendi yaşayışlarımıza dönüyoruz. Onun için o olmuyor yani, mümkün olmuyor.

Another non-Gypsy Abdullah (45, M, High s.) notes,

> This kind of marriage absolutely does not happens. In this regard, if a girl who belongs our Turks eloped with a Roman boy from us, she is refused by the family in any case. In the similar way, if a girl of them elops with a Turkish boy, then she is also refused by the family. If the boy has an opportunity to live alone he immediately leaves. I could not call this segregation but I cannot say nothing in this issue.

> Bu kız alıp verme olayı kesinlikle olmaz. Yalnız biz Türklerden onlara, Romanlara bir kız kaçtığı zaman zaten aile tarafından reddedilir. OnlardanTürklere geçen kızlar, kız alan çocukların da ailesi yine reddeder. Belirli bir elinden gelen imkan varsa o imkanı verir hemen ailesinden ayrılır. Yani buna dışlanma da diyemiyecem ama ne bileyim hiç bir şey söyliyemiyorum yani bu konuda.

This point emphasized by Abdullah is significant since it indicates that a person who elopes with a Gypsy/Roma person will be rejected by his/ her family and will be excluded from the benefits of the family mutual help. This shows the strictness of the marriage patterns in Turkey as a whole, as well as within Gypsy/

Roma and non-Gypsies. It is a sensitive issue with whom their children marry. Abdullah does not call this pattern as segregation but treats it like a general custom.

7.3   Perceptions of Weddings and Funerals in Gypsy/Roma Community by non-Gypsies

Non-Gypsies in Edirne, think that weddings and funerals in the Gypsies/Roma community resemble to their own. However, Gypsies/Roma's weddings are more 'joyful' and 'humanistic'. Besides, Gypsies cannot go to a 'honeymoon' according to non-Gypsies. Gypsies/Roma respondents also confirm this feature. Most of the non-Gypsy respondents have no idea about Gypsy funerals but they can only talk about the weddings.

As Nuran (41, F, University)

> Our weddings resemble to each other. We organize entertainment with the accompaniment of a stringed instrument but today there has been a difference. We started to make our wedding with meal or cocktail. However, they do not. To acquire or give brides in marriage traditionally same among us. Actually, at the weddings mostly Roman music is played since we live Arabesque.

> Düğün benzerliklerimiz aynı gibi, aynı. Nedir? İnce sazla eğlence yapıyorlar. Bizim de aynı şeylerimiz var. Yalnız şimdi bizde bir ayrım da oldu. Yemekli veya kokteyli gibi oluyor; ama o onlarda olmuyor; ama kız alıp verme geleneksel olarak hemen hemen aynı biçim. Zaten düğünlerin çoğunda da artık Roman müziği gündeme geldi. Arabesk yaşıyoruz çünkü.

Fatma (49, F, Primary s.) says about Gypsy/Roma weddings and funerals according to their neighbourhood.

> We sometimes go to their weddings. Their weddings are very funny. They have weddings every night but nowadays there isn't any. You should see how they have good time in their weddings. You should see their competition among belly dance. They decided to engage and marry within a week. When they select a spouse they make the engagement and wedding within a week. During that week they play and dance. Their dowry ceremony is also very entertaining. During their weddings, they play and sing using microphone. All Yıldırım neighbourhoods jollify. I mean their weddings are very amusing and they are very joyful people.

> Their funeral ceremonies resemble to our ceremonies. My husband is imam, wash their corps and settle them. They are very believer people. They are very believer that when there is a funeral all of them run there. If the corps is male they call my husband if it is female they call me. They certainly read Koran on the first, seventh.and thirty-seventh day of the funeral. For example, when they build a one-room house they certainly call me to read Koran in it before they settled. Our Gypsies have very strong religious beliefs. Before they lie down in her houses they certainly read Koran in it. They come and as me what they should do in their funeral. I say the people do not eat the meals done in the house, for this reason buy meal like pastry, do not bothered with it. But they say they will employ a cooker. Although they are so poor, when it

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comes to funeral, they find money for that. Our Gypsies are very obstinate, I do not know whether all of them are obstinate or not.

Düğünlerine bazen gideriz, çok güzel olur düğünleri, çok güzel. Bi de burda olsan da gelsen. Her gece vardır da yani bu arada yok. Hiç bitmez düğünleri.Düğünleri çok eğlenceli; ama nasıl eğlenceli bir görsen. Bi göbek yarışları; ama bi gör. Şimdi hemen nişan yapıp hemen düğüne karar veriyler, 1 hafta içinde. Gözüne kestirdi mi birini; şimdi ben bunu gözüme kestirdim, artık o nişan, düğün. Artık 1 hafta çalıyorlar. Oyna, oyna 1 hafta. Yani çok güzel olur düğünleri. Neşeli insanlar. Bi çeyiz almaya giderler. Gelin alırken hep öyle. Eğlenceli insanlar. Şimdi düğünlerini yaparken mikrofon, hoparlörler, bütün Yıldırım kalkıyor. Çok neşeli insanlar.

Cenazeleri aynı. Te benim eşim imam. Onları yıkıyor, yerleştiriyor. Yok, yok. Çok inançlı. O kadar inançlı ki hele ölsün o cenazeye hemen koşuyorlar. Kadınsa beni okumaya, erkekse beyimi çağırıyor. Muhakkak o cenazenin ilk gecesini, 7'sini, 37'sini. Mesela şimdi bir ev yapıyor, bir odacık yapıyor kendine. Hemen geliyor. Fatma abla gel bana bir Kuran oku, girmeyim o odaya boş. O kadar inançlı bizimkiler. Muhakkak bir Kuran okutacak, orada yatacak o zaman. artık geliyorlar bana, diyler neyle yapalım. Ben de diyorum, millet yemez, hazır alın diyorum. Bak hazır börekler var, hazır alın, uğraşmayın diyorum; ama ben aşçı tutacam diyor, ahçıyla yaptırcam diye. Yani o kadar fakir; ama gelince buluyorlar. Çok inançlı bizimkiler. Belki hepsi öyle değil bilmem de.

Birol (36, M, High s.) notes,

Their funeral ceremonies are not different from ours. For example, in the morning, at a very early time, they perform ritual prayers for the soul of the dead. The people have time to go to the mosque participate in the ceremony of the corpse at midday prayer time. They do not invite us to their funeral ceremonies, but people in the mosques waiting for the midday prayer; definitely participate to our funeral ceremonies. It is no matter whether the corpse is Roma, Turk or Kurd. There is no differentiation in terms of the funerals.

Cenazede hiç bir farklılık yok. Mesela selası verilir, sabah erken saatte. O gün müsait olup da camiye giden kişiler öğle namazında onlar da katılır, aile ahbabı da katılır,eş dost. Çoğunlukla onlar da bizim cenazelerimize davet etmiyorlar, onlar da bizim cenazelerimize davet etmiyorlar; ama o öğle namazında olan kişiler cenaze namazına kesinlikle katılırlar. Çingeneymiş, Romanmış, Türkmüş, Kürtmüş ayrım olmaz bu konuda.

As Birol claims, every community has different funeral ceremonies, which are generally attended privately by community members. But, when people of different communities meet at a funeral ceremony in the mosques, then no distinction can be made between Gypsy/Roma, Kurd, Turk or whoever, and hence everybody can attend.

Ahmet (45, M, University) finds no differentiation between non-Gypsies and Gypsy/Roma people'weddings. As he says:

Their wedding ceremonies are same as much as ours. Their wedding ceremonies are more cheerful than frequently ours but the thing they do is similar to ours. The procedure is the same but they are more cheerful and free. I mean we are restricting ourselves not to disturb others but they are more easygoing since they are making their ceremonies in their own district, but quarrels frequently occur in there.

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Yani düğünleri bizimkilerden çok farklı değil. Yani daha işte şen olur onların düğünleri ama bizimkilerden çok da farklı değil yaptıkları. Aynı şeyleri uyguluyorlar ama onlar daha neşeli, daha serbest oluyorlar. Yani biz çevreye karşı bazı şeyleri sıkarken onlar daha serbest olduklarından bir de kendi bölgelerinde yaptıkları için daha rahat oluyorlar; ama bol miktarda kavganın da çıktığı oluyor.

In short, apart from being more enjoyable and cheerful, Gypsy/Roma weddings are thought to have similar patterns with non-Gyspy weddings. The expectation of a 'coctail party' or a 'honeymoon' for a Gypsy wedding indicates again the ethnocentric view of non-Gypsies to any 'other' in their social environment. In addition, non-Gypsies can take strict rules on heteregenous marriages as a sign of ignorance and avoidance of social and cultural differences. Funerals, on the other hand, create less segregation due to the neutralizing role of Muslim religion.

7.4   Assessment of Gypsy/Roma Neighbourhood Relations by non-Gypsies

In this part, I analysed how non-Gypsies evaluate Gypsy/Roma community's settlements in terms of history, solidarity, and homogenity-heterogenity.

Mustafa (44, M, University) notes,

You can't find any Gypsies at every part of the city. For example, there are no Gypsies in Karaağaç, Lozan or Yıldırım neighbourhoods. There aren't any Gypsies at that Roma district that we call it as "Kirişhane", nor was in the past. Then which place is left? There aren't any Gypsies in Gazimihal neighbourhood. I am talking about Edirne of Ottoman's last era. At that time there were Gypsies only at lower parts of Muradiye. The reason is that one of the biggest charitable establishments of that era was in Muradiye Mosque. Since they were poor people, they settled around this charitable establishment. So we can say that the oldest settlement of these Gypsies is the lower part of Muradiye which you call as "Küçükpazar". Since the Gypsies lived at that place, the graveyard in Küçükpazar is also called as "Gogo" which means Gypsy graveyard. After then, some more Gypsies came with our people from Greece and settled in Yıldırım and Karaağaç. The ones who came from Bulgaria settled in Gazimihal. Some other Gypsies again settled in Küçükpazar at those times. The general way of inhabiting of Gypsies in Edirne is like this. As a result, the oldest settlement of Roma is Küçükpazar. Moreover the worst place they live is one part of Küçükpazar called as Kemikçiler. I think this place is the Harlem of Edirne. You can find marijuana and heroin in this place. When living standarts are mentioned, Gazimihal is better than Kemikçiler, Karaağaç is better than Gazimihal. Kum Mahalle which is a part of Yıldırım that lies behind Meriç Primary School comes after Karaağaç. The best place of Gypsies' settlements is upper part of Yıldırım called as Yıldırım Ali Sarraf neighbourhood. This is the brief classification of Gypsy settlements in terms of quality, education, living standarts and life styles.

Şehrin her bir tarafında yok bunlar. Mesela Karaağaçta, Lozan'a kadar, Karaağaç'ta Çingene yok. Yıldırım'da yine Çingene yok. Şu anda da kirişhane dediğimiz o Roman mahallesinde o

zaman da şimdi de yok. Bu durumda ne kalıyor, Gazimihal'de Çingene yok, Osmanlı son dönem Edirnesinden bahsediyorum, o dönemin çingenesi bir tek Muradiye'nin alt kesimlerinde kalan yerlerde var. O da neden oralarda var, Osmanlının en büyük imaretlerinden yani o dönemin diyelim en büyük imaretlerinden bir tanesi Muradiye Cami'nde bunlar da fakir insanlar, işte imarethanenin etrafında yerleşmişler. Burdan şu çıkarımı yapabiliriz: Edirne'deki en eski Romanların yerleşim merkezi Muradiye'nin altında kalanıdır. Küçükpazar, evet, Küçük Pazar diye tarif edebilirsiniz. Bir yerin bir kısmında o da. Hatta ordaki mezarlığa uzun müddet "Gogo" mezarlığı denmesinin sebebi budur yani çingene mezarlığı anlamındadır o, orada bunlar oturuyorlar. Daha sonra işte bizimkilerle beraber Yunanistan'dan bir gurup Çingene geliyor bunlar Yıldırım'a ve Karaağaç'a yerleşiyor. Daha sonra Bulgaristan'dan bir gurup Çingene geliyor, Gazimihal'e yerleşiyorlar. Yine bir kısmı bu arada işte o Küçükpazar dediğimiz yere, kıyının alt kesimlerine yerleşenler var. Edirne'de Çingenelerin iskan mantığını bu şekilde yakalamak lazım. Haa, dolayısıyla burada en eski ve en yerleşik olan Romanlar Küçükpazar hatta biraz daha ileri gidiyorum en kötüsü de, en çirkini de Küçükpazar'ın bir kısmında Kemikçiler diye tabir edilen yerde oturanlardır. Burada esrar dahil eroin dahil, şu anda ben burasını Edirne'nin Harlem'i benzetiyorum, burda herşey var. Kötülük olarak derece derece söylüyorum en, burdan, bunlardan bi derece daha iyi yaşam tarzı, yaşam koşulları olanlar Gazimihal'de olanlardır, bunlardan sonra gelir. Bunlardan sonra gelenler Karaağaç'takilerdir, kademeli olarak söylüyorum, yaşam tarzı olarak, bunlardan sonra gelenler, dördüncü sırada olanlar Yıldırım'ın Kum mahalle dediğimiz o Meriç İlköğretim Okulu'nun arkasına denk gelen kısımdır. Bunlardan sonra da en nezih olanlar Yıldırım'ın üst tarafları işte, Yıldırım Ali Sarraf Mahallesi dediğimiz yerde oturanlardır. Yani bir kademelendirme yapmak gerekirse Edirne Çingene'lerinin kalite, eğitim, öğretim, hayat tarzı yaklaşım, yaşam tarzı konusundaki, benim fikirlerim bunlar, kalite taraçası bana göre kademesi bu şekilde söylenebilir.

Mustafa make a stratification of Gypsy settlements with regard to education, class position, life style, and historical evaluation. He states the oldest settlement of Gypsy/Roma is *Küçükpazar*. Although he describes *Menziliahir* as the 'Harlem of Edirne', finds *Yıldırım Ali Sarraf* more pure or clean. Hence, for him Gypsy/Roma settlements are not homogeneous in terms of these criteria. If we compare Mustafa's descriptions with other Gypsy/Roma respondents, this description coincides with them. Gypsy/Roma settlers also made a hierarchical evaluation of neighbourhoods and without asking said '*Menziliahir* or *Kıyık*' is the settlement of loser Gypsy/Roma community. If we remember my hypothesis that parallel to urbanization and modernization, Roma/Gypsy community is dispersed in urban space. Hence, heterogeneity seems within Gypsy/Roma cmmunity in terms of social, economic positions in the urban.

7.5   Perceptions of Kakava and Hıdırellez by non-Gypsies

Non-Gypsies in Edirne consider *Kakava* and *Hıdırellez* as 'enjoyable' and 'beautiful' festivals whether they participate or not in Edirne. These festivals do not separate people in Edirne. However, non-Gypsies who went to festival make picnic, walking and feast among their community, besides Gypsy/Roma celebrate these

festivals among their people. The place is *Sarayaiçi*, which is having on a large scale and flowing Tunca near it in Edirne. Although each community, Gypsies/Roma and non-Gypsies, celebrates *Hıdırellez* in same place, I asked respondents, 'Do you celebrate *Hıdırellez* within your community or together with Gypsy/Roma community?' 'How do you consider Kakava and Hıdırellez?'

As Özcan (41, M, High s.) says,

Kakava festival is the only and first festival, it's their (Gypsies) festival, and it is our festival in fact. This is a spring festival in Edirne where everyone either Roma or not can go and have fun. As far as I know there is no other festival.

Kakava Şenliği Edirne'nin tek birinci bayramı, onların bayramı, evet bizim bayramımız sayılır yani. Bu Edirne'de hep beraber, bütün yani Roman olsun olmasın farketmiyor herkesin gidip gezdiği bir bahar bayramı. Onu diyeyim yani başka da diyebileceğim bayramımız yoktur tahminimce.

Ayşe (38, F, University) notes,

We used to watch them rather than meet them. In the past, Kakava was on the road to under Gogo Cemetery. Everyone goes to meadow like a spring festival. The chief of Gypsies wear his traditional clothes and has flags and other things in his hand. The girls adorn themselves out, they play, jump and walk around. Kakava Festivals used to be like that. It changed afterwards… The municipality took them into Sarayiçi and turned it into a small fair. It wasn't like that in the past. At the azan time, they used to light fire between districts. They used to jump over big fire believing that their sins would be pardoned. After that they used to have fun till midnight, they wouldn't sleep till morning. At the morning prayer they used to go to Meriç River believing that pharaoh would come. I know that the pharaoh was the head of the gypsies whom one day left his people. He told them to wait near Tuna River or Meriç River, I'm not sure. So they went to Meriç River in order to wait for him, to show him their young daughters as a present. This tradition continued after his departure. They used to decorate their best horse, their most beautiful girls were dressed as brides and taken to riverside in order to wait for pharaoh and serve him their most beautiful girls. I once or twice saw this ceremony, but I was too young so I can't remember. There were big festivals, drums, food, drinks, and celebration…

Ya onlarla görüşme, biz onları seyretmeye gidiyorduk daha çok. Kakava eskiden Gogo mezarlığının alt yoluna giden yol üzerinde oluyordu. Orda işte herkes bir yeşilliğe çıkar, bir bahar şenliği gibi. Çeribaşının elinde şey üstünde şey geleneksel kıyafetleri, elinde bayraklar işte bilmem ne. İşte kızlar süslenip oynarlar, zıplarlar, gezerler. Öyle olurdu Kakava şenlikleri. Sonra değişti şimdi. .. Şimdi Saray içine aldı belediye başkanlığı, orda bi şeye döndürdü onu fuar gibi küçük bir panayıra dönüştürdü. Eskiden öyle değildi, daha çok mahalle arasında ateşler yakılır akşam üstü bitişine yakın, ezana yakın. Büyük büyük ateşler yakılır, üstünden atlanırdı işte günahlar afolunsun diye. Onun bitiminde, geceyarısına kadar eğlenceler olur mahalle içinde, ondan sonra hiç uyumazlar zaten o gece. Sabah namazında da su boyuna, Meriç nehrinin boyuna giderlerdi firavun gelecek diye. Firavuna.... Şimdi firavun eskiden Çingenelerin başı, bırakmış gitmiş diye biliyorum şeyi, milletini. Bekleyin gelicem. Nerde? Biz, bi şeyin boyunda, Tuna boyunda mı, bişeyin boyunda, Meriç boyunda mı bekleyin demiş, gelicem. Yani onu beklemek amacıyla, işte genç kızlarını ona göstermek, ona sunmak amacıyla hep onu görmeye giderlermiş. O gittikten sonra bu gelenek hala sürmüş. Onu beklemek amacıyla, ona genç kızlarını göstermek amacıyla zaten çok güzel, en iyi atı süslerler, en güzel kızlarını giydirirler böyle gelin gibi atın üstüne bindirirler, götürürler su boyuna. Bir iki kere

gitmiştim zamanında ama çok küçüktüm o zaman yani. Pek hayal meyal. Su boyunda çok büyük şenlikler, davullar, yemekler, içkiler hepsi, şenlik. Evet.

Ayşe talked about her knowledge about *Kakava* coinciding with Gypsy mythology.

For her, 'the pharaoh was the head of the Gypsies whom one day left his people. He told them to wait near Tuna River or Meriç River so they went to Meriç River in order to wait for him, to show him their young daughters as a present. This tradition continued after his departure'. This Phaorah narration also coincides with Karaçam's argument (Karaçam, quoted in Alpman, 1997). An old Gypsy/Roma man also talked me similar story of Phaorah, which was like Moses's story. These narrations are close to the idea of Egyptian origin of Gypsies.

On the other hand, Mustafa (44, M, University) notes,

The Gypsies have very different beliefs about Kakava and Hıdırellez. We talked about this before, I'm not sure if I can summarize it or not. The Gypsy culture is very close to Indian culture. I told you before. I went to pilgrimage in 1998. Some Indian hadjis were staying at a hotel near ours. I found it really strange. The strange thing was that their clothes' colors, behavior, their addressings, talks, their calling themselves, songs, shouts were like a different version of our Gypsies. There I was made certain that our Gypsies' root comes from India. In the same periods the Indian people enter Ganj River in order to be purified. This belief is like welcoming spring. The water is clear and when you welcome spring in water, you will have fertility, happiness that year. Every year at the same period Gypsies also enter water in Edirne which resembles Ganj. Tunca River in Edirne is like Ganj River, it is smaller than Ganj. They never enter Meriç. The Gypsies who live in Karaağaç don't enter Meriç but come to Sarayiçi to enter Tunca.

Kakava ve Hıdırellez konusunda Çingene'lerin bu konuda çok farklı bilgiler var. Şimdi Çingene'lerin Hint kültürüyle çok yakın alakası var. Ben 98'de hacca gitmiştim. Hac'da tesadüfen kaldığımız otelin yanındaki otelde Hindistanlı hacılar kalıyordu. Çok garip karşıladım. Garip derken yani bi anlamda hoşuma da gitti. Kıyafet olarak giydikleri elbisenin renkleri, renk seçimi, oturmalar, kalkmalar, hitap etmeler, konuşmalar, birini çağırma, yani o bağırtı, çağırtı, mırıltı, müzik hepsi bizim Çingene'lerin değişik bir versiyonu gibi geldi bana. Dolayısıyla baktım orada bizim Çingene'lerin Hint kökenli oldukları konusunda kesin bir kanaate sahip oldum. Şimdi yine aynı yaklaşık mevsimlerde Hindistan'da arınmak anlamında ordaki insanlar Ganj nehrine giriyor. Bu bir anlamda baharı karşılamak, işte baharı, su içersiniz, suyun berraklığı içerisinde karşılamak ve o yılı su gibi bereketli, hani suyun akışı gibi bereketli ve su gibi berrak su gibi nasıl söyliyim mutluluk içerisinde geçirmek talebinin dışavurumudur. Bu her sene işte malum takvimler arasında Çingeneler mutlaka şeye girer, o suya girer. Edirne'de de Tunca, Hindistan'dakiler Ganj nehrine giriyor. Zaten dikkat edersen mesela bak çok enteresandır. Ganj nehrine benzemek konusunda Tunca Ganj'ı andırır, Ganjın küçüğü gibidir. Meriç'te asla girmezler. Yani Karaağaç'ta oturan Çingene Meriç'te suya, o, o manada söylüyorum, girmez. O da gelir Tunca'da, Sarayiçi'nin olduğu yerde suya girer.

The last respondent focuses on the entering Tunca and washing face on Tunca by the day of *Kakava*. For him, this is also a common ritual between Indian origin of Gypsies and Edirne's Gypsies/Roma. This observation might be meaningful.

Gypsiologists also argued the origin of Gypy/Roma people. Some of the rituals look like Indian culture but narrations about Phaorah is close to *Eyptian* origin. Besides, Gypsy/Roma participants generally avoided giving knowledge about this washing ritual. They treated like a secret about this issue. I think this entering water whether *Tunca* or *Ganj* is a basic feature in Gypsy/Roma community. The other example for this ritual can be seen in the film called ''Time of the Gypsies'' (made by 1990) which is directed by Yugoslavian director Emir Kustrica. In the film, Gypsy/Roma people were entering the water and washing faces by the day of *Hıdırellez*. Although Gypsy/Roma respondents expressed *Kakava* and *Hıdırellez* were celebrated among all Gypsy/Roma community but they differ time-to-time and space-to-space. I claim relationships with 'water' is a significant ritual. If we make a relationship with *Tunca* and *Ganj,* Bourdieu's concept of ''habitus'' is useful because the custom of *Kakava* and *Hıdırellez* have a history for 4000 thousand years. The holding of ethnic festivals, the commemoration of shared past tragedy celebration of a historical personality flourish the ethnic identity, according to Barany (1998). How might we explain that this ritual occurs even today? Bourdieu might give an answer:

The dispositions and generative classificatory schemes, which are the essence of the ''habitus'', are embodied in real human beings. This embodiment appears to have three meanings. Firstly, ''habitus'' only exists in as much as it is inside the heads of actors (and the head is after all, part of the body). Bourdieu explains it:

> The habitus is what enables the institution to attain full realization: Property appropriates its owner, embodying itself in the form of a structure generating practices perfectly conforming with its logic and its demands…All the corresponding privileges and obligations and which is prolonged, strengthened and confirmed by social treatments that tend to transform instituted difference into natural distinction, produces quite real effects, durably inscribed in the body and belief. An institution, even an economy is complete and fully viable only it is durably objectified not only in things, that is in the logic, transcending individual agents of a particular field, but also in bodies, in durable dispositions to recognize and comply with the demands immanent in the field (1997:57-58).

Bourdieu's emphasize is that practical belief is not a state of mind but rather a state of the body. For Bourdieu, social reality exists in things and in minds, in fields and in ''habitus'', outside and inside of agents. The other feature of ''habitus'' is that it only exists in practices of actors and their interaction with each other and with the rest of environment, ways of moving, ways of talking, and ways of moving things. For Bourdieu, 'one has to situate oneself within real activity that is in the practical

relation to the world…. has to escape from the realism of the structure without falling back into subjectivism' (ibid, p.52). According to third feature of the ''habitus'', practical taxonomies are at the heart of the generative schemes of the ''habitus'' are rooted in the body. In this regard, taxonomies, male-female, front-back, up-down, hot-cold, are primarily sensible from the point of view of embodied person. Bourdieu gives importance to the past experiences when he is expressing the notion of ''habitus''. For him, the active presence of past experiences tend to guarantee the correctness of practices and their constancy over time, more reliably than all the formal rules and explicit norms. However, for Bourdieu, we do not directly feel the influence of these past selves precisely because they are so deeply rooted within us. They constitute the unconscious part of us. For Bourdieu, 'habitus is active presence of the whole past of which is the product…The habitus is a spontaneity without consciousness or will opposed as much to the mechanical necessity of things without history in mechanistic theories as it is to their reflexive freedom of subjects' (Bourdieu, 1997:56).

7.6   Opinions about Ingroup/Outgroup Relations by non-Gypsies

Unlike Gypsy/Roma community members, non-Gypsy people have relationships and make acquaintances with Gypsy/Roma community. They are sharing some spaces like schools, neighbourhoods, mosques, etc.

Fatma (49, F, Primary s.) notes,

There are many Gypsy people I know. We are continuously together. We went to the primary school together.... if something happens I always participate in their mevluts or prayers. We are together in Ramadan. We are side by side with them. We have no problem I mean. We go to each other, we have commercial relationship, and we have very warm neighborhood relationship. They are very clean people. You should see how their houses are clear. ...If they need something, they ask us for it…They are many Gypsies in this district. Their houses are close to ours. We have no any complaint related to them. We are very pleased with them.

Çok tanıdığım var çingenelerden. Devamlı beraberiz. Şimdi ilkokulda beraber okuduk. Mesela bir şey olsun, ben devamlı onların dualarına, mevlütlerine giderim. Hep beraberiz yani. Ramazanda, mukavelesinde, duasında hep yani onlarla iç içeyiz yani. Hiç birşeyimiz yok yani. Gelir, gideriz; alışveriş yaparız; komşuluk yaparız. Çok güzel komşuluk yapıyoruz. Çok temiz; ama bir temiz görsen evleri. Temiz insanlar yani...Bir şey lazım oldumu onlar gelip sorarlar.Bu mahallede çok var onlardan. Beraber, devamlı 2-3 ev ötede onlar başlıyor zaten. Yani hiç bir şikayetimiz yok onlardan, çok memnunuz.

Özcan (41, M, High s.) says,

We had Roman neighbors. Now there isn't any but we had neighbors at the district we used to live before. As an ordinary Edirne resident, we had no conflicts. We had good relations. But there may have been some incidences either good or bad. I also used to go to their district. I certainly used to, why shouldn't I? Anyway, I lived in there for 11 years. In fact our house was at the border but I both went to their café and district; we ate together, we had fun together, we drunk together. I mean I had many friends; we played soccer at the same team, like these anyway. There is no difference between Roma citizen and a refugee from Bulgaria or native of Edirne. I mean there are very good peaple in there, but also there are bad ones as everywhere. What I mean by saying bad is a thief, a contentious one; like those people in everywhere.

Komşularımız oldu Roman'lardan. Şimdi şu anda yok da daha önceki oturduğumuz semtte komşularımız oldu. Normal bir Edirne vatandaşı gibi hiç bi herhangi bir şeyimiz yoktu. İyi komşuluklarımız oldu. Yani herhangi bir, iyi niyetli de kötü niyetli de bazı olaylar olmuştur ama. Onların mahallelerine de giderdim. tabi, niye gitmiyeyim, giderdim. Benim zaten 11 sene içinde yaşadım. Yani Roman vatandaşlar yani sınırdı bizim evimiz gerçi ama kahvesine de gittim mahallesine de, aynı yerde de yemek yedik, aynı yerde eğlendik, içtik falan. Ne bileyim çok arkadaşlarım oldu, aynı takımda top oynadım, bunun gibi yani. Hiçbir farkda, benim için hani Roman vatandaşı ne biliyim Bulgaristan'dan gelen bir muhacir vatandaş ne bileyim Edirne'nin yerlisi, hiç bi farkı yoktu. Çok çok iyi insanlar da var içlerinde yani. Muhakkak her yerde olduğu gibi kötüler de var yani. Kötü dediğim şöyle; kavgacı olur, hırsızı olur, o tip insanlar da herkeste olduğu gibi, heryerde olduğu gibi var yani

Adem (47, M, High s.) says,

I don't have too many in Edirne but could I talk about the village. In the village of Tatarlar, there are 250 families in out village and 50 of them are Gypsy but we go to their houses and eat their food and they come to our houses too. However, we have no heterogeneous marriages with them. They go to the mosque like us. I mean there isn't any separation in café or places like this. The only the separation is marriage issue, so are they natives. They perform same job, like us they are farmers too. They have the same amount land like us; if we have ¼ acre land, so have they. As I see there is no differentiation except marriage.

Valla Edirne'den fazla yok ama köyden anlatsam... Tatarlar Köyü. Köyden, bizim köyümüz 250 hane, aşağı yukarı 50 hanesi Çingene. Ama biz onların evine gideriz, yemeğini yeriz, onlar da bize gelir. Kız alıp vermeyiz yalnız. Aynı bizler gibi camiye giderler, gelirler. Yani kahvede falan öyle ayrım yapmayız. Bi ayrım konusu kız olayında var ve bunlar da yerlidir. Aynen bizdeki kadar, bizde 100 dönüm toprak varsa onlarda da 100 dönüm toprak var. Yerli, aynen bizim yaptıklarımızı yani bu kasabaya göre değil yani köyde çiftçilik yaparlar. Yani diyeceğim böyle hiç kız olayının haricinde ayrım yapmıyoruz yani, benim gördüğüm kadarıyla.

All of the respondents mentioned how they established close relations especially in neighbourhoods with Gypsy/Roma. According to non-Gypsies, 'friendship', 'neighourhood' are so well. In this regard, the idea of 'living as mosaic' can be seen. On the other hand, last respondent emphasized the only distinction is made through marriage.

And last, Mustafa (44, M, University) notes,

I know some Gypsies. Some of them are my close friends. I was born in *Yıldırım* and nearly half of or at least one third of *Yıldırım*'s settlers are Gypsies. Of course, we have close relationships. The opposite situation is impossible. Even if you aren't from *Yıldırım* but living in Edirne; I mean you were born in Edirne, you again have close relations with Gypsies. But the ones who come from other places to Edirne can't have this kind of contact. For example,

my mother died last year. We took her body from hospital to her house. Meanwhile, a Gypsy woman who had been a friend of my mother also came for condolence. When she saw my mother, she fainted over the coffin. She used to like my mother so much. Our relationship was like that. Since I have been living in *Yıldırım* for a long time and since there are many close friends of mine among Gypsies of *Yıldırım*, I usually visit them. The other people from other districts also visit them for the same reason. Once we decided to orientate them to sportive activities. We formed district teams in Yıldırım and Gazimihal and had contact with Gypsies because of these football matches. The other people also have relations with Gypsies for different come and settle Edirne can't have these kinds of relations ant more important reason is that the Gypsies also don't intend to communicate with these strangers.

Tanıdıklarım var Çingene'lerden. Yakın olarak görüştüklerim var, özellikle ben Yıldırım doğumlu olduğum için Yıldırımın da aşağı yukarı yarıya yakını da en azından üçte biri bu vatandaşlarımızdan. Doğal olarak mutlak şekilde bir irtibat, bir ilişki söz konusu. Bunun olmaması mümkün değil zaten. Yıldırımlı olmasanız da Edirne'de yaşayan insanların, Edirneli insanların, özellikle bunun altını çiziyorum çünkü dışardan Edirne'ye gelenler bu irtibatı kurmuyor, kuramıyor; ama Edirne insanları mutlaka bunlarla bir şekilde irtibatları var. Mesela, annem geçen yıl vefat etti. Annem vefat ettiği zaman işte cenazesini hastaneden eve getirdik, bir aile ortamında biz ilgileniyoruz, görüşüyoruz, bu arada zaman zaman anneme gidip gelen bir kadıncağız vardı, bu vatandaşlarımızdandı. O da eve geldi . Annemin hastalığı zamanında da ziyarete konuşmaya geliyordu annemi. Kendi vefatı üzerine hastaneden eve getirdiğimiz zaman annemin naaşını, kadın tabutun başında bayıldı. Öylesine bir sevgisi ve saygısı vardı. Yani böyle bir irtibat söz konusu, anlamında söylüyorum... Şimdi ben uzun müddet Yıldırım'lı olduğum için ve bu Yıldırımdakilerin içerisinde görüştüğüm, konuştuğum, arkadaşım olanlar olduğu için bunlarla sohbet etmek üzere gidenlerden birisiyim. Yine diğer mahallelerde olanlar da oralardan birkaç tanıdıkları olması münasebetiyle sohbet etmek üzere gider. Yine biz bir dönem özellikle kendimize böyle bir iş çıkardık, sportif faaliyetlere bunları yönlendirdik. İşte *Yıldırım*'da, *Gazimihal*'de birkaç böyle amatör, amatör de değil de ne denir, mahalle takımı kurduk. Bu mahalle takımlarını futbol muhabbetleri için zaman zaman gittik. Bu münasebetlerle gidilir. Ben bu şekilde gittim yani. Başka sebeplerle de insanlar gider mutlaka;ama ne sebeple gittiklerini bilemiyorum ama gidenler olur, tek tük te olsa. Özellikle söylüyorum yerleşik Edirnelilerden, Edirne doğumlulardan gidenler olur. Edirne'ye dışardan gelenlerin böyle bir irtibat kurması iki bakımdan zordur: Biri Edirne'den, Edirne'ye dışardan gelenler böyle bir irtibatı kuramazlar, ikincisi bu insanlar da bakın çok önemli burası, yabancı yani dışarlıklı olanlarla böyle bir irtibat kurmazlar. Çok zorlanmadıkça, çok zorda kalmadığı müddetçe.

This respondent emphasized to contact and make relationship with Gypsy/Roma community; it is necessary to become 'native of Edirne'. If you are not native of Edirne, it is hard to make this contact, according to respondent. In general, according to reporters, 'Edirne natives who are non-Gypsy/Roma people have a close relationship in social and cultural life'. Although Gypsies/Roma tend to draw lines to 'strangers', natives are more comfortable in this kind of relationship. This attitude of non-Gypsies contradicts with Gypsy/Roma community.

7.7   An Overall Assessment of Gypsy/Roma Identity by non-Gypsies

Cornell and Hartman (1998) define ethnicity a particular way of defining not only others but also ourselves. The other's definition is also important in constructing

of identity. Although Gypsies/Roma community might be assumed as an ethnic group, which is largely by common culture, typically including language, religion or other patterns of behavior and belief; how non-Gypsies perceive and construct Gypsy/Roma identity is an important element to comprehend Gypsy/Roma people's own perception about themselves. The concept of 'the other' is very widely used in cultural theory.

Said also used the concept of ''other'' illustrating the Orient. The Orient was an entity constructed by European culture. 'Members of the Orient did not speak of themselves. They did not represent their own emotions or cultures. Rather, the Orient was filtered through the lens of European culture' (Said, quoted in Joffe, 1999:18). European culture gained strength and identity by contrasting itself to the Orient in a manner that allowed it to appear superior. However, the other is viewed in terms of two extremes: highly debased and also admirable and enviable. Hence, these extreme positions are also true for Edirne's natives when they evaluate Gypsy/Roma identity.

Özcan (41, M, High s.) notes,

> When you define a Roma you say living from hand to mouth, cheerful, merry and swarthy people. They live every moment of life. Roman's are cheerful people. They are people spending what they earn immediately. They really love when they love someone. They are good people with that respect. In other words being their neighbors is very good. If you get on well there is no problem... For me, both to say Roma or Gypsy is wrong naming. I call them Edirne people. I can call neither Gypsy nor Roma but for me Edirne resident... They are no difference from us. They are all Muslim. They are just like us. I don't know whether there is a racial difference but they are not different from us. Some of them come to the mosque to pray but some of them don't. They drink like us. As far as I know there is no difference.

> Yani Roman vatandaşları tanıtmak istedin mi önce bugün kazandığını bugün yiyen, neşeli, şen şakrak, esmer, daha ne diyeyim işte. Güncel olayları her zaman, her an yaşıyacak insanlar. Romanlar, şen insanlar, en azından bugün kazanıp bugün yiyen insanlar yani. Böyle bir kişiyi sevdiler mi de çok severler. O yönden çok iyidir, yani sevdiler mi, tuttular mı diyeyim yani o konuda takdir eder. Ne biliyim, nasıl diyeyim sana komşulukları iyi, geçindiğin sürece hiç bir sakıncalı yok....Ben Roman ve Çingene olarak adlandırmayı, ikisini de yanlış görüyorum. Ben Edirne vatandaşı olarak adlandırırım. Bence ne Çingene diyebilirim ne Roman diyebilirim. Bence Edirne vatandaşı... Bizlerden hiç bir değişiklik yok. Hepsi Müslüman insanlar. Onlar da yani bizler gibi. Ne biliyim ırk mı oluyor onların ayrılıkları, Roman vatandaşların, ne tam ayrıntısını bilemiyecem ama bizlerden hiç bir farkları yok. Camiye de gider ne bileyim namazını da kılar yani bazıları için diyorum, bazıları değil. İçkisini de içer bizim gibi, yani hiç bir değişiklik yok.Bildiğim kadarıyla hiçbir farkımız yok.

Abdullah (45, M, High s.) also notes

> They do not call themselves as Roma. In any event, it can be understood from their general behavior and attitudes that they are Roma. For that reason and since they are warm people they can interact with others very easily. I don't think that they encounter problems in that respect...

I prefer to call them as Turkish citizen. I do not absolutely call them as Gypsy, Egptian or Roma because these are the people who had contributed efforts in the establishment of Republic of Turkey. I have been in contact with Roma since I was a child. We often meet each other in weddings, ceremonies or in funerals but as you know in the era of First World War, it was written Egptian on their identity card. Now that word is not used any more. It is written as "citizen of republic of Turkey". This is a good change and I also approve. Roma are very worm people with their being vivacious, with their way of entertainment and with their relations… For me they do not give importance to money and wealth for that reason they do not have a home. I don't think that they do not have opportunities because they do not like working or they are not able to do something within Turkish people. For me it is not the reason that they can't make use of their money so they are not the owner of their homes.

Romanım diyeni, kendilerini Romanım diye tanıtmazlar. Zaten bu kişilerin genelde hal ve hareketlerinden belli olur, Roman oldukları. O sebepten dolayı sıcak kanlı oldukları için karşılaştıkları kişilerlen çok kolay diyalog kurarlar. Ben o şeyde bir sıkıntı çektiklerini sanmıyorum… Türk vatandaşı olarak adlandırmayı tercih ediyorum. Kesinlikle Çingene, Kıpti, Roman diyerekten, tercih etmiyorum. Çünkü bunlarda nihayetinde Türkiye Cumhutiyetinin Kuruluşunda bir emek vermiş kişilerdir. Romanlarla çocukluğumdan beri görüşüyorum ve bunlarla düğünlerinde, derneklerinde, cenazesi olsun devamlı gidip geliyorum yalnız biliyorsunuz Romanların Birinci Dünya Savaşı............ dönemindeyken nüfus kağıtlarında Kıpti yazılıydı, o Kıpti kelimesi kaldırıldı şimdi Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşı olarak geçiyorlar. Bu doğru bir tespitlendirme. İyi olmuş bence de. Bu Roman vatandaşların her konuda hareketlilikleri, şenlikleri gerek eğlence türünde gerekse insanlarla diyalog kurma konumunda çok sıcak kanlı.Şimdi bu kişilerin bizlerin arasındaki yaşam tarzları, bizlere bakarak çok daha fazla neşeliler. …Günlük yaşamda bunların ev bark sahibi olamayanların çoğu zaten benim gördüğüm kadarıyla günlük yaşantısından dolayı, paraya değer vermediklerinden dolayı ev bark sahibi olamadıklarına inanıyorum ben, şahsım adına, yoksa yani para kazanamadıklarını değil veyahut da Türk toplumunun içinde bir şeyler yapamadıklarından dolayı değil yani, kazandıkları parayı değerlendiremediklerinden dolayı kendi yuvalarını kuramadıklarını tahmin edebiliyorum. .

These interterviewees choose not to call them as Gypsy or Roma but from Edirne. Last respondent talks about the 'shared history' and it is related to the past shapes present self-concepts. This point refers that Edirne natives see Roma/Gypsies as part of the cultural mosaic in Edirne. They signify living as united. However, Gypsy/Roma are distinguished primarily on the basis of cultural and characteristics as well as lifestyle. In this regard, respondents are frequently cited to emphasize Gypsy/Roma identity and in praise of cherished group values such as 'hospitality', 'generosity' and 'friendship'. Roland Barthes furnishes a key to the paradox in his description of 'identification'. Firstly, the ''other'' can be trivialized, naturalized, domesticated.. As first respondent mentions, 'all of them are Muslim, as we are', here the difference is simply denied. Hence, ''otherness'' is reduced to sameness. Secondly, the other can be transformed into meaningless exotica, a pure object, a spectacle and a clown (Barthes, quoted in Hebdige, 1997:131). Barthes's this description confirms my argument. Second respondent emphasizes how Gypsy/Roma community's lifestyle is different. He considers this community as lack of achievement-oriented and saving habits. I described before this features as dominant

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society's values. Unlike non-Gypsies' perception, Gypsy-Roma people become educated, having good jobs. Life style difference is true but low education levels are not caused by their traditional life styles. This is caused by Gypsy/Roma people's lack of financial resources. They want their children to be educated in universities but their socio-economic level is limited. Hence, the hypothesis of 'education attainments among Gypsy/Roma people are low because Gypsy/Roma children lack of motivation in school as well as parents do not give importance to education' is disapproved.

Birol (36, M, High s.) notes,

I do not make discrimination between people. They are different from us in terms of color and mode of speaking since they are used to live as a whole. I mean they are not so different from me. For example I have a Gypsy neighbor. He lives apart from them. There is no difference among us. However, when I go to their district I saw the differences. Nevertheless, I think that these differences are not so great. I have a neighbor; their children also go to the school in this district. As I said, they are different where they live as a whole. At the coffeehouse they play different games, their mode of speaking, their life styles are different, their weddings are different. I estimate that recently, last 5-6 years, their standard of living came closer to ours. However, in my district due to the unemployment and shutting down of factories for the last few years, they have no work to do. So they feel hunger. They cannot pay their bills. Apart from this, I do not see differences… The manner in which they brought up is different from other people in Trakya. Since their childhood they see themselves different from us. This could be aroused from being called 'Egyptian' at their identity cards. As it was told to me, in the past, in their identity card they were called as 'Egyptian' not as Turkish citizen. I heard that still there are some old people having those identity cards. Since their elders and grandfathers transfer these old memories to their children, they feel themselves excluded from Turkish society. How American people excluded the black people, we excluded them, so they feel coldness towards us, 'whites'. However, recently, they do not have those feelings. We became very close to each other.

Valla benim insanları ayırmada herhangi bir şeyim yok yani. Onların varsa bir renklerinde farklılık var, konuşma tarzlarında. Toplu yaşadıkları için öyle yaşamaya alışmışlar. Yoksa yani gelip de mesela benim komşum var, onlardan sanki ayrı, benden hiç bir farkı yok; ama onların semtine gittiğim zaman bambaşka bir şey. Dedim ya benim gözümde bir değişiklikleri yok. Çünkü benim karşımda oturan bir komşu da var yani, aynı benim gibi. Kızları da aynı semtte okula gidiyorlar; ama toplu yaşadıkları yerlerde kendilerine özgü hareketleri var ama. Kahvede olsun, değişik oyunlar oynuyorlar, veya diyelim, konuşmaları, yaptıkları düğün alayları bambaşka insanlar.. Son zamanlarda, 5-6 yılda hayat standartlarının çoğunun bize yakın olduğunu tahmin ediyorum. Bubir kaç seneden beri işsizlik dolayısıyla işten çıkarma, fabrikalar kapandı, kendi muhitim için söylüyorum. Orda bir şeylik var, boş geziyorlar, elektrik faturalarını ödeyemiyorlar, su faturaların ödeyemiyorlar. Bütün gün kahvede oturmanın bir ezikliği var. Yani onun dışında bir şeyler olduğunu sanmıyorum... Dediğm gibi onların yetiştirilme tarztı daha küçüklükten beri bizim Trakya insanımıza göre çok değişik yani. Ufaktan beri onlar kendilerini yetiştirdiklerinde zamanla diyelim bu nüfus kağıtlarındaki Kıpti olayından da olabilir eskilere nazaran bana da anlatıldığı kadarıyla. Eskiden onların nüfus kağıtlarında Türk vatandaşı olarak yazmıyormuş. TC. Hükümeti'nin verdiği nüfus kağıdında Kıpti olarak yazıyormuş .Halen daha yaşayan insanların bazılarında olduğunu söylüyorlar yani, eskilerden, yaşlı olanlardan. Onların torunlarında olsun, şeylerinde olsun tabi yine dedeleri aktardığı için onlarda şeylik var yani. Kendilerinin Türk toplumunda dışlanmalarından dolayı , hani Amerika nasıl senelerce zencileri dışladıysa, bizim toplumumuz da senelerden beri onlar dışlamış ki böyle bir uygulama yapmış. O tür insanların yetiştirilme tarzlarında kendilerini

biraz bize, beyazlara karşı soğuk görüyorlar yani. Onun dışında son zamanlarda öyle bir niyetleri de yok zaten. Gayet kaynaşmış şekilde yaşıyoruz yani.

Adem (47, M, High s.) says,

For me, they do not like using the word of Gypsy but they have a different language. If you talk in that language if you talk sincerely, they answer you and wonder whether you are also a member of Gypsy community. If you know some words in their language and talk, they wonder; but in any way they don't tell I am Gypsy. I don't like to use this word; I think this is a bad luck for them. Roma or Gypsy I do not use either of them unless I am too much angry.

Benim gördüğüm kadarıyla biraz Çingene kelimesini kullanmak istemiyorlar. Yalnız onların dilleri, onların bir ayrı bir dilleri var., konuşuyorlar. O dilden onlara girersen, damardan girersen sana cevap veriyor, o zaman diyor ki sen de mi bizdensin diyor. Yani onların kelimelerinden bir iki kelime öğrenirsen, girersen onların damarına sen de mi bizdensin, bizden misin diyor yani, hatırlıyorum yani söylediklerini ama kesinlikle ben Çingeneyim demiyorlar yani... Valla bana sorarsan bu kelimeyi hiç kullanmak istemem ama onlarda bi alınyazısı herhalde bu Çingene kelimesi. Alınlarına vurulmuş herhalde nasıl vuruldu bilmiyorum ama bana sorarsan Roman ve Çingene bu iki kelimeyi de kıllanmam ve kullandığımı da tahmin etmiyorum çok kızdığım zamanlar haricinde.

These respondents talked about the differece of 'language' and 'color'. Hence, they justify differences in terms of natural/physical and moral hierarchies. In this regard, Gypsies/Roma are concerned as knowing Romani language, black people, on the other side more 'enjoyable' and 'friendly' and different cultural values. Besides, first respondent reported that in history, Kıbdi used to write to describe Gypsy/Roma people's nationality. Having abandoned of the word 'Kıbdi' from the identity card was a good thing for the respondent because he sees it as a 'discriminatory' thing. First respondent also indicated how Gypsy/Roma people are segregated in society. He resembled it to 'segregation of Blacks in America'. Although the second respondent says 'we are all alike' in the everyday life he uses the word of Gypsy when he is angry. This signifies segregation.

Ayşe (38, F, University) says,

They can't always express themselves easily. Since they knew us, we could easily call them as Gypsy. They wouldn't get angry with us but when someone who does not know them call as Gypsy in the same way, they get very angry. We used to call them as Gypsy in the past. Afterwards they are called as Roma. I think some sayings in other cities effected them, the other reason is the television films. We call them as Gypsy, whereas Sulukule films call them as Roma. Their difference is their living styles as my friend said. Their difference is that they live freely, their entertainment or their sorrow is felt all together with their women. I think these kind of behavior come from their traditions. The difference is not so big; I think it comes from education level. There are many educated Gypsies who are identical as us. There are many whose speaking, behaviors and life styles are the same as us… The reason for corruption of this community is that they don't have any work, they have too many children, unlike us. When children get older, they want to find jobs; they want food. Hence, Gypsies started to

steal. But our society is fed up with them now. For example, when Gypsies find a ruin, they finish off that ruin. They even take the chords away before leaving that ruin.

Her zaman kendilerini çok rahat ifade edemiyorlar. Mesela şimdi bizlere karşı değil, mesela bizleri tanıdıkları için biz Çingene olarak onlara seslenebiliyorduk. Bize kızmıyorlardı; ama dışardan tanımadıkları birisi Çingene dediği zaman kıyameti koparırlar. Biz Çingeneler olarak adlandırıyoruz önce. Yani Roman sonradan yerleşti. Zannediyorum başka diğer illerdeki söylenti, onlara da yansıdı, televizyondaki filmler olsun etken oldu. Roman toplumu oldu. O Sulukule filmleri falan Roman toplumu, ama biz Çingeneler olarak adlandırıyoruz…. Şimdi farklılıkları, yaşayışları. Yani arkadaşın dediği gibi özgür yaşamaları, kadınlı kızlı hiç farketmeden eğlencesine de acısına da hep birlikte. bizden farklılık o. Herhalde onların da kendi gelenek ve göreneklerine göre davranışları oluyor. Yani farklılık zannetmiyorum çok fazla olsun da onu eğitim seviyesine bağlıyorum. Çünkü nice Çingeneler var okumuş olup da bizden farklı olmayan çok var. Ama konuşmasıyla, ama hareketi, ama yaşayışı ile bizden hiç farkı olmayanlar da var... Yani bozulmaları şöyle oldu: iş yok, güç yok, çoluk çocuk bir tane değil bizim gibi, bir tane iki tane düşünmüyorlar bi 5-6 tane çocuk var. Ee, onlar büyüyor iş istiyor, ekmek ister, su ister, ne yapsın, iş olmayınca çalmaya çırpmaya başladılar. Ee, ama bu sefer de halk yıldı. Yani bir yıkıntı bulmasınlar, dibine dar etmeden o yıkıntının, bırakmazlar. Kirişlerini resmen söker götürürler.

This interviewee emphasized that the concept of Roma is a new thing and has came into being in the last 15-20 years. She finds television's impact on the appearing of the word of 'Roma'. Popular culture's effects are confirmed by the respondent about creating a boundary between Roma and Gypsy. Besides, interviewee's observation coincides with some of Gypsies who support the word of Gypsy and talk about recent popularity of Gypsies such as Sulukule neighbourhood on television. Respondent finds Gypsy/Roma community's lifestyle different because she finds them as more 'freedom'and more 'enjoyable'. On the other hand, she assesses their social and economic conditions. Although respondent signifies heterogeneity among Gypsy/Roma community in terms of socio-economic level, she sees them as 'losers'in the society. Criminality is caused by this position, for the respondent.

Selma (42, F, High s.) reports,

I know that Roma are not settled. I also know that they don't live in a proper order. Their social characteristics are not strong in my opinion. Their physical apperances are different. I don't think that they resemble us in terms of education, traditions, life styles... although you don't live with them it is so obvious that they don't resemble us. In my opinion, they are cheerful, compessionate. They don't have an order, they live only that day. They don't have too much culture. They are humanist. Their behavior towards other people is different from that towards themselves...I called them either Roma or Gypsy. It depends on the situation. I have not a definite calling but I try not to hurt them because of my characteristic.

Romanların yerleşik olmadıklarını biliyorum. Hatta düzenlerinin tam bir düzen içerisinde olmadığını kendimce biliyorum. Yani fazla bi sosyal şeyleri olduğunu kendimce zannetmiyorum. Yani genel görünüş biçimleri farklı. Yani bilemiyorum, pek bizlere benzediklerini zannetmiyorum. Eğitim olsun, görgü olsun, yaşama tarzları olsun. O bakımdan. Her yönden açıkçası gözle görülür bir şekilde de belli oluyor, her ne kadar içinde bulunmasanız

da. .Ha, neşeli, sevecen, kendi hayatlarında günlük yaşayan, yerleşik olmayan,yani, ne biliyim düzenli olmayan, fazla kültüre sahip olmayan; ama gene de insancıl olabilen, yani yakın, kişilerle yakın olabilen, kendi içlerinde gene ayrı da dışarıya karşı daha farklı tutumda olan insanlar olarak tanımlayabilirim… Yani, Roman ya da Çingene. O an ki durum neyse, ağzımdan ne tür çıkabiliyorsa illa şu şudur bu budur diyemem ama kırmıycak ölçüde söylemeye çalışırım yani genel yapım da o olduğu için o tarzda. Onu incitmeyecek bi şekilde söylemeye çalışırım.

Aynur (41, F, U.) also notes,

They don't call themselves as Roma but Turk. Are they Turks? In reality they are Turks, I mean they accept themselves as Turk like us but in the past they were called as Gypsies, now they are known as Roma but we call them as Gypsies. Yes, I mean Gypsies who have joined among us. I know a few of them. I think Gypsies are free people. I admire them. Well, briefly they live as they like. They have cheerful personalities, they are free; but the ones I know, maybe since they haven't been given any chance they have low living standarts.

Yani Romanım, demiyorlar. Türküm diye şey yapıyorlar. Türk mü oluyor? Onlar da Türk oluyor öyle gerçi de, yani bizden biri olarak kabul ediyorlar kendilerini; ama eskiden, Çingene olarak değerlendirilirdi, şimdi Roman olarak geçiyor yani; ama biz Çingene diyoruz… Evet, yani benim tanıdıklarım çingeneler bizler arasına karışmış insanlar. Birkaç tane öyle biliyorum... Ben Çingene'leri gayet özgür olarak değerlendiriyorum. Hayran kalıyorum. Evet, yani içinden geldikleri gibi yaşıyorlar kısaca. Neşeli insanlar, özgür insanlar; ama gördüklerim, yani bilmiyorum onlara fırsat verilmediği için belki de o düzeyde onların yaşam tarzları falan ilerletememişler gibi geliyor.

Last two interviewees perceive Gypsies/Roma community differently from their society in terms of job opportunities, education levels and most importantly lifestyle. According to interviewees, Gypsies-they preferred this word instead of Roma- are 'carefree', 'enjoyable', 'quarellsome', 'free' and 'not having an ordered life' as last second interviewee emphasized. On the other hand, they talk about Gypsies's handicaps to lacking benefits such as education, job opportunities. Besides these lacking opportunites are attibuted to Gypsies as not socially but characteristically. Hence, this issue is related to the ethnocentricism of Edirne's natives. This assessment looks like an Orientalist assessment. Jones uses the term ''cultural racism'', which refers to a devaluation of another racial or ethnic group's culturally different values and modes of behavior. Such cultural racism is reflected in beliefs that the subordinate group's problems (i.e., lower educational attainment, higher unemployment, lower socio-economic status, etc) can be attributed 'inferior' cultural characteristics. (Jones, 2002:32). Dominant group believes that 'our way is the best way', such as being more success-oriented, achievement-oriented, future-oriented, etc. Hence, this reflects in a tendency to ignore the achievements and contributions of another ethnic group in education.

Some of the non-Gypsies think opportunities are important for Gypsies to develop themselves socially and economically but others think even if these opportunities were given, Gypsies would not make use of these benefits. They eat today not thinking of tomorrow. Although, some of the Gypsies/Roma proved it, 'to live from hand to mouth', all of the Gypsies/Roma respondents think about the future on the ground that how they would handle their children' education, health and lack of opportunities. It must be emphasized that there have been stereotypes about Gypsies/Roma, though non-Gypsy respondents accept that 'we are living together in Edirne, they are not Gypsies or Roma but from Edirne'. As Jones (2002) argues stereotypes may be positive or negative but she warns us that even complimentry stereotypes are not as benign as intially appear, because they are equally exaggerated generalizations. A person who accepts seemingly positive stereotypes as factual may be readily accepting the less positive ones as well.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

In this study I wish to address a Gypsy/Roma community's identity construction with regard to both objective (education, occupation, health, social network, neighborhood) and subjective aspects (politics, religious practices, in group out group relations and perceiving Gypsy/Roma people's their own identity). That identity is produced as a social object by the two processes of subjectivation and objectivation, I aimed to understand how Gypsy/Roma people construct their own ethnic identity. Besides, I examined objective aspects of Gypsy/Roma community to what extent that affect their subjective aspects of their ethnic identity. My aim was to understand boundaries within Gypsy/Roma community itself. I also argued ethnicity and race whether these assumptions are sufficient to explain their identity.

My first finding is related to their economic conditions. Gypsy/Roma community in Edirne is settled for a long time, which leads to be benefited from new job opportunities. Parallel to urbanization and modernization, factories and small-scale firms need workers. My respondents demand a job with insurance. On the other hand, Gypsy/Roma people are often relagated to the less desirable, lower paying and less secure jobs, which create a sub-category of second-class citizens. This is the general view of job opportunities but there is no homogenity among Gypsy/Roma community. Because some Gypsy/Roma people have more access the mode of production, which creates the adoption of boundary markers. These boundaries mark the difference between us and them, then it indicates identity. The identity differentiation is made between Roma and Gypsy by only defining themselves as Roma people. The first actual marker, for Roma people, is job differentiation. In this

regard, Gypsy people are seen as even not having a job, besides their main occupation is search for paper and cans in the garbage, then collect and sell to earn money. Roma people think that Gypsies have traditional jobs, such as tinsmith, musician, basketmaker. On the other hand, Roma people feel themselves luckier than Gypsy people because they have a job whether it is low skilled or not. Hence, there is a need for identity. After the other boundary markers are drawn, the reasons of this will be argued. I should also emphasize Gypsy people are against such categorization and blame these people who draws a boundary between Gypsy and Roma.

If I do not differentiate within this community, Gypsy/Roma women usually make domestic cleanings, baby-sitter, apartment cleaning, brush maker, worker or seasonal worker and so forth. Gypsy/Roma men also perform low-skilled jobs such as, garbage collector, janitor, sewerage worker, porter, worker, and basketmaker. In addition, apart from these low skilled labours, there are artisans of Gypsy/Roma community, such as musician, iron maker and phaeton driver. According to gender differentiation regarding to employment, women are more disadventageous in the market. They are low-paid and uninsured. Factory workers of women are doing as much as a man's job, such as carrying tile. In addition, women do not feel themselves safe themselves owing to not having a continous job. I also met making 'home brooms', which are made by women. This situation can be explained in terms of 'fason production' that enterprises encourage women to work at home to compete with other firms and reach the external market standards. Under these conditions, they consider babysitting as a good job owing to its continuity. Gypsy/Roma women who are not working mentioned the importance of their husbands' permisssion. Hence, they dropped their jobs after the marriage. Women also have domestic roles in the household such as childrearing, cooking, cleaning. If mother-in-law and bride live in same household, I observed solidarity among women. On the other hand, I generally meet husbands who say the last word in the household consumption. Gypsy/Roma community generally have limited chances in the market and discrimination and segregation together contributes to their exclusion as well. Non-Gypsies verify that Gypsy/Roma community is discriminated and segregated in business and social life.

In general, respondents have flexible jobs whether they are low skilled. For example, seasonal workers are not only seen in Edirne but also in European countries. According to Sway' (1988) argument, Gypsies remain a "middleman minority" because they overcome any structural reorganization with increased diversity and adaptability. This argument is partly true for my research but my main focus is that diversity and adaptability within labor market lead to recreate Gypsy/Roma identity: Roma people who benefit from labour market and Gypsy people who make traditional Gypsy works or unemployed, garbage collectors.

Gypsy/Roma community have problems to have access to social benefits in education, health and job opportunities and they also have negative living house conditions. They have low level of education. Apart from non-educated respondents, all of them were graduated from Primary School. On the other hand, Gypsy/Roma parents want their children to continue to schools. They think good education depends on the family budget but most of the respondents think their budget is not sufficient. Hence, there is a handicap in this issue. Respondents have difficulty in reimbursement of medicine. 'Green Card' is so widespread among Gypsy/Roma community. Gypsy women usually benefit from their husband's health insurances since they do not have insurances. Health insurance is the most difficult service to benefit from. Although education levels are low and they have a job whether low skilled or not, they cannot easily pay for medicines. This problem is more valid for the ones who do not have social coverage insurance. So far residence and housing and housing, Gypsy/Roma people live in negative living conditions. Residential segregation is encountered with some neighborhoods, especially for Menziliahir Neighborhood.

The arguments of ''underclass'' and ''urban marginalization'' coincide with these results. Not only occupation, but also race, ethnicity and gender are linked together with Gypsy/Roma status as 'inferior' citizens because urban citizenship rights which manifests the right to the collective product, to participation and appropriation are implied in the right to city. Gypsy/Roma people have difficulties in reaching to these rights. Besides, The term ''ethno-class'' can be related to this study. Non-Gypsies automatically draw Gypsy/Roma people's class position as inferior and low-skilled labours. Musicians refer to Gypsy/Roma community in

Edirne. This might be true but that labour and ethnic identities are identified leads to the perception of ''ethno-class'' but it might be deceitful. There are different artisans among Gypsy/ Roma community but these stereotypes cover these jobs.

In this thesis, my second finding is that Gypsy/Roma community is closed through the relations. Social network is one of the important issues to determine the relations with non-Gypsies. Gypsy/Roma community does not want to mix with any of the members of the other communities. They do not prefer heterogeneous marriages. Marriage is seen as important association by Gypsy/Roma people because lineage, blood ties and cultural adaptation is very crucial for this community. Family is the basis of solidarity. On the similar lines, non-Gypsy community does not accept heterogeneous marriage owing to the same reasons, lineage, blood ties, etc. Both of the sides, Gypsy/Roma and non-Gypsies, generally do not tolerate the heterogeneous marriages but exceptions can be seen. Weddings, funerals, neighborhood are parts of the shared life spaces but there are lines between Gypsy/Roma community and non-Gypsies. Each community makes these things within itself.

Assessing the relations, identity and group attributes are the most important criteria, which helps to distinguish the groups from each other. Gypsy/Roma respondents define people out of their community as 'strangers'. They are not very harmonious with other communities in social relations. They feel themselves as 'subordinate' in the relations with non-Gypsies. As I explained through marriage is 'closed' but it is also valid in neighborhood. Non-Gypsies also accept that major relationship with Gypsy/Roma occurs in business life but of course there are exceptions in terms of getting acquaintances from the neighbours. Both of the sides have well but not close relations. Neighborhoods are not strictly determined in terms of communities but Gypsy settlements are usually known by Edirne settlers, such as *Menziliahir* or *Kıyık* and *Gazimihal*. Gypsy/Roma community usually inhabit in definite neighborhoods because of economic reasons. Their houses belong to them and they cannot afford to rent houses in central neighbourhoods. Besides, they give importance to 'solidarity' and 'division of labour', 'friendship', then 'group affinity' is also important. They live together in definite neighborhoods because of not only economic but also social reasons.

So far the subjective aspects of Gypsy/Roma identity have been focused on and I found some of the parts harmonious with non-Gypsies but it must be emphasized that they are aware of their self-identity and they try to maintain it. Starting with political identity, the general attitude of Gypsy/Roma people towards politics is negative sense. They do not feel any affinity with politics as well as assessing politicians as deceitful and mentioning not seeing any favor from political parties. There is no definite political attitude towards parties whether left wing or right wing. The institutional form is accepted as the one of the most significant aspects of ethnic mobilization. Unlike political Gypsy/Roma organizations in Europe, in Edirne Gypsy/Roma respondents have no certain attitude towards establishing a Romani self-organization to be established in terms of economic, political, cultural issues. In general, Gypsy/Roma people are not organized and they lack will. In addition, my respondents do not accept having traditional leader of Çeribaşı. In this research, most Gypsy/Roma are suspicious of authority and hierarchies imposed upon them. On the other hand, they want to live as harmonious with other communities without segregation. They see themselves as a part of the 'mosaic' in the nation. Besides, non-Gypsies also accept this mosaic but as I said, there are lines in business, social, cultural life.

Gypsy/Roma community define themselves as Muslim in terms of religious practices. To live in the harmony in a nation, they take nation's religion as can be seen the examples in world. *Kakava* and *Hıdırellez* are important festivals for Gypsy/Roma community. These festivals are not valid in Edirne, but also can be seen in other cities 5 and 6 May. Their celebration varies to space-to-space and time-to-time. They have many rituals for these festivals. Non-Gypsies also participate in *Kakava* and *Hıdırellez* but it is known to belong to Gypsy/Roma community. Hence, Gypsy/Roma ethnic identity is sustained, preserved and strengthened through these ethnic festivals.

My third finding in this thesis is that Gypsy or Roma identity are seemed to exist alongside each other but the different attributes by Gypsy/Roma community about themselves and about each other varies depending on the nature of jobs, the neighborhoods, the use of Romani language. I expressed job differentiation in terms of identity. In this regard, people who accept themselves 'Roma' perceive 'Gypsy'

identity as 'polluting', 'making unclean jobs' (such as collecting paper and bottle and sell them), 'having a leadership'. On the other hand, the others who accept their identity as 'Gypsy' think that 'Roma' is mentioning to Gypsies in a polite manner. In this regard, popular culture such as TV films, popularity of Sulukule made 'Roma' more acceptable status. Popular culture can be empowering to subordinate and resistant to dominant understandings of the world as Storey (1996) argues. In this regard, there is a confirming idea of the interests of dominant groups. For the ones defending 'Gypsy' identity, knowing Romani language is not a necessary feature to become a Gypsy. In addition, this language is being forgotten among this community because of lack of literature and alphabet. In this perception, although Roma is taken to be the ''other'' of non-Gypsies, Gypsy identity is accepted as the ''other'' of even Roma. Gypsy identity is ''stranger'' in a Simmelian sense. The ''stranger'' is always distrusted by the host society. However, Simmel developed the concept of stranger for unsettled persons, such as traders. In this research, my respondents settle in urban and recreate a new identity as Roma instead of Gypsy. Nomadism is seen as polluting issue and they define their identity as settled Roma. Besides, Rittserberger's study (2003) about how Alamancı identity transforms and regains Alevi identity refers to this study. It must be emphasized that there is no ethnic difference between Roma and Gypsy identities. The self is a cultural artifact. Hence, calling him/herself as a Gypsy or Roma refers to a social fact and self-ascription might be decisive in establishing specific Gypsy/Roma identity.

The reasons of a new identity lead to some boundaries. These boundaries overlap with Barth's argument. In this regard, boundaries are based on a perception which distinguishes us/them, self/other. Regarding the issue of relativism, these questions should be asked: "Whose boundaries are they?" and "Which boundaries are marked?" The first criterion is developed in terms of job differentiation. According to Roma people's defence, they exercise control of assets. Besides, Roma people do not accept knowing Romani language, having a Çeribaşı, and being nomad. Roma people also attribute definite neighbourhoods to Gypsies. In this regard, Roma people reject traditional Gypsy/Roma community's features. The first reason is related to considering being Gypsy as a polluting ethnic identity. This level is assessed within personal relations, neighbourhood, and business life in terms of

Barth's micro level argument. Hence, drawing a boundary is used as a strafication and getting rid of stigma. Because Roma people call the word of Gypsy as an ethnic stigma. In macro level, urbanization and popular culture are effective in creating these boundaries. When we examine world literature is limited with migrants about benefitting from urban opportunites. In this regard, literature emphasizes migrants' disadvantage position to what extent access to city's opportunities. Although Gypsies/Roma are not migrants and are settled citizens, they have difficulty in reaching social benefits. The effect of this difficulty overlaps with Bradley's multiple identities argument. Because class differences, ethnic identity, gender roles are together contibute to the differentiation of Gypsy/Roma ethnic identity within itself.

Non-Gypsies in Edirne perceive Gypsy/Roma identity like Orientalist view. For them, Gypsy/Roma community is highly debased and admirable and enviable. Firstly, Gypsy/Roma identity can be trivialized, naturalized, domesticated. In this regard, the idea is 'we are all alike'. Gypsy/Roma people are seen as Muslim, people of shared history, neighbors. On the other hand, the major border is drawn because of different life styles; culture such as lack of achievement and saving habit are attributed to Gypsy/Roma people. Non-Gypsies attribute that Gypsy/Roma community has difficulty in reaching to benefits such as education, skilled labour, reimbursement of medicine and so forth to Gypsy/Roma community as not socially but characteristically. Lower educational attainment, higher unemployment, lower socioeconomic status can be attributed inferior cultural characteristics. Jones' term ''cultural racism'' is valid in this situation. Non-Gypsies believe that the best way is becoming more success oriented, achievement oriented, saving habits, etc. Then, non-Gypsies have stereotypes about Gypsy/Roma community though accept living in a mosaic.

This study supports only parts of the ethnicity literature including Primordialist and Circumstantialist approaches. On the one hand, Gypsy/Roma community tries to maintain their primordial attachment. In this regard, descent, language, ethnic festivals and most important self-awaring of their identity are part of their ethnic identity. On the other hand, their identities are not static as Primordialists argue. Their relations with out-groups are ongoing, dynamic and change over the course of time with regard to spreading urbanization and industrialization. The

arguments of race are not directly related to this research. Because the concept of race is a way of describing others of making clear that they are not us, as Cornell and Hartman argue. Besides, power is almost invariably an aspect of race. I met with self-awaraness of ethnic identity among Gypsy/Roma community. Although non-Gypsies have stereotypes about Gypsies/Roma, they have not got idea about their race but their stereotypes are related to 'cultural racism' and 'ethnocentisim'. So far when approaches in ethnicity cannot explain self-ascription and shifting identities, it is very useful to mention Symbolic Interactionist approach. This theory emphasizes the interactive process in the 'mirror theory of identity', which argues that we are what others reflections make us. Hence, my argument is the word of 'Roma'is new thing in the society. Popular films, TV, new job opportunities with industrilization affected the need for an identity drawing boundaries from Gypsy. Self-awaraness of ethnic identity, ethnic festivals such as Kakava and Hıdırellez are fixed. On the other hand, rejecting the traditional leader of Çeribaşı, not knowing Romani language show shifting ethnic identity according to circumstances.

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QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE SEMI STRUCTURED IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

DEMOGRAPHIC

- Gender:
- Age:
- Place of Birth:
- Marital Status:
- Number of children:
- The name of the neighborhood:
- Family Diagram:

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

- Do you have a job?[16]
- If yes, what is your occupation? What do you do in your job?
- How did you find this job?
- Do you have any vocational education or a certificate related to your recent job?
- How much do you earn from this job?
- Do you think your salary is sufficient for subsistance?
- How many hours do you work?
- Do you work for yourself or for another person?

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[16] These questions are asked both wife and husbands. If the questions are asked only wives or only husbands, these questions are marked according to whom are asked.

- Are you satisfied with your job?

- If you want to work for yourself, with whom would you like to work or set up a work? Why?

- Did you encounter with any difficulty or disagreement in your recent job?

- Did you work in other jobs before (as a list; your first job, second job...)?

- If yes, what were they? How did you find your previous jobs?

- Did you work for yourself or for another person?

- Why did you leave these jobs?

- How much was your salary?

- Apart from your recent job, do you also do any salary work in your house? (Female)

- If yes, what are you doing and where did you learn it? (Female)

- How much money do you earn from these house works? (Female)

- Why did you feel necessity to work in home? (Female)

- Have you ever applied a job and been rejected? According to you, what was the reason for being rejected?

- Have you experienced any difficulties in your work life due to being a Gypsy/Roma?

- Do you have social security, insurance and health security?

  If yes, like what and from where? Is it related with your job?

  If no, how did you get security?

- If you do not have security, what do you do when you or your children got sick?

LIVING CONDITIONS (Questions For Females)

- Which persons contribute to your family budget?

- Do you think the total money obtained is sufficient for monthly living?

- Do the elder family members have any contribution to the family budget?

- If no, is it you looking after them?

- Is there any person, from outside of your family, who provides financial support?

- What belongings (television, video, refrigerator, washing machine, telephone, car) do you have in your house?

- Could you describe me your house?

  a- How many rooms are there in your house?
  b- How is the heating system?

    c- How is the water supply situation?
    d- How is the sewer system? Is it bound to a sewer network or not?
    e- Where is the toilet?
    f- Have you got electricity?

- Are you satisfied with your house?

LIVING CONDITION (Questions For Males)

- Do you live in a rented house or in your own house?

- If it is rented, how much do you pay for it?

- If it were not a rented house, how much would such a house be rented?

- What kind of house have you got? (flat, gecekondu, etc.)

- Do you have any real estate apart from your house? If yes, what is the feature and amount of it? (land, field, animal, etc.)

EDUCATION

- What is your education level?

- Are you satisfied with your education level?

- What do you think about education?

- What do you expect from education?

- What is the education level of your children?

- If your children are attending to school, do they encounter with problems at school?

- How often do your children attend to school?

- According to you, what is the quality of the education given to your children? Are they happy? Aren't they? What are the causes for both of them?

- Do you want any change in education system?

- What do you expect from future for your children? Why? (Is it money or statue or benefit for society? (Education and Work)

    a- Educational expectation .....(Girl)
    b- Vocational expectation.....(Girl)

    a- Educational expectation .....(Boy)
    b- Vocational expectation.....(Boy)

- Do your children have the opportunity to realize these expectations? If yes, how will that be possible? If no, why?

HEALTH

- Are you able to provide the necessities like fresh drinking water, electricity?

- How do you provide drinking water?

- Have you any illness within the family? What kinds of illnesses do you have?

- What do you do when you get ill?

- Are you able to get utilized from health services?

- Do you go to the doctor? If yes, which health institution do you go? How do you reach to the doctor?

- Do you get on well with doctors? What do you think about the doctors' attitude?

- Can you buy medicine?

- Did you have your children inoculated?

- Is there anyone that is very sick and need for a doctor within the family?

- How does your family affect when you get ill?

- How much would it cost when someone got ill?

- Where did you give birth to your children?

- Did you give birth to your children willingly?

- Do you use any methods for birth control?

- Did anyone pass away in your family? If yes, what was the reason and how this death affected the family living?

FAMILY RELATIONS (For Female)

- How did you meet with your husband?

- Did you meet him by yourself?

- How old were you when you got married?

- Is it necessary to get permission from your family for marriage? What kinds of things should be done in order to get married?

- What kind of a husband/wife would you like your children to choose?

- To whom, would you let your your daughter to marry? (This question is asked both for Female and Male)

- What kind of a wife would you like for your son? (This question is asked both for Female and Male)

- How would you evaluate his or her marriage with someone from different opinion, tradition or belief?

- How would you react to your relatives marrying to a person, who have different opinions, customs and beliefs?

- Who says the last word in the house?

- How is the sharing of house works (food, dishes, laundary) in the house?

- Who looks after the elders, children and ill persons within the family?

- Do the children obey the words of their mother or father?

- Who is the authority to spend the earned income in home?

- What are the most important problems in your family?

NEIGBOURHOOD AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

- What is the reason for you to settle in Edirne? How many years have you been settling in Edirne?

- Why have you settled in that neighbourhood?

- Are there different communities in your neighbourhood? How is your relationship with non-Gypsies? Does any disagreement seem with non-Gypsies?

- What are their differences and similarities according to your community?

- How is attitude of non-Gypsies living in Edirne towards you?

- What is your expectation from them?

- How do you evaluate strangers' settling in your neighborhood?

- Do you have any social activities, works, assistantships held in common among your neighbours?

- In what extend do the women neighbours help one another? Do you ask your neighbors for help when you get into trouble?

- Do the women in your neighborhood come together?

  If yes:

    a) Where do they gather?
    b) What do they do?
    c) Do they come together regularly?

- If you have relatives in Edirne, which neighborhood do they settle down?

- Do you get support from your relatives?

- Are you satisfied with your neighborhood?

- Is there any neighborhood you want to settle in Edirne, apart from your actual neighborhood?

- How is your relation with the Roma women settling in other neighborhoods?

- Are there any persons that you cannot get on well within your community? Why?

- Is there any conflict in your neighborhood? If yes, what is the reason?

POLITICAL RELATIONS

- Do you have any Çeribaşı? How many do you have?

- Do you know how Çeribaşı is selected?

- Do you know him? How is your relation with Çeribaşı?

- If Çeribaşı has duties, what are they?

- Does the Çeribaşı represent Gypsy/Roma people? Are the decisions taken by Çeribaşı binding Gypsy/Roma community?

- Are you interested in politics? How do you show your concern for politics? (TV, conversations, newspaper, or to go to political parties and associations)

- Do you vote? Does the Çeribaşı have any effect?

- Are you a member of a club, union, political party etc.? How often do you attend? (Male)

- 'Gypsy Culture Search and Endurance Association' is going to be established. What do you think about this political association? (Male)

- Which political party do you vote? Do you generally vote to same political party? Have you ever seen any favor from the party that you vote for?

- Do you think that Gypsy/Roma community is being represented in the parliament, municipality, and local political organizations-Mukhtarlık? Why?

- What do you think about the state? According to you what kinds of duties should it has? What do you expect from the state?

INSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS

- Do you have any relations with the institutions that provide job, education and health? (Education, Social Associations, Hospital, Mother and Child Care Associations, Municipality, Court, Local Health Organization)

- Does the community you belong have any problems with legal institutions? If it does so, what kinds of problems happen? Why? Have you ever been to police station or court due to a crime?

- Do you know any acquaintances got into trouble wih police or court?

DEFINING IDENTITY

- Are you able to introduce yourself as Gypsy/Roma to the ones you met for the first time?

- Are there any social activities like entertainment, festival held in common with non-Gypsies?

- Do you have festivals or bairams special to your community?

- What do you do in your wedding ceremonies and funerals? What is the division of labor in these ceremonies?

- Are there any differences between the old and the new wedding and funerals in terms of the execution of these activities?

- Do you have any idea about how those rituals are being held in non-Gypsies? Do you have any information about the differences and similarities? Can you give examples?

- Is there any community that you feel belong to? Which one and why? What are the features of the community you belong to? Can you describe the most important ones?

- How can you describe a person belonging to your community? What are the most important features?

- Do you speak any other languages except for Turkish?

- What do you do in your spare time?

- What do you expect from the future?

- What is your religion? Are you commited to your religious duties?

- There are two names that are given to your society, one of them is Gypsy and the other is Roma. Which name would you prefer? Why?

QUESTIONS FOR NON-GYPSIES

DEMOGRAPHIC

- Age:

- Gender:

- Place of Birth:

- Education Status:

- How many years have you been living in Edirne:

SOCIAL RELATIONS

- It is known that there is a great many of Gypsy/Roma living in Edirne. Do you have any acquaintances among Gypsy/Roma community?

- If yes,

    a- How did you meet them?

    b- Do you work together? Do you help one another?

- If no,

  Have not you been to any social relation with Gypsy/Roma people so far?

- Could you give information about the education and job experience of Gypsy/Roma people?

- Could you give information about which jobs Gypsies living in Edirne generally perform?

- Do you know Gypsy/Roma neighborhoods in Edirne?

- Do you go to Gypsy/Roma neighborhoods?

- Do Gypsy/Roma people come to your neighborhood?

- Are there any Gypsy/Roma people in your neighborhood? If yes, how is your relationship with them?

- What are the differences and similarities between your community and Gypsy/Roma community?

POLITICAL RELATIONS

- Do you have any idea about whether Çeribaşı has an importance for Gypsy/Roma people?

- Do you know Çeribaşı?

- Have you ever observed that Gypsy/Roma people have any problems with legal institutions?

IDENTITY

- Do you think whether they can introduce themselves as a Gypsy/Roma in public?

- Do you have any social activities like entertainment, festivals and bairams held in common?

- What do you know about Kakava and Hıdırellez? Have you ever joined?

- Do you have any idea about how the Gypsy/Roma wedding ceremonies and funerals are held? What are the differences and similarities between yours and Gypsies?

- How can you describe a person from Gypsy/Roma community?

- Which name do you prefer to call this community as Gypsy or Roma? Why?

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