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The forced dislocation of gypsy people from the town of Bayramic, Canakkale in 1970

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THE FORCED DISLOCATION OF GYPSY PEOPLE FROM THE TOWN OF BAYRAMIC, CANAKKALE IN 1970

GÜL ÖZATEŞLER

LEIDEN UNIVERSITY

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THE FORCED DISLOCATION OF GYPSY PEOPLE FROM THE TOWN OF BAYRAMIC, CANAKKALE IN 1970

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An Abstract of the Dissertation of Gül Özateşler, for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History to be taken 2011

Title: The Forced Dislocation of Gypsy People from the Town of Bayramiç, Çanakkale in 1970

This oral project draws upon Gypsies' and non-Gypsies' narratives of forced dislocation from the town of Bayramic in 1970 with a focus on the recruitment of categories of Gypsyness and Turkishness. It reveals different perspectives and memory constructions along with the positions taken in the attacks and the socioeconomic structure. It displays how and why the social categories functioned by underlining the flexibility of the category of Gypsyness and Turkishness in the town's context. It discloses how ethnic and other identities represented in cultural spheres can be employed to conceal socio-economic and political inequalities. Thus, the general constitutions of the aforementioned categories in relation to citizenship, nationalism, class and ethnicity in Turkey with an urge for a critical thinking on the logic of national historiography through a particular case and its reflections on ordinary people's lives are presented. Our particular case will also exemplify how different categories work in relation to national identity, discourse and practices. How nationalism takes different forms and identifications, how and/or when Turkishness is realized and practiced differently, how Gypsyness is constructed in relation to dominant perceptions especially on Turkishness are among the issues of this research.

Atatürk İlke ve Inkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü'nde Doktora derecesi
için Gül Özateşler tarafından teslim edilen tezin özeti

Başlık: 1970'te Çingenelerin Çanakkale-Bayramiç Kasabasından Zorla Çıkarılışı

Bu sözlü tarih projesi, Çingene olan ve olmayan kasabalıların 1970 yılında Çingenelerin Çanakkale'nin Bayramiç kasabasından zorla çıkarılışı üzerinden Çingenelik ve Türklük kategorilerine bağlantılı olarak kurdukları anlatılarına dayanmaktadır. Bu şekilde, sosyoekonomik yapı ve saldırılarda alınan pozisyonlarla beraber farklı perspektifleri ve bellek yapılandırmalarını açığa çıkarmaktadır. Bu çalışma, kasabanın kendi bağlamında Türklük ve Çingenelik kategorilerinin esnekliğine odaklanarak toplumsal kategorilerin nasıl ve neden işlerlik kazandığını göstermeyi hedeflemektedir. Bu tez, kültürel alanda sunulan etnik ve diğer kategorilerin sosyoekonomik ve politik eşitsizlikleri örtmek için nasıl kullanılabilindiğini de açığa çıkarmaktadır. Bu yönde, farklı toplulukların anlatılarıyla bahsi geçen kategorilerin genel yapılandırılmaları arasındaki bağlantıları Türkiye'deki milliyetçilik, vatandaşlık, sınıf ve etnisite ile ilişkili olarak sunacağım. Milliyetçiliğin nasıl farklı biçimler ve özdeşimler edindiği, Türklüğün nasıl ve/veya ne zaman farklı şekilde anlaşılıp farklı şekilde pratik edildiği, Çingeneliğin özellikle Türklük üzerine olan baskın algılamalara bağlantılı olarak nasıl kurulduğu bu çalışmanın meseleleri dahilindedir.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

On January 5, 2010, a group of people attacked Gypsies in the Turkish town of Selendi in Manisa.[1] They stoned their houses, damaged their vehicles and injured three of them. The reasons for the attacks beyond the momentous outburst were obscure. Apart from individual conflicts, how and why the local townspeople were organized and attacked the Gypsies was unclear. How do individual fights escalate into group conflicts and lead to pogrom-like situations? What motivated people involved in the attacks? How do our ways of socialization enable such expressions of violence? To answer these questions, we have to examine how and why the attacks mobilized the discontent through ethnic categories that made a crucial difference between Gypsies and non-Gypsies. To explain this type of attack, we must grasp not only the socio-economic context of the moment, but also the way the category of Gypsyness has been constructed over time.

This recent case occurred when I was already working on my research on the forced dislocation of Gypsy people from another town in 1970. The momentous effect, the specific dynamics and the local contexts of the two cases were very different. However, the social construction of Gypsyness and socio-economic worlds of these towns reveal interesting similarities. The attacks in Manisa reflected the ongoing strength of this construction, notwithstanding the local specificities. The reoccurrence of a similarly articulated attack points at the persistence of the stigmatization of Gypsyness. This similarity at a deeper structural level shows the value of my case study, which questions the role of similar categories in society and their mobilization during violent

[1] Radikal, 06 January 2010.

attacks. To study and understand such events, it is necessary to combine theoretical perspectives on exclusionary violence and the social construction of categories with a concrete analysis of local configurations. The term 'exclusionary violence' is taken from Bergmann and refers to the multidimensionality of the attacks.[2] I believe the term is much more satisfactory than the ethnic violence approach that does not problematize the ethnicity as such and fails to take other dynamics into account. A similar approach has been applied successfully by Jan Gross, who analyzed pogrom-like violence against Jews by their neighbors in Jedwabne, a town in Poland.[3] In his work, he meticulously analyzes the dynamics that at work and thus contributes enormously to our insight in the way pogroms start and evolve. He, however, does not explicitly theorize beyond his case study. This dissertation, which owes a great deal to the work of Gross, has the aims to frame the case study more in an explanatory theoretical framework.

The case that is central to my study concerns the forced dislocation of Gypsy people from the town of Bayramic, Canakkale in 1970 and enables us to apply theoretical tools to a concrete case study. The town is my mother's home-town and where my close relatives settled until 2001 when my grandmother passed away. In analyzing this case, the local dynamics, local discourses and constructions required study. This particular world, however, took its shape in relation to more general categories and hierarchies. The cognitive world of the townspeople was deeply influenced by categories of Gypsyness and Turkishness around the forced dislocation. Therefore, the study analyzes how such categories were applied in the local context.

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[2] With slight differences, my multidimensional approach to analyze the case is thus similar to Bergmann. See Werner Bergmann, "Exclusionary Riots: Some Theoretical Considerations," in *Exclusionary Violence*, edited by Christhard Hoffmann, Werner Bergmann and Helmut Walser Smith (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2002), pp. 161-185.

[3] Jan T. Gross, *Neighbours: The Destrcution of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland, 1941* (London: Arrow Books, 2003).

In the town of Bayramic there were different subcategories of Gypsies. At the time, the main ones[4] were local Gypsies and *muhacirs*,[5] or immigrants. Muhacir Gypsies were those who moved into the town in the 1920s with the population exchange from Greece. The local ones were those who had already been in the town when the muhacirs came. They mainly followed professions that were considered traditionally Gypsy, such as musicians and blacksmiths. The people who were called muhacir Gypsies in the town, on the other hand, started working as porters, drivers and petty workers.

What basically happened in the town was the mobilization of certain groups of people to attack the Gypsies: stoning their houses, beating some of them and eventually causing them to leave the town. Powerful figures in the transportation sector took the lead, including some low and middle class townspeople and villagers. It was the time when urbanization was intensifying in the town while the migration from the countryside to the city was on the rise. The changes also had their impacts on the development of highway transportation that was pivotal for conducting business with the urban centers. The transportation business was especially essential for the trade of the wood from the forests into the town, where no other industry was available.

In the beginning, the driving business was not very popular among non-Gypsies, since the mountain roads were very dangerous. It was therefore the sector in which some muhacirs stepped in and built a reputation of outstanding drivers. By the 1960s, the overall highway transportation and forestry had developed and the number of drivers and trucks in the town had increased. The conflict in 1970 occurred out of a truck partnership between a Turkish ruffian and his former best friend, a muhacir Gypsy. It immediately triggered rumors of immoral acts by the latter's brothers, who were accused

[4] *Sepetcis* (basket weavers), who recently settled in the town, were not among these groups at the time.

[5] The term refers to Muslim immigrants who formerly lived in the Ottoman Empire and were accepted as refugees by the Turkish Republic. In the town, it is used for the Gypsies who came from Greece in the period of the population exchange in the 1920s.

of making passes at Turkish girls. It did not take a lot to create a Gypsy threat in the town ranging from stories about their violent attitudes and immoral behavior to unfair competition in the markets. The first attack targeted the muhacir families, but the second one after a few weeks extended to the people who were known as local Gypsies. While the discontent had started as a "Drivers' Fight", it soon turned into a full-scale Gypsy hunt. According to the town's attorney at the time, some three thousand people from the town center and the surrounding villages stoned the Gypsy houses and forced them to leave the town. In the second attack, the attorney of the town who tried to stop the crowd was also beaten up. Most of the Gypsies left the town for at least several months, and some never returned. They struggled to survive in other towns and cities, while some villagers and townspeople took over their professions. Many local Gypsies came back, while most muhacirs tried to find their livings outside of the town.

What I mainly explore is why and how these violent attacks occurred, what dynamics constituted the relationship between the people in the town in relation to the categories of Turkishness and Gypsyness, how these categories have been employed in their relationships in different contexts and finally how people remember and represent their relationships and experiences. My aim is to display how and why the social categories functioned by focusing on the flexibility of the category of Gypsyness and Turkishness in the town's context. It reveals how ethnic and other identities represented in cultural spheres were employed to conceal socio-economic and political inequalities. In this study, the categories as instruments in ordering our worlds will not be taken as a given, but analyzed as flexible social constructions that could be reformed according to relations and contexts that changed through time. Special attention will be paid to the

phenomenon of violence that will be conceived as a rule-making phenomenon that is used for regulating power relations and boundaries accordingly.[6]

In our case, violence established not only the relation between the Gypsies and non-Gypsies but also the relations within these communities. During my fieldwork, many townspeople were still scared of talking negatively about the perpetrators and almost all used confusing and contradicting narratives ranging from their personal experiences to dominant discourses. The violence that was experienced in the town threatened not only the existence of the Gypsies, but also other people's relations' with the Gypsies. It had severe repercussions for the way townspeople thought about Gypsies, but also for the room to interact with them beyond Gypsyness. At the time of the attacks many people felt desperate and impotent. The narratives of the protectors, the ongoing silence of the townspeople, the hesitations in narratives, the narratives of witnesses and the existence of secrets also reveal the effects of the attacks not only on the Gypsies' but also on the non-Gypsies' own positions in the town. Furthermore, I will discuss the role of the state and state officials as well as state discourse to understand the use of violence by the townspeople.

In analyzing the forced dislocation and exclusionary violence, I will use three main dimensions: 1) the socioeconomic context; 2) the historical and social construction of relevant categories; and 3) the position of the relevant actors. The theoretical angles of Bergmann and Van Arkel with regard to anti-Semitic violence are helpful for our analysis. Bergmann's approach, with its focus on power mechanisms and social control in such violent cases, basically draws upon the usage of violence when especially the perpetrators perceive a negative change in power relations. In such cases, violence is generated in order to control the power means in society. Constructing a threat in such an environment intensifies the exclusion and motivates the perpetrators. Additionally,

[6] Walter Benjamin, "The Storyteller," in *Illuminations*, edited by Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Boks, 1969).

Van Arkel stresses the functionality of a stigma and the importance of a social distance between the majority and the minority. His study of European anti-Semitism shows how a historical stigma can become functional in interplay with the current power relations and how the terrorization mechanism (which forces people to at least passively support discrimination and outright violence) leads to the redefinition of group boundaries. All three conditions together (a functional stigma, social distance and terrorization) create the conditions for collective violence. Thus, in order to understand the Gypsy hunt in 1970 we need to study both the specific context of the attacks, including the roles of particular actors, and the historical construction of the Gypsy category.

First, the local context of the violent attacks is important. We need to know more about the socio-economic situation in which the people were mobilized against the Gypsies at that particular moment. Why it happened at that particular moment will be one of our questions. The specific historical context of the town in relation to the wider context of the country will help us to comprehend the reasons for the collective violence and how categories became functional. The socio-economic transformation that the country went through and how it influenced the town, especially due to rapid urbanization will prove to be important. In that period, the town experienced a boom in the transportation sector, which together with a transformation of the social relations in the town is crucial to understand what was going on in our own case. It was a time during which power relations were changing and new opportunities were rising due to which some people were gaining and others were losing their previous status and power. Why did the people who were called Muhacir Gypsies attract particular attention? This question starts in this first dimension, but leads us to our second dimension in the analysis.

While the first dimension looks at the effects of socio-economic transformation on the social relations and categories, the second focuses on the historical background of

these relations and categories in the local context.[7] In this light, the people who were called Gypsies were not random targets of the violence. There had been disagreements over a truck in this period when the driving business and transportation became profitable and prestigious. In addition to this, it was also a time when more villagers were searching for jobs in the town. These newcomers mostly lacked the capital to start their own businesses[8] and were dependent on low or unskilled labor in the town's context. An easy way to enter the urban labor market was through the service sector, in which most muhacir Gypsies were active. Even relatively low-earning jobs, such as shoe polishing, would be a good start for someone who wanted to start a new life in the town. Thus, the muhacir Gypsies were holding positions that had come into demand. This is essential to understand social relations in the first dimension. However, this in itself still does not explain why the Gypsies were targeted. That is why we have to look at the social construction of Gypsyness as a category and the historical stigma attached, which takes us to the second dimension.

The construction of Gypsyness in the local context had its own particularities, but it also interplayed with the perceptions, stereotypes, stigmas, and discrimination of Gypsyness at the national level. The construction of the Gypsy threat did not occur out of the blue, but was deeply rooted in the historical experience that goes back to Ottoman times. Although the townspeople had other ways of relating to one another beyond these categories, when a certain type of competition or conflict arose, the Gypsy stigma was easily activated. The "master status"[9] that Gypsyness had acquired was fueled and

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[7] For a good analysis of the interplay between these two, see Dik Van Arkel, "The Growth of the Anti-Jewish Stereotype: An Attempt at Hypothetical-Deductive Method of Historical Research," *International Review of Social History* 30 (1985), pp. 270-306.

[8] Some of the wealthy villager had already come to the town to benefit from socio-economic advantages, such as a more vivid public life, economic gains and education for their children.

[9] Everett Cherrington Hughes, "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status," *The American Journal of Sociology* 50, no. 5 (March 1945), pp. 353-359. Hughes describes how some statuses in our societies are

maintained by the social distance between Gypsies and non-Gypsies. This can be characterized as "labeled interaction"[10], which was based on the existing hierarchized and limited relations between Gypsies and the rest of the local society. The Gypsy category had been used historically to maintain this status quo. At the same time, however, as a reference point, it could fade in day-to-day contacts. Thus, the effect of the category depended on the context. Some people regarded the process as dangerous, because the group boundaries were blurring. Alba and Nee studied the process of assimilation in the United States and show how boundaries between ethnic groups can change over time. They differentiate between boundary crossing, boundary blurring and boundary shifting. Crossing happens at the individual level, whereas blurring refers to the situation in which ethnic differences between groups become less clear and reflect the ambiguous state of group boundaries. Boundary shifting, finally, creates a new situation in which a former group becomes included in a new encompassing category, for example Asian Americans who increasingly become viewed as 'whites'. I find their approach very useful, as they emphasize categories instead of groups, which is crucial to understand what was going on in the case that is analyzed in this dissertation.[11] Moreover, different people could react differently. In the town, there were protectors along with perpetrators. Then, although the people had been exposed to the same historical discourse on Gypsyness and socio-economic context of the time as well as terrorization of the perpetrators, there was still space for agency that thus led to different perspectives and roles during the attacks.

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determined in relation to personal attributes. These attributes are linked to perceptions through categories and this type of status determining can lead to racial status groups.

[10] Dik van Arkel, *The Drawing of the Mark of Cain: A Socio-Historical Analysis of the Growth of Anti-Jewish Stereotypes* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), pp. 90-92.

[11] Richard Alba and Victor Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).

Dwelling on agency as our third dimension will allow us to understand different and to some extent conflicting positions. These positions were of course related to people's socio-economic positions and to the extent of terrorization by the perpetrators. Mainly the wealthy families of land holding, state officials and some merchants were against the attacks. There were plenty of people who employed the muhacir Gypsies and defended them. Among them, there were some who stood up against the crowd with a rifle in their hands. From the state officials, the attorney was the most visible one, as he was almost beaten to death for trying to stop the crowd with his gun. The previous experiences of the people in the town also help to understand their attitude towards Gypsies. Some of the Turkish townspeople who had close neighborhood relationship due to the geographic proximity were also among the ones who protected the Gypsies in their houses and in more indirect ways by informing them of the dangerous situation. However, there were also former friends who became the leading figures in the attacks.

Obviously, the different positions that people took during the attacks relied on their previous experiences with one another, and were not just automatic reactions that can de reduced to their position in the local socio-economic structure. Although the latter influences how one experiences other ethnic and social groups, the personal stories reveal how different people may relate within structural dynamics. Especially in the narratives on the attacks, these experiences make us understand why people remembered the conflict in different ways ranging from the "Gypsy incidents" to the "Drivers' fight".

There indeed were 'inherited discourses' against Gypsies, as Nirenberg calls them, but they had not been mobilized actively in any violent act extensively before. Moreover, many people experienced one another beyond those discourses because of a relative low social distance. At some point, however, anti-Gypsy discourses were employed widely. We cannot ignore the existence of the inherited discourses, but what is significant here is the combination of three dimensions that reveal which actors

employed the anti-Gypsy discourse and mobilized these according to their own socio-economic interests. On the other hand, there were also other actors who resisted those discourses and stood up for their Gypsy friends, neighbors and townspeople, to the point that they engaged in real fights against the attackers.

As Nirenberg argues, structuralists do not deal much with historical change but emphasize the collective systems such as fixed discourses in relation to stereotypes and beliefs that precede violent acts against minorities. One of Nirenberg's problems with the structuralists' analysis is to posit "everyman" as passive and uncritical receptor of inherited ideologies in medieval studies. Then, he makes a crucial comment: "I am not arguing that negative discourses about Jews, Muslims, women or lepers did not exist, but that any inherited discourse about minorities acquired force only when people chose to find it meaningful and useful, and was itself reshaped by these choice. Briefly, discourse and agency gain meaning only in relation to each other."[12] In this dissertation I will therefore try to explain why at a certain moment the inherited discourse on Gypsies was employed by these particular agents. In doing so, this study will dwell on both discourses, and interrelations between social, economic, historical, psychological and cultural dynamics, as well as their effects on the way individual people behaved.

This research looks both at rural and urban contexts and thus touches on categorizations, social hierarchies and relations in human societies. It aims not only to be a story of certain Gypsies within a particular context, but also an analysis on how categories as such are used in social relations and in a particular political and ideological frame. It does not focus on the Gypsies as such, but on the relationships between people through the category of Gypsyness. Gypsyness in this context refers to an instrument that is used to constitute and order relations between people. It petrifies people in certain ways, and resembles widely known categories of class, race, gender and ethnicity. This

[12] David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 6.

similarity allows questioning the working of similar categories. Therefore, categories are studied in their flexible, contextual, and relational stages with a clear eye for alternative relations through people's personal experiences. Instead of seeing categories like Gypsyness as primordial, I see them as highly situational and aim to underline that the use of categories in general should be conceived as instruments in hierarchizing the social relations.

Instead of taking the groups as unchanged, homogenous entities, categories will be used to analyze the content and boundaries of certain groups. In this context, questioning the concept of ethnicity is necessary for both analytical and political purposes. Ethnicity is not an intrinsic characteristic of individuals and groups, but much more it defines a relation between people, both at the individual and the group level. In other words, ethnicity is not *in* people, but *between* people. As they exist in people's perceptions, they become real in its consequences and therefore in people's lives. This study aims to explain how ethnic categories of Turkishness and Gypsyness can change in the construction, deconstruction and reconstruction of relationships between people over time. It thereby questions the content of categories that are used to refer to certain groups and individuals and shows how the content can change, while the categories themselves persists.

Thus, it touches upon the power structures and relations, the construction of class and ethnicity, nationalism and Gypsyness in the country. Furthermore it takes a critical look at the official historiography and its reflection on ordinary people's lives. Within its scope and aims, this study opens the space for alternative historiographies on Gypsies (as well as other ethnic groups) in Turkey and thus can be seen as a plea for the emancipation from dominant and authoritarian ways of seeing the world and people's experiences. Finally, I aim to give space to my informants' voices, not only the Gypsies, but also all townspeople, including the perpetrators.

By scrutinizing particular incidents, we will see how certain people become more Gypsy than before. I am interested in the effects of the tension and polarization over time of this type of violent acts. While people may be part of different social groups, outright violence based on group stigmas forces people to take sides and thereby fixate group boundaries in national and ethnicized ways. As Brubaker stresses, actors can take advantage of the ethnic framing which veils the individual or class interest in pursuing a violent act:

> [Cognitive perspectives] can help specify how and when—people identify themselves, perceive others, experience the world, and interpret their predicaments in racial, ethnic, or national rather than other terms. They can help how "groupness" can "crystallize" in some situations while remaining latent and merely potential in others. And they can help link macro-level outcomes with micro-level processes.[13]

The people who are called Gypsies of course existed before the attacks. However, during the period of the attacks, the muhacir Gypsies who would never have identified themselves with Gypsyness and primarily identify themselves as Turks became more Gypsy than ever. Olzak indicated that with assimilation the probability of ethnic conflict increases. It would fit our case in the sense that the boundaries between the muhacirs and perpetrators were about to loosen up just before the attacks. "Partial assimilation of formerly deprived groups increases competition among groups, as once-deprived groups come to compete with more successful natives. In the short-run then, assimilation may raise rates of racial and ethnic conflict." [14] Moreover, in contrast to some "ethnic violence cases," not all the townspeople were against the Gypsies, as there were people who dared to stand up against the perpetrators.

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[13] Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004), p 44. Brubaker stresses that groups can originate as a result of violence, while Bergmann stresses the opposite situation in which of groups that exist already before the application of exclusionary violence. For a critique of overestimation of ethnic features in the literature, see John R. Bowen, "The Myth of Global Ethnic Conflict," *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 4 (1996), pp. 3-14.

[14] Susan Olzak, *The Dynamics of Ethnic Competition and Conflicts* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), p. 20.

Our case stresses the importance of thinking in terms of identification, as it underlines the relational, contextual and flexible features of belongingness and definition of the self. The concept of identity, on the other hand, freezes this belongingness, one's relation to oneself and the environment. In real life, human beings can have several identifications, depending on the context and their specific relations with others. They may activate different identifications in different times and spaces. In our case, the narratives display different levels and ways of identification with Turkishness and Gypsyness, which partly explains the seemingly confusing interpretations of the events by the various actors. While one may emphasize how strong ties are to Turkishness, just a few minutes later the identification with Gypsyness may be stressed. Although they seem to be contradicting, it illustrates the multi-layered and contextual nature of identification. In this sense, we will also examine how Turkishness as a national identity and crystallization point for citizenship allows the ways and degrees of identifications. It is discernible in the different emphasis on Turkishness pertaining to citizenship and territorial belongingness. The emphasis on religion, on the other hand, is present in several usages ranging from moral values to the acceptance to Turkishness.

This study attempts to analyze how these identity constructions function and interact with one another, why we use these categories and how they constitute our lives through a critical look at ongoing power relations including different phases of subordination in the intersection of categories such as class, gender, ethnicity and race.[15] Here, the point is not the fact that these categories are constructed but WHY they are constructed in the way they are, HOW they shape our lives and our positions; HOW they are accorded to our social structures; WHO takes advantage from them; and HOW

[15] E. Boris, E. A. Janssens, "Complicating Categories: an Introduction." *International Review of Social History* **44 (1999)** 7 (Supplement): 1-14.

they are legitimized. In this study, Gypsyness as a category will accommodate us in our journey to this cognitive universe.

The Role of Categories

Our cognitive world employs categories to simplify and give meaning to the outer world. Categorizing the world as such is necessary to understand the otherwise chaotic reality that surrounds us. Through these categories, we classify things, people and relationships. Although they help us organize our perceptions, emotions and ideas, they sometimes also lead to generalizations. This reduction shapes our cognitive map, while at the same time prevents us from seeing the particularities and uniqueness and channels our perception in pre-existing categorizations.[16]

In human societies categories are used to store information and meanings, but also to order society through hierarchies and thus contribute to power systems while they (de-/re-) construct these categories in return. By looking critically at such categories, we have the possibility to question their function as instruments within the prevailing power relations in our societies. The argument in this study is that categories do not point at the essences of subjects but shape the relations between people and social groups. In this context Fearon and Laitin write:

> Social categories are sets of people given a label (or labels) and distinguished two main features (1) rules of membership that decide who is and is not a member of the category; and (2) content, that is, sets of characteristics (such as beliefs, desires, moral commitments, and physical attributes) thought to be typical of members of the category, or behaviors expected or obliged of members in certain situations (roles).[17]

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[16] For a discussion on how our perceptions follow the idea of enlightenment pertaining producing knowledge about nature and society and thus restrict the view of many sociologists, see Pierre L. Van den Berghe, "Why Most Sociologists Don't and Won't Think Evolutionarily," *Sociological Forum* 5, no. 2 (June 1990), pp. 173-185.

[17] James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity," *International Organization* 54, no. 4 (Autumn 2000), pp. 845-877, p. 848.

On the other hand, structural changes that influence socio-economic hierarchies, or negotiations over particular interests, relations and emotions can result in changes in the contents and directions of certain categories. Previous categories may fade out or can be reproduced or reinforced according to new context. Thus, a category can become irrelevant and dysfunctional or it can be reframed after the refiguration of relations. If the existing categories do not fill the gap, new categories may emerge. In parallel, a person who falls into certain categories may move to another category in time. In this process, the contents of the categories, who is included (and excluded from) in that category, how a person in that category can relate to people in other categories in the same cognitive universe, and how the category and its subjects should be perceived is subject to change. Hogg and Abrams describe this process as follows:

> The nature of the social categories and their relations to one another lend a society its distinctive social structure, a structure which precedes individual human beings. Individual people are born into a particular society and thus social categories are largely pre-existent vis-a-vis individuals. However, the social structure is not a static monolithic entity. On the contrary, it is constantly in flux, constantly changing (gradually or very rapidly) as a consequence of forces of economics and history, categories come and go (prior to the mid-twentieth century there was no such occupational category as 'computer programmer'), their defining features alter (historical modifications to stereotypes of North American blacks), their relations with other categories change (intergroup relations between the sexes), and so on.[18]

Social categories thus do not stand as external mechanisms but are internalized and employed in self-definitions, formations and identifications as well as group characteristics. They are a real psychological state of mind. While exploring the categories, this reality of one's self-understanding should not be neglected. Thus, categories should not be conceived as pure defining tools, nor are individuals the inevitable product of categories. More significant than the categories is the relation between the individual and the group. Social categories are secondary to group formation indeed. However, they are seen as fundamental and in the process of socialization and

[18] Michael A. Hogg and Dominic Abrams, *Social Identification: a Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes* (London; New York: Routledge Press, 1988), p. 14.

group formation treated as essential criteria. We should keep in mind, however, that an individual can engage in different groups and identifications that converge with one another. As we will see in this study people hardly define the attributes of Gypsyness, and as a result many do not even qualify as such. Nevertheless, although the boundaries and the members may change during time and space, the differentiation and discrimination of some group of people through the category of Gypsyness persists.

The changes within the categories are inextricably linked to changes in the society mostly as a result of changes in socio-economic relations. In the literature on ethnicity, this position is close to Hall's understanding of ethnic identity as an instrument. The terms of instrument and performance that are applied in Hall's work usually are misperceived merely as people's conscious and artificial engagements in their identifications. By questioning the very being of ethnicity, as a category in this sense, he does not deny real and intimate relations that people experience and feel in their identifications. Another inspiring scholar, Fredrik Barth, defined ethnic groups as categories of ascription and identification, and explained boundaries as such within the changes in categories: "[…C]ategorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of mobility, contact and information but do entail social processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby discrete categories are maintained despite changing participation and membership in the course of individual life histories."[19] Additionally, Wimmer's approach is crucial for strategies around changing boundaries:

> I distinguish between five types of such strategies: those that seek to establish a new boundary by expanding the range of people included; those that aim at reducing the range of the included by contracting boundaries; those that seek to change the meaning of an existing boundary by challenging the hierarchical ordering of ethnic categories; those that attempt crossing a boundary by changing one's own categorical membership; those that aim to overcome ethnic

[19] Fredrik Barth, "Introduction," in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries,* edited by Fredrik Barth (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1969), pp. 10-37, pp. 10-11.

> boundaries by emphasizing other, crosscutting social cleavages through what I call strategies of boundary blurring.[20]

Hall points at the process of "becoming" an ethnic group in the context of discursive practice[21] and "historically, politically and culturally"[22] constructed characteristic of ethnic identity. He uses discourse and psychological analysis to investigate the concept of identity. Identity is strategic and positional and thus it is also open to changes according to different positions and circumstances. Thus, for Hall, both the psyche and discourse are functional in identity construction. Identities are constantly reformed and "in the process of becoming rather than being."[23]

He also stresses that the identity of the Self is constructed through and in opposition to the Other. This construction is not free of the power and hierarchy of course. The binary of Self/Other is hierarchized in favor of the Self as in the cases of man/woman, white/black, Occident/ Orient, us/them etc. "[…] within the play of power and exclusion […]".[24]

Then if not through primordial ties, how and why do we form groups? For this phenomenon, Brubaker urges us to rethink the concepts and practices of ethnicity, race and nationality, and proposes to see categories as flexible, changing along with an experience, instead of unchanged states and fixed entities. This resembles Hall's conceptualization, but with a slightly different focus: "It means thinking of ethnicization,

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[20] Wimmer Andreas, "The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory," *American Journal of Science* 113, no. 4 (January 2008), pp. 970–1022, pp. 986-7. For a new understanding of assimilation and changing boundaries, also see Alba and Nee (*Remaking the American mainstream*).

[21] Foucault quoted in Stuart Hall, "Introduction Who Needs Identity." In *Cultural Identity*, edited by Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (London; Thousand Oaks; New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1996), p. 2.

[22] Stuart Hall, "The New Ethnicities," in *Race, Culture and Difference*, edited by. J. Donald and A. Rattansi (London: Sage Publications, 1992), pp. 252-260.

[23] Hall ,"Introduction," p. 4.

[24] Hall ,"Introduction," p 5.

racialization, and nationalization as political, social, cultural, and psychological processes. And it means taking as a basic analytical category not the "group" as an entity but groupness as a contextually fluctuating conceptual variable."[25]

Groupness as a concept and experience is suggested as opposed to the concept of group that requires a number of people with shared and stable positions. E.P. Thompson's idea of class-consciousness sees experience as the very basic requirement of being in a category of class.[26] Hence, one cannot consider a group of people as a class unless they are aware of having a similar categorical position. In other words, people cannot be considered as a group or class unless they experience and "feel" their relation to another group of people and through related dynamics. This is what makes them as a class not their intrinsic features or ideals.

Brubaker conceptualizes ethnicization similarly as a process, but according to him ethnicization does not require the very existence of a specific category in itself. For instance, indicating that race is constructed does not mean that people do not act upon it in real life. Thus, we live in racialized societies, but this does not mean that races exist. Furthermore, most people do not experience categories as artificial, but as natural and as such they shape daily interactions and experiences. Hughes for instance explains how categories work through common interests and internal fraternities in occupational selection: "[..P]eople carry in their minds a set of expectations concerning the auxiliary traits properly associated with many of the specific positions available in our society." Moreover, he asserts that these expectations are rooted in stereotypes that are used in ordinary conversation and in media representations. The feelings of fraternity, commonality and groupness thus develop out of people's experiences but these

[25] Brubaker, *Ethnicity,* p 11.

[26] Edward P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondworth: Penguin Books; 1968).

experiences are shaped within the constructions of certain categories. As Barth suggests, after all the insiders of a category feel secure of the existence of the category as it is used to define the rules of the game that legitimize the order of the society.[27]

To understand the ongoing existence of discriminative categories and groupness especially in ethnic and racial references, I additionally find the term 'nepotism' articulated by Van den Berghe interesting. He questions the connection between physical attributes of people and social differences and underlines the socio-biological dimension of group attachments. He describes nepotism as: "to behave favourable (or 'altruistically') to others in proportion to their real or perceived degree of common ancestry."[28] He argues that this natural instinct of nepotism determines the social organism's behaviors and refers to Darwin's evolution theory, by stressing that organisms do not evolve if they invest in "unrelated organisms."[29]

Whether it is related to evolutionary interests or not is beyond the scope of this study, but Van den Berghe's nepotism concept can be helpful when we extend the definition of the term beyond the biological. I would suggest that groupness is not so much forged by biological, but socio-cultural similarities.[30] I believe, instead of looking for common ancestry, people seek material and spiritual security, which I call existential security.[31] Thus, if this security is attained through common experiences, emotions, rationalizations and interest seeking[32] then nepotism will occur.

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[27] Hughes, 'Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status', p 354.

[28] Pierre van Den Berghe, "Does Race Matter?" in *Nations and Nationalism* I, no. 3 (1995), pp. 359-68

[29] Ibid.

[30] We can also observe it in postmodern urban groupings by the way we dress, choose our hairstyle and other external features.

[31] Security here should primarily be understood in a psychological sense. Although it includes a search for material sources and physical existence, it primarily refers to psychological and emotional comfort. Military reflections, on the other hand, manipulate and abuse the need for security and the fear for its absence. To find a relative approach with a different terminology, Butler's emphasis on the mutual

Some points of Van den Berghe support this argument, but with a slightly different focus, where he indeed connects primordialism with instrumentalism: "Ethnicity or race cannot be invented or imagined out of nothing. It can be manipulated, used, exploited, stressed, fused or subdivided, but it must correlate with a pre-existing population bound by preferential endogamy and a common historical experience."[33] Thus, Van den Berghe leaves room for social construction although he bases his theory predominantly on biological attributes. Moreover, he explains why the cultural markers of a group are used when biological and physical attributes do not sufficiently differentiate groups who resemble their neighbors. However, when physical markers are sufficient to differentiate, people will resort to the biological.

My approach is closer to that of Brubaker, who gave a definition of the attributed categories as "at best a potential basis for group formation or 'groupness'." He urges for an analysis of categories in relation to groupness by asking how they are employed for instance in excluding some people from rights on scarce resources. A multi-dimensional approach would be required for this analysis:

> We can study the politics of categories, both from above and from below. From above, we can focus on the ways in which categories are proposed, propogated, imposed, institutionalized, discursively articulated, organizationally entrenched, and generally embedded in multifarious forms of "governmentality". […] From below, we can study the "micropolitics" of categories. The ways in which the categorizers appropriate, internalize, subvert, evade, or transform the categories that are imposed on them.[34]

In this study, a perspective from below will be combined with categories that are imposed from above. How townspeople make use of the category of Gypsyness will be

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existence of recognition of identities and redistribution of sources as required remedies for a fair world is helpful.

[32] The term 'interest' here should be thought of both in material and spiritual satisfactions.

[33] Van Den Berghe, "Does Race Matter?"

[34] Rogers Brubaker, "Ethnicity without Groups," in *Facing Ethnic Conflicts: towards a New Realism*, edited by Andreas Wimmer (Lanham: Rowman and Litttlefield Publishers, 2004), pp. 34-52, p. 39.

explored in relation to the constitution of Gypsyness in the general context of Turkey and its relation with Turkishness both as a dominant frame of reference and as citizenship in discursive and practical ways. Instead of focusing on groups, this study is primarily interested in the way categories are employed in group-formation.

In the context of Gypsyness in the town of Bayramic, we will see how the perceptions of the associated members changed through time and context from superstitions to statements referring to them as decent members and eventually as exploiters of the system. The changes in socioeconomic relations influenced the perception of Gypsies. We will see that while Gypsyness tends to fixate the relationships and people's positions in the society, there was still a room for negotiation in certain contexts and between certain people. The relationships between people thus were therefore more than an interaction shaped by those categories although at times they were reduced to those. Moreover, violence was used to change the relationships, because for the perpetrators daily life before the attacks was seen as violating the ethnic boundaries.

In our case we encounter a more complicated world and ways of relating to one another than the one ruled by categories. There is still a space for negotiation in personal relations beyond fixed identifications and hierarchies. The negotiation power is of course framed by these power systems that attempt to regulate the relationship between subjects and fix the source of power, as Foucault would suggest, but the interactions in our case would probably have surprised him.

To sum up, social categories and groups are an integral part of people's baggage when it comes to social relations of which they usually cannot easily get rid of. They largely determine how people perceive one another, and how power and status are shared and attributed. However, as indicated above, interactions in daily life can correct stereotypes and bring people to look beyond fixed categories. People perform and

negotiate through these realities, through emphasizing some or neglecting others, sometimes inverting one into another, closing their eyes to some of them or playing around legitimized ones. That is where individual agency is situated.[35]

Gypsyness

In this study, Gypsyness is approached as a category instead of a self-evident ethnic marker. I believe this approach also enables the drawing of parallels with similar categorizations, such as gender, class, race, and age. Gypsyness is therefore studied not as a phenomenon in itself but through intersecting relations. Of interest is how and why it is constituted as such and what it can tell us about the relations in society. Our reconstruction aims to study how categories and hierarchies work, through preceding, overlapping and forthcoming relations during the violent attacks that resulted in the forced dislocation of the people who were associated with the category, Gypsyness.

Although this study gives many clues of the usage of different categories, it ironically shows how categories are employed for other means, mainly in allocating resources, prestige and status. The general concept of Gypsyness should therefore be questioned. In the usage of ethnicity, primordial and constructivist accounts are handled as the fixed and general features of specific people. However, many differences between and among people classified as Gypsies sit uneasy with their presumed ethnic homogeneity.

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[35] It is also at stake in relations between individuals. For instance, being wealthy, following dominant moral and behavioral codes, wearing certain brands, way of talking and looking, may serve to make people automatically recognize the other as equal because self-esteem is coupled with legitimate categories. These criteria that are shaped in relation to certain categories and groups can be used in negotiations as well. For a similar account, see the "bargaining with patriarchy" concept of Kandiyoti and for an interesting study on women who use religious values to gather power to accuse men in their community of mistreating their wifes, see Nazli Kibria, "Power, Patriarchy and Gender Conflict in the Vietnamese Immigrant Community." In *Asian, American Women and Gender: a Reader*, edited by Franklin Ng (London; New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 145-161.

Furthermore, many people who are called Gypsies have local identifications. In such a context, classifying them as an ethnic group would be confusing due to the absence of a common idea pertaining to origin, language, and religion. The Gypsies' ability to adapt to local environments in different countries, and their ability to assimilate into national cultures, is often underestimated. Nevertheless many scholars keep on viewing Gypsies as a homogenous and unified ethno-cultural group,[36] I find a socio-economic analysis that puts relations and contexts in the center more helpful to understand the idea of Gypsyness.

It is not fruitful to approach Gypsyness with concepts as "identity", because the concept obstructs a critical analysis. Identity is too often defined as predominantly cultural, but it is also about class differences, how certain people are exploited through the allocation of economic resources. Often Gypsies emphasize that Gypsyness just means being poor and they often refer to themselves as "the poor". In the case of Gypsyness, poverty and identity largely overlap, whereby their discrimination and low social position is explained by pointing at their unique cultural characteristics.[37] In this sense, I find the approaches of Okely, Willems and Lucassen et al. on Gypsyness inspiring, as they stress in their analysis that Gypsyness is largely defined through changing relations in socio-economic contexts and therefore question approaches that limit themselves to Gypsy folklore.[38]

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[36] For a discussion on the idea of a Roma nation, see Chapter 2.

[37] For a research constructing poor people similar as Roma people, see Gyorgy Csepeli and Simon David, "Construction of Roma Identity in Eastern and Central Europe: Perception and Self-Identification," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30, no. 1 (January 2004), pp. 129-150, p. 140.

[38] I am also inspired by the work of Thomas Acton and David Mayall, but for the socio-historical conceptualization in this study, the approaches of Lucassen, Okely and Willems to Gypsyness were more useful. In the second chapter, these works will be further articulated.

First, they show the many changes in the way the Gypsy category over time has been constructed. Okely[39] points at different historical representations and ironically notes that Gypsies were first referred to as Egyptians and then in the nineteenth century they became Indians due to changing interpretations of their dialects. Apart from 'Gypsies, many other categories were used, such as foreigners and counterfeit Egyptians (in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), as vagrants in the seventeenth century with the focus on their idleness and "depraved" in the nineteenth century. According to Okely, these shifts are directly related to the changes in socio-economic structures, especially linked to the control on vagabonds and the increase of proletarianisation and wage labor.

Lucassen, who contributed to a better understanding of Gypsyness as a historically changing category, focused on the process of stigmatization,[40] and makes a distinction between the stigma as such and the actual application of that stigma to concrete people: the labeling process. He argues that stigmatization (the active application of the stigma) is crucial for group formation. Rather than a particular origin or other attributes, it is the power of stigmatization by authorities that decides who is being labeled and on what grounds. A stigma can be seen as a collection of negative features associated with a certain category of people by authoritative institutions (like the state or the church), while labeling refers to the actual and conscious act of attaching that stigma to specific individuals or groups. In this articulation, authorities play a crucial role. Stigmatization influences not only the perception of the majority, but also the attitude and the reaction of the stigmatized group, who may internalize the label.

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[39] Judith Okely, *The Traveller-Gypsies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[40] See Leo Lucassen, "The Power of Definition, Stigmatization, Minorization and Ethnicity Illustrated by the History of Gypsies in the Netherlands," *Netherlands' Journal of Social Sciences* 27, no. 2 (October 1991), pp. 80-91. See also Leo Lucassen, Wim Willems and Annemarie Cottaar, *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups. A Socio-historical Approach* (London and New York, MacMillan/ St. Martin's Press, 1998).

Stigmatization is a structural force that can unleash discrimination and violence, but, as Lucassen remarks, it is subject to change and he illustrates this by showing how the stigma may remain stable over a longer period whereas the groups to whom the label is attached can change.[41] By analyzing the changes in Gypsy policy in the Netherlands, he (like Okely) also stresses the changes in the stigma, which is closely linked to new attitudes over time towards itinerancy. This is important if we want to understand how the category of Gypsyness is constructed in a broader context instead of studying the people who are called as Gypsies as a stable and unproblematic category. Developments in the economic and social structure deeply influence the emergence, emphasis, disappearance or redefinition of some categories.

The second reason why it is important to problematize Gypsyness relies on confusing and conflicting accounts on who is a Gypsy. People's narratives on Gypsyness and the people that they call Gypsies often conflict. For example, the inhabitants of the town of Bayramic themselves were easily confused when they were asked to explain what really differentiates a Gypsy from a Turk. This mainly stems from the fact that there have been many people who were called Gypsies, but who themselves identified as Turks and lived like Turks. This identification is the result of the inclusive character of the Turkish national identity that relied on different layers of Turkishness that ranged from territorial to religious proximities in defining the people's belonging.[42]

Third, the town in our case consists of three different types of people who were all called Gypsies regardless of their positions in the town and their proximity to Turkishness. The muhacirs, who were the main targets of the attacks, for instance, emphasized their Turkish citizenship due to the fact that the newly founded Turkish state

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[41] Lucassen, "The Power of Definition".

[42] Chapter 2 will provide a discussion on the construction of Turkishness.

considered them as Turks during the population exchange. They do not identify themselves as Gypsies at all. The locals, on the other hand, take their traditional roles according to local order and underline how they have adapted to the local culture of Turkishness. The last group of sepetcis seems to fit the Gypsyness category the best as they only recently shifted to sedentary life. This group, however, was not present during the attacks. The very existence of all these different groups under the same category illustrates the internal inconsistency of processes of identification and problematizes the idea of homogenous and fixed criteria to refer these people. Furthermore, the attacks manifested how in certain polarized contexts people can use the power of definition to target those who they see as the real Gypsies.[43]

To understand the position of Gypsies, ideas on Turkishness and Gypsyness both in Turkey as a whole and in the town of Bayramic, and the concept of liminality is useful. Liminality in its basic definition refers to the states of being that is difficult to define in mere dichotomies and situates people in positions that may fit into both and/or either categories. The liminal position of Gypsyness in relation to Turkishness in our case allows us to question the idea of homogeneity and essential differences that are employed to [re]produce socio-economic and political inequalities. Indeed, categories and boundaries can be flexible and adaptable, but at the same time they have the tendency to reduce the multifaceted reality to crude and essential differences that often produce the opposite.

Gypsyness is a good example of this inversion. Our case shows how violence intervenes in daily relationships and seals the group boundaries. In our case, violence is an instrument to reorder society according to former socio-economic inequalities. The deviations and [re- and de-] formatting of the existing order through such violent interventions again critiques essentialist views of social categories and boundaries. In our

[43] These very layers are rarely emphasized in Romani literature that deals with Gypsies mainly by focussing on folkloric features.

particular case, we will use oral history to show how flexible, relational and contextual the boundaries and the contents between Turkishness and Gypsyness are.

Oral History As a Method and an Approach to History Writing

Walter Benjamin posited the dominated class as the primary subject of history. He attempted to demystify the concept of historical progress "through a homogenous and empty time."[44] For historical materialists, the present stands in its relation to the past instead of this homogenous and empty time. Thus, they handle history as a construction that attaches present formations to past conditionings in favor of the dominated classes.[45]

Harootunian interprets Benjamin's approach to history as follows: "The principal ingredients of Benjamin's conception of historical practice were memory, repetition, and the necessity of political intervention; its primary purpose was to free history from representation, nostalgia, and the spurious effort to reaffirm the identity of the past continuously in present."[46]

In this conceptualization, the past gains meaning in critiquing the status quo in the present, because it legitimizes inequalities. I find oral history as an approach and a method compatible to this view of history as well as the only way of research in this study, as will be discussed further below. First of all, oral history ideally focuses on people who are left out of traditional historiography and gives space to their voices, their suffering and helps to understand the underlying dynamics that are responsible for their

[44] Benjamin, "The Storyteller," p. 261.

[45] Ibid., p 263.

[46] Harry D. Harootunian, "The Benjamin Effect: Modernism, Repetition, and the Path to Different Cultural Imaginaries." In *Walter Benjamin and the Demands of History*, edited by Michael P. Steinberg (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. 62-87, p. 67.

subaltern position. Second, oral history looks critically at both the current position of people and how the past is remembered. It emphasizes symbolically and practically the link between the present and the past. Thus, the past's role in the present becomes an area of discussion that can be used for the sake of today's politics.

As a method, oral history depends on collecting historical data through talking to people and studying documents as diaries, biographies and autobiographies. Although it is considered as "the first kind of history"[47] by some theorists, what is referred by the term "oral history" recently has become an established technique or method, rooted in theoretical and methodological reflections on the role of memory, remembering and representation.[48] It is used largely in areas where adequate data cannot be collected through written documents or to study events that are not even recorded. But it also can be a useful corrective to biases, which may be found in written documents (and vice versa). However, its importance goes beyond these reasons.

The significance of oral history is not only the information itself, but also how the past is remembered and represented. We therefore should not reduce oral history to an alternative way of gathering data and I therefore follow Portelli when he argues that "the first thing that makes oral history different […] is that it tells us less about events than about meaning."[49] That is why it is so closely related to politics. Oral history has the potential for alternative representations and realities as well as the realities of "the others" of dominant groups. It breaks the static knowledge and impersonalized structure of traditional history. It appreciates the experiences, comments and identities of

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[47] Paul Thompson, "The Voice of the Past." In *The Oral History Reader*, edited by Robert Pecks and Alistair Thompson (London: New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 21-29.

[48] For the emergence of oral history as a new discipline in the historiography of Turkey, see Arzu Öztürkmen, "Sözlü Tarih: Yeni Bir Disiplinin Cazibesi" (Oral history: The attractiveness of a new discipline). *Toplum ve Bilim*, Istanbul (Winter 2001/2002), pp. 115-121.

[49] Alessandro Portelli, "What Makes Oral History Different." In *The Oral History Reader*, edited by Robert Pecks and Alistair Thompson (London; New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 63-75, p. 67.

individual agents that are not represented in official and mainstream histories. Thus, it also creates a space for disadvantaged groups' stories and their voices.[50]

Thompson emphasizes the added value of "life stories in the sociology of deviance,"[51] American anthropology, political history and "a surviving tradition of field work"[52] in oral history. According to Thompson, by relying on fieldwork, oral history traces new types of information that "statistical history can no more unravel the past unaided […]"[53] and he finds the contribution of sociology and anthropology in oral history highly important. Thus, oral history is formed through the convergence of history, anthropology and sociology, which all use this method.[54]

Interviews are considered as the backbone of oral history. Grele considers it as the experience that enriches history and through a careful understanding of this experience, oral history has an added value to our understanding of history which cannot be found in written documents: "[I]t is the interviewing experience itself which can reveal the contradiction between ideology, myth and reality. By careful observation and

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[50] Alex Haley, "Black History, Oral History and Genealogy," in *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology,* edited by David K. Dunaway and Willa K. Baum (California: Altamira Press, 1996), pp. 9-21. Haley argues that how black people's history has not been written especially for the ones captured and brought to America to work as slaves and the writer explains how he found out about his ancestor and his origins through oral history. In addition to this, Sherbakova argues that political remembering and memory constituted a "serious threat" as for the Soviet regime,: Irina Sherbakova, "The Gulag in Memory." In *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, edited by David K. Dunaway and Willa K. Baum (California: Altamira Press, 1996), pp. 235-245, p. 235.

[51] Paul Thompson, *The Voice of The Past: Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 58.

[52] Ibid., p. 67.

[53] Ibid., p. 69.

[54] For the interaction between history and sociology as well as other social sciences such as anthropology, psychology and geography see new approaches in historiography by Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory* (Ithaca: New York: Cornell University Press, 1992); Geoff Eley, "Is All the World a Text? From Social History to the History of Society e Decades Later," in *Historic Turn in the Human Science*, edited by Terence, McDonalds (Ann Arbor: Michigan State University, 1996), pp. 193-243.

understanding of this experience we can add a depth to our historical understanding which is never revealed in the written record."[55]

This understanding includes finding the links between the interviewee and historical and cultural context of the story: "Our aim is to bring to conscious articulation the ideological problematic of the interviewee, to reveal the cultural context in which information is being conveyed, and to thus transform an individual story into a cultural narrative, and thereby, to more fully understand what happened in the past."[56]

Along with this understanding, one should be aware of the existing hierarchies. As an interview depends on an information exchange between two people, it is a very good way to communicate, because it is something mutual. Nonetheless, it does not imply that the relation between the interviewee and the interviewer is necessarily equal, as it is influenced by social hierarchies. Thus, the standpoint of the interviewer also becomes important in the questions and answers as well as the focus areas.

Although some theorists appreciate the contribution of oral history as a method in history, it has not been considered worthy and "serious enough" by many scholars. Oral historians and their works have not been paid much respect.[57] The factual credibility of oral history has been a debatable issue as the representation or remembering of a fact may not perfectly fit with the fact itself or the interviewee may misrepresent it. It is claimed that oral history is useless as one can never be sure about the data that are collected in this way. However, what has been missed in these kinds of comments are the very logic and objectives of oral history.

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[55] Thompson, *The Voice*, p. 48.

[56] Ibid., p. 48.

[57] Ibid. Also see Ronald J. Grele, "Movement Without Aim: Methodological and Theoretical Problems in Oral History." in *The Oral History Reader*, edited by Robert Pecks and Alistair Thompson (London; New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 38-53.

Portelli questions the concepts "truth" and "wrong" and he asserts that " 'wrong' statements are still psychologically 'true' and that this truth may be equally as important as factually reliable accounts."[58] Oral history, from the beginning, does not necessarily rely on a unique fact, but how some historical events and signs are constructed in memory, how they are remembered and represented by people, and how these representations are related to other representations may be some of its worries instead.

Moreover, some historians criticize oral history because the interviewees' are not representative for the population at large. However, according to Grele, in oral history, "interviewees are selected, not because they present some abstract statistical norm, but because they typify historical processes."[59] Thus, the criticisms of oral history mainly focus on its factual credibility. However, exactly by questioning these points, this is where the contribution of oral history to history and the social sciences in general lies.

Because of the reasons given above oral history is crucial to get a better understanding of the social position of Gypsies in past societies and to unravel the puzzle that is central to this dissertation. The Gypsies themselves as a community are kept out of traditional historiography because of their subordinated position, which is well illustrated by the specific case of their forced dislocation in Bayramic. Oral history in this study provides a space to critique the present through looking critically at the exclusion of Gypsies in the past. I trace the narratives of the Gypsies who experienced this specific incident of dislocation. Apart from the Gypsies', I focus on the non-Gypsies' (who contributed and the ones who did not) representations of the incident along with their memories before, during and after the events. I believe that those who did not experience the incident, but heard about it and/or experienced its effects can also contribute to this study, just like my own experiences based on my fieldwork and in-

[58] Portelli, "What Makes", p. 68.

[59] Grele, "Movement", p. 41.

depth interviews. Reflections of the past experiences and discourses on the present influence this story. Trends in narratives and awareness of the shifts between discourses in the very moments of conversations thus become a significant area for inquiry. Open-ended questions that allow a story-teller develop her/his discourse gathered a remarkable place in the semi-structured interviews. Eventually, the narratives of about two hundred people in the town contributed to my study while fourty-seven of them constructed the backbone of the findings.

Moreover, oral history was the only way to do research on this particular case. I attempted to find archives and state documentation regarding the case, but apart from a few newspaper articles published at the time. I was not able to find any documentation despite my inquiries in the local and national archives.[60] Apart from the fieldwork and interviews, I also investigated written works and documents that helped to frame the socioeconomic context and the local history of the town. Also here the documentation was sparse due to the insufficiencies of the state archives at the local level. In the interviews, on the other hand, silence was crucial as people were reluctant to reveal their voices on certain issues. Additionally, tape-recording and even the taking of notes during the interview were usually avoided as well as direct questions. In contrast, indirect questions and informal conversations encouraged the narrators.

The exploration of the 1970 forced dislocation of Gypsies is important for several reasons. First of all, there are only few studies on Gypsy people living in Turkey, even though recently a modest increase in the interest in the issue can be observed in academic research and social projects (i.e. Romani Studies at Bilgi University, the Accessible Life Association). Second, no researchers have touched upon the 1970

[60] Neither local nor nationwide documentation were available on the case. I consulted the archives of municipality, the security forces, the administration of justice and local governorship at the local level; the Ministry of Domestic Affairs, the Ministry of Highways and the Ministry of Forestry at the national level. Most documents on the town and in the period under investigation were destroyed. However, limited findings on socioeconomic context of the time and some statistical values will be used to demonstrate on our inquiry in Chapter 3.

dislocation so that literature on this issue is entirely lacking. Third, this study carries the potential to illuminate how exclusion in relation to citizenship, national and ethnic identity as well as the status of Gypsies has been historically constituted in Turkey. Thus, it also opens a space for political intervention into today's politics on Gypsy issues and a contribution to look more critically at the Gypsies' ongoing social exclusion. Finally, with its linkages to social exclusion and Gypsy studies, this study has the potential to stimulate further comparative research both for the Gypsy people and other groups experiencing exclusion in Turkey and beyond.

Contributions and the Contents of the Chapters

This study aims to contribute to several fields. In general, it will reflect on theories on ethnicity, identities, categories, nationalities and violence. The social construction of categories and their employment in societies is one of the main discussions that will be followed by reconstructing the forced dislocations of the Gypsies. This study also serves as a case to analyze how particular categories influence daily interactions, violent and peaceful in their (local) historical and socio-economic context.

The study additionally aims to stress some shortcomings of the studies on Gypsies in Europe. The political recognition and social movements of Gypsies, anthropological research on Gypsy groups and their culture, their ways of identification, and the discrimination that they face are among the issues that have been intensely investigated. However, most studies do not connect the issue of Gypsies to a wider discussion or to other research areas. Moreover, some follow a nationalist and essentialist logic that uncritically assumes that Gypsies are a homogenous ethnic group. In contrast to such an essentialist view, this research presents at least three groups of people that are

called Gypsies, who in different ways are related to Gypsyness and Turkishness and who are also perceived differently by the wider public in a small Turkish town.

Furthermore, much research in Romani studies does not point at these kinds of relationships, nor do they question the boundaries with other categories, and often reproduce the existing frame in which Gypsies are perceived as an unproblematic delineated ethnic group. This study, instead fundamentally questions homogeneity and reveals the contextual and relational characteristics of the Gypsyness as a category. I find the usage of Gypsyness as a category helpful to emphasize the interchangeability, flexibility and reflexivity of the meanings, perceptions and criteria that are attached to it. Moreover, looking at Gypsyness through the lenses of various relations displays different dynamics based on social, economic and cultural changes.

By analyzing the lives, relations and socioeconomic conditions in the town, and focusing on the relationship between Gypsies and Turks, this study fills a significant gap in the literature on the Gypsies in Turkey and what is internationally known as Romani literature. In the Turkish literature, no articulated historical-ethnographic research has been done on the relationships between Gypsies and Turks. Some studies point at the Gypsies' conditions, stereotypes, specific features, their images in literatures and idioms. Most, however, are limited to the particularities of the Gypsy culture or discrimination by state and the dominant population, and seldom systematically explore the perceptions and relations between Gypsies and non-Gypsies. Some of these studies reproduce existing categories instead of questioning the relationship between different categories and people, as this study aims to. However, some available research and conversations with current scholars in the field have been very inspiring and fruitful for this study.

Below, I will first demonstrate how Gypsyness as a social category has been developed and how it is perceived in different contexts. The literature in the tradition of Romani Studies will be discussed in its relation with ethnic categories. The changes in

Gypsyness will be explained by stressing its flexibility and contextuality. I will discuss how Gypsyness in practice converges with and diverges from similarly constituted categories. In the same chapter, I also will look at the particularities of the Turkish case and the linkages between Gypsyness and Turkishness. This second chapter puts the category of Gypsyness in a more general frame.

The third chapter is a historical analysis of the transitions in the category of Gypsyness in the case of Bayramic. It will show why at the moment of the attacks the category was activated. What had changed in the socio-economical and cultural context of the country and how was this reflected in the town? The effects of urbanization will be studied in its local context. Especially the developments in the transportation sector and the increasing competition between various social groups will be analyzed in depth, because this played a major role in the forced dislocation. The increased competition in this sector in which the muhacir Gypsies had taken pivotal positions will help to illuminate the socio-economic background as well as the individual interests in the attacks.

The fourth chapter analyzes the local context and will deal with the local relations and the way power hierarchies were constructed in the town. Key questions are how Gypsyness influenced the relations between certain people; how people defined Gypsyness; and who identified as or were identified as Gypsies. In short, the relationship between the categories of Turkishness and Gypsyness are at the center of our inquiries. The chapter will dwell on the complexity of definitions, the confusions to which ethnic definitions may give rise, as daily interactions and relationships often lead to the blurring or even shifting of ethnic boundaries.

This chapter will introduce the category of Gypsyness in the town; how it was constituted hierarchically as inferior to Turkishness despite of the flexibility, confusion and conflicts around the category and the people who are labeled as such; and will also

show how the stigma was activated. Following the previous chapter that explains the outburst of violence moment, this chapter will display the fixation and the reproduction of the category during the attacks. Although the socio-economic context had always allowed for flexibility in the construction of ethnic categories and has lead to changing relations and perceptions in the town, this flexibility reached its limits at the moment that the historically constituted category of Gypsyness as a stigma was reasserted and legitimized the attacks.

In the light of the socio-economic context of the time and historical constitution of Gypsyness in the town, the narratives of the townspeople including Gypsies, perpetrators, protectors, participants and the others, will gather a new meaning. The fifth chapter will deal with the oral narratives of the attacks and forced dislocation in 1970. I will focus on two major narratives: one explains the attacks by pointing at the alleged immorality and misbehavior of the Gypsies, while the other highlights the individual interests in the transportation sector and Gypsies' acquisition of socio-economic power. In this chapter, we will see how the differences in remembrance and representations were directly linked to different positions of the interviewees in society during the attacks. The dominant local memory of the attacks reproduces the stigma of Gypsyness and appears as the master narrative among most townspeople, perpetrators and even some local Gypsies. The story reveals the importance of socio-economic competition and the individual interests of some perpetrators, most protectors, muhacir Gypsies and some local Gypsies. It is telling that the fear of talking about the perpetrators and keeping silent still persists until today. To understand the narratives, conflicting ways of remembering and different representations, the previous chapters serve as the necessary background and as our toolbox. The local context, countrywide socio-economic transitions, Gypsyness in Turkey and in the town as well as the role of the state will be crucial for the analysis. Finally, the literature on exclusionary violence in which similar

cases are analyzed will be used to look for parallels that help to understand the 1970 attacks in Bayramic beyond its particular local expression.

CHAPTER II

GYPSIES UNDER SURVEILLANCE

The development of Gypsy/Roma studies is intimately related to the intensification of the Roma issue in the European political context. This process was enhanced by the collapse of the Soviet Union, the transformation to a market economy in Central and Eastern European countries and their integration in the rest of Europe.[61] With the access of these countries to the EU membership the Gypsy people came to constitute the largest minority.[62]

Research on Gypsies has shown that they have faced discrimination and exclusionary practices in several ways. Whereas the holocaust in Europe[63] may have been the most brutal phase in their recent history, many Gypsies still face violent attacks, murders and racism in several countries.[64] Their lack of resources such as adequate

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[61] The international Roma movement started in the 1960s. For the intensification of Roma politics from the national to the international levels, see Ilona Klimova-Alexander, "The Development and Institutionalization of Romani Representation and Administration. Part 3b: From National Organizations to International Umbrellas (1945-1970)- the International Level," *Nationalities Papers* 35, no.4 (September 2007), pp. 627-661. For the significance of Roma politics in European politics, see Martin Kovats, "The Emergence of European Roma Policy," in *Between Past and Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Will, Guy (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire, 2001), pp. 94-95; Dena Ringold, Mitchell A. Orenstein and Erika Wilkens, *Roma in an Expanding Europe: Breaking the Poverty Cycle* (New York: The World Bank, 2005); Peter Thelen, "Roma Policy: The Long Walk Towards Political Participation," in *Roma in Europe: From Social Exclusion to Active Participation* (Skopje: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2005), pp. 7-74.

[62] In 2004, 8 CEE countries acquired EU membership: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia. Moreover, in 2007 with the EU Access of Bulgaria and Romania, the Roma population increased additionally.

[63] For the Gypsy holocaust, see Donald Kenrick and Grattan Puxon, *Destiny of Europe's Gypsies* (New York: Basic Books, 1972); Otto Rosenberg, *A Gypsy in Auschwitz*, (London: Allison & Busby Ltd., 1999); Toby Sonneman, *Shared Sorrows: A Gypsy Family Remembers the Holocaust* (Herts: University Of Hertfordshire Press, 2002).

[64] See Amnesty International's action on racial discrimination against Roma in Italy: Amnesty International. 10 September 2010. *Italy Must Stop the Discrimination against Roma.* Available online: http://www.amnesty.org/en/appeals-for-action/italy-must-stop-the-discrimination-against-roma [14 January 2011]; also see very recent French policy on the expulsion of Roma: BBC. 20 August 2010. *France Sends Roma Gypsies back to Romania.* Available online: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11020429 [14 January 2011].

housing, food and money along with their exclusion from education and employment make many of them suffer from poverty. Furthermore, their exclusion from society is visible in daily practices as well as in human rights' violation cases and segregated neighborhoods. All of these factors make them one of the most vulnerable minorities in Europe.[65] Their poverty is multidimensional in the sense that it depends not only on their low social position, characterized by the lack of education and unemployment, but also on the discriminatory attitudes against them.

Although there are several differences between individual and group identifications and subgroups among Gypsy people such as Sinti, Manouch, Kale, Romanichals, Kalderash, Lovara, Roma, Vlach-Roma, the term "Roma" is widely accepted as the general term for Gypsies especially in Europe at the 1971 World's Romani Congress, in order to avoid the pejorative usages of the terms Gypsy, Cigani, Tsigane, Zingari, Zigeuner, Gitano, Çingene and others.[66] The term "Roma" is also used to include Gypsies living in other parts of the world, such as the Dom people in the Middle East.[67]

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[65] Clare Gillsater, Dena Ringold and Julius Varallyay, *Roma in an Expanding Europe: Challenges for the Future* (Washington D. C.: The World Bank, 2004), p. 6.

[66] Together with some other scholars in Turkey and in Europe, I prefer using the term "Gypsy" and its Turkish counterpart "*Çingene,"* although I respect others who avoid the term for its pejorative usages. In Turkey, some refer to themselves as Roman in the hope that this will rescue them from discrimination. By referring to others as *Çingene* they just repeat and reinforce existing prejudices and stereotypes about *Çingenes*. The term serves as an umbrella concept and covers many groups. In Europe, the term "Roma" is not accepted by some groups because it leads to misrepresentation. For Turkey, the term "Roman" has become popular in the process of incorporation to international Roma politics and it has the potential to exclude some others as well such as Doms or Loms in some cases. I believe that instead of avoiding the term, the pejorative meanings, stereotypes and prejudices along with the exclusionary practices, discourses and related inequalities should be problematized. Otherwise, it misses a broader recognition of the struggle for emancipation and instead reinforces the status quo and hierarchies within it. Thus, I only use "Roma" or "Roman" when I refer to those specific self-declared groups, for the ones who identify themselves as such and for the sake of clarification in reference to certain literature and international Roma politics.

[67] I.e. The Gypsy Lore Society.

As some Gypsy people are reluctant to identify as Gypsy or Roma, it is impossible to come up with exact number of Gypsies without engaging in contested assumptions about who is a Gypsy. Another factor is Gypsies' experiences of exclusion, which lead them to hide their identity. It is both due to the distinction between the stigma and self-definition, and the power of the stigma, which results in non-identifications or the inclination to distance themselves from the Gypsy label. Thus, one's self-identification (subject definition) does not always overlap with the definition by others (object definition). Moreover, over time, a decrease in identifying in ethnic terms is also observed in studies that show how youngsters are more reluctant to identify themselves as Roma while they identify their parents as Roma.[68] Despite these obstacles to grasp the exact number of Roma people, their approximate number is estimated between 10-12 million in Europe.[69]

The definition of Gypsies changes due to different reasons such as features of the group, their relation to the non-Gypsy groups and different policies. Not only the non-Gypsies' definition but also the identification of people who are recognized as Gypsy differs considerably. What should be realized is that the people who are associated with Gypsyness are not a homogenous group and that they often share many characteristics with other people. They are part of the societies in which they live in spite of their marginalization. Among Gypsies moreover, the divergences are so remarkable that many confusions in categorization and identification emerge. In his work on British

[68] Ana Revenga, Dena Ringold and W. Martin Tracy, *Poverty and Ethnicity: A Cross-Country Study of Roma Poverty in Central Europe* (Washington: The World Bank, 2002), p. 5.

[69] Gillsater et al., *Roma*, p. 8. Whereas Romania has the largest number of Roma, estimated at between 1-2 million; Hungary, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Turkey, and Serbia and Montenegro follow with Roma populations between 400,000 and 1 million. See Dena Ringold, Mitchell A. Orenstein and Erika Wilkens, *Roma in an Expanding Europe: Breaking the Poverty Cycle* (Washington D.C.: The World Bank, 2005), p. 2. Spain has the largest Gypsy population in Western Europe with an estimated number of 630,000; it is followed by France (310,000), Italy (130,000) and Germany (70,000) (Ibid.). Thus, although there are Gypsies in every European country, mainly the Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries, such as Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro, have the majority of Roma people as two thirds of them live in these countries. Also see Tubbax, Charlotte. (18 April 2005). "The largest Trans-European Minority." *The European Magazine*, Available online: http://www.cafebabel.co.uk/article/13593/the-largest-trans-european-minority.html [14 January 2011].

Gypsies, Acton emphasizes the diversity among Gypsies as follows: "[…The Gypsies] are a most disunited and ill-defined people, possessing a continuity, rather than a community, of culture. Individuals sharing the ancestry and reputation of 'the Gypsy' may have almost nothing in common in their way of life and visible or linguistic culture."[70] The stigma, ways and degrees of exclusion, politics of assimilation all influence the ways of identification. What it means to be a Gypsy depends largely on the specific geographical, historical and political context.[71] The category of Gypsyness, however, can still appear as a fixed classification despite of the indications of fluidity, changeability, relationality and contextuality.

Gypsy identity, their origin, whether they constitute a nation or not are hotly debated in Gypsy studies and also partly in politics. In spite of the ongoing debates about the legitimacy of seeking for a geographical and ethnic origin among scholars,[72] the common theory is that they come from northern India.[73] The sociolinguistic scholar Ian Hancock argues that Gypsies themselves asserted this origin as some of them told it to the well-known German cartographer and cosmographer Sebastian Münster who first referred to it in 1550. However, most of the Gypsy people in Europe today do not emphasize the Indian origin and it does not seem to work in their ethnic identification.[74]

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[70] Thomas Acton, *Gypsy Politics and Social Change. The Development of Ethnic Ideology and Pressure Politics Among British Gypsies from Victorian Reformism to Romany Nationalism* (London; Boston: Routledge; Kegan Paul, 1974), p. 54.

[71] See Zoltan Barany, *The East European Gypsies: Regime Change, Marginality, and Ethnopolitics* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002). On the differences between various parts of Europe due to different state systems, see Leo Lucassen and Wim Willems, "The Weakness of Well Ordered Societies. Gypsies in Europe, the Ottoman Empire and India 1400-1914," Review. *A Journal of the Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economics, Historical Systems and Civilizations* 26, no. 3 (2003), pp. 283-313. For different identification in relation to different ethnic policies, see Acton, *Gypsy Politics*, pp. 34-38.

[72] Their Indian origin is highly debated.

[73] Yaron Matras, *Romani: A Linguistic Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[74] Barany, *The East European Gypsies*, p. 9. The date of their migration triggers ongoing debates as the starting time of the migration changes between the fifth and the eleventh century. For instance, according to Hancock, the Roma people first started to migrate with the effect of Gazneli Mahmut as he enslaved Indian soldiers between AD 1001 and AD 1026. Ian Hancock, *The Heroic Present The Photographs of*

However, as the Dutch historian Wim Willems[75] asserts, the reluctance of Gypsy intellectuals and activists in correcting the focus in scholarly work on Gypsy history are confronted with political and pragmatic interests as will be further elaborated in this chapter.

According to the direction, the time of the migrations and linguistic ties, there are three major strands among Gypsies: 1) the Rom, mostly found in Europe, and the United States; 2) the Dom in Middle Eastern countries, mostly including Syria, Egypt, Turkey; and 3) the Lom in Armenia, Persia and Central Asia.[76] However, these people do not constitute homogenous groups, but there are many religious, lingual and occupational differences within. There are three main languages called Romani, Domari and Lomavren, respectively; however, within these languages linguistic differences loom large due to multi-layered interactions with non-Roma. The Rom people and Romani language are the ones that have been object of research and the literature on them has developed parallel to the increasing importance of the Roma in the arena of transnational

Jan Yoors and His Life with the Gypsies. (New York: The Monacelli Pres, 2004). This group was not homogenized as the Indian army consisted of people from very different ethnic groups. Hancock derives this from linguistic traces, which may give an idea of the timing and form of the outmigration from India. On the other hand, the Romani scholar Fraser followed an Arab historian Hamza Isfahani who mentioned the fifth century as time of departure by referring to the Iranian shah Behram Gur who asked for musicians who are believed to be Gypsy's ancestors from Indian king Shangul. Angus Fraser, *Çingeneler (Gypsies)* (Istanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2005). Also see Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov, *Osmanlı Imparatorlugunda Çingeneler (*Gypsies in the Ottoman Empire*)* (Istanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2006).

[75] Wim Willems, *In Search of the True Gypsy: From Enlightenment to Final Solution* (London; New York: Routledge,1998).

[76] I.e. Fraser and Hancock.

(identity) politics.[77] On the other hand, there has been very little research, for instance, on the Dom and Lom peoples and their languages.[78]

> What we are faced with is a complex and multi-layered Gypsy identity –or rather identities, as we are talking not of a single identity but several- and also a high degree of difference and confusion in the application of labels, images and boundaries. In short, there is a complete lack of agreement concerning where the boundaries should be drawn around the group, what they should be called and how they should be represented. [79]

The debates and confusions about the category of Gypsyness by researchers, scholars, officials and ordinary people are very helpful to understand the categories and power relations. The labels, boundaries and subjects that are connected to the categories all change over time and space. Whether it is a race or an ethnic group is open to question; a classification that would fit into nationalized and ethnicized perceptions lacks consistency. The ideas on origin of the certain groups, belongingness and groupness all vary greatly. They produce not only ambiguous, but also contradictory images.

Attempts to Define the Gypsy and Different Identifications

Defining the Gypsy is connected to wider socio-political issues and developments in early modern and later modern European societies. In the European context, the main distinction is that between aliens and natives and secondly between

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[77] After the collapse of Soviet Union, the international institutions as the UNDP, the Council of Europe and the OSCE as well as national and international NGOs are engaged in Roma politics within the region and taking certain actions such as conducting research, conducting social projects and seeking social policy programs for Roma in Europe. The first step in European Roma policy is accepted to be in 1993 by the approval of the report "On Gypsies in Europe" that recognizes Roma as "real European minority" by the Council of Europe (Thelen, p. 37).

[78] I.e. for research on Dom people, see Kevin Holmes, "The Dom of Egypt: A DRC Update, May 2002", *Kuri: Journal of the Dom Research Centre* 1, no. 6 (Spring/Summer 2002). Available online: http://www.domresearchcenter.com/journal/16/index.html [14 January 2011]; Allen Williams, "The Current Situation of the Dom in Jordan: A DRC Update", *Kuri: Journal of the Dom Research Centre* 1, no. 8 (Spring/Summer 2003). Available online: http://www.domresearchcenter.com/journal/18/index.html [14 January 2011].

[79] See David Mayall, *Gypsy Identities 1500-2000; From Egipcyans and Moon-men to the Ethnic Romany* (London; New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2004), p. 12.

travellers and sedentary populations.[80] The legislation regarding them was part of general policies from the end of the 15th century to control social order, the mobility of people and wage laborers. Much later, in the nineteenth century, to the idea of Gypsies as social misfits and vagabonds a racial definition was added, which was greatly stimulated by linguistic research on their alleged Indian roots.[81] When 'race' was discredited after the War it was replaced by the concept of ethnicity, which did not fundamentally change the essentialist image and only led to a confusing differentiation in practice.[82]

Travelling with one's family has been seen as the most characteristic feature of Gypsies.[83] The binary between sedentarism and nomadism has played a crucial role in their exclusion. In such a binary, the sedentary life is perceived "as a movement upwards towards civilization, security and modernity."[84] Instead of a clear-cut transition though,

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[80] For a deeper analysis of the representations of Gypsy image and groups, legislations and thus the construction of the Gypsy category with a focus on British context, see Mayall.

[81] Willems, *In Search of the True Gypsy*.

[82] Many people do not even realize the difference between race and ethnicity. In Mayall's differentiation that I find fruitful, race would refer to biological difference, objective states and immutable while ethnicity would stand for mutable, subjective, cultural and fluid (p. 277). The distinction between the two is not really conceivable in practice and the two terms are used as synonyms in many cases though.

[83] Trubeta considers nomadism as part of the imagined Gypsyness, while other scholars still consider nomadism as the main features of Gypsy culture. Sevasti Trubeta, 'Gypsyness,' Racial Discourse and Persecution: Balkan Roma during the Second World War," *Nationalisties Papers* 31, no. 4 (December 2003), pp. 495-514, p. 499. Liegeois observes: "Gypsies had long been trapped the allure of a myth (handsome, artistic, unrestrained, but consigned to folklore) and the wretched stereotype of the nomad (dirty, a thief and always too close for comfort). So pervasive was the image that Gypsies had little choice but to let others see what they expected to see." Jean Pierre Liegeois, *Gypsies: an Illustrated History* (London: Al Saqi Books, 1986), p. 163.

[84] Robbie McVeigh, "Theorising Sedentarism: The Roots of Anti-Nomadism," in *Gypsy Politics and Traveller Identity*, edited by Thomas Acton (Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire Press, 1997), pp. 7-25, p. 10. Also see Shuinear's work that tries to disclose psychological and representational meaning of the hate against Irish Travelers in her questioning Gypsies' exclusion through the binary of sedentarism and nomadism. Sinéad ní Shuinéar, "Why Do Gaujos Hate Gypsies So Much, Anyway? A Case Study," in *Gypsy politics and Traveller identity,* edited by Thomas Acton (Hatfield, Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire Press, 1997), pp. 26-53. According to Shuinéar, Gypsies' otherization and demonization work as the personification of Gaujos' own faults and fears. Moreover, they are important in the construction of the Irish, as they are the stage to show what/who the Irish is not. By selecting the other from the periphery of the society, they project their problems on this relatively powerless group. However, Gypsies are not passive receptors, but they play on Gaujo's fears according to Shuinéar. Thus, she conceptualizes the otherization of the Gypsies through the need of Gaujos' own existential standings of "us". Moreover, this otherization has to be perpetuated for the sake of Gaujos and thus it seems something that would not be solved easily.

the transition from nomadic to sedentary life has not been absolute and irreversible.[85] The formation of nation-states and modernism along with the emphasis on overall control, surveillance, order and discipline have influenced the perception of travelling people as threats to society. Thus, the history of Gypsies' stigmatization has parallels with the history of vagabonds.[86] It has not been just a socio-cultural issue, but it is closely linked to economic transformations in Europe's past. In an articulated way, Lucassen puts this history in its context by relating it to the changing treatment of the poor and especially traveling groups in the socio-economic transformation in the history of West European countries since the end of the Middle Ages. Referring to Geremek, he presents this transformation originating in the fourteenth century through the economic and ideological shifts that shaped the policy towards labor migration.

The change from a feudal to a market oriented capitalist system with the shift from bound to free labor was crucial for this transformation.[87] With a shortage of labor supply due to the bubonic plague epidemic in the mid fourteenth century, many people found it profitable to leave their former masters and seek for higher wages. The suspicion and stigmatization of mobile labor and self-employed people called vagabonds were part of a more general policy throughout Western Europe "to bind labour to capital

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[85] McVeigh gives New Travellers as an example of this case. He supports his argument with the existence of cases such as semi-nomadic people and communities as well as sedentary communities who returned to nomadic life. He also argues that the transition to sedentary life was quite problematic as it was not voluntary for all people but it terrorized nomad people. Furthermore, he formulates an imminent critique: "Despite the virulence of sedentary attacks on the uncivilized nature of the nomad, there is evidence to suggest that sedentarisation was far from emancipatory for formerly nomadic groups." Thus, he questions the promises and lacks of sedentarism in fulfilling those promises for relative emancipation of people. On the contrary, as he asserts, sedentarism may be advantageous and emancipatory for the dominant classes, but not for the whole society.

[86] McVeigh approaches sedentarism "not reducible to race or class [but…] structured by both" (p. 20). He argues that nomad people are against private property especially of land. Also see Lucassen et al.

[87] Leo Lucassen, "External Vagrants? State Formation, Migration and Travelling Groups in Western Europe, 1350-1914," in *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups: A Socio-Historical Approach,* edited by Leo, Lucassen, Wim Willems and Annemarie Cottaar (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), pp. 55-74.

and fix wages."[88] Apart from institutionalized ways, the migration of labor and traveling groups were stigmatized because of their life styles as well. Lucassen pointed at the co-occurrence of the "Egyptian" image in the same period that repressive policies against this category came about in the fifteenth century.

Through time, the label of vagabond and Gypsy was flexible and applied to different people depending on their visibility, lifestyle and their social and economic functionality. The sixteenth century offers a good example of this flexibility with the increasing demand for labor due to economic expansion in sixteenth century Europe. As seasonal labors and peddlers were needed, increasingly a distinction was made between good and bad mobility and thus legislation was developed to restrict and regulate migration.

Lucassen et al., who emphasize the role of stigmatization in Gypsies' identifications, furthermore draw attention to the changes in categorization. The ethnic element was reinforced since the end of the eighteenth century with the rise of nationalist ideas while other categories such as criminal vagabonds and mixed social outsiders became part of a more overarching ethnic label.[89] Their economic function was mostly denied in nationalistic articulations. Lucassen et al. stress the process of state formation and the ensuing control and regulating of the labor force. This had also repercussions for who could be included in the Gypsy category, which was largely limited to those migrants who took their families with them and who displayed a rather visible mobile way of life (using tents or caravans).[90]

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[88] Lucassen, "External Vagrants?" p. 56.

[89] Leo Lucassen, Wim Willems and Annemarie Cottaar, eds. *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups: A Socio-Historical Approach* (New York:St. Martin's Press, 1998), p. 7.

[90] Lucassen et al., pp. 11-12.

Similarly, tales about their alleged origin followed Orientalist ideas and sentiments. Most Gypsies, however, do not identify with the Indian origin and some do not even know about it. Most Gypsy activists though, regard the Indian origin as a tool to claim cultural rights, notwithstanding the fact that by doing so they fuel their image as exotic others. Instead of engaging in such identity politics, this study is primarily interested in the significance of Gypsyness in societies, and in the question how and why Gypsies are marginalized in specific historical contexts.[91]

Okely, who – like Willems and Lucassen - rejects the Indian origin story, draws attention to different historical categories and representations. She shows how in Europe, Gypsies were first referred to as Egyptians and then in the nineteenth century they became Indians. She asserts that this Indian connection became deeply rooted as it linked language directly to ideas of race. She ironically illustrates this Indian origin story:

> It is assumed that Gypsies existed in India many centuries back as a 'pure' group or separate society with language, customs and genetic structure hermetically sealed, until some 'mysterious event' caused their departure from their mythical homeland. [...] Thus any custom which seems strange to the Gorgio observer is explained not in terms of its contemporary meaning to the group, but according to some 'survival' from mythical ancient Indian days, or even the contemporary caste system.[92]

She instead explains the marginalization of Gypsies by the way societies handled travelling groups in general. She follows the idea of Marx on the origin of the modern proletariat and suggests that some groups may have joined the people who identified or were identified as Egyptians of the time. These groups consisted of former servants and workers, who chose to reject wage-labor rather than to be fully proletarianized, and became peddlers, showmen, wanderers and beggars instead. Okely recognizes that it was the choice for self-employment and the opposition to wage-labor that contributed to the

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[91] Willems similarly suggests a different approach for Gypsy history that would also enable positioning it in a wider articulation of social phenomena such as immigration. See Willems, pp. 308-309.

[92] Okely, p. 10.

idea of Gypsies as opposing the system. She states that Gypsyness was symbolically seen as a subversive state of being.[93] The image contributed to the marginalization of Gypsies, if not constructed it. Otherwise, their cultural similarity with the dominant groups with whom they lived was often quite remarkable: "[Although] some aspects of traveller culture and values serve to reinforce the division, for example nomadism, self-employment, dress, language and rituals of cleanliness. [...] None of these is sufficient.""[94]

Okely's account of Gypsy marginality echoes the important work of Perlman in which she explores how the myth of marginality is rooted in the context of urban society in Rio de Janeiro. The group that she worked with identified with the dominant values although they had been identified as marginals and considered to have different value systems.

> [...T]hey have the aspirations of the bourgeoisie, the perseverance of pioneers, and the values of patriots. What they do not have is the opportunity to fulfill their aspirations. […] Exploited groups in such a situation are not marginal but very much integrated into the system, functioning as a vital part of it. In short, integration does not necessarily imply reciprocity.[95]

It is not to say that the Gypsies do not have any specific life styles and traditions. However, they usually are not that isolated from the socio-economic values in the societies in which they live as most people assume. Although they may change due to integration or assimilation, as we will also see in the Turkish context, Gypsyness in a society is determined largely by the way the dominant society labels and stigmatizes them and how 'Gypsies' react to this image. Okely reveals the connection between the dominant imagery of the Gypsies and their self-representation: "[...]There is no clear fact-

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[93] Okely, p. 53.

[94] Ibid., p. 67.

[95] Janice E. Perlman, *The Myth of Marginality. Urban Poverty and Politics in Rio de Janerio* (London: University of California Press, 1976), pp. 243-5. For arguments on how poor people internalize dominant values in Turkey, see Necmi Erdogan, "Garibanların Dünyası: Türkiye'de Yoksulların Kültürel Temsilleri Üzerine Ilk Notlar" (The first notes on the cultural representations of the poor in Turkey) *Toplum ve Bilim* (Yaz 2001), pp. 7-21.

fiction distinction between Gypsies' and Gorgios' (= Gadjo = term by Gypsies for non Gypsies) categories. The Gypsies will present to the Gorgio categories which both confirm Gorgio prejudices and protect the particular Gypsy speaker."[96]

Structural changes and general policies are highly influential in the prevalence of certain meanings and in the actual labeling and categorization of people. Ladanyi and Szelenyi display how the category of Gypsyness changed due to the socioeconomic transformation from a socialist to a market economy in the Hungarian town of Csenyete. Basically, the people who were considered Gypsies had occupied a low class position during the socialist era, while most of them belonged to the "underclass" [sic] in the market economy. Not only the economic conditions, but also the perceptions of Gypsies and Gypsyness changed through the transformation from a socialist to market economy. The changes in the perceptions and the redefinition of the content of the category show how flexible and context bound Gypsyness is.

Then what about the people who are brought under the label of 'Gypsies'? Is it that some people are always Gypsies, but that the perceptions and the treatments change in society? Or is the group created in a much more interactive way, in which self-definitions and stigmatization are mixed? Lucassen's approach based on the Dutch case is helpful to clarify the changes in labeling and self-definitions: "My assumption is that the most of the 'Gypsies' were labeled as such after 1890. That they define themselves nowadays as a separate group does not automatically mean that this was also the case a century ago."[97]

He pointed at changes in identifications and labeling as well as the usages of the category of Gypsyness through time. A Gypsy, like the Sinti for instance, did probably not identify themselves as such before the stigmatization and labeling became dominant

[96] Okely, p. 73.

[97] Lucassen, "The Power of Definition", p. 85.

from the end of the nineteenth century onwards, when the specialization of anti-Gypsy policy gathered speed in the Netherlands. Moreover, they would not have been treated in the same ways as other Gypsies.

Ladanyi and Szelenyi, on the other hand, stress that there had been "reclassification" that reflected changes in ethnic statuses of some families.[98] They noticed that some poor families had been Gypsified while other wealthy families who were successfully assimilated were no longer viewed as Gypsy in the town they studied. Thus, ethnic classification could change over time. This shows the flexibility of categories, but also the relation between class and ethnicity that is of great significance in the case of Gypsyness.

Furthermore, in analyzing the Gadjo's category on Gypsyness, Trubeta's work on the Gypsy image in Nazi Germany is also important. It illustrates that racism itself is constituted through the hierarchical differences in cultural and social characteristics.[99] In this hierarchization, Trubeta emphasizes the transmission of prejudices and ideological constructions regarding Gypsies' persecution. The Nazis used the existing discourse on Gypsies while at the same time transforming it.[100] In her analysis on Gypsies under Nazi

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[98] Janos Ladanyi and Ivan Szelenyi, *Patterns of Exclusion: Constructing Gypsy Ethnicity and the Making of an Underclass in Transitional Societies of Europe* (New York: Boulder Co., 2006), pp. 28-29.

[99] Heuss explained how ideas around the Enlightenment that have been important in the articulation of work and idleness in Germany, and how it is related to anti-Gypsism. See Herbert Heuss, "Anti-Gypsism Research: The Creation of A New Field of Study," in *Scholarship and the Gypsy Struggle; Commitment in Romani Studies,* edited by Thomas Acton (Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2000), pp. 52-69. The unwillingness of Gypsies to work is a widespread prejudice that was repeated by some Gadjos in my fieldwork as well. As Okely would argue, this may be related partly to the different conceptualization of work for some Gypsies. Being mostly occupied in the informal sector rather than getting formal jobs also contribute to this prejudice. This is due to the perception of formal jobs as "real work", although most informal jobs may require more physical and mental efforts and less [in most cases even none] social benefits. The reluctance of Gypsies to get a formal job also is accepted in the society and indicated by some Gypsies as reported by Kolukırık. Suat Kolukırık, *Dunden Bugune Cingeneler* (Gypsies from yesterday to today) (Istanbul: Ozan Yayincilik, 2009). However, more important aspect of the prejudice is its contribution to Gypsies' discrimination. During my research on flower sellers, some Gypsies told me that they would prefer a formal job but they would not be accepted. The difficulty in getting a formal job especially is due to the low rate of schooling, which is also influenced by their discrimination. Thus, the prejudice and discrimination become intermingled.

[100] Another important parallel was constructed between Jews and Gypsies. Although Jews were considered powerful and Gypsies as powerless, both were considered to be strangers: "Gypsies like Jews

rule, Trubeta further clarifies how "Gypsy" appeared as a category that was separated from the subjects:

> "Gypsy" as a comprehensive discriminatory category holds a quality that is standard for racist stereotypes: it can exist independently of the original subject of discrimination and therefore can be effectively used as an a priori pejorative and discriminating notion in various situations. Such a quality usually unifies further pejorative stereotypes built on chains of association: unsettled, unordered, non-conformist, dirty, communicators of illness, pathological and so on. The ascription of deficiencies such as the incapability of working is a diachronic racist stereotype that has appeared (even if in distinct variations) in any historical racism, from colonialism up to the present time. Basically it reflects the "civilization deficiencies" of "deviants" or, in other words, of "inferior strange groups". Similarly the linkage of "strangeness" and "criminality" is further commonplace of any historical racist discourse, including the recent migration debate. However, criminality is the aspect that completes a pathological image.[101]

In sum, the categories are not necessarily consistent and have a function in classifying, ordering, controlling, sometimes distancing, othering, criminalizing and demonizing certain people. They can be reformed, redefined and engaged in different combinations in spite of ambiguous contents, contradictions and inconsistencies.

Recent Debates in Romani Politics

In recent decades, the term "Roma" has been accepted as an umbrella term; however, there is still a debate on the usage of the term for diverse groups of people. It has been proven problematic in the literature and formal reports how to refer different Gypsy groups. The definitions vary from a non-territorial nation to a national minority and ethnoclass. Many scholars and activists have trouble fitting the Gypsies into a clear-cut category, whereas many Gypsy groups mostly do not feel that they belong to one Roma group.

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have penetrated from outside into our cultural and living circle."(Trubeta, p. 499). I find transmissions of prejudices very significant also for this study as will be seen in the part on parallelization of attacks in Chapter Five.

[101] Trubeta, p. 505.

According to organizations such as the International Romani Union and the Roma National Congress, Roma groups are all part of a nation because of their common ancestry, language and culture. The differences between groups are seen as the results of the assimilationists politics of different states. Beyond its political agenda of identity politics,[102] this claim does not reflect reality as many Gypsy groups lack the feeling of commonality. It seems more like imitating nation-state ideology and ironically reveals again that the nation is an imagined category.[103] Moreover it displays that the category of nationhood as an instrument is a phenomenon that can be negotiated, manipulated, and constructed, de- and re-constructed. In a world in which being part of a nation (or at least an ethnie) is a requirement, it politically makes sense to identify through a nation for some activists.

The debates on the minority rights of Gypsies create extra confusion with respect to the category of Gypsyness.[104] According to this view, not so much a common language, religion, culture and inclusive feelings of nationhood are crucial in making people into Roma. However, due to discriminative practices and poverty, many Roma choose to stress their socio-economic position instead of a Roma identity. The force of assimilationist and integrationalist politics are seen as preventing the building of a unified minority. Whether different Gypsy groups can be regarded as ethnic or not; and what really makes them members of the same ethnic group, additionally fuels debates on the requirements to be considered as such. The debate however will never be solved because

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[102] For a critique, see Peter Vermeersch, "Ethnic Minority Identity and Movement Politics: The case of the Roma in the Czech Republic and Slovakia," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 26, no. 5 (September 2003), pp. 879-901, pp. 886-9; Thomas Acton and Nicolae Gheorghe, "Citizens of the World and Nowhere: Minority, Ethnic and Human Rights for Roma During the Last Hurrah of the Nation-State," in *Between Past and Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe,* edited by Will, Guy (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire, 2001), pp. 54-70.

[103] See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London; New York: Verso, 1991).

[104] Istvan Pogany, "Minority Rights and the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe," *Human Rights Law Review* 6, no. 1 (2006), pp. 1-25.

there is not one clear agreed upon definition of what it takes to belong to an ethnic group. Not Gypsyness itself but being ethnic itself can be contradictory, confusing and complicated due to changing relations, and boundaries over time and space. Thus, while group formation is not necessarily ethnic as such, it may gather ethnic or related characteristics in time and vice versa.

Furthermore, the category of Gypsyness can be quite problematic for many people who are caught in it , due to the differences that they perceive between one another and the mismatch between the subject and object definition. The work of Blasco on Gitanos in Jarana[105] is exemplary. She indicates that the Gitanos, although they had similar characteristics as Gitano-like people in other countries, they did not feel part of a wider Roma category. Blasco explains this by a lack of a political structure that could have mobilized them such as attributions of citizenship and nationality.[106]

This point is relevant for the case that I explore in this dissertation, and not only refers to Gypsies, but to other communities or groups as it rises the more general question what constitutes an ethnic or national group. Why and on what grounds do we call certain people a group?[107] Blasco overtly criticizes Roma politicians for using non-Gypsy categories to make "Roma" a legitimate political category in the non-Roma world. She argues that group-formation among Gypsies follow different logic and dynamics. Using the categories, such as the existence of a homeland and a common language, does not make much sense to many Gypsies.

The research on Gitanos in Jarana shows that they identify themselves with criteria that go beyond the classic ethnic definition. Moreover, they would consider the

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[105] Paloma Gay Y. Blasco, "Gypsy/Roma Diasporas: A Comparative Perspective," *Social Anthropology* 10, no, 2 (2002), pp. 173-188.

[106] Also see Zoltan D. Barany, "Ethnic Mobilization without Prerequisites: The East European Gypsies," *World Politics* 54, no. 3 (April 2002), pp. 277-307.

[107] See Brubaker

term of Gypsy to define themselves, but reject 'Roma', which most of them had not even heard of at all.[108] This shows that the term "Roma," which is accepted as a general term, is highly contested and primarily serves an ethno-political goal that most Gitanos do not share. [109]

> Th[e] sense of identity and togetherness, however, is not anchored in any notion of community easily comparable to those of the non-Gypsies around them : territory, history and attachment to a state, and not merely social harmony, are absent from their self-conceptualisations. […] The people of Jarana do not see themselves as belonging to a society in the traditional anthropological meaning of the term: they have no concept of a structure of statuses that individuals would occupy and vacate upon death, and also disregard any notion that parochial interests should or would work to sustain the group at large.[110]

This is an important point that opens a space to question the classical sense of national identity and its construction. Whereas national identity is important in certain contexts, in their everyday lives, instead of emphasizing national ties, people rely on personal ties through daily interactions. These daily interactions are not exempt from structural hierarchies and influences such as ethnic ones. However, they still carry enough space to negotiate and enable agency and personal strategies. Thus, I do not think that it is only assimilation and integration politics, but also the significance of localities and personal experiences in the socio-historical context of a particular locality that highly influence Gypsies' identification processes.

In addition, for the Gypsy groups who do not live isolated, it would be surprising to expect totally different types of identifications and socializations. Especially in the Turkish case, we come across many Gypsies who do not identify with overarching group labels such as Roma. In contrast to European representation, the Turkish Gypsies share

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[108] Blasco, pp. 174-175.

[109] Whereas in Turkey "Roman" also came to be a more neutral term, some prefer the term "Gypsy," because it covers other groups who do not really identify with Romaness such as Dom or Lom or Mitrip (some of these groups of course do not even accept the term Gypsy -such as Mitrip or they consider it as a form of discrimination. Some only accept local terms or specific group names depending on different criteria such as professions or family names).

[110] Blasco, p 178.

many traditions and cultural commonalities with non-Gypsies, whereas they could be still considered different and not part of Turkishness as a national identity. However, beyond the effect of national identity, we also should consider the power of other dominant discourses that are internalized (consciously and/or subconsciously) even by the people who are marginalized in a society. Barth's reflection reveals such internalization and practices:

> […T]he sanctions producing adherence to group-specific values are not only exercised by those who share the identity. Again, other imperative statuses afford a parallel: just as both sexes ridicule the male who is feminine, and all classes punish the proletarian who puts on airs, so also can members of all ethnic groups in a poly-ethnic society act to maintain dichotomies and differences. Where social identities are organized and allocated by such principle, there will thus be a tendency towards canalization and standardization of interaction and the emergence of boundaries which maintain and generate ethnic diversity within larger, encompassing social systems.[111]

It may not be necessarily these group-specific values that are crucial, but much more the economic marginalization that is widespread among Gypsies. The debate on their poverty and Gypsies' being an ethno-class builds on this concept of marginalization. Although it cannot be argued that all Gypsies are poor, it is a fact that Gypsyness is often associated with poverty and can be used to keep people in that position. Thus, the potential to fall into poverty is higher among Gypsies. Their poverty has become more visible since the collapse of the Soviet Union and its satellite states in the Central and Eastern Europe. While most Gypsies were employed to some extent during the communist regime, in the harsh competition of the capitalist market economy it has been hard for them to find a place in the labor force due to their relatively low education level and the overt discrimination they face.[112]

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[111] Barth, p. 18.

[112] See Barany, *The East European Gypsies,* pp. 195-200, for the increase of racist and anti-Gypsy movement in this period.

Moreover, they prefer jobs in the informal sector, such as petty trade and construction, which do not entitle them to formal social help, i.e social security, health care, social insurance benefits and unemployment payments.[113] The activists who consider minority rights as insufficient to overcome prejudices and stereotypes that also are connected to economic interests and inequalities therefore prefer the approach of ethno-class. It leads to political demands that focus on poverty instead of on ethnic status.[114] Some, however, criticize this approach because of its neglect of historical processes and nationalist prejudices that have produced the marginalization of Gypsies in the first place.[115]

In the post-socialist era, Ladanyi argues that Roma constitute an "underclass" which refers to "a new social group […] which is segregated from the rest of the society and discriminated against."[116] Underclass is a term first used by the Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal (1962) with reference to "proletariat marginalized on the labor market due to an ethnic or racial stigma and technological upheavals in the production system."[117] However, the term has been used widely in the analysis of African Americans in the United States in the 1980s especially in urban studies on the "undeserving black poor". Critical historians and sociologists have stressed that the use of the term

[113] Ringold et al., p. 4.

[114] Vermeersch, pp. 891-2.

[115] I.e. Thelen, pp. 33-34.

[116] Janos Ladanyi, "The Hungarian Neoliberal State, Ethnic Classification and the Creation of a Roma Underclass." In *Poverty, Ethnicity, and Gender in Eastern Europe During the Market Transition*, edited by Rebecca Jean Emigh and Ivan Szelenyi (Westport: Praeger Publisher, 2000), pp. 67-82, p. 71.

[117] Loic Wacquant, "Decivilizing and Demonizing: Remaking the Black American Ghetto." In *The Sociology of Norbert Elias*, edited by Steven Loyal and Stephen Quilley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 95-121, p. 106.

'underclass' easily leads to neglect the process of exclusion and discrimination that has caused the marginalization of Blacks.[118]

In the case of post-socialist states, Ladanyi points out that Gypsies had been ethnically discriminated during state socialism as well, but with the collapse of communism "poverty is becoming highly ethnicized"[119] and the exclusion of Gypsies has become much more explicit. Due to the problematic associations and assumptions that are attached to the term underclass, which tends to blame the group as the deficit party, Stewart criticizes Ladanyi's use of this term for the Gypsies. He instead proposes the term social exclusion which is an "ongoing process […and] focuses attention on the primarily political struggles that determine who is defined as 'in' and 'out', rather than on deviant behavior and criminality."[120] Here, Stewart emphasizes the dynamic side of exclusion.[121]

In our case the particular dynamics of social exclusion, socio-historical specificities are crucial, as most Gypsies in Turkey also have the status of a lower social and economic class. Many are uneducated and unemployed, with poor living standards. Some live in very small houses, tents or sheds with few families together, sometimes without toilet or water supply. Some cannot even feed their children properly and eat whatever they can find during the day. When they find a job, mostly (almost always) in

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[118] Michael B. Katz, *The Undeserving Poor: From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare* (New York: Pantheon, 1989).

[119] Ladanyi, p. 68.

[120] Michael Stewart, "Deprivation, the Roma and 'the underclass'," in *Postsocialism: Ideals, Ideologies, and Practices in Eurasia,* edited by C.M. Hann (London; New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 133-156, p. 143.

[121] Ladanyi and Szelenyi developed their arguments in a later study, which displays changes in the ethnic construction of the Gypsy people although they hold on to the term underclass with all its problematic associations (Ladanyi and Szelenyi, p. 8). Although I am suspicious of any usages of the term underclass, I appreciate Ladanyi and Szelenyi's approach for their emphasis on the process, their reluctance of labeling but rather understanding the term in its historical context and as "a historically specific form of social exclusion" (Ibid., p. 10). Thus, they lay out different types of exclusion in reference to Gypsies while revealing changes in the construction of the category.

the informal or illegal market, they face very harsh working conditions, which endanger their lives and make them vulnerable to police abuse.

Apart from their working lives, their daily lives are often characterized by humiliation, deprivation, and mistreatment by police forces, state authorities and other members of society. All these experiences are intermingled with poverty. This is not to say that they do not suffer from discrimination connected to their Gypsyness. As in their case class and ethnicity are intermingled, it is impossible to find out which one precedes the other.[122] More strikingly, some Gypsies assert that they would become non-Gypsy if they were wealthy. Thus, their discrimination is both caused by their low class status and by their Gypsyness. Furthermore, the particular socio-economic history of the construction of the Gypsy category in Turkey along with other more general developments such as the construction of national identity, ethnicity, minority positions, class relations and poverty, is the background against which our story should be understood.

Gypsies in Turkey

The Turkish case illustrates the flexible, complicated, confusing, ambiguous and liminal characteristics of the Gypsy category. With all its particularities and similarities, it has the potential for a grounded understanding of the category of Gypsyness. The diversity in socio-economic conditions, historical constitution of national identity and minority position make Turkey an interesting "laboratory."

[122] I agree with Butler (1998) with her call for a broader understanding of discrimination within the intersection of cultural, socio-economic and political inequalities. Also fruitful is her focus on reciprocity between the recognition of identities and redistribution of sources for remedies against discrimination. Butler states that cultural recognition is attached to material oppression. It is not possible to separate them, but they are intertwined. In this context, the intermingling character of social exclusion through ethnicity and poverty as reflections of certain group identifications and/or labels facing low living standards in the line of class inequalities becomes clear.

Primarily, the diversity in Turkey enables us to track complexities and disparities within the category in contrast to the premises of any homogeneous category. As mentioned before, the European context that has been a powerful arena for Gypsy studies and politics already shows a great diversity among Gypsies between different countries and within countries. The cultural trends, traditions, language, group identification, definitions are all changeable. The changes may depend on different politics and socio-economic contexts, as well as on the strategies and reactions of different groups. In the Turkish context, the ambiguity of the category of Gypsyness stands out. Although there are socio-economic differences between individuals in particular communities, and to their degree of social integration with non-Gypsy society, we can distinguish roughly three main groups in Turkey: the Rom, who are concentrated in the western regions; the Lom in the north and northeast; and the Dom in the southeast and east.[123] Apart from geographical distinctions this rough typology can also be used to distinguish linguistic and cultural variations among Gypsies. The major variations are Romani, Domari and Lomavren; however, their prevalence is questionable.[124] Whereas the Romani language for instance is spoken in Rumeli, Üsküdar and Van,[125] it is not very common especially among young people. Moreover, they change due to dialect differences and the effects of other dominant languages, especially Turkish, Kurdish and Persian.

The identifications and group formation do not necessarily follow this logic. There are other differences and ties between people that give way to other

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[123] Rom, Dom and Lom Gypsies are referred to as the main groups in Gypsy Studies. Their different cultures and civilizations, linguistic differences are also connected to differences in the timing of their alleged emigration from India. See Fraser.

[124] Adrian Richard Marsh and Elin Strand, *Reaching the Romanlar* (Istanbul: International Romani Studies Network (IRSN) Report, 2005), pp. 29-30.

[125] Ana Oprisan, "Overview on the Roma in Turkey," *Journal of the Dom Research Center: Kuri.* 1, no. 7 (Fall/Winter 2002). Available online: http://www.domresearchcenter.com/resources/links/oprisan17.html [14 January 2011]

identifications. Factors that influence such alternative identifications include geographical proximity and occupational specializations. Thus, there are Gypsies who are labeled on ground of their professions such as *sepetci* (basketweavers), *calgici* (musicians), and *demirci* (blacksmiths). The geographical proximity and sense of belonging, on the other hand, result in identifications with other local people instead of Gypsies in other places. For instance, Doms in Diyarbakir indicated that they consider themselves a tribe in the Kurdish community. This does not follow the assimilation politics of the state, but reflects the influence of a dominant culture in the region as well as the commonalities that it produces. The locational proximities can be so pervasive that neighborhoods may produce different groups. Some Gypsies in Kustepe neighborhood, Istanbul, do not have close relations to for instance the ones in the Haci Husrev neighborhood nearby.

The socioeconomic differences, on the other hand, also produce diversity, belongingness and identification. Although most Gypsies are poor, Gypsies are found in various class positions. There are statements by Gypsies such as "Gypsy people, *Roman* child is not only a Gypsy, but also poor"[126] that reveal the significance of poverty in Gypsy's lives. Whereas most of them experience poverty due to their inadequate educational background, the difficulty to be hired in high salary paid formal jobs[127] and lack of social security, there are also wealthier Gypsies. However, as has been stressed by some researchers,[128] when Gypsies manage to be included into society and gather relative

[126] Emine O. Incirlioglu, "Secaat Arzederken Merd: Türkiye'de Çingenelerin Örgutlenme Sorunları" (Gypsies' problems of organization in Turkey). In *Turk(iye) Kulturleri [Cultures of Turk(ey)],* edited by Gönül Pultar and Tahire Erman (Istanbul: Tetragon İletisim Hizmetleri, 2005), pp. 167-189, p. 186.

[127] For example, Erdilek, in my interview with her, indicated that although there is not a law that prohibits a Gypsy to become a state officer, they are not accepted for these positions. However, it is not clear how far this statement reflects the reality as Incirlioglu (p. 184) mentions Gypsy state officers among Trakya Gypsies in her article. Moreover, Kolukırık points at the high probability of Gypsies' taking place in informal sector, not only because of exclusion but also their own choices. Nevertheless, it should be recognized that the choice of Gypsies is highly determined by exclusionary practices.

[128] Marsh and Strand and the interview with Erdilek.

status among non-Gypsy people, they mostly hide their Gypsy identity. In this sense, some cross the boundary from Gypsyness to Turkishness[129] and assimilate.

In addition, some researchers observe different degrees of Gypsyness that are intimately connected to occupational and class differences.[130] Their professions vary from businessmen to garbage collectors. Moreover, their domination in particular sectors in industrial cities such as recycling and selling flowers[131] can be observed while some are "traditional" professionals such as musicians and blacksmiths. Along with these differences, their religion differs. Although many Gypsies are Sunni-Muslims, there are also some Alevis particularly living in eastern cities and Istanbul,[132] while Christianity among them is rare.

Furthermore, the self-identification of Gypsies depends on the specific context. The differences can emerge even through a simple conversation. Thus, a Gypsy can indicate that he or she is a Turk for a moment and emphasizes her or his Gypsyness in another. This should not be regarded as contradictory or extraordinary. Indeed, it is how identification works; through different positioning, representations and self-representations that are flexible and instrumental in accordance to the prevailing relations

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129 Alba and Nee.

130 Incirlioglu observes three groups of Gypsies in Edirne: the ones who are assimilated, "good Gypsies," and the poor ones (p. 184).

131 Mischek emphasizes their monopolistic character, but I do not agree with the usage of this term due to the harsh conditions under which they have to work, their limited profits and opportunity spaces which contrasts to the concept of monopoly which is based on power and exploitation. Udo Mischek, "The Professional Skills of Gypsies in Istanbul," *Journal of the Dom Research Center: Kuri.* 1, no 7, (Fall/Winter 2002). Available online: http://www.domresearchcenter.com/resources/links/mischek17.html [14 January 2011]. My own field research among Gypsy people in Turkey and specific among flower sellers in Istanbul did not find them occupying very advantageous positions as Mischek would argue. Although they are relatively better off compared to the waged jobs that might be offered to them, they face very harsh working conditions and in most of the cases they chose the job due to their limited choices. Thus, their direct or indirect exclusion from formal sectors, the limited degree of their assimilation and their consideration of life practices and work ethic limit their choices to enter formal jobs.

132 Adrian Marsh, "Ethnicity and Identity: The Origin of The Gypsies." In *We Are Here! Discriminatory Exclusion and Struggle for Rights of Roma in Turkey,* edited by Ebru Uzpeder, Savelina Danova/Roussinova, Sevgi Ozcelik and Sinan Gokcen (Istanbul: Mart Publishing, 2008), pp. 19-29.

and contexts. Thus, we come across incidences in which some Gypsies in eastern Anatolia would emphasize their closeness to the Kurdish community while some in the other part of the country (or in the same place) identify themselves with Turkishness and stress their distance to Kurds. There are some Gypsies, moreover, who have attacked Kurdish people, showing their nationalist feelings and reliability to the Turkish state and national identity.[133] As Marsh points out, the great diversity of Gypsy identities goes against the idea of a homogenous Roma identity that is propagated by the Romani movement in Europe.[134]

This type of multiple and/or selective ways of identification is supported by the work of the Bulgarian scholars Marushiakova and Popov. They draw attention to different levels of identity construction as "level one is the intra-community identification, level two recognition of other communities, and level three refers to the nationhood hence describing oneself as a member of a certain nation state. In other words, a Gypsy from Tophane might define himself or herself as a member of Tophane community, as an Istanbul Gypsy, or as a Turk, in relation to different contexts."[135]

From this point, we can take a further step to consider another feature of the Turkish context that influences the construction of Gypsyness. It is the historical existence of Gypsies in the territorial space of the country. This will give us a background before dealing with the constitution of Turkishness as national identity, minority positions and Gypsyness in the country.

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[133] I.e. Gypsy attacks against Kurds in Tarlabasi and Dolapdere: *Haber Vitrini*, (14 December 2009), "Romanlar Beyoglunu Karistiran DTPKK"lilari Satirlarla Kovaladi" (Roma chased DTPKK [Kurdish Salvation Party Supporters] who messed up Beyoglu with choppers). Available online: http://www.habervitrini.com/polise_yuh_pkklilari_kovalayan_romanlara_mudahale-435526.html [14 January 2011]. *EurActiv*, (16 December 2009), "Dolapdere'de Catisan Kurtler ve Romanlar" (Kurds and Roma in Clash in Dolapdere). Available online: http://www.euractiv.com.tr/ab-ve-turkiye/article/dolapderede-carpisan-kurtlerle-romanlar-008116 [14 January 2011].

[134] Marsh, "Ethnicity".

[135] Udo Mischek, "Mahalle Identity Roman (Gypsy) Identity under Urban Conditions," in *Gypsies and The Problem of Identities; Contextual, Constructed and Contested,* edited by Adrian Marsh and Elin Strand (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute, 2006), pp, 157-163, pp. 158-159.

A Brief Look at Gypsies before the Republic

It should be noted that the available research on Gypsies' history in Turkey is very limited. They are argued to have their origins in the groups of people who were called Atsinganoi or Athinganoi in Byzantine (East Roman) times.[136] The original group of Atsinganoi was Phrygian and associated with magic. They were also called Egyptians[137] and like other non-Christians, they were obliged to pay head-tax to the Byzantine emperor. When Mehmet the Conqueror took Constantinople in 1453, the Gypsy population in the Ottoman Empire increased with the addition of those in the Byzantine lands. During the period following the *kanunnames* (legislations) concerning Gypsies, a marginal status was attributed to them.[138] The proof of their marginalization and otherization is reflected in the terminology that is used in the registers, *ehl-i fesad* [people of malice].[139]

The territory under the sovereignty of Ottoman Empire included that of the Turkish Republic founded in 1923. The structure of the society in the empire gives some clues for the historical construction of Gypsyness in relation to other categories that would become influential during the republic. Generally, the Ottoman rule is highlighted for relative tolerance towards Gypsies under its sovereignty compared to the European

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[136] Marsh, Adrian. "A Brief History of Gypsies in Turkey," in *We Are Here! Discriminatory Exclusion and Struggle for Rights of Roma in Turkey*, edited by Ebru Uzpeder, Savelina Danova/Roussinova, Sevgi Özçelik, and Sinan Gökçen (Istanbul: Mart Publishing, 2008), pp. 5-19, p. 5.

[137] Soulis referred in Marsh, "A Brief History", p 7.

[138] Celik explored four kanunnames from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of the Ottoman Empire in her work. The first kanunname was issued in the time of Mehmet the Conqueror and the rest were from the followers. Faika Celik, "Exploring Marginality in the Ottoman Empire: Gypsies or People of Malice (*Ehl-i Fesad*) as Viewed by the Ottomans," *European University Institute EUI Working Papers RSCAS*, no. 39 (2004).

[139] Çelik, p 5.

context.[140] Barany indicates that it was due to the difference in regime type. To explain the different treatment of Gypsies in Europe, Lucassen and Willems[141] furthermore, emphasize the lack of poor relief system in the Ottoman Empire, which in the European context played a key role in the ongoing stigmatization of the Gypsies. In the Ottoman Empire, they were not considered as a major threat to the well-ordered society as in most European countries.[142] The basis for the difference in the Ottoman society depended on the millet system within which religion was an essential criterion to draw lines between communities. The Gypsies in this society were in a somewhat better position compared to, for instance, those in the Habsburg Empire, but they still faced different treatments that exhibited discriminative practices.[143]

At the administrative level, the most visible treatment of the Gypsies was their taxation. Although the millet system basically relied on religious differences, Muslim Gypsies were treated differently and segregated from other Muslim communities in the empire. The socio-cultural categories in the empire further allocated the rights and hierarchies between different subjects: "[…] the askeri, those who belonged to the military, administrative or religious elites, who were exempted from paying taxes, versus the reaya, Muslims and non-Muslims who were subject to taxation; other major dichotomies confronted Muslims versus non-Muslims, the free-born versus slaves and men versus women."[144] Gypsies however "lived on a flexible border-the one that

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[140] See Barany, *East European Gypsies;* and Lucassen and Willems, "The Weakness".

[141] Lucassen and Willems.

[142] The scholars pointed at the recognized contribution of nomadic people in the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, many Gypsies were settled in the Empire, where they were not the only nomads as there were other tribes such as Yoruks. Ginio, on the other hand, emphasizes the disapproval of Gypsies' nomadic life in their stigmatization under the Ottoman rule. Eyal Ginio, "Neither Muslims nor Zimmis: The Gypsies (Roma) in the Ottoman State," *Romani Studies* 5, 14, no. 2, (2004), pp. 117-144.

[143] Some scholars argue that they were defined in ethnic terms. See Çelik.

[144] Ginio, p. 119. Ginio's findings rely on the records of seriat court of the eighteenth century Thessaloniki.

distinguished Muslims from non-Muslims."[145] Thus, although some were Muslims, all were obliged to pay the tax *cizye* that was collected from non-Muslims. This points at a liminal position for the Gypsies in the empire. Similarly in the tax and population records of the nineteenth century, they were categorized separately as well, unlike any other Muslim community.[146]

However, there were also respected and wealthy Gypsies, as well as their guilds that could even afford to build a palace for the sultan for the sake of his patronage.[147] Some Gypsies even had a special status as Gypsy *sancak*s (governing administrative district) in the Empire along with other professions such as musicians, blacksmiths and ironworkers.[148] The law on Gypsies that was initiated by Süleyman the Magnificient [149] reveals the rules regarding the taxation of Gypsies and the authority of the Gypsy *sancak*. In this law, the Gypsy *sancak* was entitled with the responsibility of taxation and implementation of certain punishments.[150] Barany indicates that although their position was subordinate to other groups in the empire, the Gypsies were still relatively better off under Ottoman rule compared to other states where they faced slavery and harsh discrimination.[151] However, as Barany also asserts, Muslim Roma were taxed heavier than

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[145] Ibid., p. 119.

[146] See Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

[147] Sepetciler Pavillion on Golden Horn was built in 1643 on the Golden Horn by Gypsy basket weavers' guild's money. See Marsh, "A Brief History", p 14.

[148] See Marushiakova and Popov. Çelik draws attention to the existence of sancaks for the classification of Gypsies' separation through their ethnicity in the empire and their professions as contributors to their social marginalization in the empire. The Gypsies of Çanakkale also underline their position in the army and the army supporting them, as it is widely told that Gypsies were settled by the city wall of Çanakkale by Sultan Mehmet, The Conqueror for their expertise in making weapons.

[149] Kanunname-i Kıbtiyan-ı Vilayet-i Rumeli. The law aims to regulate tax collecting from Gypsies and holds the Gypsy community responsible for realizing this aim. This law displays that the taxation is higher for the nomadic and non-Muslim ones.

[150] Marushiakova and Popov 2006, pp. 37-39.

[151] Barany gives the examples of the Romanian principalities of Moldovia and Wallacia for Gypsy slavery that dates back to 1348 (Barany, *The East European Gypsies*, p 85).

other Muslims, because they were not considered good practitioners of Islam. Moreover, they were seen as parasites by the dominant groups in the empire. In the seventeenth century, the attitudes against the Gypsies hardened by a state campaign that increased their taxes and accused them of widespread pimping and prostitution.[152] The spread of Orientalist ideas from Europe on Gypsies [153] was also effective. Gypsies were increasingly seen within a civilization-savage dichotomy in certain contexts in the late Ottoman period, especially after 1878 with Abdulhamid's regime.[154]

Equally important was the constitution of Turkishness as the foundation of the Republic. How Turkishness as a national identity and citizenship was founded, how minority positions were arranged and how Gypsyness and Gypsies interacted within these contexts will be evaluated for a better articulation of Gypsyness in the country.

The Multi-Dimensional Constitution of Turkishness

The multiple dimensional features of the national identity in Turkey has repercussions for the way "us" and "them" are perceived. Turkish citizenship is a mixture of French and German conceptions. The French basically entailed territorial belonging and includes the people born in the territory of the state (ius soli). The German citizenship, on the other hand, derives from the blood ties and deep historical

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[152] Ibid., pp. 84-85. Altinoz also mentioned the attacks against Gypsies by other groups such as Yoruks. Ismail Altinoz, "XVI. Yuzyilda Osmanli Devlet Yonetimi Icerisinde Cingeneler"(The Gypsies in the Ottoman State Administration in the Sixteenth Century), in *Yeryüzünün Yabancıları Çingeneler* (Gypsies: Strangers of the Earth), edited by Suat Kolukırık (Istanbul: Simurg Publishing, 2008), pp. 13-33, p. 18.

[153] For a deeper elaboration on the topic, see Marsh, "A Brief History, pp. 13-15. Usamma Maksidi, "Ottoman Orientalism," *The American Historical Review* 7, no. 3 (2002), pp. 768-796 referred in Marsh.

[154] Marsh, referring to Maksidi, p. 15.

roots of people who share a common culture and language (ius sanguinis).[155] Ahiska et al.[156] draw attention to the advantage of this mixture for inclusion of different parts of the society. However, it also illustrates the weakness that emerges from the lack of a common understanding and wholeness of a nation.

In the context of Turkishness, there are at least three different dimensions.[157] One is territorial inclusion. It was supposed that all the people living in the country could be recognized as Turkish citizens. This included all ethnically and religiously different groups such as Kurds, Turks, Gypsies, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Laz. The second dimension of Turkishness, regards religious identification as followers of Islam. In this articulation, Muslim (Sunni sect) people were accepted as Turks while non-Muslims were not. These two dimensions were at the root of the population exchange at the beginning of the 1920s and the recognition of minorities in the country following the Lausanne Treaty.[158] During the population exchange, Muslims who lived in the former Ottoman Empire and declared themselves to be Turk were accepted in the Turkish Republic and

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155 See Feyzi Baban, "Community, Citizenship and Identity in Turkey," in *Citizenship in a Global World: European Questions and Turkish Experiences,* edited by E. Fuat Keyman and Ahmet Içduygu (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 52-70. Also see Bora for his point on the two dimensions of nationalism in the country; one relying on territory, homeland and citizenship, the other relying on ethnic and essentialist identity. Tanıl Bora "Insa Döneminde Türk Milli Kimligi" (Turkish national identity in the period of constitution), *Toplum ve Bilim* 71 (Winter 1996), pp. 168-195. For different nationalisms in the country, also see Umut Özkırımlı, "Turkiye'de Gayriresmi ve Populer Milliyetçilik" (Informal and popular nationalism in Turkey), in *Milliyetçilik* (Nationalism), edited by Tanıl Bora and Murat Gultekingil (Istanbul: Iletisim Yay, 2002) [3rd edition 2008], pp. 911-919. For the (re-) formation of Turkish nationalism in different contexts and commonalities through Turkishness, see Melek Göregenli, "Bir Ayrımcılık Ideolojisi Olarak Milliyetçilik" (Nationalism as an ideology of discrimination), in *Milli Hallerimiz: Yurttaslık ve Milliyetçilik: Farkinda Mıyız?* (Our national states: citizenship and nationalsim: are we aware?), edited by Nil Mutluer and Esra Güçlüer (Istanbul: Helsinki Yurttaslar Dernegi, 2008), pp. 78-83.

156 Meltem Ahıska, Fırat Genc and Ferhat Kentel, *"Milletin Bölünmez Bütünlügü" Demokratiklesme Sürecinde Parçalayan Milliyetçilik(ler)* ("Undividable unity of the nation" tearing nationalism(s) in the process of democratization) (Istanbul: Tesev Yayınlari, 2007).

157 See Soner Cagaptay, "Türklüge Geçis: Modern Türkiye'de Göç ve Din" (Transition to Turkishness: migration and religion in Turkey), in *Vatandaslik ve Etnik Çatısma* (Citizenship and Ethnic onflict), edited by Haldun Gülalp (Istanbul: Metis Yay, 2005), pp. 86-112.

158 For the minorities and nationalism, see Baskin Oran, *Türkiye'de Azınlıklar (Minorities in Turkey)* (Istanbul: Iletisim Yayinlari, 2004), pp. 61-3. Tanıl Bora, "Turk Milliyetciligi ve Azinliklar" (Turkish Nationalism and Minorities), in *Milliteycilik* (Nationalism), edited by Tanıl Bora and Murat Gultekingil, pp. 706-718. Also see Murat Belge, "Turkiye'de Zenofobi ve Milliyetçilik" (Xebophobia and nationalism in Turkey), ibid., pp. 179-193.

offered citizenship with the recognition of Turkishness. According to the Lausanne Treaty, the minorities in the country were determined on the basis of religion, which meant that Greek Orthodox Christians, no matter how they defined themselves in cultural or political terms, were forced to move to Greece. The third dimension of Turkishness, furthermore centralizes the ethnic origin and prioritizes the ethnic Turks. Thus, to be recognized as a real citizen and to benefit from all the advantages of citizenship, one's ethnic Turkishness has a crucial function in the perception of the citizenship in the country.

This multidimensional state of Turkishness allows an ambiguity around the recognition, entitlement and thus legitimacy of life spaces of the people within the borders of the Turkish state. While it may enable a flexible inclusion, in practice it can easily give rise to hierarchies between groups and to the exclusion of ethnically non-Turks. The three dimensions thus can be visualized as domains in which citizenship can be articulated. Thus, one can argue that one is a Turk by employing one dimension, while in other dimensions one may emphasize another identification. In the same way, one may be recognized as a Turk according to one dimension while one is discriminated for not being enough Turk due to one's ethnic or religious difference in another context. For instance, the Law of Public Employment that was mainly used against non-Muslim minorities embodied a discriminatory principle between formal citizens and ethnic Turks. According to the law, public employment was reserved for ethnic Turks rather than Turkish citizens.[159] Only in 1965, in the revised version, all Turkish citizens were

[159] B. Ali. Soner, "Citizenship and The Minority Question in Turkey," in *Citizenship in a Global World: European Questions and Turkish Experiences,* edited by E. Fuat Keyman and Ahmet Icduygu (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 289-312, p. 298. For the emergence of nationalist movement in the late Ottoman period and the formation of Turkish nationalism in parallel with liberal economic context, see Zafer Toprak, "National Economy and Ethnic Relations in Modern Turkey," in *State Formation and Ethnic Relations in the Middle East,* edited by Akira Usuki, *The Japan Center for Area Studies [JCAS] Symposium Series 5, Osaka, Japan*, (2001), pp. 187-196. For 'Turkification' of the economy and the country in the process, also see Erik-Jan Zurcher, "From Empire to Republic- Problems of Transition, Continuity and Change," in *Turkey in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Erik-Jan Zürcher (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2008), pp. 15-30. Also see Zafer Toprak, *Turkiye'de "Milli Iktisat": 1908-1918* ("National Economy" in Turkey: 1908-

included.[160] Moreover, even being of Turkish descent can develop different meanings through time. In a recent work of Danis and Parla, a transformation of the politics towards Bulgarian and Iraqi immigrants of Turkish descent is clearly displayed along with a "hierarchy of eligibility", depending on the origin of migration. Over time, the Iraqi immigrants started not being recognized as Turks while the ones from Bulgaria with Turkish descent were easily entitled as Turkish citizens. They rightfully stressed the flexibility of this hierarchy and the effects of domestic and foreign policy.[161]

Recognizing the dynamic relation between macro and micro levels in understanding nationalisms, Ahiska et al.[162] traced the personal experiences of different people in Turkey, in order to investigate nationalism in terms of theoretical and political aspects. Their definition of nationalism is also important for the perspective of this study:

> Nationalism is an ideology that evolves through nourishment of common codes, myths and emotions that are shaped by the relationships between individuals along with cultural and historical links that particular society at the same time while it reflects hegemonic structure and dominant ideology in power relations between classes or the relations between state and society.[163]

This perspective illustrates the exchange between personal experiences, dominant discourses and cognitive states. To understand Turkish nationalism, Ahiska et al. underline the co-existence of different discourses in relation to different constructions of

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1918) (Ankara: Yurt Yayinlari, 1982); Caglar Keyder, *State and Class in Turkey: a Study in Capitalist Development* (London: Verso, 1987).

[160] Republic of Turkey, *1926 Memurin Kanunu* (1926 State Official Law), no. 788, Article 4, 1926; Republic of Turkey, *1965 Devlet Memurlari Kanunu* (1965 State Official Law), no. 657, 1965. The law has the potential to have impact on our case as well although there is no clue how it effected relations in practice.

[161] Didem Danis and Ayse Parla, "Nafile Soydaslık: Irak ve Bulgaristan Türkleri Örneginde Göçmen, Dernek ve Devlet"(Futile Descent: immigrant, association and state in the example of Iraqi and Bulgarian Turks), *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 114 (2009), pp. 131-158. Danis and Parla further argues on the instrumentalization of Turkish descent in the case of immigrants. Although I agree on their perspective, I recognize Turkishness as an instrument itself and not as something that is only instrumentalized in particular times or contexts.

[162] Ahiska et al.

[163] Ibid., p. 16.

the nation and the citizenship. They also recognize an area of tension as different individuals in society imagine the nation in the same way that attempts to exclude others according to their own criteria. Similarly, Bora and Canefe map changes in Turkish nationalism along with populist discourses in the politics since the foundation of the Republic.

The stress on reliable Turks and proper Muslims gained different nuances and interpretations in these discourses through time. While populism in the country has been dominated by a rightist discourse since the beginning of the 1950s, it started cooperating with nationalists that emphasized "cultural racism"[164] in the period between 1960 and 1980. After 1980, it gained conservative-liberal characteristics that corresponded to the values of the free market and it reinforced neoliberalism, supported by Islamic conservative liberals. Besides, the traditional discourses of nationalist populism survived by adapting and cooperating with new dynamics.

To sum up, Turkishness in its multidimensional articulation has allowed the inclusion of Gypsies as citizens and Turks. Gypsies especially emphasize their religious eligibility as Muslims although their religious background is often openly questioned.[165] Seeking legitimate grounds to be recognized as Turks, however, can take various ways depending on the context and relationships.[166] As the superiority of Turkishness is

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[164] Tanıl Bora and Nergis Canefe, "Turkiye'de Populist Milliyetçilik" (Populist nationalism in Turkey), in *Modern Turkiye'de Siyasi Dusunce Cilt 4: Milliyetçilik* (Political thought in modern Turkey vol 4: Nationalism), edited by Tanıl Bora and Murat Gultekingil (Istanbul: Iletisim Publications, 2002), pp. 635-662, p. 654. Bora and Canefe also points at the intensifying hegemony of the left movement using populist discourses in the same period.

[165] See Marsh "A Brief History." For the racial exclusion of Gypsies from Turkishness, see Atsiz's ideas in Emre Arslan, "Turkiye'de Irkcilik" (Racism in Turkey), in *Modern Turkiye'de Siyasi Dusunce Cilt 4: Milliyetçilik* (Political thought in modern Turkey Vol 4: Nationalism), edited by Tanıl Bora and Murat Gultekingil (Istanbul: Iletisim Publications, 2002), [3rd Edition 2008], pp. 409-426.

[166] Another legitimization way is referring to the founder of the republic; Ataturk. See Kolukırık "Dunden Bugune". For desired distance to Gypsyness, discontent for proximity with Gypsyness and identification of Abdals with Turkishness, see Suat Kolukırık, "Cingene Oldugu Dusunulen Gruplarda Kimlik: Teber(Abdal)" (Identity among the groups that are considered Gypsies: Teber(Abdal)). In *Kimlikler Lutfen: Turkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Kulturel Kimlik Arayisi ve Temsili* (Identities please: the seek and representation for cultural identity in the Turkish Republic), edited by Gonul Pultar (Ankara: ODTU Yayincilik, 2009),

recognized within the content of citizenship, many Gypsies also stress their reliability as Turks. On the other hand, they emphasize Gypsyness as a social economic status. Still their commonalities and references to Gypsyness can be observed. Moreover, their ways of identification along with the new dynamics and contexts are transforming, as we will see in the following sections. Below, I will first examine the ways of Gypsies' exclusion and then against this background we will explore the relationship between Turkishness and Gypsyness and thus will also try to find out how Gypsyness is constructed in relation to both Turkish national identity and their own minority status.

The Exclusion Of Gypsies

The most widely circulated number for the population of Gypsies living in Turkey is 500,000, deduced from the Ottoman population census in 1831,[167] while some representatives[168] claim higher numbers up to around two and half million. Marsh criticizes the inaccurate mainstream calculation as the 1831 census underrepresented the number of women, men under fifteen years old and over sixty years old, as well as Muslim and itinerant Gypsies.[169] Most Gypsies, both sedentary and itinerants, live in Trakya and Marmara regions.[170] They generally live in their own neighborhoods isolated

pp. 244-255. For an articulation of Gypsyness in the context of being different and otherization of difference and its impact on lack of identification with Gypsyness, see Binnaz Toprak, *Turkiye'de Farkli Olmak: Din ve Muhafazakarlik Ekseninde Otekilestirilenler* (Being different in Turkey: the otherized ones in the context of religion and conservatism) (Istanbul: Metis Yay, 2009).

[167] Marsh, "Ethnicity and Identity," refers to Karpat, *Ottoman Population*.

[168] Due to my interview with Ana Oprisan, 20 October 2005, and Nese Erdilek, 05 January 2006, and Marsh and Strand.

[169] Marsh, "Ethnicity and Identity, pp. 21-22.

[170] See Oprisan, and Map 1 at Appendix C.

from the rest of the society. Many inhabit Gypsy-only communities while there are also some who established personal and professional relationships with non-Gypsies.

Many Gypsies face direct and indirect discrimination both socially and legally. Their social exclusion goes along with their poverty as they generally occupy lower segments of the society.[171] Although they are not seen as domestic enemies like Kurds in Turkey, they are not fully included within the borders of "us" either. According to Marsh and Strand, compared to other minorities in Turkey, they "suffer much higher levels of ill-health, have poorer housing, and higher incidences of discrimination on the basis of their ethnicity"[172] along with their positions as under-educated and under-employed. However, this is a strong statement as the dynamics of exclusion through ethnicity for other minorities are not taken into account (i.e, Kurds are treated as domestic enemies in some cases, forced to migrate and also suffer in different ways).

The self and the other binary was constructed primarily through religion in Turkey according to the Lausanne Treaty of 1923, although it has not been applied systematically. In the treaty, only non-Muslims were considered as minorities without any reference to ethnicity.[173] Thus, ethnic Muslim minorities, including Gypsy people, have not been recognized officially as such. However, there was some recognition of Gypsies as an ethnically different group, albeit in a discriminative way, in the 1934 Law on Settlement. This law "explicitly lists 'itinerant Gypsies' among groups of persons to be

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[171] Also see project reports: Sosyal ve Kültürel Yasamı Gelistirme Dernegi, *Romanlar ve Sosyal Dislanma Sorunu: Sosyal Politika, ama Nasil? (*Romanlar and problem of social exclusion: social policy but how?), (Istanbul: 2007) as well as European Roma Rights Center; Helsinki Citizens' Assembly and Edirne Roman Association, *We Are Here! Discriminatory Exclusion and Struggle for Rights of Roma in Turkey*, edited by Ebru Uzpeder, Savelina Danova/Roussinova, Sevgi Özçelik and Sinan Gokcen (Istanbul: Mart Publishing, 2008).

[172] Marsh and Strand, p. 6.

[173] Baskın Oran, *Türkiye'de Azınlıklar* (Minorities in Turkey) (Istanbul: Iletisim Yayinlari, 2004), pp. 61-3.

subject to differential treatment."[174] The discrimination against Gypsies in this law mainly transpires in prohibitions of movement, making life difficult for traveller Gypsy immigrants in Turkey. As exemplified in this law, their mobility and life styles served as a ground for discrimination, similar to many other countries. The Law was revised on September 19, 2006 as a success of persisting objections of human-rights and Gypsy activists, and the new law regarding settlement (No. 5543) abolished these discriminatory statements. Additionally, in Article 21 of the law on foreigners' settlement and travelling in the country, Gypsies again are mentioned particularly as potential objects of evictions. Moreover, in the instruction manual for policemen, "Gypsies without well established businesses" are classified as suspicious.[175]

With the recent effects of gentrification in squatter neighborhoods, Urban Transformation Project, that mainly targets the displacement of urban poor from the city centers, the multidimensionality of Gypsies' exclusion becomes more visible. Gypsies face demolition of their houses and forced eviction in the implementation of the project illustrating a threat to their housing rights in several cities of Turkey. Eventually, the demolition of historical Gypsy neighborhood, Sulukule in Istanbul from 2006 to 2009, in spite of protests by several right-seeking organizations and independent activists, demonstrated not only a housing problem but also a threat to Gypsy culture and history.

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[174] In the part "Areas of Settlement" the discriminatory parts are as followed: Article 1 states: "The settlement of immigrants, refugees, nomads and itinerant Gypsies within the country shall be arranged by the Ministries of Internal Affairs and Health and Social Assistance in accordance with the program to be made by the Council of Ministers with a view to ensuring their loyalty to Turkish culture and improving the establishment and distribution of the population." Article 4 states: "A. Those who are not attached to Turkish culture; B. Anarchists; C. Spies; Ç: Itinerant Gypsies; and D. Persons deported, shall not be accepted as immigrants into Turkey" (The Turkish Law of Settlement quoted in Tara Bedard, "Roma in Turkey", ERRC, (7 February 2004), pp 1-2. Available online: http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=1345 [14 January 2011]).

[175] [134/B/a/5]. Anita Danka, "Turkiye'de Roman Haklari ve Hukuki Cerceve" (Roman Rights and Legal Framework in Turkey). In *We Are Here! Discriminatory Exclusion and Struggle for Rights of Roma in Turkey*, edited by Ebru Uzpeder, Savelina Danova/Roussinova, Sevgi Özçelik and Sinan Gokcen (Istanbul: Mart Publishing, 2008), pp. 29-52, p. 45.

How Gypsies are treated as a different group and excluded through the specific features that are attributed to them is also observable in sayings and phrases in the Turkish language. The common knowledge about them mainly depends on some prejudices, stereotyping and mystifications even reproducing the ones existent since the Ottoman time. Demonization and romanticization are at stake here as Gypsies are usually either stigmatized through unwelcome attributes such as idleness, robbery and immorality or envied because of their supposedly joyful life. Moreover, these two reinforce one another in their exclusion.

The negative usages of the term *çingene,* which is the Turkish term, used for Gypsy reveals some exclusionary attitudes:

> "[…C]ingene dügünü' ('Gypsy wedding' – something which is not done as it is supposed to be done), 'çingene kavgası' ('Gypsy fight' – violent fight), 'çingene borcu' ('Gypsy debt' – when a debt is tripled by other debts), 'çingene çalar, kürt oynar' ('the Gypsy sings, the wolf dances' – wrong people to the wrong place or an unprepared person doing something he cannot actually do)."[176]

In literary works, negative terms such as begging, ill-mannered, shameless, importunate, pimp, uncivilized, ignorant, untrustworthy, and godless are regularly used to refer to Gypsy people.[177] Kolukırık asserts that language, dress style, music and professional occupations contribute to the formation of these negative images. Moreover, Gypsies are also called as "dark-skinned citizen" (*esmer vatandas*). Thus, primordial roots are referred in constructing these images. The non-Gypsy people with whom I talked about Gypsy people also use similar negative adjectives such as "thief," "parasite," and "lazy."[178]

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[176] Ana Oprisan, "An Overview of the Romanlar in Turkey," in *Gypsies and the Problems of Identities,* edited by Adrian Marsh and Elin Strand (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006), pp. 163-9, p. 166.

[177] Suat Kolukırık, "Türk Toplumunda Çingene Imgesi ve Önyargısı" (Gypsy image and prejudice in the Turkish Society), *Sosyoloji Arastırmaları Dergisi* 8, no. 2 (Fall 2005), pp. 52-71.

[178] For other examples of negative usages about Gypsy people in daily language see Kolukırık, "Türk Toplumunda", p. 12: "Çingenenin Bismillahından kıl çıkar [one should suspect Gypsies' religious performances]; Bahçeye erik, kapıya çingen bastırma [Suspicion on Gypsies' reliable work]

The prejudice regarding the religion and godlessness of Gypsies is additionally meaningful in the otherization process. Their religiosity is suspect and this is illustrated by a survey conducted by the government in 1945 indicating that there was a lack of religion among Gypsy people in Turkey.[179] In Zonguldak, for instance, there was a common rumor that Gypsies ate their corpses.[180] The rumor originates in the Gypsy people's practice of performing a tradition ritual in which they keep bodies of their dead in their house and holding a funeral ceremony before burial.[181]

Similarly, some superstitions reproduce primordial explanations for the negative features attributed to Gypsy people. An example is the claim that the origin of Gypsies goes back to incest between siblings Cin and Gane in the period of Hz. Ibrahim and it is seen as the basis of incest as a common phenomenon among Gypsies.[182] This superstition contributes to the social exclusion of Gypsy people as others in the society of Turkey. Finally, they are accused of pursuing their own interests without even caring about God, and it is implied that marrying Gypsies is a sin.

In sum, despite some inclusive policies and practice towards individual Gypsies, they are constructed as the other in several ways, usually based on primordial assumptions, and this otherization reinforces their social exclusion. Although they are not recognized as a minority according to the Lausanne Treaty, in practice they sometimes are similarly perceived as non-Muslims. Thus, whereas the dominant national

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[…]; Çingene çit çit, arkası bit bit [regarding dirt associated with Gypsies]."

[179] Adrian Richard Marsh and Elin Strand Marsh, *Proposal for Phase Two of a Study Mapping Roman Communities in Istanbul* (Istanbul: International Romani Studies Network, 2005), p. 2.

[180] The belief on Gypsies' cannibalism goes back to the late eighteenth century stereotype. See Willems, pp. 25-27.

[181] From my interview with Özhan Önder, 27 April 2006, who conducted a research on Gypsy people in Zonguldak.

[182] Kolukırık, "Türk Toplumunda", p. 11.

identity attempts to include and to open a space for their assimilation,[183] this instrumentalist effort does not exactly work in practice. The various ways of exclusion are meaningful to understand the Gypsies' strategies and self-identifications in the country.

Identifications of Gypsies in Turkey

Some researchers find the identification of Gypsies in Turkey very different from the ones in European context.[184] In the Turkish context, many Gypsies' first identification would be with the national identity, being Turkishness. This is not only due to the stereotypes and discriminatory practices around Gypsyness but also to the relatively available open space for such a national inclusive identification. Many Gypsies can even find a place in rightwing movements and become Turkish nationalists notwithstanding widespread anti-Gypsism among right-wing communities in East European countries.

As mentioned above, the different levels of inclusion of Turkishness enabled (and explains) Gypsies' loyalty to the Turkish state. Especially during the population exchange in the 1920s, many Gypsies were welcome in the country, as Muslim made them Turks.[185] They were included in the very foundation of the Republic due to their

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[183] For a further discussion, the work by Alba and Nee is fruitful for rethinking assimilation as a two-way phenomenon that not only influences the minority and/or immigrant group but also the majority. In some localities in the Turkish context, the effects of Gypsyness are highly visible for Gypsies' cultural and behavioral traits. (i.e. Izmir, Canakkale, Trakya region). Marushiakova and Popov draw attention to such an influence for the celebration of Hidrellez in the country that is mainly celebrated by the Gypsies, but also followed by non-Gypsies in many regions.

[184] I.e. Elin Strand, "Romanlar and Ethno-Religious Identity in Turkey: A Comparative Perspective," in *Gypsies and The Problem of Identities; Contextual, Constructed and Contested*, edited by Adrian Marsh and Elin Strand (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute, 2006), pp. 97-104. Also see Marsh, "Ethnicity and Identity."

religious proximity. However, as the Settlement Law shows, in the 1930s some Gypsies were not considered as desirable citizens anymore.[186]

In spite of discriminatory discourses and practices against Gypsies in society, the Gypsies of Turkey mostly are reluctant to identify themselves as a separate ethnic group.[187] Traditional perceptions of minorities have the potential to regard them as traitors through collaborating with enemies. Historical events related to xenophobia and discrimination against minorities in Turkey (especially the negative representations of Greeks and Armenians in national discourse)[188] and the recent position of other minorities that claim their own ethnic identity (i.e., Kurdish people) explain this reluctance of Gypsies. Moreover, the relative small size of their organized population in Turkey, organizational obstacles and their lack of resources are also important. Whereas recognition as an ethnic minority is considered as a means for social integration and access to equal sources in European context,[189] Turkish Gypsies tend to overemphasize

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[185] In our case, muhacir Gypsies will be exemplary for the Gypsies that immigrated as a consequence of the population exchange in the early 1920s. Kolukırık also mentioned the emphasis on the Muslim and muhacir identity of some Gypsies in a similar position. See Suat Kolukırık, "Madun ve Hakim: Cingene/Roman Kimliginin Toplumsal Elestirisi" (Subaltern and Dominant: Social critique on Gypsy/Roman Identity). In *Cingeneler* [Gypsies], edited by Suat Kolukırık (Istanbul: Simurg Press, 2007), pp. 43-55.

[186] For the debates on displacement of Gypsies from the country mainly led by Nihal Atsiz in the same period, see Sinan Gokcen and Sezin Oney, "Turkiye'de Romanlar ve Milliyetçilik" (Romanlar and Nationalism in Turkey), in *We Are Here! Discriminatory Exclusion and Struggle for Rights of Roma in Turkey,* edited by Ebru Uzpeder, Savelina Danova/Roussinova, Sevgi Özçelik and Sinan Gokcen (Istanbul: Mart Publishing, 2008), pp. 129-136.

[187] Marsh and Marsh, p. 2. Also my interview with the Administrative Director of Bilgi University Centre for Migration Research; Nese Erdilek, 5 January 2006 and Marsh "Ethnicity and Identity, pp. 19-29.

[188] Also consider the violent attacks on minority groups in the country such as those that occurred on September 6-7, 1955, pogroms against non-Muslim minorities particularly Greeks. Furthermore, I should mention the Wealth Tax on Property [Varlik Vergisi] hit non-Muslims in 1942 and the Trakya pogroms against Jews. See Dilek Guven, *Cumhuriyet Donemi Azinlik Politikalari ve Stratejileri Baglaminda 6-7 Eylul Olaylari* (September 6-7 events in the context of minority politics and strategies in the Republican era) (Istanbul: Iletisim Yayinlari, 2006); Ayhan Aktar, *Varlik Vergisi ve Turklestirme Politikalari* (Wealth on property and politics of Turkification) (Istanbul: Iletisim Yayinlari, 2000); Rifat Bali, *1934 Trakya Olaylari* (1934 Thracian Incidents) (Istanbul: Kitabevi Press, 2008). Additionally for violent attacks against Alevis in Kahramanmaras in 1978, see Burak Gurel, "Political Mobilization in Turkey in the 1970s: The Case of the Kahramanmaras Incidents" (MA thesis, Bogazici University, 2004).

[189] Marsh and Strand, p. 13.

their Turkishness and loyalty to the state as experienced in different contexts. The Turkishness, however, may take several meanings and correspond with diverging strategies, depending on different discourses. For some, it may be Muslimness while for others it is being a modern hardworking citizen who serves his or her country.

A Gypsy man appearing with a big Turkish flag in his hand and Atatürk's picture on his jacket collar at the Second International Roman Symposium in 2006[190] illustrates the identification of Gypsy people as Turks. He represented himself as a Turk, and complained about the social exclusion he faced. Incirlioglu, in her interviews with Gypsies experienced similar attitudes as they told that "we are not complaining about our state" and they emphasized their loyalty to the Turkish state, constitution, flag, Atatürk's principles and reforms.[191] An increasing tendency especially among young Gypsies to support the Turkish Nationalist Party (MHP) and their positioning against Kurdish people[192] is another example of their identification with Turkishness. On the other hand, some Gypsies[193] declare that Gypsies' statements on being Turks are only a strategy to deal with their social exclusion. Thus, according to this imagination, being a Turk may be the only way to enjoy their citizenship rights in full.

Therefore, the Gypsies' identification may both be connected to the strength of the dominant ethnic discourse and to a high degree of social exclusion of Gypsyness, as well as the position of other ethnicities in Turkey. According to Kolukırık's work on Gypsy identity in Tarlabasi, Izmir, this identification is mostly observed for those "who

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[190] Organized by Accessible Life Association [Ulasılabilir Yasam Dernegi] in Istanbul on May 6, 2006.

[191] Incirlioglu 2005, p. 175.

[192] My Gypsy colleague's statements from a project on Gypsy people. In Tarlabasi, Gypsy people beat Kurdish people as a sign of their loyalty to the state on 03/04/2006 (http://www.nethaber.com/?h=50452?) Also see Strand 2006, p 101.

[193] I.e. my Gypsy colleague from a project on Gypsy people.

feel the need for the integration with the Gadjo."[194] It is not merely a rational and economic but a social and psychological strategy.[195]

The unequal position in Turkish society explains their articulations. Some Gypsies ask, "Why do they call me Gypsy? I am a Turk, too. I am not different." Some also indicate that referring to them as a different group is itself discrimination. It is a claim for rights that is embedded in Turkishness rather than citizenship or humanness. This claim is formulated by particular individuals or communities, however, in itself it does not negate the inferior position of Gypsyness. In this articulation, they emphasize their sameness with the majority through cultural traits and moral values.

There are of course Gypsies who do not accept the identification with Turkishness, who choose to use it only as an umbrella term for citizenship, or who identify with it according to the context or the person that they encounter. They mostly feel at ease in their own group. The identification with Turkishness moreover does not necessarily violate the identification with Gypsyness. For many Gypsies as for many people in the country, multiple identifications are normal.[196] This identification mainly emerges in their discourse on Gadjos, the Gypsy way of life and as another way of response to social exclusion. In the discourse on Gadjos, they mainly emphasize their alleged snobbish style, selfishness, being mean and stingy, and arrogant.[197] On the other hand, Gypsyness is associated with the opposite of these features which they perceive positive: "A Gadjo always reminds you the favour he does for you, but a Gypsy never

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[194] Suat Kolukırık, "Perceptions of Identity Amongst the Tarlabasi Gypsies, Izmir," in *Gypsies and The Problem of Identities; Contextual, Constructed and Contested,* edited by Adrian Marsh and Elin Strand (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute, 2006), pp. 133-140, p. 136.

[195] See Alba and Nee for different strategies for assimilating immigrants.

[196] See other identifications as well depending on professions, kinships and localities in the part on Gypsies in Turkey.

[197] The criteria to be accepted as Gypsies also can vary as one can be considered Roman in one group while s/he can fall into Gadjo category in another Gypsy group. See Zerrin Toprak Karaman, "Siyasi ve Idari Yonuyle Romanlar" (Roma through Political and Administrative Aspects), in *Cingeneler* (Gypsies), edited by Suat Kolukırık (Istanbul: Simurg Yayinlari, 2007), pp. 33-43.

does that".[198] A form of otherization that is similar to the one against a Gypsy now works the other way. Superstitions are also reversed as the one that symbolizes the inferiority of Gadjos and the superiority of Gypsies: After God created the earth he decided to create people. Then, he took the dough of life and shaped it in the form of human beings. When he put them in the oven of creation, a problem among his angels in heaven emerged, which he had to solve. However, when he came back, he found the human beings overcooked and this is how black people came to the earth. The second time, God got worried about the cooking time, so he took the human beings out of the oven before they were sufficiently cooked and this is how white people were created. The third time, God created a timer to take the human beings out at the perfect time and this is how the Gypsies were created.[199]

This superstition as an example of Gadjo and Gypsy representation by Gypsies is interesting, as it uses the same essentialist strategy as we encounter in social exclusionary practices. Thus, in the discourse on the Gadjo, primordial ties dominate. Although it can be argued that such myths are a reaction to the dominant discourse, it is still important to see that they use primordial ties as their basis. In the discourse on the Gypsy way of life, similar images can be traced. When it is referred to by Gypsies, relatively more positive features are used such as wandering, easily adapting to different cultures, being talented musicians and dancers, being full of life and relaxed, closeness to nature, and wearing colorful clothes. Some Gypsies also create a mystification regarding the existence of matriarchy,[200] referring to different gendered roles in Gypsy communities. However, this

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[198] Kolukırık, "Perceptions," p. 137.

[199] From Uzun Yol Roman Dance Documentary performed on June 06, 2006 at Bilgi University.

[200] Gypsy colleagues from a project on Gypsy people in Turkey.

statement does not correspond to real life as Gypsy women also are suppressed in ways similar to those experienced by other women in most patriarchal societies.[201]

Genetic ties are also emphasized in the discourse on the Gypsy way of life. The statement "It is in my blood" is used frequently as an excuse or to explain a talent. One of the Gypsy respondents in the fieldwork by Kolukırık, indicates, "We have a gene that likes freedom. We do not like working under the command of someone"[202] while some others point to their intolerance of discipline and boredom.[203] In my interviews, similar statements were uttered, but possibly more related to culture than to blood. A Gypsy flower seller in the streets of Istanbul asserted that "they [Gadjo] can not do [this profession] like us. You need to understand the language of flowers."[204]

As these examples show, primordial ties especially based on blood and fixed cultural features are emphasized. On the other hand, language for instance is not seen as a signifier as most of the Gypsies in Turkey do not speak the Gypsy languages known as Romani, Domari and Lomavren.[205] Instead they speak the language that is most common in the region in which they live, such as Turkish or Kurdish. Thus, particular primordial ties are highlighted in identification with Gypsyness while some are almost neglected. In addition, identification with Gypsyness and being in the community make one feel more relaxed, empowered and accepted.[206]

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[201] From my interviews and personal experiences.

[202] Kolukırık, "Dunden," p. 3.

[203] Ibid., p. 4.

[204] Gül Özatesler, "Gypsies in the Economy of Turkey Through a Focus on Gypsy Flower Sellers on the Streets of Istanbul," unpublished paper presented at Gypsy Lore Society Annual Meeting (Washington: Georgetown University, September 2008). Also see Selim Sesler's comments on his music talent at Asli Cakir, "Roman Kitaba Denir, Onun Asli Cingene" (Book is called Roman, the real is Cingene), *Milliyet*, (6 March 2006). Available online: http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2006/03/06/pazar/paz02.html [14 January 2011].

[205] Marsh and Stand, pp. 29-30.

[206] Alba and Nee underline possible socio-economic opportunities for ethnic entrepreneurs to dominate some niches in the market.

Noteworthy, in relation to the identification with Gypsyness, recently a new identification emerged as being *Roman*. It is related to the improving network between Roma institutions in Europe and Gypsy organizations in Turkey in the process of Turkey's accession to the EU. It can be evaluated as an expression of instrumental ethnic identity, as it aims to stress a common basis between Turkish and European Gypsies and may help to improve their position. For this reason, the term *Roman,* which was already available but not widely known, is preferred to the term *çingene* because of its phonetic closeness to the term Roma used for European Gypsies. However, the reasons to choose the term Roman cannot be reduced to this connection.

Rather, with Roman they indicate that they want to fight social exclusion. However, this struggle usually works in the way to posit *çingene* in an inferior position by accepting the reliability of those negative and exclusionary statements. On the other hand, they protect themselves from that inferior position by their identification with *Roman*ness. Thus, they do not reject dominant prejudices, but just posit themselves to a better and "more respectful"[207] position and leave *çingene*s as "the lowest of the low".[208]

Another instrumental position of this identification that works through the link with European Gypsies clarifies the change of some of the Gypsy's associations' titles. The Edirne Gypsy's Culture Research Association (*Edirne Çingene Kültürü Arastırma Dernegi*), founded in 2004, later changed its name to the Edirne Roman's Culture Research, Development, Assistance and Solidarity Association (*Edirne Roman Kültürünü Arastırma Gelistirme, Yardımlasma ve Dayanısma Dernegi*). Most of the associations that were founded recently also prefer the term "Roman" instead of "Çingene."[209] Some Gypsies

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[207] Ibid., p. 136.

[208] The term is borrowed from Michael Stewart, *The Time of the Gypsies* (Colorado; Oxford: Westview Press, 1997).

[209] There are over 40 Gypsy association and 2 federations in the country.

also indicate that while they used to identify themselves as *çingene* before, they have recently started to use "Roman" instead.[210]

This link between European and Turkish Gypsies might be evaluated as based on primordial ties because of their supposedly common past, culture and blood. However, in practice they regard European Gypsies as stranger than a Turk[211] due to their different religion and language. It is therefore not so easy to find a common basis with European Gypsies. This identification is therefore limited and seems more instrumental, hoping that it will improve their financial and socio-cultural position.

To understand the different levels of identifications, I also find local commonalities and interactions between Turkishness, locality and Gypsyness of great interest. Collectivities that share the same locality and culture are significant for many people's identifications in the country. Mischek argued that the inherited social system of *mahalle* (neighborhood) from Ottoman time is important in this respect. In the mahalle system, beyond differences and inequalities, specific cultures connected to particular neighborhoods influence inhabitants' belongingness and identifications. In certain contexts, they can be the most important identifications that people develop and thus they are more important than other identifications: "Relationships in this quarter create a shared identity, in opposition to the "outside" world."[212] For Gypsies, this shared identity also appears to be significant. While Gypsy mahalles are separate from the non-Gypsies' in most cases all over the country; as will be seen in our case, there are also many mixed neighborhoods. Along with this, in small settlement areas such as towns, the shared identity can be more powerful due to spatial and personal proximities, as our case will show.

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[210] Gypsy colleagues from a project on Gypsy people in Turkey.

[211] Strand, p. 101.

[212] Mischek, "Mahalle", p. 157.

To conclude, Gypsies' identifications in Turkey can follow primordial and instrumental ties interrelated with the construction of dominant ways of identification in the country. Their interplay with Turkishness as the most dominant and national identity highly influenced their different strategies and belongingness. In addition, local commonalities and multiple identifications are noteworthy as well as the effects of domestic and foreign policies.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL CONTEXT: THE TIMING OF THE ATTACKS

> "They started not employing the Gypsies. In driving! This time, they started beating the drivers. That was what it started with. In essence, it was a drivers' war. A drivers' war that turned into a Gypsy war!"[213]

Although in the Bayramic case, there were periods during which Gypsyness was unimportant, there were also moments when it gained a 'master status' and those labeled as such became more Gypsy. In these contexts, the stigma became more functional. Our case displays not only how the stigma can be used to control power relations in a society, but also when and why it gained that function.

This is why in this chapter I will try to reconstruct what was happening in the town in the late 1960s that turned the relations upside down, and which made certain people "more Gypsy" than ever and thus becoming a target for violent attacks by townspeople. Sketching the background of the town at that time is important, as it will help us understand the dynamics of the attacks. While it changed according to individual choices and experiences, the general atmosphere in the town before the attacks was not at all hostile towards the Gypsies. The question therefore is, what changed this atmosphere? How did certain people become a threat and how did the idea of a 'Gypsy threat' emerge? Who were those people? Why did they become a target?

The change was part of a more general transformation in the relationship between Gypsies and non-Gypsies in the town following wider developments and trends

[213] My narrator Salih from the town. For the list of narrators and information, see Table 16 in Appendix A and for the Turkish original of the narrative, see Narrative 1 in Appendix D.

in the country. It was not a change in Gypsyness in itself, but a transition in power relations in the society altogether, in which Turkishness was used to improve one's social position and status. That was why some parts of the town society became "more Gypsy" than before. What characterized this period were the effects of rapid urbanization in the country and the related socioeconomic politics. It is my contention in this chapter that especially the development of highway transportation, increased mobility and trade between urban and rural areas are crucial to understand the attacks. And it is therefore no coincidence that the leading perpetrators were drivers themselves. As we will see in detail in Chapter five, the preceding conflict about a joint partnership of a truck between the leading perpetrator and his former friend from the muhacir "Gypsies"[214] triggered the attack. That is why in this chapter we will concentrate on the developments in the transport sector.

Map 1: Bayramic in Turkey[215]



[214] Immigrant Gypsies who came from Greece with the population exchange in the 1920s.

[215] I am indebted special thanks to Soner Ozisik for his help in preparation of the maps.

Map 2: Bayramic in Canakkale



The Socioeconomic Structure of Bayramic

It is not possible to find elaborative data or research on Bayramic, as towns generally have not attracted scholars' or state authorities' attention especially if they did not industrialize. Scholars who work on the rural world mainly focus on villages and the ones who are interested in urban sites restrict their works to cities. The first published sociological study on a provincial Turkish town was Mubeccel Kiray's work on Eregli in 1964.[216] Towns that could be considered as 'in-between' and did not fit the rural-urban dichotomy did not attract much attention of researchers.

[216] Mubeccel B. Kiray, *Eregli: Agir Sanayiden Once Bir Sahil Kasabasi* (Eregli: A Coastal Town before Heavy Industry) (Ankara: Devlet Planlama Teskilati, 1964). For later works, see Peter Benedict, Fatma Mansur and Erol Tumertekin, eds. *Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974); Peter Benedict, *Ula: An Anatolian Town* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974); Paul J. Magnarella, *Tradition and Change in a Turkish Town* (Rochester:Schenkman Books, 1974); Fatma Mansur, *Bodrum: A Town in the Aegean* (Leiden:E. J. Brill, 1972).

Apart from a few peripheral documents on the transportation and forestry sector in the town, the annual reports of 1968 and 1973, and the statement of the town's attorney in the newspapers of 1970, no state documentation is available.[217] Still, some information on the population, highway construction, vehicles in use, and forestry business from the 1960s are available in annual reports and academic research; socioeconomic statistics of State Statistics Institute and village inventory reports. Along with some local newspapers, they enrich our understanding of the socioeconomic context of the town. However, oral narratives were the main sources for several aspects of socioeconomic life in the town.

Bayramic officially became a municipality in 1882 and twenty years later (in 1902), it became the center of the district. The provincial town from the Ottoman period was a market place for the surrounding villages as well as an intermediate center between village communities and larger cities.[218.] The political, economic and cultural institutions of the town were controlled by the town's notables (*kasaba esrafi*) and the structure was neither rural nor urban. The social stratification consisted of four main social groups: large landowners (*agas)*, craftsmen (*esnaf)*, merchants (*tuccar)* and peasants (*ciftci)*.

Bayramic has never become an important socioeconomic center, but it was still a hub for the surrounding villages. Today's population is 32,314 with 11,988 people in the center and 20,326 in the villages. In 1970, these numbers were 29,513, 5,282 and 24,231,

[217] I visited the archives in the Ministry of Domestic Affairs, the Ministry of Highways, the Ministry of Forestry in Ankara; local governments, municipalities, forestry administration, courts and public security administrations in Canakkale and Bayramic. The maximum period to preserve a document is 20 years according to the public security administration in Canakkale. This period mostly fluctuates between the departments and according to the significance of the document. It is 5 years for municipalities and local governments.

[218] Peter Benedict, "The Changing Role of Provincial Towns: A Case Study from Southwestern Turkey," in *Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives*, edited by P.Benedict, F. Mansur and E. Tumertekin (Leiden: Brill, 1974), p. 243.

respectively.[219] The economy mainly relied on agriculture and limited dairy products. The main agricultural products are wheat, chickpeas and horse beans. The productions of helva, a type of sweet, and forestry products have also contributed to the town's economy. Situated on the skirts of Mountain Ida, almost all of the villages are surrounded by forest. Forestry therefore took an important place in people's lives. Especially people known as *Tahtaci* (woodmen) who were brought to the region in the Ottoman times engaged in collecting wood from the forest.

Transportation means changed over time. While bulls were used before the 1960s, since that time trucks took over and as time went by they were increasingly able to penetrate the forest. The 1960s witnessed a boom in the transportation and trade of timber, as we will see later in this chapter. Until then, transportation and trade relied more on fruits and vegetables, which were important for the town's economy. Notwithstanding the absence of industrialization,[220] people from the rural areas were still pulled to the town.

Bayramic has witnessed both immigration and emigration throughout its history. Located in the northwestern part of Turkey, it became a hometown for many migrants following general settlement policies as well as individual movements. People with different ethnic and religious identifications found their place in the town (see Table 1) while a synagogue and a church were built alongside the mosques.

The ethnic diversity could be traced through professions as well. Greeks,[221] Jews[222] and Gypsies were active in small trade, manufacturing and craftworks as early as

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[219] For the changes in the population, see the following parts. The numbers for 1970 refer to the period after the attacks as population censuses are conducted at the end of the year. Thus, it does not display Gypsies who had not returned to the town by the fall.

[220] Fruits and vegetables became more important after the 1980s.

[221] Today, the townspeople mainly remember the Jews engaged in trade and manufacture as the Greeks were deported from the region already in the early 1920s. According to Cezair-I Bahr-I Sefid Salnamesi, in 1870, there were 1 non-Muslim and 56 Muslim primary schools in Bayramic. According to 1903 Maarif Salnamesi, there was one school (*mekteb*) belonging to the Greeks and two belonging to

1876 (Table 1).[223] The records of 1876 also mention Gypsies, whose descendants later became known as 'local' Gypsies. The ethnic composition of the town changed dramatically with the population exchange in the 1920s, when the last Greeks left.[224] As for the Jews, some of them left after the Wealth Tax (*Varlik Vergisi*) in 1942, and by the late 1940s the rest departed mostly to the newly founded state of Israel in 1948.[225] This led to the Muslimification of the town's society and the economy with the new immigrants taking the place of Christians and Jews.

Table 1. The Ethno-religious Classification of the Male population in Bayramic Indicated in 1876 Cezair-I Bahr-I Sefid Salname

1876 Cezair-I Bahr-I Sefid Salnamesi/ Male Population in Bayramic	Population	Household	Neighborhood
Muslim/Islam	6332	2549	5
Greek/ Rum	220	83	2
Gypsy/Kipti	84	26	1
Jews	-	-	-
Armenians	-	-	-
Total	6636	2658	8

Source: Baygun and Ortac, *Yurt Encyclopedia*, p. 1838.

Muslim students. See Cuneyt Baygun and Ayla Ortac, eds. *Yurt Encyclopedia* (Istanbul: Anadolu Yayincilik, 1981), p. 1842.

[222] In 1876 Cezair-I Bahr-I Sefid Salnamesi indicated in Table 1, no Jews or Armenians were recorded. The Jews might have come later, see Bali.

[223] Baygun and Ortac, p. 1840.

[224] There were only three Greek individuals left in the town.

[225] The wealth tax was issued to tax wealthy people in 1942 for fundraising in case of a possible entry into World War II. In its application, non-Muslim communities such as Jews, Greeks and Armenians suffered most for the burden of high taxing on their wealth. Also see Bali.

Although Zürcher points at the Turkification of the economy in Republican Turkey, [226] I find the term Muslification more appropriate. There were Muslim people who arrived with the population exchange who did not totally identify themselves (or were not identified by others) as Turks, such as Bosnians and Albanians and Gypsies. Indeed, who is Turk and who is not is a controversial issue in Turkey, but in socio-economic relations, the exclusion itself reveals who is considered as a real Turk. People who were labeled as muhacir Gypsies also settled in Bayramic in the early 1920s (see Table 2 for the flow of migrants to the town).

Table 2. Immigrants in Bayramic (1876-1951)

Year	Origin of Destination	Settlement	Number of Families	Population
1876/1877	Crimea	Bayramic	5	25
1911	Albania	Bayramic	7	19
1925-26	Greece	Bayramic	97	360
1928-29	Bulgaria	Bayramic	1	2
1933	Erzincan	Villages	3	15
1933-39	Bulgaria	Villages	14	46
1933-39	Romania	Villages	164	705
1940-51	Bulgaria	Bayramic	61	234

Source: The data are taken from Canakkale Provincial Annual Report 1967, p. 47 and revised according to Mithat Atabay, "1950-1951'de Bayramic'e Gelen Bulgaristan Gocmenleri." In *Bayramic Sempozyumu 03-05 Agustos 2007*, ed. Osman Demircan, Adnan Cevik and Murat Ildirir, Canakkale: Canakkale Onsekiz Mart Universitesi Yayinlari, July 2007, pp. 67-74. Out of fifty-eight families in 1950-1951, fourty-seven families consisting of 178 people stayed in the center, three families with 11 members moved to the village of Agackoy while eight families (37 people) left for other destinations out of the town.

[226] Zürcher, "From Empire to Republic." Still, the religion of Gypsies can be questioned in the town as in the common suspicions about Gypsies in Turkey. The old Gypsies had traditionally occupied the craftwork and entertainment service while the newcomers with the population exchange had gone into the trade and petty labor.

Apart from religion, also political allegiances are important to understand the changing power relations in Turkey as well as in the town of Bayramic. Some people in the town interpreted the era of the Democratic Party (1950-1960)[227] and its successor, the Justice Party (the only party in power between 1965 and 1971, and with coalitions from 1971 to 1980) that were mostly supported by merchants, craftsmen and peasants, as the period in which the domination of the former wealthy families was broken. These families were part of the elite whose power depended on land holding and who generally supported the founding party, the Republican People Party (RPP). Therefore, while some people lost their power, others gained new positions in the town's economy. The changes in the town of Bayramic accelerated in the 1960s with the countrywide urbanization that affected all towns, at least to some extent:

> "The loss of a clientele for urban-based goods and services, the decline of importance as a transportation center due to shifts in regional road networks and the political and administrative overshadowing by nearby competing urban centers, are a few ways in which towns can become unstable economic and administrative entities."[228]

Many townspeople remarked that the attacks were caused by this process of rapid modernization in the late 1960s. We therefore take a closer look at the effects of rapid urbanization and developments in the transportation sector in the town and how these are related to the dynamics, and the feelings, ideas and motivations of the people involved in the attacks.

[227] See Kemal H. Karpat, *Turkey's Politics: The Transition to a Multi-Party System* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959).

[228] Benedict, *Ula*, p. 250.

Map 3: The Center of Bayramic in 2011 with an indication on the borders of the old city center



The Effects of Rapid Urbanization and Development of Forestry in the Town

The city of Canakkale at the border of the Bayramic region was touched by the rapid urbanization trend later than the other cities in the northwestern part of Turkey (see Table 3). Being situated in a historical war zone and as a military area explains its relative late and partial industrialization (along with intensified nationalistic feelings from time to time). The city is still considered to lag behind in industrialization and urbanization. Bayramic's development is quite similar, with its high concentration in agriculture.[229]

[229] The region's economy, after all, has relied on agriculture. In 1973, 71.4 % of the population was occupied in the agricultural sector. Except for the existence of Kale Seramik Sanayii in Can, most of the factories and workplaces were in the food industry. They included the products of canned vegetables and fruits, olive and wine. However, even from this limited economy, none of these relatively big workplaces were located in the town of Bayramic. In the town, for the year of 1973, there were 7 cheese dairies that would be active for 60-75 days in a year and make 12 ton/day (in the city, the total number of dairies was 116 and the amount of production was 174 ton/day). In the district, agriculture was run by family business and 51.946 families had agricultural businesses while 16.082 families worked as agricultural workers or sharing or renting a farm (See Canakkale City Annual Report 1973). The distribution of the working population between sectors in the town is 22 % in agriculture, 11 % in manufacturing industry, 19% in trade, and 27 % in general services in the year of 2000. Saban Tezcan, "Canakkale'de Sehirlesme"

Table 3. Urban and Rural Population Rates: A Comparison between Turkey and Canakkale

Years		1927	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Turkey	Rural	83.6	82	75	68.1	61.6	55.7	40.9	35
	Urban	16.4	18	25	31.9	38.4	44.3	59.1	65
Canakkale	Rural	80.5	76.6	82.4	78.7	73	67.6	61	53.6
	Urban	19.5	23.4	17.6	21.3	27	32.4	39	46.4

Source: Saban Tezcan, "Canakkale'de Sehirlesme" (Urbanization in Canakkale). In *Canakkale Savaslari Tarihi* (Canakkale War History) Vol 4, Ed. Mustafa Demir, (Istanbul: Degisim Yayinlari, 2008), pp. 3333-3367, Table on p. 3337 adapted from data of the population census 1927-2000 by the State Statistics Institute.

It was in the late 1960s and the early 1970s when the effects of the full-fledged rapid urbanization in Canakkale and Bayramic made themselves felt.[230] In Canakkale, the land that was cultivated by tractors dramatically increased in 1967, 446 percent between 1963 and 1970.[231] The increase in production stimulated trade and accelerated local markets, thus intensifying the relationship with the surrounding cities.

In the late 1960s, Bayramic, however, had not attracted many villagers , although the number had started to increase. The population census in the town demonstrates a rise in the share of rural to urban migrations starting in the second half of the 1960s (see Tables 4 and 5). Agricultural mechanization, commodification and commercialization of agricultural production accompanied with the pulling factors of cities such as educational

(Urbanization in Canakkale). In *Canakkale Savaslari Tarihi* (Canakkale Warr History) Vol 4, edited by Mustafa Demir (Istanbul: Degisim Yayinlari, 2008), pp. 3333-3367.

[230] In the periods 1965-1970 and 1970-1975, the ratio of the population increase in rural areas decreased and started taking negative values in the region of Canakkale. Urbanization in the country, however, accelerated after 1950. Moreover, until 1975, the increase in the urban population in Canakkale was somewhat limited because a part of the rural population in the district left for larger cities elsewhere. (Baygun and Ortac, p. 1882).

[231] Barlas Tolan, *Turkiye'de Iller Itibariyle Sosyo-Ekonomik Gelismislik Endeksi* (Socio-Economic development index according to cities in Turkey) (Ankara: T.C. Basbakanlik Devlet Planlama Teskilati Mustesarligi, SPD Arastirma Subesi Toplum Yapisi Arastirmalari Birimi, 1972), Table G 10.

facilities, the promises of new economic space with new opportunities, jobs and life styles.

Table 4. The Population Census for the Town of Bayramic from 1927 to 1970

The increase in the population	1927		1950		1960		1970
	Population	Rate of Increase % (1927-1950)	Population	Rate of Increase % (1950-	Population	Rate of Increase % (1960-	Population
Center	2760	7.5	2969	39.6*	4145	27.4	5282**
Villages	22,181	5.8	23,484	7.7	25,312	-4.2	24,231
Total	24,941	6	26,453	11.3	29,457	0.1	29,513
Urban Center /Total Rate %	11		11		14		18

Source: The data on the census were taken from Baygun and Ortac, *Yurt Encyclopedia*, and the State Statistics Institute; the percentages were calculated by the author. The total population in the town of 2000 is 32,314 with 11.988 in the center and 20,326 in the villages. * See Table 2 for the arrival of Bulgarian immigrants in 1950-51 that influenced this increase. **Some Gypsies, especially Muhacirs, who had not returned to the town by the fall of 1970, are not included in this number.

Between 1955 and 1960, the first tractor arrived in the town of Bayramic and since then the number of tractors increased rapidly.[232] However, the trade in production and consumption goods with the cities was just gathering speed towards the end of the 1960s. Many townspeople still recall the time of scarcity of goods varying from fruits to clothes. The 1970s saw an increase in the trade of these goods and it was only then that small businessmen in Bayramic felt the competition with the closest town of Ezine in transporting these goods and therefore collected money to buy a truck in partnership for this business.[233]

[232] There were 76 tractors in 1968, Republic of Turkey, Koy Isleri ve Kooperatifler Bakanligi, *Koy Envanter Etudlerine Gore Canakkale* (Canakkale according to village inventory etudes) (Ankara: 1968), p. 62.

[233] Kadir who took the leading role in the attacks became the head in this business of transportation.

Table 5. A Focus on the Population Changes in Bayramic in the 1960s

Population	1960	%	1965	%	1970
Town Center	4145	11.1	4607	14.65	5282
Villages	25,312	1.5	25,710	-5.7	24,231
Total	29,457	2.9	30,317	-2.65	29,513
The Share of Town Center Population in Total (%)	14		15		18

Source: Baygun and Ortac, *Yurt Encyclopedia*, and State Statistics Institute data

In that period, the timber from the forests in the mountain was the main source of trade. Considering the increase in timber production and consumption in the country, it was a profitable business (see Table 6). There were several factors that contributed to the development of forestry in the 1960s. The demand increased rapidly thanks to the urbanization process and the need for timber to build houses for newcomers in the cities, but also connections to international markets became much more important.[234]

The first state development plan (1963-1967) basically aimed at making forestry more productive and thus was meant to increase the export from Turkey. The second plan (1968-1973) stressed the need to increase production. In the era between 1960 and 1970, the number of forestry technicians who visited foreign countries increased by 64% compared to the previous decade. Moreover, several foreign experts prepared reports on the Turkish forestry sector. In the end, while the forests in Turkey had been considered of poor quality and even losing the erstwhile potential, by the end of the 1960s, the country was recognized as an important source of timber that could be integrated in the world trade. In the Canakkale region, including Bayramic, the size of the forest was

[234] Yucel Caglar, *Turkiye'de Ormancilik Politikasi* (Forestry policy in Turkey) (Ankara: Cag Matbaasi, 1979). Caglar harshly criticized the government of the second planning era (1967-1972). He evaluated the politics of the government as a way of destructing forestry especially, using the debates on the law regarding the determination of forestry land in 1967 and the constitutional change regarding forestry crimes in 1970. He asserted that the illegal cutting of trees had increased in the years of these debates. While in 1968 burnt forestry areas amounted to 7540 hectare, in 1969 it increased to 16364 and in 1970 to 15,019.

spectacular and significant.[235] The Regional Administration of Forestry in the city was founded on August 26, 1967 and also covered the Bayramic district.[236] 53.8% of the province land was forest. In the town of Bayramic and its surroundings, the percentage rose to 60.8%[237] covering almost all of the villages.[238]

Table 6. The Production of Commercial Timber in Turkey (1000m3) between 1955 and 1968

Years	State	Private	Total
1955	95	468	563
1960	130	760	890
1962	162	965	1127
1965	180	1200	1380
1967	195	1918	2113
1968	188	2390	2578

Source: Iktisadi Kalkinma Vakfi Yayinlari, *Ortak Pazar ve Turkiye'de Orman Urunleri Isletme Sanayi* (Forestry Goods Business Industry in the Common Market and Turkey) (Ankara: 1970), p. 20.

In the 1960s, the Tahtaci people cut the wood from the forest in accordance with the prevailing forestry standards. The villagers conveyed them to the plain area where wood was loaded on trucks and transported to the village of Yagcilar where they were stored. From the storage, the forestry administration transferred it to contractors. This could easily lead to conflicts in the town and forestry worker Faruk recalled fights over several issues including the storage place. There was much discontent between different

[235] For 1969, the size of forestry in Canakkale was 26,943 mil/m3 out of 839,389 mil/m3 in the country as a whole, whereas the wood area covered 647,619 hectares out of 18,273.193 in the whole country. Tarim Bakanligi, Orman Genel Mudurlugu, *Orman Genel Mudurlugu Calismalari* (Forestry General Directorate Studies) (Ankara: 1969).

[236] Until 1967, Bayramic was part of the Balikesir Administration for Forestry.

[237] With 72,098.5 ha out of 118,456.5 ha in total. Yasin Karatepe and Nevzat Gurlevik, "Canakkale'nin Orman Varligina Iliskin Ekolojik Yaklasimlar" (Ecological approach to Canakkale's forests), in *Canakkale II: Ekonomi ve Sosyo-Kulturu,* ed. Ibrahim Guran Yumusak (Canakkale II, economy and socio-culture) (Istanbul: Istanbul Buyuksehir Belediyesi Kultur ve Turizm Daire Baskanligi Kultur Mudurlugu, Entegra Matbaacilik, 2006), pp. 497-509, p. 506.

[238] The total area covered with forests in the district of Bayramic was 71,321.75 hectare according to the 1967 City Annual Report. Among 75 villages, 30 were inside and 42 were at the border of the forest. (Village Inventory Etudes, Table 2b on p 17) According to 1973 Canakkale Annual Report, all 75 villages are shown inside the forest area. Thus, the perspective in the analysis might be different in these two sources.

parties such as the Tahtaci people versus the villagers, villagers versus transporters and between transporters, due to competition for transporting the wood. The competition was especially acute, as at that time forestry offered the best jobs for many villagers and townspeople. It is no coincidence that the attacks on the Gypsies started in January and stopped at the end of February, which overlaps with the annual start date of the forestry business in the town, in the month of March. Additionally, the income from the forest increased especially after 1965. However, the golden year was 1970. It was also the year when the transporter's collective was founded on July 7.

The development of the forestry roads in the second half of the 1960s enriched the business in Bayramic.[239] In 1963-1964, the bulldozers had opened the way to the forests. As Faruk declared, instead of around thirty people now approximately two hundred people started to work in the transportation business, as each truck needed five persons to do the job. The developments of roads and highway transportation in general were crucial for this business. They eased not only the passage deep into the heart of the forest and made it more secure and efficient, but apart from the timber industry also took care of the transport of rural, agricultural products to cities. An overview of this sector will help us to understand better the developments just before and after the attacks.

[239] According to the city annual report of 1973, the constructed forestry roads were 1287+450 km in the borders of Canakkale by the end of 1971 while 2942+773 km roads were to be constructed.

The Development of the Highway Transportation Sector in Turkey

Highway transportation in Turkey had surpassed railway transportation in volume already between 1940 and 1950.[240] It was not only a simple increase due to new technologies, but also a sign of a change in the country's overall politics based on the private sector, modernization in agriculture and foreign finance.[241] Transportation was the most rapidly developing sector especially after the 1950s.[242] In 1951, the General Administration of Highways was founded and between 1950 and 1975, the number of highways multiplied. This enabled the transportation of some goods that until that time were restricted to local markets, but also gave a boost to the development of industries and the penetration of the market economy in the rural areas.

Between 1948 and 1957, half of the central government's investment was in communication and transportation. From 1950 to 1960, the investments in highways increased from 57.5% to 72.5% of the total investment in transport and communication.[243] In the Second Five-Year Plan (1968-1972), the policy towards the development of transportation through investments in roads continued (the first

[240] For the increasing share from 1950 to 1980, see Table 7. Ilhan Tekeli and Selim Ilkin, *Cumhuriyetin Harci: Modernitenin Altyapisi Olusurken* (Plaster of the Republic: constructing the base of modernity) (Istanbul: Istanbul Bilgi Universitesi Yayinlari, 2004).

[241] See Tekeli and Ilkin, pp. 369-370 for the background and implication of this policy. For the American influence on highway policy in details, see Robert S. Lehman, "Building Roads and a Highway Administration in Turkey," in *Hands Across Frontiers*, edited by Howard M. Teaf and Peter G. Franck. (New York: Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1955), pp. 363-410. On p. 383, see the increase in the investments in road between 1947 and 1953 from 12,057,000 dollars to 49,752,000 dollars. Z. Yehuda Hershlag, *Turkey, The Challenge of Growth* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968).

[242] Muhtesem Kaynak, "Ulastirma Sektoru" (Transportation Sector). In *Turkiye Ekonomisi "Sektorel Gelismeler"* (Turkey's economy "Sector Developments"), edited by Çelik Aruoba and Cem Alpar (Ankara: Turkiye Ekonomi Kurumu, 1992), pp. 77-88. For the international highway transportation, Kaynak draws attention to TIR convention. In 1967, 7 international transportation firm had entered Turkey's market and in 1969 the import of 140 towing vehicle with the credits of Word Bank increased the number of the firms to 28 and in 1970 with 302 machine in total (p. 85).

[243] The number of all-weather roads was 4000 in 1923, on the eve of World War II; the total number of roads was 36,000. A significant increase was observed since 1948. All-weather roads were estimated at 15,000 km in 1950, 3444 km in the end of 1955 and 29,432 km by 1965. The numbers for hard-surfaced roads were 1700 km in 1950, 3500 in 1955 and 10,750 in 1965.

Bosphorus Bridge was built in this period as well). This was accompanied with low costs of transportation rates, license fees and fuel taxes.[244] The share of transportation income in national income increased from 4% in 1938 to 7.5% in 1960[245] while the length of the roads kept growing (see Table 8).

Table 7. The Percentages of Highway Transportation in the Total Transportation Turkey From 1950 to 1980

Percentage of Highway Transportation %	1950	1960	1970	1980
Goods	17	37.8	60.9	85.6
People	49	72.9	91.4	96.1

Source: Kaynak, pp. 81-82.

Table 8. The Development of Highways in Turkey 1950-1975

Years	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975
Length of Roads (km)	47,080	54,988	61,542	90,423	136,410	188,077

Source: 1976 Turkey Highways Statistics Annual is cited in Ismet Ergun, *Turkiye Ekonomik Kalkinmasinda Ulastirma Sektoru* (Transportation Sector in Turkey's Economic Development) (Ankara: Hacettepe Universitesi Iktisadi ve Idari Bilimler Fakultesi Yayinlari, No: 10, 1985), p. 81. The numbers include the total of state, city and village roads.

In the period of state planning between 1963 and 1977, the politics continued to focus on highway transportation. The number of vehicles increased significantly, the highway system improved and the use of truck reinforced the rural areas' integration into

[244] Hershlag, p. 236.

[245] Muzaffer Sencer, *Turkiye'de Koylulugun Maddi Temelleri* (Material Bases of Villagehood in Turkey), (Istanbul: Ant Yayinlari, Ocak 1971), p. 69. Industry was also improving. Between 1950 and 1959, the demand for automobiles was met by the imports from Europe and the States. The montage industry emerged in the country in 1954. Between 1955 and 1964, companies involved in automotive industry increased from 2 to 12. In 1964, by a law, the montage industry was directed towards producing. The foundation of the automobile manufacturing like Tofas and Renault started in 1968 and 1969.

the national market.[246] In the 1960s, the numbers of trucks and minibuses that were used in transportation of goods and people, increased considerably (See Table 9).[247]

Table 9. The Change in the Number of Motor Vehicles of Different Kinds in Turkey From 1950 to 1970

Motor Vehicles	1950	1960	1970
Automobiles	13,405	45,767	147,014
Busses	3755	10,981	37,581
Trucks	15,404	57,460	126,817

Source: Republic of Turkey, *Cumhuriyetin 50. Yilinda Karayollarimiz* (Our Highways in the 50th Anniversary of the Republic) Bayindirlik Bakanligi, Karayollari Genel Mudurlugu, Yayin No: 213, (Ankara: 1973), p. 99.

Furthermore, organizations based on highway transportation had emerged all over the country, starting in 1955.[248] The development of highways had influenced the transportation of passengers and products significantly. However, these organizations relied on small entrepreneurs with only few vehicles. Better roads that were built in the second half of 1960s generated the development of these companies, but at the same time increased competition in this emerging market. Destructive competition within this sector due to low entry barriers (small investment and low qualified management skills) has been a common phenomenon.[249]

The variety of transportation services and differences in the cost structure were crucial in the competition between transport companies.[250] This competition became harsher, whereas the sector was characterized by high fixed costs and permanent

[246] John Kolars, "System of Change In Turkish Village Agriculture," in *Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives*, edited by P.Benedict, F. Mansur and E. Tumertekin (Leiden: Brill, 1974), p. 222.

[247] Dorduncu Bes Yillik Kalkinma Plani Karayollari Tasitlari Imalat Sanayii Ozel Ihtisas Komisyonu Raporu, Basbakanlik Devlet Planlama Teskilati Yayin no: DPT 1548-OIK 240: February 1977, pp.18-28.

[248] Yasa, Memduh. Cumhuriyet Donemi Turkiye Ekonomisi 1923-1978 (Turkish Economy in the Republican Era 1923-1978), (Istanbul: Akbank Kultur Yayini, 1980), Table 5 on p. 295.

[249]Tekeli and Ilkin, p. 427.

[250] Ergun, p. 14.

instability. Thus, until 1985, the transportation of goods was irregular and up to excessive competition characterized by extremely low transportation prices and the structural overloading of vehicles in Turkey.[251]

The increasing importance of highway transportation and the ensuing competition, is illustrated by the study of Benedict on Ula, a town in the Aegean region. He shows that the transport business, as an occupational category, rose dramatically from the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s. While camels were used in transportation until the Second World War, trucks replaced them afterwards and vehicle ownership became more widespread at the beginning of the 1970s. As in Bayramic, this led to social and economic tensions at the local level: "A general pattern seen after the vehicle begins to show a profit is a jockeying for control of ownership. Arguments based upon charges of laziness, dishonesty, drinking, and general incompetence often create hostile feelings between partners, especially when these partners are kinsmen."[252]

In our case, we will see how such a competitive environment in the sector along with new opportunities in forestry, reinforced related fights and hierarchies that were eventually cast in nationalistic and discriminative discourses. The feelings of threat due to the competition and the more general changes in social relations largely explain the forced dislocation of Gypsies. A closer look at the development of transportation sector in our town will provide a view of the local dynamics in the sector.

[251] Ergun, p. 96. Table on p. 120 displays the transportation of goods between different ways (highways, railways etc.). Table on p. 122, displays the GPA related to this sector.

[252] Benedict, *Ula*, p. 144.

The Development of the Highway Transportation Sector and Rising Competition in Bayramic

In the late 1950s, the people involved in the transportation sector of the town were mainly those who could not amass enough property to survive as peasants. As the jobs in this business were not in great demand and rather insecure, they were like leftover occupations to which many muhacirs could adapt. However, in the late 1960s, when rural-urban relations, forestry and the conditions in the sector changed, the muhacirs suddenly found themselves in a lucrative business and became objects of envy due to their occupational positions and experience in transport economy, and links with trade.

For the significance of transportation in those years, the values of investments in the city administration and changes in the number of motor vehicles are helpful to understand the development (See Tables 10, 11 and 12).[253] In 1968, the share of transportation sector in the total investments of Canakkale started to increase, as shown in Table 10. In 1973 with some 20% it was the secondary sector behind agriculture. In that year, there were 1079 commercial and 72 official trucks out of 6348 motorized vehicles in the city. The transportation sector of the town mainly developed through the forestry business as the forestry products from the mountain Kaz (Ida) and their transportation had become a significant source in the district.

In the early 1950s, entrepreneurs from Istanbul arrived in Bayramic who were interested in exploiting the forest at mount Ida that had experienced a big fire in 1950. The company *Sutkardesler* arrived with 15-16 trucks and employed some drivers from the town, the nearby town of Ezine and the city center of Canakkale. In those years, there were very few drivers in town, because it was the time when the people would even stop to watch a car passing as an exciting happening. To get a driving license was not easy for

[253] The data is taken from Canakkale Annual Report 1973, pp. 251-56.

townspeople, as they had barely left the town except for very special occasions. The road to the mountain was also dangerous. In the 1950s, only few people went into the forests to collect timber, but in the 1960s, the numbers started to rise.

Table 10. The Increase in the Share of Investments in Transportation in the Total Investments of Canakkale 1968-1973

Years	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Investment in Transportation	6271	10931	10487	5756	6075	12165
Total Investments in Canakkale	61,104	69,308.2	64,612	47,922	53,636	60,852
Rate %	10.26	15.77	16.23	12.01	11.32	19.9

Source: 1973 Canakkale City Annual

Table 11. The Numbers of Motor Vehicles of Different Times in Canakkale: 1933-1966

	1933	1950	1960	1966
Cars	41	58	187	224
Buses	5	83	169	155
Trucks	29	160	458	432

Source: Transportation Statistics 1966. Devlet Planlama Teskilati, pp. 3-9.

Table 12. The Numbers of Motor Vehicles of Different Times in Canakkale: 1966-1970

Years	Cars	Buses	Trucks	Small Trucks	Minibuses	Special Purpose Vehicles	Motorcycles
1966	224	155	432	163	154	13	-
1970	433	157	748	344	313	20	970

Source: 1966 data is taken from Transportation Statistics 1966, p. 9 and 1970 data is taken from Transportation Statistics 1970, p. 6.

At first, the forestry administration had brought its own trucks, but then the local people went into the business. The buyers came with their own trucks and drivers or hired the townspeople. They mostly collaborated with the drivers' association, which was founded in 1964. When the transporters' cooperative was established in 1970, the

forestry administration worked with the cooperative. The cooperative would only include the drivers who work in transportation of goods, which was mainly timber at the time. The cooperative then contacted the truck owner and he made his own deal with the drivers. When the drivers' association was founded in 1964, there were thirty-nine drivers, four driver-assistants and seven truck owners as members (see Table 13). The estimated number of trucks was thirty-five in that year. Later on, the numbers increased rapidly. The driving business became very profitable and constituted an important source of income especially for the people who did not have familial support or a stake in the agricultural economy.[254]

Table 13. The Numbers of Drivers registered in the Drivers' Association in the Bayramic: 1964-1974

	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Number of drivers	39	50	63	80	100	118	135	149	177	206	238

Source: The registration book of Drivers' Association in Bayramic.

The roads to the mountain Kaz were maintained by the forestry commission for the removal of the timber. However, the roads were still primitive even by the late 1960s. They were "traversable only by vehicles with a sufficiently high clearance and low gear."[255] The vehicles were not in very good shape either. When the leading perpetrator Kadir and muhacir Dilaver bought the truck Leyland in partnership in 1968, it thus attracted great attention because of its relatively good performance.[256]

[254] See Chapter Five on drivers' fight and being a driver in that time.

[255] See Table 14 for the condition of the roads in 1968. John M. Cook, *The Troad: An Archeological and Topographical Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 305.

[256] For the number of motor vehicles in the town in 1968, see Table 15.

Table 14. The Condition of Village Roads in Bayramic in 1968

Number of Villages	Distance to centers [km]	Kind of road surface				Quality of the Roads		
		Trail	Loose-surfaced	Gravel surfaced	Stabilized	Good	Fair	Poor
75	4-26	1	48	20	65	11	56	8

Source: Adapted from Table 8-a in Canakkale Village Inventory 1968, p. 28.

In an interview, the present head Mustafa (1947) and two former drivers of the transporters' cooperative that was founded on July 7, 1970, pointed at the significance of the forestry business in those years. Since they had started working from the villages in the late 1960s and the early 1970s, the business boomed. In this process, some people had been left out of the business due to the cooperation between the heads of the drivers' association and transportation cooperative. The old secretariat of the drivers' association, Erman, who worked about twenty years since its early foundation, also asserted that the drivers' jobs were limited within the scope of the forestry business by the early 1970s.

Table 15. The Number of Motor Vehicles in Bayramic in 1968

Motor Vehicles	
Type	Number
Truck	43
Tractor	83
Remork	79
Small Truck	8
Automobile	11
Taxi	2
Triportor	5

Source: Canakkale Village Inventory 1968, Table 8-a, p. 28.

Later in the 1970s though, the trucks were more integrated into the outer markets as well. In the process, being in

the transportation business appeared more profitable while it was expanding along with the rising mobility of people and goods between urban and rural areas. The developments in the town in the early 1970s contributed to the harsh competition in this business. The conflict with the closest town over carrying goods and people was also an important sign that induced the tradesmen in the town to establish their own company. As roads improved, the following years witnessed growing numbers of people working in trade and transportation. In this competition, Kadir, who was one of the main perpetrators during the attacks on Gypsies gained a highly advantageous position that would make him second ranked among the taxpayers in the town towards the late 1970s. It also displays the ascending power of the people in the transport businesses over landholding as the previous source of status and wealth in the town.

As explained above, highway transportation was the result of socioeconomic politics in the modernization of Turkey. In Bayramic, this transformation similarly entailed a gradual change in power. Instead of landholding, the transport and service industries linked to the interaction of rural and urban markets thus became more prestigious. The decline of the old elite's position fitted well in the populist ideology of the government, which centered on ordinary townspeople and villagers as the core of the nation and the real and legitimate owners of the national wealth. This ideology also underlined the feelings of exploitation among the peasants. In our case, we will see how the townspeople and villagers manipulated similar nationalist feelings in order to attack the Gypsies despite the opposition of the old elites in the town. The beating of the attorney who stood up for the Gypsies, in a way also symbolized their dissatisfaction with the old order.

To conclude, it was this context in which the Gypsies in the sector became unwelcome. The transformation in the socioeconomic and political realm led to new power relations. The perception of Gypsyness, Turkishness and Gypsies in the town

changed as a result of these changes, while the preexisting categorical differences and prejudices were reproduced and reinforced. The Gypsy stigma became functional while commonalities and open interactions were undermined. When hostile feelings and competition along with increasing opportunities in the transportation sector met with the category of Gypsyness as it was experienced in our town, personal issues gathered national meanings along with constructing a Gypsy threat.

CHAPTER IV

GYPSYNESS IN THE TOWN

> "There is no real Roman here although people out there call us Çingene."[257]

In Bayramic, three main Gypsy groups can be distinguished; sepetcis, locals and muhacirs. The sepetcis were not in the town during the attacks, but settled more recently. Therefore, they are not part of our story, but they are nevertheless important for the perception of Gypsyness in the town. They are associated with nomadism and referred to as "the most/real Gypsy." Their profession was weaving baskets. While their baskets were used in several areas in houses, farms and workplaces to keep and carry goods before, with the introduction of industrial products, the profession lost its importance. They then shifted to petty jobs, peddling and begging in the town. Now, they are the poorest among the Gypsies and despised by the local Gypsies and muhacirs along with other townspeople not only because of their poverty and their nomadic past, but also because local Gypsies and muhacirs distance themselves from them. Some of sepetcis now live near Çamlık in a few houses while some still have not settled down. Their numbers are small and less than a hundred of them live in Bayramic.

On the other hand, the local Gypsies are seen as belonging to the town. They are associated with a specific neighborhood and many townspeople feel most close to them. There are four main families of local Gypsies; Adalilar (Islanders), Akkaslar, Kirkislar and Kepekliler. It is unclear when they arrived in Bayramic and most people assume that they have long establishment in the town. Some townspeople argued that they are deeply

[257] A common saying of muhacirs in Bayramic. See Narrative 2 in Appendix D.

rooted in the town, just like the Hadimoglu family, who are considered the most prototypical and autochthonous Bayramic family.[258] Some however, indicated that they came from the Greek islands as the biggest family among them is called Adalilar (Island). They are considered locals even more than some local Turks.

Among them, there are families who have been very close to Turkish townspeople, especially before the attacks. Their traditional professions were blacksmithing and music. Blacksmithing is not a relevant profession anymore in the era of mass consumption and production. And maybe partly for this reason they are considered most close to Turkish traditions. Moreover, among the former smiths families, there are people who have petty jobs in bakeries, groceries, barbers, coffeehouses, but also as seasonal workers and in trade. The musicians, on the other hand, preserved their professions. They are considered closer to the Gypsy image because of this traditional occupation, life styles, behavior codes and attitudes. There are few relatively wealthy people among the musicians while others suffer from poverty. Some go to the coastal areas seasonally to perform their music and make a living.

The *panayirs* are also places that Gypsy musicians attend. These local bazaars are held once or twice a year and historically they were important economic and social gatherings for the people in the region. The Bayramic panayir is twice in a year; one in August and the other is in May. There are also musicians who play in restaurants and bars in the city center of Canakkale. However, as the traditional way of celebrating weddings with live music is losing ground, their traditional market also shrinks. The local Gypsies' estimated population in the town is around five hundred,[259] while they might have been close to seven hundred before the attacks. They are relatively easy to talk to about their Gypsyness.

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[258] See Chapter Three for their presence in Ottoman records.

[259] The numbers are estimated, as Gypsies are not distinguished as such in the census.

The last group of the Gypsies is the muhacirs. They are the ones who came during the population exchange from Greece in the mid-1920s and were the main target of the attacks. Among them were porters, drivers, domestic workers, petty workers, petty merchants (*zaireci*), and shoe polishers. The women of this group work as domestics and maids while men do some small transportation and house painting. Finally there is one person who works as a state official in the department of public finance, and furthermore some who have retired as state officials from the post office. Many people from this group, however, left the town in 1970 and did not return. The main family that was involved in the attacks now lives in Ankara, while two sisters are still in town. Now, the whole community approximates a hundred in Bayramic, whereas they are estimated to have numbered around five hundred before 1970.[260] Among them, the identification with Gypsyness is very low and they are easily offended when people label them as Gypsies.

Although during the time I conducted oral history in the town I focused on life stories and local history, among the Gypsies in the town, the word that I was gathering information on Gypsies spread quickly. My questions about Gypsyness and their experiences before, during and after the attacks disturbed the Gypsies. In my very first week, the atmosphere was quite tense in the neighborhood dominated by the Gypsies. A muhacir told me if I wanted to listen to Gypsies' life stories, I had to go somewhere else. This was a significant remark, which showed that they resented being called Gypsy. It was not only the terminology of Gyspy or Roman,[261] they opposed any identification with Gypsyness. Some felt insulted while others were fed up explaining how different

[260] See Table 2 in Chapter Three for the number of the initial muhacir immigrants in the town (360).

[261] In some other cities such as Balikesir and Bursa, people resent to be called *Çingene* and prefer the term *Roman*. That is why I always use Roman during my research in the field while on a theoretical level, I prefer the term *Çingene* which is the dominant term in society and due to reasons that I explained in the theoretical chapter.

they were from the image of Gypsies by non-Gypsies. This urge to struggle against prejudices and stereotypes initially made some feel discontent and framed the relationship in a Gypsy-non-Gypsy dichotomy.

My first contact with the Gypsies in Bayramic was with a muhacir whose family had been the target in the attacks and who later on had become a respectable and good musician who also can be admired on national television in Ankara. I paid my first visit to his aunt in the town. It took only a few days for rumors to spread that I was asking questions about Gypsyness and the attacks. For many, especially muhacirs, it took some time to talk with me about their past and they would sometimes just skip the attacks or tell that they did not remember.

For some, the attacks themselves were the symbol of the negative perception of them by non-Gypsies. The attacks formed their peak experience that influenced their approximation to and secession from their Gypsyness. The attacks homogenized and reduced people to one category. Through the violent experience of such discrimination, muhacirs' and local Gypsies' collective experience relied on a negative commonality. Thus, their reluctance to talk about the attacks was linked to their silence on their Gypsyness as it was associated with a degraded position. After some time however the ice was broken and my presence was accepted by the community. The crucial moment was during the *Hidrellez* celebration (Turkish Gypsies' annual day when the beginning of the Spring is celebrated on May 6. It is known as *Ederlezi* in Balkan countries) when muhacir Seyyal[262] expressed her trust and belief in my research. She is a descendant of the main target family in the attacks and lives in Edremit, nearby Balikesir. After her 'blessing', some muhacirs who had previously declared that they had not remembered anything started sharing their own experiences with me. Later on, my communication

[262] For the information on the narrators; their community links, age, date of interview and further explanation, see the Appendix A.

with some muhacirs became easier although some still felt reluctant to tell certain things, as we will see in the following parts.

There also were differences in narratives between local Gypsies, muhacirs and between different families within these communities. Their stories very much constituted their relation to Gypsyness, how they perceived and experienced it in the town and wanted it to be remembered. Their tales also could change according to their trust in me. Some, thus, did not reveal their Gypsyness freely, but only revealed information by implication. Others did not directly talk about it but used other ways, such as referring to Turks with the term *goray* (a term used for Turks in the town).[263] Some denied their Gypsyness until my last days in the town, whereas others had no problem to talk about their Gypsyness. Generally, the local Gypsies felt more eager to stress their Gypsyness, whereas most muhacirs denied it.

It is noteworthy, in all narratives with Gypsies, without a particular reason, that they stressed how honest, clean, well behaving and integrated they were. Moreover, they asserted that "naturally" they were not like those Gypsies who misbehaved. They tried to prove that they were not like those referred to by dominant Gypsy stereotypes. In general, they did not openly oppose the stereotypes, but instead they emphasized how different they were.[264] This indicates how difficult it is to escape the Gypsy stigmatization. They rather try to protect themselves from falling into that category altogether: "Do we look like a Gypsy to you?" "If somebody calls me Gypsy, he should be the one who should be ashamed."

Among Gypsies, Gypsyness can be related to social status, an economic condition and a life style as well as descent. The general trend in the representations of Gypsyness by the Turks, on the other hand, relies more on descent and taken for granted

[263] Local Gypsies use the term, in contrast to the muhacirs.

[264] For the function of scapegoating among Gypsy groups as such, see Acton, *Gypsy Politics*, especially pp. 80-82.

perceptions. Many were not able to tell what really differentiated them from Gypsies. They were confused about the differences although they were sure about who the Gypsies were in the town. The obscurity on Gypsyness was replaced by the certainty on how to detect a Gypsy. It was usually not the family name but common knowledge on every families' descent in the town. They generalized many people under the same category of Gypsyness without even knowing what exactly made them Gypsy. This confusion was mainly caused by the fact that many Gypsies adapted similar life style and traditions as the Turks in the town. Along with that, many Turks could not find evidence of Gypsyness and relied on stereotypes. There also were many people who emphasized the closeness between them and the Gypsies and recognized the effect of the Gypsy stigma on the 'othering' of Gypsies, from whom they otherwise did not differ so much.

For the townspeople who lived in close proximity to Gypsies, the Gypsy image is more complex and goes beyond general stereotypes. After all, there were many Gypsies who had been neighbors, friends, workers, servants, classmates or only acquaintances to many Turks. The proximity furthermore enables one to know the ancestry of someone in the town. "What is your ancestry?" appears as a crucial question for introducing oneself. It is a guideline for someone's socio-economic background and is an indication of one's social status. This information is salient for the social order, because it enables people to determine their own positions and to draw the lines of relationships with one another.

In the following part, we will see how Gypsyness fits in this hierarchy and what being a Gypsy means for the townspeople's relations. In this part, I will analyze the determining features such as physical appearances, residential and occupational boundaries, and references to manners and morals. Throughout this chapter, the traces of the attacks will appear while the chapter will prepare us for the next one in which we will focus on the attacks themselves. This chapter moreover will represent the tension between the fixed Gypsy stigma and the historical changes in relations and perceptions.

The stigma persists especially connected to the attacks while most people emphasize good relationships before and after the attacks. The moments of confusion also reveal that the stigma has become less functional in the present context, as nostalgia, confusion and the questioning of categories occupy a greater place in the narratives on present relations.

Social Order: Relations, Hierarchies and Discrimination

Nowadays, many townspeople including Gypsies and Turks emphasize equality and the absence of discrimination before and after the attacks. In their narratives, historical solidarity prevails. The commonality through past experiences, cultural proximity and the shared locality is stressed, whereas differences and the Gypsy stigma is reserved in stories about the attacks. The emphasis on similarities and the appreciation of Gypsies as "our Gypsies" downplays the stigma in the present context.

Many townspeople characterized their relationship with the Gypsies as close, especially in comparison to the ones in Canakkale. "Our Gypsies are good" "not like the ones in Canakkale" "We intermingled" are typical narratives. Good neighborhood memories take shape in a nostalgic tone. The current relations in the town, the distance between people, and the decrease in solidarity caused by the immigration of villagers accompany the narratives of the good relations in good old days. They usually do not mention any discrimination before the attacks. "The attacks occurred suddenly" "There was no discontent or discrimination before" "We lived happily together". Similar narratives came from a Turkish neighbor in Tepecik neighborhood, Necla's mother Ayfer. She told about her relationship with their local Gypsy neighbors who had lived in the neighborhood of Tepecik for over half a century: "We were neighbors like you and me. They had been very nice. ['Muslims'—Necla would add]. With ritual ablution and

praying [*namaz*]. They would not get involved in something like that [assaulting girls]. They still live in their houses, look. […] They were not separated from Turks like a Gypsy."

Similarly, an old Turkish neighbor Munnevver expressed how good their relationships were before the attacks and how the tension during the attacks changed their relationships: "The relations were good before. The Turks would go to their weddings for instance. Let's say there are some that you talk with, some that you are friends with… You go and they come to one another's house. [But during the incidents], we even got estranged from our next neighbor…"

Similarly, Canan who was a highly educated daughter of one of the founders of the Republican Party in the town and mayor in the years 1944-1948, emphasized the commonality with muhacirs in contrast to today's situation where the town is full of villagers:

> She [the muhacir housemaid] was 14 years old, can you imagine? Her [their housemaid's] father was Arap Emin; he gave her [their housemaid] into the custody of my father. She started working here. I always say, of the original local population, only we are left. Really, there are village people everywhere. There is no discrimination [against the Gypsies]. They all had been born and grown up here. Not any thievery by them has been heard of. I entrust my house to her. .[265]

In comparison to the villagers, Canan constructed a commonality with muhacirs and emphasized their reliability. Modernity discourse underlines Canan's narrative as she complained about backwardness of the villagers and the town's degeneration as a consequence of their overpopulation. The time from the 1950s to the 1970s is referred to as modern, mainly illustrated by the increased mobility of the townspeople, especially the women "in their more Western look." Their presence in the public sphere was part of the more intense interaction with urban culture and lifestyles, including going to the cinema. The nostalgia of that time is constantly brought up, especially by many old

[265] See Narrative 3 in Appendix D.

middle and upper class townspeople, as the discourse of modernity and Westernization was a significant component of the dominant ideology in the modern nation-state. As we will see in the Gypsies' reactions, muhacirs also employ this discourse extensively.

The narratives on neighbors were usually very intimate. Many Turks appreciated their Gypsy neighbors' good hearts and stressed their good relationships. These were mostly relationships between Gypsies and Turks who had occupied more or less similar economic segments in the neighborhood that they shared.[266] Some of these people did not continue those intimate relations after the attacks. Some of their neighbors moved out due to the attacks, some passed away and some of the Turkish narrators left the Gypsy neighborhoods. There were many who got upset because their Gypsy neighbors were forced to leave during the attacks. Gypsies also told about several of their Turkish neighbors who protected them, which I will analyze more in detail in the next chapter on the attacks.

Many Turks referred to some Gypsy families and praised their outstanding integration and acceptance in society.[267] Especially blacksmiths from the local Gypsies are among the ones who integrated to a large extent and crossed the boundary between Gypsyness and Turkishness. Sengul's family was most mentioned among these families. They were from local blacksmith Gypsies and known as "not-like-a-Gypsy." Her husband "Tailor Selahattin" worked as a tailor and was regarded as a respectable and colorful person by many Turks. He did not practice a traditional Gypsy profession and "they did not see themselves as Gypsies or act like them." Their economic situation was also relatively better and they lived in a non-Gypsy neighborhood. They had very close

[266] It should be noted that a neighborhood allocation in the town does not follow strict economic differences, but still sustains various segments combining low and middle class people. Thus, in a neighborhood a teacher, a blacksmith, a farmer and a businessman may live together. The class differences would not be expressed as much compared to urban life and after the 1980s when the ties between class differences, competition and consumption have widened.

[267] Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American mainstream.*

relationship with some Turkish families and developed friendships and business partnerships.

The wealthy families, who employed Gypsy women in their houses, told how close and trustworthy the Gypsies were as workers. Hale from *helvacis* (halva makers and sellers) told about their local Gypsy housemaid and nanny as follows:

> Sister Ummuhan was very different from them [other Gypsies]. Maybe your grandmothers would know. She was from the Adalis.[268] She grew up in our neighborhood. There was a mosque; their house was over there. She was a very nice, honest person. She is dead now. […] Anyhow, Dilaver had started the incident. Her [Ummuhan] son is married to Dilaver's youngest daughter. But sister Ummuhan did not want her [as a bride] at all.[269]

Although Hale's family protected Sister Ummuhan and went on employing her after the attacks; she differentiated her from other Gypsies. Here, "the individual was Gypsy but nice" also appears to have been a justification for protecting those people and thus defending themselves. They did not protect anyone who was a Gypsy but only "Gypsies but not like a Gypsy." Thus, the category of Gypsyness persists in the stigmatization of other Gypsies and these ones would only serve as exceptions that should not be considered as Gypsy.

Some, however, remembered the limited relations before the attacks as well and pointed at their own closeness within that limitation. Hulya whose husband was a close friend of the local Gypsy Barber Hikmet and who had a Gypsy worker in his automobile repair shop, had close relationship with some Gypsies. She asserted the extent of their closeness:

> There were not many who would go to their houses. Everybody stayed at his or her own side. We would only go to Sister Melike and it was because of my mother-in-law. They are very close. There were also ones who lived in a street down of my parents' place. We were going to one another's houses with Sister Sengul. They were our neighbors [her parents lived in another neighborhood

[268] The most important local Gypsy family.

[269] See Narrative 4 in Appendix D.

> where only few Gypsies lived]. Loook, they were also Gypsies but… we were very good neighbors. We were very close.[270]

Moreover, people's representations on specific issues about their relations, their anecdotes, way of talking, perceptions and reservations all revealed a flexible degree of discrimination that influenced everyday relations. The relative social distance that had become greater during the attacks has remained.

Social Distance, Hierarchies and Everyday Discrimination

While some people indicated that the Gypsies were equal to the Turks in the town and the Turks had not ever discriminated them before the attacks, some revealed that the Gypsies had always been second-class citizens. The story that my uncle Mahmut told is devastating, as it displays the degree of discrimination through a particular anecdote before the attacks:

> The restaurant owner Babacin Ismet worked with the Gypsies to carry his materials. He would also hire a Gypsy as a servant while we were going on a picnic together. On the way to the picnic place, the Gypsy would follow us at some distance carrying the basket. I remember Babacin Ismet's humiliation of the Gypsy. We were all sitting and drinking in the presence of the Gypsy man a few meters away from us. Babacin Ismet shouted at the Gypsy: 'You are staying towards the wind, your Gypsy smell comes to me. Do not stay there!' [271]

Many people disclosed their negative feelings towards Gypsies in several ways. Some ignored them in their narratives. Some did not even want to talk about them as they found them not important enough. Some whispered while they were using the term "Gypsy" as if it was a curse. Some pitied them as they had been a poor and marginalized people pushed out of the majority society. Their attitudes revealed the traces of discrimination that Gypsies might experience.

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[270] See Narrative 5 in Appendix D.

[271] See Narrative 6 in Appendix D.

The Gypsies, on the other hand, did not talk about discrimination easily. The primary attitude was to declare: "There is no discrimination here." However, during our conversation, they would point at discriminatory attitudes, boundaries and behaviors. Among those, the limited relations and the taboo on intermarriage were stressed as will be analyzed below. Many Gypsies also stressed the boundary between Gypsies and Turks as "us" and "them" in direct or indirect ways. Their reaction against the term Roman[272] and people calling them as such reveal how they felt about the pejorative usages of the term in the town. Their reluctance to talk about Gypsyness was also born out of fear. Moreover, some did not trust Turks, as "they might be good with you in some situations, but they could be very harsh if they get tempered."[273] They also felt reluctant to move to other neighborhoods of the town and to go out at night.[274]

A local Gypsy, Fazil, acknowledged different dimensions of the discrimination. He asserted that there was discrimination between people, but according to him, it was not about ethnicity, but about how one behaved. Indeed, behavioral differentiation is one of the most common legitimizing versions of racism and in most cases, discrimination works through associating some features with existing stigmas.[275]

Behavioral differentiation does not necessarily build on direct identifiers, but on signifiers. Moreover, instead of individual differences, the appreciated ways, manners and morals are seen as collective specificities such as the way of talking, walking and acting. Thus, for instance while a typical type of talking or way of acting could be perceived as superior, others would be seen as improper. Gypsies mostly are considered loose, too easy-going and relaxed, as we will see in details in the following parts. In a Bourdieuan

[272] See the part on Gypsies' representations on Gypsyness.

[273] See Narrative 7 in Appendix D.

[274] See Meral's narrative that I used in the morality part, where she reflected on the unreliability and immorality of the Turks and her fear of her son's staying out late at night.

[275] See Chapter Two.

sense this differentiation works to exclude people from joining higher status groups and at the same time disciplining individuals with the promise of social mobility, better life conditions and even chances to cross boundaries and being redefined as a member of the dominant group.[276]

A Gypsy street flower seller in Istanbul similarly declared how she was changing her accent when she was talking with her customers as a business strategy. Again in Istanbul, a Kurdish taxi driver would suddenly shift to his Kurdish accent when he understood that he was in an environment that his accent would not be a cause for discrimination. Gypsies in Diyarbakir, on the other hand, also emphasized how they were discriminated by Kurds. A Kurdish interviewee told me that the way of walking, talking and dressing were used to discriminate. In the town, when one asks about Gypsies, people also mention physical appearances and behavior. Similarly, Fazil pointed at the way people treated him as being different from other Gypsies: "They [the majority] look at how one talks, sits, obeys the rules of good behavior. It is seen differently of course. Your way of dressing, way of talking…"[277]

He also indicated that the Turks distance themselves more from the muhacirs. In their old neighborhood, local Gypsies intermingled with "*Goray,*" but not so easily with muhacirs. Being discriminated against itself becomes a sign of inferiority and thus something to hide. After all, the very experience becomes something to be ashamed of. It is connected to the dominant ideology that blames the marginalized and discriminated instead of the other way around: If you are discriminated against, something must be wrong with you.[278] According to Fazil, during the attacks "the wet wood was put into the

[276] See Hogg and Abrams for subjective belief structures as social mobility and change.

[277]See Narrative 8 in Appendix D.

[278] See the part on underclass discourse in Chapter Two and undeserving poor in this chapter.

fire along with the dry ". He pointed at a discriminatory behavior that also included local Gypsies along with "the real outsiders," as we will see in the next chapter.

The time of the attacks also serves as a reference point for today's experience. In comparison to that time, society is considered free of discrimination against Gypsies: "The discrimination was significant before, but nowadays can say there is none left." Mesiye in a similar way did not recognize everyday discrimination but visualized it through the physical violence that they experienced in 1970: "They racially discriminated [against Gypsies]. Allah does not allow racial discrimination. You should not do that. People were practicing their praying. Here, they say Dilavers, they had a fight with some people."[279]

For the present relations as well, Solmaz explained why a Gypsy cannot become a member of the municipality and went on referring to recent Gypsy movement in the country:

> They [Turks] would not invite the Gypsies in their houses, as they do not like the Gypsies. There was hatred at that time [of the attacks]. Today, Gypsies are represented in various shapes and labeled as Roman. Some acted and said 'I am Roman'. They started looking sweet a little bit. Turkish people would never visit their houses. They put a distance, I mean. They [the Gypsies] come to clean our houses and be friendly, like 'Hello' 'Hello, How are you? Are you fine?' But in daily social intercourse the distance starts. It exists since old times.[280]

As these narratives show, the discrimination was not limited to the time of the attacks. The distance had been there before and still goes on in various ways. Compared to the period before the attacks, it seems to have increased. However, different groups that are seen as incompatible with the local customs and traditions in the town, such as some recent villagers (mostly mountain villagers who are called Yoruks) and Kurds, who are the legitimized other in the country,[281] have changed the perceived difference with the

[279] See Narrative 9 in Appendix D.

[280] See Narrative 10 in Appendix D.

[281] We will see parallels with Kurds in the following chapter on the attacks.

Gypsies. In this context, Gypsies are considered more as locals and accepted by some townspeople. Still, the ongoing social distance revealed itself in two significant ways; on the one hand, the limited relations with Gypsies and on the other hand the taboo on intermarriage.

Limited Relationships

Even the Turks who declared their close relationship with Gypsy people qualified the degree of their relationship to some extent. For many, relations could be quite close except for intermarriage. They could do business together, be very good friends, visit one another's houses, but intermarriage was clearly a bridge too far. For some others who had more limited relations, visits and sharing private space would already be an issue. In sum, there was always a boundary with Gypsyness even in cases of intimate relations.

These intimate relations, on the other hand, generally were mentioned with reference to the time before the attacks. The Gypsies and Turks all asserted that after the attacks, the relationships have never been as they were before. Although they are relatively good now, the general atmosphere has made close relations more or less impossible. The Gypsy communities seem more inward looking now which has changed their erstwhile relations with the non-Gypsy townspeople. However, there are some close contacts between local Gypsies and villagers who migrated more recently.

In the past intimate relations and personal experiences could transcend negative perceptions of Gypsies. At least, Gypsies could be appreciated as neighbors and active members of the society. The attacks seemed not only to have put the Gypsies in their place, but they also made open relations between Gypsies and non-Gypsies very difficult. Still, also before the attacks, it should be noted that negative perceptions influenced the

degree of relations.[282] Moreover, class differences mattered. For instance, the people from the low-middle class or low-class people would be more likely to have closer relations with the Gypsies as neighbors due to their local and economic proximities. Gypsies were not always from the lower classes, but could occupy the middle class as well. The wealthy people, on the other hand, still had have some good relations, but their relations were more hierarchical (employer versus employee) in spite of the intimacy. Apart from personal contacts, the Gypsies had relations with many people through weddings and public acquaintances.

Some of the accounts of old neighbors of the Gypsies described the flexibility of the boundaries in their diverse relationships, while for many other Turks the boundary was fixed in spite of their relative acceptance as part of society, as we see in Solmaz's narrative: "Before [the attacks], […the Gypsies] were cheek by jowl. They were like Bayramic's people, I mean. But what was happening let me tell you. For instance, your family and our family, go to one another, eat and drink together. That did not exist [with the Gypsies]."[283]

When I asked why, the answer was direct and ironic again, "They are Gypsies, my dear!" However, the discrimination of Gypsies depended on the actors and the context. For most Gypsies, the best situation would be to have a job and restricted social relations in the non-Gypsy world. The boundaries would persist even in close relations. Hulya, who lived for 30 years from 1955 to 1985 in the Muradiye neighborhood where muhacirs made up the majority, asserted how she felt both close and distant to the Gypsies. The doorstep of one another's house signaled an important boundary for them:

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[282] One should keep in mind that the stigmatization of Gypsies does not only affect Gypsies themselves, but the people who stood close to them. This was clear especially after the attacks in the treatments against the Turks who employed and/or protected the Gypsies. The closeness to the Gypsies is still not easy to express. Thus, it should be noted that people tend to stress their distance to Gypsies in order to avoid stigmatization.

[283] See Narrative 11 in Appendix D.

"They [her husband and local Gypsy Fazil's brother] were close; he was a barber. They were friends outside. We did not go to one another's house with his wife. No, no. Never."[284]

Although she pointed at the closeness, she made very clear that they would never visit one another. If there is no discontent, almost everybody talks to each other, but visiting one another in their homes is a further level of closeness. Only a few people go to Gypsies' houses occasionally and mostly with a purpose. When I asked Hulya why she would not visit Gypsies, she told about some to whom she felt very close and whom she visited.[285] Thus, there would be still exceptions. With some people, the boundaries were flexible due to intimate relations as neighbors. However, many people like Hulya stressed the boundaries with their Gypsy neighbors in spite of relative closeness. Necla confessed that they did not know very well who had left after the attacks for a while, as they had kept their distance during the attacks, although they lived in the same neighborhood:

> We are in the same neighborhood, but there is still a boundary, I mean. Our street is here. In the past, people would keep to themselves. You would sit in front of your door, but I do not remember, I mean. Since we did not see them that often. We would only go to Sister Seylan and Sister Ayla. You would not go [to their houses] like [you go to] our own neighbors' [Turks]. They would have a birth, you would go for instance to fulfill your neighborhood obligation.[286]

Similar to Hulya's and Necla's accounts, there were exceptions to the general trend. Although the Turks did not pay regular visits, they would visit their Gypsy neighbors on special days and celebrations; such as deaths, births and weddings. Still, there has been a naturalized distance towards the Gypsies in the town very similar to other places in Turkey. While personal ties transcend the dominant perception and blurs the boundary between Gypsies and non-Gypsies, the dominant perception still explains

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[284] See Narrative 12 in Appendix D.

[285] See her narrative in this part on good relations.

[286] See Narrative 13 in Appendix D.

why many people keep their distance. Solmaz's narrative disclosed a similar perspective regarding the social distance when he was explaining their relations with the Gypsies in connection to the nation-wide negative discourse on Gypsies: "They live in their own neighborhood, among themselves. Would you go to visit someone in Sulukule? [Historical and famous Gypsy neighborhood in Istanbul] It is like that. You just go to have fun. You would not visit a Gypsy's house. It still exists. […] We can neither go to a Roman's house nor be a friend with them."[287]

As such attitudes are widely accepted in Turkey, he expected that I agreed with him, because generally Gypsies live in segregated places where non-Gypsies would not dare or like to go. Moreover, as practiced extensively during the attacks, terrorization or deviation from the dominant ways of relating to the Gypsies could put Turkish people in a vulnerable position, close to Gypsyness. People fear that they will become victim themselves, very similar to the accusation of being 'nigger lovers' in the South of the United State during the Jim Crow era. As we will see, a similar reaction occurred due to the rumors about the attorney who stood up for the Gypsies during the attacks. Thus, staying close to Gypsies and appreciating Gypsyness can be itself derogatory for one's own social status.

Moreover being a Gypsy reduced the chance to get a job in the town. Although they worked with non-Gypsies in some businesses, there was also discrimination before the attacks, which turned into a boycott against the Gypsies and violent threats to non-Gypsy employers who hired Gypsies during and just after the attacks. This period lasted for at least three months for some people while for some others it took years. In this period, some gave up and withdrew from certain sectors. Others did not even do any business in the town or left for good. For the period before the attacks, Solmaz told that

[287] See Narrative 14 in Appendix D.

some in the business world welcomed the Gypsies, although social relations in the workplace often were very restricted:

> [Before 1970] they would be drivers and drive in my car for instance. When it is pay time, he would get his salary and go. That is it. They were not going to their houses. Gypsy, dear; his name is Gypsy [*Çingene canim, adi Çingene*]. […] It is like this: not everybody would hire them. They were drivers but it did not mean that they could work in any truck. Some would not accept them. They would say 'Forget about it, would I take a Gypsy as a driver![288]

This situation among the drivers might have led to hierarchies and discrimination, as some employees did not hire Gypsy drivers. Some families with their prejudices against Gypsies would not allow them into their house either. Solmaz's wife Ayten also pointed at discrimination and its effect to get a job. She described the disgust people felt about the Gypsies and their unwillingness to employ them: "There are many Gypsies that go to do housework for instance. But some [non-Gypsy] women would not take them into their house. They would say 'will I touch the thing that is touched by a Gypsy!' This kind of women exists."

This type of discrimination clearly stigmatizes and restricts the Gypsies at work. As analyzed under the section on impurity, many people preserve their distance towards Gypsies, and avoid having physical contacts with them due to their beliefs about pollution and danger. Along with these discriminative practices and attitudes, marrying Gypsies is taboo among the non-Gypsies in the town.

Marriages with Gypsies

Intermarriage between Gypsies and non-Gypsies is unthinkable for most non-Gypsies, especially among the older generation, due to superstitions regarding the

[288] See Narrative 15 in Appendix D.

impurity of the Gypsies.[289] Some consider it a nightmare or damnation to their family. They would feel sorry for the parents whose child runs away with a Gypsy spouse. Many even felt insulted by questions such as "why would you not like your children to marry a Gypsy?" and "why is intermarriage not approved?" The ambiguity of defining some Gypsies could be also a reason for people to marry a Gypsy. In such cases people would not realize that the spouse was a Gypsy.

The new generation refers to differences in the manners and life styles between the families, whereas the old generation seems to be stricter. Among the Gypsies who migrated to other towns and cities, some had more possibilities to integrate including through intermarriage. The intermarriages in Bayramic have increased compared to the 1960s and before; however it is still rare (less than 5%) and mostly with villagers who migrated to the town after the 1980s. After all, the latecomers themselves were looked down upon by some townspeople and therefore hierarchically they were regarded as close to the Gypsies in town. The differentiation between being a local in the town and being a non-Gypsy but from out of the town is interesting as Gypsies can be considered more "like one of us" by some old townspeople as we saw in the narratives in the previous section.

During my visit, a Gypsy hairdresser girl and a non-Gypsy boy who worked in a bookstore married. The boy's family from old Bayramic families did not want the girl because she was a Gypsy and the case was debated by the Turkish townspeople. Hulya's daughter Melis was one of them:

> There is a prejudice and the families oppose one another even though the couple gets along with one another. If both sides are Gypsies, they understand each other's language but the other way [one Gypsy one non-Gypsy] does not work. I mean there is difference. I cannot talk about the customs but at least their being that relax would disturb.[290]

[289] See the parts on purity and religion in defining Gypsyness.

[290] See Narrative 16 in Appendix D.

As indicated above, someone from the old generation are much more reluctant when it comes to intermarriage. After pointing at the superstition that is connected to the impurity of Gypsies, Mukhtar Kemal illustrates the strength of the prejudice regarding marriage with a Gypsy. Even a non-Muslim foreigner was preferable to a Gypsy:

> It [marrying to a Gypsy] seems wrong to some Turks like us. […] It is difficult to explain. If they marry a foreigner, it may not be regarded odd, but it is when they marry these [Gypsies]. It comes from our culture, it seems wrong to us. How would you take it in the same position? We cannot take it as it is. If you ask why, it is difficult to explain.[291]

Marrying a Gypsy was a taboo that Turkish people from different generations in the town stressed along with their different perspectives ranging from superstitions to rationalized explanations such as the incompatibility of the behaviors and manners. As a result, intermarriage is not common with local Turkish townspeople, but only with some latecomer villagers and some other communities that are not seen equal to local ethnic Turks themselves.

Interestingly, for most Gypsies (from all groups) on the other hand intermarriage is considered a success story.[292] It is important for them to be chosen as a spouse. It also displays how well they are integrated into society and the Turks' norms as well as their full acknowledgement by Turks. Another wedding between a local musician Gypsy boy and a non-Gypsy teacher girl from Kusadasi, Izmir was seen as the proof of their compatibility with Turks. The local Gypsies were very proud of this marriage.

Among the muhacirs in the town, intermarriage with local Gypsies increased in the younger generation, but not with the Turks as most muhacirs would look down on

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[291] See Narrative 17 in Appendix D.

[292] This was so, except my local Gypsy narrator Fazil who recognized the boundaries between Turks and Gypsies as intransitive. According to him for cultural reasons a Gypsy and a non-Gypsy were not supposed to marry, although some would defy this taboo.

villagers along with some local Gypsies for being incompatible with their more open-minded and modern worldview. Especially their strict control of women and the gendered division of labor are seen as backward by the muhacirs.[293] They pointed at considerable discrimination regarding intermarriage although in response to a more general question they would claim that they do not suffer from discrimination in the town. Cevza's daughter Sukufe, for example, claimed her marriage to a non-Gypsy (a Bosnian immigrant from the same neighborhood) as a victory: "Nobody succeeded, I said that I was going to do. And I did. I do not accept Romanness. I would not, why would I?"

In sum, we see that hierarchies do not only rely on Turkishness in the town although it constitutes the pivotal component in the power structure, which was activated during the attacks. However, locality, knowledge of local values, appropriateness and acting accordingly are also salient, as we will also see in the reactions of local Gypsies in this chapter. In the following part, we will look more closely at the criteria used to detect Gypsies and their function to maintain the hierarchical relations and control in society. They will show that defining and labeling people as Gypsies often created confusion, because people were not automatically fixed in their respective categories.

The Problem of Defining Gypsies

Turks use several features to define and detect Gypsies in the town. In this part, I will explore the main ones: physical, residential and occupational, manners and morals. Each feature could lead to confusion, although the Gypsy category itself remained intact.

[293] See the part on Population Exchange and Legitimate Ground in Gypsies' Reactions.

This reveals the will to sustain hierarchies and social order as well as the effects of the changing dynamics in the town.

Physical Features

> "I do not like a dark-skinned bride. Why would I not like a dark-skinned? Because they always call dark-skinned Roman, that is why I do not like."[294]

In Bayramic, many townspeople claimed that they could tell who was a Gypsy by their physical appearance, with 'darkness' as an important identifier. In addition to this, dress codes, way of talking and walking are among the physical traces that are used to tell who is a Gypsy. However, some townspeople also indicated that it is not always possible to tell who is a Gypsy, especially when Gypsies hide their identity. Indeed, people look for general features in spite of the fact that several physical differences can be observed among Gypsies. The differences instead are interpreted as deviations from the rule and some use terms as "white Gypsies."

Gypsies are usually associated with dark skin, complexion and hair. Ironically, in Diyarbakir, where the majority are Kurds who are themselves stigmatized for having darker skin than Turks, a Kurdish interviewee told me that they could detect Gypsies by their darkness. Moreover, a Dom-Gypsy interviewee in Diyarbakir rejected the idea of darkness. Although he himself had dark eyes and skin, his son with blonde hair, blue eyes and white skin, did not fit the stereotype at all. He asserted that the ones who had a whiter skin could avoid discrimination better, at least in their daily encounters in the street.

Beyond dark skin, there are slight differences that can be detected by locals in the town but not by an outsider easily. Hulya and her daughter indicated that the Gypsies in

[294] A Roman woman from the documentary "Bucuk [Tha Half]" directed by Elmas Arus from the Association of Zero Discrimination. See Narrative 18 in Appendix D.

the town had different facial attributes with respect to their noses (oblate) and eyes (saddle). They confessed however that they could not tell who was a Gypsy in other places. In Antalya, for instance, while the local people cite differences between different ethnicities, they could not. Similarly, when I was in the bus terminal of the town with my mother who is a local from the town, my mother detected the Gypsyness of a man by just looking at him.

Another Turkish narrator, Necla, who lived in Tepecik neighborhood with Gypsy neighbors and taught Gypsy students in the secondary school also touched upon detectable differences. She explained that their eyes were different; especially the whiteness of their eyes. Such nuances, even if we assume that they reflected real differences, were lost on me, however. There are many people among Gypsies in the town with different physical features. Besides, there are quite a few who are whiter than me while others are darker.

Thus, the issue of darkness is not a clear signifier of Gypsyness, but it nevertheless plays a central role in hierarchization, otherization and stigmatization. Gypsies mostly are described as people with darker skin and in some cases skin color is used to identify them. During the attacks, some even referred to Turks as "whites" and Gypsies as "darks."[295] The idea of dark skin can be so powerful that it easily is internalized by Gypsies as well. My conversation with a local Gypsy in the town revealed such a perception. Ezgi thought that having a white skin was beautiful and she referred to dark skin several times to describe some Gypsies. Furthermore, when she showed a photo of her husband who had died and I said he was handsome, she corrected me:

[295] Lucassen also reports the regular usage of dark skin as a marker to be labelled as a Gypsy in nineteenth century German police journals. See Leo Lucassen, "'Harmful Tramps': Police Professionalization and Gypsies in Germany, 1700-1945," in *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups*, edited by Leo Lucassen, Wim Willems and Annemarie Cottaar (London: MacMillan Press Ltd, 1998), pp. 74-93, p. 82.

"No, he was dark." Here we see how negative associations attached to skin color are a crucial part of the dominant discourse and also influences Gypsies' own perceptions.

The beauty of the Gypsies, on the other hand, is seen as an exception by Turks "You could not tell that she was a Gypsy if you had seen her" was the expression of Hulya in her reference to the beauty of a Gypsy girl who had managed to marry a respectable Turk (the son of Foreign Minister from the Justice Party between 1975 and 1977). She recalled her as being very beautiful, like the movie star Fatma Girik who is famous for her white skin and light blue eyes.

Thus, the association with dark skin[296] itself can be discriminatory with negative connotations such as ugliness. Gypsies with whiter skin are perceived as closer to Turkishness. Ismail revealed his confusion about muhacirs: "The mother may be a Gypsy and the father may be a Turk. They might have married 60-70 years ago. You cannot tell that their children are Gypsies. They are not like "dark eyes and dark hair". [They are] white, with colored eyes like us. I will show you a Gypsy girl, you cannot even tell. One side [of her descent] is Turk."

Apart from physical attributes, some Turks refer to ways of looking, acting and walking as detectable differences. Dress codes are very important for this type of differentiation as well, although many people do not use dress codes to detect ethnic differences in the town anymore. This instead would be a very significant difference for the *Turkmens* (the name for Alevi Muslims in the region), who are seen as different from the Sunni majority. In the town, they are perceived as the ultimate separate and segregated community in the region. The Gypsies, on the other hand, have always been more open to adopt the majority's norms.

[296] See Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

Hulya's daughter Melis explained how Gypsies could be recognized by their appearance, their way of acting, walking and talking in the streets while again acknowledging exceptions:

> In the street, they walk very relaxed, when they talk they shout. They cannot pronounce the letter 'h' and their dressing style is little bit different. They dye their hair in exaggerated ways. Of course, not everybody. Their walking and dressing is relaxed. That is how you can tell. Their talking tells a lot anyway. But some cannot be detected. […] Some make it clear through their behaviors and talking but some never reveal it.[297]

Necla connected their physical differences to their way of living, acting and perceiving the social norms: "Their walking, look, is carefree." The crucial characteristic for Gypsies to her was their extrovertness and disregarding unwritten rules and codes:

> It is perceptible, I mean. Their being open to the outside world, not recognizing the rules makes them visible. By saying not recognizing the rules, [I mean] not the laws, but good manners. For example, in the street, one should not talk loudly, should s/he? Or respect for elders…the respectful ones are very respectful but… it is said 'you should not swear' but when you touch them little bit, they do not know their word [they use dirty words].[298]

On the other hand, both Gypsies and Turks in the town indicated that it was not easy to identify who was a Gypsy. Turkish townspeople asserted that some Gypsies looked like Turks as they would not look, dress, talk or behave like Gypsies: "but they are still Gypsies inside." Among recent cases, some referred to a Turkish girl getting married to a Gypsy boy who did not look like a Gypsy at all. However, they pitied the girl's family.

In sum, the general perception is that it is better "to look like a Turk" among Gypsies if one wants to be accepted as such and thus to be able to cross ethnic boundaries. However, looking like a Turk is insufficient in non-Gypsies' perceptions. The perceptions are not necessarily connected to physical looks, but various other

[297] See Narrative 19 in Appendix D

[298] See Narrative 20 in Appendix D

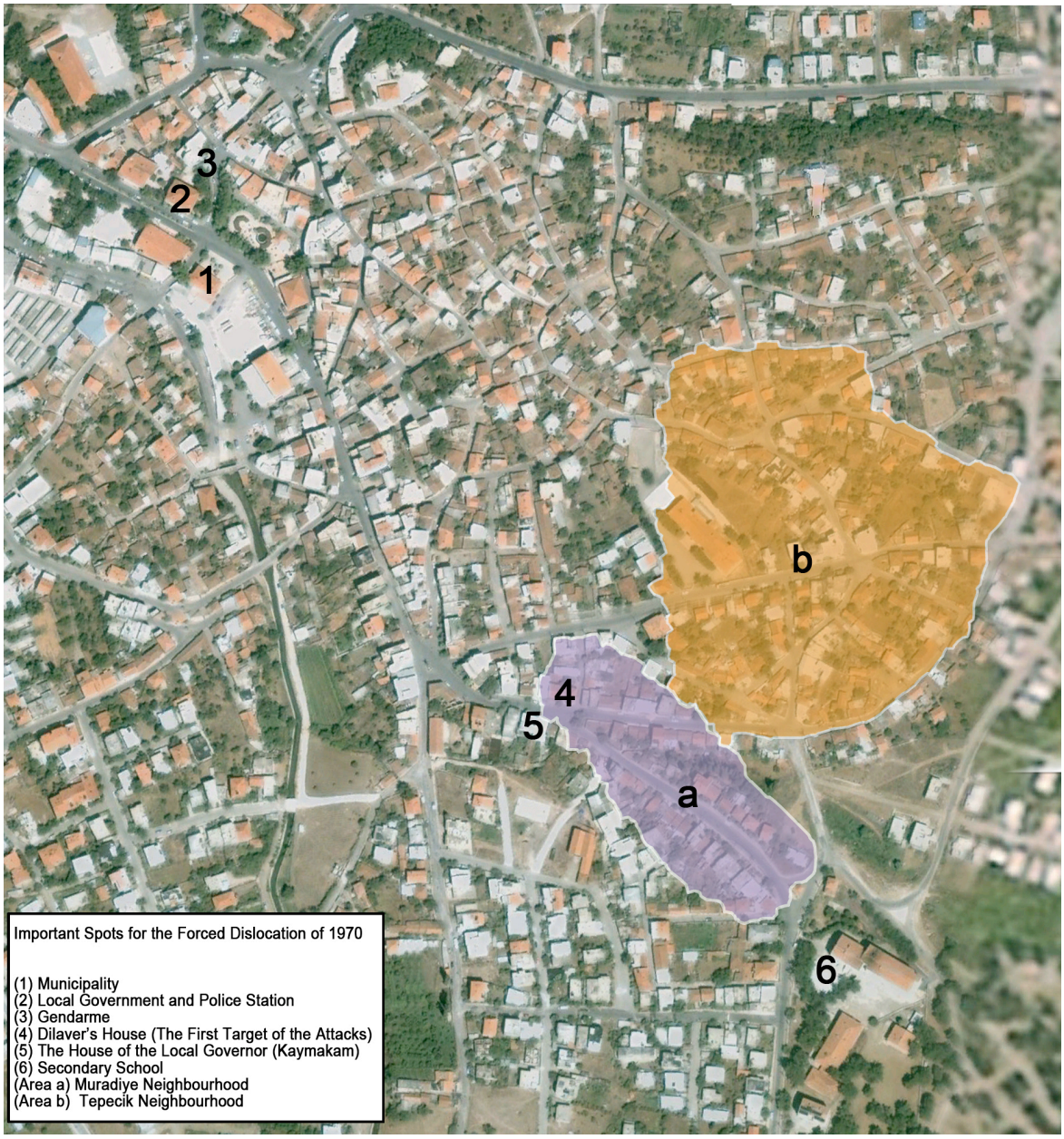
features are used to recognize Gypsies in the town and thereby to maintain social order. Residential and occupational boundaries is the next feature to be examined.

Residential and Occupational Boundaries

In the town, there are two main neighborhoods where Gypsies live, Muradiye and Tepecik. Muradiye is known as the neighborhood of the muhacirs. It consists basically of two streets leading to Tepecik. The neighborhood has been more mixed since the attacks, but there had always been Turks and Gypsies living close to one another. Still, there is a more or less a segregated part of the Tepecik neighborhood where only Gypsies live. It consists of 20-30 households where musician families are the majority.

Besides, these neighborhoods are very central, close to the town's center. They are basically the branches of the main avenue in the town that connects the main city road to the town center. The road connects the Muradiye neighborhood with the first secondary school and the high school of the town, crossing the Tepecik neighborhood. The upper side of Tepecik moreover was the historical center of the town where many local Gypsies and Turks have lived together. In the periphery of these neighborhoods, the town has extended with new settlements for villagers whose migration intensified after the 1980s. Thus, we cannot say that the Gypsies' neighborhoods are isolated although some Gypsies live in socially segregated parts of these neighborhoods.

Map 4: The Illustration of Significant Places for the Forced Dislocation of 1970 on the map of Bayramic in 2011



Gypsies rarely live in other neighborhoods. There are some sepetcis living in Camlik, which is still close to these neighborhoods, some of whom live in tents, but they are not considered to be from the town. They started to settle in recent decades and some travel when the spring arrives. Everyone in the town including the local Gypsies and muhacirs despise them. These Gypsies are stigmatized and discriminated, as is reflected in the perception of Meliha who once lived close to the Muradiye

neighborhood where many muhacirs lived. She described the basket weavers as follows: "They say 'March in Gypsy out' themselves [When spring comes, Gypsies do not stay indoors]. Then they take their children, go by the river and build their tents there. They live like this. […] They weave basket and sell them. […] They beg, my dear. They ask everything from villages. […] Whatever they earn belongs to them."[299]

In Bayramic, local Gypsies, muhacirs and Turks, however, lived as neighbors for many years. Considering the small scale of the town center, many Gypsies and Turks have interacted in several ways. In the past, due to the small population and higher geographical proximity, close contact was unavoidable. Many people knew one another. The children went to school together where they had more or less close relationships as classmates.

Additionally, locality is an aspect of the hierarchization among Gypsies. Those who are the real locals are provided more or less a legitimate status. The sepetcis are not even considered a part of the locality. Only the local Gypsies have the most positive reputation, much better than the muhacirs who are not recognized as local. The local Gypsies also differentiate themselves from muhacirs by emphasizing their local roots. The muhacirs, on the other hand, define themselves as more modern, civilized and having good social manners and therefore look down on the local Gypsies. We will now focus on how these strategies are used by Gypsies in reaction to discrimination. The former mayor Solmaz's narrative helps us to imagine the significance of locality between the local Gypsies and the muhacirs from the perspective of the Turks:

> The Muhacirs were here too, but the locals are older. The date of the arrival of the muhacirs is known. [...] The locals were here all the time. Among the locals, some are real locals and the others are latecomers. The Adalilar… The family of Adali, I think, came later. But I do not know when. But there are real locals. If you ask who they are; little Izzet [clarinet player], big Izzet, their children, clarinet player Alaaddin. This family and then pack-saddler Musa. He is from the Adalis,

[299] See Narrative 21 in Appendix D.

> too but his family is white. He would not tell you the truth, as he does not see himself as a Gypsy, either.[300]

There are many more narratives on old ties and common bonds with the local Gypsies especially the blacksmith families. The neighbor, Ayfer, asserted how they saw the local Gypsies staying close to them: "We were neighbors, like you and me. They are very nice [Muslims—her daughter Necla would add] …with ritual ablution and namaz. They would not get involved in something like that [referring to the alleged misbehaving Gypsies in the attacks]. They still live in their houses, look. […] They would not be separated from Turks like a Gypsy."[301]

While talking about particular people, on the other hand, many Turkish town dwellers, including Ayfer, become confused whether some were local or muhacirs. Gypsies also differentiate between one another through references to locality and date of settlement in the town. For the Turks, the terms instead correspond to their adaptability to society, their closeness to the Turks, and their adaptation to Turkish behavioral codes and life styles. That is why some Turks become confused about the difference, as there are also people among the muhacirs who used to accept the hierarchy between Gypsyness and Turkishness and did not violate it through competing for social or economic power and who therefore are recognized as locals too. When we consider some other muhacirs becoming locals compared to villagers who settled later we see the concept of locality in its multilayered and contextual usages that are connected to social hierarchies.

Fatima referred to the differences among Gypsies mixing the context of locality, date of arrival to the town, occupation and level of exclusion:

> We call them local Gypsies. They are Muslim [*abdestli, namazli*]. For instance, there was one below your old house. The blacksmith shop. They made horseshoes in our childhood. They were Gypsies, too, but they are called local

[300] See Narrative 22 in Appendix D.

[301] See Narrative 23 in Appendix D.

> Gypsies. These ones came later. They call them muhacirs. They would not even do business with them. […] People welcomed them by saying 'migrants coming, migrants coming!" but once they looked, my aunt would tell, all were Gyspies. Citakoglu had brought them. [For Citakoglu, mayor of the time, another narrator Fitnat said that he was a Gypsy. Muhacirs from Doyuran]. Because they were dark, they looked exactly like Gypsies. […] My father would call them 'population exchange muhacir'. They had taken the people from here and they came from there [Greece]. […] When people went to welcome them at the entrance of the town, he said, 'once we looked, oh my God! They were all Gypsies with black legs.' When those others [not locals but muhacirs] came… When they saw them like that, they were surprised by what kind of muhacirs they were. They are called *Selanik* [Thessaloniki] Gypsies.[302]

Apart from locality, occupational specialization also determined the position of Gypsies in society. The local Gypsies were the ones who preserved traditionally recognized Gypsy professions. Karaahmet differentiated Gypsies according to their occupations; basketweavers [*sepetci*] and blacksmith/musician [*demirci/davulcu*] Gypsies:

> The basketweaver Gypsy stays in a tent, these [musicians] stay in houses. They are called *sanatkar* [artist]. They call themselves musicians. The others [basketweavers] beg, they come here; to the houses etc. They are tenters [*cadircilar*]. They weave and sell baskets. In addition to these, there were blacksmith Gypsies [*demirci Çingenesi*]. They are Gypsies, too, but they are blacksmith Gypsies.[303]

Among the local Gypsies, the blacksmiths are the most integrated and acknowledged community. They are known for their closeness to the local Turkish culture due to their long history and good relations with the Turkish townspeople. The blacksmiths had a functional economic role until the 1970s, as it was a time when iron was used by many people. The women sold vegetables in the street markets and in addition to this, some local Gypsies went for temporary works on the farms. There were also a few people in other professions such as tailors, barbers and bakers.

Many local Gypsies worked as musicians at weddings. Before 1970, a wedding was inconceivable without Gypsy musicians. This profession brought them into contact

[302] See Narrative 24 in Appendix D.

[303] See Narrative 25 in Appendix D.

with many people as they played in the town and also went to the villages.[304] Before 1970, muhacir women also entertained women on henna nights (celebration night for women before weddings). Therefore, the musicians knew most of the people in the town and surrounding villages.

Among the local Gypsies, the musicians are nowadays considered "more Gypsy." They react to these stereotypes by saying "being a musician does not mean being a Gypsy!" While referring to Gypsies, Ismail, a neighbor in Muradiye neighborhood, mainly talked about the musician Gypsies. He emphasized making easy money from weddings. Compared to the musicians, he referred to the muhacirs as being more Turkish:

> They [muhacirs] would buy horsebean, almond, fleece, sacrificial wool, bee wax, and would take those to the retailer. [Intermediating]. And some would work as porters. Now they also take the musicians to the weddings in their car. They would take calls and transport people. […] Muhacirs are the ones who took on Turkishness. I mean those who do not play instruments and earn their money in another way.[305]

As the muhacir community does not perform traditional Gypsy professions, some muhacirs emphasize their difference with the local Gypsies by underlining that they are "normal citizens," following a mainstream life style and professions. Following the narrators' reactions, one can also see that the issue is a debatable one within these groups. The muhacirs, as mentioned before, on the other hand, related to the economy through portering, driving and petty jobs in the trade market. There were a few people working in the production of *helva* [a type of sweet made of honey and sesame seeds] for *helvac*i families and some men worked in gas station, restaurants and bakeries. Among the

[304] A Turkish narrator could not forget the exact dates of the attacks; as it was the year when he got married and the Gypsies were not allowed to make the wedding music. So, they had an unpleasant wedding party.

[305] See Narrative 26 in Appendix D.

muhacir women, many worked as nannies and house servants.[306] These women had intimate relationships with these families and some were considered as parts of the family. However, as we will see in the next chapter on the attacks, the Turks interpreted the muhacirs' social and economic power that increased along with the growing importance of the transportation sector as a violation of the boundaries. In the process of the attacks, driver muhacirs therefore became more Gypsy than ever. The power that they acquired was considered a threat to the boundaries that kept the social order as it was. In analyzing the attacks, we will revisit and explore these occupational hierarchies and boundaries.

Morals and Religion

The Gypsies are represented as cherishing different values, a perception that is directly related to ideas about religion. The prejudice regarding religion and the godliness of Gypsies plays a central role, since religion historically is constructed as the reference point for determining minorities in Turkey.[307] Their ties with religion arouses suspicion, as already was pointed out in a survey conducted by the government of 1945 indicating that there was a lack of religion among the Gypsy people in Turkey.[308] It leads to many superstitions about the traditions and practices of the Gypsies. There is also a general saying that "*namaz* (praying) that is led by a Gypsy will not be accepted [by Allah]".[309]

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[306] As there was no running water in the houses, they would carry water from fountains, clean the house, and look after the children for the wealthy people including merchants, state officials and small businessmen.

[307] This perception is not only limited to the Turkish case. See Leo Lucassen and Wim Willems, "The Church of Knowledge: Representation of Gypsies in Encyclopedias," in *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups: A Socio-Historical Approach,* edited by Leo Lucassen, Wim Willems and Annemarie Cottaar (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), pp. 35-52, p. 45.

[308] Marsh and Marsh, p. 2.

[309] *"Çingenenin kıldırdığı namazı Allah kabul etmez."*

There are many other superstitions that reproduce stereotypes. An example is that Gypsies are the product of an incestuous relationship between the siblings Cin and Gane in the period of Prophet Ibrahim and therefore incest would be common among Gypsies.[310] This idea contributes to the social exclusion of the Gypsy people and explains why people perceive their sexuality as immoral and perverted. Along with this, other superstitions on religious knowledge, their selfishness without even caring about God, and implying that getting married with Gypsies is a kind of sin are also widespread.

In Bayramic, the suspicion regarding the Gypsies' attitude towards Islam is shared by many and accepted as a fact. Pejorative usages appeared often in this context, while some people just make fun of the Gypsies' inability to perform religious practices. For some, the Gypsies' religious inappropriateness was beyond doubt and they use it to claim that the Gypsies are different and to support their arguments why they suffer from discrimination. The suspicion is supported by superstitions as well. Fitnat's account is exemplary:

> Could they be Muslim, my girl? He is a Gypsy. Now, there is a woman, she comes from time to time. A peddler [*Bohcaci*]. I was praying. She said, 'we have not learnt that way. If only we knew'… they are Gypsies. Do you know how? They were going to build something there, a bridge or something but the ground could not be fixed, it would always collapse. Then they said that if a sister and a brother would be wife and husband, it would get fixed. This time, they said that no one from the Turks would do that. When they did not, the Gypsies did it. That is why the Gypsies do not have a hometown. Among them, siblings would be wife and husband and the ground was fixed. They do not have any tradition. I mean, they do not know.[311]

This stereotype is significant, as it posits the Gypsies not only as immoral and different from the Turks, but also as a part of the society. It is a part that would keep the society functioning, but which at the same time is damned because of the roles that they take for the continuation of the social order. They would work for the society, but this

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[310] Kolukırık, "Türk Toplumunda", p. 11.

[311] See Narrative 27 in Appendix D.

makes them different and immoral at the same time. However, it still recognizes their place and function for society as a whole. Later in our conversation, Fitnat revealed her perceptions of Gypsies as a part of society that should serve it and accept their subordinate place as such. According to her, they were accepted in the town, but they had transgressed the social borders by taking up new professions instead of sticking to their traditional occupations.[312]

Gypsies have always been suspected of not being true Muslims. Although they followed Islamic religious traditions, some Turks did not accept them as sincere. Still, some Turks appreciate the religious effort of the local Gypsies and tend to be tolerant about their diverging religious practices: "They do not have *abdest* or *namaz* [practice religion], my girl. But local Gypsies feast and pray [*oruc* and *namaz*]. Even the latecomers do now. Some get interested in doing it. They pray."[313]

Religion correlates positively with the acceptance level of the Gypsy community. For the sepetcis, Meliha said that they did not pray at all. Moreover, the suspicion persists even about the genuineness of their practices. After her description above when I asserted that local Gypsies are Muslims, she corrected me, saying, "they are allegedly [*guya]* Muslims."

Another narrative pointed out their essential inappropriateness and therefore they could not be accepted as Muslims. Moreover, the suspicions about their religiosity bear many parallels with the ones on Alevis who are discriminated for their religious inappropriateness to Sunni Muslim sect. Salih: "First of all, Gypsies do not even have a book [means holy book, religion]. Don't you know? Gypsies' praying is not accepted either. In the past, there were some who ran away to the Alevis."[314]

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[312] See the part on Drivers' Fight in Chapter Five.

[313] See Narrative 28 in Appendix D.

[314] See Narrative 29 in Appendix D.

The suspicion is attached to their traditions and the essence of their characters. For the Hidrellez celebrations, Meliha questioned the sincerity of their religious activity and was quite negative about the Gypsies' tradition:

> Their tradition is in accordance with their nature. When it is morning, they go by the river. In the past, they would go with fire and wish for commodities over there. They collect flowers. I do not know, they say they prayed, but how on the earth they do [namaz]. They would draw houses to have a house in the morning of Hidrellez. I would tease them 'why do not you go every morning?' and they would say that it is their custom. Like this, their tradition is various.[315]

Meliha here indicated the variety of their tradition and warned that Gypsies' traditions should not be seen as close to that of Turks who were the core holders of the legitimate tradition, social norms, behaviors and religious appropriateness in comparison with the Gypsies.[316] She went on about how the Gypsies diverge from the Turks in terms of their life styles, behavior, religious activities and how this divergence had disturbed the Turks, especially in the period just before the attacks:

> They would wear clothes like us [clothes are especially important as Turkmens in the town are known by their representation of cultural clothes and showing their difference] but at that time, they got very spoiled. I mean they would drink a lot, too. They played the drums; they disturbed people in the neighborhood. And we are Turks I mean, we pray [*namaz kilarız*], we read the Kur'an. We did not have comfort because of them.[317]

By accusing Gypsies of breaking moral codes she seemed to blame them for the attacks, as if they had challenged and provoked the Turks. She tried to prove how incompatible the Gypsies were, especially by emphasizing their attitude versus religion, which legitimized the attacks in her representation. When I asked whether the Gypsies

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[315] See Narrative 30 in Appendix D.

[316] For the power of stigma as an explanatory tool for this way of perception. Bauman asserted: "Stigma draws the limit of the transforming capacity of culture. The outward signs may be masked, but cannot be eradicated. The bond between signs and inner truth may be denied, but cannot be broken." Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence,* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), p. 68. As our example shows, although on the basis of their own image and practice, some people would not fall into the category of Gypsyness, they still cannot get rid of the stigma.

[317] See Narrative 31 in Appendix D.

prayed, she answered "no," but then corrected herself: "Later, they started praying by seeing it from us."

However, as Meliha herself asserted, especially among the old generation of local Gypsies, there are devout Muslims. There is even one preacher (*hafiz)* local Gypsy woman who was a childhood friend of Meliha. Aunt Mesiye, who went to preach in Turks' houses, as she did for my grandmother's death, emphasized the religious unity between Turks and Gypsies instead. Similarly, many Gypsies stressed that they were Muslims just like Turks, but that the Turks had not treated them accordingly.

These beliefs are so strong that instead of explaining them, townspeople do not understand why one would question them. Religion was therefore used as legitimization to discrimination "His religion is different. Would you give your daughter to a Gypsy?" or "you yourself would not do that either, as it is socially accepted like this."

It reveals how negative beliefs on Gypsyness are accepted socially without further ado. Instead of giving a concrete answer, they refer to its acceptance in the society. People did not even like to be considered close to the Gypsies for fear of being associated with Gypsyness. The references to religion go hand in hand with another aspect of the stigmatization of the Gypsies that is widespread in the society. It is the idea of pollution or impurity, which can have religious connotations, but it is not restricted to it. Morality, ways of behaving and talking, physical hygiene, closeness to diseases are among the issues that are associated with Gypsies' impurity.

Impurity of the Gypsies

People and behaviors are associated with purity or impurity. On the one hand, people have different concepts and practices pertaining purity, whereas others share essentialist values. Labeling people impure reinforces hierarchies, and thereby adds to

discriminative criteria based on essentialist notions, instead of a temporary state that is subject to change.

The idea that Gypsies are impure is widely shared and contributes to their stigmatization not only in Turkey but also elsewhere. A personal experience serves to understand the perception of the Gypsies' connection to impurity. While I was working on my dissertation, a discussion started with my parents' neighboring family who had taken an interest in my work.[318] The mother is from Bergama, which is known for a remarkable number of Gypsies on the Aegean side. She was very prejudiced about Gypsies. It is not something extraordinary as most people in Turkey from right to left and from well educated to illiterate hold negative opinions about this group. However, her attitude revealed how it was subconsciously constituted. First, she said that she would feel disgusted when she would have to have a meal in a Gypsy house. Then she told how lucky she was when a neighbor invited her over and she was not able to accept. Only later she found out that the neighbor was a Gypsy, she thanked God, because otherwise she would have felt like vomiting.[319] A similar example comes from Diyarbakir. Many Dom Gypsy people reported that the Kurdish people avoided the coffeehouses which they frequented. In one coffeehouse, some Kurds even complained to the owner about the Dom's presence and demanded that their drinking glasses were separated.[320]

My experience in Bayramic was tragic in the way that it showed how strong the stigma of the impurity of the Gypsies is. Gypsies are well aware of these ideas. Thus, whether you eat their food, use the same plate or accept their tea is very important for Gypsies, because it makes clear whether you look down on them. It also eases your

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[318] It concerned a Turkish woman, her Kurdish husband and their 26-year-old daughter.

[319] Her daughter warned her mother though: "Some may have similar prejudices against us because my father is a Kurd." However, she explained it was not under her control, but added that she would not care if all Gypsies would disappear and she did not understand why I was interested in Gypsies.

[320] My research in May 2007 for the co-project "Promoting Romani Rights in Turkey" by EDROM, ERRC and Helsinki Citizenships' Assembly.

communication and acceptance in the community. Similarly, in Bayramic, the Gypsies paid attention to my attitudes and behavior and very much appreciated the fact that I ate their food and was nice to them.

Closely connected was a tragic experience that took place in a local Gypsy woman's house. Ezgi is known as the 'newspaper' of the community for her rapid access to rumors, changes in people's and community's life. After a few visits, we became close to one another and she trusted me to tell her own experiences and people's secrets. During a regular visit, Ezgi was busy cooking when I went to her place, which was a small house with two tiny rooms and a kitchen in the entrance. Ezgi sometimes had difficulty finding enough money to buy vegetables and that day she was cooking horse beans. She offered me her meal and we ate from the same plate with two different spoons. When we finished, she thanked me for not being disgusted by her. I felt embarrassed even about the idea. I told her that it was not right to thank one another like that and I should be thankful to her for sharing her food. Instead of expecting an appreciation for hospitality, she felt relieved that I accepted her as she was. This feeling was highly constituted by the socioeconomic and historical positions, relations and probable personal experiences. This story made me understand much better the stigmatization that a Gypsy can experience in situations that Gypsies usually have to face. The narratives of some Turkish townspeople in the town will furthermore explain why Ezgi thanked me and how the Gypsies are stigmatized through the concept of purity.

To understand the concept of purity in the town, Douglas' work on purity and danger is helpful, because she analyzes how pollution is used to control individuals in a society and to attain social order. Especially the margins of society are vulnerable from where danger is expected. Marginal groups are therefore constructed as dangerous and polluted, as Douglas explains:

> A polluting person is always in the wrong. He has developed some wrong condition or simply crossed some line which should not have been crossed and this displacement unleashes danger for someone. Bringing pollution, unlike sorcery and witchcraft, is a capacity which men share with animals, for pollution is not always set off by humans. Pollution can be committed intentionally. But intention is irrelevant to its effect—it is more likely to happen inadvertently.[321]

Stallybrass and White also point at the [re]construction of an individual in bourgeoisie society in reference to pollution. One's position to pollution is hierarchically constituted. Thus, people occupying the lower segments of society are posited closer to pollution and impurity: "The bourgeois subject continuously defined and re-defined itself through the exclusion of what it marked out as 'low'-as dirty, repulsive, noisy, contaminating. Yet the very act of exclusion was constitutive of its identity. The low was internalized under the sign of negation and disgust."[322]

Similarly, Gypsyness in the town is associated very much with impurity and danger. Although some Turkish townspeople share their food with Gypsies, there is a strong belief about impurity attached to Gypsies. Solmaz's story of a Gypsy who worked for the local pharmacist illustrates this.

> There is the father of mad Arif: Arab. He was a huge guy. He had hands double the size of my hands. His hands moved in the air. A real Arab, a hellhound.[323] Nobody among the porters could lift the load that he lifted. He was like this when he was young, too. My father would tell. We would admire his strength when we were boys. His cheeks were red. He was black; I mean dark-skinned. He would be in a mixed color with that red and black. At that time, the pharmacist of Bayramic had taken him not as an adopted child but as a helper in the store. He would run errands. There was only one pharmacy in Bayramic at that time. When he saw him that strong, he had taken him. He [Arab] would eat whatever he [the pharmacist] ate. He [the pharmacist] would let him into his house. He [Arab] would eat in his house. I mean he would offer Arab how his [the pharmacist] life was, what he ate. But do you know Arab was a huge, strong guy,

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[321] Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: an Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London : Routledge and K. Paul, 1966), p. 140.

[322] Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1986), p. 191. Stallbrass and White point at the interconnectivity of the feelings of disgust and desire in this relationship. This could be understood better in two different ways of otherizing Gypsies by both romanticization and negative images (also see Mayall, pp. 14-18).

[323] See previous part on 'Physical Appearances' for derogatory usages around dark skin.

> his life was poor as he was a porter. He would get stale bread from the coffeehouses or bakeries, and ate it like that. When he was thirsty, there was no pipe [*koseptik borulari*] or something else, but the water would flow outside directly coming from the houses. I mean not from the sewage, but the water which could be for laundry or dishes. He drank from that water instead of going to a fountain. But my father would say 'what health!' Then the pharmacist adopted him, the Arab as the days passed. That grandeur had disappeared; he started to be shaky. He was going to die. 'Let him go, do not make him eat anything'. Then the man [pharmacist] set him free. He went back to his old state again. He drank his water in those places collected bread from garbage. Then, he became like a hellhound again.[324]

The demonization of the Arab is remarkable in Solmaz's story and the binary way the story is constructed legitimizes their treatment in society. In their analysis, how pigs were demonized by associating them with unclean spirits and offences against good manners, Stallybrass and White draw attention to its situated close to "'scapegoated groups and demonized Others."[325] Through this kind of representation, the classification of those groups as inferior is reinforced. Wacquant similarly discusses the symbolic role of demonization accompanied by the decivilization of the African Americans in the legimization of the social positions, discriminatory and derogatory discourses, and state policies applied to them.[326] Demonizing the other is used as a legitimate ground to employ extraordinary treatments, policies and discourses.[327]

This representation is like a legend that displays an image of Gypsies as sub-human, but – unlike other people, as satisfied with this position. That improper life sends at least two important messages. To start with, Gypsies are satisfied with their subaltern position, confined in their own world. Although they may suffer from poverty, that is not only what they deserve, but also what suits them best. Thus, it naturalizes the poverty of Gypsies. It does not leave a space even to feel pity for their poor conditions, but tells

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[324] See Narrative 32 in Appendix D.

[325] Stallybrass and White, p. 53.

[326] Wacquant, pp. 95-121.

[327] Also see the dehumanization of Gypsies and Jews in the Nazi discourse pointed out by Bauman, p. 46.

us they are better off like this as they are not like 'us'. It is therefore pointless to change a Gypsy. Thus, the conscience of Turks is also comforted. The second message of this legend reinforces the boundary between Gypsies and Turks with its focus on impurity attached to Gypsies. Thus, the legend constructs an essential opposition between Gypsyness and non-Gypsyness. These two categories also exclude one another.

This binarization between Gypsyness and Turkishness is emphasized in the discriminative attitudes against Gypsies such as avoiding eating with them and the idea that their food is impure. Meliha's dilemma of eating in Gypsy houses is exemplary, as she herself lived close to Gypsy people and had Gypsy friends. Although sometimes she crossed the ethnic boundary and social distance was greatly reduced, at other times she reproduced local negative beliefs about Gypsyness. She told that Mesiye was her friend before the attacks; "they were very nice before, but they got spoiled later."[328] She said they had very close relationships with some Gypsies "they were my next neighbor, my child."[329] She gave excuses for their closeness while at the same time explaining that close contacts were inevitable. Then, she told how people would react to her when she was going to their place:

> Once people told me that when I ate in her [Gypsy next neighbor] place, I should have vomited. I told her, 'look, they are human too, she is my very close neighbor'. And they may be not nicer than you but they like to treat people a lot. She said that 'you should vomit what you eat'. She said 'there is no religion [*abdest-namaz*] in them'. But it is food, Allah's food [*nimet*].[330]

The association with pollution is crucial for the isolation of that very person as it damns not only that particular person or the community but also the ones who get in touch with them. The impurity is transmitted and it lies at the heart of the stigmatization. For our context, it can make someone Gypsy-like, for instance, if one gets very close to

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[328] *"Daha evvel cok iyilerdi, sonradan simardilar."*

[329] *"Yan komsumdu, dadam."*

[330] See Narrative 33 in Appendix D.

Gypsies, one becomes like a Gypsy in terms of moral and physical impurity. In the town, many Turkish people like Meliha were reluctant to reveal their closeness to Gypsy people. However, before the attacks, many were very good friends with some local Gypsies. The closeness to some degree was inevitable. They had worked for non-Gypsies, lived next to one another, went to school together and some had become good neighbors and friends. When some Gypsies were considered close though, they would lose their Gypsyness to some extent. She would be "not-like-a-Gypsy." Otherwise, there also was the danger of "being-like-a-Gypsy" for the very person and family that were close to Gypsies. Some people in the town therefore hesitated to reveal their closeness to the Gypsies. The fear to be stigmatized because of getting too close to Gypsies is underlined by superstitions in the town. The well-known superstition goes as follows: "When a person gets married a Gypsy, excuse me, this person becomes *cunip* [foul], when a woman and a man have intercourse. You put a brick under their feet in the bathroom. Until that brick melts, they would be foul, they say."[331]

This saying is very common among the old townspeople in the town and was considered as the proof of the Gypsies' impurity. Moreover, it was believed that this impurity was transmitted to non-Gypsies who had had any kind of sexual connection with Gypsies. This superstition is used to explain why people avoid marriages with the Gypsies. It must be noted that these seem more influential among older people. The younger people would rather mention material differences and cultural boundaries that would prevent marrying a Gypsy.

On the other hand, the rumors on the Gypsies who were accused of making passes at Turkish girls had triggered the attacks and were considered as the main reason for the attacks by many Turks and some of the local Gypsies. When we consider impurity in relation to the boundary protection and female control, we can understand

[331] See Narrative 34 in Appendix D.

the effects of the rumors better. Douglas articulated how ideas on pollution and danger are gendered as they are linked to sexuality. In her study of the Indian caste system, she indicated that the female body, sexuality and purity are considered crucial.[332] In many patriarchal societies, the female body and sexuality are controlled by men for the sake of social order and honor. Yuval Davis and Anthias show how women and their bodies were caught in nationalist discourses.[333] As Nagel states: "[…] Their [women's] purity must be impeccable and so nationalists often have a special interest in the sexuality and sexual behavior of their women."[334] Nagel points that controlling women and their bodies originates from the traditionalist idea on women that they "[…] embody family

[332] Grosz also points out that there is a gendered hierarchy between body fluids and their connection to impurity. Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism* (Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana Univ. Press., 1994), p. 203.

[333] The female body is represented not only as the property of one's husband or family, but also as belonging to the nation. In most cases, a woman has no right to her own body. As Yuval Davis stresses, and some theorists and anthropological researchers (Drezgic ; Heng and Devan; Nagel; Parla) clearly show, female bodies symbolize the nation. Rada Drezgic, "Demographic Nationalism in the Gender Perspective," in *War Discourse, Women's Discourse: Essays and Case-Studies from Yugoslavia and Russia,* edited by Svetlana Slapsak (Ljubljana: Topos Press 2000), pp. 211-35; Geraldine Heng and Janadas Devan, "State Fatherhood: The Politics of Nationalism, Sexuality, and Race in Singapore," in *Nationalism and Sexualities,* edited by Andrew Parker, Mary Russo, Doris Sommer and Patricia Yaeger (New York: Routledge Press, 1992), pp. 343-364; Joane Nagel, "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21, no. 2 (March 1998), pp. 242-251; Ayse Parla, "The 'Honor' of The State: Virginity Examinations In Turkey," *Feminist Studies* 27, no. 1 (Spring 2001), pp. 65-89; Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London: Sage Publications, 1997). Nationalist discourses may reinforce the existing gender roles and identities within patriarchal kinship structures (i.e. Heng and Devan; John Lie, "The State as Pimp: Prostitution and the Patriarchal State in Japan in the 1940s," *The Sociological Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (1997), pp. 251-263; Nagel 1998; Katherine Verdery, "From Parent State to Family Patriarchs: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Eastern Europe," *East European Politics and Societies* 8, no. 2 (Spring 1994), pp. 225-255) or produce new ones (i.e Joseph Alter, "Celibacy, Sexuality, and the Transformation of Gender into Nationalism in North India," *Journal of Asian Studies* 53, no. 1, (1994), pp. 45-66; Jason G. Karlin, "The Gender of Nationalism: Competing Masculinities in Meiji Japan," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 28, no 1 (Winter 2002), pp. 41-77; Orna Sasson-Levy, "Constructing Identities at the Margins," *The Sociological Quarterly* 43, no. 3 (2003), pp. 357-383). For the particularities of the Turkish context, the control on female body and sexuality both in state procedures and social practices, see Ayse Gul Altınay, "Bedenimiz ve Biz: Bekaret ve Cinselligin Siyaseti"(Our Body and Us: Virginity and the Politics of Sexuality). In *90'larda Turkiye'de Feminizm (*Feminism in Turkey in the 1990s*),* edited by Aksu Bora and Asena Gunal (Istanbul: Iletisim Yayinlari, 2002), pp. 323-343; Carol Delaney, *The Seed and the Soil: Gender and Cosmology in Turkish Village Society* (California: Oxford: University of California Press, 1991); Gul Özatesler, "The Changed Perception of the Concept of Virginity Between Two Generations of Women in Turkey," (MA thesis, Central European University, 2005).

[334] Nagel, p. 244.

and national honour [sic]; women's shame is the family's shame, the nation's shame, the man's shame."[335]

In addition, seeing Gypsies as polluting others was very effectively mobilized in the attacks. The idea of maintaining the boundary against Gypsies and protecting the space of Turkishness accompanied the expulsion of the Gypsies from economic and social competition. Gypsies' advancement in the transport business was portrayed as a dangerous invasion of the Turkish economic and social territory and triggered the socio-historically conditioned fear of Gypsy's impurity. The fear of losing control over the socio-economic areas and the females of the community was used in reaction to the upward social mobility of some Gypsies. The Gypsyness of these individuals was emphasized and posited in this context as polluting others.

This is also why some people did not feel any guilt for the sufferings of the Gypsies. Moore, who studied various persecutions and pogroms in the Middle Ages, explains this lack of guilt as the result of stigmatizing others as morally impure and religious deviants. The way he correlates this lack of conscience with the polluting of the other helps to understand the feelings of some attackers: "[..T]he polluting enemy has to be defined as the certain individuals demonic threaten the existing social order. Dehumanization and demonization serve to diminish or, in many cases, completely eliminate remorse or guilt at the most barbarous and sickening cruelties."[336] The urge to free oneself from pollution or the fear to be polluted therefore often plays an important role in violent riots. It reinforced the fear of a threat that potentially could harm society.[337]

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[335] Nagel, p. 244.

[336] Barrington Jr. Moore, *Moral Purity and Persecution in History* (Princeton; New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 2000), p. 57.

[337] Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Rites of Religious Violence in Sixteenth-Century France." In *The Massacre of St. Bartholomew: Reappraisals and Documents*, edited by Alfred Soman (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974), pp. 203-42 referred in Moore, p. 51 and p. 55.

Gypsy Manners

The proof of Gypsies' different values is represented by pointing at their behavioral differences and incompatibility with good manners. This difference is crucial to understand their marginalization and the public/private dichotomy, which serves to stress their inappropriate behavior.

Many people in Turkey consider Gypsies' inadaptability to proper public behavior as the ultimate signs of Gypsyness. It is used as the excuse for their exclusion in public life. The proper ways of performing in the public life also intimately linked to ideas about being modern.

> The contrast between the "personal," emotionally intense, and intimate domain of family, friendship, and the primary group and the impersonal, severely instrumental domain of the market and formal institutions is in fact widely experienced---one need only think about the evidence of popular culture—as one of the great divides of modern life. But historically, these two poles emerge together, to a great extent in dialectical tension with each other; and the sharpness of the split between them is one of the defining characteristics of modernity. [338]

In a similar articulation Gypsies are portrayed as being unable to respect and maintain the boundary between private and public.[339] This boundary, however, represents power relations in society as Sullivan asserts: "The demarcation of public and private life within society is an inherently political process that both reflects and reinforces power relations, especially the power relations of gender, race and class."[340]

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[338] Jeff Weintraub, "The Public/Private Distinction." In *Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Ground Dichotomy*, edited by Jeff Weintraub and Krishan Kumar (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp. 1-42, p. 21.

[339] For how social boundaries produce inequality, see Susan Moller Okin, "The Public/Private Dichotomy," in *Contemporary Political Theory*, edited by Colin Farrelly (London: Sage Publications, 2004), pp. 181-5.

[340] Donna Sullivan, "The Public Private Distinction in International Human Rights Law," in *Women's Rights Human Rights: International Feminist Perspectives*, edited by Julie Peters and Andrea Wolper (New York: Routledge Press, 1995), pp. 126-134, p. 128 quoted in Suad Joseph, "The Public/Private-The Imagined Boundary in the Imagined Nation/State/ Community: Lebanese Case," *Feminist Review*, no. 57 (Autumn 1997), pp. 73-92, p. 75.

Moreover, when the public is connected to perceptions of active citizenship, people who are regarded as violating norms in public can thereby be seen as not being fit for citizenship.[341] This means that certain types of public behavior by Gypsies in fact exclude them from citizenship in the eyes of the majority. I argue that underlying the inability of Gypsies to adapt to maintain the private/public dichotomy reinforces their exclusion from the political, social, and economic as well as the public sphere.

Many Turks mentioned the blurred boundary between private and public space for the Gypsies. The behavior of some Gypsies in public is indeed different from that of some Turks, e.g. fighting in public and swearing in front of other people. Some non-Gypsies see it as a lack of good manners if not mockery or subversion. The unpredictability of these acts is considered especially threatening. As we will see in the reconstruction of the attacks, the representation of Gypsies not following social conventions, exemplified by fighting among each other in public, contributed to the construction of Gypsy threat. Melis described Gypsies' disorderly behavior as follows:

> They never close their doors or windows. Let God save us. Excuse me, but you could even see them making love with their wives and husbands. They are relaxed people; they are not easily embarrassed about anything. They do not get distressed, neither do they mind their words, they do not care whether it would be shameful or not. I mean they would swear. They are very relaxed about those things.[342]

She went on stressing: "They do not have curtains, only glass. Especially in summer, they do not close windows at all. They shout at their children and swear. They start fights very easily and then make peace again as if nothing happened."

She added that among Gypsies, visiting each other's houses is not common. They prefer sitting in front of their houses or they are at work. Sitting in the streets also is

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[341] See Bahrdt referred in Jan Turowski, "The Dichotomy of 'Private' and 'Public' as a Theoretical Framework for the Analysis for Social Reality," in *Private and Public: Social Interventions in Modern Societies,* edited by Leon Dyczewski, John Kromkowski and Paul Peachey (Washington: Paideia Press and the Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 1994), pp. 7-14, p. 8.

[342] See Narrative 35 in Appendix D.

related to their class position and in Bayramic it is not common in most neighborhoods. More wealthy people consider it as an improper act, but in some other neighborhoods (like my grandparents'), it can be common. There during the summer, Turkish women sit in front of their houses or neighbors' houses and watch people passing and chat. This also creates a certain type of public space for women close to their households. They talk about their personal issues; the news in the neighborhood and in the town and it provides a place to exchange gossip and news. It reveals another understanding of private and public spaces and their usages.

Through the public private dichotomy, Gypsies are regarded as shameless. Certain ways of acting, exaggerating, using slang and showing off one self are among improper behaviors that would be perceived as connected to Gypsyness and not to the wider society.

> Our society does not approve of their lifestyles. […]Whenever they [Gypsies] find [money], they hang out a lot. They like enjoying life a lot. For instance, from here, they go to the market by car [he is talking about 100 meters]. If one buys a motorcycle, the rest will also buy one, if one buys a bicycle all the others buy one, too. If one buys a chicken for his place, the entire neighborhood buys chicken for their place. Moreover, they show off to one another while passing by. They are ignorant people. That kind of a society is the Roman society.[343]

Ismail, a resident in the muhacirs' neighborhood realized the Gypsies' commitment to the Turkish state, which many Gypsies are never tired of emphasizing. He recognized them as Turks, but criticizes their ways of behaving: "They are nationalist like us. Turks who love their flag, their farewell to the soldiers, etc. But by exaggerating, they spoil it a little bit. For instance, they make Hidrellez more cheerful. They celebrate it like 'I want to celebrate Hidrellez like this'. They try to make people to like them and their customs."[344]

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[343] See Narrative 36 in Appendix D.

[344] He said that the municipality supports their celebrations and Turks also would come to watch, as if it were a festival. The head of the municipality also would also visit the celebrations along with other

Necla, the teacher in the secondary school and resident in the neighborhood where local Gypsies and Turks live together, also commented upon the way Gypsies celebrate. In the following, she expresses how she felt about this difference.

> For instance, when there is a Hidrellez celebration, we go. Mothers, grandmothers, we all go. There are swings in the *panayir* (fair) place, meals are served, people are amazed etc. But they [the Gypsies] go with instruments, lambs… everybody cooks cookies, *borek* [a kind of pastry], Hidrellez rice, but their sultanate would be very different on that day. They were drinking and we were going home. A [Gypsy] man stood up, he also was drunk 'ha ha [laughing], the thing that is called Hidrellez happens like this!' I never forget that. They are people who are very open and display their feelings in public. We, in general, are not like that. We do not show off our sorrow or happiness. Indeed, they are nicer, but…[345]

All Gypsies consider Hidrellez as an important celebration and make elaborate preparations. That is why they are happy when they celebrate it in their own way. The Turks in the town also celebrate it, but not as enthusiastic as the Gypsies. While Necla was telling that they express their feelings very openly, she realized that she herself had difficulty to express her feelings. What Gypsies really did not care about, according to her, was social pressure and openly violating norms about how to behave properly in public and thus to be a respected member of society. That many Gypsies' seem to care less about these norms may be related to their already degraded position in society, although there are many differences among Gypsies and there are also many of them who try to act according to the majority.

Necla and her mother also emphasized the Gypsies' attempts to adapt to Turks, but they still betrayed themselves by their deviant behavior:

> When they are together [with Turks], they normally do behave, but still it seems that the inclination to breach the norm is greater among the Gypsies. They exaggerate a lot; make things bigger than they are in reality. They live everything in the open. I see it like that. Psychologically, they always try to take themselves to the fore. For instance, in the past, you could buy certain vegetables in the

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respectable people in town as Solmaz indicated: "All of the people from Bayramic would come by saying that there is entertainment in the Roman neighborhood. They would entertain people very well, I mean."

[345] See Narrative 37 in Appendix D.

> proper season. In May, at the time of Hidrellez, tomatoes and peppers would only be available in small numbers. There were no plastic bags in our childhood either, they would make paper bags and put them in it. To have something out of season, tomatoes, cucumbers at the top, would be a great honor. Nobody could buy them, but they would. 'I bought some tomatoes' [imitating a Gypsy]. With them, like this, open to the outside, how can I say? How can that feeling be defined? I call it showing off.[346]

This show-off attitude by Gypsies is mentioned very often. In Bayramic, many Gypsies have motorbikes, for instance, that they even use for short distances. This type of conspicuous consumption is not specific for Bayramic. The Bojas Gypsies who live in Romania, for instance, are famous for their houses that look like palaces with great ostentatious details. In the Netherlands, the experts of the Roma and Sinti Association indicate a similar attitude when it comes to buying cars. Gypsies are also known for their spectacular weddings in some cultures. Is there something specific in showing off the Gypsies' position in society then?

The concept of 'grotesque' is helpful to realize what showing off stands for. Stallybrass and White in their exploration of the domains of transgression use Bakhtin's terminology of the classical and grotesque for their comparisons between high and low culture: "The 'grotesque' here designates the marginal, the low and the outside from the perspective of a classical body situated as high, inside and central by virtue of its very exclusions."[347]

They assert that, "Grotesque tends to operate as a critique of a dominant ideology which has already set the terms, designating what is high and low."[348] The grotesque stands for a performance that manipulates boundaries between categories and mimics accepted ways of acting. It critiques the fixity of binaries: "In the second

[346] See Narrative 38 in Appendix D.

[347] Stallybrass and White, p. 23.

[348] Stallybrass and White, p. 43.

model,[349] the grotesque is formed through a process of hybridization or in mixing of binary opposites, particularly of high and low, such that there is a heterodox merging of elements usually perceived as incompatible, and this later version of the grotesque unsettles any fixed binaryism."[350]

Exaggerating is typical for Gypsies. Being members of a marginalized group, exaggeration appears as a reaction to their outcast position and thus neglecting the social manners with respect to being proper and moderate. Most Gypsies refuse to be moderate, which can be explained by the lack of a social position that can be put at risk. For some, improper action and exaggeration turns to invert the power relations as they are used to ridicule non-Gypsies by teasing them for their avoidances.[351]

Along with showing off behavior, there is the issue of extravagance and recklessness connected to Gypsyness: "They live by the day, whenever they find anything they like, they immediately buy it." Spending money freely is a characteristic of wealthy people and in their case it is seen as normal. According to classical logic of the modern capitalist understanding, the premise to live a comfortable life though would be to work and to save money for investment and/or bad times. The living from day to day, however, is related to the Gypsies' marginal position. Many Gypsies do not save money, although we should note that many do not have much money to save, but enough just to survive. "They buy meat, fish and liver altogether, when they have [money]. When they do not, then they would worry like this [laughing]."

The Gypsies' lack of responsibility when it comes to consumption and planning could easily be interpreted as a (symbolic) rejection of the capitalist system and the low

[349] See two models of 'grotesque' of Bakhtin in Stallybrass and White. In the first model, it basically stands for the Other. Here I use the second model of grotesque that questions and criticizes the construction of the Other in the dominant culture as elaborated above.

[350] Ibid., p. 44.

[351] Stallybrass and White discuss the manipulation of cultural classifications such as demonizing, inversion and hybridization.

class position within it. However, their conspicuous consumption and showing off behavior can also be interpreted as an internalization of the capitalist (class) hierarchy. Their exaggerated behavior may be seen ironic; in fact they reproduce instead of opposing the core values of the capitalist consumer society they are part of.

The symbolic negation of social and economic boundaries finds its expression in the idea that Gypsies "live from day to day." According to the capitalist work ethic, being lazy and enjoying leisure times is reserved for those who own the means of production.[352] Some Gypsies' consumption patterns resemble those of the upper class, but they are not rich enough to afford such a lifestyle. As these Gypsies violate the boundaries, their attitude is used to situate them as undeserving poor.[353] They are seen as poor and irresponsible people who instead of spending their money in a sensible way purchase luxurious goods. My aunt, who worked as a midwife, told me about a Gypsy who had sold her stove to buy a concert ticket. She would get another stove later, but the experience of the concert would be only that day. This logic violated the norm of frugal lifestyle.

In the town, the stigmatization of the Gypsies and the strategies to counter it have changed over time. As explained in the previous parts, the ideas about who is more Turk or more Gypsy also changed. The muhacir who were most Gypsy-like during the attacks nowadays are much less perceived as Gypsy. Furthermore, for some people, they even are praised for living alike and adapting to Turks more in comparison to other people. The musicians, on the other hand, who are the most socially and economically

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[352] See Paul Lafargue, *The Right to be Lazy* (Saint Pélagie Prison: Charles Kerr and Co., Co-operative, 1883). Available online: http://www.marxists.org/archive/lafargue/1883/lazy/ [15 January 2011] and also see Edgardo Dieleke, "Genealogies and Inquiries Into Laziness From Macunamia," *Ellipsi*s 5 (2007). Available online: http://www.ellipsis-apsa.com/Volume_5-Dieleke.html [14 January 2011] and Bertrand Russell, *In Praise of Idleness and Other Essays* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1935).

[353] For hierarchizing the poor with a focus on idleness along with moral condemnations, see Sarah Jordan, "From Grotesque Bodies to Useful Hands. Idleness, Industry and the Laboring Class," *Eighteenth Century Life* 25 (Fall 2001), pp. 62-79.

active group now are considered "more Gypsy." Their economic function in society has diminished due to technology and changes in the traditional wedding ceremonies.

The most striking shift in the negative discourse on Gypsyness in the town has been from being represented as marginal members of the society to undeserving people. The accusations of Gypsies being impure and immoral by nature, for instance were much stronger. Although they are still influential and the current stigmatization contains similar perceptions, the emphasis is different. What is new about the current stigmatization is the focus on Gypsies' abuse of the state social system. In this discourse, they are depicted as free riders and exploiters of state support for the poor. The discourse fits well in the neoliberal ideology that emerged from the 1980s onwards.

Ismail, a teacher who was born in 1959 and has always lived in Muradiye neighborhood, portrayed the Gypsies as follows:

> They are good people, but due to their lifestyle and poverty, they are somewhat untidy people, I mean, filthy. For instance, the number of their children is higher than ours [Turks]. Whether that is a good idea, I do not know. If you can look after them, let them be 10, if they live under healthy conditions. Moreover, the people do not like Gypsies because these people are not used to work under hard conditions. The jobs they prefer are always easy, instruments, you know, they live on musicianship. Here their morals are good, but go to Ezine, you cannot go in the street. […] They would pickpocket you. Here, I have never seen one of them stealing; they would not do those kinds of things. What is striking is that they always prefer the work without much effort. Since the Justice and Development Party is in parliament, state support as food is given to these citizens. Some people are very critical about that, because that normal people work, on the farm for example, until evening and maybe could get one bag of coal to his house, whereas Gypsies have their coal brought to them in a tractor paid by the fund of poverty [*fakir fukara fonu*]. Indeed, those households' situation is good; there are 3 people between the age of 20-25. If other men go to the farms with their wives, they think that those people should also work. That is why they are reactive. The state gave green cards to all of these [Gypsies]. They could go and take whatever they want from the hospital. They are also ignorant, they lie, 'I do not have any property'. That may be the case, but they use it as an easy excuse and take advantage of it. That is why the people resent them.[354]

This representation consists of many different aspects ranging from impurity and immorality to irresponsibility, laziness and idleness. The main stress however is on the

[354] See Narrative 39 in Appendix D.

abuse of the state social support system. Mukhtar Kemal, who is in charge of distributing the aid packages, subscribes to this when he complained about "the Gypsies' acting Gypsyness" in benefiting from state support through the social security fund. He said that the Gypsies ask money although they are healthy enough to work. A few minutes later, he remarked that it had become much more difficult for Gypsies to make money at weddings, but he insisted that they were "not that poor."

Ismail furthermore explained how the Gypsies abuse the green card system, which guarantees state support in providing health insurance to the poor who are not entitled within any other social security system and whose monthly income is less than one-third of net minimum wage,[355] and acquire undeserving support from the system through fraud:

> They [The state officials] investigate a lot. But even though they [the Gypsies] had something [a property]; they would have it recorded under someone else's name. I witnessed how a musician bought a car here. He had it registered with his brother in Ezine. He said 'they would not give me a green card otherwise'. […] I mean this provokes negative reactions. There still are good weddings, for instance. The poorest one would put 200-300 YTL [100-150 Euros] into his pocket. The Gypsy people here would buy meat, chicken, minced meat, fish on the same day. Like this… These people spend whatever they had made today. They like enjoying life a lot.[356]

The attitude of some Gypsies towards consumption can be interpreted as dismissing the value of private property, and with that the prevailing social and economic hierarchies. For some Gypsies, it can be a way to dissociate Gypsyness from poverty. Meral's son for instance was proud of being different from the others in the neighborhood, in his flashy clothes. He wears expensive outfits with labels that many Gypsies cannot afford. He emphasizes it a lot to underline being different from the

[355] For detailed information on the green card system, see Asena Gunal, "Health and Citizenship in Republican Turkey: An Analysis of the Socialization of Health Services in Republican Historical Context" (PhD Dissertation, Bogazici University, 2008).

[356] See Narrative 40 in Appendix D.

others. He considered it as a way to get closer to Turkish society as these symbols are significant in the system.[357]

Along with all these representations, this still leaves open the question whether Gypsies in the town have a different value system or that they are just people who are poor. To many, their behavior clearly reflects a resistance against the norms of the dominant society, as expressed by Necla: "They are still extraordinary, different people. I mean, [making a pause and thinking]… It would be truer if we say people not recognizing the rule." While talking about a particular family, Necla's mother said: "none of them is different, all are like locals." They laughed at Necla's comment: "but on the other hand they have drums and horns in their houses." Thus, if not manners and morals, physical appearance or occupations make one into a Gypsy. However, confusions and exceptions remain.

The accusation of immoral values and misbehavior are rejected by some of my Gypsy narrators. They referred to the hypocrisy and immorality of the Turks by giving examples of marriage programs on television. Muhacir Rana's account illustrates this by discussing the issue of criminality:

> Believe me my girl, please do not get offended, but here the thievery belongs to the Turks, there is none among the poor [Here the poor refers to Gypsies]. Prostitution also… What we heard lately… The women were finding [customers] for their own daughters. The police station knows us. We do not have either thievery or prostitution. We would sit starving, but we would not make any noise. Otherwise, if our children did something, we could not stay here, my dear. We stay here with our goodness. I tell Husmen [her son], to come home when it is midnight.[358]

Furthermore, there are some strict rules among Gypsies regarding morality, especially regarding the women of the community. Among the muhacirs, a widow woman cannot remarry even though she may be very young. In contrast to the

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[357] For the usage of fashion in compensation to obstacles and the incapability that an individual experiences see Georg Simmel, "Modanin Felsefesi"(The Philosophy of Fashion). In *Modern Kulturde Catisma* (The Conflict in Modern Culture) (Istanbul: Iletisim Yayinlari, 2003), pp. 103-34, especially pp. 120-21.

[358] See Narrative 41 in Appendix D.

representation of Gypsy girls unaffected by the patriarchal norms in Turkey, some local Gypsy girls complained about their limited mobility and the pressure on them in contrast to their brothers. Moreover, as far as I observed, the girls in the muhacir families also behave according to the gender division of labor that is dominant for most women in the country. A woman who came to the town as a bride to a local Gypsy family, on the other hand, described the strict gender inequalities that a bride faces among the local Gypsies in the town, which is not like that in Lapseki, from where she had come. Moreover, among the muhacirs, the gender inequalities are less pronounced according to her.

In sum, most values and manners of the Gypsies are not that different from the Turks' in the town. Although some of their behavior, ways of doing, acting and living can be distinct, some townspeople perceive them as essential differences. As I have explained in this chapter, some of these perceptions are connected to the degree of adaptation of Gypsies to the values of the socioeconomic system, which contributes to the marginal positions of the Gypsies. In the remainder of this chapter, I will explore the reactions of Gypsies to these various forms of stigmatization, which will help to understand the interplay between Gypsyness and Turkishness.

"Gypsies"' Representations of Gypsyness

Devecioglu in her novel describes a Gypsy woman's conflicting relationship with her Gypsy identity. She starts the story as follows: "This is a story of a Gypsy; of a Gypsy who tried to escape from her identity."[359] This is not only specific for the character in this novel. Many Gypsies wish to escape their Gypsy label in Turkey. This is related strongly to the dominant negative associations attached to their Gypsyness. It resembles

[359] "*Bir Cingene'nin oykusu bu; omru boyunca kendi kimliginden gocmeye calismis bir Cingene'nin…*" Aysegul Devecioglu, *Aglayan Dag Susan Nehir* (Weeping Mountain, River in Silence) (Istanbul: Metis Yayinlari, 2007), p. 19.

Burakumin community's strategy in Japan whose members are strongly discriminated against and who choose to conceal their identity.[360]

This attitude is quite common among the muhacirs in the town. They do not perceive themselves as Gypsies as this is constructed in the dominant discourse on Gypsyness. Moreover, most of them do not identify with the local Gypsies or sepetci Gypsies either. The attacks might have influenced the perception of their Gypsyness as well. Also among the youngest generation, Gypsyness is more likely to be avoided, most probably because the attacks showed that Gypsyness could form a legitimate ground for attacking them. Ironically, this led to conflicting situations and narratives even in the same family. While the grandmother says, "we are Romans," the granddaughter strongly negates it and refuses to be considered as such. More interestingly, the conflicting relation with the Gypsy identity can be observed even in how self-representations change over time or in different phases of a conversation. For instance, some muhacirs denied their Gypsyness all the time, until I was going to leave the town. Some others deny it when they are asked directly, but in a daily conversation, they refer to their Gypsyness.

My muhacir narrator Seyyal, who introduced me in the community, told me that for some Gypsies, the attack itself stood for the people's perception of them in the degraded position that was linked to Gypsyness. Thus, their silence on the attacks was explained by their shame about their marginal position. On the other hand, Seyyal also displayed the conflicting relation with their Gypsyness. First, she told me about the heterogeneity of the Gypsy people; some were "noble" while others were outright poor. She mentioned her husband as an example; he was so noble that no one would believe that he was a Gypsy. This way of differentiating Gypsies first of all relies on strong essentialist hierarchies. Moreover, this differentiation does not negate the dominantly constituted negative discourses on Gypsyness. Instead, it reproduces the idea of Gypsies

[360] Tom Gill, *Men of Uncertainity: The Social Organization of Day Laborers in Contemporary Japan* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2001).

as degraded as 'noble' implies closeness to the dominant Turkish ethnic identity. Furthermore, it opens a space for a counter argument, which would be "if you look like a Gypsy than you are not respected."

In her work on Greekness in a Greek Macedonian town, Karakasidou reflects on her experience with similar conflicting narratives: "The legends that Assiros villagers presented to me sometimes offered conflicting versions of particular aspects of their ancestral origins, but all shared a consistent theme in their strong insistence on a Greek heritage and ancestry stretching as far back as the Great Alexander."[361]

Karakasidou's account is similar to our case where muhacirs try to associate themselves with Turkishness. The muhacirs insisted on their Turkishness by referring to similar criteria that are constituted according to dominant perceptions parallel to Turkishness in which Ataturk, the past experience of population exchange, and being modern citizens take an important place. In the following phases of our conversation, Seyyal shows the inflexibility and contextuality of identities: "Indeed, we came from Selanik. At that time, Ataturk had said that 'you [the Greeks] can not touch my Turks.' That is why my grannies came by ship. That is why indeed we were Turks, but when we came here, our name became this ["Gypsy"]."[362] This past connected to population exchange is crucial for muhacirs as the proof of their Turkishness and it gives them a strong argument to be accepted as Turks, as the founder of the Turkish Republic had invited them under that category.[363]

While we were continuing this conversation in a group of muhacir women during Hidrellez celebrations in Camlik, a local Gypsy woman dancing in another group started

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[361] Anastasia N. Karakasidou, *Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood: Passages to Nationhood in Greek Macedonia, 1870-1990* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1997), p. 32.

[362] See Narrative 42 in Appendix D. Another narrator, who is a Bosnak, told that they got this name here in the town, while his relatives in Tekirdag were not called Bosnaks, but accepted as Turks.

[363] See the part on population exchange stories for the narratives on Turkishness of the muhacirs.

shouting, "Long live the Gypsies! These people will not die, Gypsies will not die!"[364] A muhacir woman from our group informed me with derision, "See, these are the locals." Then Seyyal explained the differences of behavioral codes between them: "For instance, I would not dance like this in my entire life." However, she also sounded happy to be among them and be part of Gypsyness with respect to the liveliness and sincerity between people: "Look for instance, you cannot find this kind of joy even if you paid for it".

Identifications and representations change widely especially in the case of the muhacirs. I will now explore some other dynamics used for relation between Gypsyness and Turkishness. This will reveal how and when one stands close to Gypsyness, in which ways one identifies with it and how and why these two categories are interchangeable in people's perceptions.

Negativity of Gypsyness

The very first self-representation of a Gypsy in the town was motivated by the wish to prove that they were not like those Gypsies as referred to by the dominant Gypsy stereotypes. They did not openly oppose those stereotypes for instance by denying their marginal position. Instead they emphasized how they themselves were different from what was normally understood as a Gypsy even if they would assert their own Gypsyness. Yet, this shows how strong the pejorative nature of the Gypsyness category is and how hard it is to get away from it. Instead many Gypsies attempt to protect themselves from falling into that position. This influences their different definitions of Gypsyness.

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[364] "*Cingeneler cok yasasin! Bu insanlar olmez, Cingeneler olmez!*"

Differentiating One's Community from the Dominant Percpetions on Gypsyness

The stigmatizing effects of Gypsyness become apparent in the representations of differences. Muhacir Gypsies do not perform professions that are traditionally associated with Gypsies while among the locals, there is a considerable group of musicians, which is recognized by their Gypsy profession. Thus, some of the muhacirs emphasize their distance to Gypsyness by not practicing these occupations and instead following life styles and professions similar to those of the Turks. On the other hand, some local Gypsies emphasize their rootedness in the town as a proof for being close to the Turks in town. Within these groups the issue had been debated for quite a while. The stigma of the label, the lack of a nomadic life style and a different language, life styles and traditions are referred to along with the different identification and representations of Gypsyness.

As indicated above, the local Gypsies talk about their Gypsyness more easily than the muhacirs, whereas for the muhacirs, it is a taboo and they instead emphasize their Turkishness. My muhacir narrator, Mahir, emphasized the pejorative usage of the term "Roman." He complaint about the term's connection with discrimination. He was disturbed by the low status that is allocated to the Gypsies in society. Thus, he found it insulting that people used the word Roman or Gypsy for them: "They said 'Roman.' What does it mean? I cannot understand. They use it in the meaning of Gypsy. This is what happens. When you say 'Roman', a group of people is pushed out of society. When they say 'Roman', it is the most devalued thing in the world. There are indecent men in every race."[365]

Sukufe perceived the term similarly, although they used it in the family. She dismissed the term outright: "I would not accept Romanness, why would I? […] My mother and father came from Selanik. The people from here inscribed it upon us […] If

[365] See Narrative 43 in Appendix D.

you use this word, you should be ashamed; not me. I would not either be ashamed or accept Romanness. I do not know the Gypsy language, I speak Turkish. That is it!"[366]

Sukufe avoided talking about Romanness with her children, who were three and seven. When her 82-year-old grandmother Kismet got into this discussion, peculiarities in their narratives, perceptions and attitudes towards Gypsyness become apparent. Although Sukufe spoke very concretely, her grandmother said "Why? I am Roman, why would I hide it?"[367] Thus, within the same family, there could be different approaches to being a Gypsy. Moreover, the reaction of Sukufe also seemed to be related to her being married to a non-Gypsy family and the wish to distance herself from Gypsyness due to the derogatory usages of the term. She especially emphasized the difference between them and other people that are labeled with the same term.

The lack of a different language, on the other hand, stands as the proof of Turkishness. Neither the local Gypsies nor the muhacirs speak Romanes.[368] They are even offended when asked whether they speak it. They indicated that some sepetcis speak the language though. Sukufe emphasized the language part: "I do not have a language, I would not accept that. My husband cannot tell me that you are Roman. He does not have that right. They also know us as Roman. At the end, I can call him Bosnak, [as he is] Bosnak. He can call me muhacir if he wants, but he cannot say Roman."[369]

As it transpired from Sukufe's narrative, speaking the Roma language is an inferior criterion, because it is assumed that usually itinerant Gypsies stick to their language. Moreover, hanging on to the Gypsy language can be used as a reason for

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[366] See Narrative 44 in Appendix D.

[367] "*Neden ki? Ben Roman'im. Niye saklayayim?*"

[368] The Gypsy language that is spoken by some Gypsies in the western Anatolia as a dialect of the one spoken in Europe.

[369] See Narrative 45 in Appendix D.

exclusion from Turkishness. This echoes the case among Slovekian Gypsies, as my colleague Jan Grill observed. Some Gypsies also refer to themselves as less Gypsy when they do not speak the language. Muhacir Rana had a similar reaction that revealed her view of the Romani language and the people speaking it: "They [Sepetcis] know the language/ they talk *gala gula gala gula* [imitation of a savage language]. They know, but we don't know."[370]

Speaking the language, thus makes one more Gypsy. The local Gypsy Sister Ezgi, like the muhacirs, referred to speaking a different language as a feature of inferior Gypsies:

> We do not know the language. We do not ever have our own language, not in this life. They [Sepetcis] would say *pani* for water and other things for others, I would not know. I do not understand their *patara kutere* when they come to sell something. [The Muhacirs] would not know either.[371]

The mixed family of a local Gypsy father and a muhacir mother, with whom I had a close relationship, even became offended when I asked them whether they spoke Romani. Avoidance of having a separate language and anxiety around it are understandable in the nationalist Turkish context and the repression of the Kurdish language. Moreover, campaigns such as "Citizen, Speak Turkish"[372] also send the message that reliable citizens only speak Turkish.

Another important criterion of Gypsyness is itinerancy.[373] Being sedentary is proof of not being like a Gypsy to many Gypsies. It is also an important criterion for many Turks, as they would warn not to mix Gypsies in the town with itinerant ones: "Our Gypsies are local." Settlement is an important condition for the inclusion of

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[370] See Narrative 46 in Appendix D.

[371] See Narrative 47 in Appendix D.

[372] "*Vatandas, Turkce Konus.*" The campaigns targeted mainly non-Muslims in the 1950s.

[373] See Chapter II.

Gypsies, as the 1934 Settlement Law illustrates. Sukufe emphasized the link between Gypsyness and itinerancy. Her narrative also refers to other discourses and conditions to be Turkish. We even see traces of recent debates in religion and secularity in her narrative:

> Do they [Gypsies] have a permanent home? They travel. But my home is certain. I have a house, too. I do not accept […] I am a Turkish girl of a Turk. I live under the same flag. I go to the same mosque; I am buried in the same cemetery. [For instance] the Turkmens have a separate cemetery. They discriminate racially, but I do not. My prophet is the same, Muhammed. They [Turkmens] regard Ali as divine [instead]. You cannot discriminate against them either. There would not be any discrimination in religion. You should not mix politics with religion. That is it.[374]

Along with a settled life, mainstream life styles, socio-economic position and traditions compatible with the Turks appear crucial not to be considered a Gypsy. Among the Muhacirs, Mahir's son Alper subscribed to this interpretation and he therefore rejected the term Gypsy for his own family. His father was a state official who worked in the State Post Office in Bursa, while there were some others working as state officials in his family. Discourses on normality and marginality employed in anti-Gypsy discourse are also active in his narrative:

> You can see here. In the sense of the life style… For instance, the people [local Gypsies who perform as musicians] across the street, their life style is totally different. The ones in Istanbul are the same as these. The Romanness comes from here [life style]. Now, we are normal citizens, our life style is totally different. For instance, when you are a state official, you do not behave like them, and then nobody can call you Roman.[375]

Alper's narrative displays how he considered the term "Roman" as an insult. To prove his own distance, he posits his family within the scope of normality and appropriate life style. In similar articulations, the Sepetcis are put in the lowest rank of Gypsyness. Many local Gypsies and muhacirs use the dominant discriminatory discourse to demonstrate their own distinctiveness, as Alper's narrative shows:

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[374] See Narrative 48 in Appendix D.

[375] See Narrative 49 in Appendix D.

> Look, for instance, there are Sepetcis in front of us [our house]. They call them *cilingir* [stands for 'thief'], you know. We are people living on our own. Are we the same as them? Humans are the same, but there are differences in life styles and culture. I cannot see myself as being the same as them. Their lifestyle is different. I mean, how they talk, live, that is not like we do. Look, could you figure yourself as same as them? Humans are humans, but if they ask you, you live with them [in the same district], are you from them? No, I am not. But, I would value them as humans, [though] I would not adopt their life styles. That is it. […] Their lifestyles are like *bohcacı*s [peddlers]. They come together, they make a fire, and they prepare their meals. They gather together, they fight. They turn their tape player on and start dancing. I do not do these things. This is what I mean.[376]

They get offended when one brings them under the same label as the Sepetcis, who are mostly nomad Gypsies and are viewed as being as uncivilized as their culture, manners and economic situation. The local Gypsies also look down upon them. It is a reoccurring issue with many Gypsies. As seen in Alper's narratives, he is basically repeating the dominant prejudices about Gypsies through the stereotypes on sepetcis and he separates himself from these features as well as from Gypsyness. Some local Gypsies and muhacirs thus reproduce stereotypes that some non-Gypsies use for them.

The Significance of Locality for the Local Gypsies

Locality was a crucial concept to refer to Gypsies in Canakkale. It stressed their settled life and their long history in the region. In Canakkale, they have legitimized their past in the city in reference to their ancestors' who were involved in the conquest of Istanbul at the time of Sultan Mehmet II the Conqueror (1453). In Bayramic, locality also points at one's legitimate place. When the latecomers from other countries, cities and villages to the town are considered, a discourse on locality functions to declare one's rights to be in the town and to be a member of the town's community. Among the Gypsies, the locality is mainly used to differentiate themselves from itinerant sepetcis and muhacirs who came with the population exchange.

[376] See Narrative 50 in Appendix D.

During the population exchange between Turkey and Greece in the 1920s, Karakasidou reports that the term *dopyi* [local] started to be used throughout Greek Macedonia.[377] She writes that the settlement contributed to redefinitions in perceptions of identity and to new social categories such as "local" or "indigenous", while refugees were not welcome. In the context of Bayramic, defining some Gypsies as locals in comparison to the muhacirs signals similar redefinitions of identities and categorizations. "[L] ocal origin accounts often contained particular elements that suggested diversity, or more specifically the purity of some and the difference of others."[378]

Locality has other connotations in the Turkish context, as Yael Navaro-Yasin points out with reference to the historical place of Islam.[379] She asserts that the westernization and modernity project from the foundation of the republic onwards was perceived in opposition to standing against the local culture. Navaro-Yasin's remark reflects the contrast between modern Turkishness that is emphasized by the muhacirs and locality that is linked to traditions and Islam among most local Gypsies. As will be explained in the next part, the muhacirs always stress their ties to Atatürk and being modern citizens (for some, because of their European origin even more modern than the Turks in Anatolia). They are proud of their Kemalism, their modern view on women, and of their level of education and jobs in state institutions. Among most local Gypsies, on the other hand, religion and rootedness in the town signify their closeness to the

[377] Karakasidou, p. 152.

[378] Ibid., p. 36.

[379] Yael Navaro-Yasin, "Historical Construction of Local Culture: Gender and Identity in the Politics of Secularism versus Islam," in *Istanbul between the Global and the Local*, edited by Caglar Keyder (Boston: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1999), pp. 59-76.

Turkish townspeople.[380] They underline their religious activities, in contrast to the muhacirs' focus on citizenship rights and duties.[381]

The local Gypsy Ezgi emphasized the commonality of traditions with the Turks. They share ways of cooking, as well as the way they perform weddings. Of course, Gypsies have more elaborate celebrations, spend more money, engage more musicians, but these are seen as 'small' differences. They are indeed very proud of their weddings as they illustrate the richness of the community and a particular family. Thus, for their celebrations, some bring musicians from other cities (i.e. Ankara in the case of one family), although there are plenty of musicians in the community. They like to show off their wealth and power and how well they take care of their children through the richness of the wedding ceremony. For Hidrellez celebrations, the practices of local Gypsies and Turks are similar. In comparison to the muhacirs, on the other hand, the religious character of the locals is emphasized: "Our local Gypsies wake up in the mornings. They perform abdest, go to the river, they take water, you tell whatever you ask from Hizir Ali Husselam, and come back. But they [muhacirs] put flowers [in front of your doors], they laugh and dance, they make a fire."[382]

Additionally, the local Gypsies mention traditions more than the muhacirs. They refer to commonalities with the Turks and their closeness to them. However, they do not hesitate to stress their differences as well. Some draw attention to the boundaries between Turkishness and Gypsyness. They even use the word *goray* for Turks, which is not used by the muhacirs. Compared to the muhacirs, the local Gypsies do not deny the differences with the Turks. Historically, they were also the ones who hold on to Gypsy

[380] See the part on religion for the (local and Turkish) narratives on local Gypsies, who are seen as better behaving according to Turkish norms and better Muslims than muhacirs.

[381] They assert that they would live under the same flag, speak the same language and send their children to the army.

[382] See Narrative 51 in Appendix D.

professions and relate to the Turks within determined boundaries. They recognize hierarchies, very similar to what Van Arkel's called "labeled interaction": acting within prescribed roles and the prevailing power hierarchy between Gypsyness and Turkishness. Still, the local Gypsies historically have been quite successful in crafting a legitimate place in the town.[383] They claim their rights based on their deep historical roots in the territory, in contrast to the immigrants after them. Their affiliation with Bayramic as their hometown earned them recognition as a part of that particular society and territory. During the attacks, as local Gypsy Mesiye pointed at, their recognition as such prevented people's further assaults while some families were left in peace, like hers. She recalled the attackers discussing in front of their windows: "Do not ever touch these people. They have eight hundred years of history here. No one from the Adalis will be touched."[384]

In addition, while the migration from the villages especially intensified after the 1980s along with increasing Kurdish immigration, the muhacirs to some extent also could claim rights on the basis of having lived in the town much longer than the recent newcomers. Moreover, these newcomers adapted to the behavioral codes and norms of the town less than them. Thus, they also liked to emphasize their difference from the villagers by stressing their local roots. In the following part, we will explore how the muhacirs tried to legitimize their place in the town.

The Population Exchange and Legitimacy Ground

For the local Gypsies, being in the town for a long period of time was enough for a legitimate claim. However, as the muhacirs came from Thessaloniki in Greece at the time of population exchange in 1925-26, emphasis on their acceptance to the country by

[383] Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American mainstream.*

[384] *"Bu insanlara dokunmayin. Onlarin burda sekiz yuz yillik tarihi var. Adalilardan kimseye dokunulmayacak."*

the order of Atatürk and recognition of their Turkishness stands as their own legitimate ground for their existence in the town and closeness to Turkishness. In this discourse, the state authority and recognition is key, but the figure of Atatürk reveals a great symbolic power in these narratives as he and everything associated with him gain unquestioned legitimacy in traditional Turkish political and social discourse. This implies that those who oppose the presence of muhacirs in the town, in a way, criticize Atatürk. Thus, the narratives on the population exchange and references to Atatürk are important weapons against stigmatization. As a result, in their narratives, all remarked on how Atatürk had brought them to Turkey, whereas some even accentuated that they once were neighbors of Atatürk, stressing personal relations and a common homeland. In her narratives on ancestors, Cevza started telling how Atatürk rescued them:

> *Gavur*s [infidels to Islam] showed them [her ancestors] the world over there [in Greece]. They made [terrorized] them, too. I had an uncle; the *gavur*s beat him in the square. Atatürk said… my mother was telling that they were peeing out of fear. They [the Greeks] said 'you are 'tak tak' in *bayram*' [sound for a gun fire in reference to killing]. An order came from Atatürk. He said, "if any harm is done to my Turks, do not make me put my boots on, I will make you clean them. A ship will come tonight and all of my Turks will get on it."[385]

Cevza's mother referred to Atatürk as "our," denoting their closeness to him and his values: "My father was saying that 'Our Atatürk saved us'. […] They had only one night until they would be killed, and then Atatürk said 'do not touch my Turks […]."

Berrin, on the other hand, highlighted the muhacirs as Atatürk's neighbors and acquaintances: "Atatürk was also living in that neighborhood, on the upper side. There was an old man here and he was a child, too. [He had told that] Atatürk never went on his knees even when he was a child. But, of course, they were living on the lower side."[386]

Immigrant Gypsies from Selanik (Thessaloniki) extensively refer to Atatürk, as Kolukırık came across in his work on Gypsies' migration experiences and memories that

[385] See Narrative 52 in Appendix D.

[386] See Narrative 53 in Appendix D.

came from Selanik to Bornova, Izmir.[387] In the interviews with muhacir Gypsies in Izmir, themes that arose were gratefulness to Atatürk ["We lived because of him"]; his decision to bring them to Turkey ["Atatürk brought us here"]; his recognition of them ["Atatürk called us here"]. Kolukırık explains these references to Atatürk psychologically as "situating oneself through a powerful figure."

Nevertheless, we need to examine the historical and sociopolitical constructions and discourses around Atatürk as well, to understand these references. He was not portrayed as an ordinary powerful figure in history, but lots of people with different perspectives, from secularists to fundamentalist, from left to right, have assured their positions and arguments through references to him. It is not only supporting oneself through a powerful figure, but also recognizing his historically constructed unquestioned position. For the muhacirs, it accommodates a legitimate ground for Turkishness.

For many muhacirs, being more modern with their open-minded family relations and relative gender equality differentiates them from the local Gypsies.[388] This underlines their adherence to the modernization project and makes them into good and modern citizens following the Kemalist idea. After the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the new state and Kemalist ideology in the spheres of women and religion associated modernization with Turkishness. Thus, the image of "modern women" served as a pivotal symbol for the founding era and its legacy. Cevza highlighted their difference from the local Gypsies with her remark on gender roles, their European origin and thus

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[387] Kolukırık, "Dunden Bugune".

[388] For detailed research on the Turkish modernization and gender issue, see Zehra F. Arat, "Turkish Women and the Republican Reconstruction of Tradition," in *Reconstructing Gender in the Middle East,* edited by Shiva Balaghi and Fatma Muge Gocek (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Sibel Bozdogan and Resat Kasaba "Introduction," in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey,* edited by Sibel Bozdogan and Resat Kasaba (Washington D.C.: University of Washington Press, 1997); Ayse Durakbasa, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Modern Kadin ve Erkek Kimliklerinin Olusumu"(The formation of modern identities of women and men in republican era), in *75 Yilda Kadinlar ve Erkekler* (Women and men in 75 years) (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfi Yayinlari, 1998); Deniz Kandiyoti, "Gendering the Modern: On Missing Dimensions in the Study of Turkish Modernity," in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey,* edited by Sibel Bozdogan and Resat Kasaba (Washington D.C.: University of Washington Press, 1997).

the harmony with the idea of westernization and modernization: "Our culture is different. We are more open-minded. We are more cultured and well groomed. They [the local Gypsies] would like the bride to make and bring coffee in the morning. Even the way they talk is different. After all, they are locals of here. We are muhacirs, of course we are Europeans. We have seen Europe."[389]

Moreover, the fact that muhacir women who work outside of the house shows their socioeconomic power and modern gender roles in comparison to the local Gypsy women among whom working outside the home is considered as inappropriate. Still, although some local Gypsy women especially from the younger generations like to work in similar jobs like nannies and house servants, they usually cannot get into the network. Apart from the gender dynamic, this profession stands for the Turks' recognition of muhacirs' morals and manners along with their trustworthiness by accepting them into their households. Thus, the muhacir women mention their jobs as an entrance to the wider society and their acceptance as members in socioeconomic life in the town.

However, this socioeconomic harmony and the legitimacy of the muhacirs as Turks, modern citizens and workers, were violated by the attacks. This denial of their legitimate place in society was traumatic for them, and the shock that apparently they were not Turkish enough had a big impact. Rana voiced this violation: "We said 'we are muhacirs; Atatürk's children'. Rifki [one of the perpetrators] said, 'No, you are not'. We said 'we are Atatürk's neighbors; why do you treat us like this? We are Atatürk's children.' My girl, do you know how they behaved? Like soldiers. Those stones smashed all my doors and windows."[390]

The references to Atatürk by the muhacirs are also connected to the lack of people's secure status in the country except within the nationalist discourse. It displays

[389] See Narrative 54 in Appendix D.

[390] See Narrative 55 in Appendix D.

the lack of alternative arguments to fight racism and discrimination against Gypsies in its own right. Tragically, the muhacirs by employing these Kemalist arguments reinforced their victimhood.

The Liminality of the Gypsies

On the eve of the attacks in the town, what was significant and threatening to some townspeople was the disappearance of the boundaries between them and certain people whom they had called Gypsies. It was the time that many villagers and townspeople felt the effects of social and economic transformation in their lives, the fear of losing their status in society and the anxiety to fit into the new criteria of doing business. In other words modernization which intensified relations with the big city, the spread of transportation and the emerging positions in the economy that were linked to new technologies, created a feeling of social insecurity among many families, who had to adapt to new ways of life.

Then what was the position of the Gypsies in relation to the boundaries that Turks were attempting to protect and uphold? As we have seen, the category of Gypsyness by itself in its wider understanding is ambiguous in Turkey. Many are confused about who the Gypsies are. For some people, Gypsyness is another race, for others only a different life style and part of the population, whereas there are also Turks who think Gypsies are just poor people who struggle for a living. This explains why some are confused whether they can call them Turks or not. After all, many migrants were recognized as Turks depending on religious uniformity after the foundation of the Turkish Republic.[391] Many Gypsies also consider themselves Turks.[392] Surely, they are

[391] For the changing criteria pertaining to the acceptance as Turks within the prevailing economic and political context, also see Danis and Parla.

Turks to some degree in the eyes of many people, whereas for others they are the ultimate other.

The ambiguity is clearly visible in some of the Gypsies' narratives on their self-representations. While they would call themselves Turks, within few minutes they could start referring to some townspeople as "those Turks…" It is obvious that the Turkishness that they see themselves part of, is different from that of the townspeople. They develop a certain degree of commonality with the wider dominant culture and they recognize themselves as parts of it. However, they also realize that they are only partly included and seen as different through derogatory adjectives related to impurity, ugliness, immorality, and criminality.[393] Many people suffer from being excluded in this way. However, for many, Gypsyness serves as a way to identify with other Gypsies, with whom they share the segregation and with whom many can feel free in contrast to the prejudices that they have to deal with in the outer world. Thus, they are Gypsies to some extent and Turks to another.

This ambiguity is displayed in various ways. One is the construction of the national identity of Turkishness at three levels.[394] These levels include people in different dimensions. It may blur the boundary of the category of Turkishness, but at the same time, it provides the flexibility that can be used for different inclusion and exclusion strategies. Moreover, it reveals the hierarchy between people within the same category. Gypsies could be easily accepted as Turks on the basis of language, religion and territorial ties. Moreover, in contrast to other communities that are referred to as minorities,[395] many Gypsies do not claim a different language, religion or culture. However, as

[392] In Diyarbakir, it was also a debatable issue for the Gypsies-Dom people who would argue that they belong to a tribe of Kurdish people. Thus, they are both Gypsies and Kurds.

[393] Gypsyness is also used as a keyword that embodies those other derogatory usages.

[394] See the part on Turkishness and its three levels in Chapter Two.

[395] Both to the ones called religious and ethnic such as Greeks, Jews, Armenians and Kurds.

indicated in the 1934 Settlement Law, itinerant Gypsies are seen as people who cannot be accepted as Turks. Furthermore, Gypsies are seen as marginal. Their religious appropriateness is always questioned, as we saw in Bayramic. Thus, they have acquired an ambiguous state between Turkishness and non-Turkishness. This ambiguity demonstrates their liminality which means that their position is hard to define.[396]

In Bayramic, local Gypsies as a community stood close to, but at the same time were different from the Turks. Most of them did not deny the boundaries with Turks, who have more opportunities in the economic life and more statuses in the social life. They stayed "Turkish-like" and with low socioeconomic status compared to the "real Turks." However, among them as well, some were better off in businesses like owning a barbershop or as well-known musicians. In a way they accepted their liminal position as "most of them knew their place that was inferior to a Turk's" in terms of social and class positions.

The muhacirs, on the other hand, became the problematic ones, because they did not accept their subordinate position. They would rather emphasize their rights to be treated as Turks as their ancestors had been recognized as such by the Turkish state and Atatürk as the respectable founder. Their place between the local Gypsies and the Turks, however, demonstrated their in-between space. Along with the socioeconomic power that they gathered in the 1960s, thus, the muhacirs were trying hard to blur and even shift the boundaries and thus escape from their liminal position.

Among other things this meant that Gypsies would profit from the socioeconomic opportunities that originally belonged to Turks. The rumors on the muhacirs' inappropriate behavior versus Turkish women, threatening their honor,

[396] See Chapter One for the liminality of Gypsies. For the relation between pollution and liminality, see Douglas.

metaphorically stood for invading the Turkish territory. In the following chapter, we will see how the Gypsy threat was constructed around the muhacirs in this process.

CHAPTER V
NARRATING THE ATTACKS

> It was like wartime. People hid under sofas and beds. We just looked from the window. It was dark everywhere. If you escaped, where would you go? Still the only hope was to get away, instead of staying at home and dying.[397]
>
> They had flags in their hands. They were singing '*daghasini duman almis'* etc [national anthems]. Look at my hair; I get goose bumped [experiencing strong emotions such as fear and anxiety]. […] It was a horrible noise that had a frightening effect. It was like an airplane immediately above us. But thanks to our Allah, [we survived].[398]

In the town of Bayramic, people who were present in the late 1960s and in the beginning of 1970 recalled the attacks on Gypsies as a time of great violence. People's houses in the town were attacked, some were beaten, and as a result hundreds of inhabitants fled. The perpetrators were villagers and townspeople, including friends and neighbors of the attacked, and the targets were "the Gypsies." The same crowd also beat the attorney of the town almost to death in the building of the municipality.

The attorney was transferred somewhere else while "the Gypsies" went to nearby towns as well as big cities. They had to stay out of the town for a certain time, fluctuating from months to years, depending on the kinship and community ties, acceptance in the town, property ownership, savings and ability to survive in the places to fled to. After a while, some came back to the town, while others never returned.

All over the town, the reason that was most frequently mentioned as the cause of the attacks was the immorality and misbehavior of some Gypsies who were accused of making passes at schoolgirls and peeping on women in the Turkish baths [*hamam*s]. The common phrase was that "they were spoiled," which referred to their misbehaviors as the result of their increased power in the town's economy. This, however, is the story on the surface that appears as the first narrative for almost all of the non-Gypsies and the

[397] See Narrative 56 in Appendix D.

[398] See Narrative 57 in Appendix D.

few Gypsies who are considered as locals. The Muhacir Gypsies, who were the prime targets, tell of other reasons and point primarily at the clash of socio-economic interest in the town. This side of the story is not known or remembered properly by most of the non-Gypsies, who emphasize the first (immorality) narrative. Only a few, who knew, remembered and talked about it fairly more or less, supported the Gypsies' narrative. Not many of the non-Gypsies, however, were eager to talk about it. Thus, if it does, it appears only as the second narrative among a limited number of non-Gypsies.

The account of the attorney Rahmi Ozel, which was published in the newspapers at the time, verifies the muhacir Gypsies' narrative and appears as the only available written source that in a formal way reports the attacks.[399] The attorney indicated that the attacks were triggered by personal interests linked to the competition over a truck between local people and Gypsies, called *kipti*, who had been settled in Muradiye neighborhood about fifty years earlier.[400] The first attack was against the muhacir Gypsies and resulted in damaging thirty-eight houses on January 18, 1970. The last incidence happened on February 22, after the word spread that the health condition of the driver Halit Er, who had been injured by muhacir Gypsies in Canakkale because he was one of the key perpetrators, was critical. Then, according to the attorney, at least 3000 people started marching in the streets with flags in their hands and in open violation of the state authority. The people stood outside of the municipality building, which was in the entrance of the town bazaar on the main avenue that also led to the neighborhoods where the Gypsies lived. As the attorney tried to stop the crowd, a group of thirty-forty people attacked and beat him almost to death.

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[399] *Milliyet*, "Bayramic Savcisi Vilayeti Sucladi" (Bayramic attorney accused the provinc[ial authorities]) (27 February 1970), p. 4. See Narrative 58 in Appendix D.

[400] The neighborhood Muradiye, which is known as the muhacir's and Tepecik, which has been widely occupied by local Gypsies are next to one another. One just has to follow a street for a hundred meters to get the next one. Moreover, the two neighborhoods recently have been identified one in official records recently: 'Tepecik'. However, people still refer them as different neighborhoods. It also should be noted that spatial differences are perceived differently in the town as a hundred meters can make a big difference in the eyes of townspeople.

The governor of the province of Canakkale, Cemal Tantanci,[401] who was criticized by the attorney for not taking action at the required time and scale, on the other hand, put the blame on the Gypsies when I interviewed him. When he learned that I was from Bayramic, the first thing he said was, "'yours' made the event of Gypsies" as it was the most significant event that he remembered about the town. He shared the negative Gypsy image and repeated the story of the Gypsies' immoral acts: "The Gypsies said that they had known every women's panties in the town and that is what triggered the events." He said that he himself had gone to the town and rescued the attorney when he had heard about the events. However, "the damned attorney" blamed him afterwards. He spoke about the case as a joke and even accused the Gypsies for beating the attorney.

The townspeople referred in various ways to the events. Many called it "the Gypsy incidents" and/or "Gypsy stoning." Many other, especially those who were called Gypsies used the term "*Kirim*."[402] Some said that it was actually "Driver's Fight" turned into a "Fight against Gypsies." How the events were described is closely tied to the narrators' representation of the events and differed according to the subjects' standpoints, their knowledge and willingness to reveal that knowledge around the related actors and what they saw as the main trigger. The traces of the violence and the fear experienced by the townspeople play an important role in the narrators' representation of the time. Their willingness to talk and fear to keep silence as well as their diverging stories are highly illuminating. Their stories, on the other hand, can be quite complex with their socio-historical references to the past and the present, and depend on their

[401] From my interview on 27 April, 2009 in Karakoy with the governor of the province of the time who was in charge from 1967 to 1971.

[402] The attacks were called *kirim* among the Gypsies. Although there were no killings during the attacks in the town, the term in Turkish includes killings and its English counterpart would be massacre. The Gypsy people used the term to reflect the meaning of the attacks for them as it was not only against their houses but also against their existence in the town. The term employed especially by the Gypsies of the town provides a stronger representation of their feelings and the effect of the attacks on them. The non-Gypsies of the town would prefer a neutral term 'events' for the attacks instead. I found this difference on terminology remarkable for their representations.

own experiences of the transformation of the town's economy. What did this violence mean in people's lives, in the town's history and how was it connected to our general context?

During the attacks, the content of Gypsyness, what it means to be a Turk and a Gypsy became much more crucial than at any other time before. People were pushed to act upon these categories more than ever to delineate who was "us" and "them." What exactly happened at that very moment, how the attacks were triggered, how they were legitimized and practiced, who acted how in what agency position, and how people remember will be dealt with in this chapter. It will unveil the actual events, the actors, how they succeeded, the discourses that were in circulation and how people made sense of what had happened and recalled the events.

I will analyze two main stories in the narratives on the attacks of 1970 in the town. They are linked both to the real events as well as to people's perceptions, which are both meaningful. We should not treat them as separate parts, because the combination and interplay reveal the socio-historical realities. Moreover, both will help us to elaborate different aspects, perspectives and memories. The one which is called the "Drivers' Fight" reveals the underlying reasons and individual interests that are linked to structural factors to certain extents. The one that is called the "Gypsy incident," on the other hand, is crucial for understanding the impact of the Gypsy stigma and the motivation of the crowd.[403]

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[403] See Corkalo et al. 2004 for difference in remembering, interpretations and representations between different communities after the war in Bosna and Herzegovina, and Croatia. Dinka Corkalo, Dean Ajdukovic, Harvey M. Weinstein, Eric Stover, Dino Djipa and Miklos Biro, "Neighbors Again? Intercommunity Relations after Ethnic Cleansing," in *My Neighbor, My Enemy: Justice and Community in the Aftermath of Mass Atrocity*, edited by Eric Strover and Harvey M. Weinstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 143-161, i.e. p. 157. For different feelings and ways in narratives between Tutsi and Hutu communities after experiencing the violence of 1994, see Timothy Longman and Theoneste Rutagengwa, "Memory, Identity, and Community in Rwanda," in *My Neighbor, My Enemy: Justice and Community in the Aftermath of Mass Atrocity*, edited by Eric Strover and Harvey M. Weinstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 162-182. For a valuable comment for different narratives through "the distinction between reality and ethnically filtered reality", see Walker Connor, "A Few Cautionary Notes in Ethnonational Conflicts," in *Facing Ethnic Conflicts*, edited by Andreas Wimmer, Richard J.

Only a few people in town remember the events in terms of the story of the Drivers' Fight, in contrast to the muhacir Gypsies and most of the local Gypsies, for whom this story dominates their memory and also explains the attacks. It offers a perspective on the relation between the economic transformation and rising competition and the conflict. The attacks unveiled some people's anxieties and ambitions, whose social status changed with the rising power and prestige of the muhacir Gypsies in the transport sector. This should be seen against the background of a more general feeling of rebellion against the old elites and power holders, and the struggle to benefit from new potential opportunities that appeared. The reformation of categories, their function and boundaries between Turkishness and Gypsyness has to be seen in this light. Not the physical but the economic mobility of the Gypsies were seen as a serious threat and violent attacks were utilized to put them in their place within the socioeconomic hierarchy of society and its "order."[404]

Many Gypsies represented the story as a momentous event restricted to that very moment. Although in-depth conversation and moments of excitement accentuated the discrimination against them and the racist nature of the attacks, most of the time they avoided such articulations. This avoidance along with other reasons stands for their reluctance to situate themselves in an otherized position of Gypsyness. To admit that discrimination was a structural phenomenon would not only make it harder to return to the town after the attacks, but also would complicate their current relations with non-Gypsies. For some, however, the hard feelings, the traces of their sufferings as well as the lucid and hidden sides of discrimination remain vivid.

In the story of the Gypsy incidents, the Gypsyness of certain people was emphasized, reinvented, reproduced and reminded as they started to be perceived as

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Goldstone, Donald L. Horowitz, Ulrike Joraz and Conrad Schetter (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004), pp. 23-33, p. 32.

[404] For the usage of violence in seek of "social order", see Bergmann.

threats because of the socioeconomic power and statuses that they had gathered. New stereotypes and prejudices were reproduced and created to replace some of the historical ones and they strengthened the Gypsy threat that mobilized people against them and to some extent legitimized the attacks. Many stories of the terrorization and victimization of non-Gypsies by the Gypsies along with the alleged immoral acts and abuses of the Gypsies were employed to support the imagination of the Gypsy threat.

The story on the "Gypsy incident" will demonstrate stereotypes and prejudices with respect to Gypsyness. The narratives will concentrate on the Gypsy threat, immorality and unreliability of the Gypsies and finally on how they misbehaved. The narratives will show the effects of historical, momentous and recent discourses on Gypsyness and Turkishness in the town. They will serve to comprehend how individual interest fights were channeled into a conflict over Gypsyness and Turkishness. This version of the story also enabled the legitimization of violent attacks by putting all the blame on the Gypsies and representing the attacks as inevitable and as a form of self-defense. Given the functionality of this story, which underlined Gypsyness, their unreliability and unfitness to Turkishness, it was the dominant one in Bayramic.

In this version, the story instead is limited to the Gypsy threat while the socioeconomic reasons and individual interests do not have a place. In their perspective, the attacks were necessary to put the Gypsies who were spoiled in their subordinate place in the social order which explains why so many chose to remember and represent the attacks as the "Gypsy incidents." This allowed them not to feel guilty and keep an untroubled conscience while at the same time reinforcing their pure image of being Turks and fighting for it just like their ancestors' glorious stories against "the invaders in the region."

In the narratives, moreover, convergences, gaps and contradictions all will be present instead of clear and linear narratives. Although there are particular tendencies in

the narratives of certain groups and people (such as muhacirs, local Gypsies, attackers, protectors) and I to some extent generalize on the group level, we should not neglect the existence of diverging stories. For instance, while the attackers usually built their stories on "Gypsy incident" type, some people felt somewhat guilty and stressed the individual interests involved in the attacks. Similarly, while all muhacir Gypsies more or less accentuated the story of the "Drivers' fight," among local Gypsies, the story shifts from one to the other perspective, with some also blaming the muhacir Gypsies. Many times, during interviews perspectives changed. A narrative on the Gypsy threat can shift to a narrative on good relations with the Gypsies, how the Gypsies in the town indeed are very close to the non-Gypsies, their divergences from the dominant Gypsy image in the country and the unfairness of the attacks. These shifts and seemingly incoherent tales of the interviewees are influenced by their specific personal relationships, individual and group interests, communal ways of remembering and forgetting the rationalization and emotions of particular narrators, their own positions, experiences and the will to question themselves.

Beyond the narratives, silence and fear to talk have been overwhelming in our case. People kept their silence regarding certain topics and people. Their silence often marked the taboo of talking about certain issues among the townspeople. Thus, the silence and fear demonstrates together forbidden areas and appreciated discourses as we will see in the following parts.

The Silence and The Fear To Talk

> "Our people do not talk. They are that kind of people. They might be involved in the incident, but would not tell. They

> are scared that they would get stained [*ustume birsey sicrar diye korkar*]."[405]

Silence can give clues about how people relate to specific events, people and issues.[406] Not only narratives but also silences are therefore important. They make clear what people chose to tell or not to tell, where they stop talking, when they hesitate to talk, what issues make them reluctant, and can tell a lot when we want to explore relations, positions, memories and representations.

In the town, people were very talkative about some issues while keeping silent about others. In exploring this particular case, the silence of townspeople proved to be crucial to understand their attitudes, reactions, emotions, past and present relations. First of all, I should note that it is not really easy to talk about "inner cases" in the town. I had an advantage to talk with the people as I am considered more or less from the town. People's reluctance to talk with a stranger was so evident that some would not tell me anything; they would basically say that they do not remember or know until they find out my links to the town. Still, people feel that they should not talk about who was guilty among the other townspeople. Our next neighbor directly warned me by telling a story about my great-grandfather. He claimed that just before dying in his bed, he had given him the advice, "Never take your neighbors' secrets out." Then the neighbor continued and applied this advice to my case: "You too learn lots of secrets in this town, you should never take those secrets out of this town though." He sounded like he was giving an ethical lesson, but actually it gave me hints about why people would not like to talk with me on certain issues, such as the details of the attacks, when they think that I am a

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[405] Huseyin Kiltas, an active perpetrator and driver during the attacks. See Narrative 59 in Appendix D.

[406] For the significance of silence on experiences of violence, see Sabine Behrenbeck, "Between Pain and Silence: Remembering the Victims of Violence in Germany after 1949," in *Life after Death: Approaches to a Cultural and Social History of Europe During the 1940s and 1950s*, edited by Richard Bessel and Dirk Schumann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 37-64. Also see Francesca Declich, "When Silence Makes History: Gender and memories of war violence from Somalia." In *Anthropology of Violence and Conflict,* edited by Bettina E. Schmidt and Ingo W. Schroder (New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 161-175.

stranger who moreover might challenge the prevailing power relations. The people felt reluctant primarily for the possibility of stirring trouble that might have repercussions to them. They keep silent although they often know the responsible people. They were clearly intimidated by possible consequences and did not trust the state's law as an effective and legitimate mechanism that would protect people who were critical towards the attackers.

In a way, in the attacks, the perpetrators felt more or less imitating what they learnt from the state's treatment of their Greek neighbors in the past.[407] Besides, the attacks were embedded in state-led ideologies and categories related to Turkishness and Gypsyness, which partly explains why state organs did not really take preventive actions[408] or punish the guilty persons afterwards.

Not only the general policies, discourses and stigmatization around Gypsyness by state organs and officials,[409] but also the physical participation of state representatives in the attacks as perpetrators shows the difficulty in drawing the line between the state and the people. Apart from the mistreatment by policemen, many Gypsies blamed Rafet Sezgin, who was the Member of Parliament for Canakkale, and Suleyman Demirel, who was the prime minister of the time. They accused them of violating their citizenship rights and ignoring their Turkishness as representatives of the founding state. Thus, the attacks, including the beating of the attorney as the state's ultimate representative, illustrate the heterogeneity within the state, and contradiction between different state discourses and power holders.

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[407] See the part on parallelization with Greeks.

[408] The attorney had criticized the government of the province [valilik] of Canakkale for not taking action on time. The governor of the time, Cemal Tantanci, however, did not accept the accusations when I asked him about it. He revealed that he did not take any responsibility about the attacks or remedies and instead emphasized that these were "simple events". When I asked about the remedies, he even found it nonsense.

[409] Also see Chapter Two for the stigmatization of the Gypsies in the country.

Another reluctance of townspeople to openly criticize what happened is the fear of social ostracism. The town is after all a relatively small place - geographically and socially - so that the word on "who said what" spreads rapidly. Some people hesitated to talk to me because other townspeople would learn about what they said. Moreover, I had the confusing status for being in-between. I had only lived in the town until I was six years old and after that, my presence in the town was limited to visiting my grandparents until my grandmother passed away in 2001. Thus, I had very limited relations with the townspeople as a local. Some knew me personally while others had not ever seen me or had just met me when I was a child. This could easily push me into the position of a stranger as well. This in-between position therefore was both advantageous and disadvantageous. It helped to be accepted as one of them that made it easier for people to confide in me, and repressing the idea that they were telling the secrets of the town to a stranger. This trust, however, could last to a certain degree, as there was always the fear that I might tell other townspeople what they had said to me about the case. At this point, my limited relation as a stranger could also work positively, however. I assured people that I would not mention to any other townspeople what they had said me. Whenever they asked about other people's representations, I did not give them any details, let alone the secrets that they had trusted me with. I did not even tell my relatives who stated what. Thus, the word spread that I was indeed trustworthy and this reputation explains why some people were willing to tell me further stories, details and secrets that they had not disclosed in our earlier conversations.

At the same time, I tried to understand how their representations shifted according to the way they viewed me. For instance, people could tell a totally different story depending on whether he or she saw me as a stranger. I would just let them tell their stories. However, when the conversation extended and I introduced my personal links to the town, they might tell another story that would include more details and other

sides of the story. In a similar way, some would tell a story that would gain other dimensions, because they realized that I knew a lot about the case. Thus, some people tended to hide or not to tell some parts of the story. Their silence and reluctance to talk were usually related to their preceding and ongoing fear of the trouble that the key figures of the attacks could potentially create.[410] This fear was rooted in the townspeople's experiences during the period of the attacks and afterwards. Aydin, who was born in 1923, pointed at the leading perpetrators' power during the attacks: "They were the real rulers at that time. They would do whatever they liked. No one could stand against them."[411]

Most of the main figures had already died, but a few were still alive. Among them, the head figure, Kadir, and his assistant, Halit, were very intimidating figures for the townspeople. They were the ruffians of the town. Their courage to stand against people, their willingness to use brute physical force made people reluctant to talk. Both were former drivers. Halit is still living in the town while Kadir lives in the nearby town of Balikesir. My attempts to talk with Halit were not successful;[412] he avoided me because he was afraid that he might get into trouble. Kadir, on the other hand, had a long conversation with me about his power, and his position in the town in the past and the present.[413] For the period of the attacks, he stressed that he was so powerful that even the gendarmes in the town backed him up on some occasions. During the attacks, he felt

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[410] Gross, *Neighbours*, unveiled a similar type of fear especially felt by the protectors of the Jews in the town of Jedwabne, Poland. See his work also for a similar case in the sense of experienced violence between neighbors in a scale of a small town. Also see van Arkel, *The Drawing*, for power of terrorization by perpetrators in such violent attacks. In the concluding part, I will demonstrate more on Gross' and van Arkel's points.

[411] See Narrative 60 in Appendix D.

[412] Halit came from a poor family. He is now in his late seventies. He had started in the driving business very early as an assistant driver on the buses between Izmir and Canakkale. In the years of the attacks, he was Kadir's assistant. He later worked for Kadir as a driver in his minibuses. In the town, he has been a frightening ruffian who is known by his insane anger that led him kill someone who just did not bring him a free ashtray.

[413] See Appendix for Kadir's life story.

the obligation to intervene as a head of the town: "As we were like the head of Bayramic, everybody came to us [stands for himself]. 'These Gypsy boys are abusing girls; for instance Dilaver's sons [Fehmi's brothers]. I said 'do whatever you do but be careful. I am behind you; if you fall, I will support you."[414]

The fear around the leading figures was reinforced by the people's experiences of the actual violence of the attacks. The treatment of the Gypsies, the uncontrollable violence of the attackers, and the threats against the protectors and the employers of the Gypsies was very intimidating and enabled the attackers to do as they pleased. . The silence of people who opposed the violence signified their impotence, fear and weakness.

The Silence, the Pain to Talk and the Perception of History

The general perception of the town's history among the Gypsies as well as the non-Gypsies of the town does not include the attacks on the Gypsies. What they understand about history follows the line relevant to the official historiography. Thus, when I asked about the history of the town, they tried to direct me towards possible sources that would reproduce the official understanding of history such as the foundation of the town, the ruins from the old times, the Greek occupation and the history of powerful families. However, they did not consider their lives or the lives of other townspeople as parts of history. This was why most narrators asserted that they did not know anything historical or they were not equipped to inform me. However, when I asked about social events that had happened in the town, all people including both Gypsies and non-Gypsies mentioned the attacks as one of the most important events, if not the first and the only one that would come to their minds. Thus, I was also supposed

[414] See Narrative 61 in Appendix D.

to persuade them that their own stories would be valuable historically, although it was not an easy task for some.

At first, they could not understand why this kind of research and asking about their own experiences had anything to do with historical events. Indeed, they did not consider what happened to them historical at all, as they conceived of history covering the far past, the old wealthy families of the town and ruins. Some Gypsies even joked about the idea of history by playing with the similarity between the sounds of the word *tarih,* meaning history in Turkish, and *talip,* meaning suitor. During the Hidrellez celebration, they had a good time joking around with me "Are you looking for *tarih*? Let us find you a *talip.*"[415]

While talking about the attacks, most Gypsies in the town were very reluctant when I first arrived. They said that they did not remember that time and some even became nervous about it. Although I was trying to follow their life stories and asking general questions on the local history, the news that I was searching for *kirim* spread very quickly. I suppose it was not only that I was focusing on those years, but that the subject also attracted their attention more.

Furthermore, when I asked about significant events in the town to any local (who has some local historical knowledge), the attacks would figure prominently in the town's history. This was due not only to the fact that it was a massive event, but also because of the significance of related events although some people did not remember the connection between them. The beating of the attorney in that sense had its effect on the remembrance of the events. Some people, especially non-Gypsies, remembered it as not related to the 'Gypsy incidents'.

On the other hand, although the Gypsies might have felt reluctant to talk about the events when asked about it directly, it could easily be part of daily conversations. For

[415] *"Sen tarih mi ariyosun? Biz sana talip bulalim."*

instance, when I asked for an address to a market, a Gypsy boy in his late teens started chatting with me and when I said I was from Izmir, he mentioned that his uncles also lived there as they had gone there after *kirim*. For some others, when they trusted me, they would talk about it occasionally. However, some always felt reluctant to talk as it is illustrated in Sebiye's narrative: "I remember, I remember everything, but I cannot tell."[416]

There were some who did not want to talk. They became agitated and felt like reliving that time again. They felt insulted and betrayed. From the muhacir Gypsies, Necmi poured out his feelings on why he would like to keep his silence. He revealed that he also felt guilty as he had been doing his military service and had not been able to back his family. Instead, he felt as if he had been sleeping in his safe bed while his family had been stoned and suffering. Thus, talking about that time itself made him remember his feelings of insufficiency and incapability as well as pain:

> When you touch upon that subject, you open my wound. That is why people do not like to talk about it. What difference would it make anyway? It was a massive attack. People do not even want to remember that, they do not even want to keep them in their minds. People do not like to tell their most painful moments. I would not like to tell them, as I would not like to refresh those memories. I realized it is very painful and if I tell it again then my wound were open. We lived through very intense things. I left my family and went to the military. I left my people here in those circumstances and left. While everybody was looking for new homes, I was in the army. I did not know how they survived, how they made money and stayed alive for 2 years. Since the state took me to the military, they fed me there, but I never knew what happened to my family that I left here. It is also very painful. They made *kirim*. Why would you try to murder the people that you live under the same flag with and you are buried in the same cemetery with? The perpetrators should tell me the reasons for this then I would come and talk. Those people would not even have become emotional if they had known about our situation. From 1000 people maybe only 10 would. […] Those who attacked, tell their children as if they had won a victory. If that child sees it as a victory, I would not take him in front and talk. If you write a book on this, there would be only 15 people who would care to read it.

Another reason to be silent for him was due to his thought that it would not help

[416] *"Herseyi hatirlarim, herseyi hetirlarim da diyemem."*

anyone; they (the non-Gypsy townspeople) did not care and have no interest in trying to understand how they made them suffer. Except for a few people who did care, they would not even listen to them. He asserted that people's silence was not only because of fear, but also due to the degree of feeling ashamed. Most Gypsies felt that they had been insulted during those attacks and they would not like to recall that time. For some, the pain of that time was so strong that they had great trouble to share it with others.

This narrative of Necmi was highly interesting also for displaying his intimate feeling about the attacks they had faced and the general attitude of the people in the country. For me, it points to the necessity of studies that touch upon similar violations of people's lives along with inequalities both in the Turkish society and beyond. However, Necmi was rightfully pessimistic about the lack of appreciation of this kind of work. The pain and misery of some people along with violence, fear and injustice may lay under those victory stories of some other people. In the case of Necmi, it was clear that through the attacks, along with fear, and feelings of shame, a huge pain and a guilty conscience had been loaded on the shoulders of the Gypsies of this town.

Narrating the Attacks

There are three main strains of narratives that reflect the townspeople's articulation of the attacks. These can be classified as a national narrative, a local narrative and personal experiences narrative.[417] This classification should not be considered as mutually exclusive. They are surely interrelated. In many contexts, they overlap and converge. How people conceptualize their local context, how they refer to the national

[417] Karakasidou recognized the different layers of historical narratives in her work with local people in a town in Greek Macedonia. Her account has strong parallels with my perspective on narratives in my field. Her conceptualization and articulation overlapped with my own considerations with slight differences. Thus, in this part on exploring the different strands of narratives, I combine Karakasidou's and my own account in the field.

context by going through their personal and local experiences and how they perceive their experiences through national and local dominant narratives are pivotal. However, analytically, this differentiation will help us to understand different perspectives in narratives, shifts and contradictions along with overlapping specific discourses, especially that of nationalism and its local articulations. It is also important to realize the hierarchies between these narratives and how people perceive history through these hierarchies. It is not only understanding the past as an official and national history, but also accepting it as the only legitimate reconstruction and discourse. Karakasidou defines this history as the narrative "made up of the generic national history they [the narrators] had learned in school":[418]

> When Assiriotes [the Greek townspeople in her case] spoke about history, they invoked narratives of the nation that had been taught to them from a young age in school and in church. These verbal texts followed the same canonized and homogenized traditions as periodized national history, referring to oppression under the Turks, Bulgarian efforts to seize Greek lands, struggles against communist subversives, and the like.[419]

In my town, when the townspeople learned that I was interested in history, similar to Karakasidou's experience, most spoke about the Canakkale wars by replicating the place of the town and the city in the national history. They also related to local history as a part of this nationally historicized region by inscribing it to this wider context. When I asked about the socio-economic-cultural history of the town, they directed me to the Hadimoglu family or the old ruins from Antique times. They were wrapped around the borders of the historical area as defined by dominant historiography. Their own memories are recognized as part of that history. Their personal experiences, moreover, are intertwined with dominant discourses especially the ones related to national belongingness. The images of Greeks, the constitution of Turkishness, non-

[418] Karakasidou, p. 231.

[419] Ibid., p. 231.

Turkishness and Gypsyness as they are employed in national history and dominant understandings thus can be traced in their personal narratives as well.

The second strain of narratives derives from local events and how they make sense of local history. As indicated above, one side of this narrative relies upon the first strand of narrative directly even in the understanding of what could be included in history (i.e. ruins, wealthy families, the war experiences, the Greek time). It was not easy to talk about socio-economic events that took place in the town as part of history. The fact that the townspeople do not consider them as related to history is a very important indicator of the effect of the national/official historiography on people's understanding of history. Following this logic, the townspeople envisaged their town as a small settlement where significant events in socioeconomic and political terms had not happened except the glorious stories of the Canakkale War.[420] Many townspeople imagined the town in relation to the whole region where the Canakkale Wars occurred and they were proud to be descendants of these glorious forefathers. These narratives, of course, are parallel with the national discourse on the region and its inclusion in the country's history. There are many works on the Canakkale Wars, but not a single work on local history that would cover socio-economic and political life in the region.[421]

This second strand, however, also includes the narratives on local events. For a stranger, listening these narratives is itself usually not easy to understand, as they are seen as domestic issues. For someone like me who has a liminal position, these stories could be shared because my access to the knowledge and me as "a child of the region" was

[420] Guler also recognized the strength of national historiography on war in the construction of history in Canakkale see E. Zeynep. Guler, "Canakkale'den Savas Disi Anilar" (Memories out of war from Canakkale), in *Kusaklar, Deneyimler, Tanikliklar: Turkiye'de Sozlu Tarih Calismalari Konferansi* (Generations, experiences, witnesses: oral history works conference in Turkey), edited by Aynur Ilyasoglu and Gulay Karacan (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfi, 2006), pp. 165-176, p. 173.

[421] For the only work on the town Bayramic that provides hints on socio-economic atmosphere while its main targets are archeological sides, see Cevat Basaran, *Gecmisten Gunumuze Bayramic: Tarihi, Cografyasi ve Arkeolojisi* (Bayramic from the past to the present: its history, geography and archeology) (Ankara: T.C. Kultur Bkanligi Milli Kutuphane Basimevi, 2002).

recognized. On this level though, the perception of normality and morality, the way of looking at the world and making sense of it are interrelated to and represented through a filter of dominant perceptions. In our particular case, dominant narratives on the guilt and immorality of the Gypsies, the solidarity among townspeople against the Gypsies and their legitimization of the attacks were inscribed into the general perception of Gypsyness, Turkishness, and other related categories such as morality and purity. Not only nationalistic accounts but the dominant discourse on the norm can be used as a reference point if not a manual by townspeople to act, live and perceive the world properly in order to avoid becoming an outcast. They thus rely on the local and nation-wide discourse on Gypsyness and prejudices in their narratives on our particular case. However, the dominant understanding of neighborhood, the idea of being a morally good person, and shared local experiences of Gypsies and non-Gypsies also intersect with this discourse. Again, within this intersection, townspeople reveal shifting narratives and contradictions.

Eventually, the third strain is the one that people regard as their personal and daily experiences. Some of these narratives, of course, follow the first two strains; they coexist along with gaps and contradictions. Some openly represent conflicting stories through daily references and personal relations between people. This also is not perceived by the townspeople as part of history, just as they themselves are not part of history. Karakasidou detected similar reactions in her field:

> "[…L]ocal narratives […] of mundane personal and family histories were not considered by villagers to be 'history' as they had been taught to understand it. Rather, such accounts were regarded as mere recollections of personal experiences that were largely irrelevant to the historical record, as defined by established (and hegemonies) national canon."[422]

This is also the very area that some people would not like to disclose at all. Some clearly remain within frame of the dominant local narrative, and just use their personal

[422] Karakasidou, p. 232.

experiences as supporting details for the dominant story. Others shift to their personal knowledge and experiences to mark the beginning of the real story: (i.e. "OK that was what people said but indeed this and that happened in this and that way…"). Some of these narratives represent the intimate personal space.[423] This is the most secret part of the story that they do not want to reveal easily. Through experiences and their emotions, people may feel they are unveiling a domestic secret and may possibly betray the town's local discourse about a particular case and communal remembrance of it in a particular way.[424]

This type of narrative includes life stories, people's feelings about individual cases and relations. In the former narrative for instance, one could reproduce the negative Gypsy image around the events. However, through one's personal experiences and relations with a particular person who is a Gypsy, another story is produced that opens a space for solidarity and commonalities between them. Moreover, these narratives of the events represent interests of particular people in the town, close interactions (including some non-Gypsies' who hid and protected Gypsies) between Gypsies and non-Gypsies, as well as feelings of pain, regret and fear. For some people, the personal experiences narrative dominated their understandings and representation, and this thus became the master narrative to them. For others, it came after the locally dominated narrative. For the rest, this narrative did not reveal anything because they did not have related personal experiences, or because those experiences were suppressed by dominant local discourse.

The two main narratives regarding the Gypsies' forced dislocation, "The Gypsy incident" and "The Drivers' fight," as mentioned above, emerge through the filter of the three strains. The former one legitimizes the attacks by putting the blame on the

[423] Of course, this is problematic as we cannot separate the dominant from the personal that easily but these narratives also present a gap and/or conflict between the experience and dominant discourse.

[424] See the part on silence and fear in the town.

immorality and misbehavior of some Gypsies in the town. It is rooted in the dominant morality, Turkishness and the negative image around Gypsyness in the country and in the town. The latter, on the other hand, mainly appears through personal experiences, and gives us insights in the personal interests, economic competition and changing relations in the town parallel with the socioeconomic transformation in the country.

Most townspeople tell the first story, which is not surprising as it reproduces the prevailing power relations in the town. As explored in the part on silence and fear, the townspeople feel reluctant to talk about some parts of the story and thus some never learned about those sides. Therefore, this story appears as the dominant one and is reproduced by many townspeople, mainly Turks and even some local Gypsies. The latter story, on the other hand, finds its place as secondary in the voices of some narrators. Some people disclose it only through their personal experiences and knowledge. It appears as the primary story only among the Muhacir Gypsies, some local Gypsies, and a few Turks who overtly expressed the unfair treatment of the Gypsies in the dislocation.[425]

Below, I will establish how people represent the forced dislocation and the attacks through these two stories. Under the narratives on "the Gypsy incident," I will first demonstrate how the townspeople refer to the dislocation by legitimizing the attackers and reproducing the legitimizing discourse around the events of the time.[426] In this story, I will dwell on the moral sides of the explanations; the constitution of the Gypsy threat through the Gypsy stereotype; the overall violence within the attacks; nationalism and comparisons with similar local cases; and reflections on the role of the

[425] There are also some Turkish people who express unfairness but would not know about the underlying relations that triggered the dislocation. Thus, they would refer it as "people generalized the some Gypsy people's fault to the all."

[426] See Bergmann on exclusionary violence and its conditions: "A collective assault on an ethnic minority within a community must be legitimized and prepared culturally, since it violates the fundamental norms of communal life and--- particularly in pacified societies--- state monopoly of power." (p. 172)

state. Second, I will include the narratives on "the Drivers' Fight" that will disclose personal relations and experiences regarding economic competition and interests in the town as triggering factors of the dislocation.

The Gypsy Incident

The most repeated reason given for the attacks by the Turks was the immoral acts of some Gypsy boys towards Turkish girls. It was claimed the Gypsy boys had tried to seduce, or at least behave improperly towards Turkish girls who were on their way to secondary school. For many Turks, this behavior, which was perceived as an attack on the moral values of the Turkish people, showed the true nature of the Gypsies and they considered it as a legitimate reason to take revenge. The phrase that was repeated over and over again was "They got spoiled,"[427] referring to their behavior along with gaining socioeconomic power, which would explain why they had the courage to behave 'immorally' towards Turkish girls. The stories, which revealed the threat that many Turkish people felt, included negative images and sayings on the Gypsies and stressed the positive results of the attacks, which would have ensured that the Gypsies would not act in the same way anymore.

The narrative of "Gypsy incident" mainly puts the blame on the Gypsies. The dominant idea is that they misbehaved and the townspeople corrected them. The emphasis on their misbehavior and immoral acts legitimized the violent attacks. Maybe not all Gypsies deserved it, but it was inevitable, in order to show the Gypsies their place in the social hierarchy of the town. The unavoidable result was that "the wet ones would

427 *"Simardilar."*

get burnt by the dry ones."[428] In this narrative, the representation of the Gypsies as threats against the social order occupies a significant place.

Nationalist feelings were mobilized and exploited during the attacks. Anthems and flags were present during the attacks and the Gypsies were attacked as if they were national enemies, as threats to the existence of "us". Instead of an interest group, the "us" here was defined in nationalistic terms. Thus, Turkishness and Gypsyness in the town were constructed as opposites. Personal relations were suppressed and the people who were called Gypsies were labeled as enemies and dangerous others. This also allowed parallels with other cases, like the Greeks and Kurds. While the Muhacir Gypsies do not refer to other incidents, but only their ancestors' dislocation from Greece as the proof of their Turkishness and the dislocation as violating the state's recognition of their Turkishness, the non-Gypsy townspeople see the attacks as a reaction against any potential enemy. They interpret their behavior as a way to protect their Turkishness (as well as the rights and privileges attached to it); as if they are protecting their country. Previous memories about Greek neighbors who were treated as enemies for their supposedly taking sides with the Greek army during World War I, their punishment, killing and deportation were recalled by some townspeople as a similar incident. Most, however, associated the "Gypsy Incident" with the dislocation of the Kurds in 1991.

After all, the homogenization, generalization and reproduction of the category of Gypsyness in relation to the idea and feelings of threat and positing Gypsies as a threat who attacked the morality and peaceful lives of the Turks was powerful and gained overall support, invoked nationalistic discourses and negative feelings against the Gypsies in the town. They found their base in the historically constructed stigma around Gypsyness in the town. At the moment of conflicting interests because of new opportunities and socioeconomic transformation in the country and the town, the power

[428] *"Kurunun yaninda yas da yanar."* Common saying for the attacks meaning that the innocent people would get hurt if they are close to the guilty ones.

of the stigma became functional in spite of previous close relationships and commonalities beyond the category of Gypsyness. While it had been always contestable and negotiable to what extent they belonged to "us" before, in 1970 the Gypsies were definitely no longer part of "us."

The Gypsy Threat

The perception of "the other" as a threatening subject was crucial in legitimizing the attacks.[429] There were few aspects to highlight the Gypsy threat. Labelling Gypsies with negative terms triggered by the misbehavior at the time was widespread. The negative perceptions of the Gypsy neighborhoods in other places provided narrators with arguments to reinforce their point. The evil image and the idea that the non-Gypsy townspeople could themselves be in danger had they not attacked the Gypsies were also very powerful motives.[430] This representation of vulgar Gypsies strengthened the idea that non-Gypsies were the victims and posited the attacks as inevitable to rescue the town. In the town and surrounding places, the attacks even created a heroic perception of the townspeople with an emphasis on their solidarity and intolerance of unevenness.

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[429] Bergmann pointed at the construction of a Jewish threat in his study following the power approach. The collectivization of opposing interests and individual conflicts into ethnic antagonisms would be essential to generate collective violence according to this approach: "A participant in exclusionary violence operates within a friend-foe schema as a victim of an injustice, discrimination, or aggression and reacts, under certain circumstances, with violent forms of social control." (p. 166) In this context, changes in the balance of power between different groups of people are critical, but it also needs to be transformed to a threatening scenario to generate collective violence (p. 167). For the legitimization point, also see p. 172. For the demonization of Jews in the Polish town, Jedwabne, see Gross, *Neighbours*. For the significance of representation as threats in Hindu-Muslim conflicts in India, see Stanley J. Tambiah, *Leveling Crowds: Ethnonationalist Conflicts and Collective Violence in South Asia* (London: University of California Press, 1996). For the construction of threat against non-West immigrants in Western Europe especially in recent decades, see Leo Lucassen, *The Immgrant Threat: The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005).

[430] For self-victimization of perpetrators involved in racist violence, see Larry Ray, David Smith and Liz Wastell, "Understanding Racial Violence," in *The Meanings of Violence*, edited by Elizabeth A. Stanko (London; New York: Routledge: 2003), pp. 112-130.

The present mayor of the town, Ilker Tortor, laid out why and how the events happened. In his narrative, the greedy and racketeer image of the Gypsies dominated. His story of the attacks followed perception of misbehaving Gypsies. He represented the Gypsies as unreliable people of the town who violated the goodwill of the townspeople:

> We had the secondary school up there where you were supposed to pass through the Gypsies', what we call *vatandaslar* ['citizens' in a reference to *esmer vatandas*- dark citizen that is widely used term for Gypsy people in Turkey], neighborhood. They were making passes at schoolgirls there. And they were also in the trade business, they were buying from the villagers, some stuff like walnuts, almonds etc. And selling this on the market. But they were cheating for example by claiming that what they were buying weighed less than was the case. When townspeople offered them 20 kilos they claimed it was only 15 kilos and wraught the money by force. This kind of experiences accumulated in people's memories. They were cheating a lot and people got so angry that they threw the horse carriage of Brother Yasar from the stone bridge. Especially, the villagers did that kind of things. Whoever took any piece of wood and went to Tepecik to attack them [the Gypsies] rightfully or unrightfully. They climbed on their roofs and crushed it, threw the tiles down.[431]

In this narrative, the misbehavior of the Gypsies was punished and corrected by the attacks. Solmaz, who was the former mayor of 2003, also indicated that it was not only making passes at the girls, but some Gypsy porters had started stealing from the stores and from the load that they were carrying. Moreover, they stopped non-Gypsies who wanted to pass through their neighborhoods. He further explained the Gypsy terror of the people:

> Gypsy ruffians never operated on their own. Now you are alone, what can you do? You cannot cope with them and get beaten. For instance, you are flying a kite. A Gypsy would come and cut it. You would go home crying. He would come and cut it with a laser. What could you do? You cannot do anything. They were little bit stronger too as they were porters. After all, the minority would mean union. Our fathers would also be on their guard. Everybody would keep to themselves. […] To whom would you complain?[432]

By criminalizing the Gypsies, Solmaz represented non-Gypsies as innocent, while the Gypsies did evil things just for fun. In this representation, the Gypsies attacked non-

[431] See Narrative 63 in Appendix D.

[432] See Narrative 64 in Appendix D.

Gypsies without any reason. Many non-Gypsies similarly pointed at the vulgarity of the Gypsies preceding the events. They indicated that the Gypsies were disturbing and attacking non-Gypsies and mentioned the widespread fear of the Gypsies. Solmaz explained their will to dominate:

> In the *meyhane*s [traditional bar or restaurant serving alcoholic beverages], they would raise a stick just to raise a stick. They tried to dominate Bayramic by force. They started to bully us. He [a Gypsy] would say 'treat me', 'order a bottle of wine for me'. Not only children but the elders also started. For instance, they would make a pass when you went through Muradiye neighborhood. They tried to dominate. They had chiefs.[433]

The president of the Chamber of Drivers, Nitki, affirmed the victimized position of the townspeople. He is also a politically active figure who is considering entering the coming elections as a candidate for the Republican People's Party. He was among the perpetrators during the attacks. When the events started he was twenty years old and he was in the same business as the leading figures of the events, working as an assistant driver. During the attacks, he was among those who stoned the Gypsies' houses. He explained how terrified they were by the Gypsies:

> Because of the Gypsies, we were not able to pass by the streets on Wednesdays. They would go out in the streets; they were busy with their animals like packing saddles etc. While we were passing, I do not know… For instance, if you stepped on their stuff or passed closer or hit by your wind, they would immediately beat you. The people said: Enough! Moreover, then they made passes at our girls. […] You just pass by, and someone would kick you, you cannot even imagine. There were Yasars, they were powerful. When we saw them, we looked for an escape route. I was 16 or something. They hung the flag here in front of the municipality. I was happy, I mean. Instead of being upset, I got happy. Why? They hurt us. […] The attorney was also there. We went to Tepecik [He went on to describe "shocking" immoral acts of the Gypsies towards respectable women of the town…] Such things cannot be said. How can I say? The doctor's the wife… Bad assaults…Both by words and other things…[434]

Solmaz even put the responsibility on the Gypsies for starting the events, which forced the non-Gypsies to defend themselves:

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[433] See Narrative 65 in Appendix D.

[434] See Narrative 66 in Appendix D.

> They started it. If somebody starts, it becomes bigger. How would it become bigger if you do not start it? The others [Gypsies] also started to like it [dominating]. Would not domination be a good thing, dear! They [the others] started to join him [refers to the muhacir Gypsy Dilaver who was referred to as the chief and who had a truck partnership with the leading perpetrator.][435] There are incorrect people among clarinet players; musicians who turned out demagogues and who wanted to dominate us. And then the moment came that some people in Bayramic were unable to go out in to the streets. That is why I asked you whether they [the Gypsies] told you that 'we did', 'we had a fault'.[436]

In this narrative, Solmaz portrayed the non-Gypsies as victims of Gypsies who wanted to dominate them. In this articulation, the events were rebellion against brutal Gypsies. Moreover, the story of domination reveals the feelings of the Turks about losing power in the town. This story overlapped with the struggle for the redefinition of power in the town, which in the eyes of many was at stake. As the hierarchies between Turks and Gypsies were strong, whether the Gypsies attempted to dominate or not, even some Gypsies who neglected the hierarchies might be seen as violating the norms. The Gypsy threat was furthermore constructed in an unrealistic and extreme way. Some people mentioned the rumors that the Gypsies were taking over the town.[437] A neighbor, Meliha, represented a similar narrative, which illustrates the overwhelming feelings that Gypsy constituted a real threat to the town:

> The Gypsies made people hate them. They were very numerous. They would almost take over Bayramic. They were going to take over Bayramic! They attacked them and people got rid off [them]. Now they would not do anything like this. I mean they would not raise their voice. It was good from one side. It has been very good; children could not go to school through the Gypsy neighborhood. Would people let their children have passes made at them, my girl?[438]

In further explanation, the recent mayor also revealed the feeling of relief and stressed the positive outcomes of the attacks when he was comparing the town's Gypsies

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[435] In drivers' fight story, the relation of this family will be explained in more detail in compatible with the storyline.

[436] See Narrative 67 in Appendix D.

[437] Rumors are very powerful generators in similar violent events. Also see Tambiah, p. 53; Bergmann, p. 173; Gross, *Neighbours*, pp. 122-5.

[438] See Narrative 68 in Appendix D.

with the ones in different towns and the city. He referred to the Gypsy neighborhood "Fevzipasa Mahallesi" in Canakkale that is known as a dangerous place with a high criminality rate. The mayor stressed the difference in the town with the effects of these previous attacks and the attitudes of townspeople towards Gypsies: "They became well-behaved". An attacker who was a driver at the time working with Gypsy drivers, Salim, made a similar point about the positive effects of the attack and its transitive power on the Gypsies: "They [the leading attackers] did not do anything after they [Gypsies] came back, but then they all became like pussycats. They came to heel. Because the fight was very big. After all, you have a house, a living, and work here. Suddenly they make you leave; they put pressure. Is it easy to live somewhere else? […] They became better mannered."

He made similar comparisons with the neighborhood of Canakkale. If the attacks had not happened, he asserted that the Gypsies in the town would have become like the ones in the Fevzipasa neighborhood of Canakkale who are known as troublemakers. Thus, the Gypsy threat was not limited to that time, but it is represented also as a recurrent phenomenon that has to be held in check and which sometimes urges people to intervene: "They would become like that [referring the situation in Fevzipasa], too. They would get very spoiled then. They had annoyed people little by little."[439]

This fear and the image of terrorizing Gypsies opened a channel for solidarity among the townspeople against "the common enemy." The attacks then would acquire a heroic and nationalistic character that was stimulated by nationalistic symbols such as flags and anthems during the attacks.[440] A non-Gypsy inhabitant, Ismail, in the current

[439] See Narrative 69 in Appendix D.

[440] See the part on nationalism in this chapter. Carrying flags, marching and singing anthems are excessively demonstrative in similarly framed violence. Tambiah also pointed at the significance of rituals in his analysis of conflicts among Hindu and Muslims in India: "A prominent role is played in such disturbances by processions of demonstrators, accompanied by loud music and carrying emblems, flags, statues, and placards, embellished by slogans, insults, and boasts. The timing and presentation of such parades are integrally linked to the religious and civil calendar of festivals and commemorative rites and to

Gypsy neighborhood stressed the solidarity among the townspeople against such a danger. His narrative is noteworthy also for the Gypsification of the attorney and explains his "taking sides" by portraying him as a Gypsy himself:

> Our events are very important. The event happens and is conveyed to the police station. The attorney lets them go, he does not arrest them. They then misbehave every night. Petty thievery, peeping, verbal harassment, the ones dealing with trade would give less; they would cheat. The attorney would let them go. The word started spreading that "our attorney is also a Gypsy". There was gossip that the attorney was having an affair with a Gypsy. They grabbed the attorney and he took his gun out. […] In Bayramic, events get on fire very suddenly and Bayramic people support each other in social events.[441]

The heroic aspect attached to the attacks, on the other hand, was clear in the statement of a driver who regretted for not having been present due to his military obligation. He had worked with Gypsy colleagues and asserted that he would have attacked in front of the non-Gypsy crowd if he had been in the town. His father had informed him about the situation in which he had put all his effort: "My arm ached from throwing stones."[442] This is an expression showing the excessive anger that the people felt and how they perceived the violent attacks as if these were heroic actions. The chosen words also were striking as he used the word "cleaning": "They said, 'let's clean Bayramic of the Gypsies'."[443]

The phrase "they became spoiled" additionally was common, especially referring to the Gypsies' immoral behavior and attitudes towards people. However, there is also a second type of narrative that is activated sometimes even by the same people. When they feel closer, go deeper into the story, question their conscience and try to display other sides of the story or when they realize that I know that part of the story, some start

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other features of public culture. The processions themselves mobilize people for public support and action. Parading through streets, past civil and religious buildings and monuments, and converging and aggregating at squares and parks and maidans is a public display of social presence and the taking command of space and territory, some of which belongs to the "enemy"[…]" (p 53)

[441] See Narrative 70 in Appendix D.

[442] *"Tas atmaktan kolum agridi."*

[443] *"Bayramic'i Cingenelerden temizleyelim dediler."*

talking about the unfairness in these acts while some refer to economic interests' impact on the events as motivating factors. Then, the narratives on the misbehavior of the Gypsies are coupled with an opposing narrative that mentions well-behaved Gypsies.

Another issue here is also that most people in the town are reluctant to accuse anyone of the events. Stressing the misbehavior of the Gypsies as an explanation for the events seemed a good way to avoid accusations of racism and discrimination. However, when I asked for personal examples, and more ironically, when I mentioned the economic interests and the violent behavior of the leading figures, most of them started to distance themselves from their previous narratives. Some looked relieved as if they had been freed from their self imposed refusal to admit the discriminatory nature of the attacks, and started all of a sudden a new story, revealing personal interests, in which most of the townspeople stressed that nowadays the Gypsies are not a threat and some even questioned that they were in the past. Then most admit the unfair violence against the Gypsies, the possible economic benefits that some townspeople reaped of the dislocation of Gypsies and so forth.[444] This new story is represented by the second type of narrative.

Although nobody was killed, the fear that the people felt and the extent of the violence that was experienced had made a deep impact to many people including Gypsies and non-Gypsies. The muhacir Gypsies were the ones who faced the greatest physical violence in the two waves of attacks. The second time, the local Gypsies also were targeted, while the key perpetrators also threatened the non-Gypsies who protected the Gypsies. Moreover, no one in the town was left untouched by the effects of the violence at the time.

[444] This part will be clarified by the narratives in the part on Drivers' Fight.

The Extent of the Violence and Fear

The violence of the events can be approached in two ways: the physical violence and symbolic violence on the people.[445] There were literal physical attacks on people, stoning and damaging their houses as well as beatings. Although no one was killed, the perpetrators could easily have killed and seemed not to care what the effects of their violent behavior. The Gypsies were scared of losing their lives and therefore fled. Finally, the Gypsies indicated that they also had been told that the perpetrators would come for the Gypsy women to kidnap and rape them. Moreover, as the perpetrators put Gypsies in a bad light, they also attempted to influence the cognitive world of the townspeople accordingly through rumors, gossips, and intimidating people who employed Gypsies and by juxtaposing Gypsyness versus Turkishness.

Muhacir and Local Gypsies

Discrimination against the Gypsies in the town was widespread during the attacks. They were degraded and "otherized" to a large extent. They were not able to work or even go shopping. People who employed or protected Gypsies were also threatened, leading to what Van Arkel in his theoretical model to explain violent outbursts against minority groups labeled as 'the terrorization to discriminate.' Some shops did not even sell to the Gypsies while most Gypsies were too terrified to go to the center to shop for their basic needs. They hid indoors day and night and some neighbors

[445] The term of symbolic violence is borrowed from Bourdieu. See Pierre Bourdieu, "Social Space and Symbolic Power," *Sociological Theory* 7, no. 1 (Spring 1989), pp. 14-25. Bourdieu defines symbolic power as "a power of world making"(p 22). In this sense, the reformation of categories, certain values, perceptions and legitimate areas in the social order is up to the space of symbolic power that can be attained violently.

brought them news and foods. During the attacks, the perpetrators also terrorized people with nationalistic symbols through singing national anthems and waving the national flag. Thus, the Gypsies of the town were symbolically excluded from the national and the local society, no matter how much they had felt as a member before.

Their fear was great. They described how scared they were for their lives, their children and their honor. They remembered how they had grouped together in order to protect themselves and they described how terrified they were by the verbal aggression, gestures, metaphors, and physical violence. Sometimes this fear could only be detected through their ongoing reluctance to talk about the events and worries on possible further violence.

Additionally, some women who were pregnant at the time remembered how afraid they were to have a miscarriage, early birth or complications related to the birth. This made them remember the exact dates of the events. "Didem was pregnant, you were also pregnant (to another woman). Ayy, the woman in her pregnant situation went under the sofa."[446] Or "in the second, I lost lots of blood."[447] In the narratives of some women, the perpetrators' threats to their lives are linked to their fear of losing children. Sebiye was one of them who described the violence of the attacks, full of excitement and fear as if she was reliving the events:

> You [to her nephew] were a baby and look the stone was here [she was showing very close place to the baby]. You were a baby and the stone, look, was here [she was so exciting and repeating the same sentence also to give the feeling of the moment]. Look, how Allah protected us with his angel. My mother went to one side; Rifkis went to the other side [of the room]. My baby was left in the middle in his swaddle. My sister-in-law said, 'Aaa, take the baby'. My mother grabbed him. Look the baby was here and the stone was just next to him, next to my Metin. This happened during the second attack. One week or fifteen days later... I do not ever want to tell these. My nerves turn on. Look how people are, looking at you in the face and [saying] "hello, my neighbor." Look, I am living in his house on the third floor. You see, there were neighbors among those who did

[446] *"Didem hamileydi iste. Sen de hamileydin ya. Ayy o gebe haliyle kadin boyle divanin altina girdi."*

[447] *"Ikincisinde benden bir suru kan geldi."*

> these. The neighbors also got involved. [She gets furious] the neighbors in our neighborhood! [She retells the significant story for her on the betrayal of their acquaintances and their attempt to attack them]. Hikmet Aga had said to them "Do not go in, there is a bride who just gave birth inside". "Turn off, turn off Sister Esmeray's light, break down and get in" [they said]. They would come to us through the living room. They would break our window. That time, Uncle Ali was coming with a toy rifle. "Aaa, they will kill us here, let's run' let's go away" they had been saying.[448]

She was very excited, as she was telling how their lives were at stake. She could have lost her baby if the stone had hit him. Even while she was telling her story, Sebiye revealed her fear by repeating "Oh my God!" This narrative is important, as she remembered not only how the attackers had no respect of their lives, but also how they themselves managed to survive the event. Thus, although no one was killed, this did not mean that the attackers were just trying to scare them. Most of the Gypsies thought that their lives were in great danger. Many of them therefore hid and then fled. The crowd was armed with stones and sticks, not with guns, but it seemed like they did not really mind killing a Gypsy. A good example of this violent atmosphere is the recollection of Fazil who heard one of the attackers, the guardian Hakki, saying, "pour the gas on Tepecik and let it go, why would you waste your time with them?"[449]

Cevza's articulation of the extent of the violence makes it understandable that many Gypsies feared extreme violence: "It was very bad. […] They just did not put us into camps. If they had put us into the camps and humiliated us, it [the responsible one] would be the government."[450] She actually imagined the treatment in resemblance to the holocaust experience and asserted that the difference was the absence of the organizing power of the state. Here, the state had not organized it, but the extent of the violence that reminded her of that experience:

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[448] See Narrative 71 in Appendix D.

[449] *"Tepecik'ten gazi dokun yakin da geciverin ne ugrasiyonuz onlarla."*

[450] *"Cok fenaydi. [...] Kamplara koymadilar bizi, bi o yok yani. Eger alip da kamplara koysalar rezil etseler, bunu yapan da hukumet olcakti."*

> They took us but we were watching from the back. I could not watch because I was so afraid. Here, the crowd was like this [hand gesture for very crowded]. Oh, how we were attacked, do you know! Oh my Allah, disaster! We suffered a lot. On the second time, we went to Canakkale then. The buses did not take us. We became desperate. The people did not even take us into their bus; there were threats. We therefore took the bus to Canakkale outside of the town.[451]

Like Cevza, many Gypsies recalled those times as a war. Turning off their lights during the attacks by the Gypsies was similar to what the whole town did a few years later when they feared attacks by the Greek in 1974. Thus, they all attempted to protect themselves in the way that the whole town would later do in a possibility of war. Ezgi, from the local Gypsy group, revealed her anxiety as well, although the attacks primarily targeted the muhacir Gypsies:

> That night nothing much happened but the next night, they collected villagers. They collected everyone; they made them drink *raki* downtown. All people came here. Look at this window. They broke it. There were arguments that night in front of our door. My husband said, "it is not your business." I said, "they do not differentiate any one. This fight is too big. They attacked both men and women, I do not know what would happen." I said. He told me again to go to bed. The next night, there was Dark Fanise, who was a grocer. "Ezgi Ezgi!" I asked: "what happened, Fanise?" "I swear, they will not differentiate anyone. They do not mind door or window nor they are afraid of killing." She hid by the walls. Oh my mother! My children were very little. They were all very little. Oh my mother, we were going to take our children away. Then we did not know where to hide. We were hiding our children so they would not die. Cengiz was hit on his back. You see, what we went through. There was no guilt on us.[452]

That their girls would be assaulted was another fear during the attacks although no one reported any sexual abuses or rape. It might have been explained by the accusation that Gypsy men had misbehaved towards non-Gypsy women. The kidnapping of Gypsy girls was a common fear, as Rana from the muhacirs stated that the rumors had come out a week after the first attack. Some referred to this possibility as the factor that made them leave the town. Although they had not thought of fleeing the town before,

[451] See Narrative 72 in Appendix D.

[452] See Narrative 73 in Appendix D.

the fear of an assault on their girls made this a real option.[453] Thus, the attacks on the houses were the first action that would unveil the anger of the non-Gypsies. However, the assaults on women would damage the relationship entirely. Ezgi from the local Gypsies expressed how this influenced their decision to leave:

> They were going to fuck [rape] us. They said so. Look at those damned [men]. How we suffered… My husband would not believe it. He said, "Come on, nothing will happen". I said, 'you always say that, damned man! Come on, I am leaving, you can stay here." Then I packed some stuff for my children and left. He also came after me. He was locking the door. Come on, would a lock prevent them! Whatever! They messed around, they shit on the plates; they damaged our property. We did not have anything. We were running by the river, in the shape of a rope. We became a rope.[454]

While narrating, reliving the time of the attacks also revealed the vivid feelings and gestures of some Gypsies. The Gypsies were sensitive about talking about the events and many used the idiom of "having goose bumps"[having bumps on the skin due to experiencing strong emotions such as fear and anxiety] while talking about their experiences. Others relived those moments even through performing their experiences. With the presence of her daughter, mother and sister, Cevza described the scene with the fear on her face: "My brother Emre had a hoe in his hand [to protect themselves]. We were stuck in the corner with my mother. My poor grandma was standing in front of the door not to let them in. While I was looking from the window, I saw one of them, it was coffeehouse owner Huseyin…"[455]

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[453] For the relation between boundaries, social order, violence and gendered body, see Maria B. Olujic, "Embodiment of Terror: Gendered Violence in Peacetime and Wartime in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina," *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 12, no. 1 (1998), pp. 31-50. For how violence was gendered in the break-up of Yugoslavia, see Dubravka Zarkov, *The Body of War: Media, Ethnicity and Gender in the Break-Up of Yugoslavia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); for the avoidance of rape at stake with the possibility of coexistence between groups, see Hayden, Robert M. "Rape and Rape Avoidance in Ethno-National Conflicts: Sexual Violence in Liminalized States," *American Anthropologist*, 102, no 1 (2000), pp. 27-41. For the construction of nation in relation to gendered body, see Yuval-Davis.

[454] See Narrative 74 in Appendix D.

[455] See Narrative 75 in Appendix D.

She stood up and reenacted the experiences in the past. She pretended to hide from people, imitating her grandmother. At this moment, her daughter said: "Oh my Allah, my mother is telling like she is living through it again." Cevza's answer was noteworthy: "Of course I am reliving. I did like this [she was squatting down] 'Oh, they are coming!' One gets scared, my girl [to her daughter]."[456] How they relived the attacks, excited and full of fear was dramatic. However, they were also joking about it, laughing about those things. It was both sad and funny at the same time.

Moreover, these experiences were strengthened their sense of collectivity, as people experienced similar sufferings. For some, their present miserable position and dissolved families are the outcomes of the attacks. The violence also created distrust of people especially of the non-Gypsies in the town, as a local Gypsy from Tepecik neighborhood asserted: "*Goray* [a term used for non-Gypsy townspeople, especially Turks] can be good to you until they get angry."[457]

Additionally, it made some people more sensitive as they were attacked by villagers, most of whom did not know them at all, but also by the people with whom they had had good relations up until that point. Thus, the attacks also meant betrayal for most Gypsies.[458] Some local Gypsies, on the other hand, were offended for being mixed up with the muhacir Gypsies although they had not been involved in any previous unrest. Fazil, a local Gypsy, underlined that they did not even have a close relationship with the muhacirs. However, the people did not differentiate between the muhacirs and the *Romans*, but all were called *Roman*. He described how the perpetrators attacked and decided on the houses that they would destroy by choosing name by name, as people

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456 *"Ayy geliyolar. Korkuyo insan kizim."*

457 *"Goray kizana kadar sana iyi olabilir."* See Brubaker on ethnic grouping after violence.

458 Corkalo et al. also pointed at feeling of betrayal between neighbors after the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

knew everybody by name: "When they went into a street, they went from house to house. 'Whose house is this?' 'Fazil's house' 'attack!' 'Whose house is this?' 'Ahmet's house' 'Attack!' 'Whose house is this?' 'Hasan's house.' 'Do not touch'."[459]

Furthermore, some Gypsies pointed at the prolonged effects of the violence on their social capital. Dilaver's daughter Rana explained how the violence had ongoing effects on their lives. She stated how successful one of her sons had been at school, but he had to drop after the attacks. She could imagine her son as a noncommissioned officer like his friends, but not after the attacks. During the period of attacks, they were beaten while they were going to school. Thus, it influenced many Gypsy children's further education; as they also had to adapt to new schools in the new destinations:

> They beat the children. How could he go [to the school]? How many times my son was beaten! We could not go out at night out of fear. It was the same during the day. Our people were not going to the downtown area. Aaahh how we suffered at that time… Then the children did not go to school. […] My son's friends are coming to see me now. They are saying 'Osman was more hardworking than us'. They became officers. He was going to be one, too. Now, he is working in Germany instead. I do not even know what he is doing.[460]

For being from the primary targeted family of Dilaver, Rana was among the ones who experienced the attacks in full and his family never reunified again. His father and two brothers went to Ankara; one brother went to Edremit and the rest of the family stayed in Canakkale. She recalled her pain when she was going to visit her family in Ankara. At that time, even traveling alone all that way to an unknown place was itself scary, but her heart was full of the pain of having lost her home and unified family:

> We kept our silence in the dark. We were filled with fear. I went to Ankara. I was going at night as we were in Canakkale. My parents had escaped to Ankara. I went to see them. My family was in Canakkale and I did not know Ankara. My brother was going to take me from the terminal. While I was on my way, everybody was asleep on the bus. I was saying that 'I wish that was my house' pointing at the ones in the villages that we were passing. I was saying 'what

[459] See Narrative 76 in Appendix D.

[460] See Narrative 77 in Appendix D.

> happened to us!' and I was crying. […] We were passing through towns. I was thinking that we had lost our houses, our children were going to school, we had become desperate, my father and mother had gone somewhere else and I was crying.[461]

They also had lost their professions and jobs in the town. The muhacir Gypsies in the service sector of the limited economy of the town such as drivers, porters, and shoe-polishers were replaced quickly. The local Gypsies' positions as musicians were not that easy to replace due to the required talent and experience, but some non-Gypsies went into that business as well. One of them was a shepherd who improved at playing the flute and later started playing at weddings. Ezgi recalled the time that her husband, who was a clarinet player, could not go to the weddings, as the attackers did not let them work. Thus, they were outcast economically as well during those days. Several non-Gypsies affirmed stories about Gypsies who were banned from weddings. At that time, some non-Gypsies started going into that business. A non-Gypsy memory was so fresh about this phenomenon, as his wedding was in that period. He as an ordinary townsperson remembered that they had had to play a tape instead of hiring musicians. They recalled the gendarmes had not allowed the Gypsies to play either, as a caution for a possible attack. The violence first targeted the muhacir Gypsies with the local Gypsies as the secondary target. However, the effects and the fear generated by the attacks were not limited to the Gypsies.

Ordinary Townspeople

Many Turkish townspeople experienced the terror and the fear in several ways. Some were only the Gypsies' neighbors, some were wealthy Turks who employed Gypsies, some were ordinary townspeople who chose not to engage in the attacks, and

[461] See Narrative 78 in Appendix D.

some became involved in the attacks against their own will or interests. Some were passive spectators while others were active protectors of the Gypsies. The town was terrorized in such a way that many people felt and experienced some part of it.

Many Turkish people acknowledged the fear that they had felt during the attacks. The crucial point for some was the beating of the attorney. It symbolized the uncontrollability of the violence, people's outrage and the impotence of a state representative against the perpetrators. It also illustrated the perpetrators' power by attacking the state representative. The town counselor (*il encumeni*) of the time, Salih, was very afraid to testify against the attackers. At the time, to testify as a witness, he had demanded a passport to leave the country afterwards. He revealed his fear during our conversations. Only after he trusted me after a month, he started telling me about his role as a protector of a Gypsy, which he had kept secret in all those years. He stressed the seriousness of the case at the time and the terror that the attackers had generated:

> It had been 1-2 days [of the attacks]. That night, the event got very big. Mr. Dilaver [judge in the town] told me that he would imprison me [if I do not give testimony]. I told him 'get a passport to Russia for me. Do you want me killed?' […] The attorney was young, dark and tall, but not everybody would have survived the beating that he took. One person started hitting and then he was passed on from one attacker to another.[462]

Some asserted that the crowd and the other state officials were angry with the attorney, as he had released Gypsies who had been involved in a fight. The attorney wanted to make an announcement from the municipality and then the disorder escalated. While Mukhtar Kemal was describing the beating of the attorney, he revealed his fear and feeling of impotence against the crowd: "They leaned a ladder against the balcony of the municipality building. We witnessed this, but it was not possible [to say] 'don't do

[462] See Narrative 79 in Appendix D.

that'. You could not [say], because you would be beaten, too. Once they had rebelled..."[463]

My uncle, Selim, also pointed at the impotence that many people felt. Although there were people who did not approve of the attacks, they could not stand against the perpetrators due to their lack of organized power:

> The responsible people like state officials and teachers did not approve these attacks but we also just watched. There were people who were angry with the Gypsies, and there were tradesmen who supported them. "Well done Kadir, you did a good job." They asserted that [the Gypsies] were spoiled, but the conscious people never approved of this. [...] They did not raise their voices; they were not organized. The perpetrators, on the other hand, organized people through their driving business foundations, coffeehouses, etc. Halit was involved in this business, but he was given orders by Kadir, later Halit also killed someone. Kadir killed his wife; he drowned his wife while beating.[464]

The fear for the uncontrolled rage of the leading figures terrified many people in the town. Aydin, who had not given any leading figures' names during our conversation, stated his reluctance to talk at the time and also afterwards. When I asked him directly whether he had heard that Kadir had been involved as the leading figure in the attacks, he just said, "I mean even though I knew, I would not say Kadir, etc., for instance."[465] He went on telling about his own and others' fear and silence: "The people kept silent. The attorney was beaten and he was left like that. The Gypsies were stoned, etc. If someone testified, they [the perpetrators] would catch him."[466]

The neighbor Meliha mentioned similar fear after the attacks at the Gypsies and how the people had warned one another. When I asked her whether she was afraid, she answered: "Would we not fear my child [*dadam*],[467] would we not? But they did not do

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[463] See Narrative 80 in Appendix D.

[464] See Narrative 81 in Appendix D.

[465] *"Yani bilsem bile Kadir falan demem mesela."*

[466] See Narrative 82 in Appendix D.

[467] In the local dialect, it means my child in a very close relation.

anything [to us]. They knew where the Gypsy houses were. The uncle [her husband, who went to the bakery to make bread] said 'do not fear, lock your door and stay inside."[468]

Our conversation was fascinating as in the beginning she distanced herself from the events and repeated the dominant discourse in a way of gossiping. However, later on she revealed another narrative about her fear, experiences and feeling that it was forbidden to talk about the attacks in its real terms. Her fear constrained her narrative and concealed the contradictions between her personal experiences and the local dominant discourse, in spite of the inconsistent and irrelevant statements. It was not only fear of the real attackers but also fear of exclusion, fear of sympathizing with an excluded or attacked person. It was related to being part of "us;" to be the same and to be accepted even though it might include sharing guilt or keeping silent. She told how her older neighbor advised her not to talk about the attacks:

> The next morning we got up. I asked 'Sister Aysel [her older neighbor whose husband was working in the municipality—*zabita*], did you see what happened here? [She is imitating her whispering] "wipe your mouth". "Do not raise your voice' I mean 'wipe your mouth'. She said. 'Look they broke [*kirdilar*] here tonight. Then let's not make any noise. I mean they are enraged, they would come and harm us too.' That poor woman told me this. 'Do not make any noise. Go into your house.'[469]

Her narrative is remarkable as it shows how some ordinary people reacted to the attacks and kept silent out of fear. Another neighbor, Ayfer, told how afraid she was to leave the house at night during the attacks: "Would not we fear? We could not go to one another at night."[470] Thus, the attackers created an atmosphere of terror in the town that intimidated even the ordinary townspeople.

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[468] See Narrative 83 in Appendix D.

[469] See Narrative 84 in Appendix D.

[470] See Narrative 85 in Appendix D.

Employers and Protectors

The terror and violence also led to direct pressure and threats from the attackers towards the employers of the Gypsies and those who protected them. The perpetrators told the employers to fire the Gypsies or to face ostracization from society and be boycotted. Still, some employers resisted and protected the Gypsies while others did not dare to protest. The attempt of the attorney to stop the crowd and point out the unfairness and unlawfulness of the attacks was the best example of civil courage. Those who had the courage to voice protest were mainly the wealthy families who also employed Gypsies. These were not organized, but it remained individual cases of resistance. They all faced threats from the attackers including swearing and physical violence. Canan, whose father was from a distinguished wealthy family at the time,[471] told how her father protected the Gypsy employees who were working in their house:

> Around the date that I gave birth, we heard that the events were going to start… To expel the Gypsies from Bayramic... I was doing my routine walks. I was close to birth. We were in front of the forest [100 meters from the municipality]. There was a moan in front of the municipality. I looked back and a cloud, a dark cloud was approaching. In their hands, they had, I guess they were sticks. They had phoned my father. Nurcan [muhacir Gypsy girl who was working as their maid in their house at the time] had come to my mother's house at the age of 14; she was always the girl of the house, I mean. Now she [referring to her current maid from the muhacir Gypsies] is with me. Then, I remember my father standing on the balcony with a rifle. Then, we went in. He had made them go back. The gendarme was always in the same place [very close to their house]. I mean, they [the gendarme] did not come. […] During these events, someone had called my father and said 'they are coming to your house for you are protecting them, take them out!'[472]

For Hale from the *helvacis* (Halva makers and sellers), whose family protected their employee Ummuhan, the fear was still vivid. Even while describing this in a café, she was whispering to me. During the attacks, she said that they could not go out to look

[471] Her father was among the first founders of the Republican Party in the town.

[472] See Narrative 86 in Appendix D.

at what was happening although they heard the noises and sounds of people running around. She asked me not to tell her name and her narrative to anybody in the town. She still had trouble talking about the leading perpetrators. She told about threat letters that they had received during the attacks:

> They wrote a letter to us. Sister Ummuhan was working with us. 'Do not let them [the Gypsies] work for you.' […] One [Driver Halit] even came and yelled in front of our door. But do not tell him that I told you this; he insulted us. No one came out and at least made a call [to the policemen]. There were phones at that time; not many, but the ones who had, did not [make a call]. But everybody was afraid. For what if they had phoned and people had found out about it?[473]

The town counselor of the time (*il encumeni*) Salih explained that the attackers wanted to leave the Gypsies without jobs and to have them starve. As for threatening letters, he revealed that the threat was felt very easily and letters were not even necessary to inform the people: "There was no need for letters, my dear. 'Nobody can employ a Gypsy'. If you do, they would break your windows. You cannot employ them anyway. If you do, there would not be a need of a letter. You would be beaten and if you were a tradesman, they would destroy your store."[474]

Ramiz, who had been a tradesman at the time, was among those who had been the victims of violence because he employed a Gypsy driver. They had damaged his jeep: "The threats expanded to the employers of Romans. I had a jeep. I was transporting goods to villages. One night, four tires were stabbed for I was employing a Roman driver. I knew who did it, but I would not like to tell. Two of them are already dead anyway."[475] Although there were some protectors who did not fire the Gypsies, there were few. The result was a disaster for the Gypsies, as they could not find jobs in the

[473] See Narrative 87 in Appendix D.

[474] See Narrative 88 in Appendix D.

[475] See Narrative 89 in Appendix D.

town. Even months after the attacks, the people would warn anyone not to have their shoes polished by Gypsies. "We are not letting Gypsies do any job."

The threat to the protectors was so strong that Salih stated I was the first person he had ever told that he had hidden a Roman in his store.[476] He had protected him from being beaten as the attackers were chasing all the Gypsies in the streets. The Turkish people were scared to oppose the violence and the Gypsies had to find protection. Salih explained the situation as follows:

> The people did not give jobs to the Romans then. [He used the term Roman]. The people would harm the ones who did. They did not give [jobs]. The guys [Gypsies] were left starving. Some of their wives or husbands were Turks. Those ones were not touched a lot but most left anyway. Some of the Gypsies [he switched to the term 'Cingen'] came back but there are some who did not.[477]

Salih explained why he could keep these secrets both regarding the Gypsy friend that he had protected and his unwillingness to testify about the attorney's beating: "Can you keep a secret? It was seen as a national case. If you protect something that all of Bayramic condemned… against them… [Silence asking for an understanding for the great pressure]."[478]

Nationalism in the Attacks and Parallels with Other Cases

What the old town counselor (*il encumeni*) told me meant that turning someone in during those events was regarded as an act of nationalism. Not only attacking the Gypsies but also the attorney was presented as an act of patriotism. Thus, the attacks were staged as a national event as if they were mimicking the military occupation. They

[476] See Gross, *Neighbours*, pp. 129-131, for a similar fear from fellow townspeople for hiding Jews and a stigma out of it in his case.

[477] See Narrative 90 in Appendix D.

[478] See Narrative 91 in Appendix D.

were carrying the Turkish flag, singing national anthems and evoking national feelings of the people as if they had faced a threat against the national unity.

The question of loyalty to the national unity had reinforced the power and legitimacy of the attackers and the fear against them by regenerating the categories of Gypsyness and Turkishness. They also redefined some people within the mutually exclusive categories of Turks and Gypsies. Moreover, Gypsies were represented as "national enemies" in this process in correlation with other groups of people and events that exemplified similar manifestations of nationalism and violent treatments.

Both Gypsies and non-Gypsies remembered the extensive usages of nationalism and nationalist symbols. The Gypsies still feel offended by the nationalism of the townspeople, as if they were the enemies of the Turkish nation instead of being part of it. Sebiye told how she felt: "March, march! [They were singing] the independence anthem [the national anthem] in the streets. I mean [as if they were saying] 'we have saved Turkey'. They passed by flags. I mean as if we were *gavur* [giaour] and they were Turks and they took over."[479]

This marching and singing anthems is a widely known and an often-narrated story. Some non-Gypsies made jokes about it since people used the flag as a symbol of legitimacy. The story went as follows: Dark Ali was carrying the flag and leading the crowd. When the judge came to stop them, he said, "I am holding the flag, if you have the courage, step on the flag." They sang anthems and swore against Gypsies. They used nationalist symbols, anthems and sayings when they passed through the streets and stoned the houses.

The use of nationalist symbols and discourses as well as the mobilization of people to stand up against "others" made people imagine that they were restaging the

[479] See Narrative 92 in Appendix D.

war against the Greeks in 1922.[480] The connection with the Greeks has a double meaning in the town; a relatively violent history of the population exchange of the Greek citizens had also been experienced by the muhacirs' ancestors in Greece. Non-Gypsies, however, are the ones who mostly draw parallels in their representation of the strong patriotic feelings. The narrative of the oldest woman in town illustrates the way he viewed the attacks as a natural way of treating "unfits" and "unreliable others" in society: "I am very old and there is no one older than me in this town, thus no one would know better either. I remember everything that has happened here; the butchering of the Greeks, the expulsion of the Jews,[481] the stoning of the Gypsies, the dismissal of the Kurds."[482]

The attacks on the Gypsies were neither the first nor the last incident of collective violence in the town. The treatment of the Greeks has been recalled as the outstanding example of the Turkish power over "the others" in the town following the national discourse of the heroic war historiography of the region. Thus, some townspeople drew parallels with previous attacks against some other minorities who are portrayed as "the misbehaving other." Very old people who were children at the time of

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[480] For the stories on the Greek army's violence that are referred by the people, see Kadir Misirlioglu, *Yunan Mezalimi: Turk'un Siyah Kitabi* (The Greek atrocity: the black book of the Turk) (Istanbul: Sebil Yayinevi, 1997) [first edition in 1966]. For the experiences of the town under national historiography, also see Ahmet Altintas, *Milli Mucadele Döneminde Canakkale: 1919-1923* (Canakkale in the time of national struggle) (Istanbul: Asil Yayinlari, 2007), pp. 89-94. On the other hand, Danacioglu in her research on the experiences of 1919-1922/23 questioned the construction of Greek neighbors as national enemy in the official historiography through oral narratives from fifty-eight different settlements of Izmir in Turkey. The exact sayings of "they were spoiled" and "the wet wood was put into the fire with the dry ones" dramatically repeated in those narratives as well. Esra Danacioglu, "Isgal, Gundelik Hayat, Kurtulus: Yunan Isgali Altinda Izmir" (The siege, daily life and salvation: Izmir under the siege of Greeks). In *Kusaklar, Deneyimler, Tanikliklar: Turkiye'de Sozlu Tarih Calismalari Konferansi* (Generations, experiences, witnesses: oral history works conference in Turkey), edited by Aynur Ilyasoglu and Gulay Karacan (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfi, 2006), pp. 149-156.

[481] The expulsion of the Jews is not a story that is even mentioned in the town. They are mentioned as having left on their own will. She might have included the Jews for the sake of power in her narrative or she might have revealed her feeling about the departure of the Jews. Although it had not been forced, the feeling and the atmosphere might mean as such for her. However, it is also very probable that she heard discriminative and violent attitudes against the Jews if not in her town in the city center. For the instances in Canakkale from the year of 1934, see Bali.

[482] One of my most influential narrators, ninty-six year-old Fitnat, who passed away in 2009, summarized the social history of the town ironically in our conversation on June 03, 2008.

the Greek incidence in their memory connected the two stories. Fitnat (96) started telling the story of the Greeks when she was asked the Gypsies' forced dislocation:

> Ataturk kicked the giaour out. I know that the giaour [Greek neighbors] were here. They would not let the lights on. Everywhere it was dark. Like the Greeks [soldiers] were hanging out at nights, we were getting afraid. When the evening prayer called, we were locking our doors and put the lights out.[..] It was very cold, they said the giaour should go, they should go to their homes, their countries. Then another call came, the ones that had stayed can stay as before. I had a brother, he was a shepherd, and we had sheep. One giaour had taken his sheep. This time, the giaour will be cut. My brother went to Kutluoba piny [pine tree forest]. He told that if he had seen that giaour who took his sheep, he would also do [kill him]. Among the leftovers, some put their money in their bread, some in their water cup. They [Greek neighbors] had to go somewhere but they did not know where. They stabbed cut them in Kutluoba piny. Then over there, they found a lot of money afterwards.[483]

The townspeople indicate that only three Greeks stayed in the town after the exchange. Not only the violent acts but previous close relations between some Greeks and Turks were also revealed in these stories.[484] Parallel to the Gypsy incident, the Greek story was represented, as a normal attitude against the unwanted other as the state security forces was perceived as the motivator if not the leader of the attacks against the Greek citizen fellows. While Nebahat was describing the Gypsy incidents, she revealed direct parallels by shifting to the Greek story in her narrative:

> […] No one could make their voice heard. When you said something, immediately a fight and a quarrel would start. You know, the Gypsies have that kind of manner. They might have hurt many people, so that the people [attacked] like that. Otherwise, without a reason, nothing like that would have happened. I mean, it was a kind of genocide. Ah, you should have listened to the Greeks. If my aunt-in-law had been alive… Look, what they had done. Whose book is that called 'Greek mezalimi' [The Greek Atrocity]. There it tells. Moreover, Muhterem's Ismail Bey was executed by Greek's shooting. They said that everybody should be disarmed when Greek occupation happened. […][485]

Her narrative is highly interesting, as she gets confused about the subjects and objects of violence; who was the perpetrator and who was the victim. While she was

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[483] See Narrative 93 in Appendix D.

[484] Some townspeople cried when they remembered the sufferings of their Greek neighbors and there were also some who tired to protect their Greek neighbors.

[485] See Narrative 94 in Appendix D.

telling about the sufferings of the Turks, she shifted to the sufferings of the Gypsies, as it resembled genocide. Then she passed to the Greek army's violence towards the Turkish townspeople during the Greek occupation of the town. Similar shifts are crucial to follow people's confusions and contradictions.

While reproducing these stories, the townspeople usually followed the dominant narrative around the evilness of the Greeks. They told horrible events, like taking Turkish people to be killed and putting them into holes or burning them ruthlessly. Many tried to defend the attacks against the Greek neighbors like Fitnat who even equated a sheep with a human. These stories legitimized this kind of treatment as in national stories around "the evil Greeks." When they shifted to their personal experiences though, some revealed their sad feelings for their Greek neighbors. A narrator even got drowned in tears when he was uttering his failure to protect a local Greek girl against the Turkish soldiers. The parallels that many non-Gypsy people drew with the Greek incidents, are not only explained by the fact that people remember those events, but also because it serves as a legitimization: If "the other" acts "improperly," you have the right to use violence and kick them out of "your land."

Some muhacir Gypsies, on the other hand, constituted a link between the attacks against them and their ancestors in Greece before the population exchange. The continuity of destiny that they shared with their ancestors was striking to them. It meant not only their similarities with what happened to their ancestors, but also the illegitimacy of the attacks, because the founding leader of the Turkish Republic had protected their ancestors and brought them into the country and accepted them as Turks. Thus, when the muhacir Gypsies referred to the population exchange, they recalled not only their grandparents' similar destiny being pushed to leave their homeland, but it also provided a ground to construct their Turkishness as part of the population exchange brought about by the founders of the Republic. If they did not directly refer to the ancestors' past in

Greece, they compared the attacks with the population exchange, as in Cevza's narrative: "They passed by two to three times, they damaged a lot. They swore. As if we lived in *gavour*'s country… If we had been in Greece, they would not have done so much harm."[486]

Here, Cevza connected two incidents in her narrative. As her ancestors had come from Greece due to the attacks on Turks, she recalled that story of their coming and settling in the town. Even though their ancestors had fled Greece and come to the town with the promise of protection, they faced similar attacks in Turkey almost half a century later. Thus, the attacks were in flagrant opposition to the promises of the Republic.

In direct parallel, she constructed more similarities between their situation and the fear that their ancestors shared. Amazingly, in her narrative she told not only about the terror they felt by the attacks of the Greeks, but also about their feelings of unsafe and insecurity when her ancestors came to Bayramic:

> They lived in Selanik, in the city, not in a village. If they had lived in a village, they would have gone to a village, but they did not like it and preferred it here. They were given houses, but sold them and lived in one place together with the other muhacir Gypsies, because they were scared. So, how they experienced those events, we experienced the same in *kirim*. As if this was a *gavur* [Greek] country. We were scared that people would say something against [us], but I do not have any fear of anybody now.[487]

The parallel with the Kurdish case, on the other hand, is the most common and the strongest representation in the Turks' narratives on the attacks against the Gypsies in the town. There are several reasons for this strong connection. First of all, the attacks against the Kurds happened more recently, in 1991, and people's memories of those attacks are more vivid. Second, in the last decades, the feeling of discontent with the Kurds have been very strong in the town due to the country-wide dominant propaganda against the Kurds, which is manipulated by the war between the Turkish state and the

[486] See Narrative 95 in Appendix D.

[487] See Narrative 96 in Appendix D.

Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) as well as the increased presence of the Kurdish people in the western regions looking for a better life and employment. Compatible with the discriminatory nationalist discourse on Kurdishness, the townspeople have felt threatened by and have raged against the improved socioeconomic status of the Kurdish people in the region. Thus, instead of talking about the Gypsy case, they wanted to talk about the Kurdish issue that was burning inside them. They also expected a similar attack against the Kurds in the town, which indeed happened on a small scale in the summer of 2009.[488] In sum, many townspeople regarded the Gypsy and Kurdish "incidents" as very similar. This way of remembering, on the other hand, also reinforced their idea of being unified against threatening others through homogenizing and criminalizing others in contrast to the innocent and heroic self. Some represented the attacks as an act of justice, as the recent mayor, Ilker Tortor, pointed at in his narrative:

> That [the violent events and dislocation] was enough for them [the town's Gypsies]. Look, then there is a Kurdish incident. The Kurds terrorized our people and they do not accept this. Especially, when you come from the mountains and try to kick one out of the yard. They [the others, here especially the Kurds] exaggerate children's fight and organize as a group. But the law does not allow [punishing the Kurds], they [state security] just take them in and then again release them, because there are gaps in the law. Because… There is discrimination. He [the Kurd] makes the discrimination. And then conflicts in society arise. Every citizen is equal; they do not accept this since they are in the minority. But then the minority starts suppressing the majority. We do not have that anymore.[489]

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[488] In August 2009, there occurred an attempt of marching and attacking against Kurdish houses in the town with the triggering effect of a fight between a Turkish and a Kurdish individual. For the event see *Radikal*, "Out of Conflicts on Roasted Sheep Intestines, Ethnic Tnesion Emerged in Bayramic" (5 August 2009). Available online: http://www.radikal.com.tr/Default.aspx?aType=RadikalDetay&Date=5.8.2009&ArticleID=948336&CategoryID=77 [17 January 2011]. In recent years, many other attacks against Kurds have been also observed in the region, for few instance see the events from October, 2008 in the town of Altinova, Ayvalik in Balikesir see *Radikal*, "Ethnic Tension Enhanced in Altinova" (1 October 2008), http://www.radikal.com.tr/Default.aspx?aType=Detay&ArticleID=901292&Date=01.10.2008&CategoryID=77 [17 January 2011]; another event from July 2010 in Bursa see *Haber Fabrikasi*, "Provocation, Discrimination, Kurdish Hunt… Urgent Action for Peace" (n.d.), Available online: http://www.haberfabrikasi.org/s/?p=5133 [17 January 2011]

[489] See Narrative 97 in Appendix D.

Neighbor Ismail also connected the attacks against the Gypsies to those against the Kurds in the town. He talked more enthusiastically about the latter one as it also influenced his life more. He was afraid to become a victim himself of Kurdish anger, because he was working as a teacher in Agri where a remarkable Kurdish population was present. The policemen also warned him not to reveal his town of origin. He told people he was from Balikesir instead.

> These incidents had happened like this: The Roman citizens [*Roman vatandaslar*] misbehaved and abused the Turkish citizens. A conflict arose between Gypsies [*Çingene*] and Turks. […] Another incident happened, too. Let me tell that. I was a teacher in Agri. […] Here, a Kurdish child had done something with an animal [a goat], excuse me, they had caught him here, and killed him. Then, his relatives had killed that guy's [the goat's owner] son in a restaurant. Here the people again became agitated. There were marches. With a Turkish flag in their hands, 'we do not want [the Kurds]' etc. They abused the eastern people here too.[490]

In the period of the Kurdish case, there were Kurdish people who came to the town to work on the dam that was under construction. After the attacks, they left and the townspeople took over their jobs. The two attacks were inextricably linked in the minds of many Turkish townspeople and seen as characteristic for the relations in the town: "I swear, this kind of things happened here; events that aroused indignation happened here. Bayramic people are little bit sensitive, I mean. Their constitution is like that. I mean, against immorality or other things, the people are very easily aroused."[491]

Dark (*Kara*) Ahmet similarly told two incidents in parallel as well. He emphasized the bonds between the people in the town and acting on impulsion:

> The Gypsies were little bit a lot here. […] Everybody was agitated here. What would you need? One of the Kurds did something and the same thing happened. We beat the Kurds, too. The police could not stop us. People went with sticks. What would happen if it had happened now? You would go, too. You would act upon that anger. […] You should realize that Bayramic is a tight community.[492]

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[490] See Narrative 98 in Appendix D.

[491] See Narrative 99 in Appendix D.

[492] See Narrative 100 in Appendix D.For a similar parallelization and few interviews on the attacks against Kurdish people in Bayramic, see Sengül Kilic, *Biz ve Onlar: Türkiye'de Etnik Ayrımcılık* (Us and them: ethnic discrimination in Turkey). (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1992), especially p. 27.

While this parallel is significant in the non-Gypsies' narrative, none of the Gypsies compared the two incidents. Most Gypsies did not want to generalize the characteristics of the town or townspeople, either. Their personal experience, of course, makes it unique for them. Furthermore, to be compared to Kurds is very problematic for them. Gypsies generally do not want to be considered like Kurds as they are situated opposed to the Turkish nation and as the enemy within. Moreover, while non-Gypsies articulated the two incidents as similar to one another due to their ethnic features, the accusation of immoral acts and massive dislocation as a result, Gypsies usually referred to the economic conflict that triggered the attacks. Indeed, both were socioeconomically grounded in their particular ways, but in both cases, the dominant nationalist discourses that were used for otherizing and discriminating these communities were pivotal in generating the attacks.

As the mayor clarified, a certain act would not be perceived as improper and immoral if Turks committed it. He portrayed Gypsies in stereotypical ways by focusing on their unwillingness to work and their improper behavior in the town. He openly acknowledged the fact that it had happened to them because they were Gypsies. He clarified this statement also by drawing parallels with recent developments. Today, there are university students residing in the town as some departments of the Canakkale 18 Mart University have been built there. Some people are not happy with the presence of the students since they perceive them as influencing the moral life negatively and disturbing the townspeople. The mayor mentioned how the young boys went after the university girls and harassed them. Here, it becomes ironic as not the act but the interrelation appears to be important in the minds of people. The mayor, Ilker Tortor, clearly asserted that: "There is this image of Bayramic people that they would not allow this. Now, the university students are in town. There are also boys from our community

who made a pass to them. If it had been them [the Gypsies], it would have been taken care off already."[493]

The mayor's narrative is important as it clarifies how the Gypsies are perceived both by the local administrator and a townsperson as he has been living in the town since his birth in 1945. Thus, he not only explained how the dislocation could be seen in relation to the current situation, but he also had witnessed the events as an ordinary townsperson at the time. This narrative displays a high degree of hypocrisy, because he finds it normal not to act when immoral acts are committed by "their" boys against "other" girls. However, the mayor clarifies that the act would be "corrected" if it had been committed by Gypsies, and adds that they had "corrected the Gypsies" before. This reveals how he legitimized the dislocation of the Gypsies and furthermore the underlying binary between Gypsies and Turks in the town. The boundaries between the two categories are not always very rigid and the classification of people does not just rely on the boundary between Gypsyness and Turkishness, but it was at stake during the events. However, we see how it easily becomes blurred in other narratives on Gypsies especially when they are presented as "our Gypsies."[494]

In sum, the comparisons with other events and people homogenize the "others" as non-nationals and naturalize violent acts against them. Many non-Gypsies expressed feelings of pride and self-justification. The Gypsies, on the other hand, revealed the particularities in their experience and avoided parallels. For the townspeople, however, the parallel with the attacks against the Greeks allowed a legitimate base that once led the state itself to rescue the Turkish land and the people against "the enemies." Additionally, the later attacks on the Kurds took its place in the town's history as an unquestionably heroic victory against the non-national others.

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[493] See Narrative 101 in Appendix D.

[494] Guler similarly pointed at the outstanding usage of commonality through locality in the interviews she gathered in the city of Canakkale. Guler, p. 171.

The Narratives on the Role of the State

The role of the state appeared mainly at two levels in the attacks on the Gypsies; on the discursive level and on the state intervention during the attacks. The discursive level can be traced in the hierarchies between Gypsyness and Turkishness that are supported by the state policies and rhetoric on national identity, different allocation of rights and resources to citizens.[495] The latter, on the other hand, relies on the actions of state representatives against the attacks that I discussed in the previous part. How the state representatives took action, how the townspeople perceived their roles, whether they stood against or supported and even contributed to the attacks.

In the section on Turkishness I already argued that the constructed national identity as Sunni-Muslim Turks produced hierarchies and discriminations.[496] Although the Gypsies in the town were citizens in the country, their rights were limited compared to their Turkish fellows. The most prominent classification of Gypsies as *Kipti*[497] led a

[495] Navaro-Yashin 2002 in her work argues on the public space in Turkey being not exempted from the impact of the state and people and state not as different entities but sharing the same domain. See her work also for the construction of public life in the country especially in the 1990s: Yael Navaro-Yashin, *Faces of the State: Secularism and Public Life in Turkey* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002).

[496] The discursive and policy level were laid out in depth under Gypsyness in Turkey and the relationship between Turkishness and Gypsyness in Chapter Two. In this part, it will be only mentioned roughly to dwell more on the stresses of the narrators.

[497] Another narrator also claimed about a Gypsy arranging an adoption for himself to be a commissioned officer. In the State classification of Ottoman time, the category of Gypsyness appears in the Ottoman tax enumerators after the conquest of Constantinople and the 'Gypsy sancak' in the 1520s in Rumeli (See Marushiakova and Popov). Karpat, *Ottoman Population*, indicated that the first modern population census in the empire was conducted in 1828/1829 where they also categorized the population according to collect taxes. In the censuses, the population was referred to as Muslim, Christian, Armenian, Jewish and Gypsy (Kipti). Karpat pointed at the separate recording of Gypsies although other Muslims would not be registered with different terms such as ethnic names (p. 20). The first initiation of Ottoman identity cards (*tezkere-i Osmaniyye*) was issued and distributed as twenty million in 1866 [p 24]. However, the establishment of General Population Administration [*Nufus-u Umumi Idaresi*] was in 1881/1882 (p. 29) to register the population. In the last Ottoman census in 1905/1906, each registered individual was decided to have a *tezkere* (p. 35). For detailed information, see Karpat, *Ottoman Population*. Through our academic collaboration, the historian specialized on Gypsies in Turkey Adrian Marsh asserted that the practice of having the sign of K for Kipti has ended in the 1950s while some older Gypsy people have told him their

different categorization by the state, at least in the eyes of the townspeople.[498] It was a classification from the Ottoman era, but it was still in circulation in the 1960s. Moreover, Gypsies were excluded from state jobs until the 1960s, as being a state official was restricted to people of Turkish ethnic origin.[499] The change in the Law, which stipulated that all Turkish citizens instead of only ethnic Turks were full citizens, was realized in 1965.[500] This change also may have effected the relative socioeconomic positions of the Turks in reality or in perception. However, the preceding situation constituted by the state discourse and policies around Gypsyness as such was influential in legitimizing the discrimination and the attacks.

Solmaz makes a direct connection between the state discrimination and its counterpart in the society: "The state was discriminating against the Gypsies at that time anyway."[501] Thus, if the state does it, every other citizen could feel it legitimate to follow this example. Even if it did not openly constitute harsh discrimination, the hierarchies created, reinforced and shaped the relations with the Gypsies. Solmaz explained the discrimination of the state at that time:

> They [Gypsies] could not be commissioned officer. For instance, when I was in military school, one was admitted by mistake. He was a Gypsy from Edirne. They found [out about] the kid. He was my class-mate. He was in the second grade. His name was Oguz. They kicked him out in 1959 or 1960. Then he became a teacher. They would make them teacher, but not commissioned officer. Now they are.[502]

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cards remained with the 'K' until the 1970's. Researcher Ali Mezarcioglu also affirmed the information with two oral narratives.

[498] For different ways of discrimination and state's role, also see the recent ERRC report.

[499] See Chapter Two. Soner, p. 298.

[500] Republic of Turkey, *Civil Servant Law*, no. 657, Article 48 (1965). Also see Aktar.

[501] "O zaman zaten devlet disliyordu Cingeneleri."

[502] See Narrative 102 in Appendix D.

When I asked him whether he knew about the discriminatory legislation, his narrative displayed how people read state politics and get the message: "I do not know if there was a law. I only know that they took that kid from there. I knew that a Gypsy kid could not be a commissioned officer."[503]

We do not only learn from the procedure or laws, but also from the practice. How the state organs treated a Gypsy was more important than what the law prescribed. Many townspeople referred to the guiding role of the state in the discriminatory treatment of Gypsies. They referred to the state as the first actor in determining the nature and the origin of this discrimination as Nebahat asserted: "After all, *kipti* was written in their identity cards."[504] Fitnat furthermore complained about the Gypsies' tricky ways of getting state jobs in the past: "If you are a Gypsy you should do a Gypsy profession. Their father was a blacksmith, grandfather was a blacksmith. The boy changed his identity card and became a state commissioner. That was not right."[505]

Although the Gypsies referred to overall discrimination to some degree especially by emphasizing forbidden intermarriages between Gypsies and non-Gypsies, they did not mention the state's general discriminatory policies and constructions at all. They felt reluctant to say anything against the state or to look critically at the content of citizenship. Instead, they took it for granted and tried to legitimize their own place in it in several ways such as emphasizing their Turkishness, their legitimate ground to be in the town and negating the prejudices for their individual status. That is understandable in the Turkish context in which criticizing the state discourse and questioning Turkishness could be criminalized easily and is mostly treated as a taboo.

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[503] See Narrative 103 in Appendix D.

[504] See Narrative 104 in Appendix D.

[505] See Narrative 105 in Appendix D.

However, with regard to the actual performance of state representatives, the Gypsies were not silent at all. Except for the attorney, the state representatives had remained passive and not stopped the perpetrators, while some policemen were even accused of joining in the attacks themselves. The attorney's punishment, on the other hand, was blatant.[506] At this phase, the Gypsies mainly described the misbehavior of the policemen and local state representatives along with the role of the prime minister of the time.

The impotency of state officials in the town was emphasized. The story of the attorney's beating, which happened during the second attack, illustrates the defiance of state authority by the perpetrators. Although this story is overrepresented by the non-Gypsies, the Gypsies do not mention it. It may be because they did not know about it very much as some had already fled or some other were in preparing to leave. Another reason for this lack of representation could be that their memories worked selectively and their own feelings of the time preoccupied them.

For the impotency of the state official and their cooperation with the perpetrators, on the other hand, Bidon Hilmi said: "The mayor or the policemen here did not do anything to prevent [the attacks]. They both did [contributed] and got afraid of what they did themselves."[507] He also asserted that the police chief helped him when he was running away from the people who had knives in their hands. The crowd became a mob and the state was unable to stop them. When he went into the police station, the police had protected him but they did not take any action against the perpetrators. He described the perpetrators as having been more powerful than the police and the state authorities. His wife Melike affirmed the policemen's mistreatment of the Gypsies as

[506] Also see the narratives of the attorney and the governor of the province in the beginning of this chapter.

[507] See Narrative 106 in Appendix D.

their few elders who had stayed in the town had been taken to the police station to be beaten. She also stated that the police did not do anything as "they [the perpetrators] were like a pack of dogs." "Nobody cared."

One of the perpetrators, Huseyin Kiltas realized the power of nation-state symbols over the power of individual state representatives:

> Ali was holding the flag and then there was Hilmi, the head of the gendarmes. He came with soldiers, but how could soldiers prevent the attacks? He [Ali] made Hilmi stand still by [saying] 'respect the Turkish flag'. He had the flag hoisted and the other one [Hilmi] saluted it, I swear… it was so crowded that the people could not fit into the center.[508]

Rana, as the oldest daughter of the Kocayar family, stressed the cooperation of the state officials with the perpetrators: "The [Gypsy] youngsters were beaten a lot. They would not be scared, but what could they do! They did not say anything. The policemen, the head officer of the district, acted as one; they all acted as one."[509]

The leading perpetrator, Kadir described how gendarmes and security forces backed them up. He was drinking in the *meyhane* (bar-like restaurant) together with the head of the police when the people left to attack the Gypsy houses. He said that all state officials had supported them. The local ones gave consent to everything and the ones who came from the outside were reluctant to stop them. He stated that the government at the time also encouraged them, as they did not do anything against it, and some even overtly supported it.[510] Rana also indicated how the head of the policemen had acted when the attacks first started:

> We could not understand why it happened. I swear, we could not… One night, we were sleeping, "*sangir*!"[sound of glass breaking]. My husband went out. Stones were thrown at our children. [My husband said] 'Who is doing this? Are

[508] See Narrative 107 in Appendix D.

[509] See Narrative 108 in Appendix D.

[510] Bergmann pointed on the belief of perpetrators in collaborating with the state. They would feel that they would not get punished if they had attacked the Jews in Bismarck. He also noted active participation of police in the attacks in Heidelberg in 1819 (p. 168), and soldiers support in the Hep Hep riots of 1819 in Wurzburg (p. 170).

> we in *gavur*s' hands?' Butcher Yakup went outside. He [also] asked 'who is doing this?' The chief of police lived nearby. He came and saw us, the stones, and the broken glass. He said 'it was good that the stones did not hit the children'. We were trying to protect the children from the glass. My husband covered the windows with wood. They were breaking it at night. They beat my father a lot, also the chief of police. They almost killed him. When he returned coming from the downtown area, they took him to police station and beat him almost to death. My father became paralyzed by sadness. After that, my parents stayed in Canakkale.[511]

She also claimed that when they returned to the town, the chief of police asked money from them to have their house painted. Although they painted their house themselves, the policemen charged a large sum of money to allow that. She also stressed being criminalized and mistreated by the local policemen. Cevza's mother, Kismet, likewise revealed that the state did not take any responsibility for the damage. Their houses were not repaired nor did they receive any compensation. They were all left with the ruins of their houses. When I asked whether they had reported any complaints, her answer was ironic: "We did not report a complaint, where would we complain?"[512]

They felt helpless, as they could not differentiate the state authorities from the perpetrators. The attorney was the only protector among state authorities who stood up against the perpetrators and he was punished himself by the beatings of the crowd. Thus, the state officials were not seen as protectors at all, whereas some were seen as perpetrators themselves. Although the Gypsies mentioned abuse by the policemen and their cooperation with the perpetrators, they were not the main targets of their critique. They thought, given the small number of policemen in the town, it would not have been possible to stop the people even if they had tried. However, they blamed the prime minister of the time, Demirel: "Not from the province but from Ankara, the thing exploded."[513]

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[511] See Narrative 109 in Appendix D.

[512] See Narrative 110 in Appendix D.

[513] See Narrative 111 in Appendix D.

They asserted that a townperson, Riza, who was a member of the Justice Party,[514] made a call to Ankara to Rafet Sezgin, who was the Member of Parliament from Canakkale at the time. The story that was repeated over and over again was that the state representatives in Ankara had given the permission to the perpetrators. According to some Gysies' narratives, they had authorized them to take care of the Gypsies: "Do whatever you want except killing."[515] Others asserted that state representatives from Ankara had warned the townspeople not to be very harsh on the Gypsies, with no result.

The Gypsies emphasized that the state did not take any responsibility for the attacks and it had not really done anything. They referred to Demirel frequently and held him responsible. While some thought that he had even supported the events, others indicated that he did not do anything to prevent it. "Demirel gave the order." Sebiye from the muhacirs revealed her anger at Demirel: "Demirel had them do it. Let Allah make him suffer. Animal! He had it done. What an animal he is. […] Would you like that this would go out to the surface and Demirel would be ashamed!"[516]

Cevza stated on Demirel's role:

> The parliament above us did not care. It was Demirel that time. There was Demirel; he did not care. Indeed, he could have sent soldiers here. There were soldiers in Ezine. That time, they said that. […] Our children appeared in the newspaper [at that time]. Did not Demirel see those papers? But why did Demirel's parliament not take charge of it?[517]

Cevza explained why not, through their political affiliations:

> My girl, I was 16. We were living in Bayramic. Everything was beautiful for us. What is more, there were lots of interest in the elections here. We were on the Republican side.[518] The people who committed these [attacks] were mixed then.

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[514] The Justice Party was in power between 1965 and 1971.

[515] See Narrative 112 in Appendix D.

[516] See Narrative 113 in Appendix D.

[517] See Narrative 114 in Appendix D.

[518] Although some people said that the Gypsies would take their side along with their interests and they would hang the flag of every party and mimic with them, most acknowledged that they mostly

> They were from the Republican Party and the Justice Party from that time, but then they became one and portrayed us badly to the prime minister. The prime minister of those times was Demirel. They even said that Demirel had broken [us]. I mean the houses. If he had done it, let him take our sins. Lots of things happened. Oh, how much we suffered![519]

Demirel's involvement in the attacks was especially mentioned by the muhacir Gypsies in their self-constructions as the descendants of people who had been brought to the country by the Republican People's Party (RPP) during the population exchange. As their ancestors had been protected by the RPP, it was interpreted as symbolic that the attacks happened when their political opponents were in power. Moreover, they do not think that the Turkish state was intrinsically anti-Gypsy, but the party and the people that happened to be in power. In general, however, they stressed the underlying reasons, highlighting the particularities of the time and the roles of individual economic interests. Their stories lead us a totally different insight of the events that would be called the "Drivers' Fight" in the next part.

The Non-Gypsies did not talk about the permission from Ankara while some believed that the people could not have acted in the same way if they had not been supported by the state. The attorney, on the other hand, blamed the government of the province (*valilik*) of Canakkale for not having taken action in time.[520] The governor at the time, Cemal Tantanci, however, did not accept the accusations when I asked him about it. He revealed that he had not taken any responsibility for the attacks or remedies while indicating them as "simple events." When I asked about the remedies, he dismissed my question as irrelevant. Moreover, he got irritated by further questions about the attacks and at last, when I asked about Rafet Sezgin's connection, he just said: "He was a man who loved his country."

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vote for Republican People's Party (RPP) in the town as well as with the considerable population of the town.

[519] See Narrative 115 in Appendix D.

[520] *Milliyet*, 27 February 1970.

Drivers' Fight

> They portrayed us very badly. "They are thieves and alike, they look at our girls, wives," they had said. Indeed, no one, not any of our young men… but the truck… it broke down the atmosphere."[521]
>
> "They made *kirim* over the truck, my beautiful girl. Over the truck, they said "you" and "me". Then they did not differentiate any of us, my lovely child."[522]

For most townspeople, my interest in the events was discomforting. Indeed, any interest in the Gypsies made the townspeople uneasy, including most members of my family. This illustrates how studies on Gypsies are perceived in Turkey. Dealing with the inequality that is faced through Gypsyness or other marginal positions is not usually considered a worthy topic. Moreover, our case reveals not only the construction of Gypsyness in the town, but also how it functioned in relation to power relations in the town, the socio-economic and political context of the time and the mobilization of nationalist feelings for personal interests. The targeted people in the attacks happened to be labelled as Gypsies when their power increased in the town's economy. Some Gypsies were not attacked although they would have fitted in the stereotypical images more than the ones who were accused. Here, they mainly attacked immigrant Gypsies-muhacirs and as many people used the idiom "the wet wood goes into fire with the dry wood".[523]

Ahmet, a lawyer whose father-in-law had protected their Gypsy servants during the attacks, revealed his own perspective on the events: "When they [the Gypsies] started

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[521] See Narrative 116 in Appendix D.

[522] See Narrative 117 in Appendix D.

[523] See Narrative 118 in Appendix D.

asking for a share in the economy, there caused unrest. It was also that they could not integrate, I mean, they are a minority."[524] The economic interests, new opportunities and rising competition highlight the underlying dynamics and motivations of the leading perpetrators. The narratives on these interests do not find their place in the collective remembering of the events. Instead, the previous narratives as "Gypsy incidents" gained widespread circulation by the Non-Gypsy townspeople and few local Gypsies. Solmaz's description of the economic background and shifts into ethnic framing are illustrative:

> This bread fight started among the drivers. The chiefs were drivers, I mean. An event would need chiefs to be realized.[525] […] "Driving! They [Gypsies] started beating the drivers. It went on from there. In essence, it was drivers' war [with stress]. The drivers' war turned into Gypsy war [war against the Gypsies]. At that time, the drivers were united. Who could look at the Bayramic drivers disdainfully! If one beats one of the drivers, they would get together and would go to beat the guy. The Gypsies wanted to take over the business. This time, the people of Bayramic stood behind the drivers. Since they were the majority, the majority won out.[526]

He told the story as if the Gypsy drivers had sought to dominate the driving and transportation sector and the fights had started for that reason. But the fights had not been limited to the drivers. The struggle turned into "white" versus "black," Turk versus Gypsy. The usage of minority and majority is interesting in his narrative. This gives us clues about the perception of being a majority, the significance of the economic interests, power and resource allocation in so called 'ethnic cases'.

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[524] See Narrative 119 in Appendix D.

[525] He posited the story into a nationalist atmosphere by paralleling it to the founder of the republic and his fight as if the fight against the Gypsies was similar to the fight of the national founder against his enemies: "Look, if Kemal Pasa did not exist, would Turkey have been rescued? Mustafa Kemal Pasa rescued Turkey but he had many arm mates [*silah arkadasi*] and it became thousand of people. They [the leading perpetrators against the Gypsies] were like this. There was an event in the middle and the event had a core. They [drivers] were the cores. We did not do anything. I would even tell you one thing. We had a grocery. A Gypsy from Bayramic had run away to Canakkale. He would come to Bayramic to sell fish. From here, someone, a butcher, hit his scales. His scales fell down and the Gypsy started crying. My father had seen it and gave him his substitute scales. 'Come, hit on this too and let me see you' he said [to the man who had hit the Gypsy's scale]. Then, nobody could hit because someone from our Bayramic backed him. The events happen like this." [See Narrative 120 in Appendix D.] This narrative reveals his confusion as well. While he was representing Gypsies as if they were enemies following dominant discourse, he started telling his father's position in helping a Gypsy as if the perpetrators were unfair. All over his narrative, he can easily shift from one side to the other.

[526] See Narrative 121 in Appendix D.

When he referred to the Turks, he used the term "whites." "The whites would not work as porters, it was done by the Gypsies. The Gypsies would not let them in and the whites viewed portering as a derogatory position". However, at the time of the attacks, there was also a demand for porters as it was considered the easiest profession. The newcomers from the villages wanted to be porters as this did not require any qualifications except physical power. However, in the eyes of the poor villagers Gypsies monopolized the labour market and refused to let them have a share. Solmaz used a similar explanation:

> Poor people coming from the villages hoped to become porters, as it was the easiest profession at that time. They [Gypsies] did not take them among themselves, they did not let them do portering; they beat.[527]

The ex-driver and one of the attackers Huseyin Kiltas revealed the individual interests in the attacks and how the story of the boys making passes at the girls was used to veil these motives:

> What stayed in my mind most is the immediate cause. The cover was that the secondary school students were passing through that neighborhood… And these [Gypsies] were a little bit spoiled. It started out as 'making a pass at the students' incidents, but interests of some people in the driving business also mattered as far as I know. We were passing by and joined the crowd. A man had put wood [to use as sticks] in front of his door; everyone took one, with no exceptions. It was very crowded. The people then started throwing tiles from the top of houses. There were no tiles left on the top of Dilaver's house. They went on the roof, I mean, they were going to weigh it down.[528]

What contributed to this rage? What had changed in the business that the Gypsies had started to be perceived as threats? Why did people start feeling threatened by the Gypsies? How were the power relationships shaped in the driving sector? In order to answer these questions we have to understand what being a driver meant against the background of the changes in the sector at the time of the attacks. The answers will reveal the issues of socioeconomic interest underlying the attacks.

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[527] See Narrative 122 in Appendix D.

[528] See Narrative 123 in Appendix D.

Being a Driver and the Gypsy Drivers in the Town

The intensification of the relations with the big cities was an important factor that led to the attacks. The growing transportation sector changed relations between people, who were experiencing new economic relations as well as social transformations. In this environment, the transportation sector appeared as a competitive and profitable one as analyzed in Chapter Three. How did Gypsies carve out their position and what was their role in this transformation?

When the muhacir Gypsies arrived in the town in the early 1920s, they were not given any land. Unlike the local Gypsies, on the other hand, they did not have professions that were considered as traditional Gypsy-like, such as musicians and blacksmiths. Most of them had been shoe-polishers, porters, and petty workers. These jobs were even associated as Gypsy professions after a while as the other townspeople mostly worked in the agricultural sector. Some Gypsies also became petty merchants (*zaireci*) who bought goods from the villagers and sold them in the town or the city. Others had started as truck drivers starting in the late 1950s.

Before the large-scale highways were built only a few drivers were active. The relation between urban and rural areas did not require regular mobility before the rapid urbanization period. This urbanization increased the number of highways and vehicles, as well as drivers to carry goods and people. In the town, the late 1950s and the early 1960s are still remembered as a period with few cars as already demonstrated in the third chapter. Cars first were owned by a very few state officials, like town's governor (*kaymakam*), doctors and wealthy people in trade.

The mobility of the people was low. They were used to bring limited numbers of goods and only few people from the villages to the town mostly in urgent situations such

as birth, accidents or illness. Jeeps were popular for carrying people and some goods between villages, town and the city center.[529] There were only five jeeps in the town in the late 1950s. People generally used donkeys and horses for transportation.

Among the goods exported from the town, timber was the main product. In those years, the people would take wood from the forest by using trucks as well, but there were only four to five trucks and they were very old. Kadir, who was the leader of the attacks, had started his business in the late 1950s after he sold his jeep and bought an open truck in 1959-1960 in a partnership. At that time, there were eight trucks in the town. In the 1960s, the roads in the mountain were very narrow and dangerous to drive. At the time, it was considered a job for crazy people. The job also required long and hard days on the road away from home when they would go outside of the town to transport the timber.

The reason why Gypsies became involved in driving and how they came to occupy an important place in the market was linked to these difficulties. The wood in the nearby mountain of Kaz was important to the town's economy, as it relied mainly on agriculture. In the Ottoman times, a group of people called '*Tahtacilar*'[530] (Woodsmen) had been brought from the Toros Mountains to collect the wood in the mountain. They had cut the wood and made it ready for transportation. In the old times, the river was used for transportation. They used bulls to drag the trees to the river, placing the trees into the river and let them go all the way down to the town. Including my great-grandfather, some people were into the business with their bulls. Even after trucking, the bulls were still used to take the wood from places where a truck could not go.

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[529] Kadir remembered using his first jeep to carry doctors and judges for their jobs. Also, see Kadir's life story in Appendix B.

[530] Also see Peter Alford Andrews, *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989), pp. 68-71.

The muhacir Gypsies entered the business when trucking started in the late 1950s. When I asked people about how the Gypsies became powerful in a prestigious profession, the answer was not surprising. They were just doing the dirty job at that time; as it was very tiring and dangerous due to lack of proper roads to the mountain. They explained that one was supposed to be a little mad to be a driver as the risks were considerable.

An old non-Gypsy driver of the 1960s, Tayfun, acknowledged the hardship of the job and how it has changed over time:

> That time, driving was said to be a Gypsy art. Where you are in the evening, there you would wake up in the morning. Now, driving is not like that. We had a place on the way to Izmir, Kabakum, We were seeking to find a *hasir* [very rough matras] to sleep on and not come back home, the work was like that. Those times were hard. Now, is there any tough work? The vehicles are better. The roads are better. Now, the guy loads his truck, he sleeps, gets up in the morning and goes to Izmir in five to six hours.[531]

Along with the changes in the country, the situation also changed in the town. In the 1960s rapid urbanization began. People also started to experience changes in their economic and social lives. Some would go to the city to work, others would learn about new products that came from the city in the town's market. Thus, people became more mobile between the rural and urban areas. By the end of 1960s, the villagers already had started to come to the town to work there.

In 1964, a drivers' association was founded in the town. The first drivers mostly had been born between 1929 and 1931. In 1964, there were thirty-nine registered drivers (seven of them were truck owners). The number of drivers increased every year.[532] Ramazan, who came into the town in 1967 from his village and started driving, as an

[531] See Narrative 124 in Appendix D.

[532] The data are taken from the registration book of the Drivers' Association in Bayramic. In 1965, eleven new members came. In 1966, thirteen; in 1967, seventeen; in 1968, twenty; in 1969, eighteen; in 1970 seventeen; in 1971 fourteen; in 1972 twenty-eight; in 1973, twenty-nine; in 1974, thirty-two new members joined to the association. In 2010, the number of active members was 271 (263 indicated by Bayramic office) and passive (the number of drivers since the foundation but some are not active anymore) were 766.

assistant witnessed the heydays of the sector. He explained that getting a license was not easy; he had learned driving in the army as well as some others, but got his own in three years from Canakkale. He affirmed that driving was a profession with a high status at the time; even better than being a state official.

Drivers are recalled as respected and feared men in the local society. Mainstream countrywide newspapers from the time of 1969-1970 also represented drivers as brave and respectful people.[533] It is also indicated that it was not easy to find a good driver; experienced drivers therefore had a very strong bargaining position, including a high social status. They were said to be more prestigious even than their bosses. They were treated as kings in the coffeehouses. When they came in, people would stand up and greet them. They made good money. This reflected on their consumption trends. They would smoke first class cigarettes while even their employers smoked a lesser quality. The high status of drivers was a big attraction to newcomers. At the same time, in Turkey the service sector was improving and the previous elite was losing its power. Land no longer held the same power and prestige anymore. Thus the increasing power of the drivers was also one of the signifiers of this transformation in power and status allocation.

To become a driver, one first had to become an assistant and then learn the profession. Such assistants would serve their drivers all the time. The drivers would eat while the assistants waited for them outside by the truck. In case of a technical problem in the vehicle, the assistants would take care of it while the driver rested. The president of Drivers' Association Nitki, who was an assistant at the time of the attacks, described the relations between drivers and assistants, and the power of drivers: "We could not come close to them and drink tea together. The boss would buy them a separate bag, if their cheese was in a bag, ours would be in paper. Back then drivers were kings, because

[533] I.e. the advertisement serials in *Cumhuriyet* in 1969-1970.

drivers and cars were scarce. With a driving license, you had a better status than the boss."[534]

However, the reputation of the drivers was not always positive and some people in the town referred to them as ruffians whose morals were dubious. Some recalled them as spending most of their time in the *meyhanes* and disrespecting the social values in the town. The old secretary of the Drivers' Association, Erman summarized the life styles of the drivers as going on the road, and drinking in the meyhanes. The main figure of the attacks, Kadir, for instance was referred to as the strongest among them. However, he was recalled as someone who used his power to steal his servant's young wife and kill her later. Many people vilified him for his brutality and immorality.

The muhacir Gypsies were very good and desirable drivers which increasingly made many people jealous. In the 1960s, the large family of Dilaver Kocayar among the muhacirs Gypsies had become a relatively wealthy and respected one through the almond and dry goods trade. The family had five sons, three daughters and they were related in one way or another to the rest of the muhacir community The estimated number of muhacir people in the town was almost five hundred at the time. Three sons of the family were engaged in the driving business. From the community, there were also good drivers like Bidon Hilmi, who was among the first drivers to acquire a license in 1958.

So by 1970, being a driver was a very attractive position, especially for people who came from the villages and wished to establish a new life for themselves with better living conditions. In addition to this, new opportunities were increasing in the sector and the available drivers and truck owners in the town, who dominated the sector, made good money. It was at this time that the muhacir Gypsies started to be perceived as more unpleasant and disturbing. Then, the rumor that the Gypsies were harassing Turkish

[534] See Narrative 125 in Appendix D.

schoolgirls started in the late 1960s. The Gypsy neighborhood had been located on the way to the secondary school since 1944. This was the first time that Gypsies had been accused of these immoral acts. Ironically, it was also the same time that the leading muhacir Gypsy family had a disagreement over their partnership in a truck with the most powerful figure among the ruffians at that time, Kadir.

By that time, the other muhacir Gypsies' occupations also were becoming increasingly attractive. The porters helped the tradesmen and the villagers carried their stuff in the bazaar on Wednesdays. Some would work with the helvaci families in making and selling of the desert that was produced by them. The women worked as servants, cleaners and babysitters in the rich townspeople's and state officials' houses. While these jobs had been shunned by the townspeople before, in the 1960s the situation changed. Once, portering for instance had been perceived as a Gypsy job and no Turk would do it. In the 1960s, however, the nature of doing business changed as the relations with the city intensified.[535] The jobs that had been considered Gypsy-like also started to be perceived as relatively profitable and desirable , especially for the villagers who did not have strong ties with the land (who were not satisfied with their situation and who wanted to move to the towns) in the village anymore and lacked the relevant capital and skills.

While the socioeconomic relations were transforming the town and some townspeople and villagers had trouble in obtaining jobs, the resentment of the Gypsies' power grew,[536] and built on the historical construction of Gypsyness and nationalism in the town. Among the mob, some were only followers, some were upset by the immorality of the Gypsies, some joined out of nationalistic and anti-Gypsy feelings and

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[535] Also see Roni Marguiles and Ergin Yildizoglu, "Agrarian Change: 1923-1970," in *Turkey In Transition: New Perspectives,* edited by Irvin C. Schick and Ertugrul Ahmet Tonak (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 269-292.

[536] For the effect of changes in the balance of power in exclusionary riots, see Bergmann, pp. 166-167.

some out of boredom just to watch an extraordinary activity and participate in it. However the leading perpetrators initiated the attacks for specific reasons. The conflict over a truck between the leading perpetrator Kadir and main family Kocayar triggered the attacks. Thus, the truck manifested a symbolic meaning.

The Significance of the Truck

The Leyland truck that was bought by Kocayar family in a partnership with Kadir was a symbolically important object for the Gypsies as well as for non-Gypsies in the town. It symbolized the increasing power of a Gypsy family and community in general. At that time, people were fascinated by vehicles, since there were not many in town. The townspeople are still able to count who owned the limited number of trucks and jeeps. Thus, when a Gypsy family had bought a truck even in a partnership, which was also considered as the best option, it had attracted so much attention that the people still talk about it.

The muhacir Cevza described how the truck attracted people's jealousy in the town as the symbol of wealth: "My uncles had bought a Leyland truck, but people in Bayramic just could not accept it. And that truck was so beautiful; it was red and white. My brother Fikret decorated it. I mean, it attracted attention; they were jealous of it. My uncle was little bit rich. He was rich as he was a tradesman."[537]

All of the Gypsies mentioned the truck as the object that triggered the attacks. Some locals tried not to name it at first. They would instead repeat the non-Gypsies' dominant way of telling the story in the town that emphasized the misbehavior of the muhacir Gypsies in harassing non-Gypsy girls. However, if they realize that I already

[537] See Narrative 126 in Appendix D.

knew the issue and the names, they would talk more freely and would refer to the truck being the most prominent cause of the attacks. Otherwise, even including the truck in their stories was like taking sides and rejecting the dominant local discourse on the events based on the Gypsies' misbehavior. For the Non-Gypsies, it did not turn up in the conversation very often. It demonstrated individual interests, competition over share and power primarily in the transportation business. One of the perpetrators, Huseyin Kiltas, disclosed the significance of the truck: "What it came down to was the Leyland. They were partners in the Leyland. Dilaver had a son. What was his name…? Cornuk Fikret, from the old drivers. And I think he was a partner with Kadir. To take the truck from his hands… I think Kadir was the only *assolist* [head vocalist-leader]."[538]

Rana, the oldest daughter of the leading family Kocayar rejected the dominant narrative on the reasons that triggered the attacks as caused by the misbehavior of the Gypsies. Instead, she indicated that it was just used to cover the real reason that the townspeople had became jealous of them as they had become wealthier and bought a truck:

> As if they were looking at the schoolgirls. Hahay, it is a lie. When did they look at schoolchildren! It is a lie! They got jealous of us. […]. My father was very rich. Then he bought a Leyland. Kadir said, 'Brother Dilaver, let's be partners'. [My brother] Fikret was his old friend. They gave money [and became partner]. It was an open truck. My brother Husam was an assistant driver. My other brother was driver, too. They incited him [Kadir] by saying that they [her brothers] would cheat.

All Gypsies in the town repeated the narrative about the truck although some might emphasize other aspects. Bidon Hilmi from the muhacir Gypsies who was related to the Kocayar family through marriage and worked as a porter and a driver described in detail the underlying factors and discontent that triggered the attacks. He was beaten badly during the attacks; however he did not specifically mention his own beating:

[538] See Narrative 127 in Appendix D.

> They stoned us, you know. The reason was that Dilaver Kocayar was a partner of the truck, the Leyland, the open truck that brought deliveries from Istanbul for the tradesmen. The driver was our Fikret, Dilaver's son. Kadir was his partner. Dilaver and Kadir were partners. That is why they got jealous; displeased about this. Write it like this. To get this truck from their hands, they made up rumors about either making passes at secondary school girls or looking at women from the roof of the hamam, then they made the people use these as excuses. They gave alcohol to villagers in the meyhanes including the rich people of Bayramic. The Cook Riza called the minister Rafet Sezgin. They asked what to do about the Gypsies harassing their girls. And Rafet Sezgin said, "stone them, but they should not bleed". From the villages, maybe 600-700 people came. They attacked all of the muhacir's houses in Bayramic. Breaking the doors, windows, stoning the houses, beating the people, they did everything. Then in front of the municipality, at the same night, the attorney rebuked the people who had assembled there, which was considered as an insult. They did not pay attention to the attorney either, they did not listen him. They beat the attorney in front of the municipality. He escaped with great difficulty. The security sources could not do anything against them either. They got frightened, they could not hold, not even touch them. It has been forty years. They did not let us take buses to go. We could not go anywhere out of fear. They beat us on the way. We hid in the neighbors' houses. Eight to ten people looked in the Turks' houses and said, "if you are hiding the Gypsies, give them up."

The truck and the discontent over the rising opportunities in the transportation sector had made the Kocayar family into the main target of the leading perpetrators. Then, the attacks extended first to the other muhacirs and eventually to the local Gypsies. It accelerated to the point that the Gypsies did not see a way out except to leave town. A powerful Roman family called Yuksel in Biga, a town nearby, sent buses to take the Gypsies away. A few non-Gypsies from the town also helped them to get out of the town. Various struggles were waiting for the Gypsies in exile though. Most went to places where they had relatives or at least acquaintances to help them. Most went to Ezine, the nearest province, and Canakkale, the nearest city. However, some also went to other places such as Bandirma, Ayvacik, Izmir, Istanbul and Ankara. For most, it was not easy at all. They had to start a new life from scratch.

> "It was like how the grain grew, we did not question it, some conflicts happened and the Gypsies just left."[539]

> "Obviously, as a ten-year-old-boy, I couldn't have done anything, besides, my mother would not let me. But I know today that I was one of many people—my age is of no importance—who did not react at all. The remainder of the trip passed as if nothing happened… The entire society behaved this way. For decades this matter was covered under a veil of silence."[540]

The Gypsy category with all the negative images and prejudices it conveys may blind us to the process and the dynamics that transformed "our Gypsies" into "evil Gypsies." It is also crucial to understand how the people who were considered to be Turkish and included in society more or less became reduced to being only Gypsies. This process of stigmatization, and creating a 'master status' excluded Gypsies from Turkishness. It makes clear how and why the categories become functional and what role they played in the attacks. In this study, I applied a multilayered analysis, which focused on the historical constructions of the stigma, on more structural forces and on the role of agency.

In my reading of the forced dislocation, my approach diverged from studies that focus on ethnic violence per se. This is related to the critical position I take on the usage of categories. I appreciate many ethnic violence studies, but find the essentialist focus on the category of ethnicity problematic in most works. It reifies ethnicity as a pivotal element that determines people and their relations while I am more interested in why the category of ethnicity could become so salient. I therefore fully endorse the analysis of

[539] See Narrative 130 in Appendix D.

[540] Striking is the narrative of a ten year-old boy who witnessed massacre of Jews in the Kielce train station on July 4, 1946, Gross citing from Lozinski's interview at the documentary Witnesses: Jan T. Gross, *Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland After Auschwitz, An Essay in Historical Interpretation* (New York: Random House, 2006), pp. 116-7.

Brubaker and Laitin's on the ethnic violence literature: "Today, the ethnic frame is immediately and widely available and legitimate; it imposes itself on, or at least suggests itself to, actors and analysts alike. This generates a coding bias in the ethnic direction. […] Today, we—again, actors and analysts alike—are no longer blind to ethnicity, but we may be blinded by it."[541]

Laitin and Brubaker point at the ethnicization of violence as a coding bias that arose especially after the cold war. With this bias, they emphasize, certain events are interpreted as ethnic while ignoring all other dynamics. Thus, ethnicity appears as a new phenomenon in studies of political violence and nationalism, and replaces the ideological framework that was so central in the period of cold war between capitalism and communism.

The premise of persistency in categories as if they are intrinsic to the people and their relations replicates itself within the ethnic violence literature. However, along with Brubaker and Laitin, there are several scholars[542] who criticize the coding bias in ethnic studies and stress that ethnicity and ethnic conflicts are myths that prevent further perceptions of underlying dynamics, with the dominant effect of automatically ethnicized interpretations. Instead they point at the significant role of economic dynamics. Some conflicts have a direct economic cause and only gather ethnic significance later on. Some are perceived as ethnic although they depend much more on class relations. Steinberg,

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[541] Rogers Brubaker and David D. Laitin, "Ethnic and Nationalist Violence," *Annual Review Sociology* 24 (August 1998), pp. 423-452, p. 428.

[542] Berch Berberoglu, *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict: Class, State, and Nation in the Age of Globalization* (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004). For a similar critique to the overall idea of ethnic conflict, see John R. Bowen, "The Myth of Global Ethnic Conflict," *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 4 (1996), pp. 3-14. Bowen acknowledges that ethnic or cultural identities were involved in the construction and/or realization of some of these conflicts but argues that they were more about power, land, or other resources (p. 3). Also see Beverly Crawford, "The Causes of Cultural Conflict: An Institutional Approach," in *The Myth of 'Ethnic Conflict': Politics, Economics, and 'Cultural' Violence,* edited by Beverly Crawford and Ronnie D. Lipscutz (Berkeley: University of California, 1998), pp. 3-43; and Steven Steinberg, *The Ethnic Myth: Race, Ethnicity and Class in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989). For the construction of ethnicity along with economic and political competition, also see Susan Olzak and Joane Nagel, eds. *Competitive Ethnic Relations* (Orlando: Academic Press, 1986). For the adaptation of the approach to ethnic conflicts, see Susan Olzak, *The Dynamics of Ethnic Competition and Conflicts* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).

for instance, shows how ethnic conflicts conceal class based ones. "Indeed, whenever ethnic divisions occur along class lines, there is the likelihood, or at least the potential that ordinary class conflict will manifest itself as ethnic conflict, in reality as well as appearances."[543]

Brubaker's further critiques the ethnic violence literature and evokes such inversions in ethnically defined conflicts:

> How conflict and violence are seen, interpreted, and represented depends significantly on prevailing interpretive frames. Today, ethnic and national frames are readily accessible, powerfully resonant, and widely understood as legitimate. This encourages actors and analysts alike to interpret conflict and violence in ethnic rather than other terms. Analysts are thereby prone to overestimate the incidence of ethnic conflict and violence by "coding" as ethnic instances of conflict or violence that might have been coded in other terms […] Actors, in turn, can take advantage of this coding bias, and of the generalized legitimacy of ethnic framing to mask the pursuit of clan, clique, or class interests. The point here is not to suggest that clans, cliques, or classes are somehow more real then ethnic groups, but simply to note the existence of structural and cultural incentives for strategic framing.[544]

Underlining class relations, thus, does not mean that ethnic relations are insignificant. In reality, it is not actually that easy in many instances to distinguish the ethnic/racial hierarchy from other power relations, because the lack of recognition of an identity is often caused by the unequal distribution of resources.[545] Instead a multidimensional analysis that distinguishes different power mechanisms and hierarchies allows a better understanding of their convergences. In the case of Gypsyness, overt ethnic discrimination is inextricably linked to lower class positions. The forced dislocation showed how some townspeople activated the exclusive category of

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[543] Steinberg, *The Ethnic Myth*, p. 170.

[544] Brubaker, *Ethnicity*, p. 17.

[545] For a discussion on historical interplay between ethnic status hierarchy, and political and economic empowerment of blacks in United States, see George M. Fredrickson, *The Comparative Imagination On the History of Racism, Nationalism and Social Movements* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 90-93. For the specific debate on misrecognition and misdistribution, see Butler, "Merely Cultural?"

Gypsyness against their neighbors as socioeconomic relations were shifting. For them, the improved class position of Gypsies violated the ethnic/racial hierarchy. It was not that they finally found out that they were Gypsies and that Gypsies were evil, but their increased power mobilized the anti-Gypsy stereotype with aim to restore the ethnic hierarchy and put them in their place. Before the attacks, their Gypsyness had not been used as a problematic category nor was it seen as mutually exclusive with Turkishness. However, when new opportunities in the sector in which Gypsies were dominant emerged along with job seekers from the surrounding villages, it appeared as a functional category to legitimize violence that excluded Gypsies from the economy.

It is important to note that townspeople could not so easily define what made someone a Turk and another a Gypsy. Gypsyness was not considered as the complete antithesis of Turkishness either. This ambiguity nevertheless quickly disappeared during the attacks.[546] The people who had once been confused about the boundaries between them and the Gypsies in the town, all of a sudden attacked their neighbors in the name of Turkishness versus Gypsyness. This poses the question what particular dynamics at that moment made them accept the imposed rigid dichotomy. The unambiguous articulation of the Gypsy threat dominated the stories about the attacks. What made the Gypsy threat so tempting was its power to conceal the personal interests and power struggles at the time. Putting the blame on the Gypsy, the terrorization of the protectors and other interpretations legitimized not only the actions of perpetrators at the time, but also made townspeople remember the incidents within this framework. This representation is also crucial for the ongoing perceptions and fear.

Some well-grounded works on anti-Semitism are helpful for us to understand mechanisms pertaining the demonizing and attacking socially constructed "others." Although our case diverges from anti-Semitic violence with respect to the historical

[546] See Hughes "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status" for the concept of "master status".

context, international scope and extent of brutality, there are striking similarities when it comes to the quality, the logic and exclusive constructions, ways of legitimization, and the role of authorities. In analyzing the events, the work on anti-Semitism has proven very useful as help to understand how groups can be constructed as a threat and under what conditions people resort to collective violence against a stigmatized group. In this scope, I found the multilayered approaches of Van Arkel[547] and Bergmann[548] very well articulated for the analysis of my own case.

Van Arkel approaches anti-Semitism within its historical dimension. He takes the historical construction of anti-Semitism from early Christianity and contextualizes how anti-Jewish attitudes played out in practice. He explains how the genocide became possible and stresses that 20th century anti-Semitism was a historical construction with deep historical roots. Another important question is why in certain periods and certain areas Jews were scapegoated and not another group. Arkel's study of anti-Semitism guides us to answer such questions by highlighting the historical construction and the functionality of categories.

Similar to our case, Van Arkel points at the longstanding good relation between Christians and Jews. He lays out the three necessary conditions for anti-Semitism that led to violent attacks: stigmatization, social distance and terrorization. If we check these conditions in our case, we see striking resemblances. The historically constructed Gypsy stigma in itself was not sufficient but had to be mobilized during the violent attacks. Institutional legitimization of the stigma (in Van Arkel's case by church and state) was also present as the Gypsies were religiously condemned and the object of discriminative state policies.

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[547] Van Arkel, "The Growth" and Van Arkel, *The Drawing*.

[548] Bergmann, "Exclusionary Riots."

When a Gypsy and a Turk were engaged in an everyday communication, they were caught in predetermined identifications and hierarchies. Even though there could be friendly relations, there often was no 'open interaction'. At the end of the day many non-Gypsies felt that Gypsies had to "know their place." Intermarriages were an exception and many people kept their social distance although they were part of society. They did the low class and undesired jobs, married within their community and thus did "not violate the peace" in the society. The relations most of the time were limited to public spaces, with few private and more intimate interactions. The Gypsies' close relationships usually were limited to their family and intermarriages even between Gypsy communities were low. This led to what Van Arkel called "labeled interaction" between Gypsies and non-Gypsies due to structural social distance, meaning: "whatever the social intercourse, it takes place within the pattern of predetermined social roles."[549]

However, I argue that there was still a space to negotiate in face-to-face relations, until it was destroyed during the attacks. This negotiation space had allowed people to construct close relations, work together and even share their private spaces, albeit on a limited basis. Although there have always been hierarchies between the categories of Gypsyness and Turkishness, a Gyspy person was not totally excluded from Turkishness as the categories had not been mutually exclusive. As discussed in the second chapter, the construction of Turkishness also allowed a negotiation space with its multilayered characteristics. Along with the ambiguous place of Gypsyness[550] laid out in chapter four, the Gypsies of the town had developed their own strategies in their relations with others; the local Gypsies emphasized their commonalities with other townspeople, whereas the muhacirs expressed a form of modern citizenship in line with the Turkish state.

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[549] Van Arkel, *The Drawing*, p. 159.

[550] Also discussed in Chapter Three, we saw ambiguity regarding Gypsies even in the Ottoman records.

As Van Arkel also suggests, when social control is moderate there are more possibilities for transcending the labeled interaction and "blur" the boundaries.[551] In our town, it was enabled due to proximity in geographical space and socio-economic occupations. The local Gypsies knew their place by limiting themselves to traditional Gypsy professions, but most of them lived very close to non-Gypsy neighbors, served them and developed friendly relations, although mostly within the borders of labeled interactions that depended on the premise of the superiority of Turkishness and the Turkish way of doing things. The muhacirs, on the other hand, undertook professions that had a low status, but that were not necessarily regarded as Gypsy-like, but that offered attractive perspectives for the future. In time, they had also developed close interactions especially in their occupational networks that included people who were somewhat outside the town's mainstream (like Driver ruffians who were not recognized as decent and well-behaved townspeople). Along with the emerging transportation sector, and the increasing possibilities to earn good money and prestige, the muhacirs had started transcending the labeled interaction by working closely together with non-Gypsy colleagues and thus offsetting the delicate balance in hierarchies between Gypsies and non-Gypsies. This imbalance and the blurring of boundaries that went with caused uncertainties in the town as people started crossing lines that for a long time had been firmly drawn. From the perspective of the perpetrators they were losing relative power. This shift is very similar to the conflicts that arise out of changing power balances due to increased assimilation as studied by Fearon and Laitin, and Olzak.[552] Bergmann's approach to exclusionary riots helps to analyze our story from this point.

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[551] Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*.

[552] James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity," *International Organization* 54, no. 4 (Autumn 2000), pp. 845-877 (especially see pp. 872-3); Olzak, especially pp. 20-1.

The term "exclusionary riots", used[553] within Bergmann's three theoretical approaches, is extremely applicable to our case. The first approach is the intergroup hostility in which changing power relations are enough to motivate the perpetrators. The second approach is the frame analysis which shows how a social problem or threat regarding the targeted community can be constructed as a threat and thereby legitimize the violence by blaming, demonizing and/or criminalizing the stigmatized group. The last approach regards the theory of social control, and explains how people can attribute positive function to the violent attacks and how they are represented as necessary actions to keep the social peace envisioned by dominant groups.[554] All these approaches are applicable to our case to some extent. However, I diverge from Bergmann's account when it comes to the way the category of the Gypsyness was constructed in our local context. Bergmann defines groups more strictly, as entities with fixed membership. In our case, however, the construction of the group was fluctuating until the conflict between Kocayar family and Kadir escalated, due to the personal competition. Until that time, however, they more or less could still members of the same group.[555] Hogg and Abrams stress that self-conceptualization follows group identification. If a disagreement between two groups occurs, for instance, and if the groups are defined by sex, the

[553] For the emphasis on the fruitless of the differentiation between riot and pogrom, see Paul R. Brass, "Introduction: Discourses of Ethnicity, Communalism, and Violence." In *Riots and Pogroms*, edited by Paul R. Brass (London: Macmillan Press, 1996), pp. 1-55, pp. 32-34. Brass points at the wide usage of the terms riots and pogroms that assume differences in organization and planning. He himself stresses the mutual presence of "outbreak of active lawlessness" that is connected to the definition of riot and "official planning or collusion" that is attached to pogrom in the realization of many violent acts. Bergmann et al. give clues how to differentiate exclusionary riots from other collective violent instances: " The exclusionary riot may be distinguished from other forms of violence along a range of criteria. The assumption that the minority group constitutes a collective threat makes the exclusionary riot different from a lynching, which, while operating from general prejudice, is directed at a single member of a minority. The extreme asymmetry of power in favor of the rioters distinguishes exclusionary riots from other forms of rioting, such as food or race riots. The low level organization makes them different from vigilantism and terrorism, and the comparative absence of state participation sometimes, but not always, distinguishes exclusionary violence from large-scale massacres and genocide." (Bergmann et al., pp. 12-13)

[554] Bergmann, p. 163.

[555] Hogg and Abrams, p. 26.

category of sex will become salient, while if it had been ethnicity that would be salient. Thus, the economic disagreement between Kocayar and Kadir activated their preceding differences over the category of Gypsyness along with a call for social order. That found a relevant atmosphere due to the increasing competitions for jobs as due to the political context that provoked ethnic Turkishness.

The historical context is highly relevant to understand current or more recent forms of exclusionary violence. Although the prejudices often are present in particular societies, for it to develop into acts of violence, certain contextual conditions should be fulfilled. For the tension to turn out to be an exclusionary violence act "[…] opposing interests and individual conflicts have to be "collectivized" into an ethnic antagonism. This occurs when the dominant ethnic or national group perceives a collective threat to its group position from an out-group."[556]

In a slight contrast to this model, in our case the group formation was reinforced in the process of threat building, whereas preceding the escalation boundaries between groups were much more fluent and blurred. Moreover, the more rigid and fixed group definition was not shared by all townspeople, because they considered the Gypsies a part of town society and therefore protected them. The target was not a homogenous entity either in itself or in the eyes of the non-Gypsies. As in the town, people were aware and did distinguish between various sorts of Gypsy groups, the local Gypsies were initially left in peace and only attacked during the second wave. The reason was that they were not seen part of Muhacirs and were culturally and religiously more integrated. Although during the second wave of attacks townspeople tended to lump together local and muhacir Gypsies into one homogenous category, most local Gypsies were still not treated in the same way as the muhacirs and some were even left in peace. To understand

[556] Bergmann, p. 165-6.

why muhacirs were primarily targeted, their closeness to the wealthy families was relevant, as I will explain below.

For the dynamics of a conflict, "changes in the balance of power" are crucial. This is the case when people who perceive themselves as the majority feel that they are losing their attained status, prestige and/or economic power to people they regard as a minority.[557] A common reaction is that they then act against a "[…] perceived threat through illegitimate competition, disregard of cultural norms, or feared crime […] to "punish" the minority or to restore the old order."[558] This echoes most of the non-Gypsy narratives on the Gypsy threat and their explicit attempt to put Gypsies in their place by the violent attacks. In this case, constructing the Gypsy threat was crucial to motivate people against the Gypsies. As a result the personal and group interests of the townspeople in the transportation sector (drivers, assistants and vehicle owners) and the demands of the newcomers from the villages in the professions for easy access, given their limited networks, capital and available skills, converged.

As we have seen, before the attacks, the socioeconomic power of the Gypsies had increased due to the socioeconomic transformations, symbolized by the Leyland truck that muhacir family Kocayar bought in partnership with Kadir, a well-known ruffian in the town. Other muhacir Gypsy positions, in the service sector and trade, had also improved. This was itself probably perceived as a threat by townspeople who saw their relative position as ethnic Turks decline in comparison to the Gypsies. Moreover, Kadir was an ambitious man who tried to take advantage of new opportunities in the sector. This relative decrease and new opportunities in the sector along with the needs of unemployed newcomers from the villages reproduced the prejudice around Gypsyness. The rumor about the Gypsies' behaving improper towards Turkish girls, on the other

[557] See Bergmann, p. 166-7.

[558] Bergmann emphasizes this collective violence as a means of social control by following Donald Black, p. 167.

hand, whether it really happened or not, reinforced the threat by portraying Gypsies' not only as gaining socioeconomic prestige and status but also as a threat to Turkish women and competitors of Turkish men.

The narratives around the Gypsy threat also manifest an obsession about women as belonging to the Turkish family and the Turkish nation.[559] In cases of conflicts and war, the female body is often treated as an arena for masculine honor and prestige along with nationalistic territorial claims. Thus, women of certain communities or nations and their bodies easily become the symbol of the nation in which alleged or real violations are treated as if the nation itself is attacked and under siege.[560] The Gypsies' making passes at the Turkish girls was seen as a violation of the national border and the territory of Turkish men. Thus, the men of Turkish society referred to this alleged improper and in their eyes insulting behavior as a threat to their honor, whereas female agency was entirely lacking in this scenario. The actual attackers were men and the supposedly abused women remained anonymous; nobody knew anything about them not even whether they really existed or not.

The attacks, however, were also the outcome of a psychological process in which townspeople and recent immigrants from the surrounding villages became increasingly insecure because of the loss of power. This applied especially to the villagers, who due to changing reactions of agricultural mechanization and rapid urbanization were struggling for new opportunities in nearby towns and cities. Their narratives of victimization were not fabricated, as they probably really did feel victimized and threatened. Bergmann draws attention to perpetrators' psychology in such violent attacks: "A participant in

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[559] I.e. Drezgic; Heng and Devan; Nagel; Parla and Yuval-Davis.

[560] Patricia Albanese, "Nationalism, War, and Archaization of Gender Relations in the Balkans," *Violence Against Women* 7, no. 9 (September 2001), pp. 999-1023; Wendy Bracewell, "Rape in Kosovo: masculinity and Serbian nationalism," *Nations and Nationalism* 6, no. 4 (October 2000), pp. 563-90; Ruth Harris, "The 'Child of the Barbarian': Rape, Race and Nationalism in France during the First World War," *Past and Present*, no. 141 (Nov 1993), pp. 170-206.

exclusionary violence operates within a friend-foe schema as a victim of an injustice, discrimination, or aggression and reacts, under certain circumstances, with violent forms of social control."[561]

Many studies on riots, pogroms, and violent attacks demonstrate the acts and often leading role of the elites.[562] By taking the lead they would manipulate the crowds for their own interests.[563] In our case, however, the role of the elites is somewhat different and less easy to define. At the time of the attacks, the elites were already losing status and the dislocation of the Gypsies therefore can be seen as a manifestation of the transition in the local power relationships, not only pertaining to the Gypsies, but in general. The core perpetrators were not the real elites of the town in political or economic terms, but they surely hoped to gain by the socioeconomic transition that the country went through. The increasing status of these (male) drivers and businessmen in the transportation sector made it possible to mobilize the petty merchants, people who worked in the service sectors and villagers who experienced harder conditions but who also were attracted by the new opportunities in the economic transition. Whereas the traditional elites were the property owners who protected the Gypsies they employed, the perpetrators saw themselves as the new elite so that the attacks should also be interpreted as the manifestation of a new class of homini novi that was eager to capitalize on their recent social mobility and replace the old order.

The perceived leader of the attacks, Kadir, pointed at his economic and social power before the attacks and how it had increased afterwards. He had many relations with the villagers and was regarded as a powerful person. He also emphasized his close

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[561] Bergmann, p. 166.

[562] Ashgar Ali Engineer, "The Causes of Communal Riots in the Post-Partition Period in India." In *Communal Riots in Post-Independence India,* edited by Ali Ashgar Engineer (Hyderabad: Sangam Books, 1984), pp. 36-39; and Brass.

[563] See Brass, p. 11.

relationship with the security forces and the power of his word in the town in those times. Starting with the 1970s he became the strongest among the transporters and in the town he was the second person with respect to the amount of taxes paid. Thus the attacks on the Gypsies and the rise against the old elites were part of one and the same power struggle. Although the story was portrayed as an ethnic conflict, in reality it was related to a transition in power.

The functionality of the stereotype[564] appears as a very important phenomenon in this story. The eviction of Gypsies widened the opportunities of townspeople and villagers in the transportation and service sector. Thus, while the Gypsies had dominated the drivers' sector, now the leading figures that were already in the transportation business dominated the sector entirely. At the same time, some other professions, such as shoe polishing and portering, which were not very profitable but sufficient to integrate into the town's socio-economic life, became available to the newcomers.

Therefore, the dominant discourse on the attacks as "Gypsy incidents" used by many townspeople concealed such interests, and veiled the connection between violence and power holding. The crowd, on the other hand, also pursued its own motivations in the attacks. It would be misleading to portray them only as pawns that were manipulated by the (rising) elites. Many of them had their own motives and reasons to attack the Gypsies, whether their reasons corresponded to those of their leaders or not. Apart from the general atmosphere of insecurity that they felt during the socio-economic transition in the 1960s, the rumors concerning the immorality of the Gypsies, their perception of the violence as a struggle for power partly determined and colored their motivations. Hogg et al. pointed at similar scapegoating and displacement in violent cases as follows:

> [...]Frustrated majority-group members who cannot easily aggress against (or identify) the frustrating agent displace their aggression onto relatively defenceless minority groups, especially if there is a consensus about the appropriateness of

[564] As Van Arkel argues, a stereotype should be functional to be active.

> antipathy towards that group.[...] in support of their theory, Hovland and Sears showed how increased lynching's of blacks in the United States between 1882 and 1930 were linked, presumably via the mediation of frustration, to a decline in cotton prices experienced by white farmers.[565]

At the time, the politics and economy did not provide a secure environment for the villagers and townspeople and the pull of the cities increased frustrations about blocked social mobility. In this context, the representation of the Gypsies as a threat might have functioned as an easy target to vent one's frustrations within the general feeling of insecurity that the villagers and townspeople felt during the modernization of the country.[566]

Moreover, the prevailing political atmosphere that was stimulated by the government at the time, which as Bora and Canefe stressed the centrality of Turkishness, encouraged violent expressions of ethnic nationalism. As repeated by the muhacir Gypsies, the current government's role was crucial in intensifying stigma and the social distance. The populist politics that rose in significance in Turkey during the late 1960s made village men as the main target of their campaign and created a negative image of early republican intellectuals and elites. The connection between this populist critique and the nationalist emphasis was strengthened in this period by picturing villagers and peasants as the core of the nation and stressed the idea of national loyalty as a condition to be considered as a reliable citizen. This stress on nationalist and conservative articulations and "the [ordinary people] as real owners of the country,"[567] provoked a feeling of injustice of villagers and small townspeople, especially against the bureaucratic elite and intellectuals.[568]

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[565] Hogg et al., p 36.

[566] Bergmann also alludes to effects of rapid urbanization in generating social unrest connected to exclusionary riots (p 166).

[567] Bora and Canefe quoted Osman Yuksel Serdengecti who was a right-wing writer who became known by his populist-nationalist ideas in the 1960s and afterwards, p. 658.

[568] Bora and Canefe, pp 653-654

Apart from the discontent with Gypsies and the personal interests involved, the attacks should be seen as part of a hidden rebellion against the elites and bureaucrats who embodied the dominant class and the modernization ideas of the founding state. Furthermore, the nationalism of the time reinforced ethno-national feelings over other identifications, which were based on e.g. citizenship, local ties and religion. The nationalist statements of the time that provoked sudden and uncontrollable explosion of ordinary people out of frustration with their subordination provide an important context for our case. Such statements legitimized and naturalized the violent expressions of the perpetrators. They also played an important role in the representations of several lynching attempts as natural in the country in later years.[569]

In addition, the feeling of fighting against inadequate and failing state authorities, and presenting oneself as the legitimate executor of state's real will was pivotal in the attacks. The perpetrators beat the attorney who decried the illegitimacy of their actions, while the police joined the mob in stoning the Gypsy houses. While the state may seem absent in the violent attacks of the townspeople, it was indeed not that passive. None of the perpetrators was punished for the attacks, and the actions of security forces and governing authorities were insufficient; permitting and even joining the perpetrators. Many townspeople felt that most state authorities agreed with the violence against the Gypsies and that they helped the security forces by doing the right thing, although the latter of course by law should have protected the Gypsies.

Many perpetrators engaged in anti-Semitic violence narrated similar feelings such as believing "this action was of course wished 'from above'" and "no one can and will punish […them for the attacks]."[570] Van Arkel not only pointed at the lack of strength

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[569] Bora and Canefe, p. 661 also see Tanıl Bora, "Linc Acilimi" (Opening out for lynching), *Birikim* 249 (January 2010), pp. 3-5.

[570] Bergmann, p. 168.

among state authorities, but also explained how in many cases state functionaries joined the mob and thus empowered the attackers and helped in terrorizing those people who (would have) opposed violence against Jews. Or in the word of Van Arkel: "Fear of punishment compels participation."[571] In our case, the terrorization mechanism was mentioned in some ordinary people's narratives as they revealed their feelings of powerlessness to stand against the perpetrators. Even now some protectors were afraid that their role as protectors would become known, some 40 years after the attacks. Non-Gypsy townspeople who were seen as too close to Gypsies and protected them were terrorized by verbal and physical threats by the perpetrators. Even ordinary townspeople who had no business with Gypsies felt terrorized during the attacks, because the risk of becoming an outcast and a traitor of the local society was very real and as a result few people dared to stand up against the leading figures.

The well-known American historian Jan Gross, who studied anti-Jewish pogroms by their Polish neighbors during and immediately after World War II, emphasized the significance of actual experiences and real interests against the background of the Nazi occupation. However, he argued that not Nazis but the perception of self-interest, and mechanism of social control and terrorization largely explain why Polish people killed their Jewish neighbors: "And so, understandably, those who do not conform become social outcasts."[572] They can even be stigmatized and labeled in the same way as in Gross' example of a protector's son who was called a Jew by other children.[573] The fear of becoming an outcast forces people to hide their true feelings even if they help the persecuted minority, as is clear from Gross' meticulous reconstruction of the pogroms in

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[571] Van Arkel "The Growth", p. 278.

[572] Gross, *Fear*, p. 251.

[573] Gross, *Neighbours*, p. 131.

Poland.[574] In our case many townspeople described similar fears about standing up for the Gypsies, the threats that they faced and, like Salih, ongoing hesitancy to reveal their help to the Gypsies. Silence has been crucial in this case to understand the prevailing power relations, fear, pain and hesitance of the actors involved. Green's account on the power of silence as social control is illustrative in this respect: "Silence can operate as a survival strategy; yet silencing is a powerful mechanism of control enforced through fear."[575]

Gross makes another related and crucial point on the violence and its effects on the people's feelings and rationalizations. The influence of the bare experience of violence and its terrifying effect went beyond terrorization as such: "Jews were so frightening and dangerous, in other words, not because of what they had done or could do the Poles, but because of what Poles had done to the Jews."[576] This type of rationalizing violence (witnessed or performed) prevents to question such acts and at the same time justifies the passivity of the bystanders. The traumatic experience thus leads to the inability and fear of the people involved to face the hard facts of the attacks. Gross' investigation of anti-Semitic violence in Poland shows the importance of terrorization and the ongoing legitimization of the pogroms decades later. Also in his story, the violence is seen as logical and natural, and the leading perpetrators are left unpunished by the state: "Evidently, an anti-Jewish riot was a nonevent in the eyes of those who administered law and order. No one bothered pursue or identify the instigators of those events, or the officers of the law whose professional (mis)conduct incited the passion of the mob."[577]

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[574]I.e. Gross, *Fear*, p. 252.

[575] Linda Green, "Fear As a Way of Life," *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 2 (May 1994), pp. 227-256, p. 239.

[576] Gross, *Fear*, p. 256.

[577] Ibid., p. 79.

In our case, the attorney was reassigned to another city and no one was punished for the exclusionary violence against the Gypsies. Also in similar cases, unpunished perpetrators were accepted as the norm in Turkey. Several state authorities furthermore naturalize this kind of violence with statements that stress the Turkish people's nationalist sensitivity. Bora pointed at the tendency in the last ten years to regard lynchings in Turkey as normal, especially against Kurdish people. This form of nationalist discrimination of the Kurds, he emphasized, dehumanizes people who are perceived as the enemy and traitors. Our case exemplifies a similar attitude, but then against Gypsies and as our narrators themselves drew many parallels between different incidents against minorities who were all encoded as "national enemies." This dissertation is therefore not only a reconstruction of how Gypsyness historically has been constructed, how the stigma became functional and was reproduced along with personal interests and power struggles in relation to the socioeconomic transformation in the country. It is also about unquestioned and legitimized violence against people who are classified as opponents or enemies to the national body and social order. This perception could be traced in many interviews including that with the governor of the province at the time, who emphasized the insignificancy of the attacks and at the same time normalizing them. Very similar to Bora's critique,[578] the attacks were represented as inevitable, as if it was a natural disaster. Moreover, not the perpetrators but the Gypsies were blamed for the attacks. State authorities used such feelings as a technique of governance. In parallel to this, the perpetrators' recognition of their violence as legitimate was assured by such politics that proclaimed to put the interests of 'ordinary Turks' first.

To conclude, the Gypsy stigma is no longer as active and functional in the town as during the attacks. For some time anti-Kurdishness has replaced it and when the Kurds were attacked in the town in 2009, nobody was surprised. Nobody stood up

[578] Bora, "Linc Acilimi", p. 5.

against it and not a single perpetrator was arrested. People had already told me about the probability of attacks on Kurds a year before the outburst took place. Although the violence was not extreme, some narrators from the town indicated that a bigger attack would probably happen, as the discontent with the Kurds was still very much alive. Some muhacir narrators, on the other hand, drew attention to the role of the security forces who suppressed the collective action against the Kurds: "probably it is due to political interests that the government avoids a big issue right now [compared to their dislocation 40 years ago]."

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Many stories in this dissertation show how categorical constructions and discrimination serve to conceal other dynamics and lead to a distorted remembrance and representation, as has become clear in the narratives of the Non-Gypsies and Gypsies in the town of Bayramic. The categories of Gypsyness and Turkishness became rigid and powerful during the attacks as they were mobilized to exclude the Gypsies and to legitimize collective violence against them. However, the attacks were not *caused* by the existing categories. It was just the opposite. The categories became powerful and functional for the attacks, not the other way around. Moreover, the attacks also sealed this rigidity. The people who were called Gypsies became "more Gypsy" during (and after) the attacks. The content of Gypsyness was enlarged and demonized in this process. It became more rooted in concepts of evilness and led to alienation between Gypsies and non-Gypsies, although the same people were also referred to as "our Gypsies" with whom one could stress commonalities in other contexts.

Moreover, the relation of people with the attacks was not only forged through particular subjective positions, but also through a constructed universe of reason. The attacks urged to define the universe of the self and its relationship with the other. The reason was based on power and legitimacy that enabled a violent act towards the powerless. To avoid misunderstandings, the Gypsies in person who experienced the attacks were not all powerless, in physical, socioeconomic or political respects. In contrast, their power in society was increasing. At that point, Turkishness was used as a source of power and legitimacy that could be employed through the category of Gypsyness against people who were described as powerless, degraded, humiliated,

dehumanized and thus undeserving the same power and status.

The journey through the representations and remembering of townspeople of the attacks and the ensuing forced dislocation revealed how flexible social categories could be constructed. In the prevailing socio-political environment in which there was space for changes in the power relationships, the historical stigma and nationalist feelings were activated to control the social order. The marginalized profession of driving became profitable and full of potential thanks to the developments in highway transportation, forestry business, and the intensifying relationships between rural and urban areas. While it used to be an unattractive profession, with limited status in society, it gathered an unexpected popularity in the course of the 1960s, when the sector became much more profitable and experienced an upgrade in the working conditions. This historical context is crucial to understand the fight between Muhacir and Turkish drivers over a truck. It was at that moment that the historical Gypsy stigma was activated in the town.

The violence was used to redefine the contents of Turkishness and Gypsyness as well as the relationship between the two. Until the attacks these categories were ambiguous and multi-layered. Some particular characteristics, such as physical attributes, moral values and different manners, were used to differentiate the Gypsies. However, in the town, many Gypsies did not fit into the stereotype. Non-Gypsy townspeople who referred to their local roots and ancestry had often trouble to make clear to what extent they concretely differed from (some) Gypsies and often the boundaries between ethnic categories were blurred. Only when the Turkish majority felt that their privileged position was in danger, the boundaries became significant and the urge to fix them became critical.

Still, before the attack in Bayramic, Gypsyness did influence the cognitive universe and ways of relating to one another. As we have seen in Chapter Four, there was always a relative social distance towards Gypsyness, although transcending that

distance was not necessarily difficult for every Gypsy individual. I argued that the boundaries were crossed and to some extent became blurred through daily interactions. Personal contacts between Gypsies and non-Gysies led to daily conversations, friendships, work relations, and the sharing of daily experiences in the neighborhoods they inhabited. Such contacts forged relations that went beyond categories of Gypsyness and Turkishness. As a result, Gypsyness was not entirely juxtaposed to Turkishness and overlap was possible. However, there were still some taboos, especially regarding intermarriages. Therefore, although Gypsy stigma was not active all the time in their daily interactions, the taboos served to preserve a certain extent of social distance, and thus boundary maintenance.

Furthermore, the parallels with other cases of 'othering' were crucial to understand people's behavior versus minority groups. It gives us clues about the salience of nationalism, the construction of citizenship and minority positions in the country and how this was reflected in the town of Bayramic. The parallels with Kurdish people appear most significant. Considering recent discontent with some Kurdish people in the town and the recent riots against them, the parallels force themselves upon us. Moreover, Kurdishness generally has been a reference point for minority positions in Turkey especially since the 1990s. Particularly, for many Gypsies in the country, being compared with Kurds puts them in the same category of disloyal members of the Turkish state and nation.

It is remarkable, however, how different the attacks are remembered and represented. The stories were not only loaded with emotions and self-rationalizations, but they also conveyed different perspectives and interests. The story around the "Gypsy threat" was full of fear, not necessarily of the Gypsies but of being an outcast within the nation. Many people who stick to the 'Gypsy threat' narrative talked about the violent, improper and immoral acts of the Gypsies, but most did not fear the Gypsies as such.

Instead, they were clearly afraid of the perpetrators and the danger of being labeled as a traitor in case they would defend the Gypsies. This narrative bears many similarities with other cases in which the discourse of fighting against the national enemy to protect national unity was stressed. The role of the state in this conceptualization through political discourses and practices as well as not taking preventive actions and punitive measures is far from negligible.

During the attacks, the terrorization of townspeople was very effective and the employers and protectors of the Gypsies could easily find themselves in vulnerable positions. They also experienced psychological and physical violence. The silence of some townspeople pertaining the attacks displayed their fear. The fact that many people in the town primarily chose not to talk about the perpetrators added the story on misbehaving Gypsies to dominate the collective memory of the non-Gypsies.

Some people did not want to learn or recall the socioeconomic background of the attacks, but reproduced the story about the Gypsy threat and their immorality. The former story was subdued and at most narrated backstage and thus became a marginalized discourse compatible with the Gypsy positions. This study urges to disclose the dynamics between these two main stories as well. It questions the space for alternative historiographies and aims to provide a space for the different voices of not only the Gypsies but also the ordinary townspeople, even the perpetrators.

Doing oral history urges the historian to question the ways of understanding the world, how and why we perceive things, events and people in her particular research and reflects on them. It is a process during which one has to construct and deconstruct mainstream understandings. In this way, one can understand how people remember and represent the past. An important aspect of doing oral history is the realization of multiple ways and perspectives of telling a story. It is an understanding that acknowledges the existence of multiple subjectivities. It takes different perspectives, standpoints and

subjects into account that shape a particular past and explains what it means to different subjects in a society.

Thus, one should be very alert to how a narrator tells the story and how it may be influenced by the fear of exclusion, the influence of nationalism, and the fear to be perceived as an outcast, marginal or as immoral. Moreover, conversations in different times or different ways of relations can lead to different narratives. For instance, when a relationship of full trust with someone is established after several conversations, people may tell other sides of the stories and even may shift to a less dominant or mainstream narrative. In my experience, the level of trust was increased by my background, knowledge of and relation to other people as well as my way of treating my narrators. They would tell different stories if they had not known my links to the town and my knowledge about the events or relationship to someone that they knew. In a similar way, when they realized that I showed respect to them and their stories, they also became more at ease and told me more. Thus, the results of oral history are not only determined by displaying one's local knowledge and relations preceding to the interview, but also how one conducts the conversation. The key word here is trust, which makes it much more easy for people to share more personal stories and question, implicitly or explicitly, the homogenized mainstream representations.

The shifts between narratives and ways of talking, on the other hand, can happen even during a particular conversation. While they talk about a certain issue, interviewees often made a comment that contradicted the one that they made only a few minutes later when talking about another issue. Most of the time, narrators would not even realize such contradiction. The shifts in these narratives are determined by a number of factors: their relation to particular individuals; whether they base themselves on personal experiences or whether they just follow dominant discourses; the emotional or rational involvement in a certain context. Thus, contradictions should not be perceived as

insincerity or confusion, but they invite the researcher to analyze the dynamics that produce these contradictions. After all, we all unconsciously internalize and reproduce practices, ideas and feelings.

In the dominant remembrance of the attacks, the violation of socioeconomic privileges was concealed behind the violation of masculine power. In this construction, the women symbolized the national territory. The naturalization of the violence against immorality was thus accompanied with nationalistic feelings. Immorality here appeared as an insult to the male sovereignty and power. In the scope of this study, the construction and transformation of the categories of Turkishness and Gypsyness were primary subjects of analysis that structured the ways of remembering and representation. The relations between socioeconomic status, class and ethnicity, therefore, occupied an important place. For further research, the interplay between different aspects of power relations, hierarchies and inequalities such as the articulation of gendered territory along with nationalized socioeconomic power should be given ample attention.

This study analyzes not only the hierarchies between Gypsyness and Turkishness, but also those between the urban and the rural, the modern and the traditional, men and women. They all intermingle in such a way that we cannot easily differentiate which one is functional, and when and how. We should be continuously questioning the power inequalities and hierarchies as well as attempting to deconstruct our perceptions and feelings accordingly. It is only then that we can start understand and transcend those power constructions and relations.

The forced dislocation shows not only the flexibility of categories, but also how, when and why they could be employed in different ways. The focus is not the categories itself but how they were transformed in relation to one another and in accordance with the people's socioeconomic relations and historical contexts. Thus, Gypsyness and Turkishness are not approached as separate entities but in relationship to one another.

How people make sense of these categories and inscribe their relationships accordingly is significant. Not only the relationship between the two, but also the relationship and dynamics between different Gypsy communities are visible. It is fascinating to find out how different muhacirs and local Gypsies relate to Turkishness. This study gives us clues about the complexity in the identification processes of people as well as the relationship between Gypsyness and Turkishness. Hopefully, further research in Romani studies in Turkey will further explore these dimensions.

The relationships between Gypsies and non-Gypsies in Bayramic, on the other hand, displayed how multifaceted Gypsyness can be. It differs within the town from one group of Gypsies to the other. In addition to heterogeneous and multi-layered relations and group formation, Gypsyness in Bayramic deconstructs the dominant Gypsy stereotype and reveals different class and identification positions. Further research on Gypsyness, marginal positions, power hierarchies and inequalities in Turkey and other societies will hopefully deepen our understanding of the dynamics of these relations.

Furthermore, other dynamics such as being modern, local, educated, good mannered, and villager appeared to be relevant as well. They influenced the status of people as well as their self-representations. They display how complicated these categories indeed can become. Various sorts of commonalities are constructed and these often contradicted categorical differences between Gypsies and non-Gypsies. Although, these differentiations were neglected in the attacks, their influence became visible in the differences in treatment of muhacir and local Gypsies.

This dissertation is not just a story of bad people attacking good people. Instead, it analyzed the relationships, contexts and agency positions within which some people resorted to collective violence towards minorities. After so many years, the leading perpetrator does not make the impression of a ruthless villain and it is hard to imagine him being involved in the attacks. If you had seen 96-year-old Fitnat, who was like a

fairytale grandmother to me, you could have never imagined the words of hatred that poured out of her mouth. But these things happened and urge us to lay bare the conditions that make people think, feel, practice in discriminative ways and seeing these as legitimate.

The study displayed how people employ historical categories and stigmas in nationalistic and exclusive discourses in order to attack certain other people that they perceive as threatening their self-interests, in particular in socioeconomic contexts. We should question all power relations and discriminative discourses even if they have not turned into practices. We should not only question discourses, but also our feelings as we usually internalize those discourses without even realizing how discriminative they are. We should try to eliminate conditions for inequalities that are linked to these discourses and harsh competition on resources. We should try to deconstruct hierarchies and look for the common denominator of people, notwithstanding personal and group differences. After all, ethnic categories easily blind us and make us accept the ethnic boundaries between certain categories. Instead of functioning as something that has an explanatory power (the *explans*), ethnicity is something that needs to be explained (the *explanandum*). Only then can we understand how the boundaries are drawn, how they become blurred and redressed again. The relevance of analyzing the attacks in 1970 Bayramic therefore transcends the local and even national history, and should be seen as a contribution to the study of collective violence and historical racism in general, along with the construction of power inequalities, hierarchies and discrimination.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

TABLES

Table 16: The Names and Details of the Narrators Who Are Referred Throughout the Study[579]

Dissertation names	Date of Birth	Community[580]	Occupation	Interview Date[581]	Explanation
Ahmet	1946		Lawyer	19 April 2008	Canan's husband, son-in-law of a protector
Aydin	1923		Ex-Grocer	03 June 2008	Living nearby Muradiye neighborhood since 1968
Alper	1964	Muhacirs	-	16 May 2008	From the target families. Mahir's son
Ayfer	1925		-		Neighbor witness in Tepecik neighborhood. Necla's mother. Widow of a coffeehouse owner
Ayten	1945		Solmaz's wife	28 May 2008	Ordinary Townsperson
Berrin	1960	Muhacirs	Domestic Worker	22 April 2008	From one of the main target families. Cevza's sister, working as Canan's domestic labor

[579] The interviews are not limited to the names here but these are the ones whose narratives are directly quoted and/or referred. Otherwise, the total number of interviews approximates to two hundred people.

[580] The communities refer identifications beyond Turkishness. The people who belong to these communities usually consider and/or represent themselves as Turks as well. The people who do not belong to such a community on the other hand consider and/or represent themselves as "ethnic Turks" although the content of the category is up to change as we have seen in this dissertation.

[581] The date refers to the first meeting. With most narrators, there have been more than one meetings and different encounters between March 2008 and August 2009.

Bidon Hilmi	1930	Muhacirs	Petty worker	30 April 2008	From one of the main target families. Married to Meral
Canan	1947		Retired teacher, Daughter of first mayor in the town	18 April 2008	Employer witness. Her father protected a muhacir Gypsy family working as their domestic labors.
Cemal Tantanci	1925		Retired governor, Lawyer	27 April, 2009	The governor of the province at the time who was in charge from 1967 to 1971
Cevza	1955	Muhacirs	-	22 April 2008	Descendant from one of the main target families
Erman	1935		Old secretariat of Drivers' Association	17 April 2008	Informant on the development of transportation business and relations between drivers in the town
Ezgi	1931	Local Gypsies	-	10 May 2008	From one of the target families.
Faruk	1940		Forestry Worker	20 May 2008	Informant on the forestry business in the town
Fatima	1935		Helva producer's wife	03 June 2008	Fitnat's daughter
Fazil	1937	Local Gypsies	Baker	19 May 2008	-
Fitnat	1912		-	03 June 2008	Ordinary townsperson. Passed away in 2009
Hale	1952		Daughter of a helvaci family	18 April 2008	Employer Witness from Helvaci families
Hulya	1940		-	22 June 2008	Neighbor witness. Lived in Muradiye neighborhood between 1955-1985, widow of a automobile repairman

Huseyin Kiltas	1950		Ex-driver, head of the drivers' chamber	20 Junes 2008	Perpetrator from Drivers' Community. Came to the town in 1957, got his driving license in 1968
Ilker Tortor	1944		Recent mayor	10th of May, 2008	The recent mayor since 2004 in the town
Ismail	1959		Primary school teacher	04 July 2008	Neighbor Witness. Still living in Muradiye neighborhood
Kadir	1927		Ex-driver and a Businessman	20 August 2009	Leading Perpetrator
Karaahmet	1961	Yoruk origin	Taxi driver	7 June 2008	Witness
Kismet	1926	Muhacirs	-	22 April 2008	From the main target families. Cevza's mother
Mahir	1947	Muhacirs	Retired Postman	16 May 2008	From the target families.
Mahmut	1948		Retired Teacher	07 April 2007	My uncle with close contacts with the socially active, leading figures in the town
Meliha	1942		-	08 May 2008	Neighbor witness. Former resident in Tepecik neighborhood. Living in the town since 1958. Widow of a coffeeshop worker
Melis	1979		Religious Preacher	22 June 2008	Former resident in Muradiye neighborhood
Meral	1933	Muhacir Gypsies	-	28 April 2008	From one of the main target families. Married to Bidon Hilmi
Mesiye	1941	Local Gypsies	Baker	22 May 2008	Resident of Tepecik neighborhood
Mukhtar	1932		Muhtar since	22 May	Witness. An

Kemal			1967, tailor	2008	important social and political figure in the town
Mustafa	1947		Present head of the Transporter's Cooperative in the town	22 May 2008	
Necla	1940		Retired primary school teacher	10 May 2008	Neighbor witness A resident of Tepecik neighborhood.
Necmi	1952	Muhacir	Petty Worker	27 June 2008	He was doing his military service out of the town during the attacks
Nitki	1950		Ex-driver	12 June 2008	Recent Head of the Drivers' Chamber
Ramazan	1948		Ex-driver	14 June 2008	
Ramiz	1946		Petty Businessman	18 August 2006	Employer Witness
Rana	1935	Muhacirs	-	12 May 2008	From the main target family. Dilaver Kocayar's daughter, Fikret's sister.
Salih	1924		Retired butcher and old town counselor (il encumeni)	5 May 2008	Witness of the beating of the attorney and important social and political figure at the time
Salim	1942		Ex-driver	14 May 2008	Perpetrator in the attacks
Selim	1945		Retired teacher	12 April 2007	My uncle
Sebiye	1955	Muhacirs	-	17 May 2008	
Seyyal	1966	Muhacirs	Housewife	6 May 2008	Descendant from the main target family. Living in Edremit, married to a Roman pub manager
Solmaz	1943		Ex-mayor in the early 2000s, small	26 May 2008	Witness. An important social and political

			businessman in fruit trade		figure in the town
Sukufe	1974	Muhacirs	-	22 April 2008	Descendant from one of the main target families
Tayfun	1949		Ex-driver	24 May 2008	
Tijen	1947		Retired teacher	12 April 2007	My aunt

APPENDIX B

THE LIFE STORY OF THE LEADING PERPETRATOR

Kadir's life story is noteworthy to realize his background and extent of his power. I learned it from him on August 20, 2009. Kadir was born in 1927. He had come to the town from his village Kiziltepe in 1936 to attend primary school. His family was the most powerful one in the village; they had farms and his grandfather was dealing with livestock. From his generation, he was the first one to go to school from his village. He was to teach the others.

He went to the military in 1949, where he built a friendship with the muhacir Gypsy Fikret. In the military, he took a course on driving in Izmir. After two years, he came back from the military, went back to his village where he was a peasant and got his driving license in 1954. At that time, the municipality of Canakkale was distributing driving licenses. There were only two persons who applied for license from the town. The other one was from his village, too.

In 1955-56, he decided to move to the town center, as he did not see an enjoyable future under the rule of his father and grandfather in the village. At that time, a new company from Istanbul had come to the town to build a hydroelectric terminal. In the town, they had announced the job of foreman (*amela cavusu*). The Carmikli Company employed him and his new world of networking started. His task was to find 1200 employees to work for the company and he would get a tremendous wage for that time, 180 liras [at the time when an employee at the terminal could make two-two and half liras in a day]. He had found fifty-five persons from the town. For the rest, he went to every village of the town and other towns. At last, he had managed to find all of the employees he needed. The networks and image as a job-finder at that time were going to reinforce

Kadir's later work, and being a respected but also fearful figure in the following years. This network is also meaningful to understanding the great number of villagers in the attacks.

The Carmikli company also employed him in the stone quarry *(tasocagi*). His job at the company lasted for two-two and half years. When his workload was not heavy anymore in 1957, he bought a jeep to use in the transportation business (the old jeep of Rater Cavus who was working for municipality). He made very good money out of it. In those times, the jeep would be used to carry people and goods between villages, town and the city center. He also had carried doctors and judges for their jobs. There were only five jeeps including his in the town at that time.

In those years, the people would take wood from the forest, but there were only four-five trucks and they were very old. Kadir started the business in the late 1950s. When he sold the jeep, he had bought an open truck in 1959-1960 in a partnership (at that time, there were eight trucks in the town including theirs. In 1961, three more persons bought trucks. At that time, twenty-thirty people were drivers). After a year, they sold it back and he started working as a driver as he had received a very good offer (fifty-five liras/a month while an ordinary driver would get thrity-five). Then, he worked as a driver in a few other buses and trucks.

Kadir recalled that at time if you would not work in the mountain, it would be difficult to get a job for drivers. The roads in the mountain though were very dangerous. They only were improved in the late 1960s. He said driving was the best profession at that time. Many girls wanted to marry one. Among the drivers, he was the most in demanded, with Fikret Kocayar and three more persons. In the late 1960s, he and Fikret bought a truck together and worked in the market transporting wood from the storage to final destination. He did not mention any discontent. Instead, he emphasized the misbehavior of the Gypsies.

In the 1970s, Kadir dominated the transportation sector. First, he went into the minibus business. Rahmi had founded Bayramic Birlik, a minibus company working between the town and the city center, and Kadir became a partner in the only minibus in this company. He also worked as the driver. In the minibus business, there appeared other competitors from the closest town, Ezine. Kadir also had fights over customers with those drivers there. In 1973, he became the head of the drivers' chamber. He was leading many organizations at that time, he was the second head in the sports club, the head of the state officials' association/club. It was also the year that the tradesmen of the town founded their own company 'Eser Nakliyat' to bring their goods from Istanbul that had been handled by the Ezine people's trucks before. Kadir would register the truck in his name. This was also a significant cooperation in which not agas but the tradesmen and other moderate townspeople collaborated. At that time, Kadir had two open trucks, two buses and one minibus.

He asserted that they had been better off starting in the 1970s and once in early 1970s he was the second person in the tax records of the town. He had been the strongest among the transporters. Towards the 1980s, however, the number of trucks increased to around eighty- a hundred. Then the numbers of drivers had increased dramatically and new companies had mushroomed in other towns. By time, the sector became comparably less profitable and Kadir started losing his power.

APPENDIX C

TURKISH ORIGINALS OF THE NARRATIVES[582]

Narrative 1-Salih

"Cingenlere is vermemeye basladilar, SOFORLUK. Bu sefer bunlar soforleri dovmeye basladilar. Ordan cikti. Esas zaten sofor savasidir bu. Sofor savasi Cingen savasina donustu!"

Narrative 2-Muhacirs

"Disardakiler bize Cingene dese de burda gercek Roman yok."

Narrative 3 – Canan

14 yasinda, dusunebilyo musun? Babasi Arap Emin, babama teslim ediyo, burda basliyo ise. Herseyi oyle derim ben yerlilerden bi biz kaldik. Hakkatten hep koylu doldu ortalik. Hic ayrim yok. Ne demek ya burda dogmuslar buyumusler hep. Bir tane hirsizliklari duyulmamistir. Ben evimi teslim ederim. Hic.

Narrative 4- Handan

Ummuhan abla onlardan cok ayriydi yani. Annenler belki annenanler falan bilirler Ummuhan ablalari. Adalilardandi. O bizim mahallede buyumus. Bi cami vardi ya o caminin oradaymis evleri. Cok iyi bi insan, cok durust, simdi oldu oglu var, torunlari falan var. Dilaver esas onlar cikartti olayi. Dilaverin kizinlan evli. En kucuk kiz. Ama onu hic istemediydi Ummuhan abla.

Narrative 5—Huriye

Oyle onlara giden olmazdi cokcok fazla, herkes kendi tarafinla yani ne bileyim ben. Biz sadece Meliha ablaya gider gelirdik. O da kayinvalidemden dolayi, onlar boyle cok samimi. A bizim asagida vardi, buyukannen cok iyi bilir. Ha Sengul ablalarla falan gider gelirdik. Onlar baska, [gulerek soyluyo] onlar mahallemizin komuslari. Onlar da bak Cingeneydi oyle ama. Cok komsuyduk boyle. Cok samimiydik.

Narrative 6-Uncle Mahmut:

Babacin Ismet, restoranindaki mallari tasitmak icin Cingenlerle calisirdi. Biz piknige giderken de hizmet etsin diye birini tutardı. Piknik yolunda Cingen sepeti tasiyarak arkamızdan gelirdi. Babacin Ismet'in o Cingeneyi asagilamasini hatirlarim. Biz hepimiz o bir kac metre uzaktayken oturup iciyorduk. Babacin Ismet bagirdi: 'Orda durma. Ruzgara karsi duruyosun, Cingene kokun bana geliyo!'

[582] The version is in English characters and in the local dialect.

Narrative 7- Anonymous Local Gypsy

Baska hersey iyi oldugunda iyi olabilirler ama bi kizdilar mi cok fena olabilirler.

Narrative 8- Fazil:

Konusma tarzina, oturus kalkisina. Adabi maseret kurallarina uyan bir insana daha farkli bakiyo tabi. Giyim kusam olsun. Konusma tarzin olsun.

Narrative 9- Mesiye

Irk ayrimi yaptirmislar. Allah-u teala (din ayrimi yaptirmis) irk ayrimi yaptirmamis. Irk ayrimi yapilir mi hic. Insanlar namazinda niyazinda. Dilaverler diyolar burda bi. O Dilaverlerle birileri arasinda kavga cikmis.

Narrative 10-Solmaz

Almazlar zaten. Cingenleri sevmezler. Cingene o zamanlar dusmanlik vardi. Bir dusmanlik var bir de sevmemelerinden ileri geliyo. Cingeneyi bugun kimse sevmez. Ama simdi Cingeneyi turlu sekle soktular, roman dediler. Iste bazi film artistleri romanim ben dedi, biraz sirin gelmeye basladilar. Yoksa sevmezler Cingeneyi. Hic kimse bizim Turk milletindne Cingeneye otumaga gitmez.ile mesafe birakilir yani. Temizlige gelirler ama temizleten adamlar da onlarin evine gitmez. Arada fark var. bu olaylarda akrabalik gibi olaylar yok. Belediye meclisinde olsun, kiz alip vermede olsun, yok boyle bisey. Ama konusurlar merhaba merhaba nassin iyi misin. ama sosyal hayata gectigi zaman o zaman mesafe baslar. Eskiden beri var.

Narrative 11- Solmaz

Ondan once cok hasir nesirdi, bayramicin insani gibi yani. Ama noluyo nasil tarif edim sana. Mesela sizin aile bizim aile, birbirimize gelir ziyaret ederiz, yeriz iceriz. O yok. Ama konusma var.

Narrative 12- Hulya

Onlar yakindi; berberdi ya o. Disarida esimle arkadastilar. biz hic esiyle evimize gidip gelmezdik. hayir hayir. Hic hic.

Narrative 13- Necla

Ayni mahalledeyiz de gene de boyle sinir var yani. Kendi sokagimiz burasi, eskiden heryere oyle cok gidilmezdi, kapi onlerinde otursun edersin ama hatirlayamiyorum yani cok sik gorustugumuz seyler olmadigi icin. Bi tek seylan ablaya ayla ablaya giderdik, oyle kendi komsularimiz gibi gidilmez, bi dogumlari olur gidersin mesela komsuluk gorevini yapmak icin.

Narrative 14- Solmaz

Onlar kendi icerisinde kendi mahallesinde yasiyolar. Mesela Sulukule'de nasil yasiyolar. Sulukuledeki bir insani sen ziyarete gider misin, oyle. Eglenmeye gidersin, evine oturmaya gitmezsin bi Cingenenin evine oturmaya hala gidemezsin. var gene var.[…] Hala ne bir

Roman'ın evine gidebiliriz ne de onlarla arkadas olabiliriz.

Narrative 15- Ayten

Temizlige giden coktur mesela Cingenelerden ama her kadin evine almaz. Ben Cingenenin elledigini elime mi alcam der. Oyle kadinlar cikar. Yaptirmazlar yani.

Narrative 16- Melis

Onyargi var. Bi de aileler ters dusuyo hadi onlar anlasiyodur da. Onlar ikisi de oldu mu birbirinin dilinden anliyolar ama obur turlu olmuyo fark var yani. Orf ve adetlerini bilmiyorum ama en azindan rahatliklari insani rahatsiz eder yani, o kadar rahat olmalari.

Narrative 17- Muhtar Kemal

Ters geliyo yani bazi bizim Turk kesimlerine [...] Sebebi aciklamasi cok zor. Belki bi yabanciyla evlense yadirganmaz ama bunlarla evlenince yadirganiyo iste. Kulturumuzden gelen birsey, ters geliyo. Ayni durumda sen nasil karsilarsin, karsilayamiyoz iste. Sebebini sorarsan aciklamasi zor.

Narrative 18- quote from the documentary "Bucuk"

Kara tenli gelin sevmem. Niye seveyim kara tenlı? Cunku kara tenli Roman derler, ondan sevmem.

Narrative 19- Melis

Iste boyle yolda falan cok rahat yururler oyle bagara bagara konusurlar. Iste onlar h'leri falan soyleyemiyolar ya. Orlardan anliyosun zaten. Bi de biraz giyim tarzlari falan. Saclarini falan cok abarti boyatirlar. Ama herkes degil tabi oyle yaptiranlar da var. giyimleri, yuruyusleri cok rahat. Ordan biliyon zaten. Konusmalari zaten cok ele veriyo kendilerini. Iste bazilari ayirt edilmiyo, bazilari saclarini falan. Giyimleri, konusmalari falan cok ayirt ediliyolar ama bazilari belli etmiyo.

Narrative 20- Necla

Belli olur yani onlarin boyle disa acik olmalari kural tanimamalari onlari belli eder. Kural tanimamalari derken yasalara degil de gorgu kurallari. Mesela sokakta yuksek sesle konusulmaz di mi veya buyuklerine saygi. Saygilisi cok saygilidir ama kufre girmez derler ama onlara acik dokunsan laf bilmezler.

Narrative 21-Meliha

Mart iceri Cingen disari derlerdi kendileri de. Ondan sonra cadirini alir colugunu cocugunu alir, cay buklerine giderler, cadirini kurarlar oraya. Boyle yasarlar. Sepet orer satarlar. Dilenirler, yavrum. Koylulerden herbiseyleri isterler. Ne kazanırlarsa onlarındır iste.

Narrative 22- Solmaz

Muhacirler de burdadi da yerliler daha eski. Muhacirlerin geldikleri tarih belli. Yerliler

devamli burda. Yerliler de bir hakiki yerliler var bir sonradan gelen yerliler var. Adalilar. adali sulalesi zannedersem sonradan gelme. ama onlar nerden geldi bilmiyorum. Ama esas yerliler vardir, onlar kim dersen mesela kucuk izzet buyuk Izzet, onlarin cocuklarinin uzantisi kim dersen calgici Alaaddin'i bilmiyo musun? Klarnetci alaaddin. Onun sulalesi bir, ondan sonra semerci musa vardi burda, o da Adalilardan. O da yerli. Onlarin sulalesi... Beyazdir onlarin sulalesi. O anlatmaz, saklamaya calisir, Cingen yerine koymaz kendisini de ondan.

Narrative 23- Ayfer

A senin benim gibi komsuduk, cok iyilerdir [N: musluman]. Abdestli namazli, onlar karismazdi oyle seye. Daha hala da oturuyo bak evlerinde. Onlar Turk Cingene diye ayrılmazlar.

Narrative 24- Fatima

Yerli Cingene deriz biz onlar vardi. Yerli Cingenelerimiz. Onlar abdestli namazli. Mesela asagida bi sizin eski evlerin karsisinda dukkanlari vardi, nalbant dukkani. Nal yaparlardi bizim cocuklugumuzda. Onlar da Cingeneydi ama yerli Cingene denir onlara. Bunlar sonradan gelmis, bunlara muhacir derler, alisveris bile yapmazlardi onlarla. […] Herkes sehirin disina karsilamaya cikmis "gocmenler geliyo, gocmenler geliyo" diye. Bi de baktikti diyo "aman hepsi kara bacakli Cingene" diyo Fadime teyze. Citakoglu getirmis. Kara olduklarından tam Cingene benziyolarmıs. […] Mubadele muhaciri derdi babam. Sey yapilmis burdakileri goturmusler, ordan gelmisler. […] Insanlar kasabanin girisine karsilamaya gittiklerinde, anlatırdı, 'Bi baktik, aman Allahım! Hepsi kara bacakli cingen.' Digerleri geldiginde iste. Onları oyle gorduklerinde sasirmislar nasil muhacir bunlar diye. Selanik Cingeneleri denir onlara.

Narrative 25-Karaahmet

Sepetci Cingenesi cadirda durur, bunlar evlerde durur. Sanatkar derler. Kendileri muzisyen derler. Otekiler dilenir, burlara evlere falan gelirler. Onlar cadircilar. Sepet orerler, sepet satarlar. Kasnak yaparlardi eskiden. Ayriyeten demirci Cingenesi vardir. sapa yaparlar, nacak yaparlar. Surda Bayramlar vardir bizim. Onlar da Cingene ama onlar demirci Cingenesi.

Narrative 26- Ismail

Bunlar bakla ve badem, yapagi, kurban derisi, bal mumu alirdi burdan bunu toptanciya gotururdu. Bi takim aileler de hammallik yapiyoc Simdi arabalarıyla calgicilari dugune goturuyo. getir goturle para kazaniyo. […] Muhacir iste Turkluk bulasanlar. Yani calgi calmayip da gecimini baska yerlerden bulanlar.

Narrative 27- Fitnat

Musluman olur mu kizim, Cingen o. Hinci birinde bi kadincagiz var gelir bazi. bohcaci. Ben de namaz kiliyom. Bize dedi gormuslugumuz yok dedi, bize boyle bilsek biz de konussak dedi. Bunlar Cingenler. nasil biliyon mu. Bi yer varmis, oraya bisey yapcaklarmis emme, kopru mu yapcaklarmis, yoksa bisey yapcaklarmis, bir turlu temel tutmuyomus. Temeli yapiyolarmis, yikiliyomus. Sonra demisler ki bu iki gardes sey yaparsa kari koca olursa bu yapar. Hani o zaman tutulcak bu temel. Bu sefer demisler ki

Turklerden kimse yapmamis onu. Yapmayinca Cingenleden yapmis. Ondan Cingenler hic onlarin yeri yurdu yok. Onlar iki kardes karikoca oluyolar ve temel tutmus de onlan bi gelenekleri yok. Bilmiyolar, yani.

Narrative 28-Meliha

Onlarin ne abdesi var ne namazi var ne bi…Ama yerli Cingenler bak oruc da tutar, namaz da gila. Teraki de kilar o yerliler. sonra gelen seyler bile sonradan gelenler bile onlar bile yapiyolar simdi. Yapim diye kimisi merak ediyo. Namaz kiliyo.

Narrative 29-Salih

Cingenenin bi defa kitabi bile yok, bilmiyon mu sen. Cingenenin namazi bile kiyilmaz. Eskiden Alevilere kacanlar olurdu.

Narrative 30- Meliha

Onlarin gelenekleri e tabi onlarin kendi huylarina gore. Sabah oldu mu erkenden sabah ezanindan sonra cay agiderler. Eskiden boyle cirayla giderler. Orda mal isterlermis cayin kenarinda, cicek toplarlar, bilmiyom namaz kildik derlerdi ama nerde kilcaklar namaz. Ev yaparlardi boyle dastan evimiz olsun diye. Hidirellez sabahi. Ben de takilirdim her sabah gitsenize siz boyle derdim, bizim adetimiz oyle derlerdi. Cicek toplarlardi orlarda, iste hidirellez yaparlardi. Ciralarlan giderlerdi, cok erken yani. Iste adetleri oyle turlu turlu onlarin.

Narrative 31- Meliha

Iste ayni bizim gibi giyinirlerdi iste ama simarikliklari ustlerindedi yani. Bi ara simardi onlar cok. Yani cok icerlerdi bi de. Davul calarlardi, rahatsiz ederlerdi insanlari mahallede. E biz de Turkleriz yani, namaz kilariz kuran okuruz. Rahatimiz olmadi yani onlardan.

Narrative 32- Solmaz

Deli arifin babasi vardi Arap... Iri yari bir insandir, bi elleri var benim ellerim iki misli kadar. Eller boyle havada gezer. Hakiki arap yani, zebani. Onun kaldridigi yuku kimse kaldiramazdi hammalarin icinde. O gencken de boyleymis. Boyle babam anlatirdi. Biz delikanliyken imrenirdik ona. Yanaklari kipkirmizi. Siyah yani esmerdi. O kirmiziyla siyah karisimi bir renk olurmus boyle. O zamanin Bayramic'in eczacisin evlatlik degil de bunu yanina calistirmaci aliyo. Buna ayak islerini. Eczaci ya Bayramic'te bi tane eczaci var. Guclu kuvvetli gorunce bunu ayak seyi olarak evlatlik gibi almis onu. Ne yerse onu yediriyomus. Eve sokuyomus, evde yiyomus, dukkanda yiyomus. Yani kendi hayati nasil ne yiyosa araba da aynisini veriyomus. Ama Arab'in gencligi… Simdi iri yari ve guclu kuvvetli ve yasantisi nasil biliyo musun fakir tabi ne de olsa hammal. Kahve kose-firin koselerinden bayat ekmek alirmis onu oyle yermis. Su istedigi zaman koseptik borulari falan yok, sular disari akarlardi. O lagim sularindan degil de, disari akan sulardan, yani evden bi su cikiyo ama ne suyu camasir suyu olsun, bisey yikiyo cikiyo, o sulardan icermis suyu, cesmeye falan gitmezmisti.e vinin onunden su akiyo ya birisi hemen ordan egiliverir icermisti. Ama ne sihhat diyo babam. Sonra eczaci evlatlik almis, arap gun gectikce erimeye baslamis. Gun gectikce erimeye baslamis. O heybetten bisey kalmamis. Boyle, sallanmaya baslamis. Oluyomus, birak sunu ya yedirme buna bisey. Ondan sonra azat etmis adam, tekrar bu eski hayatina donmus, gene orlardan su icmis, iste copluklerden

ekmek toplamis, bilmem ne yapmis gene olmus boyle zebani gibi bisey.
Narrative 33- Meliha

Bi keresinde onlarda yedigimde biri bana kusucaksin dedi orda yedigini. Kizim bak dedim 'e emme onlar da insan ya' dedim cok yakin komsum dedim. Sonra sizlerden iyi olmasin yidirmeyi icirmeyi cok severler onlar. Haa. Kusman lazım yedigini dedi. Onlar da abdest yok namaz yok dedi. Emme nimet olur mu Allah'in nimeti.

Narrative 34–Common Superstition

Cingeneyle evlenen kisi afedersin cunip oldugu vakit, kadinla erkek birlestigi vakit, ayaginin altina tugla koycaksin, yo kiremit koycaksin o eriyinceye kadar su dokceksin cuniplik cikmaz derler.

Narrative 35- Melis

Kapilarini, pencerelerini hic kapamazlar. perdelerini falan hic kapatmazlar. Tanri bizi korusun. Kusura kalma ama karilariyla kocalariyla oynastiklarini bile gorebilirdin. Onlar genis insanlar, hic biseyden utanmazlar, sikilmazlar. Ne sikilirlar, ne sozlerini sakinirlar. Ayip mi degil mi bakmazlar. Yani kufrederler. Cok rahattirlar.

Narrative 36- Ismail

Onlarin yasantilarini pek tasvip etmez bizim toplumumuz. Simdi her evde bi araba var kizim. Burda koylunun yok. Belki koylunun tarlasi capasi vardir ama onlar bi de buldugu zaman cok gezerler, yasantiyi cok sever onlar. Mesela burdan bakkale bile arabayla geliyolar. Birisi motor alsin hepsi alir, birisi bisiklet alsin hepsi alir. Birisi evine tavuk goturusun, butun o mahalle tavuk gotururler evlerine. Bi de boyle gosterir de gider birbirlerine. Cahil kesim birbirlerine nispet yaparlar. Oyle bi toplum Roman toplumu.

Narrative 37- Necla

Mesela bi Hidirellez senlikleri olur burda gideriz. Annannenler, annenler hepsi gideriz. Panayir yerinde salincak kurulur, yemek yenir eglenilir filan ama onlar sazli sozlu giderler, kuzular. Herkes kurabiye, borek, Hidirellez pilavi yapip gider ama onlarin saltanati o gun cok farklidir, yemekleri ickileri bilmemneleri. Hatta birini bak hic unutmam artik herkes yedi icti, onlar ickilerini iciyolar. biz evimize geliyoz. Kalkivermis adam kafayi da bulmus. "He he Hidirellez dedigin boyle olur." Hic unutmam onu. [gulusmeler] Boyle iste duygularini cok acik yasayan insanlar. hissettiklerini ortada yasayan insanlardi onlar. Bizlerde genelde oyle bisey olmaz. Biz uzuntumuzu de sevincimizi de cilginca yasamayiz, biraz daha sinirlandiririz aslinda onlar daha guzel ama...

Narrative 38- Necla and her mother Ayfer

ama onlarda bir [annesi:Turkten ayrilmazlardi] ayrilmazlardi da gene de Cingenelerde kural disi, kendini gosterme motifi daha fazla sanki. onlar boyle kucucuk meseleyi buyuk bir mesele gibi, hani olaylari cok buyuturler, sineye cekme olayi yoktur onlarda. Onlar herseyleri acikta oyle insanlardi. Bana oyle geliyo, psikolojik olarak yani onlar hep kendini on plana cikarmak. Mesela eskiden boyle her mevsim her sey bulunmazdi Mayis geldigi zaman Hidirellez zamani filan biber domates tek tuk gelir. Poset de yok o zamanlar bizim

cocuklugumuzda kagittan poset yaparlar, onun icine koyarlar. Altinda ne olursa olsun ustte domates salatalik artik o turfanda ya buyuk bir onurdur, kimseler alamaz onlar alur "Iste biraz domates aldim." Onlarda yani boyle disari acik, daha bi ne denir nasil tarif edilir o duygu, ben oyle diyom kendini gosterme

Narrative 39- Ismail

Iyidir ama yani biraz bunlar fakirligin verdigi yasam tarzi olarak biraz daginik insanlardir yani, pistir. Mesela cocuklari fazladir bizlerden. Oyle bir uyumsuzluk sayiliyosa bilmiyom yani. Ha bakabiliyosan 10 tane yap bisey degil de oyle saglikli kosullarda yasiyosa. Bi de halk bunlari seyden sevmez, bu kisiler agir kosullarda calsimya alismamislardir. Hep boyle bunlarin yaptiklari isler ne diyeyim sana calgi, bunalr biliyosun muzisyenlikle gecinirler, burda bi dizi ahlaklilar da, Ezine'ye git bak sokaga cikamazsin. Buyukleri soyler, kapkaccilik yaparlar. Burda ben bu yasima geldim bunlarin bi tanesinin hirsizlik yaptigini gormedim daha, o isleri yapmazlar. Bunlar boyle iste halkin tepkisini o topluyo yani hep bedavadan is. Burda akpliler goreve geldiginden beri bu vatandaslara erzak gibi yardimlar boslamadan veriliyo, buradaki bazi insanlarin da bu tepkisini cekiyo yani. Niye cekiyo o adam aksama kadar tarlada calisiyo, evine belki bi cuval komur goturebiliyo. Burdan traktorle bi cuval komur gidiyo bunlara, yardim fakir fukara fonundan karsilaniyo. Aslinda o evlerin durumu iyi yani calisabilir evde 3 tane 20-25 yasinda insan var. adamlar karisiyla beraber koylu insana tarlaya baklaya gidiyosa o insan da calismasi gerekir diye dusunuyo. Onun icin tepkililer yani.onra bunlarin hepsine devlet yesil karti vermis. O gidiyo istedigini alabiliyo hastaneden. Onlar biraz da suursuz yani yalan soyluyo benim malim yok. Olmayabilir de ama o ondan faydalanma yoluna gitmis. O yuzden halk ona tepkili.

Narrative 40- Ismail

Cok az. Cok inceliyolar. Bunlarda varsa bile baskasinin ustune geciriyo. Ben bi olaya sahit oldum, calgici bi adam, araba almis, arabayi Ezine'de bi kardesi var onun ustune gecirdi. Sordum ben abi bana yesil kart vermezler yoksa dedi. O cocugun oyle islemleri yapiyoz Canakkale'de hersey bitti o cocuk da davulcu. Ben imza bilmem dedi cocuk, noter hanim sruyo, ama cocugu gorsen ordu evinde de askerlik yapmis ankarada. Noter hanim dedi benim o zaman bu seyi bozmam lazim, bana sahit ol dedi. Sonra cocuk beni bir hafta sonra geldi. abi dedi biz yanlis yapmisiz ya meger kredi karti borcu varmis, simdi benim arabama haciz gelecek dedi, o zaman dedim tekrar degistri oglum. Artik burda kimin ustune aldi bilmiyom. Yani bu toplumun, halkin tepkisini ceker. Guzel dugunler olur mesela burdaki en garibani 200-300 milyon para koyar cebine. Burdaki halk da onu.. Buradan gecer adam et alir, tavuk alir, kiyma alir, balik alir, ayni gun, ayni gun yapar bunlari. Boyle sonra insanlar bi de bugun buldgunu bugun hacamaya calisir. Bi de yasantiyi cok severler.

Narrative 41- Rana

Inan bak kizim yani gucune gitmesin hirsizlik olan Turklerde bak fakirlerde bisey yok, orospuluk olan. Gecenlerde neler duyuldu. karilari kendi buluyo kizlarina kendileri buluyomus. Bizde ne hirsizlik. Karakol bilir bizi. Ne hirsizliginiz var diyo ne orospulugunuz var ne biseyiniz. Ac otururuz bu aksam hic sesimiz cikmaz. Zaten oyle cocuklarimiz bisey yapsa biz burda duramayiz yavrum. Biz iyiligimizle duruyoruz burda yavrum. Oyle derim Huseyin'e. Huseyin saat 12 oldu mu evine gel.

Narrative 42- Seyyal

Aslinda biz Selanik'ten gelmeyiz. O zamanlar, Ataturk "siz benim Turklerime dokunamazsiniz" demis. Bu yuzden dedelerimiz gemilerle gelmis. Bu yuzden biz aslinda Turk'uz ama buraya gelince bizim adimizi buna cikarmislar.

Narrative 43- Mahir

Simdi bacim sen bizim tanri misafirimizsin, sen bizim kizimizsin. ben soyle soylim. Ne demek bu roman ne demek yani benim buna aklim ermiyo. Yani Cingene anlaminda kullaniyo. Simdi soyle bisey oluyo. Roman deyince bir grup toplumdan disari itiliyo. Roman deyince var ya dunyanin en adi seyi. Her irktan terbiyesiz insan var.

Narrative 44- Sukufe

Ben Romanligi kabul etmem. Neden edeyim? Benim annem, babam Selanik'ten gelmis. Burdaki insanlar bize bunu yapistirmis. […]Sen bu kelimeyi bana soyluyosan ben degil Sen utanmalisin. Ben degil ben utanmam. Kendini dusuruyosun. Ben utanmam Romanligi da kabul etmem. Cingenece bilmem, baska bi dil bilmem, Turkce biliyom. budur yani.

Narrative 45- Sukufe

Dilim yok kabul etmem ben bunu. Esim de bana diyemez ki sen de Romansin diyemez. Bilerek aldi. Hakki yok. Canim onlar da Roman olarak biliyo bizi. E sonucta ben soylerim esime Bosnak derim, Bosnak. O da bana muhacir derse diyebilir. Ama Roman diyemez.

Narrative 46- Rana

Ha onlar bilir iste. Onlar konusuyo oyle gala gula gala gula. Onlar bilir onlar, biz bilmeyiz oyle.

Narrative 47- Ezgi

Biz oyle dil bilmeyiz kizim asla. Biz bilmeyiz oyle. Dilimiz hayatta yoktur bizim. Bak suya pani derlermis hakkatten. Biseye bisey derlermis bilmem ben. Yanimda patara kutere konusuyolar. bazi buraya bisiler satmaya getiriyolar da. [Muhacirler de] bilmez. Hic vallahi bilmez ben neden saklicam.

Narrative 48- Sukufe

Onlarin yeri yurdu var mi, onlar geziyo. Ama benim yerim yurdum belli yani. Evim [...] Turkoglu Turkum. Ayni bayragin altinda yasiyorum ayni suyu iciyorum Ayni camiye gidiyorum ayni gomuluyorum. Simdi soruyosun bana Turkmenlerin mezari ayri. Onlar irk ayrimi yapiyolar ama ben irk ayrimi yapmiyorum. Peygamberim ayni, Hazreti Muhammed. Onlar Ali'ye tapiyolar. Ali'ye tapiyo diye onlari da dislayamazsin. Dinde ayrim olmaz. Politikayla dini karistirmicaksin. Bu boyledir yani.

Narrative 49- Alper

Ya burda gorursun bak. yasayis tarzi olarak. Mesela bizim su karsidaki insanlarimiz yasayislari bambaska. Istanbul'dakiler ayni bunlarla bir, ayni keza. Iste Romanlik bundan geliyo. Simdi sen normal bir vatandassin senin yasayis seklin baska. Mesela memursun bunlarin gibi bir yasantin yok, sana kimse diyemez Roman diye.

Narrative 50- Alper

Bak mesela bizim karsimizda Sepetciler oturuyo. Onlara cilingir derler, bilirsin. Mesela biz kendi halimizde yasayan bir insaniz. Simdi ben onlarla bir miyim. Insan birdir ama yasayis bicimi, kultur farki var yani. Ben simdi kendimi onlarla bir tutamam. Onlarin yasayis bicimleri ayridir. Yani ne bileyim agizlarinda olsun yasantilarinda olsun bizde o yoktur. Simdi sen kendini onlarla bir tutabilir misin. Insan insandir da. Sana da sorsalar onlarla oturuyosun sen onlardan misin, hayir onlardan degilim. Ama insan olarak deger veririm, yasanti olarak ayiririm. Budur yani. demek istedigimi anladin mi yani. Onlarin bohcaci gibi hayatlari vardir, kaynasmalari vardir, ates yakarlar, yemeklerini yaparlar. Toplanirlar ederler, kavga yaparlar acarlar teybi baslarlar oynamaya. Bende o yoktur. Yani demek istedigim bu.

Narrative 51- Fazil

Bizimkiler kalkarlar sabah abdesini alir, caya giderler su doldururlar, sen ne istiyosun. Mesela Hizir Ali Hussalamdan, doner gelirsin. Ama onlar cicek takarlar, gulerle oynarlar, ates yakarlar.

Narrative 52- Cevza

E gavurlar onlara da dunyayi yapmislar ya orda. Onlara da yapmislar. Dayimlar varmis. Meydan dayagi atmis gavurlar. Ataturk demis ki boyle bi adam varmis, dedem anlatirdi. Annem de boyle guzelmis. Annem soyluyo cisimizi yapiyoduk boyle salardik korkudan. Siz demisler bayramda tak tak silah atarsiniz demisler. Ataturk'ten bir emir gelmis. Benim Turkume bir zarar yaparsaniz, bu cizmeleri bana giydirmeyin size sildiririm demis. Bu aksam gemi gelecek, o gemiye benim Turklerimin hepsi binecek demis. Ben Turkumu ordan aldiriyom demis. Bak benim cizmelerimi giydirmeyin size sildiririm demis.

Narrative 53- Berrin

Ataturk de cocukken o mahallede otururmustu. Daha yukarlarda otururmus. Burdan sey vardi oldu yasli adam. O da cocukmustu. Ataturk hic egilmemis cocukken bile. Ama tabi onlar daha asagida oturuyolarmis.

Narrative 54- Cevza

Ama bizim kulturumuz daha bi baskadir, acik gorusluyuz. Daha kulturluyuz daha boyle bakimliyiz. Onlar hemen gelin bi kahve yapcak sabah boyle gelcek. Konusmalari bile degisiktir onlan. Ne de olsa yerlisi buranin. Biz muhacir, herhalde Avrupa'liyiz. Avrupa gormusuz.

Narrative 55- Rana

Biz dedik muhaciriz, Ataturk cocuguyuz. Hayir degilsiniz dedi Rauf. Biz de Ataturk'un komsusuyuz, senin boyle mi yapman lazim bize. Ataturk cocuklariyiz dedik. Kizim nasil oldular biliyo musun boyle asker gibi. Burdan Camlik'a kadar. Ne o taslamalar. Kapi pencere hic kalmadi yavrum.

Narrative 56- Fazil

Harp zamani gibiydi. Herkes divan altina girdi, bunlar yasandi yani. Biz sadece camdan baktik. Karanlik her taraf, kacsan nereye kacican. Ama tek umit care kacmak. Evde kalip olmektense kacican.

Narrative 57- Sebiye

Bayrak ellerinde. Dag basini duman almis. Marslan yuruduler. Ahmet bak halen aklima gelince tuylerime bak nasil oluyo. [...] Acayip bir sesti ya korkmamak mumkun degil yani. Gokyuzunden ucak gecer ya oyle oldu. Ama Allah'imiza sukur olsun…

Narrative 58- Savci, Milliyet 27 Subat 1970 sf 4

Canakkale, ozel, Bayramic ilcesinde kıptilerin yolactıgı ikinci olayda sokaklara dokulen halktan bir gurup tarafından tas ve sopalarla basından yaralanan Bayramic savcısı Rahmi Ozel, yaptıgı acıklamada "Valiligin duruma zamanında mudahale etmedigini" one surmus ve "Zamanında gelinseydi muessif hadiseler onlenebilirdi. Zaten idare cihazı olarak mani zabıtanın memleketimizde siyasi tesirlerle islemeyisi yuzunden Adliye muskui vaziyette kalmakta, savcılar harcanmaktadır" demistir.
Halen Canakkale devlet hastanesainde tedavi altında bulunan Bayramic savcısı, "Onceki olaydan oturu tutuklanan ve asgari cezalarını doldurdukları icin tahliye edilen kıptilerin, kendisi tarafından keyfi olarak serbest bırakıldıgını sanan kisilerin sakdırısına ugradıgını" belirtmis ve olayı ozetle soyle anlatmıstır:
"3 Ocak 1970'ten beri peyderpey yerli halk ile kıpti denilen en azından elli yıl once kasabanın Muradiye mahallesine merasimle yerlestirilen gocmen vatandaslar arasında kamyon rekabetinden, sair sahsi menfaat catısmasından cıkan hadiseler, mahalli zabıtanın calısabildigi imkanlar icinde bizzat memuriyetimizce tahkik edilmis, suc durumlarına gore her iki taraf hakkında ilgili mahkemeler nezdinde kamu davası acılmıstır. İlk olayda tutuklanması reddedilen iki kıpti, bir ust mahkeme nezdinde yapılan itiraz uzerine tevkif ettirilmistir. Son olarak 22 Subat gunu kıptilerden yerli halktan iki kisi aleyhine adiyen muessir fiil sucu islenmis, bunlardan birisi Canakkale'de digeri de Bayramic'te olmustur. Her iki sanık da polisce yakalanamamıstır. Bunlardan Canakkale'de yaralan sofor Halettin Er'in komada oldugu kasaba merkezinde agızdan agıza yayılmıstır. Bunun uzerine yerli halktan en az 3000 kisilik gurup, cadde ve sokaklarda ellerinde bayraklarla alabildigine bagırıp cagırmaya baslamıs, butun halk sokaga dokulmus, devlet otoritesi diye birsey kalmamıstır. 18 Ocak Pazar gecesi de boyle toplu bir hareket olmus, kıptilere ait 38 ev tahrip edilmisti. Tekrar hukuk dısı boyle bir durumun olmaması icin ilgililer uyarılmıs, evler etrafında jandarma ve polis tertibatı alınmıstır. Bunu goren kalabalık hukumet ve belediye binası onunde toplanmaya baslamıstır. Numayisler alabildigine buyumus, ben, Kaymakam Vekili, Belediye Baskanı, Askerlik subesi baskanı konusmalar yapmamıza ragmen numayiscileri yatıstırmak mumkun olmamıstır. Bunun uzerine saat 19'da durum vilayete bildirilerek yardım istenmistir. Ancak ilgililer saat 22'de gelebilmisler fakat is isten gecmistir. Zamanında gelinseydi muessif olaylar onlenebilirdi. Numayisciler Belediye Reis

dısarı diye bagırmaya baslamıstır. Belediye reisi de her ihtimale karsı ruhsatlı tabancasına agzına kursunu verdikten sonra hızlı adımlarla merdivenden asagı inmistir. Ben de kan dokulur dusuncesiyle Baskanın asagıya inmesine mani olmak isterken, merdivenlerde kalabalık bir gurupla karsılastım ve basımdan tasla yaralandım. Tekrar belediyeye cıkmak isterken bu kez 30-40 kisilik bir gurup uzerime geldi. Ben de uzerime gelmemeleri icin tabancamı mutecavizlere tevcih ettim. Fakat kullanmadım. İddia edildigi gibi tabancamı Emniyet Amiri de almamıstır. Yaptıgım hareketlerin dogru olusuna vicdanen inanıyorum. İmamın degil imanın yolcusuyum. Adalet kaba kuvvetin yerine giremez girerse onun adı adalet degildir."

Narrative 59- Huseyin Kiltas

Soylemez bizim halkimiz. Oyle insan. Olayin icindedir soylemez, ustume bisey sicrar diye korkar.

Narrative 60- Aydin

O zamanlar onlar burda esas kural koyucuydu. Ne isteseler yaparlardi. Onlarin karsisina kimse dikilemezdi.

Narrative 61- Kadir

Biz o zaman Bayramic'in basi oldugumuzdan herkes bize geldi. Bu Cingen cocuklari, mesela Dilaver'in oglanlari kizlari rahatsiz ediyo dedi. Bana boyle dediler. Ben de ne yaparsaniz yapin ama onleminizi alin dedim. Ben arkanizdayim, duserseniz tutarim dedim.

Narrative 62- Necmi

Sen o konuyu actiginda, benim yarami aciyosun. Bu yuzden insanlar anlatmak istemez. Zaten ne fark yaratcak? Buyuk saldiriydi. Insanlar hatirlamak bile istemiyor, zihninde tutmak istemiyor. Insanlar en aci hatiralarini anlatmak istemez. Ben onlari anlatip o anlari tazelemek istemem. Ben onu cok aci yasadim. Onu bir daha anlatrsam benim yaram desilmis olur. Ama cok derin seyler yasadik. Ben ailemi birakip askere gittim. Burda kalanlarin hayat sartini biraktim da gittim ben. Herkes ev ararken ben koguslari buldum. Nasil para kazanilir nasil gecincez ben bunu bilemedim 2 sene. Cunku devlet beni askere aldi bana ekmegimi sigarami iciyosam verdi ama burdaki biraktigim ailem noldu ben bunu hic bilemedim. Ve cok buyuk acidir. Sonra sen kirim yapiyosun. Sen bir bayrak altinda yasayan bir camiye giden bir mezara gomulen insanlari katletmeye calisiyosun. Bunun meselesi nedir bunu anlatsinlar bana yapanlar. Ondan sonra ben geleyim konusayim. Sen o adama git benim ne kosulum var anlat ona tiris gelir duygulanmaz bile 1000 kisiden 10 kisi cikar belki ama [...] Yapanlar da cocuguna zafer kazanmis gibi anlatyor. Zafer gibi gorurse ben o cocugu karsima alip anlatmam bile necdet. Sen bir kitap yaz bunu okuyacak yine de 15 ksi cikacak.

Narrative 63- Ilker Tortor

Bizim ortaokulumuz vardi. Vatandaslar dedigimiz Cingenelerin mahallesinden geciyorsun, laf atiyolar. Eskiden. Yapacagi koyluler satar. Ceviz badem. Noksan tartarlardi alirken. 20 kilo tartmis 15 kilo tartiyo, zorla aliyo, istersen verme bir de sopa yiyosun. Bunlar birikim, birike birike toplumda. Yasar abinin at arabasi var. Onun

arabasini taskopruden atiyolar defalarca. Taskopruden. Halk o kadar kizmis ki. O zaman biz odunu esekle alirdik. Alan Tepecik'e cikmis. Onune kim gelirse gelsin hakli. O evlerin catilarini cignediler. Biri omuzuna cikiyor onlar cikariveriyor. Kiremitleri atiyorlarmis.

Narrative 64- Solmaz

Kabadayi olunca kalabaliklastilar. Simdi sen yalnizsin napican. Bunlarla bas edemiyosun dayak yiyosun. Mesela ucurtma ucuruyosun. Cingenenin bitanesi cirt kesiverir. Aglaya aglaya eve gidersin. Gordum yasadim ben bunlari. Gelir boyle sak jiletle kesiverir naparsin bisey yapamazsin. Bunlar biraz daha kuvvetli de oluyolar hammal olduklarindan. E azinlik zaten birliktir. Biz gidiyoz. E babamiz da cekiniyo onlardan. Herkes boyle icine atiyo. […] Kime sikayet etcen.

Narrative 65- Solmaz

Meyhanelerde icerken hadise cikarir bunlar. Hadise cikarcaklar ya. Bayramic'e hakim olmaya calistilar. Harac kesmeye basladilar. Ismarla bakalim diyo, dagitiveriyo. Bi sise sarap soyle bakalim bana diyo. Sadece cocuklar degil buyukler de basladilar. Mesela muradiye mahallesinden gecerken laf atiyolar. Gozun hangi sahada olursa olsun bunlar hakimiyet kurmaya calistilar. Iste bunlarin ele baslari var.

Narrative 66- Nitki

Biz Cingenelerden dolayi sokaktan gecemezdik Carsamba gunleri. Onlar yollara cikar hayvanlarla ilgili semerdi bilmem neydi o zamanlar onlar yapardi. Biz de gecerken istersen bi bas ne bileyim onlarin malina zarar ver ya da yakinindan gec ruzgarin carpsin hemen doverlerdi bizi. Milletin canina tak dedi. Iste ne bileyim. sonra bizim kizlarimiza laf atildi. Cok sey gorduk. Sen kenarda gidiyosun. Bi vurur nerden geldiginiz anlamazsin. Yasarlar vardi. Onlarin sozu daha cok gecerdi. Biz onlari gorduk mu kacacak delik arardik. 16 yasinda falandim. Burdan bayrak cektiler belediyenin onunden. O Yasar'i tas kopruden arabasiyla attilar. Sevindim yani, uzulcem yerde sevindim. Neden, cok bizim canimizi yakardi. Bayragi cektiler. Savci da ordaydi. Tepecik'e dogru gittik. [...] Bunlar soylenmez yani. Doktor mustafanin hanimi. Kotu kotu sarkintiliklar. Sozle de baska seyelrle de.

Narrative 67- Solmaz

Bunlar baslattilar. Birileri baslatirsa buyur. Baslatamdan nasil buyucek. Oburkulerin de hosuna gitmeye basladi. Hakimiyet guzel bisey olmaz mi canim. Onlar da ona katilmaya basladi. Simdi bunlar bir butun olmaya basladilar. Klarnetcilerin, yani bu muzisyenlerin icinde de var hatali insanlar, demogoji uygulayan, baski uygulayan insanlar var onlarin icinde de. Ve bi an geldi, Bayramic'teki bazi insanlar sokaga cikamaz oldular. Tabi canim ondan sordum sana. Acaba biz yaptik, bizim kabahatimiz var mi yok mu diye soylediler mi diye sordum sana.

Narrative 68- Meliha

Iste bu Cingeneler nefret ettirdi yani milleti. Cok kalabalikti onlar. Bayramic'i nerdeyse alcaklardi hemen hemen. Bayramic alcaklardi. Onlari kirdi onlar, millet de kurtuldu, hinci hic boyle sey yapmazlar yani sesleri miklari cikmaz. Iyi oldu bi yonden de cok iyi oldu coluk cocuk gidemiyodu. Lise yoktu eskiden ortaokul vardi orda Camlik'ta, ordan

giderlerdi iste. Alem de laf soyletir mi cocuguna kizim.

Narrative 69- Salim

Donunce bisey yapmadilar artik ama kedi gibi oldu hepsi, pustu, hizaya geldiler. Kavga cok buyuk cunku. Sonunda evin var barkin var isin var, bi anda seni burdan terk ettiriyolar. Sikistiriyolar, baska yerde yasamak kolay mi. Uslandilar artik.

Narrative 70-Ismail

Bizim olaylar cok onemlidir. Bi olay cikiyo, karakola havale oluyo. Savci seliveriyo, tutuklamiyo. Her aksam bi olay yapiyolar. Ufak tefek hirsizlik, rontgen, sozle rahatsiz etme.. ticaretle ugrasanlar az tartardi, kandirirlardi. Savci onlari saliverirdi. 'Savci Cingeneymis' diye soz dolanmayan basladi. Savci bi Cingene kadinla berabermis diye dedikodu cikti. Savciyi tuttular, silahini cikardi […] Bayramic'te olaylar hemen ates aliverir, Bayramic insani sosyal bi olayda hemen birlik oluverir.

Narrative 71- Sebiye

Sen bebeksin bak tas bebek burda. Sen bebeksin tas bak burda [hemen dibini gosteriyo]. Bak Allah melakesinle ne kadar korumus. Annem oraya cekilmis Rafet'ler oraya cekilmis. Orta yerde kundaginlan benim bebek kalmis. Biri dedi ki "Aa bebegi alsaniza" dedi Melahat Eltim. Aldiklari gibi annem kucagina. Bak bebek kundak tas boyle benim Murat'in yaninda. 2. de oluyo bu. 1 hafta sonra 15 gun. ay istemiyom hic bunlari anlattirim. Cok sinir oluyom. Nasil insanlar di mi yuzune bakilip da merhaba komsu. Bak evinde 3. katinda oturuyom simdi. Iste bunlari yapan komsulardan da sesler duyuldu, komsular dahi girmis bu isin icine (hiddetleniyo). Bizim mahallemizdeki komsular. Hilmi Aga demis, "Girmeyin gelin logsa var icerde" bunlara. Sondurun sondurun Emine Abla'nin seyini kisin da kirin seyini, fenerini, salondan geccekler arka bahceye bize. Camimizi kircaklar. O zaman ahmet amcam geliyomus oyle mantar tabancasiylan. Aa aa bizi burda oldurcekler kacalim gidelim diyolarmis.

Narrative 72-Cevza

Bizi aldilar evine ama biz aradan seyrediyoz, ben seyredemedim korkudan. Buranin kalabaligi boyledi (eliyle tiklim tiklim isareti yapiyor- parmaklar yukariya dogru birlesmis) boyledi. Aman nasil kiriliyoz biliyon mu allaaaahh felaket. Cok cok cektik. Hatta birinci kirista bi de Ayse Abla'larin evine sigindik biz. Canakkale'ye gittik ikinci kirista artik. Sonra yine buraya geldik. Arabalar almiyo bizi. Yollarda ziyan olduk. Adamlar korkudan alamiyo ki tehditler var. Cikiyoduk kasabanin disindan biniyoduk bi de arabalra. Gidiyoduk Canakkale'ye.

Narrative 73-Ezgi

O aksam az bisey oldu kavga da ertesi aksam bunlar koyluleri kentlileri toplamislar guzel kizim. koyden kentten. Herkesi toplamislar, icirmisler, icirmisler asagilarda rakilari. Butun millet burada pencerede bak, kolum da kalkmiyo. Buram cok aciyo. Bak bura pencere kizim. Onlar kirdilar burayi. Iste o aksam kapilan onlende munakasa oldu. Bilemiyom da. Beyim dedi sana ne. Ya dedim bunlar ayirmiyo herkesi. Cok bu ne kavga. Kari kizan girisiyo nolcak bilmem dedim. Sana dedi yine bu yat yerine dedi. Ertesi aksam bi geldiler gara Fatime vardi manav manav. Allah rahmet eylesin. Eminee Emineee. "Ne moru?

Fadime noldun sen?" dedim. Vallahi hic kimseyi ayirmicaklar kirip geciriyolar her tarafi. "Ne kapi diyolar. Ne oldurmekten korkuyolar" dedi. Ben gidiyom dedi kari da, bi yere gitmedi pustu surlara. Kariyi oldurcekler. Koluma bak aciyo. Ondan sonra. Annaaamm dadacikla da yatiyo orta yelerde karinciklarini doyurdular da. Dadalam kucuk. Hepsi kucuk. Bu Ankara'daki Erdogan kucuk, Yilmaz kucuk, Aysel daha 1 yasinda. 2 yasinda mi yalan olmasin. Anam dadalamizi kacircaz. Artik nereye gircegimizi. Gari govuklara giriyoz. Dadalamiz olmesin diye. Cemal'in arkasina tasla gelmis boyle boyle sisti. Yaa neler cektik guzel gizim biz. Bizde bi kabahatcigimiz yok.

Narrative 74- Ezgi

Sikecekler gari bizi. Oyle demisler. Biz ne yapicaz bi karilara demisler. Lanetlere bak. Neler cektik neler. Benim dede de anlamazdi. Dedeye dedim ki geldim. Boyle boyle dedim. Hadi bisey olmaz dedi. Hep oyle dersin be lanet herif dedim. Hadi ben gidiyom sen kal burda dedim. Ondan sonra. Hemen ben dadalamin ortasina bi bez mi kodum, dadalama bi anteri mi kodum. Hemen bi cikicik yaptim da hadi ben gidiyom. O da hemen benim arkama dustu. Kapiyi kilitliyo. Hadi ne kitlicem, onlara kilit milit dayanmiyo. Nolursa. Canaklari dagitmislar, tabaklara sicmislar. Almislar, kirmislar dokmusler. Biseyimiz yok. Artik koca caya kosturuyoz hepimiz. Urgan gibi olduk sicim gibi olduk.

Narrative 75-Cevza

Emre abim de o zaman babasi da elinde capa. Biz de anamla sikistik boyle bir koseye. Ninecagzim boyle kapida duruyo iceri girmesinler diye. Pencereden bakarken birini gordum kahveci Huseyin vardi.

Narrative 76-Fazil

"Bi sokaga girdiklerinde 'Bura kimin evi?' 'Fazil'in evi.' 'Vur!' 'Bura kimin evi?' 'Ahmet'in evi.' 'Vur.' 'Bura kimin evi?' 'Hasan'in evi.' 'Dur, ellemeyin'."

Narrative 77- Rana

Dovuyolardi cocuklari. Nerde gitcek. Kac sefer dayak yedi oglum benim. Gittim ogretmenlerine. Geceleyin disari cikamazdik korkudan. Gunduz desen oyle. Carsiya cikmiyodu bizimkiler. Hic carsiya cikmazlardi. Aahh neler cektik o zamanlar. Iste o zaman okumadi cocuklar. [...] Evet. Simdi onun arkadaslari bak bana geliyolar. Orhan hepimizden caliskandi diyolar. Subay oldu onlar. O da olacakti. Almanya'da calisiyo simdi. Ne is yapiyo bilmiyorum.

Narrative 78- Rana

Karanlikta sessiz durduk. Korkunun icindeyiz. ahhh. ahh kizim. ben ankaraya gittim de kizim, gece gidiyom ankaraya kaledeykene. annemler ankaraya kactilar. Ben de gittim onlari goreyim dedim. Bizimkiler kalede, ben Ankara'yi da bilmiyom. Kardesim telefon acmisti, Hasan kardesim. Ben alirim onu demis garajdan. Biz de Kale'deyiz, butun millet yok burda ama. Giderkene herkes misil misil uyuyo. Koyler geciyo ya. Ahh bu benim evim olsun derdim iste yollarda koyden geciyoz ya misil misil uyuyo herkes. Ahh biz de neler olduk. Ahh boyle agliyodum, yanimda da doktorun karisinin annesi varmisti. [...] Kasabalarin icinden geciyoz bakardim, bak millet nasil uyuyo, biz nasil olduk, evimizden olduk, barkimizdan olduk, cocuklarimizdan olduk, cocuklairmiz okuyodu, ziyan olduk

diye onlara agliyom ben. Anladin mi. Annem nerde babam nerde.

Narrative 79- Salih

1-2 gun olmutsu. o aksam cok is buyudu. Ben bu konusmayi yaptiktan sonra. Dilaver Bey vardi hakim, seni iceri alirim dedi. Bana dedim Rusya'ya bi pasaport cikart, beni oldurtcen mi sen dedim, soyleyemem. Soylim Rusya'ya kacim dedim. [...]Savci genc esmer uzun boylu, ama onun yedigi dayaga herkes dayanmaz. Ben vuruyom senin kucagina, sen vuruyon benim kucagima, duvarlara.

Narrative 80-Mukhtar Kemal

Belediyenin balkonunaa merdiveni dayadilar. Goruyoz ama biz yapmayin etmeyin imkani yok diyemezsin sen de yirsin dayak. Ayaklanmis bi kere.

Narrative 81- My uncle Selim

Zaten bilincli halk, ben memurum ogretmenim bunlari tasvip etmiyorum ama biz de seyrediyoz. Ha Cingenelere kizanlar, esnaftan da bunlara destek veren, 'aferin guzel yaptiniz' diyenler olmustur. Esnaftan diyom hani Kadir'e aferin, simarikti bunlar iyi oldu diyenler oldu yani ama sagduyulu insanlar hic bir zaman bunu tasvip etmediler. […] Seslerini cikarmadilar, simdi soyle orgutlu degiller ki. Simdi saldiranlarin dernekleri, soforler dernekleri falan var ya kahveleri falan, orgutluyolar. Halit de bu isin icindeydi ama Halit Kadir'in emrinde, daha sonar halit de adam oldurdu. Kadir de karisini oldurdu, evde doverken karisini bogdu.

Narrative 82- Aydin

Millet sesini cikarmadi. Mesela savci dovuldu, dovulduguyle gitti. Cingenleri tasladilar falan. Ben bisey desem beni yakalicaklar.

Narrative 83- Meliha

Korkma miyiz dadam korkma miyiz emme bize bisey yapmadi onlar onlar biliyo kimin Cingene evi oldugunu biliyio onlar. Amca dedi korkma dedi kitle kapini icerde dur.

Narrative 84- Meliha

Tabi. Sabah kalktik. Ayse Abla dedim burlar noldu dedim."Sil agzini. Hic sesin cikmasin yani boyle agzini sil kizim dedi baksana bunlar bu aksam kirdilar burayi dedi kapidan." Iste mesela hic sesimiz cikmasin dedi. Hani otekile ofkeli kaldir bize de biseyler yaparlar dedi. O kadincagiz oyle dedi bana. Hic sescagzin cikmasin, gir evinin icine dedi.

Narrative 85- Ayfer

E korkmaz olur muyuz. Insan biribirine gece gunune cikamadik.

Narrative 86- Canan

Benim dogum zamanim olaylar cikcak diye duyuldu. Boyle boyle, burdan Bayramic'ten

surcekler diye. Ben de iste normal rutin yuruyusleri yapiyorum. Artik iyice dogum halindeyim. Ormanin onune kadar geldik. Belediyenin onunde bi ugulutu. Su yan taraf. Oraya geldim. Arkadan bi ugultu. Bi de baktim, kara bulut gibi boyle bir bulut geliyo. Ellerinde buralarinda artik sopa miydi artik neydi. Megerse babama telefon aciyolar. Nurcan, annemin yanina 14 yasinda girdi, hep buranin kiziydi yani, simdi bu benimle [gulusuyolar ama boyle toparlama gulusmesi gibi]. Ondan sonra duymuslar Mehmet Bey sey yapiyo diye ki babam da burada sey yani. bi de ciktim ben balkonda tufekle dikiliyo. Yani oyle onlari hatriliyorum. Girdik iceri, sonra dondurmus. Jandarma da orda ya karakol hep ordadir. Gelmediler yani. Birisi telefon ediyo babama. Sizin eve geliyolar, muhafaza ediyomusun insanlari, cikar evden diye.

Narrative 87- Handan

Bize mektup yazmislardi. Ummuhan Abla calisiyodu bizde. "Iste calistirmicaksiniz yaninizda." [...] Hatta bi tanesi geldi bizim kapida bagirdi, ama onlari falan duymasinlar. Iste hakaret etti. [Halit] Kimse de cikip bir telefon edivermedi... Aradi telefon. Pek kimse de yoktu. onlar da edivermedi. Ama herkes korkuyordu. Telefon edip de anlasilirsa bana zarar verirler diye.

Narrative 88- Salih

MEKTUBA GEREK YOK CANIM. Hic kimse Cingene calistiramaz. calistirdin mi cami cerceveyi kirarlar. Ben sana canli tarif verim. Sen calistirdin mektup yazmaya gerek yok. Istanbul'da mesela anarsistler sey yaptigi vakit, mesela cocuklar gecti mi kepenkleri kapatin diye sinyal veriyo onlar. Anlayabildin di mi. Burda da mektup yazmak bile yok. yalniz Cingenlere is verenin is yerini perisan ediyolar.

Narrative 89- Ramiz

Tehditler Romanlarin isverenlerini de icine aldi. Benim cipim vardi. Koylere nakliyat yapiyordum. Bir gece, Roman calistiriyorum diye dort tekeri de bicaklamislar. Kimlerin yaptigini biliyordum ama soylemek istemem. Ikisi olu ama neyse.

Narrative 90- Salih

Sonra halk is vermedi Romanlara. Halk romanlara is verenin, sen bi is verdin di mi sana zarar verirlerdi… Is vermediler . E adamlar ac kaldi. Kimisinin karisi Turk, kocasi Turk, bunlarin biraz faza ustune gidilmedi yalniz coku da gitti. Cingenlen donenleri oldu, donmeyenleri de oldu.

Narrative 91- Salih

Ya sir verilir mi? Milli mesele bu. Butun Bayramicin karsi ciktigi seyi sen korursan, onlarin aleyhinde.

Narrative 92- Salih

Mars mars! Istiklal marsi sokaklarda. yani Turkiye'yi kazandik, bizi bayraklarla gecmisler. yani biz gavurmusuz, onlar Turkmus bizi teslim aliyolarmis istiklal marsiyla.

Narrative 93- Fitnat

Bu sefer atartuk kovaladi gavuru. Gavurun burda durdugunu biliyom. Isiklari yaktirmazdi. Heryer karanlik. Boyle gece gezerlerdi Yunanlilar, korkardik. Aksam ezani oldu mu kapilari dayaklariz iste isik yok. [...]Gavurlara dediler hani gidilsin aci soguktu boyle. Gavurlar gitsinler evlerine, hani memleketlerine. Sonra bi obur daha geldi. Hani kalan kalsin giden gitsin hani yne evvelki gibi dursun dendi. Bu sefer kimi gitti kimi kaldi. Benim de abim var, ablam var. O abim de cobanlik yapiyomustu seyde koyunlarimiz varmis. Gavurun biri gelmis de kuzusunu arkasina sardirmis. Bilmem nereye kadar kuzuyu goturtturmus. bu sefer abim de gavurlar kesilcek kesilcek. Kutluoba seyinde camligi var oraya gitmisler, abim de gitmis. O demis o gavuru gorursem hani kuzumu arkamda tasittirdi, ben de demis yapim. Abim gitmisti hani gavurlara. Kalanlar gari kimi paraalri ekmek icine koymuslar. Kimi su seyine koymuslar testisine. Gari gidecekler biyere emme, nereye gideceklerini bilmiyolar. Kutluoba demligi var,orda kesmisler onlari. Orda kesilmis. Sonra orda cok paralar bulundu.

Narrative 94- Necla

iste boyle kimse cit cikaramiyo, bisey desen hemen kavga gurultu, Cingenelerin vardir ya oyle kendi edalari. Demek ki pek cok kisinin canini yaktilar ki bu millet oyle yapti. Yoksa sebepsiz yere boyle bir sey olmaz. Yani bi cesit soykirim gibiydi. Ah Rumlari dinlicektin yengem sag olcakti da. Bak onlar napmislar, Yunan mezalimi diye kimin kitabi o [sanki bu konuyu konsumayi daha cok seviyor gibi] onda yazar. Bi de Muhteremlerin Ismail Beyi Yunanlilar kursuna dizmis. Yunan isgali olunca herkes silahlarini biraksin demisler.

Narrative 95-Cevza

Iki uc kez gectiler, kizim, cok zarar yaptilar. Sanki gavur memleketinde yasiyoz. Yunanistanda olsak bu kadar yapmaz.

Narrative 96-Cevza
Selanikte yasamis bizimkiler. Koyde yasamamis. Sehirde yasamsilar. Koyde yasasalar oraya giderler, onlar begnememis koyu, burayi istemisler. Ev vermisler. Evleri satmislar bi yerde otumuslar. Yalniz oturamamislar korkuyolarmis. Iste nasil onlar oyle yasamis biz de kirimda oyle yasadik. Sanki burasi gavur memeleketi, korkardik insanlar laf soylucek. Ama simdi kimseden korkum yok.

Narrative 97-Ilker Tortor

Onlara o kadar yetiyo. Bak sonra bir kurt olaylari vardi. Kurtler teror estirdi. Bizim halk bunu kabul etmiyo. Hele bir de dagdan geleceksin bagdakini kovacaksin. Ufak tefek cocuk kavgasini buyutuyor, bunlar kendi tarafi diye toplaniyorlarmis. Ama kanunlar el vermiyor. Goturuyor saliveriyorlar. Yasalarin aciklarindan patlaklar cikiyor. Cunku ayrimcilik oluyo. Ayrimciligi o yapiyo. Bu sefer toplumda catisma oluyo. Tum vatanadaslar esittir. Bunlar onu kabul edemiyo. Azinlik olduklari icin. Ama azinlik cogunlugu ezmeye basliyo bu sefer. Bizde yok ama artik.

Narrative 98-Ismail

Bu olay soyle olmus. roman vatandaslar buradaki Turk vatandaslara karsi cesitli gunlerde tacize varincaya kadar hareketlerde bulunmuslar. Burada bi Turk Cingene seyi olmus,

catismasi mi diyeyim. Bi olay daha oldu bak onu da anlatayim. Ben Agri'da ogretmenlik yapiyom. Burada bi Kurt cocugu bi hayvanla biseyler yapiyo kusura bakma oyle deyim, burada onu yakaliyolar yaraliyolar, olduruyolar. sonra bu olen cocugun akrabalari o adamin oglunu lokantada olduruyolar. Burada yine halk galeyana geliyo, mitingler falan oldu burda, boyle Turk bayraklari ellerinde istemiyoruz falan. Onlari da taciz ettiler burda Dogulular.

Narrative 99- Ismail

Valla bak geldi basimiza ama boyle seyler oldu burda. Boyle halk infialine yol accak olaylar oldu. Bayramic'li halk da biraz duyarlidir yani. Yapi olarak oyle. Yani pek mesela ahlaksizliga veya baska turlu olaylara halk cok tepkili.

Narrative 100-Dark Ahmet

Cingenler hafif fazladi burda. Cingenlen acik. Onlarin tantanasi nolcak. Baskaldirmasinin dayak yemeleri baska bisey yok. Herkes gaza geldi. Burda nolcak Kurtlerin biri bisey dede, aynisi da oldu zaten. Kurtleri de patakladik biz. Polis mis falan duramadik. Salakla gidiyo millet. Simdi olsa nolur sen de gidersin. O gazlan o sinirle gidersin yani. Aynisi kibris harekatinda mesela. cikaran asker indiremiyo. O gunku gaz olsa ciktigi gun. O inancla cikar. Burda da o inancla cikiyo zaten. Bayramic birbirine baglidir, bunu bil.

Narrative 101-Ilker Tortor

Bayramic halkinin boyle imaji var, yaptirmaz diye bisey var. Simdi kasabada universiteliler var... Onlara da laf atan oglanlar var bizden. Cingenler olsaydi simdiye kadar coktan hallederdi.

Narrative 102-Solmaz

Subay olamazlardi o zaman. Mesela ben askeri lisedeyken birisi yanlislikla girmis, edirnedeki Cingenlerdenmis. Cocugu buldular, benim sinif arkadsimdi, ikinci siniftaydi, cocugun ismi Oguz'du. Ogretmen oldu sonra. Ogretmen yapiyolardi subay yapmiyolardi. Simdi subay var.

Narrative 103-Solmaz

Yasanin ciktigini ben bilmem. Ben sadece sunu bilirim o cocugu ordan aldilar. Yani bi Cingen cocugunun subay olmadigini bilirim.

Narrative 104-Necla

Herseyden ote, nufuslarinda kipti yazardi.

Narrative 105-Fitnat

Cingeneysen Cingene isini yap, babasi demircidi, dedeleri demricidi. Oglan yani nufusunu degistirdi. Bi sefer astsubay cikti. Bu dogru degil!

Narrative 106-Bidon Hilmi

Burdaki belediye baskani, polis hic mudahale edemedi. Hem yaptilar hem korktular kizim kendileri de.

Narrative 107-Huseyin Kiltas

Ali bayragi tasiyodu. hilmi vardi o zaman bu sey burda. Jandarma komutani. O askerlerle geldi onlemek icin ama o kadar asker nerde onlucek yaa esas durusa gecirdi Hilmi'yi bile. Turk bayragina saygi duy diye. Bayragi cektirdi, oteki de selam verdi valla, oyle cok kalabalik yaa. Alamiyo carsinin ici insanlari.

Narrative 108-Rana

Gencleri cok dovduler. Korkmuyorlardi ama napabilirler! Hic bi sey demediler. Belediye baskani, polisler birlik oldu burda, hepsi birlik oldu.

Narrative 109-Rana

Hic anlayamadik ki vallahi anlayamadik. bi agsam biz uyuyoz. "Sangir!" Benimki de cikti ne bu be. Kasap yakup var. Nedir yahu cocuklar tas icinde kaldi. Kim bunlari yapan, gavur elinde miyiz dedi benimki de o zaman. Cikti bagirdi. Yakup cikti kimdir bunlari yapan boyle dedi. Sonra komser geldi, surda oturuyodu. Geldi bi bakti bizi tas icinde, cam icinde. Iyi ki cocuklara gelmemis dedi. Ondan sonra kalktik biz gari cocuklar camlara basmasin diye. Pencereleri tahta kapladi. E gece kiriyolar. Babama ne dayak atmislar. Allah babam adamcagzi oldurduler. Komiser cok dovmus babami. Babam carsidan gelirken cekmisler onu karakola, gel buraya demisler. Para isterseniz versin, neden dovuyosunuz adami. Bi dayak atmislar bi dayak atmislar babamaa. Dovdurmusler. Babam felc gecirdi, Canakkalelere goturduk babami. Abdurrahman bey, Fahri bey vardi doktor. Getirdiler, felc gelmis adama uzuntuden. Babamlar da Kale'de durdular sonra.

Narrative 110-Cevza's mother

Etmedik sikayet nereye etcez?

Narrative 111-Anonymous

Vilayetten bisey yok, Ankara'dan patladi is.

Narrative 112-Anonymous

Oldurmek disinda naparsaniz yapin.

Narrative 113-Sebiye

Demirel yaptirdi. Allah ona bi gazap versin. Ne kadar hayvan. [...] Ister misin ortaya ciksin da utansin.

Narrative 114-Sebiye

Basimizdaki hukumet ilgilenmedi, o zamanki Demirel'di. Demirel vardi, ilgilenmedi. Halbuki bak buraya askeri sokabilirdi. Ezine'de asker vardi. Iste o zaman dediler. [...]Cocuklarimiz hep gastelere cikti, e Demirel o zaman gormedi mi o gasteleri. Ama neden ilgilenmedi Demirel hukumeti.

Narrative 115-Cevza

16 yasindaydim. Yasiyoduk Bayramicte, herseyimiz guzeldi. Bi de burda secime cok ilgi vardi. biz halk partiliydik. Bunlari yapanlar. Karistilar artik. O zamanki halk partili adalet partili ama sonra bunlar birlestiler, bizi kotu diye tanismislar basbakana. O zamanin basbakani Demireldi, hatta dediler ki Demirel kirdirtmis. Evleri yani. Eger o yaptiysa gunahimizi ceksin. Bilemicem artik. neler oldu. Yani cok cektik. O kadar cektik ya yani.

Narrative 116-Cevza

Bizi kotu diye tanitmislar. Bizi hep hirsiz ursuz diye tanitmislar. Aslinda genclerimizin hic biri… Ama kamyon… O bozdu ortaligi.

Narrative 117-Ezgi

Arabayi cekemediler. Arabadan kirim yaptilar guzel kizim. Arabadan iste sensin bensin derken. Gayri hic birimizi ayirmadilar evlatcagzim.

Narrative 118-Anonymous

Yasin yaninda kuru da yanar.

Narrative 119-Ahmet

Yani Cingeneler ekonomiden pay isteyince sikintilar basladi. Bir de tabi kaynasamamasi, yani azinlik.

Narrative 120-Solmaz

Iste bak Kemal Pasa olmasaydi Turkiye kurtulur muydu? Ama Mustafa Kemal Pasa kurtardi Turkiye'yi ama onun yaninda bir suru silah arkadaslari vardi, binlerce insan oldu. iste onlar da oyle. Bi hadise var orta yerde, hadisenin cekirdegi var. Cekirdek bunlar. Bizim biseyimiz yok. Ve hatta hatta oyle bisey anlatayim sana bizim bakkal dukkanimiz vardi. Sey Cingenenin bi tanesi. Bayramic Cingenlenden Canakkaleye kacmis. Balik satmaya. Balik alirlardi balik satmaya gelirlerdi. Balik satmaya geliyo Bayramic'e. Burdan Bayramic'ten birisi de kasap. Vardi. Sen napiyon burda diye terazisine bi tekme vuruyo terazi cangart diye gidiyo Cingenenin. Cingene basliyo aglamaya. Babam da onu gidiyo bi yedek seyi varmis babamin. Gidiyo aliyo. Gelin bakam buna da vurun da goreyim sizi diyo. Herkes ondan sonra vuramiyo. Cunku bizim Bayramic'ten birileri sahip cikiyo. Boyle oluyo yani hadiseler.

Narrative 121-Solmaz

Yani soforlerden basliyo bu ekmek davasi. Elebaslari soforlerdi yani. Muhakkak bi

hadisenin elebaslari olcak ki hadise olsun. SOFORLUK. Bu sefer bunlar soforleri dovmeye basladilar. Ordan cikti. Esas zaten sofor savasidir bu. Sofor savasi Cingen savasina donustu. O zaman soforler cok birlik. Bayramic soforlerine kim yan bakabilir. Biri soforun bir tanesini dovuversin, hepsi birlesip gider doverlerdi adami. Yani bunlari Cingenler mani oldu. Cingenler de bunlarin ustune cikim dediler. Birbirlerini. Bu sefer soforlerin arkasinda tabi Bayramic cogunluk. Cogunluk oldugundan cogunluk galip geldi.

Narrative 122-Solmaz

Fakir halk hammallik yapim diye calisir. Bu sefer Cingeneler aralarina sokmadilar, hammallik yapmak isteyeni dovduler. Bunu da yazabilirsin yani. Koylerden gelen fakirler hammallik yapim dediler en kolay sanat nedir o zamanlar hammallik, en kolay sanat bu. onlari aralarina almadilar, onlara hammallik yaptirmadilar, dovduler.

Narrative 123-Huseyin Kiltas

Benim aklimda kalan esas baslangic nedeni, bahane edilen ortaokullu ogrenciler o mahalleden geciyo, bunlar da biraz simarikti, ogrencilere laf atma falan filan olaylarindan basladi bu is. Ama bu isin icinde esasinda bazi kisilerin cikarlari vardi benim bildigim. Bi yerden geciyoz biz de katildik olaylara sonra. Dam esek odunlarini yigmis kapinin agzina, herkes birer tane aliyo bi tane kalmiyo, o kadar kalabalik yani. Kiremitleri de attilar evlerin uzerinden ya. Bu dilaverin evinde hic kiremit kalmadi. Catiya ciktilar cokertcekler yani.

Narrative 124-Tayfun

O zaman iste soforluk, Cingen sanati diyolardi ona. Nerde aksam orda sabah yatip kalkiyolardi. Simdi oyle degil soforluk. Biz daha surdan yoldan gecerdik de. Izmir yolunda yerimiz vardi, Kabakum, ordan hasirin ustunde yer kapip uyucaz diye evimize ugrayamazdik, oyleydi isler o zaman. O zamanlar cok sikintiliydi. Simdi is mi var. Arabalar guzellesti, yollar guzellesti. Simdi adam yukunu sariyo arabasina. Yatiyo, kalkiyo sabah, otobus gibi 5-6 saatte Izmir'e iniyo. Oyle gidiyo arabalar.

Narrative 125-Nitki

Onlarin soforlerinin biz zaten yanina yaklasip da bi cay icemiyoz. Patron onlara ayri poset alir, onlarin peyniri boyle posetteyse bizimki gaste kagidinda olur. O zamanlar soforler kiralmis. Cunku sofor yok. Araba az. Senin ehliyetin var ama patrondan daha cok forsun var.

Narrative 126-Cevza

Amcamlar araba aldiydi Leyland diye bi arabalari var. Cekemediler yani Bayramic'te. O arabayi cekemediler. O araba da o kadr guzel kirmizi beyaz boyle. Fikret abim rahmetli suslerdi onu. Yani sey yapardi, ilgi cekerdi kiskanirlardi onu. Amcam acik zengindi. Zengindi acik tuccardi burda, zengindi.

Narrative 127-Huseyin Kiltas

Dilaver'in oglani vardi. Neydi onun ismi. Cornuk Fikret, eski soforlerden. O da Kadir'le ortakti galiba. Leylandi elinden almak icin. Kadir oldu sey. Tek assolist o galiba.

Narrative 128-Rana

Bakmis onlar. yalan. Kiskandilar bizi. [...] Babam cok zengindi. Ondan sonra Leyland aldi. kadir Dilaver abi dedi, Fehmi de onlarin arkadaslari yani genclik arkadaslari, biz ortak olalim dedi, para verdiler. Acik arabaydi. Kardesim de iste Husam olan o da muavin. Obur kardesim de sofor. Aman o fitlemis para calar diye bu fitlemis para calar diye.

Narrative 129-Bidon Hilmi

Hani tasladilar ya bizi. bizim taslama sebebi. Dilaver'in arabayla ortakti, kamyonet leyland. Esnafin yukunu getiren Istanbul'dan yuk getiren acik araba. Soforlugunu bizim Fikret yapiyodu, Dilaver'in oglu. Kadir de ortagi. Dilaver'le Kadir ortak. Bu yuzden calisa calisa bunu cekemediler, oyle yaz. Bu arabayi onlarin elinden almak icin yok oglanlari ortaokul kizlarina laf attilar, yok hamamin ustunden karilara baktilar diye, ondan sonra bunlari mana yaptilar bu insanlar. Koylulere icki verdiler meyhanelerde, Bayramic'in zenginleri de dahil de, oraya yaz Asci Riza tarafindan neydi o bakanin adi be Rafet Sezgine telefon cektiler burdan. Asci Riza telefon cekti de Rafet Sezgine. Boyle boyle Cingeneler bizim kizlara okul kizlarina laf attilar biz bunlari napalim diye sordular. Rafet sezgin de diyo ki bunlari taslayin ama biyerleri kanamasin diye haber gelmis bunlara. Soylediler bunlari. Koylerden belki 600-700 kisi, Bayramic'ten butun muhacir evlerine hucum ettiler. Kapilari kirmak, pencereleri kirmak, evleri taslamak, insanlari dovmek butun hepsi bunlarda. Savcilik belediye onunde millet kalabalik oldu, savci bunlara oglum yapmayin etmeyin bu hakarettir diye soyledi. Ayni gece. Gunduz yok gece basladi olaylar. Bunlar savciyi da dinlemedi, savciyi da belediye onunde dovduler. Savci da zor kacti, emniyet karakolu da bunlara bisey yapamadi de. Korkuyolar onlardan, tutamiyolar, elleyemiyolar bile. Sonra bunlar fakirler fukaralar Canakkale'ye Ezine'ye gitmekte, kamyonlara da bindirmiyolar onlari. 40 sene oldu iste bu olaylar. Biz gene arabalara bindirmiyolar. Burda arabalar almayinca saga sola gidemiyoruz korkudan, yolda dovuyolar bizi. Komsularin evlerine saklandik. 8-10 kisi burda Turklerin evlerini ariyolar. Cingeneleri sakladiysaniz cikarin disari diye.

Narrative 130-My aunt Tijen

Basaklar nasil buyuyorsa onun gibiydi, hic sorgulamadik. Bi anlasmazliklar oldu ve Cingeneler gitti.

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SUMMARY (English)

This study is based on Gypsies' and non-Gypsies' narratives of the forced dislocation from the town of Bayramic in 1970 with a focus on the use of the categories Gypsyness and Turkishness. It reveals different perspectives and memory constructions along with the positions taken in the attacks and the socioeconomic structure. It displays how and why the social categories functioned by underlining the flexibility of the category of Gypsyness and Turkishness in the town's context. It discloses how ethnic and other identities represented in cultural spheres can be mobilized to conceal socio-economic and political inequalities. Thus, the general constitutions of the aforementioned categories in relation to citizenship, nationalism, class and ethnicity in Turkey, linked to this specific case study, forces us to fundamentally rethink the logic of Turkish national history and its reflections on ordinary people's lives. This particular case will also exemplify how different categories work in relation to national identity, discourse and practices. The study analyses how nationalism takes different forms and identifications, how and/or when Turkishness is highlighted and practiced differently, and how Gypsyness is constructed in relation to dominant perceptions especially on Turkishness.

SUMMARY (Turkish)

Atatürk İlke ve Inkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü'nde Doktora derecesi
için Gül Özateşler tarafından teslim edilen tezin özeti

Başlık: 1970'te Çingenelerin Çanakkale-Bayramiç Kasabasından Zorla Çıkarılışı

Bu sözlü tarih projesi, Çingene olan ve olmayan kasabalıların 1970 yılında Çingenelerin Çanakkale'nin Bayramiç kasabasından zorla çıkarılışı üzerinden Çingenelik ve Türklük kategorilerine bağlantılı olarak kurdukları anlatılarına dayanmaktadır. Bu şekilde, sosyoekonomik yapı ve saldırılarda alınan pozisyonlarla beraber farklı perspektifleri ve bellek yapılandırmalarını açığa çıkarmaktadır. Bu çalışma, kasabanın kendi bağlamında Türklük ve Çingenelik kategorilerinin esnekliğine odaklanarak toplumsal kategorilerin nasıl ve neden işlerlik kazandığını göstermeyi hedeflemektedir. Bu tez, kültürel alanda sunulan etnik ve diğer kategorilerin sosyoekonomik ve politik eşitsizlikleri örtmek için nasıl kullanılabilindiğini de açığa çıkarmaktadır. Bu yönde, farklı toplulukların anlatılarıyla bahsi geçen kategorilerin genel yapılandırılmaları arasındaki bağlantıları Türkiye'deki milliyetçilik, vatandaşlık, sınıf ve etnisite ile ilişkili olarak sunacağım. Milliyetçiliğin nasıl farklı biçimler ve özdeşimler edindiği, Türklüğün nasıl ve/veya ne zaman farklı şekilde anlaşılıp farklı şekilde pratik edildiği, Çingeneliğin özellikle Türklük üzerine olan baskın algılamalara bağlantılı olarak nasıl kurulduğu bu çalışmanın meseleleri dahilindedir.

CURRICULUM VITAE

GÜL ÖZATEŞLER was born in Izmir (Turkey) in 1979. She did a BA in Business Administration at Bogazici University (2002) and received an M.A. in Gender Studies at the Central European University in Budapest (2005). In 2007 she started her PhD at The Ataturk Institute for Modern History of Turkey of the Bogazici University in Istanbul, enabled by a grant from the Scientific and Technological Research Council (TUBITAK) (2008-2011), a scholarship for Doctoral Studies of the Bogazici University Foundation (2009-2011) and an additional Marie Curie fellowship for Participation in Scientific Events (2007-2008). She had her thesis approved in November 2011 at Leiden University where she worked for brief period as a guest PhD researcher at the section Social and Economic History of the Institute for History. With her dissertation *The forced dislocation of Gypsy people from the town of Bayramic, Cannakale in 1970* she got a double doctorate at both Leiden University and Bogacizi University in Istanbul.

GÜL ÖZATEŞLER conducted research on the socioeconomic conditions of disadvantaged groups in Turkey at the *Social Policy Forum, Bogazici University, Istanbul, 2006 – 2009*, developed alternative social policy projects on Gypsies, traced recent improvements about Gypsies and NGO's working with Gypsies and reported about the main findings to the head professors of Social Policy Forum. In 2006-2007 she worked as a researcher for the *European Roma Rights Center (ERRC) Romani Project, Istanbul.* Conducting research on socioeconomic conditions of Gypsies in Turkey.