GYPSIES AND DISCRIMINATION: A QUALITATIVE RESEARCH ON GYPSIES (ROMA) IN GÜLTEPE

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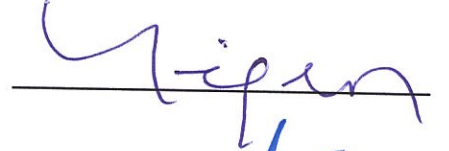
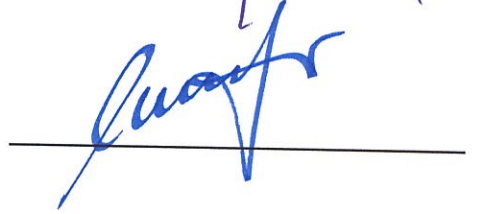Examining Committee Members:

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ABSTRACT

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Discrimination is the condition whereby an individual or a certain group becomes subject to prejudical treatments either in a negative or positive manner. It is stressed that people are discrimanted based on their differences of religion, race, politics, class etc. Another important factor which leads to discrimination is ethnic identities. One of the groups that is discriminated by the society are the Roma/Gypsies. This research has been carried out based on experiences and perception of discrimination of Roma/Gypsies who live in Istanbul: Gültepe. The aim of this research is to reveal cultural characteristics of the Roma/Gypsies, identity and the hardships that they are facing. In addition, the existing researches in literature based on discrimination about the Gypsies are evaluated as insufficient and this research aims to contribute to the literature. This study has been conducted through in-depth interviews with eighteen Roma participiants reached via the snowball method. As a result of the research, Roma who live in Gültepe are discriminated in social, economic and cultural field therefore they prefer to call themselves as Roma which have a more positive meaning in the community.

Keywords: Discrimination, Prejudice, Stereotype, Ethnic identity, Gypsy.

ÖZ

ÇİNGENELER VE AYRIMCILIK: GÜLTEPE'DE YAŞAYAN ÇİNGENELER (ROMANLAR) ÜZERİNE NİTELİKSEL BİR ARAŞTIRMA

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Ayrımcılık; bir kişinin veya grubun çeşitli nedenlerden dolayı pozitif veya negatif bir şekilde önyargılı davranışlara tabi tutulması ve çoğunluğun yararlandığı bazı hak ve avantajlardan yararlanamamasıdır. İnsanların sahip olduğu siyasi, dini, sınıfsal, ırksal vb. farklılıkların ayrımcılığa neden olduğu vurgulanmaktadır. Ayrımcılığa neden olan bir diğer önemli unsur da farklı etnik kimliklere sahip olunmasıdır. Bu etnik ayrımcılığa maruz kalan gruplardan biri de Romanlar/Çingeneler'dir. Bu çalışma İstanbul'un Gültepe semtinde yaşayan Romanlar'ın/Çingeneler'in ayrımcılık algı ve deneyimlerini irdelemek üzere yapılmıştır. Araştırmanın amacı Romanlar'ın/Çingeneler'in kültürel özelliklerini, kimliğe ilişkin tanımlamalarını ve karşılaştıkları zorlukları göz önüne sermektir. Buna ek olarak literatürde Romanlar/Çingeneler hakkında yapılan ayrımcılık çalışmaları eksik görülmüştür ve literatüre katkı sağlamak amaçlanmıştır. Çalışma kartopu yöntemiyle ulaşılan on sekiz Roman katılımcıyla gerçekleştirilen derinlemesine görüşmelerden sağlanan bilgilere dayanmaktadır. Araştırma sonucunda Gültepe'de yaşayan Romanlar'ın sosyal, ekonomik, mekansal ve kültürel dışlanmaya maruz kaldıkları ve bu nedenle toplumda daha olumlu bir anlama sahip olan Roman adlandırmasını tercih ettikleri sonucuna ulaşılmıştır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Ayrımcılık, Önyargı, Stereotip, Etnik kimlik, Çingene

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Research Topic

The subject of this research is the discrimination experiences of Gypsies[1] living in Istanbul, in the Gültepe neighborhood of Kağıthane district. My aim is manifold. I first aim to reveal the negative prejudices about Gypsies. Secondly, I intend to understand the difficulties experienced by the Gypsies. Lastly, I want to undertstand Gypsies' definitions of group identity, their experience of discrimination and their thoughts on how discrimination in various fields affect their rights, their practice of life and their future plans and expectations as the main query fields.

Discrimination, as defined by Cambridge Dictionary and American Psychological Association, is the treatment of a person or a particular group of people differently, especially in an unfair way, different from the way in which you treat other people, based on their race, religion, class, political preference, gender, age, ethnicity and so on.[2] Furthermore, it could also be an action or practice that excludes, disadvantages, or only differentiates between individuals or groups on the basis of some ascribed or perceived trait.[3] The Human Rights Committee of United Nations, on the other hand, suggests using the term discrimination to refer to "any distinction, exclusion, restriction

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[1] Gypsies in Turkey are generally called: Roman, Çingene, Mutrip, Elekçi, Köçer, Abdal, Kıptı, Poşa and Cono (Arayıcı, 2008: 242; Ceyhan, 2003: 59-60). Although these names differ regionally or nationally, in Turkey they are mostly called as 'Gypsy' (*Çingene* in Turkish). At the beginning of this study, the word Gypsy was preferred instead of Roma. Because in some researches conducted so far, the respondents and writers stated that they tried to give a new meaning to the word of 'Gypsy' by adopting this definition, which had negative meanings in the society, thus adopting the naming of Gypsy. In fact, in this study, it is aimed to demolish the negative prejudices imposed on the Gypsy identity. However, the fact that the same group was referred to as Roma in some references shows that the dilemma in Roma and Gypsy nomenclature is a controversial issue. For this reason, firstly, the preferred definition of the respondents had been learned and the interviews were been continued by using their preferred naming. In addition, the report was continued using their preferred naming Roma.

[2] (https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/discrimination and https://www.apa.org/helpcenter/discrimination, Date of Access: December 2018).

[3] (http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199756384/obo-9780199756384-0013.xml, Date of Access: December 2018).

or preference which is based on any ground such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status, and which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by all persons, on an equal footing, of all rights and freedoms" (UNHRC, 1989).[4] Considering all these definitions, discrimination disables the use of some or all rights and freedoms given to the citizens in a polity. Therefore, in the philosophical sense, discrimination is accepted as an extension of equality and inequality issues. According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)[5] and the International Covenants on Human Rights[6], all persons are equal before and under the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law. Moreover, inequalities and thus discriminations are more and more reproducible in ethnically and culturally heterogeneous societies. In that sense, one of the significant elements that causes discrimination is the fact that groups have different ethnic identities. Thus, ethnic discrimination encompasses any disadvantageous treatment, including unequal discourses, attitudes, behaviors and practices against people belonging to a particular national or ethnic group, associated with the ancestry, ethnic affiliation, or language, lifestyle, physical appearances and cultural characteristics they possess (Kohler-Hausmann, 2011; Çayır, 2012: 6; Eriksen, 2009: 409; Giddens, 2006: 487).

Different groups are excluded by dominant groups and mistreated under discriminatory, ideological, discursive structures. For example, one of the common forms of discrimination in Turkey is ethnic discrimination which has to do with Turkish modernization and its insistence on creating a homogeneous population in ethnic and cultural terms out of what was a multi-ethnic and a multi-cultural society (Çayır, 2012:

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[4] United Nations Human Rights Committee General Comment No. 18 Non-discrimination, see: https://www.oursplatform.org/resource/human-rights-committee-general-comment-no-18-non-discrimination/
[5] (https://www.ohchr.org/en/udhr/pages/Language.aspx?LangID=eng, Date of Access: December 2018).
[6] (https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/coreinstruments.aspx, Date of Access: December 2018).

6). Along with Kurds, Armenians, Jews and other ethnic groups residing in Turkey, one of the groups most exposed to discrimination is the Gypsies (Alp & Taştan, 2010: 23-29; Arayıcı, 2008: 34, 240; Çayır, 2012: 6, 7; Eriksen, 2009: 414; Kaya, 2012: 219; Kolukırık, 2009: 13; Marsh, 2008: 19-27). Gypsies are spread over many different countries including Turkey and they are exposed to discrimination and hatred due to their ethnic identity.

1.2.   Main Concepts of the Study

The basic concepts to be used in this study are as follows:

Discrimination: It is the condition whereby an individual or a certain group becomes subject to prejudicial treatments (Smith, Mackie & Claypool: 2015: 141). Thus, it is considered the behavioral component of prejudice, and it generally refers to partial or biased treatment of people based on group membership (cited by Nelson, 2009: 25). In other words, it is the treatment of a person or particular group of people differently, especially in an unfair way, different from the way in which you treat other people, based on their skin color, sex, sexuality, age, ethnicity, and so on.[7]

Stereotype: It is "a mental representation or impression of a social group that people form by associating particular characteristics and emotions with the group" (Smith, Mackie & Claypool: 2015: 142). In other words, stereotypes are knowledge structures that serve as mental pictures of the groups in question. In short, they are the traits that come to mind quickly when we think about the groups (Plotnik, 2009: 583; cited by Nelson, 2009: 2).

Prejudice: It is **"**a positive or negative evaluation of a social group and its members", referring to pre-opinion (Smith, Mackie & Claypool: 2015: 142). However, in the discrimination literature, the 'positive' prejudice is not mentioned. Prejudice has been defined as holding unfair and negative feelings toward a group and its members (Nelson, 2009: 24; Çoşkun vd., 2012: 263; Baron et al., 1988: 105). In other words, they

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[7] (<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/discrimination> , Date of Access: October 2018).

are attitudes associated with discrimination that lead us to distance ourselves from the people or groups that we approach with prejudice (Göregenli, 2012: 17-29).

Ethnic Identity: It is the type of identity in which an individual has the characteristics of an original cultural system (Akpınar & Karam, 1999: 8). Thus, ethnicity can simply be defined as a feeling of belonging to a particular nation or group based on language, religion, history, descent, lifestyle, outlooks, and cultural practices they possess (Eriksen, 2009: 409; Giddens, 2006: 487).

Gypsy: It refers to the name of a nation of Indo-European origin, although the date is not clearly known, the general admission is after 5th century, spreading from India through Iran and Anatolia, first to Greece and then to other European countries and nowadays almost all over the world (Kenrick, 2006: 70-75). In the broadest sense, it corresponds to an ethnic identity the roots of which are traced back to India.

1.3.   The Importance of the Study

Discrimination, as emphasized in the literature, systematically disregards some or all human rights of certain people or groups exclusively because of their identity or beliefs.[8] From a sociological point of view, to see the cultural differences of different groups and to accept their social identities will help us both to understand the structure of society and to decrease the rights violations caused by negative discrimination. In this context, the discrimination of the Gypsies, who are constantly marginalized and exposed to social exclusion in the society they live in due to their ethnic identities, is one of the issues to be addressed. Trying to understand the attitude of Turkish society and the government in terms of social policy toward Gypsies is also an important part of the research. Thus, the successful completion of this study will hopefully make a contribution to the literature and it will again hopefully lead to a

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[8] (http://www.rightsagenda.org/main.php?id=16, Date of Access: October 2018).

better understanding of the discriminations experienced by the Gypsies living in Istanbul.

The literature on Gypsies in the context of ethnic identity and discrimination is slim. The existing literature[9] focuses more on the socio-economic status, education level and cultural tendencies of Gypsies. When compared to Gypsy literature, there is an abundance of research on other ethnic identities such as Kurds, Arabs and Armenians living in Istanbul. Moreover, there is almost no research on Gypsy people of Istanbul and their experiences of discrimination. However, hosting citizens with different ethnic and regional origins, Istanbul is a space where ethnic discrimination can easily attract attention thus ethnic consciousness gains importance. As Eriksen believes, ethnicity is generally more important in contexts where groups are culturally close and in contact (1995: 262, 263).

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[9] To give a few examples about the studies carried out outside of Istanbul, while Ceyhan (2003) argues about a Gypsy/Roma community's identity construction from the literature on ethnicity, class and gender dimensions in the symbolic identity construction in the case of Edirne; Uzun (2008) aims to explore the current socio-economic status of the residents of Altıyol and Kuştepe districts of Lüleburgaz and how they perceive their own identity as well as how they respond/what kind of politics they entail to cope with their marginalization; Eren (2008) discusses the particular identification process of Gypsiness of Tepecik, İzmir on the basis of socio-economic conditions; Önen (2011) aims to compare Roma community in Edirne and Dom community in Diyarbakır with regard to their integration levels to different majorities and belonging to the political body, access to citizenship rights and the effect of transnational citizenship on Roma and Dom communities; and Uğurlu (2013), by carrying out a research in Izmit town of Kocaeli, discusses the condition of the Gypsy population who work in marginal sectors and who are displaced or will be displaced by the ongoing urban transformation projects in the province. In addition, there are other significant Gypsy studies in related literature which have more inclusive perspective following as: Hoyland (1816) A Historical Survey of the Customs, Habits, & Present State of the Gypsies: Designed to Develop the Origin of This Singular People, and to Promote the Amelioration of Their Condition, Barany (2002) The East European Gypsies: Regime Change, Marginality and Ethnopolitics, Marsh (2008) 'No Promised Land': History, Historiography and the Origins of the Gypsies, Altınöz (2005) Gypsies in the Ottoman Society, Kolukırık (2007) The Foreigners of the Earth: The Gypsies, Arayıcı (2008a) Europe's Stateless: Gypsies, Arayıcı (2008b) Gypsies: The Forgotten People of Turkey, Elena, (2010) We are Gypsies, Not Roma!-Ethnic Identity Constructions and Ethnic Stereotypes- an example from a Gypsy Community in Central Romania, Önder (2013) New Forms of Discrimination and Exclusion: Gadjofication of Romani Communities in Turkey, Akdemir Şahyar (2015) Fight Against Discrimination: A Critical Approach To Positive Discrimination In The Scope Of Discrimination Towards Gypsies.

1.4.   Research Method

1.4.1. Research Area and the Population of the Research

The social relations among people living in a metropolitan city like Istanbul are sometimes shaped on the basis of the tensions and social changes that develop accordingly. Herewith, it can be said that the high rate of population and heterogeneous structure of the city may be effective on the basis of all these processes. Moreover, Gypsies are one of the ethnic groups of Istanbul which include different groups of origins from various locations. In some districts where there are Gypsy communities it is easier to conduct a research about them because they are easily accessible. In such environments, one can easily understand cultural characteristics and daily life practices of Gypsies as well as their relationship with the society. Gültepe was chosen for two reasons. First, it is a district with a large Gypsy population strongly reflecting the Gypsy culture. Second, the acquaintances in Gültepe region made conducting the research much easier. Thus the main local of the research is chosen to be Gültepe neighborhood with a specific focus on Gypsies living in this neighborhood.

Respondents of the research consist of Gypsies living in this specific neighborhood. My respondents included adult males and females who define themselves Roma or Gypsy and who live in Gültepe. Accordingly, the data created in this study is to reveal some tendencies in Gültepe Gypsies' perception and experience of discrimination.

1.4.2. Method and Data Collection

This study is based on a qualitative research, which includes participant observation and in-depth interviews of eighteen Gypsy citizens ranging from the ages of 19 to 56 who were selected by a snowball sampling technique. However, in order to ensure that the people I interviewed were diverse enough, I also used a quota sampling technique and tried to select people in terms of their differences such as age, gender, education and economic status. For example, although housewives are easily accessible for

interviews, I tried to interview employed men, who usually work during the day. Furthermore, I tried to include secondary school graduates rather than only interviewing people who had received no education at all. In a sense, I tried to provide variety of knowledge about Gypsies who live in this neighborhood. In order to carry out the research, I have reached Gypsies living in Gültepe district of Istanbul through an acquaintance, with the aim to reach other interviewee through the first interviewee.

As the aim of this research is to do an in-depth study of the Gypsies experiences of discrimination, I chose to make a qualitative field study. As a qualitative data collection method, in-depth interviews offer the opportunity to have a better picture and capture rich, elaborated, descriptive data about people's behaviors, attitudes and perceptions and unfolding complex processes with clear line of questioning and using body language to build sincerity.[10] Moreover, it gives freedom to both the interviewer and the interviewee to explore additional points and change directions, if necessary. Besides, they usually provide a more relaxed atmosphere and build trust on both sides since they include a mutual sharing of experiences (cited by Neuman, 2014: 462-463). For this reason, in depth interviews were held, focusing on key persons in the area until a satisfactory consensus was reached. In this research, a semi-structured interview guide form was prepared to understand, examine and discuss the perception and experiences of the Gypsies living in Gültepe, Istanbul. In addition to creating the data with a semi-structured interview guide form, voice recorders were used during the interviews and subsequently, the data was analyzed by a thematic method and reported.

1.4.3. Research Questions

In the semi-structured interview guide form, there were seven main questions and varying numbers of follow-up questions for each of them, including how Gypsies define themselves and their group identity, their knowledge and opinions about the nomadic

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[10] (https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4194943/, Date of Access: December 2018)

lifestyle, their views on Gültepe, the difficulties experienced by them, how they evaluate discrimination, their experience of discrimination and their thoughts on how discrimination in various fields affect their rights, their practice of life, how they relate to their environment, their evaluations on urban transformation/gentrification and their future plans and expectations.

1.4.4. The Flow of the Research

I conducted the research in person. There was no assistant researcher. The research covered the period from October 2018 to May 2019. The literature review, sample selection and development of the data creation tool was completed in December 2018. The data was generated in January and February 2019, the data entry and the analysis was completed in May 2019.

1.5. Ethics of the Study

In order to to comply with research ethics, an informative form was presented to each respondent before starting the interview. In this way, each of them was informed about the research before the interview. Moreover, the interviews were held where the interviewees deem suitable in order to make them feel comfortable. During the interview, preventive measures were taken not to use offending and discriminating language against the respondents. Personal information of the respondents were shared with the thesis advisor only. Furthermore, according to the privacy rules, the real names of the interviewees were not mentioned in any part of the research. The interviewed Gypsies are referred by their nicknames. I asked for permission to use audio recorder before the interview and if needed it was paused or stopped depending on the situation during the interview. Since the interviewees shared personal and intimate thoughts and feelings, I was very careful when using or publishing these data. Use of expressions that may put the interviewee into a difficult situation was avoided. In the report, the narratives of the interviews were used one by one and any arrangement that may disrupt the original was avoided. I tried to establish a non-

exploitative, sincere, friendly and egalitarian relationship with the interviewee. It should be kept in mind that I interviewed them as an educated and covered Muslim woman. Most probably they were mentioning the fact that they were 'Thank God' Muslims, because they where being interviewed by a covered woman. Since I was very careful to choose the right words while I approached them, they were very respectful and polite towards me. I never interrupted them while they were talking, looking very interested and considerate. Ethical rules had always been in mind and took priority in the field and in the reporting stage of the study.

1.6.   The Problems and Limitations of the Study

The problems and limitations that encountered during the research while using qualitative method were as follows; problems arising from the research techniques, the problems in the data evaluation stage, the problems encountered in the report, time, energy and financial problems (Kümbetoğlu, 2005: 185). It can be said that during the research one of the things that worried me most was the problem of not being able to reach sufficient number of respondents in the field. First, I went to the field with the key person who was in contact with other members of his/her ethnic community and recorded phone numbers and addresses in order to arrange a meeting with the people. However, on the appointment day, when people were called for an interview, some of them stated that they did not want to participate in the interview. Therefore, sufficient respondents could be reached through the referral of me via guidance of the interviewees who accepted the request of interview. Moreover, some of the respondents who agreed to participate in the research quitted the interview stating that they had no time. These individuals were not included in the stated number of respondents. The data collected from them were not included in the evaluation as well. Since the interviews were conducted mostly in areas such as parks, front doors and streets, there were too many external elements that could disrupt the concentration of both me and the respondents. Many factors such as traffic sounds, voice of the children playing on the street, dog barking, loud music influenced the interviews.

Although the aim was to have one-to-one interviews, many of the neighbors who insisted in standing around the respondents, their friends, and laughs made it difficult for me to listen to the audio recordings and to write transcriptions. Furthermore, due to rainy weather for a few days in process, I was prevented from entering the field. In addition, the respondents could not devote much time because they had flexible and inconsistent working hours. Moreover, a part of male inhabitants of the neighborhood was associated with drug using and selling and thus most of them were in prison. As a result of these, there were less male respondents. Besides, in the field, I had short conversations with a few non-Gypsy shopkeepers and almost all of them said that the neighborhood was uncanny, unsafe area consisting of many shady, dangerous people (mostly Gypsies) who they thought would not be a great help to the research. They said they could help me better than the Gypsies. However, these warnings did not break my courage in any way, only reminding me to be more careful, it has led me to approach the subject with greater curiosity and concentration. Thus, this process where I have gained experience, professionally, as my second qualitative field research (the first one during undergraduate years) was very challenging as well as laughable adventures.

1.7. The Content and the Structure of the Study

The study is consisted of seven chapters. While the first chapter of the thesis is the introduction, including thesis' subject, main concepts, importance, aim, method, ethics, limitations and content, the second chapter discusses the concept of discrimination. The problem of discrimination as one of the problems encountered in the protection of human rights will be discussed. Moreover, in this section, types of discrimination and the causes of discrimination will be presented. Finally, in this section, ethnicity and ethnic discrimination will be discussed. While the third chapter of the thesis will address ethnic dicrimination in Turkey in terms of nation-building processes, the fourth chapter will focus on the historical background of Gypsies, including their origins, languages, religions and nomenclatures. The fifth chapter will give a general information about discrimination toward Gypsies. Discrimination against Gypsies in

Turkey will be discussed in the context of this historical background. The sixth chapter contains the findings and discussions about the general characteristics of Gypsies and their experiences of discrimination in the light of the data created in the field of research. The last and seventh section is the conclusion of the thesis. Whether and the extent to which Gypsies living in Gültepe are exposed to social, economic, spatial and cultural exclusion will be discussed in the conclusion.

CHAPTER 2

DISCRIMINATION

2.1. What is Discrimination?

The term discrimination "derives from the Latin *discriminatio*, which means to perceive distinctions among phenomena or to be selective in one's judgment" (Pettigrew & Taylor, 2000: 688). The fact that discrimination has been studied from the perspective of various disciplines points to the complexity of the issue. According to many social psychologists, discrimination encompasses any prejudicial treatment either in a negative or positive manner directed toward a social group and its members (Smith, Mackie & Claypool: 2015: 142). Prejudice, on the other hand, is defined as a positive or negative evaluation of others without sufficient warrant, referring to pre-opinion (Allport, 1958: 7). Therefore, discrimination is mostly considered in the discipline of psychology as the behavioral component of prejudice, and it refers to a partial or biased treatment of people based on group membership (Aboud & Amato, 2001: 65-85; Rose, 1966: 79).

However, discrimination does not necessarily need to be the result of prejudice (Banton, 1994: 6-7; Giddens, 2006: 492). In the discipline of sociology, for instance, discrimination is defined as the condition whereby an individual or a certain group becomes subject to unfair and injurious treatments by limiting access to social resources and opportunities such as education, health, housing, employment, legal rights, loans, or symbolic and political power (Banton, 1994: 7; Scott & Gordon, 2009: 179; Law, 2007: 1182). From a sociological point of view, discrimination is also defined as the treatment of a person or particular group of people differently, especially in an unfair way from the way in which you treat other people, based on race, religion, class,

gender, politics, culture, age, ethnicity and so on.[11] The Human Rights Committee, on the other hand, argues that discrimination refers to any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on any premise, and which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by all persons, of all rights and freedoms (UNHRC, 1989).[12] Hence, discrimination prevents or restricts the recognition and use of all rights and freedoms by everyone.

From a philosophical point of view, discrimination is as an extension of equality and inequality issues since "all inequality is seen as a legacy of discrimination and a social injustice to be remedied" (Pettigrew & Taylor, 2000: 689). In other words, discrimination contradicts a basic principle of human rights, namely the principle of equality before law which suggests that all people are equal in dignity and entitled to the same fundamental rights. This principle is repeated in every fundamental human rights document. For example, according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)[13] and the International Covenants on Human Rights[14] "all are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law".[15] Through the years there has been an improvement in equality but still it is not possible to mention the existence of an egalitarian society due to the existence of differences (Salman, 2007: 11). In this respect, it is possible to say that the differences between groups constitute the basis of discrimination, but we cannot certainly say that it is impossible for different groups to live together. If potentially divisive elements like race, ethnicity, language and gender are extracted and the laws are reconstructed for 'other' and the 'different', it is possible and even likely for different groups to live

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[11] (https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/discrimination and https://www.apa.org/helpcenter/discrimination, Date of Access: December 2018).

[12] United Nations Human Rights Committee General Comment No. 18 Non-discrimination, see: https://www.oursplatform.org/resource/human-rights-committee-general-comment-no-18-non-discrimination/

[13] (https://www.ohchr.org/en/udhr/pages/Language.aspx?LangID=eng, Date of Access: December 2018).

[14] (https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/coreinstruments.aspx, Date of Access: December 2018).

[15] (UN Human Rights Law, para. 7, retrieved from: http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/, Date of Access: December 2018).

together with their differences. In fact, it should be open to more flexible and inclusive categories in which different identities who want to be integrated and included in society can also take part in them. What can ensure all these things are constitutions termed social contracts (Kaya, 2006: 36). However, in order to keep the differences together, applications should be more equitable before its conversion to constitutional values.

To sum up, according to sociological literature, discrimination in social life is an act of distinction that happens by offending the social norms and the principle of equality, in the eye of law against certain groups of people. Therefore, it can be considered that the principle of equality created for the prevention of discrimination is not functioning when it comes to disadvantaged minorities. In this context, one of the emphasis in the definition of discrimination is the relationship between minorities composed of advantageous and disadvantaged groups and the majority. Because discrimination is a matter of separating a person or a group from the majority and excluding them from the shared environment (Akpinar & Karam, 1999: 8). However, the coexistence of minorities and majorities cannot be considered as the sole cause of differentiation. Because the interaction and relationship between the groups that do not have the same or similar characteristics is one of the points emphasized in the definitions of discrimination.

Apart from its importance to the law and the related issues including equality-inequality matters and majority-minority relations, there are other issues, dimensions or causes, and contents of discrimination which are important for sociological analysis of discrimination. Thus, sociological accounts of discrimination exhort us to consider the durable character of discrimination. It means the effects typically overtake the initiators of discriminatory practices (Pettigrew & Taylor, 2000: 693). Moreover, Tilly examines the long-lasting patterns of inequality, believing discrimination structures function independent of the dominant group's present pleasures or attitudes. Hence,

theories based mainly on individual prejudice or psychological analysis will oversimplify the phenomenon (Tilly, 1998: 17-20; Pettigrew & Taylor, 2000: 693-694). Conversely, sociologists embrace discrimination as an explanation of an observed phenomenon and they tend to focus on the construction of identities, social and cultural meanings of various groups, categorical differences and advantage and disadvantages of certain groups. Besides long-lasting character of it, discrimination is typically cumulative and self-perpetuating and thus it has critical implications for sociological theory (Ibid. 2000: 694). To illustrate; "an array of research on black Americans has demonstrated that neighborhood racial segregation leads to educational disadvantages, then to occupational disadvantage, and thus to income deficits" (Ibid. 2000: 694). Therefore, it can be said that discrimination is a multifaceted phenomenon and any form of it easily brings the other. Moreover, it is difficult to understand in some situations why people are excluded or discriminated this is due to the interpenetrating forms of discrimination. In other words, which form of discrimination entails and enhances the other changes every time according to the context.

While discrimination is a multi-faceted issue, discrimination mainly takes place in relation to one's race, ethnicity, religion, gender, political views, class, age or disability. Herewith, any group that shares a socially meaningful common characteristic can be a target for discrimination. Moreover, discrimination is a complex social relation which makes it a sociological phenomenon. In this sense, Lucas believes that discrimination is not what one person does to another as an act of isolated individuals, but is the act of 'social' individuals (2008: 175). As a social relation, discrimination involves not only the acts of social individuals, but also the matrix of norms, values, public support mechanisms, and operating procedures that make acts of discrimination possible (Lucas, 2008: 175, 234, 242). Moreover, people for whom discrimination is directed are the object of this behavior not because of their personal characteristics but because of the characteristics of the group they belong are a part of (Banton, 1994: 5; Allport, 1958: 7-10; Göregenli, 2012: 21). In this respect, Elias says: "one found members of one

group casting a slur on those of another, not because of their qualities as individual people, but because they were members of a group which they considered collectively as different from, and as inferior to, their own group." (Elias & Scotson, 1994: xx). Hereby, discrimination is a social relationship because it targets not individuals but certain groups (Lucas, 2008: 179, 180). In other words, "although discrimination is often an individual action, it is also a social pattern of aggregate behavior since members of the same class are treated similarly" (Banton, 1994: 5). Therefore, social scientists need to consider discrimination as a general feature of social life. As Banton notes, for example, the family, the ethnic group, and the state are all based on acts of discrimination (1994: 3). In this respect, individuals have different roles and obligations that require particular types of behavior, for example husband and wife or parents and children in families have different positions as well as responsibilities. Moreover, although the principle equal treatment is the equal treatment of individuals, humans cannot live just as individuals (Banton, 1994: 79). They can survive physically and emotionally only as members of co-operating groups. To illustrate, the family as a co-operating group usually spans generations and is a major transmitter of inequality (Ibid. 1994: 79). Thus, sociologists, as opposed to psychologists, understand discrimination "not as isolated individual acts, but as a complex system of social relations that produces intergroup inequities in social outcomes" (Pettigrew & Taylor, 2000: 688). Therefore, discrimination should be addressed as a truly sociological concept, considering the phenomenon as a result of social processes not reducible to individual-level analyses, cognitive explanations or unconscious associations. In other words, sociologists focus on organizational processes and structures as the intermediary force that can either restrain or promote the translation of individual-level prejudices into discriminatory behavior. In addition, sociologists have embraced discrimination as an explanation for an observed phenomenon i.e. social stratification, the unequal distribution of status, resources, materials as well as social and political rights. In other words, the sociological approach to discrimination tends to focus on how the social and cultural meanings of various groups are constructed, and thereby promoted to the

systematical disadvantage of certain groups. As Banton mentions, there is a transmission of inequality from one generation to the next and thus structures of inequality may be reproduced over generations through repeated patterns of differential treatment (1994: 5, 15). Accordingly, individuals are deprived of opportunities and resources due to their association with a specific group (Banton, 1994: 5-6). Besides, Tilly analyzes discrimination as production of categorical differences i.e., race, gender, ethnic differences and deeply linked to long-lasting patterns of inequality (1998: 17-20). He identifies institutional mechanisms that constitute and sustain structures of inequality, showing how unquestioned inequality are systematically created and justified by social boundaries between certain groups. His approach is paradigmatic of a sociological approach to discrimination, because the focus is on organizational and institutional processes not reducible to individual-level preferences or beliefs. In addition, Lucas theorizes discrimination as a 'damaged social relation' that extends beyond an individual-level encounter between a disadvantaged victim and a discriminatory perpetrator (Lucas, 2008: 175).

Seen in sociological perspective, then, discrimination is considerably more intricate and entrenched than commonly thought because of its multidimensional and interpenetrating structure. Moreover, while locating discrimination, no one can reveal which disadvantage is the result of discrimination without first understanding the process which has produced it (Banton, 1994: 20). In addition, it is essential to understand how the system works and to examine the whole selective process in order to measure any discrimination within it (Ibid. 1994: 20). Furthermore, the intricacy of discrimination constitutes major challenges to social-scientific attempts to trace its impact. Because of the various definitions, patterns, extensive content and the multifaceted structure of discrimination, it is really difficult to detect what reasons resort people to this action. Besides, this complexity prevents the search for remedy. Therefore, to reduce discrimination it is necessary to locate the actual points at which it occurs and then to hold particular individuals and organizations responsible for the

practices that have been uncovered (Banton, 1994: 52). Moreover, as a means of combating discrimination, since law works through the creation of protected classes; this may result in only uneven justice, since not all members of a class are equally placed (Ibid. 1994: 73-74). Thus, broad social programs will be necessary in order to erase the full legacy of direct and indirect discrimination (Pettigrew & Taylor, 2000: 694). At that point, we should remember the fact that although the state is the most effective institution for the protection of rights, it is not the only one. In addition, the development of empathy is crucial both to the recognition of discrimination and to attempts to reduce it, since any concentration on differences rather than similarities may cement prejudices (Banton, 1994: 83, 90).

2.2. Causes of Discrimination

Social scientists, political leaders, lawyers, religious thinkers, and others have searched for an answer to the question of "What leads people to discriminate, exclude, oppress, mistreat, disadvantage or victimize another?" In fact, there are several reasons why discrimination is so widespread in society. However, literature shows that the reasons for the dissemination of discrimination are the prejudices, the perception of differences, the beliefs that some features are superior to the others, the approach of authority at each level to 'the difference' and 'the different', the exclusionary, discriminatory, ideological discursive structure of non-majority (Banton, 1994: 3-9; Göregenli, 2012: 22; Bryne & Baron, 1997: 195-211, Blumer, 1958: 4).

Moreover, most of the reasons that lead people to discrimination are already seen in the definition of the concept of discrimination such as differences, prejudices, and so on. In this respect, people are mainly discriminated due to their political, religious, class, racial etc. differences. Social differentiation is being rebuilt by highlighting the differences between the groups through discriminatory attitudes and hate speeches in society. Moreover, most of the causes of discrimination are caused by fear of difference, through ignorance. According to this view, there is an instinctive aversion of

people to the unfamiliar which accounts for antipathy toward aliens, strangers or foreigners (Rose, 1966: 84-86). People identify themselves with the members of their own social group and exclude outsiders owing to a consciousness of kind. In this sense, "people fear what seems strange or unknown, they react with suspicion or even violence to anyone whose appearance, culture or behavior is unfamiliar" (Flowers et. all, 2007: 225; Allport, 1958: 28). In addition, according to Banton, people believe that "relations with strangers entail greater risks than relations with more familiar people". Therefore, in a sense, Banton believes that while the first cause of discrimination is people's taste, second cause is due to a lack of information about the stranger which indicates a degree of risk when interacting with that individual. (1994: 14). Thus, people distinguish themselves from unknown and different, and draw a boundary between themselves and others (Bauman, 2010: 47-87; Bryne & Baron, 1997: 207). People who are different and who are not predictable are perceived as a threat by other people in the community. In this case, the group which is seen differently is differentiated, marginalized and excluded. Prejudices about 'foreigners' are transformed into labels and thus discrimination is strengthened (Bauman, 2010: 47-87). Therefore, prejudices are also considered as one of the highlights that reinforce discrimination. As a matter of fact, prejudice, stereotype and social categorization always appear on the path to discrimination. Furthermore, prejudice can be positive, but it is often evaluated as thinking ill of others without sufficient warrant (Allport, 1958:7). The judgements of persons with prejudice are based mostly on prejudice that is seen in others instead of actual experiences. Regarding this, people form groups by associating the groups with particular characteristics including the biased and sketchy impressions that are the stereotypes (Bryne & Baron, 1997: 195-196, 208). In most cases, stereotypes are relatively clichéd and inflexible assumptions about a person, group or their social status. Furthermore, they are generally based on superficial or overgeneralized characteristics of certain members of the group. As it is defined in the literature, stereotypes are knowledge structures that serve as mental representations of the groups in question and they can contain both positive and negative characteristics and

of course the explanation are not obvious for everybody (cited by Nelson, 2009: 2). As a result, stereotypes may be accurate or inaccurate since it is mostly subjective. However, these impressions we form of groups can permeate our thinking and become basis for both prejudice and discrimination (Smith, Mackie & Claypool, 2015: 142-143).

Besides the differences and prejudice, social categorization or social identity construction is argued to be one of the fundamental underlying motivation behind discrimination (Allport, 1958: 19-21, 28-48; Bryne & Baron, 1997: 207; Tajfel & Turner, 1986: 7-24; Hog & Abrams, 1998: 1-2, 7, 13-21). In this regard, Blumer believes that prejudice as a sense of group position is an emergent social phenomenon born of intergroup dynamics and competition, instead of being a subjective phenomenon born of personal experience (1958: 3-7). In addition, from the socio-psychological point of view, discrimination is explained by social identity theory which presumes that humans rely on the groups they belong to for a part of their identity and they maintain their social identities in the presence of competing groups (Allport, 1958: 38-41; Tajfel & Turner, 1986: 7-24; Tajfel, 1972: 31; Hog & Abrams, 1998: 6-25). Moreover, people believe that belonging to a group is more prestigious and powerful in terms of a variety of needs and motivations e.g., increasing self-esteem, fulfilling the need to belong, obtaining material resources. Thus, looking at the social identity construction especially from the theories of group positions and competition and conflict relations between the groups are crucial for the sociological analysis of prejudice and thereby discrimination.

Social psychologists have generally explained group behavior in terms of a variety of motivations and needs that are themselves influenced by cognitive processes such as social categorization, self-definition, and stereotyping (Allport, 1958: 35-48; Bryne & Baron, 1997: 162; Tajfel & Turner, 1986: 7-24). Thus, social identity theory has been one of the perspectives in understanding intergroup interactions and the status relationships between groups (Allport, 1958: 40-50; Tajfel & Turner, 1986: 7-24; Hog &

Abrams, 1998: 1-2, 28-56). According to the social identity theory, members of a group come to internalize group membership to their self-concepts and evaluate themselves and others from the view of their membership in specific groups (Tajfel, 1978: 63; Turner, 1982: 15; Tajfel & Turner, 1986: 7-24; Hog & Abrams, 1998: 7). According to the researches on intergroup relations, therefore, self-definitions are largely social and they shift depending on the social or group context (Hogg & Tindale, 2001: x; Hog & Abrams, 1998: 13-21, 28-56). In other words, identity depends on the way one is defined and treated by others. Regarding this, social identity theory states that the formation of social categories is indispensable since groups have important functions in people's lives, such as increasing self-esteem, obtaining material resources, and fulfilling individual and societal needs for order, structure, and predictability (Hog & Abrams, 1998: 13-21; Allport, 1958: 19-22). Social categories which differ in power, prestige and status relations are formed through separation of people on the basis of nationality, religion, race, class, sex, and so on. Therefore, the process of categorization protects, maintains, and enhances the distinction between groups although individuals identify, order and systematize the complex network of social groups with the help of this process. In other words, these categorizations help people differentiate themselves from other groups rather than striving for similarity between groups thus, it creates a world divided between 'us' and 'them' (Hog & Abrams, 1998: 13-21). Individuals classify other people considering their similarities and differences with themselves and through categorization. The similarities between the self and the members of an in-group are highlighted whereas the differences between the self and the members of an out-group are underlined (Allport, 1958: 28-51; Hogg & Abrams, 1988: 28-56; Tajfel & Turner, 1986: 7-24; Bryne & Baron, 1997: 211-220). Hence, categorization is the core of social identity processes. Moreover, scholars assert that categorization may drive people to favor their group and discriminate the out-group (Allport, 1958: 28-51; Tajfel & Turner, 1986: 7-24). In this sense, Allport says that "an in-group always implies the existence of some corresponding out-group" (1958: 40). In other words, every social unit from the family to the nation could exist only by virtue of having some "common

enemy". Moreover, social identity theorists and other conflict theorists highlight that out-group derogation or the pledge behavior serves as a strategy for acceptance into desirable or powerful groups (Noel et al. 1995: 127-137). For instance, according to Tajfel (1978: 15), the members of an in-group minority perceive themselves on the periphery while the more powerful majority tend to "proclaim their dislike of the 'inferior' minority" out-groups in order to secure and strengthen their status in the majority group (cited by Noel et al. 1995: 128). In other words, people tend to describe out-group members more negatively than in-group members in order to gain acceptance by their group and prove their commitment to the in-group identity (Ibid. 1995: 127-137). Besides, the concept of 'intergroup bias' is one of the critical assumptions of social identity theory (Bryne & Baron, 1997: 207-208, 211-220). It can take the form of in-group favoritism and/or outgroup derogation. It can be observed through discriminative behaviors toward the out-group, through prejudiced attitudes, and stereotyped cognitions. Thus, discrimination entails debasing and impairing out-group members or denying them access to resources and wealth which serves as a purpose of strengthening the relative position of one's in-group and also indirectly boosts individual self-esteem (Noel et al. 1995: 127-137; Bryne & Baron, 1997: 207-220). In fact, there is a perceived competition in key areas such as employment, housing, education, health, politics, and general economic resources. Furthermore, according to the conflict theory of discrimination, discrimination is motivated by the desire of dominant group members to guard valuable social and economic resources against the perceived threats of out-group members (Bryne & Baron, 1997: 202-203; Hog & Abrams, 1998: 14). Thus, most of the sociological analyses of discrimination in terms of theories of group conflict and competition concentrate on patterns of dominance and oppression as expressions of a struggle for power and privilege (Blumer, 1958: 4; Bryne & Baron, 1997: 202-203; Tajfel & Turner, 1986: 7-24).

Furthermore, considering the studies of social categorization or social identity construction, the process of socialization helps maintain systems of oppression and

thus discrimination (Harro, 2000: 15). Individuals learn about the values and norms of their own and other social groups as well as the dominant ideology through their family, schools, peers, the media, religious and other institutions (Ibid. 2000: 15-20; Goodman, 2015: 4). In this respect, they acquire both self-perceptions and images of others via socialization (Rose, 1966: 91). People in turn behave according to these norms, roles and responsibilities and thus, the inequalities are seen as normal and natural. In other words, people that have been under subordination for a while may feel they are somehow inferior (internalized oppression or the false consciousness) which helps keep people from questioning the status quo and maintaining the current inequitable systems (Goodman, 2015: 4; Harro, 2000: 19). In addition, institutional policies and practices highlight the differences of people and differentiate them according to their economic, social, cultural and political status (Goodman, 2015: 5). Therefore, certain groups of people are disadvantaged by this through their limited access to resources, opportunities and power. As a result, it may be said that the group-based social hierarchy is formed through the impact of institutional and individual discrimination within the social processes (Göregenli, 2012: 70).

Besides the issue of out-group and in-group, there are other links or bindings, causes, and content of discrimination that are critical implications of sociological theory. For example, the belief that some features are superior to the other is one of the causes of discrimination. In this regard, discriminators are often unconscious of their own discrimination and they assume that some kinds of people are less well suited than others to certain positions (Banton, 1994: 35; Blumer, 1958: 4). Moreover, people who think that their group is superior to other groups show tendencies such as exclusion and separation of other groups. Thus, "discrimination comes about only when we deny to individuals or groups of people equality of treatment" (Allport, 1958: 50). In this respect, according to social dominance theory, dominant groups in society judge subordinated groups according to their own traditions and lifestyles and stigmatize them by ignoring their individual/personal characteristics (Göregenli, 2012: 62-70). In

fact, the social dominance theory and the studies on stereotype and stigma are consistent with the view of ethnocentrism. As social-psychologists, early sociologists view discrimination as an expression of ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism is defined by Giddens as a suspicion of outsiders combined with a tendency to evaluate the culture of others in terms of one's own culture (2006: 495). Regarding the correlation of discrimination with ethnocentrism, the impression of members within their own community has an influence on the relations among the racial and ethnic groups. In addition, the dominant groups try to maintain the established order through the stereotypes they produce and with stigmatization and therefore legitimize the discrimination with these processes (Göregenli, 2012: 62-70). Thus, when considering the sociological interpretation of discrimination, the analysis of the content of the group stereotype must be taken into account. Furthermore, groups which cannot keep up with the dominant culture are exposed to prejudice, discrimination and social exclusion. Thus, at the same time, minorities are positioned to be in lower-status of society and their communication with dominant groups is decreasing. Due to this lack of communication minorities within the society are alienated and their behavior leads to the formation of disagreements from the dominant groups. These attitudes, therefore, lead to rationalization of the prejudices of dominant groups (Harlak, 2000: 10). Whereas, people should be able to express their views and suggestions clearly and their positions of speech should be independent of influence. However, certain segments of society do not even have a say in issues that concern them. There are several reasons that prevent people from having an equal voice. The deliberative democracy theorists explain this with economic and political reasons; but the social power that prevents people from having an equal voice is not only due to economic dependence or political pressure. At the same time, voices of some people and groups are considered worthless, and they lack the right to speak (Benhabib, 1999: 178). On the other hand, it is possible to say that there are groups trying to cope with this situation. In these groups, two main positions have been developed, first the adoption of their ideology to the 'large society' they are involved in, or the rejection of their

minority position through hiding themselves by relying on their active contributions in society (Aydın, 2006: 156).

As a result, social categorization, social identification, social comparison and inter-group comparisons including in-group favoritism and out-group derogation, ethnocentrism, and dominant ideology thesis, they are all the same in terms of producing the mentality of us-versus-them and ultimate attribution error (Pettigrew, 1979) that highlight the prejudices and discrimination. In addition, there are many other causes of discrimination including prejudices, perception of differences and institutions which have exclusionary and discriminatory structures and organizational processes.

2.3. Types of Discrimination

Discrimination has become an important phenomenon affecting social life in various forms and issues in every period of history. Discrimination is divided into types in terms of its forms and content. One may speak of two main forms of discrimination: positive and negative discrimination. While negative discrimination entails recognition of rights or freedoms of some individuals in society, positive discrimination refers to the policies or programs that provide systems of access to members of a minority groups that are excluded from the customary form to create a more egalitarian society (Cotter, 2011: 8; İştar, 2012: 3). For example, although the Alevis are not legally considered as a minority group in Turkey, they face negative discrimination because their religious interpretation does not match with the state's definition of faith or religious belief. On the other hand, Armenian, Greek, Jewish communities can be viewed as an example of positive discrimination with their legally recognized as minority groups and their legal and political rights as well as social rights such as education (Göçek, 2006: 67).[16]

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[16] However, it is debatable to what extent these given rights are reflected in practice. Since the new nation-state was built on the Turkish-Muslim identity and it try to encourage and bring people together under this identity, nation-building in Turkey is achieved on the basis of processes such as ethnic cleansing, population exchange as ethnic purification (such as Turkification of the population, culture and space), homogenizing through cruel routes (with forceful methods such as displacement, demography of

Positive discrimination is mostly established to change the inequitable distribution of work, education, health or other things based on race, ethnicity and gender (Cotter, 2011: 8). In other words, it can be said that political structures shape the relations between groups in society and these relations also feed the political interests of the period to the extent that they change.

There are number of behaviors that are prohibited by international law on discrimination. The first of these is a direct discrimination which is characterized by intentional discrimination against a person or a group. It is based on the idea of equality. "It is defined as a less favorable or harmful treatment of a person or group on prohibited grounds such as language, religion, gender, race or disability" (Salman, 2007: 10). In other words, it occurs at points where inequality is generated, often intentionally (Pettigrew & Taylor, 2000: 689). For instance, if a public organization does not hire individuals of a particular race, sex, or age, this is a direct discrimination. On the other hand, indirect discrimination is the perpetuation or magnification of the original injury (Ibid. 2000: 689). It focuses on the effect of a policy or measure, which may appear neutral but in fact systematically puts people of a particular minority at a disadvantage compared to others. For example, if there is no passage for disabled people on a bridge built for pedestrians, we can say that indirectly there is a discrimination against disabled people. Another type of discriminatory behavior is called harassment or abuse. It is all kinds of degrading behavior including sexual or psychological acts that will undermine and offend one's dignity (Salman, 2007: 10). For example, mockery of a person's ethnic identity, biological barriers, culture or sexual orientation is perceived as harassment. Another discriminatory behavior is victimization. Victimization is defined as the ineffectiveness of legal principles that a person or a group wants to put into effect on the basis of principles of equality (Salman, 2007: 10). For example, a person who thinks that s/he has been discriminated against on the basis of equality principles appeals to the court and opens a lawsuit in

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engineering) (Aktar, 2003: 92, 93; Aktar, 2000: 17, 19, 26-31; Koraltürk, 2011: 15-16, 28, 45-46). To see detailed knowledge, please look at the chapter three: 'Ethnic Discrimination in Turkey'.

which the verdict is contradictory with the principles of equality h/she can be considered as victimized.

In the historical process, the most distinctive types of discriminatory behaviors that manifest in different subjects and in different types can be categorized as religious discrimination, ethnic discrimination, race discrimination, gender discrimination, political discrimination, class discrimination, disability discrimination, and age discrimination..

2.3.1. Religious Discrimination

Religious discrimination occurred in all stages of history and various forms of discrimination are based on religious criteria. The basis of the criteria focuses not on the quantity or identity of the groups; but, on groups that have a belief outside the religious beliefs adopted by the majority. For example, in Europe, belief styles that were considered to deviate from Catholicism was an object of discrimination (Aydın, 2006: 147). Moreover, the origin of the concepts of minority and majority in the Ottoman Empire is based on religion as it is in the West. In the Ottoman society, which was shaped under the context of Islamic law, religious minorities had a free relationship with Muslims only in economic life. Apart from this, religious minorities have always been subject to many discriminatory rules. For example, a man belonging to a minority group had to convert in order to marry a Muslim woman. A non-muslim's testiomony in court would not be equal to that of a a Muslim. Non-Muslims could not build a building close to a Muslim neighborhood (Göçek, 2006: 62). Furthermore, it is possible to find results of religious discrimination that led to grudge, hatred and violence not only among different religions, but also among groups of different sects of the same religion.

In today's politics, it is seen that leaders speak out to people targeting their beliefs. However, according to religious discrimination report; the state should not impose any

form of religious ideology on the people; thus, should stand equal and neutral to everybody, especially it should not interfere with people's religious beliefs (reports of religious discrimination in Turkey, 2010: 12).

2.3.2. Gender Discrimination

In a society, gender differences or gender roles occupy an important place as far as discrimination is concerned. Moreover, gender differences and the widespread gender discrimination is based on the principle of the opposite sex and discrimination is done through physical appearance, hormones and psychological differences (Wharton, 2005: 18; Eriksen, 2009: 202-203). However, femininity and masculinity are not only explained by biological and genetic differences. They are socially and culturally constructed by society. Therefore, gender is also under the heading of discrimination.

Gender-based discrimination is based upon the assumption that gender roles of women and men depend on their natural and invariant biological structures (Bora, 2012: 175). Gender refers to the rules that determine personal characteristics, behaviors and roles that men and women should have in different societies and cultures. Therefore, gender is not an inherited feature, but a phenomenon created by the society (Göker & Göker, 2014: 223). Furthermore, cultural, traditional and religious beliefs of the society have an important role in determining gender roles. In this respect, there are also serious differences between women and men and their accessibility to certain rights. The problems that women face due to poverty and difficulties they encounter in education and in professional life constitute the basis of the inequality of opportunity between men and women (Çakır, 2008: 30). In addition, women are more disadvantaged due to the values and norms imposed by society. Gender leads men and women to learn about the meanings and expectations, social roles and stereotypes of society and culture. People who perform gender roles, whether consciously or unconsciously in a way community expects from that particular gender, leads to the strengthening of the perception that gender roles are natural and

normal, and the continuity of positive and negative stereotypes. As a result of negative stereotypes, rights and freedoms of women are violated. Therefore, women who are weaker than men in terms of political, economic and social power are the gender that has been discriminated against (Sakallı Uğurlu, 2003: 2).

Women or men who go beyond the determined patterns are directly or indirectly discriminated in society. In societies with patriarchal order, discrimination of women is inevitable and women are discriminated only because they are women. Simone de Beauvoir (1949) refers to the concept of gender as "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman" (cited by Bora, 2012: 176). When we take into consideration all of the developments in Turkey, we cannot deny the fact that in most areas due to the patterns determined by the society women are more exposed to discrimination then men. However, explaining gender discrimination only with the disadvantages of women can lead to discrimination against men. Therefore, the disadvantages of men should also be considered.

Due to gender-based discrimination women do not equally benefit from social resources. In addition, individuals with different sexual orientations (LGBTT individuals) undergo fundamental human rights violations (Bora, 2012: 184). As can be seen, while the roles of femininity and masculinity are determined, those who deviate from these two set gender roles face serious discrimination.

2.3.3. Political Discrimination

Any society is comprised on individuals with different political views and preferences. It would be impossible for such views and preferences to be impuned as irrational on the grounds that the majority of society or the powers that be did not share them. On the contrary, a political view is an expression of an individual's existence in society. Therefore, society is formed in an atmosphere where opposites coexist. In the field of politics, discrimination takes place due to the relationship between groups that share a

prevailing point of view and minority groups who do not. Political discrimination, in general, is different and unequal treatment of one particular person or a group rather than the others based on their political views (Çetin & Özdemirci, 2011: 4). In other words, political discrimination may be defined as the systematic limitation of rights of certain groups to take their place among the elite, or to participate in political life. These groups that are interested in the existence and the state of structural conditions have a point of view that the group has gained a greater party or administrative autonomy (Ellina & Moore, 1990: 269). The distinctions between political views can be caused by various factors. In this respect, political discrimination may occur as a consequence of ethnic and cultural, religious or economic inequality, or else when certain discourses and practices threaten the ideology of the dominant group and its wish to safeguard its authority. As an instance of this, political tension is likely to occur between minority and majority groups in society if they do not have equal rights, or between the majority and the foreigners who are dissimilar to them. In the social history of the world, the political agenda has, from time to time, been dominated by nationalistic and xenophobic social reactions to close proximity of groups with differing outlooks and backgrounds. Thus, political discrimation like all other forms of discrimination entails a dominant group's attempt to protect and further its intresets. However, what is important is that despite the chaos and conflict that may occur in a political environment as a result of differing opinions, there should be laws and practices ensuring social order. Freedom of political opinion does not in itself justify freedom of action and conflict. It is estimated that political discrimination is seen in less developed or underdeveloped countries. However, it is stated that laws and practices that prevent political discrimination in developed or developing countries are not sufficient as well (Çetin & Özdemirci, 2011: 4). Political discrimination that can be seen in every aspect of life leads to discriminatory practices towards people with certain political views and can apply pressure on people to change their views.

2.3.4. Class Discrimination (Classism)

A social class is a group of people, commonly sharing comparable levels of power, prestige and wealth.[17] In sociology, social classes describe one form of social stratification.[18] The Marxist and Weberian class views, which are central to understanding social inequalities, state that modern societies are class societies (Yanıklar, 2010: 207). It is possible to say that the class phenomenon is generally shaped on the basis of property and market position. Marx, in particular, who categorizes societies according to production types, also emphasizes the relations between groups of people involved in the production of goods and services. In other words, the type of production refers not only to the technique of production, but also to the relation of production, wealth, power, distribution of resources, and division of labor in society (Manson, 2000: 28; Bradley, 2001: 188). Marx argues that production needs in class divisions are exploitation and conflicts arising from access; however, Weber's class categories are shaped around issues that involve subjective roles, such as a social status, prestige, job position, occupation, income, education, which can be controlled by the roles ripped apart in a competitive atmosphere and by the individual (Bradley, 2001: 197; Manson, 2000: 84; Eriksen, 1995: 140; Arslan, 2004: 128).

In today's world, economic and socio-cultural capital is not equally distributed among people. This inequality is caused by factors such as differences in working intensity, changing wages depending on the nature of the work, education system, work experience, chance, competition in the market, family wealth, development level which varies according to regions (Karaman & Özçalık, 2007: 27). These factors highlight the differences between social classes and constitute a hierarchy between classes. There is a big gap in terms of the distribution of capital between the upper classes with higher income, better living conditions, sometimes family wealth, and the lower classes who have to work harder to survive but who earn less in return. Thus, this unequal status in

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[17] (https://sociologydictionary.org/class/, Date of Access: January 2019)

[18] (https://www.chegg.com/homework-help/definitions/social-class-49, Date of Access: January 2019)

society can often set the stage for prejudice and discrimination. For example, someone of a high social class votes against welfare programs that might aid the poor. At that point, it can be said that people try to justify their own position and maintain the differences between themselves and the lower class.[19] Moreover, the poor can face discrimination in public opinion in different ways, especially in the media. The statements such as 'The poor are lazy' or 'the poor are ignorant/uneducated' include stereotypes that are expressed without thinking about the poor. Besides, the perception of the poor as a potential culprit/criminal primarily increases this discrimination and thus exclusion (Uyan Semerci, 2012: 193). Furthermore, although it is argued that every citizen is equal in the eyes of the law, with equal opportunities and equal access to services, this may not only be the case on paper. In terms of issues such as employment and housing, health and education services, members of the lower class are always considered secondary and priority is invariably given to those who are better off. Therefore, class discrimination should be considered both individual and institutional levels.

To sum up, inequalities are seen by different stratification systems such as class, gender, race and ethnicity, and age. In such systems, one group is dominant over the other. Each of these systems is unique and plays a different role in the construction and maintenance of group-based social hierarchies. Class is one of these systems while group-based social hierarchies are maintained by intergroup behaviors such as discrimination. Moreover, class refers to "a stratification system that divides a society into a hierarchy of social positions" and class discrimination is discrimination on the basis of that class (Vitt, 2007: 533). Class discrimination, also known as classism, "includes individual attitudes, behaviors, systems of policies and practices that are set up to benefit the upper class at the expense of the lower class or vice versa".[20] For

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[19] (https://www.khanacademy.org/test-prep/mcat/individuals-and-society/discrimination/v/prejudice-and-discrimination-based-on-race-ethnicity-power-social-class-and-prestige, Date of Access: January 2019)

[20](http://www.wikizero.biz/index.php?q=aHR0cHM6Ly9lbi53aWtpcGVkaWEub3JnL3dpa2kvQ2xhc3NfZGlzY3JpbWluYXRpb24, Date of Access: January 2019)

example, "middle-class and upper-class individuals in the U.S. referring to working class, white Americans as "poor white trash" can be regarded as a form of class prejudice, the insult having the capacity to be historically analogous to racist language against African-Americans."[21]

2.3.5. Disability Discrimination (Ableism)

One of the groups exposed to discrimination in society is the disabled. Persons with disabilities are people whose long-term physical, mental, spiritual and sensory disabilities prevent them from participating fully and effectively in the society equally with others.[22] In many languages there are several words used to refer to the disabled and disability and some of thse words or terms can be offending. For example, the Turkish Language Institution (Turkish: Türk Dil Kurumu, TDK) glossary defines a human being as the most advanced creature alive, with two hands, moving on two legs, with verbal cognizance, and the capacity to think and reason. It can be stated that TDK does not consider some people with disabilities (physical and mentally handicapped, deaf and dumb) and excludes them from this definition (Besiri, 2009: 355). Therefore, there is a clear distinction among people with disabilities and also between the disabled and the abled.Discrimination against race, religion or gender has often been demonstrated by violence, war, deprivation of liberty, and not seen equally under laws. However, as discrimination against persons with disabilities is not revealed by such clear practices, discriminatory behavior towards persons with disabilities is often not recognized. In particular, it can be argued that physically disabled people experience more discriminatory behavior in social and public spaces. Because the arrangements made in these areas are generally made without considering the conditions of the disabled. Moreover, considering the expression is reflected in the media, people with disabilities and their families in Turkey, is seen often faced with direct and indirect discrimination. Discrimination of persons with disabilities varies according to their gender, age, ethnic

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[21](http://www.wikizero.biz/index.php?q=aHR0cHM6Ly9lbi53aWtpcGVkaWEub3JnL3dpa2kvQ2xhc3NfZGl zY3JpbWluYXRpb24, Date of Access: January 2019)

[22](<http://www.ozida.gov.tr/ulasilabilirlik/Belgeler/2_MEVZUATSTANDART/ULUSLARARASI_SOZLESME/B M_ENGELLIHAKLARISOZLESMESI.pdf>, Date of Access: October 2018)

origin or religion. For example, because a disabled woman is both disabled and female, she may feel discrimination more than disabled men (Işık et al., 2011: 15).

For the last half-century work has been carried out to develop measures to identify and to prevent disability discrimination. However, many studies show that while people with disabilities are often treated with pity and compassion, they are categorized differently. Because people with disabilities are seen as helpless and needy and their abilities are perceived as limited. This process, exacerbated by prejudice, brought about isolation, exclusion and isolation from society. Prejudice gave it a new dimension, discrimination (Akbulut, 2012: 150). In order for the disabled to live an equal life with other members of the society, transportation, physical environment, public facilities and services must be easily accessible to them.

2.3.6. Age Discrimination (Ageism)

Although it is seen in every aspect of life, age discrimination is not a form of discrimination which is confronted like racism and sexism. Individuals may be subject to discrimination because they are young or old depending on their environment. While much has been done in contemporary societies to combat ethnic, racial and gender discrimination, age discrimination is only recently attracting the attention of political and civil society (Franklin, 1986: 14).

Ageism presupposes stereotyped assumptions about the physical or mental abilities of a person or a group and often has a derogatory language. These attitudes are most often shown against older people (Scott & Marshall, 2009: 812). Ageism, as in racism and sexism, is manifested in one group's pressure on another group, and it is a threat to social cohesion. However, in contrast to racism and sexism, hegemony that deals with age discrimination invalidates the freedom and opportunities acquired during adutlhood (Montepare & Zebrowits, 2004: 312). Although 'ageism' has an impact on all age groups, children and elderly people feel the age discrimination more than others,

but although there are many protection mechanisms for children, the studies towards older people are quite inadequate. Therefore, in world literature, 'ageism' is often considered as discrimination against older people (Çayır, 2012: 164). Age discrimination is exceedingly felt in business life. Persons of all ages can experience age discrimination in their work environment, but older workers are more likely to experience age discrimination than young workers (Baybora, 2010: 34). For example, people over a certain age may not be hired because they are elderly, no matter how competent they are in their fields.

In many parts of the world, children are also exceedingly subject to age discrimination. Children are seen as a part of the family and the education and they do not have a description other than that in the literature (Administration of Juvenile Justice System in Turkey, 2012). The fact that children are perceived as young people who need to be protected because they live in an adult-dependent manner in their first years of life, and also the fact that their ideas are mostly overlooked since they are young, are main reasons of exclusion in the society.[23] The fact that children are economically dependent on their parents or those who support the family, and the involvement of some children in unregistered work can both be seen as conditions that negatively affect the childhood. Other serious problems include the inability of child brides to continue their education, the sexual abuse of girls, in particular, and the prevention of both physical development and the development of a healthy identity. All these things considered, childhood can be evaluated an economic, emotional, physical and sexual exploitation era. Children, a group of people who have long been suffering and oppressed in society, is "a silent and non-representative minority" without civil rights (Franklin, 1986: 15).

Age discrimination affects people of all ages; however, the elderly and children are seen as the group that feels it the most. The prevention of age discrimination and

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[23] (<http://www.ihop.org.tr/dosya/cocukadalet/Politika_Yas-Ayrimciligi.pdf>, Date of Access: October 2018)

making legal arrangements are an important step; however, it is equally important to follow-up whether people comply with the regulations.

2.4. Ethnicity and Ethnic Discrimination

2.4.1. What is Ethnicity?

Ethnicity refers to the sense of kinship, group solidarity and common culture as old as the historical record. The sense of a common ethnicity has remained to this day a major focus of identification by individuals (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996: 3). Throughout its history, the term 'ethnicity' has acquired a variety of meanings in different periods: a specific form of cultural difference, an essence of an ethnic group or community, a substitute for minority groups within a larger society of the nation-state, a synonym for nationhood defined historically by descent or territory, an immigrant minority, and so forth (Malesevic, 2004: 2).

However, in general, ethnicity can simply be defined as the feeling of belonging to a particular community based on language, religion, history, descent, outlooks, customs, beliefs, traditions, modes of life, rituals, or the cultural practices they possess (Eriksen, 2009: 409; Giddens, 2006: 487, Weber, 1978: 364-366). In a sense, what these all usages have in common is the idea of a group of people who share some cultural or biological characteristics and who live and act in unison (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996: 4-5). Before Barth, cultural differences were traditionally explained from the inside out, saying that "social groups possess different cultural characteristics which make them unique and distinct" (Malesevic, 2004: 2). In contrast, Barth believes that "it is not the 'possession' of cultural characteristics that makes social groups distinct but rather it is the social interaction with other groups that makes that difference possible, visible and socially meaningful" (Ibid. 2004:3). In other words, the difference is created, developed and maintained only through interaction with others. In this sense, the concept of ethnicity is an idea that is purely social in meaning, thus the ethnic boundaries are explained as a product of social action (Giddens, 2006: 487). Accordingly, Barth argues

that "the critical focus of investigation from this point of view becomes the ethnic boundary that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses" (1969: 15). Hence, "cultural difference per se does not create ethnic collectivities: it is the social contact with others that leads to definition and categorization of an 'us' and a 'them'" (Malesevic, 2004: 3).

Eriksen, on the other hand, believes that the ethnic groups refer to minorities that are culturally different from the majority in society (1995: 262). In fact, "since Young's adoption, the term minority has been used by sociologists to refer to those groups whose members share certain racial or ethnic similarities which are considered to be different from or inferior to the traits of the dominant group" (Rose, 1966: 13). There is a dichotomy between a non-ethnic 'us' and an ethnic 'other'. This dichotomy reproduced in a way how the terms of nation 'reserve for themselves' and ethnicity 'reserve for immigrant people' were used, as in the frequently used term 'ethnic' minorities (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996: 4-5). However, minority status is not fixed or immutable, it can be used for majority and minority as well as host and immigrant communities (Rose, 1966: 13; Giddens, 2006: 488-490; Hutchinson & Smith, 1996: 4-5, 17-18, 23, 28). Indeed, sociologists frequently use the term minority to refer to a group's subordinated or disadvantaged position within the society, rather than the numerical representation (Giddens, 2006: 489-490). In a sense, dominant/privileged group is a group possessing more wealth, power and prestige compared to the minority group (Ibid. 2006: 489). Moreover, dominant groups and majorities are no less ethnic than minorities. Thus, it is mistaken to reduce the term ethnicity to minority.

Furthermore, 'ethnicity' has been used interchangeably with ethnic identity since ethnicity is defined as a group's identity which makes one group different from other groups (Akpinar & Karam, 1999: 8). In this respect, Weber states that ethnic groups are described as human groups which cherish a belief in their common origins of such a kind that it provides a basis for the creation of a community. Therefore, it is constituted

simply by the belief in a common identity (Weber, 1978: 364, 365). As a result, it is possible to say that ethnic identity or ethnicity is formed by common/collective values shared within the group rather than on biological differences (Eriksen, 1995: 263). In other words, this identity is acquired in historical process and is affected by the interactions with other groups over time; as such, it is undergone many changes.

However, it is not sufficient to have only cultural differences between two groups for the formation of an ethnicity. That is, in addition to cultural distinctiveness, there is a need for a common sharing area or element that can create an environment of interaction between these groups. Interactions of ethnic groups as categories that actors identify with themselves can occur biologically through marriages or socially through the creation of communication and interaction areas (Aydın, 2006: 149; Eriksen, 1995: 263). Besides, researchers, who underline the instrumental nature of ethnicity, state that ethnicity that emerges in post-industrial societies has an instrumental nature in terms of centering on the interpersonal solidarity, gaining advantage for achieving certain goals, and maximizing interests (Poutignat & Streiff-Fenart, 2008: 134-135). The ethnicity that arises under the conditions of modern society is seen as a group solidarity that especially emerges in conflict situations between the people who have the common material interests and others (Ibid. 2008: 106). At this point, ethnical belonging undertakes the function of creating a safe environment in which people are socially and economically supported by each other in order to be able to survive and to stay together. According to the theorists advocating the instrumentalist approach within the theories of ethnicity, individuals may prefer to change their identity according to the existing conditions while they pursue certain interests within the given social environment (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996: 33). Consequently, ethnicity is a social relation in which social actors perceive themselves and are perceived by others as being culturally distinct collectivities (Malesevic, 2004: 4). As Weber believes, ethnic group is constituted simply by the belief in a common identity which often transforms group membership into a political community. He also

emphasizes the effectiveness of social action and, above all, a political aspect of group action, saying that it gives rise to beliefs in ethnic identity which survive even after the community itself has disappeared (1978: 364, 365). "Sociologically speaking, despite its obvious diversity, ethnicity is in the last instance a politicized culture" (Malesevic, 2004: 4).

Ethnic identity discrimination and racism are often used in the same sense, which renders the relationship between the terms ethnicity and race to be highly complex (Oommen, 1997: 58-65). Since ethnic ideologies tend to stress common descent among their members, the distinction between race and ethnicity is intricate (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996: 29). However, it is significant to read these definitions because most of them do not underline real descent or ancestry biologically and they mostly entail assumed common ancestry. To illustrate, in Schermerhon's well known definition (1978: 12), ethnic groups is defined as "a collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements (kinship patterns, physical contiguity, religious affiliation, language or dialect forms, tribal affiliation, nationality, phenotypical features, or any combination of these) defined as the epitome of their peoplehood" (cited by Hutchinson & Smith, 1996: 6). Besides, it is significant to look at van den Berghe's definitions. He distinguishes race as 'a group that is socially defined on the basis of physical criteria' from ethnicity, which is 'socially defined but on the basis of cultural criteria' (1967: 9-10). Both racial and ethnic groups are socially defined by real or putative common descent, and the distinction between the two types of groups is merely in the relative salience of biological or cultural markers of membership (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996: 57). Besides, Barth mentions in his ethnic boundaries theory that ethnic identifications are based on ascription and self-identification; therefore, they are situationally dependent and can change (1969: 15). Thus, his theory is very reasonable considering that the identity is a process built through social interactions and believing that it should be examined through intercultural boundaries.

Thus, the ethnic boundary is a social boundary formed through interaction with others (Barth, 1969: 15-16; Oommen, 1997: 36-37). Hence, it has been argued by many evolutionists and social scientists that the definition of race or ethnicity is an ambiguous and a discretionary thing which derives from customs and traditions, and it has been observed that races vary according to cultures. In this respect, it has been asserted that race or ethnicity is best understood as a social construct (Cotter, 2011: 13). Because it is argued that people were constructed in social processes rather than physical characteristics such as skin color and eye shape (Garner, 2009: 3).

2.4.2. Ethnic Discrimination

Ethnic discrimination can simply be defined as any unequal, disadvantageous treatment of groups of people because of their national origin, ancestry, or ethnic affiliation, distinctive cultural patterns, traditions and practices, which leads to discrimination based on physical, linguistic, or cultural traits associated with an ethnic or national identity (UNHRC, 1989[24]; Cambridge Dictionary[25], Kohler-Hausmann, 2011; Çayır, 2012: 6; Eriksen, 2009: 409; Giddens, 2006: 487; Oommen, 1997: 42-43). There are various reasons that lead people to ethnic discrimination, highlighting ethnic conflict. One of these is perceiving ethnic minorities as a cultural and a security threat to the nation-state. In this sense, they are often regarded as an obstacle to cultural, religious, and ethnic uniformity and integrity, a threat to the national unity and security, and often are seen as dangerous delinquents (Banton, 1994: 81; Oommen, 1997: 41-45; Giddens, 2006: 498; Kaya & Tarhanlı, 2006: 50, 51). Since nations are often perceived as mono-cultural entities, singular in their cultural essence and in the constituent population, it is not surprising that ethno-cultural, racial and religious diversity is perceived as a security threat to the nation (Oommen, 1997: 27-29, 41-44, 54, 135-136; Smith, 2002: 15, 20; Mann, 2005: 3, 4, 5; Aktar, 2003: 87; Keyder, 1987: 50-53). Individuals with

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[24] (United Nations Human Rights Committee General Comment No. 18 Non-discrimination, see: https://www.oursplatform.org/resource/human-rights-committee-general-comment-no-18-non-discrimination/, Date of Access: December 2018).
[25] (https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/discrimination, Date of Access: December 2018).

other ethnicities are mostly viewed as lacking loyalty towards the government. In addition, they are mostly regarded as economic competitors for scarce resources (Blumer, 1958: 4; Bryne & Baron, 1997: 202-203; Aktar, 2003: 80-92; Koraltürk, 2011: 28; Oommen, 1997: 42-43). As such, they are considered as hurdles to peaceful co-existence, progress and stable development. All these prejudices lead to discriminatory practices that make these ethnic groups the ones who have the highest rates of unemployment, suffer greater discrimination in the job market, have lower wages, experience higher levels of poverty and have a greater number of police records and arrests, placing a strong social stigma on them (Pettigrew & Taylor, 2000: 694; Göregenli, 2012: 70). Many researches confirm that ethnic discrimination experiences of people are paralleled with the socio-economic stratification and life changes of them and these are impacted in the areas of occupational status and earning; educational achievement, housing, transportation, and social integration. For instance, Banton finds out that in many societies there is a significant residential segregation associated with differences of socio-economic status and race. There is a considerable discrimination on the grounds of social status and it is exacerbated once compounded with racial or ethnic differences (Banton, 1994: 79). To illustrate, "an array of research on black Americans has demonstrated that neighborhood racial segregation leads to educational disadvantages, then to occupational disadvantage, and thus to income deficits" (Pettigrew & Taylor, 2000: 694).

Another cause for ethnic discrimination is the ethnic prejudice which includes beliefs and thoughts based on the idea that one ethnicity is innately superior to another ethnicity according to biological and social attributes which are considered important (Rose, 1966: 5, 83-84; Blumer, 1958: 4). In this sense, ethnic prejudice is described as an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization (Allport, 1958:10). Moreover, it may be felt, expressed or directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because s/he is a member of that group (Ibid. 1958:10). In this regard, Weber believes that the feeling of ethnic status, like the conception of status based on

'social rank', thrives on convictions about the superiority of one's own customs and the inferiority of other people's (1978: 366). In fact, behind all ethnic conflicts there is the notion of the 'chosen people' (Ibid. 1978: 367). This prejudice motivates discrimination against the ethnic group, both at an individual and an institutional level, which forces the group into a lower position in the society. As a consequence, discriminators are often unconscious of their own discrimination and they assume that some people are less suited than others to certain positions (Banton, 1994: 35). The 'chosen people' belief owes its popularity to the fact that membership of the 'superior people' can be subjectively claimed on exactly the same footing by all members of each of the mutually disdainful groups (Weber, 1978: 367). Thus, in their feelings of ethnic detestation, the members hold on to every imaginable difference in standards of propriety and make them into ethnic traditions. In addition to these factors, which all have a close contact with the economic system. All these things serve to promote ethnic conflicts, since they act as symbols of ethnic co-membership (Ibid. 1978: 367). Moreover, ethnic discrimination may also be viewed as an expression of ethnocentrism which is defined as a suspicion of outsiders combined with a tendency to evaluate the others from one's own culture-bond and group-centered frame of reference (Giddens, 2006: 495; Rose, 1966: 73, 76). In this sense, ethnocentrism is often used as a synonym of disdain for stranger and can also be seen as the sense of uniquness, centrality, and virtue of an ethnie in its relations with the other ethnies (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996: 5). Sumner, who coined the term ethnocentrism, states that "the insiders in-we group are in a relation of peace, order, law, government, and industry with each other. Their relationship with all outsiders, or others-groups, is one of war and plunder, except so far as agreements have modified it" (cited by Hog & Abrams, 1998: 14-15). This interpretation is parallel with the studies of stereotyping that show how relations between ethnic and racial groups are affected by the socially derived beliefs each holds about the other (Scott & Gordon, 2009: 179). As a result, ranking or judging others according to one's own standards and categorizing them into generalized stereotypes together serve to widen the gap between 'they' and 'we' (Rose, 1966: 76).

Apart from resource allocation and ethnocentrism, other sociological concepts relevant to ethnic conflicts and ethnic discrimination on a general level are social exclusion and ethnic group closure. Social exclusion as a rupturing of the social bond is a process of decline in participation, access, and solidarity (Silver, 2007a: 4419). The original meaning of social exclusion stresses social distance, marginalization, and inadequate integration. In other words, it reflects inadequate social cohesion or integration, referring to dimensions of deprivation, lack of access, and barriers to social participation. These groups experience unequal social, economic, political and cultural life in the community (Ibid. 2007a: 4419). Accordingly, it is noted that many perspectives emphasize exclusion from opportunities and thus perceive the concept similar to discrimination. For instance, Allport says that discrimination is denying individuals or groups of people equality of treatment and it occurs when we take steps to exclude members of an out-group from our neighborhood, school, occupation, or country (Allport, 1958: 50). Hence, social exclusion as a process of progressive social rupture is a more comprehensive and complex conceptualisation of social disadvantage (Silver, 2007b: 18). The study of social exclusion dynamics emphasize that a large number of people spent some portion in their lives in a situation of multiple disadvantage due to transformations beyond their individual control.

Moreover, exclusion emphasizes horizontal ties of belonging, although these may give rise to vertical distribution and it can take place at the individual, communal, national, and even international level (Ibid. 2007b: 19). On the other hand, ethnic closure occurs once members of minority groups tend to see themselves as detached from the majority. In this sense, they maintain boundaries separating themselves from others (Giddens, 2006: 490). Furthermore, these boundaries are formed by means of the exclusion devices, which sharpen the divisions between one ethnic group and another (Barth, 1969: 9-16; Giddens, 2006: 496). In this respect, members of minority groups are usually physically and socially isolated from the larger community. They tend to be concentrated in specific neighborhoods, cities or regions of a country. Considering this

issue, Allport says that it is not always the dominant majority that forces minority groups to remain separate because some studies show that minorities display even greater ethnocentrism than do native groups. As such, some ethnic communities are much more insistent upon choosing their friends, their neighbors, their marriage partners from their own groups (Allport, 1958: 18). Besides that, there is little intermarriage between minority groups themselves and between minority and majority groups. People within the minority sometimes actively promote endogamy (marriage within the group) in order to keep alive their cultural distinctiveness (Giddens, 2006: 490). Thus, dominant or subordinated, human groups tend to stay apart; therefore, the fact is adequately explained by the principles of ease, least congeniality, and pride in one's own culture (Allport, 1958: 18). As a result, ethnocentrism, social exclusion and group closure, or ethnic group closure, frequently go hand in hand.

The separateness may lead to genuine conflicts of interests, as well as to many imaginery conflicts (Allport, 1958: 19). Whether because of that or not, ethnic tensions and conflicts continue to spread in societies around the world and it is highly likely that ethnic discrimination will continue to be experienced among social structures that comprise many ethnic, cultural and religious differences (Oommen, 1997: 233-34). Although ethnic diversity can greatly enrich societies, multi-ethnic states may also be fragile, especially in the face of internal upheaval or external threat (Giddens, 2006: 498-499). In other words, ethnic conflicts especially threaten disintegration of multi-ethnic states. Sometimes societies with long histories of ethnic tolerance and integration can rapidly become engulfed in ethnic conflict and hostilities between different ethnic groups or communities (Ibid. 2006: 499). These conflicts generally result in social exclusion, segregation and inequalities. Sometimes, however, racial and ethnic prejudice and or conflict have consequences beyond segregation and inequality leading to ethnic cleansing and genocide. These conflicts in some states involve attempts of ethnic cleansing: mass expulsion of other ethnic populations in order to create ethnically homogenous areas (Bosnia-Herzegovia 1992-1995 and Kosovo 1999)

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(Ibid. 2006: 499). In addition, ethnic cleansing involves forced relocation of ethnic population through targeted violence, harassment, threats and campaigns of terror. Genocide, by contrast, describes systematic killing of one group of people by another (Giddens, 2006: 499). As a calculated and methodical system of mass murder, it refers to a denial of the right of existence of entire human groups or individual human beings (Rose, 1966: 115, 118). At that point, it is crucial to remind that the twentieth century witnesses the emergence of organized ethnic cleansing and genocide and carries dubious distinction of being the most genocidal century in history 'including Genocide of Jews and Roma-Sinti/The Nazi Holocaust 1941-45, Croatia, 1941-45, Soviet Genocide/Famine in Ukraine (Holodomor) 1932-1934, Yugoslavia 1945-80, North Korea 1948-94, Cambodia 1975-79, Genocide of Hutus in Rwanda 1994, Darfur 2003, and so on'[26] (Mann, 2005: 1-3). As Mann states, murderous cleansing is one of the evils of modern times, being a central problem of our civilization, our modernity and thus it is the dark side of democracy (2005: vii, 2).

Thus, in a time of social crises caused by discrimination, exclusion and oppression, states have resorted various solutions to avert the outbreak of ethnic conflict and to accommodate ethnic diversity. There are several ethnic integration and inclusion models including nationalism, assimilation, melting pot and multiculturalism (Giddens, 2006: 497; Kaya & Tarhanlı, 2006: 19; Rose, 1966: 50). In order to keep different groups together, the ideology of nationalism is one of the methods that states apply (Kaya & Tarhanlı, 2006: 19). Nationalism can be used in the integration processes of society since it is considered as a specific kind of group consciousness or group solidarity which constitutes a bond between the members of a group and cements diverse communities into stable national units (Moore, 1984: 10, 36, 68-69, 89-90; Brubaker, 1996: 4-7; Brubaker, 1999: 55). It contributes to the successful integration of diverse groups into

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[26] https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/pol116/genocides.htm,
http://www.historyplace.com/worldhistory/genocide/index.html,
http://assets.press.princeton.edu/chapters/i7491.pdf,
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/236730540_Why_Is_the_Twentieth_Century_the_Century_of_Genocide, Date of Access: January 2019

larger political entities, hence serving as a device of integration, contributing to the creation of nation-states. However, others who believe that nationalism is an instrument of disintegration claim that nationalism stands as a barrier to extensive integration attempts and peaceful integration of societies in terms of social integration of ethnic groups (Moore, 1984: 38-39, 77-83,126; Oommen, 1997: 43-45, 135-136, Smith, 2009: 105-107; Mann, 2005: 3; Brubaker, 1999: 55). Armstrong (1982: 206-207) comes to the conclusion that there are great differences between collectivities that have developed a national feeling over extensive periods of time (Jews and Greeks) and those movements which tried to develop these feelings artificially (Nazis and Fascists) (Moore, 1984: 35). Some scholars also note that ethnic discrimination came to existence in Turkey by creating a homogeneous population under the ideology of unity and solidarity of Turkish modernization (Çayır, 2012: 6; Oommen, 1997: 145-146). According to this view, one of the most important reasons that make different ethnic identities as 'other' in society is thought to be the idea of nation-state. This system, which emerged as the result of the French Revolution and spread to the whole world, was especially initiated in Turkey with the proclamation of the republic.

Another model of social integration is assimilation, which refers to the process of becoming a part, or making someone become a part, of a group, country, society, etc.[27] (Cambridge Dictionary; Hutchinson & Smith, 1996: 135-137). In other words, ethnic communities or minorities accommodate themselves to the character, moral, political and physical, of the majority either voluntarily or forcefully (Rose, 1966: 50-51). According to this perspective, ethnic groups change their language, dress, values, religion, outlooks, lifestyles, habits, and cultural practices as a part of integrating into a social order. As a result, assimilation refers to the process by which minorities gradually adopt patterns and folkways of the dominant culture and thus they sometimes avoid prejudice or discrimination. In addition to nationalism and assimilation, melting pot is another model to accommodate the ethnic diversity. It "means that traditions of the

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[27] https://dictionary.cambridge.org/tr/s%C3%B6zl%C3%BCk/ingilizce/assimilation, Date of Access: January 2019

immigrants or various ethnic groups become blended to form new, evolving cultural patterns" (Giddens, 2006: 497). Moreover, according to this model of ethnic integration, diversity is created as ethnic groups adapt to wider social environments in which they find themselves.

The last instrument for the management of national, ethnic, religious and cultural differences is multiculturalism, which is seen as a remedy to the violence and contradictions resulting from these differences (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996: 242-245). Multiculturalism, which refers to the political expression of a more pluralistic approach to nationhood, has become one of the most popular discourses in the West in the last quarter of the twentieth century as it helps communities to reduce conflict. Rather than absorption or fusion, the theory of multiculturalism advocates pluralism and views the country as a unity with multiplicity (Rose, 1966: 55). It is thus based on the assumption that there is strength in variety, that the nation as a whole benefit from the contributions of different groups. In other words, societies are strongest when they synthesize multiple perspectives rather than insisting on a single religious, ethnic or cultural view. Multiculturalism involves giving and taking and, especially, the sharing of and mutual respect for ideas, customs, and values and thus the nation can be seen as a mosaic of ethnic groups, each retaining its unique qualities while contributing to the over-all pattern (Rose, 1966: 55-56). In this sense, it enables mobilization of minorities in cultural and ethnic contexts because it aims to provide some platforms where they can express their identity through activities such as music, festivals, exhibitions, conferences and so on.

Put differrently, multiculturalism or cultural pluralism is an ethnic integration model in which ethnic groups exist separately and equally in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance (Giddens, 2006: 498; Hutchinson & Smith, 1996: 243). Nonetheless, to achieve distinct but equal status demands major struggles and ethnic minorities are still perceived by many people as a threat to their job, their safety and national culture (Ibid. 2006: 498).

Considering this issue, there are claims that multiculturalism sparks off a tension between diversity and homogeneity and thus leads to separation of societies since it brings the differences rather than similarities to the forefront (Inglis, 1996; Davies, 2010). Multiculturalism is thus perceived as a threat to national unity because cultural and ethnic differences become more visible in countries (Kaya & Tarhanlı, 2006: 20; Kaya, 2006: 47). Since it is perceived as a threat, it is argued that multiculturalism can lead to a deepening of the ethno-cultural boundaries between societies where different cultures exist and differences such as social inequality, exclusion, discrimination and racism can be reduced to purely cultural factors (Kaya, 2006: 45). That is, by virtue of the fact that cultural diversity and micro-nationalism becomes so controversial, attempts to evaluate social problems through culture alone pushes other important factors, such as class, into the background.

All these ideologies and discourses were adopted to cope with ethnic discrimination, and thus social exclusion and segregation emphasize that discrimination is shaped through the relationship of the dominant and the subordinated groups or a majority and a minority. The concept of minority, which is based on 'being different' or 'marginalized', can sometimes be the basis for explaining linguistic and cultural as well as religious differences. While differences from the 'big society' constitute an important factor for a group to be considered as a minority, how the group positions itself within the 'big society' and how it is seen in that society are also important factors (Aydın, 2006: 145, 146). Moreover, the intensity of ethnicity is apt to be determined by the attitude of the members of the host society toward the 'strangers' in their midst (Rose, 1966: 12). In other words, whereas acceptance may loosen the bonds of ethnic identity, rejection and subordination may strengthen them.

Regarding all these issues, like religion, gender, class, political view, age and disability, ethnicity may appear as a barrier for the communities in benefiting from full citizenship. In fact, these processes are often interrelated and can occur

simultaneously. Moreover, the structural inequalities within the structure of power/authority are reinforced by means of everyday practices and interactions. In this regard, some types of discrimination usually go together such as discrimination based on ethnicity and class including processes of poverty, lack of education and unemployment. However, it is quite apparent in the existing literature that differences are particularly highlighted with regard to the impact of poverty and people's integration levels to the majority. Additionally, while discrimination sometimes manifests itself directly, it sometimes occurs indirectly and it mostly depends on the types of discrimination. It is also noted that not all minority groups and their members are discriminated against equally (Rose, 1966: 61). In other words, they are ranked according to various criteria of acceptability and thus experience different historical, economic and social transformations. Hence, discrimination and social exclusion as a consequence is observed in different areas and at different levels for the communities.

It must to be noted here that people have multiple social identities and the interception of these different identities affect one's degree of advantage and disadvantage (Goodman, 2015: 3). Even though people share one social identity, they may have other social identities. This in turn affects the experiences of the social identity they have in common. For example, not all Gypsies are the same or have similar experiences. Gypsies' realities may depend on their gender, or financial position, which is known as intersectionality. Intersectional theory argues that social identities and forms of oppression simultaneously intersect and interact (Goodman, 2015: 3). Thus, it can be said that discrimination is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon and any form of it easily incites the other. That is, discrimination and exclusion along a particular dimension may increase the risks of exclusion along other dimensions (Silver, 2007a: 4420). It is always a cumulative process of multiple, interrelated disadvantages and therefore, individuals suffer from a combination of linked complications. Due to the interpenetrating forms of discrimination, it is sometimes difficult to understand why a certain social group is excluded or

discriminated, or why a specific form of discrimination entails and enhances the other changes according to the context. Although most scholars agree that discrimination is multidimensional and has different forms in different social contexts, there is little consensus over what are the most important dimensions of discrimination and thus social exclusion. They can nonetheless be generalized as recognition and rights of racial and ethnic groups, poverty and unemployment indicators, education and health measures, in addition to other social and political dimensions of discrimination including age, gender, disability, and so on (Silver, 2007a: 4420).

CHAPTER 3

ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION IN TURKEY

Nation-building is significant in terms of defining the nation and it is crucial to understand the origin of the nation and based on what it is built. Nation-building, sometimes used interchangeably with national integration, is the process through which governing elites make the boundaries of the state and the nation coincide (Mylonas, 2012: xx). It is believed that a state whether assimilate, accommodate, or exclude ethnic groups within its territory depends on its nation-building policies (Mylonas, 2012: 21). In other words, it is argued that state elites employ three nation-building policies: accommodation, assimilation, and exclusion instead of the dichotomous conceptualizations of nation-building policies such as 'inclusion/exclusion' or 'violent/non-violent'. A state targets an ethnic group with these policies according to the circumstances of itself.

In parallel with nation-building policies, nationhood provides the answer to who is going to be part of the nation and who is not; it specifies who is going to be excluded or included in this process (Brubaker, 1996: 5, 27-28, 33-35, 43-44; Oommen, 1997: 43-45). In this sense, nationhood can be civic or ethnic through different mechanisms, or have both characteristics as in the case of most nations (Smith, 2000: 25; Smith, 2002: 6-9; Kuzio, 2002: 20-21; Brubaker, 1996: 38-40; Brubaker, 1999: 55-69). Thus, every nationhood is sui generis and should be studied separately.

Nation-building in Turkey is achieved on the basis of all these processes including recognition, accommodation, assimilation, exclusion, destruction, discrimination, restructuration (Aktar, 2000: 17, 19, 26-31; Koraltürk, 2011: 28, 45-46). We need to understand processes as follows: ethnic cleansing, population exchange as ethnic purification (such as Turkification of the population, culture and space), homogenizing

through cruel routes (with forceful methods such as displacement, demography of engineering).

The new nation-state, the Turkish Republic, was built on the Turkish-Muslim identity and it try to encourage and bring people together under this identity. In this process, groups with different ethnic identities that existed in society until that time were ignored, and a single identity had been the basis for unity within the country (Aktar, 2003: 92, 93; Koraltürk, 2011: 15-16; Yeğen, 2007: 126). In other words, in Turkey, nation is created out of what we had before which meant Turkifying the all citizens including communities, non-Muslims and non-Turkish speakers. While non-Muslims are subjects to discrimination (politics of recognition), non-Turkish-Muslims are subjects to not only assimilation (cultural purification) but also compulsory or non-compulsory discrimination (Yeğen, 2007: 126-127, 137-138; Aktar, 2000: 17, 19; Oommen, 1997: 146). Thus, it can be said that different ethnic groups encountered the assimilation process within this period. Most people in the country see all Muslims as Turks, regardless of their ethnicity or language. In this view, not only ethnic Turks, but also other Muslims such as Kurds, Circassians, or Bosnians are regarded as Turks, while non-Muslims, especially Christians (including Armenians and Greeks) are not, even when they speak Turkish (cited by Önen, 2011: 69). In this regard, Keyman and İçduygu (1998) consider the notion of Turkish to be a constructed term, rather than determined by biological bonds. Yeğen also states that "Turkishness was believed to be something achievable by non-Turkish people" (2004: 57). As it is known, the definition of Turk can be grasped in specific periods of Turkish citizenship practices.

From the early republican period to present, Turkish citizenship was developed from territorial to ethnic definition (Yeğen, 2004; Aktar, 2003: 93-94). The ultimate aim was to achieve an organic and homogenous society. In these definitions, modern citizenship' inclusive/exclusive aspects was argued on settlement and population movements (cited by Önen, 2011: 76-77, Yeğen, 2007; Aktar, 2003: 80-82, 92, 93).

Similarly, Dündar described the period between 1913 and 1918 as an ethnic engineering project of CUP with an aim of 'Islamization' and 'Turkification' with the help of ethnographic, ethno-statistic and ethnic mapping studies through transposition, demographic exchange, deportation and resettlement (cited by Önen, 2011: 67). It is clear that the aim was to create a nation under the common denominator of Muslim/Islam and the 'ethnic Turkish identity' (Koraltürk, 2011: 15-16; Aktar, 2003: 92-94). To this end, Yeğen states that Turkish nationhood is inclusive and exclusive both theoretically and practically, on paper as well as in practice, both at the time of the foundation of the republic and once the regime had become consolidated and while analyzing it we should take into consideration civic, ancestral and cultural forms of nationhood instead of the ethnic-civic distinction (Yeğen, 2017: 318-19). In this respect, we should use the term 'cultural' in identifying it with language and religion, while relating the term ancestral with descent, and the term civic with what is legal, political or territorial (Ibid. 2017: 323).

Institutions such as Turkish hearts, People's houses, Village institutions, Turkish history institutions, took particular roles to define ideal Turk. All these institutions targeted to transform the mind, body and souls of the people. They wanted to change and shape the way they think. People are expected to fit into that ideal citizen. In fact, after foundation of republic, the definition of Turk became political and Turkish republic citizens who adopted Turkish language, culture and national ideals were regarded as a Turk. On the other hand, religious Turks, Muslim people whose mother tongue is not Turkish and non-Muslim minorities took place in 'other' definition of Turkish nationalism (Yıldız, 2007:18-125). The Lausanne Treaty (1923), moreover, shaped the last version of the political status of non-Muslims living in Turkey through stating who will be considered an official minority (cited by Önen, 2011: 69). According to this treaty, Greeks, Armenians and Jews are accepted as the minority by the Turkish Republic (Aydın, 2006: 147). The common element of these groups is that they are non-Muslims. In this respect, there are officially unrecognized minorities in Turkey: Arabs,

Bosniaks, Pomaks, Albanians, Circassians, Laz, Georgians, Gypsies and Chechens (cited by Önen, 2011: 69). Therefore, it should be emphasized that there are other minority groups in terms of ethnic, language and religious differentiation. These people are usually considered Turkish under ethnic Turkish law. At that point, the aim of Turkish nationalism was to assimilate non-Turks (Şahin, 2005). After deportation of non-Muslim communities, Muslim communities would mix with each other in these lands (cited by Önen, 2011: 67). Yeğen explains this view by saying that "while non-Muslims of the country were treated as those who may/would not be assimilated into Turkishness, Kurds were thought of within the confines of the project of assimilation. In other words, the disparity at stake was profoundly connected with the constitution of the idea of Turkishness" (2007: 138). Besides, the concept of minority, which is based on 'being different' or 'marginalized', can sometimes be the basis of explaining linguistic and cultural as well as religious differences. While the differences from the 'big society' are an important factor for a group to be considered as a minority, how the group positions itself within the 'big society' and how it is seen in that society are also important factors (Aydın, 2006: 145, 146). In that case, in Turkish society, which is greatly affected by migration, it can be said that some groups are dissatisfied with the rights of minorities, while others revolt because they do not consider themselves a minority. For instance, the Kurdish Question which have long been on Turkey's agenda may be considered as an example of this situation. Kurds do not evaluate themselves as a minority group because they consider themselves as one of the founder members of this republic like Turks (Oran, 2008; cited by Önen, 2011: 69-70). On top of that, the Kurdish community has different language and cultural characteristics and demands political recognition of their identity. With the politicization of the process, the increasing tension between the Kurdish community and the Turks has reached its present dimension (Kurubaş, 2008: 20).

As a result, the management of Turkey's efforts was to transform the society into a structure in which the Muslim-Turkish population is the majority. Although there are

attempts to keep ethnic groups out of the majority, due to their different identities, they nonetheless affect the majority and are mostly influenced by them. In Bauman's terms, 'we' cannot be created without an 's/he' in society (Bauman, 2010: 47-65). Therefore, it is possible that social structures are composed of different ethnic groups and cultural elements. What is essential is the need for solutions to prevent discrimination in this cultural diversity.

Regarding all these issues, ethnicity, language or religious sect may appear as a barrier for the communities (Alevis, Kurds, Gypsies) in benefiting from full citizenship. Moreover, it is noted that they experience different historical, economic and social transformations. Hence, social exclusion and oppression is observed in different areas and at different levels for the communities. The differences can be obviously seen with regard to impact of poverty and their integration levels to the majority.

Along with Kurds, Armenians, Jews and other ethnic groups residing in Turkey, one of the groups most exposed to discrimination is the Gypsies (Alp & Taştan, 2010: 23-29; Arayıcı, 2008: 34, 240; Çayır, 2012: 6, 7; Eriksen, 2009: 414; Kaya, 2012: 219; Kolukırık, 2009: 13; Marsh, 2008: 19-27). The Gypsy refers to an ethnic identity. Gypsy or Roma people are typical examples of these minority groups; although they have different languages and religions among themselves, the common point for all of them is their ethnic identity thus being a Gypsy and citizen of the country they live in. As Smith said, ethnic communities have survived over long periods without political autonomy, without a homeland of their own, even without a common language. That is why he believed that we need to pay more attention to subjective elements in ethnic survival, such as ethnic memories, values, symbols, myths and traditions (Hutchinson & Smith, 1996: 189).

Gypsies are generally described as lax and laid-back community. They do not necessarily intervene in political or religious matters (Şener, 2004: 209, 210). According

to a study conducted in Edirne, their non-intervention attitude can be explained by the fact that the relations of Gypsies with the state are at a much more primitive level than the other groups. In order not to be exposed to discrimination, their sole demand from the state is recognition. In this respect, being considered "a citizen" rather than being considered "a potential criminal" is seen as a great gain for the Gypsies (Aydın, 2005: 119).

As in every society, Gypsies have their own characteristics. A society should not find it odd to harbor such differences. This is a natural situation. However, the attempt to assimilate different ethnic identities into a single identity may affect Gypsies directly or indirectly. For, one of the ethnic groups that the ideology of nationalism shows its influence is on Gypsies. Gypsies who are constantly being abused, discredited and excluded from the society define themselves firstly with a Turkish identity, putting their ethnic identities in the second place. For example, Gypsies interviewed in a study conducted in Edirne-Keşan told the researchers "We are Turkish and Muslim, but also Roma". It is said that this expression demonstrates the success of the nationalist ideology focused on Turkish identity (Marsh, 2008: 25). However, Gypsies' commitment to the Turkish nation, as well as the ideology of nationalism in Turkey, may also be considered as a way of survival from negative insinuations and discriminatory attitudes imposed on the Gypsy identity. Despite living in the Turkish territory, at least as long as the Turks, Gypsy people today are still excluded from society and are exposed to many discriminatory attitudes and discourses. In addition, the stereotypes of Gypsies reinforce discriminatory attitudes and discourses on them. Stereotypes are stock phrases and simplistic descriptions that are considered accurate for the cultural characteristics of other groups (Eriksen, 1995: 264). For example; Gypsies are regarded as thieves and therefore excluded from the society and marginalized.[28] Moreover, they may be exposed to discrimination, not always due to their ethnicity, but sometimes because of their low economic status. Therefore, poverty can also be the enhancing

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[28] (<http://nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/nefretsoylemi_min.pdf>, Date of Access: December 2018)

factor in marginalizing the community. In this sense, discrimination is cumulative and self-perpetuating (Pettigrew, 1985: 694). In fact, Gypsies face double and sometimes more than double, multidimensional discrimination. This exclusion can happen due to their un-educated, low economic status, disabled and ethnic identity status that is different from the majority. Thus, it is not easy to understand in every situation why Gypsies are excluded or discriminated, or which cause brings the other changes every time according to the context, but we are sure that they are continuously discriminated. Nevertheless, discrimination can be directed not only on Gypsies by external groups, but also by Gypsies themselves on external groups. That is, discrimination is simply the exclusion of the one who is not similar. In this sense, the way people perceive those who are not like themselves is an important factor in shaping discrimination. Many factors such as historical accumulation, race, origin or personal characteristics and cultural values of the different play a decisive role in the discrimination between groups. However, if they are all socio-politically and economically strong individuals or groups in society, it will lead to greater discrimination.

3.1. Ethnic and Religious Groups in Turkey

Maps are extremely helpful in providing insight into the major divisions of a country. The most important map of Turkey is of the divides between the ethnic groups. The accurate mapping of ethnic groups is quite complex particularly in Turkey. The existing state of knowledge is considerably limited because very little research of an ethnic kind has ever been allowed in Turkey (Andrews, 1989: 42). Since the ethnic, religious or other origin have not been asked in censuses, it is not possible to determine exactly the number of individuals belonging to various minority groups in Turkey. The only official information on ethnic groups in Turkey relates to the number of individuals who confirmed their mother tongue in 1965.

Turkey, as a poly-ethnic, multi-religious, multi-cultural, and multi-denominational country, houses forty-seven different ethnic groups, some of which are Sunni-Turks, Alevi-Turks, Sunni-Kurds, Alevi-Kurds, Circassians, Lazis, Armenians, Georgians, Jews, Greeks, Arabs, Assyrians, Gypsies. These different ethnic groups have been mapped by Andrews in detail (Andrews, 1989: 47). However, this information is out of date and probably inaccurate because some individuals might not have disclosed their mother tongue, and because mother tongue is more an indicator of the language spoken in the family than the ethnic origin of the individual. There is no scientific research on the number of ethnic and religious groups in Turkey. So then, these estimates should be read with caution; they are not recently confirmed by statistical research.

According to a saying among Turks: "There are seventy-two-and-a-half (or sixty-six-and-a-half according to some resources) nations in Turkey." The half here is taken to represent the Gypsies, or *Çingene* as Turks call them. It is very difficult to trace, record and document such groups because of their nature as small itinerant and low-status groups disregarded by the general population (Andrews, 1989: 47, 602).

In Turkey the majority of people are Turks 70-75%, while 13-18% are Kurds, and 7-12% are of other ethnic groups.

CHAPTER 4

GYPSY AS AN ETHNIC GROUP

4.1. The Origin of Gypsies

Each ethnic group has its own culture, language, tradition and historical experience, making them distinct. Gypsies can be also described as a distinct ethnic group with an additional characteristic making them unique. The uniqueness of Gypsies stems from the fact that that they are scattered across the national borders and that they do not have a homeland that they can see themselves as refugees. There are, of course, other ethnic groups who are also scattered across the borders, but the Gypsies are distinct in terms of their marginality as well as in terms of their relations with the state and society that they live in (Barany, 2002: 1, 2).

From past to present, many different arguments about the origins of Gypsies have been put forward. This discussion has been the subject of research for three hundred years and their origin is questioned as the 'uninvited' guests that came to Europe in the fifteenth century (Hoyland, 1816: 9). Since there was no knowledge/information about where the Gypsies might have come from, the mythological stories about the Gypsies have spreaded among the people. According to one of these stories, Prophet Abraham was asked to be burned by Nemrut; but when the fire did not burn him, it was thought that the angels were protecting the Prophet, and the brothers of Cin and Gan had committed adultery at the scene to remove the angels, and Gypsies were descendants of those brothers (Aksu, 2003: 23).

In addition to mythological stories, Gypsies were thought to be Egyptian until the end of the nineteenth century. The research revealed that Gypsies origin to be of Egyptian

thus they were called 'Gypsie', 'Egyptian' and 'Gitano', meaning 'Copt'[29] in various western languages (Sal, 2009: 1). Another view is that Gypsies came from 'little Egypt', a place in Greece (Kenrick, 2006: 72; Minahan, 2013: 317; Okely, 1992: 3; Yildiz, 2007: 12). Another reason for Gypsies being called Egyptian is shown as the fact that they came to Asia Minor and the Balkans at the beginning of the fourteenth century and their similarities with another Egyptian origin were in the imagination of the Byzantine villagers (Kenrick, 2006: 134). For example, in Spain the common idea about the origins of Gypsies is that the Gypsies are descendants of the Egyptians in the ancient Roman period. The fact that the Egyptians, who were devoted to Isis at that time, had similar characteristics with today's Gypsies, such as fortune-telling, theft and traveling were the most important reason for this judgment (Hoyland, 1816: 18).

However, thanks to the linguistic researches of the former few centuries, the idea that the Gypsies were of Indian origin gained salience (Sal, 2009: 1; Hancock & Karanth, 2010: 45; Gresham et al., 2001: 1314; Lewy, 2000: 2). It was discovered in 1780 that the languages of Gypsies were closely related to northern Indian languages such as Punjab and Hindu; therefore, from this date, many scientists began to support the assumption that Gypsies emigrated from India (Kenrick, 2006: 19-20). The fact that Romani and Domari languages used by the Gypsies were of Hindu origin does not mean that these communities have a population still living in India. Nevertheless, they are accepted as a people who left India and spreaded accross Iran to other placess (Matras, 1995: 27).

At present, there is still no clear information about the reasons for the Gypsies' ancestors leaving India, their departure dates and the early stages of their migration to Europe. First of all, a large group of people from a caste named Dom separated from India, lived in Iran and the Mediterranean coasts for a while and mixed with the Iranians. Part of this community moved to Armenia and they are called Lom. It is

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[29] The fact that Gypsies lived in a colony in the Greek city of Modon on the hill called 'Little Egypt' and then spread to Europe could have called them 'Egyptian', ie 'Coptic'. Another view is that Gypsies can travel from India to Europe via Egypt and cause them to be identified as 'Copt' (Yildiz, 2007: 12).

accepted that the initial of their original names were 'D', but turned into 'L' under the influence of Armenian. The rest of the community went to Europe, where the letter 'D' was transformed into the letter 'R' and hence they were referred to as Rom. In short, the words Rom and Lom seem to have appeared by the change of the word Dom and originate from the same lineage. The difference is that these groups live in different geographies and remain under the influence of different languages (Kenrick, 2006: 20). There are also some sources suggesting otherwise. Here, the thesis that Rom, Lom and Dom left India in the same wave of migration is questioned on the ground that there are significant differences between Romani, Domari and Lomavren languages (Akgül, 2010: 219). Another source also supports the idea that there are three language groups for Roma people: the Domari in the Middle East and Eastern Europe, the Lomarven in Central Europe, and the Romani of Western Europe (Ceyhan, 2003: 33). Although these are important, there is no universally written Romani language in use by all Roma/Gypsies.

As a result, for the Gypsies, India is a matter of history. In other words, there are no myths of the founding of the nation of a promised land and they have no historical buildings such as monuments or shrines, no anthem, no ruins. But they have myths of ancestry and of migration (Fonseca, 1996: 89; Sway, 1998: 126; cited by Ceyhan, 2003: 36). In addition, Gypsies are active people and Gypsy travelers who are in the course of their history have preserved and sometimes acquired beliefs, customs and traditions which are paralleled in many cultures. Since they live in many different regions they tend to take the specific characteristics of those regions (Ceyhan, 2003: 37, 59). Consequently, Gypsy population is a transnational group living worldwide (Önen, 2011: 1).

4.2. Migration Waves of Gypsies

There seem to have been more than one wave of migration in the history of Gypsies. First, it is thought that they migrated from India to Persian dominated lands in the

ninth century. Then, they migrated from Iran to North Africa and from there all over Europe. The second major migration began in the fourteenth century from southwest Asia to inner part of Europe. The third is the migration of Gypsy slaves from Europe to America in the early twentieth century, after they were freed in Europe in the nineteenth-century (Toprak et al., 2007: 11).

To summarize, many of the researchers accept that Gypsies' migration from India, was not in masses but rather in small groups and at different times. Migration vawes are believed to be linked to external causes such as wars, deportation, follow-up and agricultural causes (Sal, 2009: 1-4). In addition, language and dialect were found to be effective in determining migration routes. For instance, it is stated that it is possible for Gypsies to migrate to Europe through Iran, Armenia, Anatolia, Greece and Southern Slovak Region. Because the dialects of all European Gypsies have words taken from Armenian, Turkish, Greek and Slovak. In addition, the presence of Arabic words in the dialects of some Gypsy groups has led to the conclusion that they emigrated from Iran (Ibid. 1-4).

4.3. Language and Dialects of Gypsies

The language used by the Gypsies is the most important clue concerning where they first emigrated from. Groups speaking the same language represent a certain identity. This is also the case in determining the origins of the Gypsies since they are separated based on their dialects. Gypsies were originally divided into three main groups by the end of the tenth century. Doms from these groups used 'Ben' dialect, whereas Loms and Roms used 'Phen' dialect (Kolukırık, 2009; 11).

The linguistic evidence suggests that the Gypsies had come out of Punjab district, the north-western region of India (Barany, 2002: 9). Moreover, Fonseca states, "[t]he Indian origin of the Gypsies has been known to scholars since the eighteenth century, when a few European linguistics became aware of people in their midst who spoke an

Oriental language" (1996: 86). Besides, Okely states that "those Gypsies who use the most Romani words have the closest genetic links with India" (1992: 8). However, it is considered that language samples are insufficient to understand why and how Gypsies are separated from India and their social economic conditions (Kolukırık, 2009: 11). Kolukırık states that both dialect differences and lack of evidence should be evaluated depending on the nomadic lifestyle of Gypsies. Because Gypsies are expected to know the language of every society they have settled, in order to survive. For this purpose, it is stated that a Gypsy language has been formed with a large number of words articulated from different languages. Therefore, it can be seen that the Gypsy language reproduces and shapes itself through interaction between different groups. However, Gypsies prefer to speak their own language in sensitive situations (Kolukırık, 2009: 95). Thus, according to this, we can argue that language is one of the areas where closure among the Gypsies appears and the limitation of socialization with different groups can be seen in the language.

Considering the researches, groups with the same language system are considered as representatives of a common identity through their languages, although they exist in different places. According to Fraser, despite the differences in the dialectical forms of the Gypsy language/Romany who were influenced by different languages, a Roma in Brazil could understand a Roma living in Switzerland (cited by Kolukırık, 2009: 94). Despite the fact that they are a nomadic community, it is a significant question under which conditions and how the Gypsies have maintained their culture, language and existence. Gypsies are not able to use the Gypsy language in terms of rejecting the Gypsy identity in the environment where they are excluded. In the emergence of this effort, the prejudices against the Gypsies in societies and the negativity of the Gypsy name are the main factors of their exclusion (Kolukırık, 2009: 98). Therefore, limitation of the use of language created by the fear of being exposed to prejudice causes the Gypsy culture and identity to weaken increasingly. In Turkey, the hesitation of the parents to teach the Gypsy language to their children due to the bias toward the Gypsy

identity, can be shown as an example. As a result, some family elders know more about Gypsy language while the new generation does not speak the language competently (Kolukırık, 2009: 98). For example, the ability of Gypsies in the west of Turkey to speak their own language is relatively low compared to Bulgaria. However, it is seen that the speaking skills of the elderly are higher on both sides (Marsh, 2008: 26). In addition, the marriages made with the external groups and the socio-economic relations established may be among the reasons that restrict the use of the Gypsy language. As a result, a language cannot be transferred to the next generations because of prejudices and social exclusion, and it can put a culture at risk of assimilation.

There is still lack of certainty about the number of different dialects spoken by the Gypsies. However, in many sources it is stated that the source of the language is in the Indo-Arian language group. There are three main dialects: Asian, European and Armenian. A significant portion (37 percent) of the Gypsies in European countries other than Turkey speaks the Romani language (Arayıcı, 1999: 48; Andrews, 1992: 196). "The language of the Gypsies of Turkey uses is presented in the Balkan dialects. Balkan dialects are Erl and Arlanda spoken in the Balkans and Xoroxano spoken in Turkey. On the other hand, Yoors indicates that there are members of the 'Lowara and Caldera' tribes in Roma (Gypsies) groups living in Turkey (Istanbul)" (Kolukırık, 2009: 96).

4.4. Nomenclature of the Gypsies

The names of the Gypsies also differ according to their dialects, tribes that they belong to and the geographical regions where they live (Hoyland, 1816: 8; Willems, 1997:5; Sal, 2009: 1). Therefore, it is not easy to define the Gypsy identity and to draw the limits of this identity precisely. It is estimated that there are approximately sixty Gypsy groups in the world. However, the groups are generally referred to by different names: Tsigani, Cigano, Zigeuner, Gitanos, Banjara, Gaduliya Lahore and Nathi, Lurî, Gurbetî, Arlije, Lovar, Gopt, Kalderash and so on (Hoyland, 1816: 9; Willems, 1997:5). While the name 'Zigeuner' is used in Germany, in Italy and Hungary 'Tziganys', in Wallachia and

Moldova 'Cyganis', by Turkish and other eastern nations, various names meaning Gypsy such as 'Tschingenes' is used (Hoyland, 1816: 9). Gypsies in Turkey are generally called: Roman, Çingene, Mutrip, Elekçi, Köçer, Abdal, Kıpti, Poşa and Cono (Arayıcı, 2008: 242; Ceyhan, 2003: 59-60). Although these names differ regionally or nationally, we mostly refer to them as 'Gypsy' (*Çingene* in Turkish) in our country. While they are called 'Roman' in Western Anatolia and Thrace, 'Elekçi' in Central Anatolia, 'Mutrip' in the region between Van and Ardahan, they are named 'Poşa' in Erzurum and around. Besides, in many parts of Anatolia, Gypsies are called as 'Esmer vatandaş', 'Poşa', 'Karaçi', 'Kıpti', 'Cono', 'Arabacı', 'Sepetçi' and 'Köçer' that are the locality names used, due to their skin colors or occupation and life styles (Arayıcı, 2008: 242; Hoyland, 1816: 8-9; Ceyhan, 2003: 59-60). In Germany, the Gypsies were subjected to various nomenclature such as 'Bohemian', 'Heathen/Nonbelievers', 'Robbers', 'Pharaoh's people', 'Egyptians', 'Gitanos'; but the most common of these is said to be the 'Zigeuner' word. The word 'Zigeuner', which means Gypsy in German, emphasizes moving up and down, so the administrators in Germany use the word 'Zigeuner' as giddy people for Gypsies (Sal, 2009: 1-8; Arayıcı, 2008: 242; Hoyland, 1816: 8-9). It is known that Gypsies had very rapidly spread in Germany in the nineteenth century and their names were recorded in various parts of the country's annual publications (Hoyland, 1816: 10).

As can be seen, Gypsies can be mostly named according to their work and sometimes their appearance. It is possible to see the differences between countries in terms of language differences. Because, although the names are different, the meaning they carry is very similar or even the same.

4.5. The Gypsy-Roma Dilemma

One of the most important issues discussed on Gypsies is the Roma-Gypsy dilemma. There is still an ongoing confusion about the use of Gypsy and Roma. Gypsy nomenclature is used in some sources, while the use of the word Roma is preferred in

others. How Gypsies call themselves is an important issue in terms of understanding the Gypsies. According to Kolukırık, it is seen that this identity confusion among Gypsies has changed according to the environment and communication they have established. It is thought that Gypsies use Roma identity instead of Gypsy identity because of their likeness and their desire to look like 'others'. This is the appearance of Gypsies as 'native' rather than 'foreign'. The fact that some Gypsies identify themselves as Roma is due to the fact that Roma identity has a more accepted definition by the society. On the other hand, the fact that Gypsyism is never fully rejected is also revealed in the studies (Kolukırık, 2007: 47). Throughout history, different tribes such as Rom, Dom and Lom were called Gypsies in Anatolia (Uğurlu & Duru, 2011: 3-4). Moreover, it is stated that all negative discourses and practices regarding social abstraction and marginalization are made through this word. Gypsies tried to avoid the negative connotation of the word, they began using the word Roma instead. Besides, according to the advocates of the use of the name of Roma, the name Gypsy is a name used by non-Gypsies. On the other hand, there is also a group that advocates the use of the word Gypsy. Those who have this idea advocate the use of the word Gypsy to emphasize the existence of historical and cultural unity (Uğurlu & Duru, 2011: 3-4). Thus, the main reason for the complexity of the social identity on the Gypsy and Roma is the negative images and prejudices that have been formed and accustomed in the society against the Gypsy discourse.

Consequently, there is a general consensus among the people that the word Roma contains a more positive meaning. The word Gypsy is thought to be a coarser/vulgar term. The Gypsy name contains negative meanings, but in scholarly works, the word Gypsy is not used to denigrate a race (Kolukırık, 2007: 7). Hence, as in this study, it is recommended to use the word 'Gypsy' to emphasize the existence of historical and cultural unity for the Gypsies of the world. Furthermore, it is aimed to demolish the negative prejudices imposed on the Gypsy identity.

4.6. Religion of Gypsies

One of the topics of interest about the Gypsies is the religious beliefs and tendencies they possess. Religion has different reflections in every culture. It can also be said that religious beliefs have a great impact in configuration of the lives of communities. When we look at the Gypsies, there are many opinions about the religion of the Gypsies. Since not all Gypsies belong to the same religion, it is not possible to assemble them under the same roof. Because Gypsies adapt to the environment of the country they live in. It is possible to come across those who are very religious, as well as those who do not refer to their religion frequently or even mention them (Toprak et al., 2007: 214). In the same study, there are two different views regarding the religions of the Gypsies were included. The first one argues that Gypsies should not be seen as non-believers even when they are far from the rules of faith. According to the other opinion, Gypsies were irreligious. Because, it was mentioned that the Gypsies adopted the religion that is valid in the region, as it serves a purpose for them, and they hope to benefit from the advantages of being a member of this religion. For this reason, it is emphasized that Gypsies are frequently prevented from entering churches (Toprak et al., 2007: 214). Gypsies living in Spain are not considered to respect the Virgin Mary; but they are presumed to believe in Jesus. It was stated that in funerals and weddings, the Gypsies who have the daily practices fit/suitable for the Catholic sect were able to continue their ceremonies without any intervention of the priest (Hoyland, 1816: 20). These different views on the Gypsies' religious attitudes and behaviors stem from the tendency to accept or not to adopt the religion of the society in which they live, in order to cohere/socialize and adapt to the society in which they immigrate. It is often seen that Gypsies accept the religion of the country they immigrate and become Muslims, Christians and Jews, it is stated that they also chose other religions such as Buddhism and Hinduism (Toprak et al., 2007: 215).

When an assessment is made about the Gypsies religious beliefs in Turkey, it is observed that there are different approaches among Gypsies themselves. Gypsies who

believe in the Islamic faith in Turkey are divided into two groups. While the settled Gypsies are generally known as Sunni Muslims, most nomads are also known as the Bektashi-Alevi Muslims. Moreover, the most important reason for nomadic ones to adopt Bektashi-Alevi belief is their sincerity with the nomads (Marsh, 2008: 22; Ünaldı, 2012: 618). Besides, there are also Shiite and, Yezidi Gypsy groups, Jehovah's Witnesses and Orthodox Christians in Turkey. In a study conducted on Gypsies, while replying to the questions related to religious beliefs, most of the Gypsies react to them being called as 'Gypsies', stating that they have fulfilled the requirements of Islam (Marsh, 2008: 26). Concordantly, in a study conducted with Gypsies in 2013, interviewees identified themselves with Islam and even rejected to be called a Gypsy, rather calling themselves a Muslim (Önder, 2013: 167-168). However, this should be seen as using tactics to deal with the widespread prejudices they faced in the everyday life rather than adopting a religion. In other words, Gypsies in Turkey mostly refer to Islam and religious terms as well as their national dedication and Turkishness as substituting the Romani identity with more valuable identities of the Gadjo environment (Eren, 2008: 120, 144-145; Önder, 2013: 167-168; Uzun, 2008: 157-160). Regardless of which religion the Gypsies adopted, they appear to have retained religious customs of their own. The great spring festival *Hıdırellez* and sacrifice of *Kakava*[30] are the leading ones (Andrews, 1992: 196).

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[30] Kakava is the annual spring holiday of Gypsies which is in the first week of May. It is known as *Hıdırellez* in Anatolia. (<http://www.bianet.org/biamag/bianet/2109-romanlarin-bahar-ayini>, Date of Access: November 2018)

CHAPTER 5

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST GYPSIES

It is seen that languages, clothing styles, music and professional occupations play important roles in the formation of negative view about Gypsies. Because of having different lives and coming from different places, Gypsies are universally considered as stateless, guest and foreign in every age and period (Kolukırık, 2009: 121).

There are also certain prejudices against Gypsies in Turkey as well. Some of these prejudices are based on unfounded rumors. These rumors maybe not be directly but indirectly related to the attitudes and behaviors of the society towards Gypsies and are reflected in daily language. For example, the statement that "Gypsies are not reliable"[31] is an example of this. In the same study, another situation that strengthens these prejudices is the definition of Gypsies by using negative adjectives in the dictionary, encyclopedia and various written sources prepared by the Turkish Language Association and the Ministry of National Education. The term Gypsy is defined as 'someone, a brunette from the nomadic community, who is believed to have left from India, often selling small things like grilling, tongs, sieve, griddle', as a Coptic (*Kıpti* in Turkish) in the 1995 and 2000 editions of the *MEB* (the ministry of national education) Turkish dictionaries. Likewise, it is defined as 'a community or someone from this community who is believed to have left India, and living as a nomad in various parts of the world' in the 1988, 1998, 2000 editions of the *TDK* (Turkish Language Institute) dictionaries. "While the definitions of other ethnic origins, which were close to 30, have one line for each, there was half-page for Gypsies" (Aksu, 2003: 42-43).[32] These distinctive discourses of Gypsies are also included in literary works. In the novel 'Gypsy', the statements about Gypsy women and men can be shown as an example of

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[31] *"Çingene'nin Bismillahından kıl çıkar"*

[32] The definitions of Gypsies were changed in MEB in 01.10.2001 and in TDK in 21.11.2001 (Aksu, 2003: 87-88).

these discourses (Efendi, 2009: 24). In this novel, the case of Gypsy girl going to houses for cleaning is seen dirty, the description states that "what Gypsy's hand touches becomes filthy!".[33] Moreover, in the same novel, Gypsies and especially Gypsy women were defined as 'infamous/crud', 'naughty/impudent' and being a Gypsy was shown as a defect (Ibid. 2009: 24). These rhetoric's about the Gypsies have always placed them in 'the other' category in the society and it has caused them to be known as dirty, unwanted, thieves, badly dressed and so on by the people in the society. When Mustafa Aksu, a Gypsy who became a top bureaucrat, told his friends that he was a Gypsy, he encountered the following response: "You wear a tie, you dress well, you have performed important tasks; You are not like a Gypsy." (Aksu, 2003: 62). The reason for these reactions is the prevailing perception of Gypsy in the society. Besides, the Resettlement Law in the legal field also strengthens these prejudices. In the fourth article of the Resettlement Law No. 2510 by the *TBMM* (Turkish grand national assembly) in 1934, those that are bound to Turkish culture, the anarchists, spies, traveler Gypsies, and those have been deported out of the country, are not accepted in Turkey as migrants (cited by Aksu, 2003: 109).

5.1. Gypsies in Europe

Ethnic groups, linguistic and religious, national and cultural minorities are still a problematic issue in many European countries as well as in Turkey. The Gypsy minority is one of these groups. Although it is not possible to reach the exact figures, it is known that ten to fifteen million of the Gypsy population, which is estimated to be between thirty and forty million in total, live in various European countries (Arayıcı, 2008: 34).

The assimilation policy toward Gypsies is followed not only in Turkey but also in many countries around the world. To force the nomadic Gypsies to permanently settle can be an indication of these assimilation policies. However, aside from such assimilation practices, Gypsies were exposed to racist and discriminatory attacks in many countries,

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[33] *"Çingene elinin değdiği şey murdar olur!"*

as they could not enjoy their rights. Nevertheless, the Gypsies tried to protect their nomadic lifestyles and ethnicity (Arayıcı, 2008: 25; Okely, 1998: 34).

Problems such as lack of education in mother tongue and culture, not being literate are among the most important problems faced by the Gypsy minority in Europe. The assimilationist policies, which are an extension of the nation-state ideology in European countries, have been implemented in the field of education and training against ethnic groups and minorities in these countries (Arayıcı, 2008: 18). As a result of these education policies; The Gypsy children forget their national and cultural identity and cannot adapt to their culture.

In today's conditions, Gypsy communities and other nomadic societies, which have traditionally adopted the nomadic lifestyle, are trying to be controlled and therefore, laws restricting the nomadic lifestyle are enacted. The guidelines on anti-Social Behavior laws enacted in 2003 in England, for example regulate and at the same time restrict social life by trying to control Gypsy and other communities living as nomads (Kabachnik, 2014: 281; Ryder & Kabachnik, 2013: 86).

Gypsies are excluded from social structures they live in. They mostly reside in places that are not suitable for wellbeing (slums, shed etc.) and are employed in third class jobs with cheap labor (Arayıcı, 2008: 20). Gypsies, who are known as people who are constantly excluded and humiliated in different social structures, have a very low social status, in Turkey and also in European countries. The fact that the Gypsies faced constant discriminatory attitudes within their social structure, caused the relations to be limited between the Gypsies and non-Gypsies living in European countries. When they react to these discriminatory attitudes, they become subjected to pressure and violence from political will (Arayıcı, 2008: 42). In the mentioned research, it was stated that the hostility toward the Gypsy community never decreased, but gradually increased in during certain periods.

Various examples can be given regarding discrimination and racist attacks against Gypsies in various countries of Europe. For instance, it is known that in the Czech Republic, the neighborhood of Gypsies were completely surrounded by walls; in Germany, the Gypsies, like the Jews during the ruling years of Hitler fascism, were deported from the Eastern and Central European countries on the grounds that they carried the 'plague' in the Middle Ages, and three to twelve percent of the population were exposed to xenophobia and racist attacks (Arayıcı, 2008: 21, 285). However, except the genocide of Gypsies in Germany in 1941, the Gypsy genocide is not officially recognized by any European country today (Arayıcı, 2008: 22). Another example of the discrimination of Gypsies in Europe is the situation of Gypsies living in Spain because Gypsy men are defined as thieves and women as immoral. Gypsies are not offered a full range of jobs and Gypsies' beliefs are ignored. Gypsies in Spain in the nineteenth century are defined only as those who have to be endured, they are not allowed to own land and to do military service; they are only allowed to marry, live together and bury their dead under water. The reason why they are treated like this is the belief that the Gypsies' dead will harm the land (Hoyland, 1816: 16-17). It is clear that European countries are not eager to host the Gypsies and they have a hypocritical tolerance (Toprak et al., 2007: 11). Gypsies, as a society exposed to constant ethnic discrimination, have been known to be most comfortable in Macedonia. This place is also known as Gypsy Paradise. The fact that Gypsies have their own television broadcast, radio broadcast and political parties can be considered as the reason for their comfortable living situation (Şener, 2004: 207). In other words, their sovereignty provides comfort and power.

Associations with the European attitude toward Gypsies in Turkey can be linked to the European Union's 2004 report. The identification of those taken to Turkey as refugees including those who did not belong to the Turkish culture, Anarchists, Nomadic Gypsies, those who were taken out of the country (2510, article 4) were ranked accordingly. In the same study, the 2014 progress report of the European Union,

challenge was made towards the categorization of Roma together with the anarchist and they asked to be excluded from this list. This is an important indicator of the increasing sensitivity of Roma citizens. The Resettlement Law No. 5443 dated 19 September 2006 focused on Roma and the articles subject to criticism were repealed (Toprak et al., 2007: 11).

5.2. Gypsies in Ottoman and Republican Period

In the Ottoman Empire, social identities were organized on the basis of religion. Because the Gypsies were divided into two groups as Muslims and non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire, these groups were considered to be legally equivalent. However, the Gypsies faced a discriminatory attitude in that issue too. Because in the Ottoman Empire jizya[34] was taken only from the non-Muslims; regardless of the Muslim Gypsy population, jizya was taken from both non-Muslims and Muslims (Altınöz, 2007: 14-15). Thus, the social life and life styles of Gypsies can be seen in the tax practices that are more than their religious identities. Because Gypsies are associated with negative positions such as prostitution, robbery, murder, vagabond and theft in the Ottoman period due to their different lifestyles. For this reason, it is known that Gypsies were punished in various ways (Altınöz, 2007: 14-15; Kolukırık, 2009: 12-13; Yüksel, 2009: 116-117, 320-323, 328).

Gypsies' status in the society in the Ottoman period is also analyzed through the registry records of the period. These registry records include issues related to Gypsies' tax payment status or being a musician (Ginio, 2004: 141). In the registry, the Gypsies are stigmatized as a group that avoids fulfilling their responsibilities to the state. It is emphasized that due to their nomadic lifestyle Gypsies are suspicious, thus the state should be careful towards them (Yüksel, 2009: 320-322). In lawsuit and trial records, Gypsies are mostly transcribed as different from the rest of the society due to their language. Ottoman documents and European sources show the Gypsies as non-

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[34] Poll tax (jizya) is a kind of tax payed by non-Muslim minorities in the Ottoman Empire.

believers and a community that does not comply with the norms and rules of society (Ginio, 2004: 141).

Manorial system (in Turkish, *tımar sistemi*) which was used in Ottoman Empire, did not recognize Gypsies under the functioning system. This is considered as an example of the discriminatory attitude towards the Gypsies. The court records also state that manorial rights of Gypsy was overthrown and the land was taken out of his hands as it was considered illegal. The fact that the manorial system, which has an important place in the country's politics because of the fact that it provides military service to the army and regional order in the Ottoman Empire, is not given to Gypsies, reveals the attitude towards the Gypsies in the society. Since it also provides social mobility, being part of the manorial system is only valid for Muslims but Muslim Gypsies are excluded (Ginio, 2004: 136; Yüksel, 2009: 58-59).

As Marushiakova stated, it is known that Gypsies work in a wide range of fields. Gypsies are more indicated in professions such as a blacksmith and a musician. Apart from these professions, they worked as tin workers, swordsmen, jewelers, knife-makers, shoemakers, groomers, singers and butchers (cited by Kolukırık, 2009: 12). The Sancak of the Gypsy (*Çingene sancağı*) was even found in the service of the army with a law enacted by Suleiman the Magnificent. From this point of view, it can be concluded that the Gypsies in the Ottoman Empire protected their lifestyles and traditional works better than the Gypsies living in Medieval Europe (Kolukırık, 2009: 12; Yüksel, 2009: 51-52).

However, it is obvious that compared to other ethnic communities in the Ottoman Empire, the Gypsies had low-welfare and usually lived in poverty (Yüksel, 2009: 328). To earn a living, they would do any kind of job, including collection of papers and scraps, beggary, cleaning shoes, street trading, fortune telling, certain types of crafts, and so on. Moreover, almost all family members worked including the children.

Although the state officials directly tried to contribute some of them economically, sometimes they indirectly let nomadic Gypsies stay and perform their professions in inconvenient places (Yüksel, 2009: 328).

The size of Gypsy population was not exactly known during the period of the exchange in the framework of the Treaty of Lausanne, it is only known that they emigrated to Turkey from Greece (Kolukırık, 2009: 13). In this period, discrimination against Gypsies is obvious; but because they are Muslims they were made visible in society. Because the population exchange was mainly grounded on the religious basis and it was considered sufficient to be a Muslim (Kolukırık, 2009: 13). According to the Treaty of Lausanne signed in 1923, minority rights were rearranged. The fundamental rights of non-Muslim ethnic groups as minority rights have been formally recognized. The minorities of Muslim origin did not have the same rights. Thus, the concept of nation-state founded on ethnic Muslim background by the Republic of Turkey, national and cultural minorities tried to be assimilated (Arayıcı, 2008: 240).

Over time, the Gypsies were more influenced by the nationalist ideology focused on Turkish identity (Marsh, 2008: 19-27). Most of the Gypsies interviewed in the researches stated that in any case they were bounded to the state, the flag, the principles and revolutions of Atatürk. For Gypsies, being identified with the Turkish state is an indispensable part of their identity. In contrast, in the same study of Marsh, most of the interviewees stated that they were clearly regarded as second-class citizens, the constitution that recognizes the Republic of Turkey's citizens could not take advantage of many of the guarantees, they are forced to live in poor and degrading conditions (2008: 19-27).

5.3. Gypsies in Turkey

5.3.1. Economic Problems of Gypsies

Employment opportunities, health and education services, cultural activities are the direct influential factors in the process of human integration into the society and the world. People who are partially or completely deprived from the social, economic, political and cultural systems are faced with the phenomenon of social exclusion. The most exposed to social exclusion are people working in precarious work and people at risk of unemployment and poverty (Çakır, 2008: 26).

In studies on Gypsies in Turkey, the emphasis is more on the financial hardship of Gypsies. Therefore, not only have a different ethnic identity but also the disadvantage of socio-economic conditions and the limitation of opportunities are among the factors that trigger social exclusion. However, poverty itself is not a factor that can affect social exclusion. It is possible to say that the first case of social exclusion in France in the 1970s was based on criteria such as not obeying certain patterns, not developing a sense of belonging and not keeping up with the different group (Hekimler, 2012: 4, 20). Thus, it is not only the inadequacy of the socio-economic conditions of the poor, which leads to social exclusion based on social democratic assumptions. In other words, social exclusion can be considered both as a cause and as a result of poverty. Because social exclusion is a phenomenon that suggests that poverty affects not only the poor part of society but the whole society (Bilton et al., 2009: 79). In the context of social exclusion, when the socio-economic conditions of the Gypsies are examined, almost all of the studies mention the inadequacy of the conditions. Social exclusion, which is a multidimensional problem of 'access' and 'participation', including the lack of access to services such as breaking off from the labor market, access to services such as education and health, not participating in political, social and cultural life, is the problem of social equality and social justice (Akkan et al., 2011: 23). A person's inability to participate in these areas may lead to isolation from society. The Gypsies who continue to protect their cultures through introversion, are also isolated from the

society by social exclusion in many areas of daily life such as education, work and profession. This situation can be clearly seen with the data obtained from these areas.

In a study conducted with Kazimpasa Gypsies, it is seen that Gypsies' income level is well below the poverty line. Generally speaking, it was observed that there was a direct relationship between the income level of the interviewees, low level of education, and lack of insured and permanent job opportunities. In addition, the furnishings they use at home were also taken into consideration while determining the poverty of the households (Tuna et al., 2006: 9). Moreover, in another study conducted with Gypsies, it is argued that these people were deprived of access to the labor market, health, public and social services which are the basic rights of all citizens (Önder, 2013: 59-67). In this study, it is also stated that most Gypsy people were able to reach the health services throughout the Green Card. Thus, it is obvious that Gypsy communities have no social security and property and therefore they live in poverty. In addition, they mostly look for social aid such as pecuniary, victual and fuel aids by governmental Social Cooperation and Solidarity Foundations (Önder, 2013: 62). Furthermore, according to a case study of Gypsy conducted in Edirne, Gypsy people were often relegated to the less desirable, lower paying and less secure jobs, which created a sub-category of second-class citizens (Ceyhan, 2003: 147). Moreover, it is mentioned that Gypsy people mostly demand a job with insurance. Thus, Gypsy community in Edirne generally has limited chances in the market and discrimination and segregation together contributes to their exclusion as well. Besides having problems accessing the job opportunities, health insurance is the most difficult service to benefit from and Green Card is so widespread among this community (Ceyhan, 2003: 149). Thus, according to this study, Gypsy community has problems accessing social benefits of health and the labor market in addition to having negative living conditions. As a result, long-term unemployment, lack of resources to improve their conditions and social exclusion lead these people to poverty.

Furthermore, in a survey conducted in 1992, forty-five percent of the Gypsies living in Hungary and Romania failed to meet their health requirements (Arayıcı, 2008: 62-63). The average year of life is at least six years lower than that of indigenous and other minorities. Six percent of newly born Gypsy children have lost their lives, this rate descends to two percent in Romanians. Young Gypsy women who cannot raise their children for economic reasons; they sell their children in exchange for money, either abandon them completely or give them to the state's childcare homes. In a report prepared in Romania, eighty percent of children in the state's child care and placement institutions are children of Gypsy families (Arayıcı, 2008: 62-63). In Hungary, between sixty and eighty percent of adult and in working age Gypsies are unemployed; more than sixty percent of the Gypsies living in Romania live on the hunger border, and eighty percent do not have any occupation or different qualifications. In the same study, it is stated that the Gypsies who live in the UK live on the hunger border and the Gypsies who live in France live at the lowest wages, with seventy-eighty percent of the Gypsies living in France. In addition, there are even those who prefer 'suicide' in the process because they cannot pay the debts they have received from their neighbors and relatives (Arayıcı, 2008: 63-65). As can be seen not only in Turkey, but also in other countries the economic problems of Gypsies are outstanding.

5.3.2. Educational and Cultural Problems of Gypsies

Turkey has a social structure that hosts many different groups together. Within this social structure, the rights of minorities to receive education in their mother tongue or in the framework of their cultural values are limited. Because with the proclamation of the Republic, Turkey adopted the central understanding based on a single culture, this understanding was declared in 1924 in the field of education within the framework of the Law on Unity of Education (in Turkish *Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu*) through unification of the language of instruction in Turkish and centralizing the curriculum (Kaya, 2012: 214). This education and training policy can be characterized as an assimilationist education policy. With the adoption of Turkey as a candidate for the European Union,

the Constitution and various laws have been changed a lot. In addition to general changes, strides had been made to ensure cultural rights. In addition, many studies are carried out to remove barriers of access to education; however, it cannot be said that the education system has reached the required level. Turkey still has multi-ethnic, multi-religious structure and has no guarantees of equality for its citizens (Kaya, 2012: 214).

One of the most discussed topics in researches about Gypsies is education and cultural level of these people. According to these discussions, the majority of Gypsies are not literate. The level of education and culture of the literate is extremely low. According to a study on this subject, between thirty and forty percent of the Gypsy children have education and training facilities, while the rest of the Gypsy children do not have these facilities (Arayıcı, 1999: 84). Moreover, according to a case study of Gypsy conducted in Edirne, Gypsy people have problems accessing social benefits of education (Ceyhan, 2003: 149). It is stated that these people have low level of education. Apart from non-educated respondents, all of them graduated from primary school. On the other hand, Gypsy parents want their children to continue school (Ceyhan, 2003: 149). Furthermore, in the study conducted in Izmir, the ratio of illiterate is determined as twenty-five percent, and it is seen that the highest institution of the literate people is secondary school (Kolukırık, 2009: 28). As seen in the studies, the rate of literacy in Gypsies is quite low. This suggests that the education system and the right of access to education should be re-questioned. There are many reasons why Gypsy children cannot continue their education. One of the reasons for low education levels of Gypsies is that they cannot receive education in their mother tongue. In addition to these reasons, it is known that Gypsy children are deprived of education even with the national and official language of Turkish (Arayıcı, 2008: 250). Another reason for the low level of education is that children have to work at an early age to contribute to the family budget (Akkan et al., 2011: 68). For instance, in a study conducted with Roma and Dom communities, dropping out of school and child labor appears as a common

handicap in both communities (Önen, 2011: 281). Moreover, according to a study conducted in 2013, most of parents who had no chance to meet the benefits of definite working conditions have usually no chance also to send their children to school. Therefore, they were complaining about their lack of access to proper working conditions as a reason for their children's absence in educational life (Önder, 2013: 71-72). In a study, the reason for the low level of education of Gypsies is stated as the insufficiency of socio-cultural environmental conditions (Kolukırık, 2009: 28). Therefore, education is seen as one of the most affected areas because of poverty. One of the reasons Gypsy children cannot attend school is social exclusion; the exclusion they are exposed to causes aversion to school and then leave the school (Akkan et al., 2011: 65). In another study conducted with Gypsies, the main reason of low attendance rates was mostly described as the result of racial and ethnic discriminations in schools (Önder, 2013: 74). Explaining why they did not have an educational life, young Gypsies have mostly complaint about discriminative conditions of schools. Although schools are considered as an important step of socialization among individuals, discrimination for Gypsies is seen as the most experienced institutions. Another reason why education levels are low is the marriages they experienced at an early age. Most studies have shown that the average age of marriage is fifteen-sixteen, which has been shown as an obstacle in continuing education (Akkan et al., 2011: 68; Kolukırık, 2009: 23; Önder, 2013: 76-77). The fact that there is no rise in the education level of Gypsies causes negative prejudice against them to continue in the society. Because they do not have a level of education that can free them from the discrimination they are exposed to and they are unable to seek and defend their rights. In addition, they have lost their national and cultural identity with an assimilationist education and training model.

5.3.3. Gypsies' Employment Areas and Employment Opportunities

The low level of education brings with it the trouble of not being able to finding a job. People are not able to work in qualified jobs with the level of education they have. As a result of employment in unqualified jobs, income levels are low. In this sense, Gypsies

can be defined as lower-class that works without any qualifications in irregular jobs and is usually paid with low wages. At the same time, it is stated that Gypsies do not even deserve to be exploited in jobs they can earn regular wages and are kept away from qualified jobs (Bayraktar, 2011: 123). According to a case study of Gypsies conducted in Edirne, Gypsy people are often relegated to the less desirable, lower paying and less secure jobs, which create a sub-category of second-class citizens (Ceyhan, 2003: 147). To illustrate, it is stated that Gypsy women usually make domestic jobs, baby-sitter, apartment cleaning, brush maker, worker or seasonal worker and so forth, while Gypsy men perform low-skilled jobs such as garbage collector, janitor, sewage worker, porter, and basket maker. In addition, apart from these low skilled labors, there are artisans of Gypsy community, such as musician, iron makers and phaeton driver (Ceyhan, 2003: 148). Moreover, it is mentioned that Gypsy people mostly demand a job with insurance. Thus, Gypsy community in Edirne has generally limited chances in the market and discrimination and segregation together contributes to their exclusion as well. Furthermore, in a study conducted with Gypsy people in 2013, the most members of the Gypsy communities are making their livings out of informal economy or in economic relations which are not to be formalized by the states system (Önder, 2013: 63). It is also stated in this study, a huge portion of the Roma population is working in irregular working hours without social security and even without a proper definition of the work they do. In fact, as Önder states, although it may be believed that the life time of a Gypsy is spent by all-time working, it can literally be argued that most of the Gypsies are unemployed or employed in unsecured occupations without any future expectation (2013: 66). In addition, in a study conducted with Roma and Dom communities, it is founded that social exclusion leads to unequal occupational opportunities for these people (Önen, 2011: 279). Thus, hiding ethnic identity is a common pattern in these communities in order to get a job or to keep a job. Dom people could not integrate to the society and thus they could not find even casual or temporary jobs. Long-term unemployment, lack of resources to improve their conditions, desolation and social exclusion together with isolation leads to new poverty

(Önen, 2011: 280). Therefore, Dom community is the actor of new poverty. On the other hand, Roma community tries to stabilize themselves at the informal sector or even produce tactics such as immigration practices to get socioeconomic mobility. However, Roma community's casual or temporary jobs are also decreasing. Consequently, the common citizenship problem is poverty in both communities since they are excluded from job opportunities (Önen, 2011: 280).

Furthermore, Gypsies seem to have various professions identified with their own identities. Even the sources that argue that Gypsies are grouped according to their profession, not according to their ethnic origin, can be reached (Kenrick, 2006: 21). Among Gypsies in Turkey, there are many sub-groups defined by their professions such as basket makers, tinsmiths, peddlers, bath attendants, porters, and carters. In addition to this, the class system among Gypsies in Turkey, unlike other countries such as Sweden and the United Kingdom, musicians are often seen as the elite (Marsh, 2008: 22). During the Ottoman Period, Gypsies have dealt with professions such as blacksmith, coachman, shepherd, saddlery and so on. Gypsies have been considered to have an important place in our entertainment culture since the Ottomans. For example, in the Ottoman Empire, there are rumors that *Karagöz*[35] is Gypsy (Kolukırık, 2007: 25).

Moreover, the term Gypsy itself is interpreted in relation to the work of the Gypsies. For instance, *Çengicilik* is composed of the words 'Çengi' and 'Gan' and it is said that the word Gypsy, which means *Çengicilik*, is used to call belly dancer girls. It is also known that the word Gypsy in colloquial language has meanings in terms of games, entertainment, musical instruments and dance (Göncüoğlu & Yavuztürk, 2009: 109).

It is seen that music plays an important role in the self-identification of Gypsies and others' perceptions about Gypsies. Their music, which is also a part of their identity and

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[35] Karagoz and Hacivat from Ottoman period is a very popular Turkish shadow play originated from Bursa province of Turkey.

culture, has become a part of popular culture today. In a study conducted by Alpman, the question of whether the Galaza, a Sulukuleli Gypsy, encouraged their children to become doctors or musicians was answered as follows: "I advise them to be musicians because chances of being a doctor are not even one percent…but the possibility of being a good musician is high" (cited by Bayraktar, 2011:125). Since Gypsies usually have the opportunity to work in the field of music, they also want their children to do this job. Gypsy children are encouraged more to be musicians by their families. In fact, it is clear that the socio-cultural environment and economic opportunities do not leave them with a choice.

5.3.4. Settlements of Gypsies

Gypsies who have a nomadic lifestyle are known to live in many countries of the world (Arayıcı, 1999: 104-169). It is known that Gypsies migrated to Anatolia before the Treaty of Lausanne. In addition, a certain proportion of the Gypsy population with Turkish immigrants came to Turkey with Population Exchange Agreement in Lausanne (Kolukırık, 2009: 71). However, there are usually similar and limited data on the current residential areas and populations of Turkey's Gypsies. In addition, it is stated that these data are lacking, considering the population of the assimilated Gypsies (Kolukırık, 2009: 71; Arayıcı, 1999: 33-34).

Gypsies are known to live a nomadic or settled life in almost all cities of Turkey. However, exact data cannot be obtained about in which regions and how many the Gypsy population live. In the literature, it is emphasized that Gypsies' nomadic lifestyles and some of them are not registered to the population as a result of this. In the researches, it is stated that the cities where Gypsies live in Eastern Thrace, Marmara and Aegean regions are determined as Çanakkale, Edirne, Kırklareli, Tekirdağ, Düzce, İstanbul and İzmir, while the different groups live in Black Sea, Central Anatolia, Eastern Anatolia and Southeast Anatolia Region (Sal, 2009: 3).

The neighborhoods of Gypsies are the most economically disadvantaged places. The researches conducted in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it was seen that the Gypsies lived as settled and nomadic in the most unfavorable areas of the country, shantytowns, slums and hovels (Arayıcı, 2008: 236; Hoyland, 1816: 5). In the studies, it is generally mentioned about the lack of infrastructure of the regions where Gypsies live and the unfavorability of socio-economic conditions. However, it is seen that Gypsies adopt the place where they settled in order to ensure their culture and identity. Nevertheless, the fact that Gypsies, who are considered foreigners, cannot be integrated with the people living in the region and are excluded by the people is one of the debates on the agenda. It is thought that the nomadic groups were subjected to social exclusion by the settled because of their differences. In a study conducted with Tarlabaşı Gypsies, the situation of adductive/autism is seen among the Gypsies exposed to social exclusion (Kolukırık, 2009: 54). However, there are also studies showing that the relations between the Gypsies and other groups are experienced in different ways. For example, Gypsies living in the Southeast Region (Hakkari, Mardin, Cizre, Siirt and south of Van) called 'Mıtrip', are living in cooperation and in solidarity with the Kurdish people in the region (Arayıcı, 2008: 242). As a matter of fact, it is mentioned that 'Mıtrips' form a separate group among the Gypsies. For instance, while the marriages between Mıtrip Gypsies and Karaçi Gypsies were not approved, and such a marriage was not considered well, it is said that the marriages between Mıtrips and Kurds were more common in this place (Arayıcı, 2008: 242). However, there are other studies showing that this is the opposite. Probable marriages between the Kurds and Gypsies are thought to harm the position of respect for the society in both sides. This normalizes the rare occurrence of these marriages. As a result, communication is difficult for both sides (Çelik & Şahin, 2012: 318). Hence, the processes such as introversion social exclusion and socialization depend on the dynamic relations between the groups.

5.3.4.1. Gypsies in the Process of Urban Transformation

It is clearly known by all that the Gypsies that live under difficult conditions financially. This poverty between Gypsies has a wide variety of aspects. Improper urban structures, temporary jobs and professions, large family structures, low levels of education and low income levels are examples of this multifaceted poverty (Tuna et al., 2006: 16). Increasing urban transformation activities, especially in the name of creating modern buildings, is a great disadvantage for some people. Gypsies are the leading ones. Gypsies who have been marginalized and excluded by society also face many problems in finding a place of shelter. Most of the Gypsies are trying to survive, living in the remotest corners of the cities, in jerry built housings with lack in infrastructure services. However, Gypsies have been exiled from these places by the urban transformation projects that have gained momentum in recent years. In fact, it is known that the urban transformation projects are based on the reasons for making the selected poor regions more contemporary and reliable and to eliminate the housing deficit. However, the removal of people living in these areas, transferring them to middle and upper income groups and trying to provide unearned income from these areas has priority in the scope of urban transformation projects (Uğurlu, 2013: 71).

With the urban transformation activities, the state promises a better life for the former inhabitants, but the displaced people become victims. Gypsies are the first to be subjected to displacement. Urban transformation is called a gentrification project (Uçan Çubukçu, 2011: 95). To give an example from Istanbul's Sulukule district, the aim of the project, which started in 2006, is the gentrification of the destruction of the historical, cultural and social fabric of this place (Neslişah & Hatice Sultan Mahallesi). However, this process has turned into a dislocation process for Gypsies living here. The process of urban transformation, also called gentrification, is defined as the global reconstruction of the metropolis and the removal of bad-looking collapse areas (Uçan Çubukçu, 2011: 94-95). In the case of Sulukule, it is seen that the Gypsies here are excluded from this place and their lives are over in that place. Fatih Municipality

officials stated that all the people living in Sulukule were part of the urban transformation. However, according to the results of the survey conducted by Sulukule Platform in 2007, only seven percent of the local people stated that they were asked their opinion and fifty-six percent said that the municipality did not communicate with them (Foggo, 2007: 44).

In the light of the literature, it is seen that Gypsies are deprived of their rights by being discriminated against in many fields such as educational, social, cultural, employment and settlement. Because of social exclusion, poverty and alienation in all these social, political and economic areas; Gypsies cannot go beyond the socialization they can provide among themselves. For this reason, it can be seen that Gypsies cannot integrate into society. Solidarity, unity and fraternity among themselves end as soon as they become politicized through associations. The reasons for this can be considered as low levels of education, shortage of work, poverty and the psychology of 'subaltern' brought by all. All these elements follow and influence each other in a vicious circle.

When we look at the literature on Gypsies in the context of ethnic discrimination, we find very limited and similar findings. The reason for this can be considered as a repetition of historical data. However, in addition to historical evidence and discourses, there are studies conducted to understand Gypsy culture and identity which are seen differently. There are not many studies on understanding of the discrimination experiences of the Gypsies. However, at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century, studies are able to shed light on understanding of today's Gypsies. The difficulties and discriminatory attitudes Gypsies are exposed to in these studies are mostly interpreted in terms of socio-economic conditions. In addition, many elements such as family life, occupations, languages, lifestyles that can be effective in making sense of their identity and culture are also mentioned. In the literature, the most discussed topics on Gypsies are; education levels, poverty, organization processes, urban transformation projects in the areas where Gypsies live,

confusion of identity they live in, efforts to protect their culture, prejudice and negative

visions on their identities.

CHAPTER 6

FIELD RESEARCH FINDINGS

DISCRIMINATION EXPERIENCES OF ROMA LIVING IN GÜLTEPE

In this chapter, I will first give the profiles of the respondents, then write about my field findings parallel to literature review including the Gypsy-Roma dilemma, the cultural features of respondents, the migration experiences of respondents, place/location of respondents: the Gültepe Roma neighborhood, perceptions of discrimination and the experiences of the respondents, the reasons behind the discrimination of respondents, the strict preference for Roma partners in marriage, neighborhood relations of the respondents and the groups they prefer not to live together with, the knowledge and experiences of respondents concerning urban transformation, and the future expectations and concerns of respondents.

6.1. Profiles of Respondents

In order to understand the discrimination experienced by the Roma people in the Gültepe district of Istanbul, a total of eighteen Roma respondents – eight male and ten female – were interviewed. The respondents' ages were between nineteen and fifty-six. Thirteen of the respondents were married, two were single, two were widows and one was a divorcee. It was found that although some of the respondents said that they were unemployed, they all worked when they found employment. Most of the respondents were flower sellers, but some of worked as tailors, craftsmen, hawkers, scrap collectors, tea makers, coffeehouse keepers, curtain sellers, printers and housekeepers. The husbands of two female respondents were in jail because of drug issues. Most of the respondents said that they had been born in Istanbul; one was born in Samsun, another in Edirne. Seven of the respondents had not attended school at all and six were illiterate; four were either primary or secondary school dropouts; the others were primary school graduates. Almost all the respondents preferred to be

called 'Roma' rather than 'Gypsy', though some of them would sometimes use different terms to define themselves, such as 'Muslim', 'Turkish', 'Alevi', or 'Thessaloniki immigrant'. It was understood from the respondents' definition of 'Gypsy' that the negative perception of Gypsies prevalent in society pushed them to prefer the name 'Roma'. Moreover, it was seen that most of the respondents interviewed disparaged the Gypsy nomenclature while praising the term Roma. Below is more detailed information about each of the respondents.

Gözde (31) was born and raised in Istanbul. After marrying, she moved to Gültepe where she has been living for ten years. Her husband is in prison and she has three children. She is illiterate and she earns her living selling flowers. In addition, she occasionally works as a cleaning lady. In her view, 'Gypsy' and 'Roma' are two distinct nationalities, and she identifies herself as a Roma[36], while making a sharp distinction between the two. She states that because the Roma people understand her, she often makes friends with them. She defines discrimination as a bad thing and emphasizes that we are all human. In addition, she considers that Roma are discriminated against in social life, especially in business and at school.

Kader (36) was born in Samsun but has now been living in Gültepe for twenty-five years. Her husband is in prison and she has one child. She is illiterate and works in a printing house. She also occasionally works as a cleaning lady. The terms 'Gypsy' and 'Roma' express the same ethnic identity for her. However, she prefers to be described as Roma because she is uncomfortable with the negative connotations attributed to the word 'Gypsy'. She emphasizes that her environment does not consist only of Roma. She argues that there should be no discrimination since we all live under the flag of the martyrs, including Turks, Kurds and Alevis. In addition, she feels that Roma suffer discrimination in social life, particularly in business and in landlord-tenant relations.

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[36] As stated in footnote no 1, in this chapter of the study, Roma, the nomenclature preferred by the respondents, will be used in this thesis.

Güneş (28) is married with three children and has lived in Gültepe since she was born. She is illiterate and sells flowers to earn a living. She adds that her husband has been receiving unemployment pay from the state. She prefers to refer to herself as Roma rather than Gypsy. She states that her environment is mostly composed of Roma. When asked about her experiences of discrimination, she says that Roma are excluded by society because of their appearance and the way they dress.

Gül (49) is a primary school dropout who has been living in Gültepe since she was born. She is married and has five children. She defines herself as Roma because 'Gypsy' is perceived to be a negative term. When asked about her experience of discrimination, she also says that Roma are excluded by society because of their appearance and clothes.

Haydar (52) is married and has two children. A secondary school graduate, he earns his living selling fruit and vegetables. For him there is no difference between 'Gypsy' and 'Roma' – both names can be used to refer to the same people. He suggests that people use the definition 'Roma' in order to sound politer or more modern, but that it is unnecessary. Saying that discrimination in the end leads to racism, he emphasizes that we should not be biased or discriminatory.

Ali (25) was born and raised in Istanbul. He is a secondary school dropout who makes a living as a tea maker. He is married and has two children. During the interview, he first argued that 'Roma' and the 'Gypsy' meant the same thing; however, he later agreed that 'Roma' was a politer reference, and that he felt insulted by those who called him a Gypsy. He points out that Roma have financial difficulties and lack social security and that they usually work in jobs such as a peddler's trade, dyeing and floriculture. He thinks that Roma people are discriminated against in daily life, particularly in business life.

Ayhan (56) was born in the Şişli district of Istanbul. He is married and has four children. He is a primary school graduate and currently works as a curtain seller. For him, Gypsies are a community of nomads, belly dancers and musicians. He stresses the fact that he and his entourage do not have these characteristics and he therefore defines himself as Roma. He believes that financial constraints force the Roma to do illegal work. Moreover, he thinks that they are excluded by society because of their ethnic identity. When asked about his views on discrimination; he says that discrimination is something that Islam rejects, that there should be no discrimination, and that all Muslims are brothers and sisters.

Gökhan (45) is a primary school graduate. He was born in Samsun but raised in Istanbul and works as a waiter in a cafe. He defines himself as 'Roma' and believes that Roma and Gypsies are separate communities. He describes Gypsies as people have no houses, live in atents and drink alcohol; whereas he says that Roma are settled people who do not live in tents. Therefore, he emphasizes that he does not accept a 'Gypsy' definition.

Serap (20) was born in Edirne but raised in Istanbul. Married and illiterate, she is earns a living selling flowers with her mother. The terms 'Gypsy' and 'Roma' express the same ethnic identity for the respondent. However, she prefers to be identified as 'Roma' because she is uncomfortable with the negative connotations attributed to the word 'Gypsy'. She emphasizes that her environment consists mostly of Roma because she thinks that the Roma understand her better. She states that there should be no discrimination as God did not make a distinction between races: we will all die and be buried in the same land; we are all brothers and sisters. In addition, she states that Roma suffer from discrimination in social life as a result of living in Roma neighborhoods as well as being Roma.

Derya (19) was born in Samsun but raised in Istanbul. She is single, illiterate and earns her living selling flowers. She prefers to identify herself as Roma rather than Gypsy and

says that when people call her a Gypsy, she feels upset. She describes Gypsies as people who do not improve themselves and who do not know how to behave in the society. However, compared to what it used to be like, she believes that discrimination is in decline.

İrfan (42) was born and raised in Istanbul, where he graduated from primary school. He is divorced and earns his living scrap-collecting. He prefers to be identified as Roma rather than Gypsy. He says that Gypsies were known as *Kıpti* in the past and describes them as vagrants, thieves, wanderers, and so on, whereas he describes Roma as people who live life on a day-to-day basis, friendly, lively, humanitarian and solidarist. Emphasizing the negative features of Gypsies, he expresses his keen dislike of them. He believes that Roma are discriminated against in business life because they are perceived as such passive people.

Emine (50) earns her living as a housekeeper. Her husband passed away, and she lives with her two children. She did not attend school at all and is illiterate. She defines herself as Roma rather than Gypsy. She states that she has not personally experienced discrimination but that Roma people are generally discriminated against. She says that she does not make any ethnic distinction when she is making friends and that her husband was not Roma.

Esad (56) was born and raised in Istanbul. He is married and has three children. He graduated from primary school and earns his living keeping coffehouse. He is extremely opposed to being identified as a Gypsy although he believes that both 'Gypsy' and 'Roma' are used to identify the same community. He argues that Roma are looked down on in the society but he did not have any personal experience of discrimination.

Ayla (48) is a widow who was born and raised in Istanbul. She has three children, did not attend school at all and is literate. She works as a tailor. In addition, she sometimes

works as a flower seller. She prefers to call herself Roma rather than Gypsy. She states that in fact the two terms define the same community but one is politer. She states that the discrimination suffered by the Roma could also be found in the media.

Cevriye (34) was born and raised in Istanbul. She is married and has three children. She did not attend school at all and is literate. She earns her living selling flowers. She prefers the name 'Roma' to 'Gypsy', which disparages, while praising Roma. She believes that Roma are looked down on in society but are not affected by discrimination. She places great importance on education, and although she could not study herself, she has sent her children to school.

Samet (28) was born and raised in Istanbul. He is married and has one daughter. He graduated from secondary school and earns his living keeping a coffeehouse. He prefers to be called Roma rather than Gypsy. He says that when he was getting married he was exposed to discrimination by his wife's family due to his Roma identity.

Fatma (29) was born and raised in Istanbul. She is married and has two children. She did not attend school at all. She is illiterate and she earns her living selling flowers. She prefers the name Roma to Gypsy and believes that negative perceptions and prejudices against Gypsies also taint the Roma. She points out that the discrimination suffered by the Roma could also be found in the media.

Ahmet (28) was born and raised in Istanbul. He is married and has two children. He graduated from primary school and works as a scrap-collecter. He prefers the name Roma to Gypsy. He states that he and his circle have not affected by discrimination, explaining that they have 'improved themselves'.

6.2. The Gypsy-Roma Dilemma

Identities that people possess can shape the values and meanings of their inner worlds. Thus, an identity or a perceived identity can increase vulnerability. At this point, it is worth underlining that the Roma-Gypsy dilemma, also discussed in the second chapter, is an important subject and one that remains sensitive for people encountered in Gültepe. Instead of the word 'Gypsy', which evokes negative perceptions such as poverty, coarseness and insult, the Roma people, even among themselves, consider the word 'Roma' politer and more respectable. In other words, it may even be uncomfortable for people to speak of an ethnic identity that is assumed to be more advantageous or legitimate. Thus, it can be argued that Gypsy-Roma dilemma has become a taboo subject when Roma identify and define themselves. In this study, the difficulties encountered in defining the boundaries between the identities of Gypsy and Roma and the use of the two terms led to the increasing debate on the Gypsy-Roma dilemma.

People are born with a set of characteristics/identities, such as sex, race and ethnicity, which they do not have the chance to choose. Even if people have the opportunity and the freedom to make changes to their identities, they continue to be remembered with the identities they belonged to when they were born. Therefore, these social identities, which people belong to or feel themselves belonging to, play an important role in the process of socialization. For this reason, people can use multiple identities when defining themselves in society. Thus the ways in which people identify themselves vary according to the advantages or inequalities these identitites possess in society. Furthermore, they change according to the acceptability of these identities in society. Therefore, someone's feeling of belonging to at least one group stems from the need to be part of society and thus to benefit from the rights society provides it with. For this reason, people try to adopt a social identity that possesses certain rights, as approved and confirmed by society, and they introduce themselves with this identity. However, if a particular identity is not positively perceived, it takes certain strategies to achieve this

approval. For example, one of these strategies may be to conceal certain identities while highlighting others, depending on their positive and negative rating in society. Thus, the Gypsy-Roma dilemma, which is one of the important themes of this research, is actually related to how these identities are perceived in the society. In other words, the meanings of these identities or the meanings attributed to these identities have been decisive in the way that Roma label themselves.

Most of the respondents identified themselves as Roma. It was observed that most of them even reacted angrily to questions that included the word 'Gypsy' and were disturbed by the fact that these questions were directed at them. The fact that the people who participated in the study were called 'Gypsy' was considered a humiliating situation for them. Even those who argued at the beginning of the interview that there was no difference and that they were happy to describe themselves as Gypsy or Roma stated, as the interview progressed, that the word 'Gypsy' sometimes meant something insulting and the word 'Roma' was better. Therefore, it was found that almost all of the respondents preferred to refer to themselves as Roma, since the nomenclature of the Gypsy had negative connotations that constituted an exclusionary and degrading perception. As stated in the fourth chapter, it can be said that this situation was due to the fact that the Roma identity is more acceptable to society than the Gypsy identity. All these are stated by the respondents in general as follows:

> *No, I think it is the same. No difference, the same. But better as a Roma. When they called us Gypsy, we twist in the wind / feel degraded. That humiliates us. It seems politer to be called a Roma. Roma is better for us. (Ali, 25)[37]*
> *There is a difference. When you say Gypsy, we become angry. It seems bad. But when you call us Roma, we can laugh. (Gül, 49)[38]*
> *When they call us Gypsy, we feel offended. I immediately say: "What's the matter, girl? Did Gypsy do something to you?" ... When something bad happens, it doesn't mean a Gypsy did it. No way. They consider us*

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[37] *Yok aynı bence. Fark filan yok, aynı. Roman olarak daha iyi. Çingene deyince gururumuz kırılıyor. Şey böyle aşşağılatıyor. Roman olarak daha kibar geliyor. ... Roman bizim için daha iyi. (Ali, 25)*
[38] *Fark var. Şey Çingene dedin mi kızıyoruz. Bize kötü geliyor. Ama Roman dedin mi gülebiliyoruz sana. (Gül, 49)*

bad. That's why we are going to feel offended, when they call us Gypsy. (Kader, 36)[39]

People create the difference. It is the same thing. They used to call us Gypsies, now Roma. When you say Gypsy, they are attacking you. It sounds vulgar. (Ayla, 48)[40]

It really doesn't matter. It is the same, I mean. Someone calls it yellow, someone calls it light yellow. There's no difference… The two are the same thing. I think it is just like the word game, demagogy. I don't think [there is a difference]. It is just people fooling themselves. This [using Roma name] is something that happened later. Of course, people are fooling themselves. To look politer or more modern. (Haydar, 52)[41]

The ongoing discussion of the Roma-Gypsy dichotomy is revealed by the Gültepe respondents' explanation of the differences between Gypsy and Roma. The respondents, who defined themselves as Roma because they thought there was a difference between these two identities, were seen to distance themselves from the Gypsies. The distancing can be considered a strategy that they have adopted in order to have a positive sense of identity in society. Thus the Roma are actually disassociating themselves from Gypsies as a disadvantaged group that is stigmatized in society. This distance between Gypsy and Roma was interpreted on the basis of the derogatory and exclusionary statements of the respondents, who described themselves as 'Roma' when talking about Gypsies during the interviews. Though these two groups are known to have the same origin, the difference between them was explained by some respondents mainly on the basis of the Gypsies' nomadic lifestyle, bad habits, working conditions and the kind of work they do. According to these respondents, Gypsies are

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[39] *Ha Çingene diyorlar zorumuza gidiyor. Hemen "ne oldu kızım Çingene bir şey mi yaptı sana?" diyorum. … Kötü bir şey oldu mu Çingene yapmıştır demek olmuyor işte. O öyle değil. Bizi kötü biliyorlar. O zaman zorumuza gidiyor böyle Çingene demeleri. (Kader, 36)*

[40] *Farkı insanlar yapıyor. Aynı şey. Eskiden Çingene diyorlardı, şimdi Roman. Çingene dediğin zaman seni tersliyorlar. Kaba olarak geliyor. (Ayla, 48)*

[41] *Farketmez ya o aynı şey. Evet. Bence aynı yani. Birinin sarı dediğine biri açık sarı diyor. Farkeden bir şey yok yani. …İkisi de aynı şey. Ben onu sadece kelime oyunu, demogoji gibi düşünüyorum. … Düşünmüyorum (fark olduğunu). Sadece insanların kendini kandırması. Bu sonradan oluşmuş bir şey ya (Roman ismi). Tabi insanların kendilerini kandırması. Daha kibar veya modern gözükmek için. (Haydar, 52)*

people who disrupt the social order and are engaged in irregular work. These can be seen as follows:

> *We are a separate tribe. We have our houses, our homes, they have a nomadic life, and like it that way. And they are more like, how should I put it… they are dealing with tin, begging, drinking lots of wine, drinking [other things], drinking alcohol. (Gökhan, 45)[42]*
> *Gypsy is the word used for a community of nomads, belly dancers and musicians. (Ayhan, 56)[43]*

In addition, one of the important elements emphasized while talking about the differences between Gypsy and Roma is the difference in dress styles. According to all the respondents who defined themselves as Roma, Gypsies are not accepted in society and their style of clothing is frowned on and condemned; in other words, they are not modern. This is expressed as follows:

> *Now, mmm… It's that [dress] that makes them different. For example, they go out in shalwar[44] [baggy trousers] and things, and a skirt and blouse. But we are not like that. For example, we wear dresses (on our backs). We put on a headscarf and go to weddings. And dress with our neighbours that is what we wear, with slippers on our feet. (Cevriye, 34)[45]*
> *So in later times the Roma improved themselves. You cannot call them Gypsies when you see them. They are very different. They all improved themselves. There used to be shalwar (baggy trousers), pyjamas… but you can't see anything like that now, you can't even tell that the person you are looking at is a Gypsy. (Ayla, 48)[46]*

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[42] *Biz ayrı bir kavimiz. Bizim evimiz barkımız var, onlar göçebe hayatı yaşar, öyle seviyorlar. Bir de onlar daha böyle, ne diyim kalaycılıkla uğraşıyorlar, dilencilikle uğraşıyorlar, hani insan, çok şarap içerler, içki içerler, alkol kullanırlar. (Gökhan, 45)*

[43] *Çingene'nin kelime manası göçebe olan, dansöz oynatan, müzisyen olan topluluğa verilen isimdir. (Ayhan, 56)*

[44] Shalwar is a traditional trousers worn by women, and in some regions by men, in South Asia, Central Asia and Anatolia. They are held up by a drawstring or elastic belt, which causes it to become pleated around the waist.

[45] *Şimdi eee onların diyelim şeyinden bizimki ayrılır. Mesela diyelim ki onlar çıkalar bir şalvar bir şeyle etek bluz giyerler. Ama biz öyle değiliz. …Biz mesela bir elbise giyeriz sırtımıza. Başımıza bir başörtü bağlarız biz böyleyiz yani çıkarız düğüne. Komşularımızla öyle giyeriz. Ayağımıza terlik giyeriz. (Cevriye, 34)*

[46] *Ee ilerleyen zamanlarda da Romanlar kendini çok aştı. Gördüğün zaman onlara Çingene diyemezsin. Çok farklı oldular. Hepsi gelişti. Eskiden şalvar vardı, giyinirken ayağına pijamalar, lastikli pijamalar… Yani ama şimdi öyle bir şey göremezsin, gördüğün insana Çingene bile diyemiyorsun. (Ayla, 48)*

Moreover, some of the respondents claim that the way they dress are resembles the dressing styles of non-Roma people, or, in their own words, 'Gadjo'[47], and that even when they go outside the neighborhood their ethnicity cannot be understood by other people. This shows that they are trying to adjust themselves according to the dominant group in society, as indicated in the second chapter. In other words, they are trying to conceal their ethnic identity and cultural views by adopting the consumer products of modern life and popular culture. Therefore, as mentioned in the first chapter, if a person from any ethnicity can rise to the upper ranks of class hierarchy in society, the differences that she or he has may become less visible and the exclusion that they may be exposed to can be reduced to some extent. Besides, a few respondents asked "See if s/he ever looks like Roma?" showing their children's photos or themselves while they are talking. Therefore, asking such questions is considered as an attempt to demolish the perception of the classical Roma with their cultural appearance, both their dress and their physical characteristics.

Respondents further differentiate themselves from Gypsies by the language they use. For Roma respondents Gypsies do not speak, or cannot speak, Turkish well. One of the respondents summarized it as follows:

> …Look at the way a real Gypsy speaks, and look at the way the local people of this district talk. Even their way of speaking is different. It is like "abeyle mabeyle" (the Gypsy accent). They make a different speech, it differs. They are the real Gypsies. (İrfan, 42)[48]

Respondents also referred to religion and education to illustrate the difference between Gypsy and Roma. This can be attributed to the definition of Gypsies as an atheist, uneducated ethnic group in the society, as mentioned in the third chapter. By mentioning this distinction, the respondents wanted to emphasize that the Roma are

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[47] Gadjo or Gorgio which is *Gaco* or *Gacı* in Turkish, is a word in Romany for describing non-Roma.

[48] *…Bir gerçek bir Çingene'nin konuşma tarzına bir bakın, bir de buranın yerli halkının bir konuşma tarzına bakın. Bunların konuşma tarzları bile değişik. Abeyle mabeyle gibi ee. Farklı bir konuşma yaparlar bunlar, bunlar fark eder. Gerçek Çingene onlardır. (İrfan, 42)*

religous, educated people. While Gypsies in general are described as irreligious (especially non-Muslim), uneducated people, Roma are considered educated and devoted to religion.

> …Those who do not know how to behave, how should I say, maybe they do not know how to pray, they do not know how to read and write, they are the real Gypsies. (Derya, 19)[49]
>
> Calling us Roma makes feel us better. We do not like the Gypsy name. Alhamdulillah, we are Muslim. Did you understand? (Kader, 36)[50]

Some of the respondents, who defined themselves as Roma, also emphasized that they are Muslim and Turkish citizens:

> I was born in Turkey and grew up in Turkey. Our National feelings are the same with Turkey. Therefore, as said by Tayyip Erdoğan, our president: "One state, one flag, one homeland, one nation." (Ayhan, 56)[51]
>
> We Roma came from Central Asia. We came from Central Asia and started living in this beautiful country. For example, my grandfather and other elders come from Thessaloniki. Almost everyone in this neighborhood is from Thessaloniki, Greece, Bulgaria. They came from places like that, but Alhamdulillah we are Muslims. We came as Muslims. Do you understand? (Esad, 56)[52]

In parallel with other published findings, Roma people living in Gültepe usually defined themselves first with a Turkish identity, putting their own ethnic identities in second place. The Roma people's commitment to the Turkish nation, as well as to the ideology of nationalism in Turkey, may also be considered as a way of survival from negative insinuations and discriminatory attitudes imposed on the Roma identity (Marsh, 2008: 25).

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[49] *…Onlar şart şurt bilmeyenler ne bilim belki namaz da bilmiyorlar, okuma yazma bilmiyorlar tam Çingene onlar. (Derya, 19)*

[50] *Roman daha iyi geliyor bize. Çingene ismini sevmiyoruz. Elhamdülillah Müslümanız sonuçta. Anladın mı? (Kader, 36)*

[51] *Türkiye'de doğdum, Türkiye'de büyüdüm. Milli duygularımız Türkiye ile aynı. Yani Tayyip Erdoğan başkanımızın da dediği gibi: "Tek devlet, tek bayrak, tek vatan, tek millet." (Ayhan, 56)*

[52] *Biz Romanlar olarak Orta Asya'dan gelmişiz. Orta Asyadan geldik ve şu güzel ülkede yaşamaya başladık. Ha biz mesela, benim dedelerim Selanik'ten gelmeler. Hemen hemen buranın çoğu Selanik, Yunanistan, Bulgaristan. O gibi yerlerden geldiler ama Elhamdülillah Müslümanız. Müslüman olarak geldik yani. Anladınız mı? (Esad, 56)*

However, it still needs to be noted that although the respondents described themselves as Roma, it was also observed that they frequently used the word Gypsy when giving information about themselves. This confirms Kolukırık's argument that the Gypsy identity is not completely rejected (Kolukırık, 2007: 47).

As a result, it can be said that the main reason of the social identity confusion with Gypsy and Roma is the negative images and prejudices that are formed in the society against the Gypsies. The fact that the word 'Roma' has a more positive meaning among the people causes the word Gypsy to be considered a coarser term. In fact, even the phrase 'Roma' is expected to be said respectfully. As can be seen above, the respondents who prefer the title 'Roma' and identify themselves with the Roma identity have generally defined themselves by comparing themselves with Gypsies and by attributing to them negative attitudes and behavior, while mostly attributing positive behavior to the Roma. In other words, they try to clear their name by claiming that the other Gypsies are the 'bad' Gypsies, whereas they are the 'good' Roma. The negative associations of the word 'Gypsy' in society have caused people to move away from these identities and encouraged some people to deny them altogether. This situation leads people to use the Gypsy stereotype, which is negative in the society, to show the better aspects of the Roma identity. The choice of 'Roma' instead of the word 'Gypsy' can be considered an attempt to save themselves from these negative prejudices and to create a new identity for themselves in society. Since Gypsies or Roma who resist assimilation are likely to be excluded from the main society, it is understandable that some respondents avoided identifying themselves as Gypsy or Roma during the interviews.

6.3. Cultural Features of Respondents

Generally speaking, culture amounts to all kinds of material and spiritual characteristics produced in the historical process and transferred from generation to generation. It is for this reason that culture is evaluated within the framework of elements such as knowledge, language, religion, habits, values, traditions and customs, art, world view and history. Each ethnic group has its own cultural values. The Roma community is an ethnic group that has been able to maintain its own traditions, albeit living as a minority group in society. The Roma have lived in many different countries due to their nomadic lifestyle and have adopted the language and religion of each country in which they resided. In time, the Roma people, unable to speak their own language in the context of their relations with non-Roma populations, began to forget their own language. Most of the Roma interviewed in the Gültepe neighborhood stated that they knew this language but did not use it very often in daily life and did not teach it to their children:

> *Yes. Now, if I tell her something, you cannot understand it. Everyone has their own language. My aunt taught me that. From family… None. They (our children) do not know. We do not teach our children. (Ayla, 48)[53]*
>
> *I know. But kids do not understand much. We do not teach them. It is not necessary. (İrfan, 42)[54]*
>
> *Unfortunately, it has come to be that most of our people do not know [their language]. They have a Roma identity, but in truth they don't know it. For example, we have meetings and things, I say a few words in the Romany. They sort of understand, but they don't (fully) understand. They give me look. Eh, brother, what kind of a Roma are you, I ask… So it comes from the family, brother. At home, his mother did not teach him or say anything. I mean, it's because of that… The state of the Roma is such that 60–70 percent of those who call themselves Roma do not speak the Romany. (Esad, 56)[55]*

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[53] *Evet. Şimdi ben şuna bir şey diyeyim sen anlayamazsın. Herkesin kendine ait bir dili var. Bana da teyzem öğretti zaten. Aileden. … Yok. (Çocuklarımız) bilmezler. Biz çocuklarımıza öğretmiyoruz. (Ayla, 48)*

[54] *Biliyorum. Ama çocuklar pek anlamaz. Biz öğretmiyoruz onlara. Gerek yok. (İrfan, 42)*

[55] *Ne yazık ki şöyle bir şey var. Çoğu insanlarımız bilmiyor. Roman kimliği altında ama gerçekten bilmiyor. O kadar mesela toplantılarımız şeylerimiz oluyor, gidiyorum bir iki kelime konuluyorum onlara Romanca. Yok bilmiyorlar. Anlamayı da (tam) anlamıyorlar. Böyle yüzüme şey şey bakıyorlar. E kardeşim sen nasıl Romansın diyorum ya. …E o da aileden geliyor kardeşim. E evde zamanında anası babası öğretmemiş, bir şeyler söylememiş. Yani ondan dolayı. …Şimdi şöyle kii Romanların; Romanım diyenlerin yüzde 60-70 i Romancayı bilmez. (Esad, 56)*

To confirm this, young people interviewed stated that their parents spoke this language but they never learned it. However, when asked about the language during the interview, almost all of them said a few sentences and were easily understood by their neighbors. As far as can be understood, most of them use their mother tongue in the family and with their neighbors, but they do not use it in public and avoid teaching it to their children. In the literature, the cause of this attitude, the bias towards the Roma/Gypsy identity, is illustrated in the hesitation of parents in Turkey to teach their children the Romany/Gypsy language (Kolukırık, 2009: 98).

In addition, religious belief, which can be said to have a great impact on shaping the lives of communities, is one of the other common values passed from generation to generation. One of the features which are not known exactly about the Roma is what their religious beliefs are. In the literature, it is mentioned that Roma people adapt to the environment of their country and generally adopt the religion of that country. Moreover, it is mentioned that there are those who do not mention their religion often, as well as those who are very religious. It is possible to say that most of the respondents interviewed in Gültepe defined themselves as religious:

> I do not even accept being Roma… Of course, I do not. I am Alhamdulillah a Muslim. I have been praying since 2000, 2001, and I am a sufi. If you see my house, it is like a masjid. I have Ayetelkürsi and other prayer texts, there are Allah Muhammad and so on. Prayer texts are always hanging on the wall. (Emine, 50)[56]
>
> When I say tradition, there are already traditions that I do not accept. I am honored with Islam. We have some customs, what we call culture. If I tell you, both you and me will be ashamed. It is in conflict with Islam. For example, the halay (anatolian folk dance). Can you associate the halay with Islam? Or in our case, women are belly dancing in front of men. No way, this is impossible in Islam. It's contrary to it. Shameful. It is not culture. (Ayhan, 56)[57]

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[56] *Romanlığı bile kabul etmiyorum… Etmiyom tabii. Ben elhamdülillah Müslümanım. 2000, 2001'den beri namaz kılıyorum, kendim sofiyim. Benim evimi görseniz mescit gibi. Bende Ayetel Kursü'ler vardır, Allah Muhammet'ler vardır. Dualar duvar hep şeyde asılı. (Emine, 50)*

[57] *Gelenek görenek derken zaten benim kabul etmediğim gelenekler var. Ben İslam'la müşerref oldum. Bazı göreneklerimiz var normalde, kültür dediğimiz. Şuan anlatsam sen de utanırsın, ben de utanırım. İslama ters. … Messela ben sana halay diyeceğim. İslamla halayı bağdaştırabilir misin? …E bizde de*

It has been observed that Roma people adapt to Turkey in terms of language and religion, but they adhere to their own culture by maintaining their traditions and customs. Most of the respondents gave their weddings as an example of their customs and traditions. They mentioned that the Roma coummunity paid great attention to their weddings and that, if necessary, they would sell their houses for a wedding. Bringing the bride on horseback, the women's visits to the Turkish bath, the wearing of gold, and the special musical instruments played to usher in the bride are highlighted as the most important features of their weddings:

> *Our weddings are very special. People wear clothes, there are fireworks. It is fun. That's the way it is. (Güneş, 28)[58]*
> *We have enjoyable weddings. We have bride wealth; it is given to the girl. Furniture is bought, more and more things are bought. We have Mevlut readings (Islamic memorial services) and stage Hıdırellez[59] performances. (Gül, 49)[60]*

As a result of the interviews with the respondents, it was confirmed that Roma generally married at an early age, as stated in the literature. Some respondents stated that the ignorance of their youth, their lack of social life, and the fact that they always see each other as the reasons for early marriage. Respondents who do not read or work, on the other hand, saw marrying off their children as a logical course of action.

When the respondents were asked about the general characteristics of the Roma, a variety of answers were given, such as Roma are people who live life from day to day, who like to have fun, who love dancing, who do not like to talk behind anyone's back, who do not want to upset or hurt anybody, who are friendly, entertaining, simple and genuine. These were stated by respondents as follows:

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kadınlar erkeklerin önünde göbek atıyor. Olmaz bu İslam'da olmaz. Ters. Utanç. Kültür değil bu. (Ayhan, 56)

[58] *Düğünlerimiz çok özel oluyor. Kıyafetler giyiyorlar, havaifişekler atıyorlar. Eğlenceli oluyor. Öyle yani. (Güneş, 28)*

[59] Hıdırellez is one of the seasonal holidays celebrated in Central Asia, Middle East and Anatolia. It refers to revival of nature, abundance and plentifulness, after winter season.

[60] *Eğlenceli düğünlerimiz oluyor. Babalığı (başlık parası) var bizde. Baba başlığı işte, kıza veriliyor. Eşyalar alınıyor. Var da var. Mevlütlerimiz, hıdırellez gösterilerimiz var. (Gül, 49)*

…For example, someone starts playing dance music. He or she says Look, dance music is playing. Our young people are keen on this. They start dancing, for example. One plays, the other dances, one plays, the other starts dances. (Serap, 20)[61]

For example, they are tied to their homes and to their work and occupations. They don't gossip. If there is a fight, everyone gets together to support each other… We are all united… When it comes to honor, Roma are number one. They never cheat on their husbands or look at somebody else's husband. Roma women are perfect. (Kader, 36)[62]

We are tolerant of everyone. We treat everyone as normal. We do not let anyone get us down. I stand up for my rights. (Ayla, 48)[63]

In the Gültepe neighborhood where the research was carried out, it was observed that Roma do not have an unusual style of clothing. Most who graduated from primary school or dropped out of primary school work in unqualified, low-income jobs. Most of the respondents stated that Gültepe Roma generally work in uninsured jobs or trades (jobs for which no national insurance/social security payments are made) such as crafts, floriculture and street peddling.

6.4. Migration Experiences of Respondents

Migration has existed throughout human history. There are various causes, economic, social and political, why people leave their hometowns and migrate to other regions. Unemployment, lack of health benefits and education, a quest for better living conditions are all reasons for people to leave the place they live in and become part of the phenomenon of migration. There is no definite information as to why the Roma people left India which is their original homeland and migrated to various countries. However, as mentioned in the second chapter, it is commonly accepted by many

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[61] *…mesela birisi oyun havası çalar. O der mesela aa bak oyun havası çalıyo. E gençlerimiz buna meraklı bir insan. Başlarlar oyun oynamaya ona mesela o çalar o oynar, o çalar o oynar. (Serap, 20)*

[62] *Mesela evlerine bağlı olurlar, işinde gücünde. Yani kimsenin arkasından dedikodu yapmazlar. Bir kavga olsun millet kendi birbirini tutuyor. …Hepimiz bir aradayız. Hep birlikteyiz. … Romanlar namusuna geldi mi bir numara olur. Kimsenin kocasını aldatmazlar kimsenin kocasına bakmazlar. Dört dörtlük de kadınlardır Romanlar. (Kader, 36)*

[63] *…herkesi hoş görüyoruz. Yani normal karşılıyoruz. Kimseye de kendimizi ezdirmiyoruz. Hakkımı savunuyorum. (Ayla, 48)*

researchers that the migration of the Roma was connected to external causes, such as war, relocation, harassment, pursuit, and agricultural hardship. Again, generally accepted by researchers is that most of the migrations were not en masse, but in small groups and at different times. As mentioned in the literature, it is very possible that Gypsies migrated to Europe through Iran, Armenia, Anatolia, Greece and Southern Slovak Region.

In the interviews with Roma in Gültepe, most of the respondents stated that their families had experienced migration although they themselves had not experienced it. In the light of the answers to the question of where they migrated from, the conclusion is that most Gültepe Roma migrated to Turkey from Thessaloniki or Bulgaria. While most of the families of the respondents migrated directly from these countries to Istanbul, a portion of the respondents spent part of their lives in cities elsewhere in Turkey, such as Samsun or Edirne, before coming to Istanbul. Some of the respondents who stated that they lived in different cities or districts before Gültepe described their families' migration as follow:

> *Of course, I have migrated. My mother is an immigrant. A migrant from Bulgaria. M grandparents, for instance, came to Edirne. They settled in Edirne. Then when they got married,of course they come here and live here. (Serap, 20)[64]*
>
> *…We have been living here for three generations. Roma. Now, in the time of Adnan Menderes, we came here from Thessaloniki, our homeland, the homeland of Muslims, as part of the population exchange. Muslims in Thessaloniki are settled here and the non-Muslims in the Ottoman are settled in there. So our ancestors are included in this exchange. We came here to Karkuyusu whose new name is Mecidiyeköy (district about 2km from Gültepe). After that, we came here to Gültepe. (Ayhan, 56)[65]*

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[64] *Tabii, göç benim var. Benim mesela annem göçmen. Bulgaristan'dan göç. Benim mesela dedelerim ordan Edirne'ye gelmişler, Edirne'de oturmuşlar….Sonra evlenince tabi buraya geliyolar, burda ikamet ediyolar. (Serap, 20)*

[65] *…Biz üç nesildir burada yaşıyoruz. Roman. Şimdi Adnan Menderes zamanında biz buraya, bizim yurdumuz olan Selanik'ten, Müslümanların asıl yurdu olan Selanik'ten buraya bir mübadele antlaşması ile takas olarak gelmişiz. Selanik'teki Müslümanlar buraya, buradaki Gayrimüslümler de oraya yerleştirilmiş. Dolayısıyla bu takasta bizim atalarımız da vardı. Buraya Karkuyusu'na, yeni adı Mecidiyeköy olan yere geldik. Ondan sonra buraya, Gültepe'ye geldik. (Ayhan, 56)*

My grandfather was born in Ardahan. My grandfather's grandfathers were engaged in farming in Ardahan. Long ago. Then we came to Samsun. In Samsun, years passed. 50-60 years ago we came to Istanbul. But I was registered in Samsun. I was born in Istanbul. …There are people from Çatalca. Çatalca, Tekirdağ, Yalova. My husband is an immigrant from Thessaloniki. They first came from Thessaloniki to Çatalca. They lived in Çatalca, in tents, then here. (Kader, 36)[66]

People migrate from the place where they are living to another in order to raise their standard of life and to benefit better from education and health services. During the meetings held in Gültepe, some Roma who were born in Samsun or Edirne and continued to live in Gültepe were found. Respondents who had experience of living in another city before Istanbul (such as those born in Samsun and Edirne) mostly stated that they migrated to Istanbul due to economic hardship. However, there are some people who said that they have moved to Gültepe because of marriage.

As the Roma spread to different geographies, they came to be known by various different names (Rom, Dom, Lom, Coptic, etc.) according to the languages of the countries they settled in. These formed various sub-groups. When respondents were asked whether they had information about the sub-groups of the Roma, it was learned that most of them had a knowledge of the Coptic Roma, *Kıpti*, but did not have any knowledge about other sub-groups. In literature, Gypsies were thought to be Egyptian until the end of the nineteenth century. In research into the origins of the Gypsies, therefore, they were called 'Gypsie', 'Egyptian' and 'Gitano', meaning 'Copt' (or *Kıpti* in Turkish) in various western languages (Sal, 2009: 1). One respondent described Copts as communities who migrated from Spain and Egypt. In addition, respondents emphasized that Copts were irreligious people. Some respondents identified the Coptic as the original Gypsy and expressed it as a negative feature of the Copts. When the

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[66] *Dedem Ardahan'da doğmuş. Ardahan'da çiftçilik yaparlarmış dedelerimin dedeleri. Çok eskiden. Ondan sonra Samsun'a gelmişiz. Samsun'da da zaten yıllar te kaç zaman geçmiş. 50-60 sene evvel İstanbul'a gelmişiz. Ama benim kütüğüm orada. Samsun. Ben İstanbul'da doğmuşum. … Çatalca'dan gelenler var. Çatalca, Tekirdağ, Yalova. Eşim Selanik göçmeni. … Selanik'ten ilk Çatalca'ya gitmişler. Çatalca'da yaşamışlar çadırda, sonra buraya. (Kader, 36)*

respondents gave their answers, all the respondents who knew about the Coptic past
stated that this word had a negative meaning:

> *The Gypsies [Çingene] used to be known as Copts [Kiptiler]. I don't*
> *know how to say this: they engaged in stealing, extortion, vagrancy.*
> *The people out in the suburbs are called Copts. Of course we do not*
> *accept it… It is written as Kipti in the identity cards. Of course when*
> *Atatürk came, our Pasha, he changed all that. Thank god. But it was*
> *not in my family. Before our time. (İrfan, 42)[67]*
> *The Coptic is old thing (name) used for Gypsy. It is what is written on*
> *identity papers. In other words, to identify/distinguish people, the*
> *state elders wrote 'Kipti' on identities. I mean, it is humiliating.*
> *(Haydar, 52)[68]*

Respondents insisted that they had no relationship with Copts, their cultures and
languages are very different. However, one of the respondents, Mr Gökhan, used
words that emphasize the possibility of a bond with the Copts:

> *We do not know their languages. We are just Roma. We know their*
> *music, we know how they dance, maybe we are a branch of them.*
> *They are a root, maybe we are one of their branches. (Gökhan, 45)[69]*

In the light of these findings, it was evident that although the respondents themselves
did not experience immigration, their families had a history of migration. Most of the
respondents were born in Gültepe. Those who were born outside Istanbul and
migrated to Gültepe were also interviewed for the sake of the research. Although
recent migration is domestic, or interprovincial, the past migration they experienced
through their ancestors were mostly from outside of modern Turkey (Greece and
Bulgaria were part of Turkey in Europe, surely). All of the migrations from abroad were
from the Balkans to Turkey. It was determined that all of the respondents had certainly

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[67] *Çingene eskiden Kıptiler'e deniyormuş. Kıptiler. Onlar da nasıl söyleyim sana ee hırsızlık. O zamanın*
zamanında gasp, serserilik. Varoş takıma Kıpti denirmiş. Tabi biz bunu kabul etmiyoruz… İşte nüfuslarda
da Kıpti yazarmış. Tabi o Atatürk geldiği zaman Paşamız değiştirmiş. Çok şükür. Ama bizim ailemde
yokmuş yani. Daha önceden varmış. (İrfan, 42)
[68] *Kıpti eski Çingene'nin şeyi zaten. Nüfüs kağıtlarında yazılan şey. Yani kimliklerde devlet büyükleri*
insanları ayırmak/ayırt etmek için kimliklere Kıpti yazıyormuş. Yani ne kadar küçük düşürücü bir şey.
(Haydar, 52)
[69] *Biz onların dillerini bilmeyiz. Biz sadece Roman'ız yani. Onların nasıl havalarını biliriz, oynamalarını*
biliriz, belki onların bir dalıyız yani. Onlar bir kök, onların dalıyız belki de yani. (Gökhan, 45)

experienced migration a few generations ago. It was seen that most of the respondents did not have detailed information about the historical dimension of their past migration. Thus, most respondents knew that they migrated from the Balkans, but they do not have a detailed knowledge of how the migration originated or why.

The observations made during the research showed that the respondents' language use and culture did not show any variability depending on the places they migrated from. In other words, there were no cultural differences between the migrants who migrated from different places. In this case, the fact that the immigration experience took place many years ago or that all of the migrations from abroad are mostly from the Balkan countries, and thus have similar culture.

6.5. Place/Location of Respondents: Gültepe Roma neighborhood

In order to understand the constant change in spaces, based on progressive social changes, the inhabitants who shaped the space need to be further analyzed. People can reconstruct the cities within themselves and attribute new meanings and values to that space. In this context, neighborhoods, especially in large and developed cities, sometimes lose their meaning, but most of the time meaning is expressed through special characteristics of that space. Perhaps by establishing and developing a variety of relationships, and perhaps by allowing them to socialize, the first step that people take out of their homes and open to the public sphere may be within the borders of the neighborhood where they live. Also important in this research, therefore, are people's feeling of belonging to a neighborhood when identifying themselves and their sense of the positive or negative effects of being an inhabitant of that neighborhood on their life experiences. For this reason, the Gültepe Roma neighborhood (*Gültepe Roman Mahallesi* in Turkish) is considered as one of the layers that make up the city of Istanbul.

Before starting the study, it was determined that, as a criterion for the sample selection, respondents should be residing in Gültepe. As mentioned before, it was learned that the Roma in Gültepe did not disperse to the different residential areas of the district, but that they lived only in the Roma neighborhood in the district. Therefore, only minor differences such as living time differences were found among the respondents living in the Gültepe Roma neighborhood. The birth place of most of the respondents was designated as Gültepe and (with a few exceptions) almost all of these respondents had not lived elsewhere. Therefore, the fact that they were born and grew up in Gültepe supports the fact that they have an emotional connection to the neighborhood. In addition to those who were born and raised in Gültepe, the interview included respondents who decided to move to Gültepe at a certain point of their lives and to settle here. The migration of these respondents to the settlements before Gültepe was explained by reasons such as the changes in their marital status or business life, or their lack of financial security.

As mentioned in the third chapter of the study, research on Roma in Turkey mostly emphasizes the Romas' financial difficulties. In the literature, the neighborhoods where the Roma live are described as the most disadvantaged and unfavorable, with shanty houses and derelict sheds (Arayıcı, 2008: 236; Hoyland, 1816: 5). Similarly, it can be said that the houses in the Gültepe Roma neighborhood are mostly composed of slum houses. However, economic conditions differed upon entering the households. It is striking that while some houses consist of a one-room flats that are, small, dark, with a simple stove and a couch, some houses have large, well-maintained, stylish furniture. Again as mentioned in the third chapter, in previous studies, in addition to the socio-economic disadvantages of the regions where Roma live, infrastructure deficiencies are also mentioned (Kolukırık, 2009: 54). However, there is no emphasis on the infrastructure deficiencies in the region by Roma residing in Gültepe. Furthermore, the fact that the district is in the center of Istanbul and close to the luxury districts has played a great role in explaining their culture and identity. The respondents, who

defined themselves as real 'Istanbulites' (in Turkish *İstanbullu*), emphasized that they were close to the metro and metrobus, they were constantly encountering famous actors and actresses and therefore they were very lucky. The importance for them of this location of the neighborhood (being close to the luxury districts and having comfortable transportation facilities) was conveyed by some respondents as follows:

> *I have been here since I was little. You know, the best part of Istanbul is the place we live in. When saying Gültepe everyone already knows something. Because everything is here. For example, Levent Maslak is close. How far people come just to be here? You see, these are luxury places. (Serap, 20)[70]*
>
> *…They call this neighborhood a ghetto but all these places are detached houses… In other words, the people of the neighborhood are real Istanbulites. (Derya, 19)[71]*

It has been found that generally two attitudes about the relations of the neighborhoods are exhibited. On the one hand, while the strong, engaging, unity and solidarity, sharing of neighborly relations were said to be established, on the other hand, they emphasized that neighborhood ties are not as robust as before. One of the respondents of Gültepe, who was born and raised in Gültepe, remembered their childhood and shared the following statements which conjure up the neighborhood's former atmosphere:

> *We would put the tape recorder in front of the door. We wouldd take out the drum or something. Everybody used to dance, there were rugs on the streets, we'd share nuts and snacks. They used to talk about their problems. If someone was sick, everyone would help. You can ask for a half-pack margarine from the neighbor next door. "Give me two onions, I've run out of black pepper…" That was the kind of neighborliness (Emine, 50)[72]*

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[70] *Küçüklüğümden beri ben buradayım yani İstanbul'dayım. Hani en güzel yerinde de biz oturuyoz yani. Gültepe diyince zaten herkes hani şey oluyor yani. …Her şey burada ya… Mesela Levent Maslak hepisi yakın. …Millet nerelerden geliyor yani buralara. Lüks yerler yani buralar. (Serap, 20)*

[71] *… Buraları kenar mahalle diyorlar ya buralar herkesin müstakil ev. …Yani buranın halkı gerçek İstanbulludur. (Derya, 19)*

[72] *Koyardık teybi kapının önüne. Alırdık darbukayı falan. Herkes oynardı, sokaklara kilimler serilirdi falan böyle çekirdek yedik, çerez yedik. Dertlerini sıkıntılarını anlatırlardı. Birisi hastaysa herkes ona yardım ederdi. Yandaki komşudan yarım paket sanayağ isteyebilirsin. İki soğan ver bana işte karabiberim bitmiş falan filan böyle bir komşuluk. (Emine, 50)*

Changing relations in the neighborhood over time and the fact that the neighborhood does not have a homogeneous population consisting only of Roma, can be explained by the fact that over the years the district attracted migrants from different groups. Nevertheless, the Roma are still more likely to socialize among themselves, even though it is harder to do so given the heterogeneous nature of the neighborhood due to the new settlements. Mutual prejudices mean that they continue to keep to themselves. This situation is supported by the following statements of one of the respondents who does not want to continue to live in Gültepe due to the changing environment:

> *For example, there were always Roma here. Some people started to come to the neighborhood. The neighborhood got a little worse because of… Like people coming from the East, people from the East began to come here and they started to do bad business. There are also Syrians on the streets. (Emine, 50)[73]*

It was understood that the prejudices adopted by two different groups who did not know each other have continued for generations. The story of one of the oldest respondents who remembered the behavior and attitudes of the elders towards the Kurds in the neighborhood in his youth was echoed by the views of our younger respondents about the Kurds. Hence, this shows that the elders are the role model for young people on how to establish relations with different groups and prejudices are strengthened by past opinions rather than being demolished. The statements of the respondents are as follows:

> *For example, 20 years ago, strangers would not be able to enter this neigbourhood. Strangers, lets say people that are not from our neigbourhood, would not be able to enter. Our fathers would not allow it. Why? He would say, she or he was a stranger, he would check you out and he would be a bad imfluence on you… it is not good for us. We actually do not want them. (Cevriye, 34)[74]*

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[73] *Mesela atıyorum burda hep Romanlar vardı(.) Iıı bazı insanlar gelmeye başladı mahalleye. Mahalle biraz kötüleşti. …Doğudan gelmek gibi yani doğudan gelen insanlar gelmeye başladı burda yaşamaya başladı bazı kötü işlere kalkışıyorlar yani onun için biraz da ondan dolayı kaynaklanıyor. Hı bir de Suriyeliler dolanıyor sokaklarda. (Emine, 50)*

[74] *Bundan yirmi yıl evvel bizim muhitimize yabancı bi insan giremezdi. Yabancı yani diyelim bizden olmayan yani bizim muhitimizden olmayan giremezdi. …Babalarımız sokmazdı. Neden? O derdi yabancı*

For instance, there were no Kurds in our neighborhood. Our elders did not allow them to come. You know, they are strangers… There are differences of opinion between us and them, so they do not agree with us, and we can not agree with them. (İrfan, 42)[75]

In addition to the weakening of strong relations due to influx of outsiders to the neighborhood, the district where the neighborhood is located is perceived differently by people who do not live there. This has had a negative impact on inhabitants. The area in which the respondents live is an important part of their life and the fact that society has a wrong perception of the inhabitants of the locality negatively impact their life experiences and social relations. This situation can be exemplified by a respondent as follows:

For example, they hold you and me in contempt. You are in another neighborhood and you say you are in Gültepe for example, and they look down at you and say that you are Roma. It's a sin, why the contempt? You are human, I am human. You were nine months [in the womb]. I was nine months [in the womb]. If they see it like that, one feels sad, so it is. (Serap, 20)[76]

According to the information obtained from different respondents, the other important problems of the neighborhood were the lack of education, unemployment, drug addiction and high crime rates. The statements of the respondents are as follows:

I wanted to [leave this neighborhood]. Half of them are already in prison because of drugs. It is not suitable to raise kids here… When you are fighting, now there is no punching, they have guns. Normally it is my own neighborhood, and I would not want to go. But now they are pulling guns. They just killed our guy (my husband). (Ayla, 48)[77]

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derdi, sende gözü olur derdi ve seni derdi kötü yola iter. …bizim için iyi değil. Biz istemiyoruz aslında onları. (Cevriye, 34)

[75] *Mesela atıyorum bizim mahallede eskiden Kürtler yoktu mesela. Sokmazdı bizim büyüklerimiz. Hani yabancı ya bunlar mesela. …bizim aramızda fikir ayrılıkları var baya yani onlar da bizle anlaşamaz, biz de onlarla anlaşamayız. (İrfan, 42)*

[76] *Mesela işte seni beni hakir görüyorlar. Başka bir semttesin mesela Gültepe'desin, bakıyor sana bak Roman bu diyor, akir görüyo seni. Günah, niye akir görüyosun ki? Sen de insansın ben de insanım. Sen de dokuz aylıksın ben de dokuz aylığım. Öyle gördüler mi işte insan üzüntü duyuyor yani dimi. (Serap, 20)*

[77] *Vallahi (bu mahalleden ayrılmak) istedim. Zaten yarısı uyuşturucudan içeride. Burada çoluk çocuk büyütülmez. …Ya kavga yapıyorsun şimdi yumruk yok, silah var. Normalde kendi mahallem, gitmek istemem. Ama işte artık silah çekiyorlar. Bizim adamı öldürdüler işte. (Ayla, 48)*

…All the shady people are now in Gültepe. It is not clear who is what. Now, if I ask a guy anything, even the smallest thing, the guy pulls out a gun. A place like that. I am not happy to live here now… Our children need to be educated to change our people… Our children rarely like to study like this. Either that is the fault of our parents' families. Education, reading, reading, reading. The only problem is the lack of education… Most of the neighborhood does not go to school, I mean 60–70 percent don't go to school. [A lad he] sees his neighborhood friend Ahmet does not go to school and he doesn't want to go to school [either]. And then there's suddenly 3 or 4 of them… (Esad, 56)[78]

Respondents who expressed their satisfaction with their lives stated that they want to continue living in Gültepe. Even the respondents who have homes in different places outside Gültepe or have relatives in their hometowns said that they did not intend to live elsewhere due to their commitment to the neighborhood. Contrary to the respondents who thought this way, there were also respondents who mentioned that they could leave Gültepe for a better quality of life even though they love and are devoted to their neighborhood:

I love our neighborhood; we are used to it; we would not be able make it anywhere else. We have been in the same place for years, our neighbors know us. I was born and raised and even raised my children here… But if I had the money, I would like to live in a luxurious place. I would love Etiler, Nişantaşı, those luxury places. Oh for the money! It is true that I wish I could live in luxurious places. (Fatma, 29)[79]

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[78] *…Artık ipini sapını koparan Gültepe'de artık. Kimin ne olduğu belli değil. Şimdi adama bir şey sorsam en küçük bir şeyde adam silahını çıkarıyor. Öyle bir yer yani. Şimdi yaşamaya dersen pek memnun değilim. … Bizim insanlarımızın değişmesi için çocuklarımızın okutulması gerekiyor. … Ya bizim nadirdir böyle okumayı seven çocuklarımız. Ya bu bizim velilelerin ailelerin hatalarıdır. Eğitim, okumaki okumak ,okumak. Tek sıkıntı aslında eğitimsizlik. …(Mahallenin) çoğu okula gitmiyor yüzde 60-70i okula gitmiyor yani. Ya şimdi görüyor mahallede arkadaşı Ahmet gitmiyor okula, aa ben de gitmeyeyim. Bunlar 3-4 kişi bir oldu mu… (Esad, 56)*

[79] *Seviyorum mahallemizi alışkınız başka yerde yapmayız. Senelerdir aynı yerdeyiz ya komşularımız filan bizi bilirler. Doğma büyüme yani çocuklarımı bile burda büyüttüm.… Ama param olsa lüks yerde yaşamak isterdim. Etiler, Nişantaşı lüks yerleri isterdim. Paranın gözü çıksın. İsterdim lüks yerlerde yaşamak orası öyle. (Fatma, 29)*

Most of the respondents who dream of moving did not require people to be Roma in their new neighborhoods or settlements, but stated that they wanted to live together with good people who adopted values close to their own.

To summarize, according to the findings obtained from the research, it can be said that the neighborhood is located in the center of Istanbul and due to its location (close to luxury districts, with good transportation facilities) inhabitants feel better off and more fortunate, which is reflected in the culture and identity of the Roma living here, and in their life experiences and their relations with different groups. In this context, despite the problems experienced by many of the respondents in the neighborhood; it was seen that they had adopted the place where they settled since they had the oppourtinity to be real 'Istanbulites', to live in the metropolis and to be able to reach everything easily.

6.6. Discrimination

6.6.1. Discrimination Perceptions and Experiences of Respondents

Discrimination can be defined as subjecting people to prejudiced and unjustified behavior due to their race, color, gender, language, religion, national or social origin, property, birth or political views. The exclusion and desdain of people by the majority of the society, simply because of above mentioned characteristics, is an important social problem. Therefore, it can be said that one of the effective features of discrimination is its social character. Because people who are discriminated against, are the target of this behavior because of the characteristics of the group they belong to rather than their personal characteristics (Göregenli, 2012: 21). The feeling of belonging to any group of people and the characteristics of the society they belong to can be effective in the formation and expression of their social identities. However, especially in multi-ethnic societies, the differences of the social identities that people have can further strengthen the hierarchical structure which consists of groups that are both advantageously and disadvantaged located. Discriminatory attitudes and behavior that are developed for each other on the similarities and the differences of groups play

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an important role in strengthening this hierarchy. Therefore, the perception of discrimination by Roma living in Gültepe is an important part of this research.

The Roma who are the subject of this research are also discriminated against in society because of their appearance, lifestyle, dress style and language. For this reason, in Gültepe, the research area, the opinions of the respondents about discrimination were sought, along with the experiences if they have, the areas they experience, how they perceive discrimination and what terms they use for discrimination. For these purposes, the respondents were asked whether they encountered unpleasant behavior simply because they were Roma. In the face of this question, respondents talked more about the discrimination that Roma are exposed to. It was learned that the expressions they used to express discrimination were, for example, 'to fall into contempt', 'to be humiliated', 'to be disparaged', 'to be despised', 'to be pushed', 'to be excluded', 'to be seen as second or third-class citizens'. 'privilege', 'spotting' or 'segregation' were all used instead of just 'discrimination'. In addition, respondents who thought that people should not be discriminated against because of the characteristics of the groups they belong to could not accept such distinctions and put special emphasis on them. The general opinions are summarized by the following comments of one respondent:

> *…Well, I think a human is a human. One's Kurd, one's Laz and one's Roma, but all are the same; equal. Well, everybody is a human being to me. I am not discriminating. We are all human beings. (Ali, 25)[80]*

There were also respondents who expressed their reactions to discrimination by attributing their commitment to religion and the final result of worldly/earthy life for all:

> *Did my God discriminate against races when he brought us into the world? No! As a Turkish nation, we have made a distinction between people. You are Gypsy, you are a nomad, you are a Kurd. What is it*

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[80] *…bence insan insandır yani. Kürdü de bir, Lazı da bir, Romanı da bir herkes. Valla benim için herkes bir insan. …Ben ayırım yapmıyorum. Hepimiz bir insanız. (Ali, 25)*

like? We will all be dead and buried under the same land. That is a shame, so I am angry, we are all brothers and sisters. (Serap, 20)[81]

People from Giresun and Bayburt or Rize and Antalya consider themselves as Turks and said to non-Turkish people, for example, what the national idealists say: "Love it or leave it." How can I love, how do I leave, who are you firing? No, who are you excluding? Who are you? We also reject this. Why? We are all part of the ummah, we support panislamism. We have national feelings. But Islam does not accept the national idealism. Did I make myself clear? We have to support panislamism. Everyone who believes is a brother and a sister. Our God commands, Bismillahirrahmanirrahim. You will not have faith unless you love each other. You cannot go to heaven unless you believe. It is that simple. Now my skin is dark, and God created it. Do you understand? Because of my skin, when you exclude me because of my color, I say to you: "Do you not like the paint or the painter?" (Ayhan, 56)[82]

We should not discriminate. Because we all live under the flag of the martyrs. I mean, why should we discriminate... I never discriminate. I mean this is a Kurd, this is a Gypsy, this is a Sunni, this is an Alevi... (Kader, 36)[83]

Discrimination in the end leads to racism. It consists of racism. Racism is a terrible thing. What Mevlana says: "Come again no matter what you are". He does not differentiate at the end. (Haydar, 52)[84]

Groups with different characteristics who are living together in the same society are influenced by each other over time and in some ways resemble each other. Therefore, it is thought that the prejudices that cause discrimination and exclusion can be eliminated in time by living in the same society and sharing similar

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[81] *Rabbim bizi dünyaya getirirken ırk ayrım mı yapmış mı? Ayır biz Türk milleti olarak ırk ayrımı olmuş sen Çingene'sin, sen göçebesin, sen Kürt'sün. Nasıl bir şey bu hepimiz bir toprağa giriyoruz. Çok ayıp o yüzden yani kızıyorum biz hepimiz kardeşiz yani. (Serap, 20)*

[82] *Giresunlu ile Bayburtlu veya Rizeliyle Antalyalı kendilerini Türk olarak kabul edip Türk olmayanı, mesela ne diyor ülkücüler: Ya sev ya terket". Nasıl seveyim, nasıl terkedeyim, kimi nereden kovuyorsun? Hayır kimi nereden kovuyorsun yani? Sen kimsin? Biz bunu da reddediyoruz. Neden? Biz ümmetçiyiz. Milli duygularımız var. Ama ülkücüğü İslam kabul etmez. Anlatabildim mi? Ümmetçi olmamız gerekiyor. İnanan herkes kardeştir. Rabbimiz buyuruyor, Bismillahirrahmanirrahim. Birbirinizi sevmedikçe iman etmiş olmazsınız. İman etmedikçe cennete giremezsiniz. Bu kadar basit. Şimdi benim tenim esmer, yaratan Allah. Anladın mı? Tenimden ötürü, rengimden ötürü beni dışladığın zaman ben sana derim ki: "Boyayı mı beğenmedin, boyacıyı mı?" (Ayhan, 56)*

[83] *Ayrımcılık aslında yapılmaması gerekiyor. Çünkü hepimiz şehitlerin bayrağının altında yaşıyoruz. Yani niye ayrımcılık olsun. …Hiçbir zaman ayrımcılık yapmam. Hani yok bu Kürtmüş, bu Çingeneymiş, bu Sünniymiş, bu Aleviymiş… (Kader, 36)*

[84] *Ayrımcılığın sonu ırkçılık. Irkçılığa giriyor. Irkçılık da çok kötü bir şey. Mevlana ne diyor: "Ne olursan ol yine gel." Yani sonuçta şey (ırk) ayırmıyor yani. (Haydar, 52)*

experiences. Some of the participants also agreed that there is indeed discrimination in the society, but over time inevitably this attitude is fading:

> *We got mixed up, [there] used to be a distinction, but now there is no distinction. Now we are all brothers and sisters, we will all be dead and buried in the same land. So there is no discrimination. A prime minister will be buried in the land, a poor man will also be buried in the same land. (Derya, 19)[85]*

As shown in the given example, many of the respondents often emphasize that we are all 'people' who will die. Therefore, discrimination is unnecessary and unreasonable. Moreover, some of the respondents stated that the distinction was formed by people in hindsight, and they added that we do not choose where we are born. Therefore, discrimination is a shame and a sin under religious rules.

6.6.2. Reasons for Discrimination of Respondents

6.6.2.1. Discrimination Resulting from the Roma-Gypsy Dilemma and Prejudice

It is seen that language, clothing styles, music and occupations play important roles in the formation of the negative perception of Roma people that prevails in society. With regard to these factors, there are certain prejudices against the Roma in Turkey as well. However, some of these prejudices are based on false discourses. These discourses are indirect but not directly influential in the attitudes and behaviors of the society towards Roma people and are reflected in daily language. For each social group, different legitimization discourses can be useful. In this context, discrimination has produced more and more through legitimacy discourse such as being dirty and being clean in social life.

Such discourses on the Roma have always placed them in the 'other' position in society, and they have been recognized as unwanted, evil, dirty, people with corrupt/broken

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[85] *Birbirimize karıştık, eskiden ayrım oluyodu ama şimdik ayrım olmuyo. Artık yani hepimiz bi kardeşiz, hepimiz bi toprağa giriyoz, hepimiz bi kefeye giriyoz. Ayrımlık olmuyo yani. Bir başbakan da giriyo o toprağa, bi fakir de giriyo bi toprağa. (Derya, 19)*

spoken Turkish, badly dressed and so on. The reason for these reactions is again the dominant perception of the 'Gypsy' in society. This is expressed by respondents:

> *We never accept the word Gypsy. The word adhered to the whole Roma community because of the bad people within the community. It gives the impression of bad people. When parents are mad at their kid, they say they will give them to the Gypsies because their kids did something naughty. (Emine, 50)[86]*
>
> *Regardless of who they label as Gypsy when they did immoral things such as theft, illegitimate things, etc, they use it in bad sense. For instance, when they negotiate, they say: "Don't be a Gypsy!". For example, even if the man is from Samsun, Bayburt, Giresun, Rize, or Kars, if he exhibits immoral actions, they say: "Don't be a Gypsy!". Do I make myself clear? Therefore, I do not accept the concept of Gypsy. We are Roma. I do not accept the concept of Gypsy because of these bad features associated with it and because of being accepted as a bad concept. (Ayhan, 56)[87]*
>
> *…my father is from Sinop. My mother is Roma. I used to go to my aunts with my mother, when the kids hit each other, they used to say 'Don't be such a Gypsy'. We felt humiliated. They were discriminating. Look, I have not seen my aunts to this day. Normally they insulted us. And they said that Gypsies kidnap. No, nothing like that. Gypsies have many children. Because you are a Roma, you fall behind in some places. So how do you fall behind? They do not give you priority. There is discrimination in schools. Not in the hospitals. Sometimes it happens, when your clothes are very different to theirs… But when my clothes are pleasing they do not treat you differently. … Look, the taxis do not take us just because we are going like that. They do not take us. They see us with a normal skirt or like that, [in which case] he says oh look Gypsy, and he doesn't take us. (Ayla, 48)[88]*

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[86] *Çingene kelimesini hiç bir zaman kabul etmiyoruz. Çünkü Romanlar'ın içinde kötü olan insanlar yüzünde bütün Roman camiasına yüklenen bir kelime. Kötü insan izlenimi veriliyor insanlara. Anne baba çocuğuna kızdığında bile yaramazlık yapma seni Çingeneler'e veririm diyor. (Emine, 50)*

[87] *Ahlaksız kim olursa olsun, yani toplumda ahlakdışı hırsızlık, gayrimeşru vs vs yapan insanlara da Çingene yaftasını yapıştırıyorlar. Kötü anlamda kullanıyorlar. Mesela "Çingenelik yapma lan" diyorlar pazarlık yaptığında. Mesela adam Samsunlu da olsa, Bayburtlu da olsa, Giresunlu da olsa, Rizeli de olsa, Karslı da olsa ahlakdışı hareketler sergilediğinde "Çingenelik yapma" derler. Anlatabildim mi? Dolayısıyla, ben Çingene kavramını kabul etmiyorum. Biz Romanız. Bu kötü özelliklerden dolayı ve kötü kavram kabul edildiğinden dolayı Çingene kavramını kabul etmiyorum. (Ayhan, 56)*

[88] *…benim babam Sinoplu. Benim annem Roman. Ben annemle halamlara giderdik, çocuklar birbirlerine vurduğu zaman Çingenelik yapma derlerdi, bizim gücümüze giderdi. Ayrım yapıyorlardı. Bak ben bu zamana kadar, ben halamlarla görüşmüyorum. Yani normalde bizi aşağılıyorlardı. Bir de Çingenelere çocuk kaçırıyor diyorlardı. Hayır, öyle bir şey yok. Çingeneler çok çocuk doğurur. … Roman olduğun için bazı yerlerde geri kalıyorsun. Yani nasıl geri kalıyorsun? Sana öncelik tanımıyorlar. Okulda filan ayrım oluyor. Hastanede olmuyor. Bazen oluyor, o da giyimin çok farklı olduğu zaman sana… Ama giyimin*

How does it look from the outside? We are seen like this: poorly educated, low standards, no cultural knowledge, like second-class people. Generally, people say that we know nothing… So there is prejudice. People are biased… For example, let me say now. Do not get me wrong. I have a son, and you have a daughter. I am giving an example. You don't let your daughter marry my son, my child, no matter how good he is, just because he is Roma, even if your daughter loves my son. I hear that's how things are, most of the time. Without bothering to get to know people, they are just prejudiced. (Haydar, 52)[89]

The respondents living in the Gültepe neighborhood often stated that they were disturbed by this negative perception of the 'Gypsy' in the society. With the expression of a respondent, negative perceptions and prejudices against Gypsies also stained the Roma people:

Every place has some kind of filth. There is filth in Kars. Filth in Van. Everywhere has some sort of filth. We are stained the same way. Do I explain myself? (Fatma, 29)[90]

Besides people's thoughts and prejudices about the term 'Gypsy', it should be mentioned that there are systems or institutions that disseminate discrimination, such as education, law, religion or family. Discrimination can systematically operate in these institutions through discourse and practices, even if not all of them rely on rules or laws in the institutions. One of these institutions which is effective in producing and reproducing discrimination is the media. Through the media, ideas of inequality in society can reproduce themselves. In this sense, stereotypes created by the media about the Roma reinforce and reproduce the discriminatory attitudes and discourses towards them. As stated in the literature, by using expressions that will simplify the

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düzgün olduğu zaman sana farklı davranmıyorlar. …Ya bak sırf biz böyle gidiyoruz diye taksiye almıyorlar. Almıyorlar, normal etekle görüyorlar ya böyle, aaa bak Çingene diyor, almıyor. (Ayla, 48)

[89] *Dışarıdan nasıl gözüküyor? Eğitim düzeyi düşük, seviyesi düşük, kültürel bilgisi olmayan, h(ani) ikinci sınıf insan gibi. Genellemeyle insanlar bu bir şey bilmez diyor. …Önyargı var yani. İnsanlar önyargılı. …Mesela, şimdi şöyle söyleyeyim. Hani ben yanlış anlaşılma olmasın. Benim bir oğlum var, senin de bir kızın var. Örnek veriyorum. Sen, benim çocuğum ne kadar iyi olursa olsun, sırf Roman diye sen bana kızın sevse bile vermemeyi düşünüyorsunuz. Var duyuyorum, çoğunlukla böyle. İnsanları tanımadan etmeden önyargı oluşturmuşlar böyle. (Haydar, 52)*

[90] *…Her yerin bir pisliği var. Kars'ın da var. Van'ın da var. Her yerin bir pisliği var. İşte bu yüzden biz de böyle lekelenmişik. Anlatabildim mi? (Fatma, 29)*

cultural characteristics of different groups, the media shapes society's perception of that group. A single type of Roma portrait is drawn in the minds of people through the films and TV series about the Roma people. The Roma are usually portrayed as those who dance to any noise, use their own language, cannot stop fighting, sell flowers on the streets and swindle you. In this way, while they are considered entertaining people who add a different color to society; it is also requested by society in general to keep them firmly in their place, to let them lead their own lives and to live in their own neighborhoods. As a result, being a Roma seems to be an undesirable situation in the eyes of society. At this point, some of the respondents pointed out that the discrimination suffered by the Roma also appeared in the media. The following statements of respondents are given:

> *I believe it was done unfairly. I believe that people came to this judgment from television series and movies… In fact, a series about the Roma called 'Roman Havası' has recently been broadcast. They try to depict us there in that state. The woman gave birth on the street, as soon as she gave birth, she fought with her relatives and neighbors, went to the police station with the newborn baby, and they named the baby 'the police'… Theft, a mother who is marketing her daughters… They exaggerate things that do not even exist, so they gave it to a channel like Show TV. They just made things up as they went along. (Fatma, 29)[91]*
>
> *We have improved ourselves. No way do we talk with this accent. That was in the past. Sometimes they go on television and talk like that. They show us as we are talking like this. Wrong. Now, in a series which called 'Cennet Mahallesi' that is quite different. It's false. It does not reflect us. It is different. (Ayla, 48)[92]*

In the study, it was revealed that respondents were not only discriminated against, but also displayed discriminatory attitudes towards other groups. However, contrary to

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[91] *Haksız yere yapıldığına inanıyorum. Televizyonda yapılan dizilerden filmlerden, insanların bu yargıya vardığına inanıyorum. …Hatta geçenlerde Roman Havası diye bir dizi yayınlandı. Orda bizi o konumda göstermeye çalıştılar. Kadın sokakta doğurdu, doğurur doğurmaz akrabalarıyla komşularıyla kavga etti, yeni doğmuş bebekle karakola gittiler, Polis koydular adını bebeğin. …Hırsızlık, kızlarını pazarlayan bir anne. …Hee olmayan şeyleri böyle çok abartarak bunu Show Tv gibi bir kanalda verdiler. …Kendileri kafalarına göre birşeyler yapmaya çalıştılar. (Fatma, 29)*

[92] *Biz kendimizi aştık. Öyle yok abee mabee. O eskide kaldı. Bazen televizyona çıkıyorlar ya böyle konuşuyorlar. Sanki biz böyle mi konuşuyoruz diyoruz. Yanlış yani. Şimdi yani Cennet Mahallesi'nde yani gayet farklı. Yanlış. O bizim şeyimizi yürürtmüyor, farklı. (Ayla, 48)*

what was expected by the researcher, it was learned that one of the groups excluded by the Roma respondents was Gypsies. The majority of the respondents identified Gypsies as nomadic, dirty, and robbers They isolated themselves from Gypsies and identified the Gypsy identity with discriminatory expressions. For example, one respondent stated:

> *There is Bakkalköy in Kadıköy. It is full of rummagers. You will find the original Gypsy there. Or look at Kuştepe. They do not know how to talk; they talk with an accent. They are dirty, they wear dirty shalwar… Of course, Gypsies talk very differently because they have not seen civilization. But look, we are keeping up; we improved ourselves. But those people are having a hard time keeping up with civilization. (Cevriye, 34)[93]*

Most of the interviewed respondents identified themselves as Roma because of the negative perceptions of the 'Gypsy' identity in society. This was clearly in order to avoid the negative connotations imposed on the 'Gypsy' expression. It is understood that they try to get rid of the negative stigma attributed to them, indicating that they are Roma and they differ from Gypsies in many ways.

6.6.2.2. Discrimination Due to the Socio-Economic Status of Respondents

Research conducted in Turkey about the Roma people highlights the socio-economic conditions and the financial difficulties of Roma. As mentioned in the third chapter, not only in Turkey, but also in other countries the economic problems of Roma are conspicuous; they are the people who work for the lowest wages in many countries. They live on the hunger threshold and form most of the unemployed population. Similar to the studies conducted, most of the respondents in Gültepe stated that they and practically all Roma had no social security or fixed salary. One respondent described this as follows:

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[93] *Kadıköy'de Bakkalköy var. Orda çöpçüler dolu. Çingene'nin ta aslını orda bulursun. Ya da bak Kuştepe'ye. Ne doğru dürüst konuşma bilirler, kaykıta kaykıta konuşurlar, abeee mabee. Kir pasak içindeler şalvarlar ayaklarında kir içinde. …E tabi Çingenelerin konuşmaları çok farklı neden çünkü medeniyet görmemişler. Ama bak biz ayak uyduruyoruz; kendimizi aştık. Ama o insanlar medeniyete çok zor ayak uyduruyolar. (Cevriye, 34)*

I mean, most of the Roma, one hundred percent, have no government guarantees at the moment. So they have no guarantees, no social life, no, zero. … We have no definite salary.… do not have insurance, we cannot get salaries from the shops... we struggle to get by with daily work. (Ali, 25)[94]

Working in uninsured, irregular jobs brings poverty. Most of the respondents emphasized their poverty and lack of facilities, mentioning lack of household goods and low quality of life:

How many people live in a two-bedroom flat today? …I have two rooms and I have to give one of them to my son… I have two hide-a-beds, me and my daughter are sleeping in one, my son lies in the other. (Emine, 50)[95]

Well, I do not have a TV at home, no lamp. I do not have a regular income. Here is 500 TL that we received from the state. We get by with the charity of our neighbors. They come and cook. I could not open the door and I could be embarrassed, if guests wanted to come and visit me. (Güneş, 28)[96]

In the literature, it is seen that the general idea given about the poverty of the Roma looking at the houses they live in coincides with the data created from the research field. It can be said that the houses in the Gültepe Roma neighborhood are mostly composed of slum houses. However, while some houses consist of a single room, a stove and a couch; others have large, well-maintained and stylish furniture.

Therefore, it is observed that the houses in the Roma district are not standardized. These observations suggest that the economic situation of some Roma living there is better than that of other Roma. Nevertheless, almost all respondents talked frequently about their financial difficulties during the interview and answered all the questions in a way by combining them with material and financial problems.

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[94] *Yani Romanlar'ın çoğu da yüzde yüz şu anda bir devlet güvencesi yok. Yani bir garantileri yok, sosyal bi yaşantıları hiç, sıfır. …Şindi bizim bir net maaşımız da yok…. ee sigortamız yok, dükkanlardan maaş alamıyoruz… Günlük işte zar zor geçinmeğe çalışıyoruz. (Ali, 25)*

[95] *Bugün şu iki göz oda mesela kaç kişi yaşar hıı kaç kişi ….Şimdi benim iki odam var birisini oğluma veririm mecburum. … İki tane benim çekyatım var birisinde ben ve kızım yatıyoruz birisinde oğlum yatıyor. (Emine, 50)*

[96] *Valla benim evde televizyonum yok, lambam yok. Düzenli bir gelirim yok. İşte bir o devletten aldığımız 500 TL. Konu komşu idare ediyor bizi. Gelip yemek yapıyorlar. Misafir gelse açamam kapımı. (Güneş, 28)*

It is seen from the literature that the Romas' educational level is generally low. Due to the low level of education, it is known that the occupations they can work in are limited and therefore they have trouble finding jobs. Not only in the past, but also in the present, opportunities and avenues of business have been restricted for the Roma. As mentioned in the literature, it was seen that various occupations are associated with the Romas. It is possible to reach the sources that argue that Gypsies are not grouped according to their ethnic origin but are grouped according to their professions (Kenrick, 2006: 21). Among the professions identified with the Roma in the literature, those that shine out are basketmakers, tinners, peddlers, porters and carters. However, musicians in Turkey are considered the elite among these professions (Marsh, 2008: 22).

Parallel to the literature, most of the respondents interviewed in Gültepe stated that they are interested in professions such as floriculture, basketry, peddling, house cleaning, scrap-collecting, tinning and tailoring. However, no musician respondent was found in the Gültepe Roma neighborhood. In addition, there were respondents who indicated that becoming a musician in Turkey is difficult for financial reasons. Thus, it is understood that music is not a highly demanded profession among the Gültepe Roma.

During the interviews, the Roma stated that they had to work from an early age because they grew up in poverty, and they expressed the difficulties they face as Roma in business life. One of the respondents mentioned that when he started a job he and his friends were put in the worst jobs and thus they were exposed to discrimination in the workplace because they were Roma:

> *Now I cannot say I am a Roma where I work. What if I say it? There is a fear that I may be excluded. There is a fear that they may throw me back to where I was. (Gökhan, 45)[97]*

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[97] *Şimdi ben çalıştığım yerlerde Roman olduğumu söyleyemiyorum açık açık. Söylesem ne olur, belki dışlanırım diye korku var yani. Belki olduğum konumda geriye atabilirler beni diye bir korku var içimde. (Gökhan, 45)*

During the interviews, it was found that the respondents had some difficult times in their lives when looking for jobs because they were Roma. One of the respondents expressed a memory in which he was judged only by his appearance when he was looking for a job:

> …they do not employ us… For example what are you doing? I am a tea maker. He looks at you, okey you are well dressed but it is written on your face that you are a Gypsy. They say no. I experienced this. (Ali, 25)[98]

Another respondent mentioned the dialogue between a Jewish boss and his friend at a time when he was seeking work:

> …I had a friend whose boss was Jewish. The Jew asked where is he from and he said that he was Roma, so actually Edirne. The Jew boss said that they cannot work with you. He said why and the boss said that I don't know, I don't like Roma and we cannot work with you. Frankly, Jews consider Roma as little passive and they don't like them. (İrfan, 42)[99]

In addition, some respondents stated that there were Gypsies, Laz, Kurds, people from all ethnicities in their workplaces and they have never felt discriminated against. Gökhan, who mentioned his experiences of discrimination in the workplace before, stated in another part of the interview that he no longer felt there was discrimination against the Roma and believed that the government was behind this development. In fact, it was not that discrimination against the Roma had vanished but that it had diminished:

> For example, when we started work in a place, there was some humiliation when it was heard that we were Roma, Gypsies. There was a lot of discrimination… We were crushed everywhere. We were treated as a second-class, third class humans. Now I think this matter

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[98] …iş vermiyorlar ki. …atıyom sen ne iş yapıyorsun, ya ben çaycılık yaparım. Adam senin tipine bakıyor işte, tamam tipin güzel ama alnında yazıyor senin Çingene. Yok kardeşim diyor, ben benim başıma geldi bu ya. (Ali, 25)

[99] …ben bir arkadaşım vardı o da, patronu Yahudiymiş bunun Yahudi demiş yani sen nerelisin ben demiş Romanım yani sonuçta Edirneliyim demiş o zaman demiş biz senle demiş çalışamayız niye… Demiş bilmiyorum demiş Romanlar'ı sevmiyorum gibi bir şeyle karşılaşmış benim arkadaşım çünkü Yahudiler Romanlar'ı biraz pasif buluyorlar sevmiyorlar açık söylemek gerekirse. (İrfan, 42)

diminshed because of this government. I believe so, I see it. (Gökhan, 45)[100]

One of the respondents stated that discrimination against the Roma in the search for jobs led the Roma to go astray. According to the respondents, Roma who cannot find a job embark on different quests and try to earn money through illegal means:

> *If you don't give me a job, if the other one does not give me a job, what can I do? What can you do? You are either going to extort, God forbid, you are going to kill a man or you are going to sell drugs and cannabis. Our Roma citizens do these things; they cannot do anything else. (Ali, 25)[101]*
>
> *The Roma, unfortunately, were excluded because of what they do. Why? For example, Roma are commit theft, deal in drugs. However, there are Roma living in Germany, and the state has provided them with opportunities, so that a person does not need to be engaged in an illegitimate job. Look, for example, I have got some good guys coming into my shop, but they do not have a job. But this man has no business. What will he do if he cannot eat? If he cannot find a legitimate (halal) income, he will resort to illicit (haram) income. (Ayhan, 56)[102]*

As can be understood from the citations, the socio-economic conditions of Roma are one of the most important reasons for their exposure to social exclusion. Ethnic discrimination by employers affects the socio-economic situation of the Roma and this leads to Roma becoming wanderers. Thus, this situation of being a wanderer causes the Roma to be more undesirable in business life.

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[100] *Mesela bir yerde bir işe başladığımız zaman, Roman Çingene olduğumuz duyulduğu zaman biraz aşağılama durumu oluyordu. Ayrımcılık çok vardı. …her yerde eziliyorduk. İkinci sınıf, üçüncü sınıf insan muamelesi görüyorduk. Şimdi bu konu kalktı bence yani. Bu hükümet, ben öyle inanıyorum bilmiyorum, öyle görüyorum. (Gökhan, 45)*

[101] *Sen bana iş vermiyorsan, öbürkü bana iş vermiyorsa, ben nabıcam. …Napabilirsin? Ya bir gasp yapıcaksın Allah göstermesin, ya bir adam öldürüceksin artık ya da ap, esrar satıcaksın. Bizim Roman vatandaşımız bunları yapar, başka bir şey yapamaz. (Ali, 25)*

[102] *Romanlar, maalesef yaptıkları işlerden ötürü… …dışlanmış. Neden? …Mesela hırsızlığı Romanlar yapıyor, uyuşturucu satıcılığını Romanlar yapıyor. Ama mesela Almanya'da yaşayan Romanlar var, devlet onlara öyle bir imkan sunmuş tanımış ki, oradaki insanın gayrimeşru bir işe yeltenmeye ihtiyacı yok. Bak mesela benim dükkanıma gayet iyi adamlar geliyordu ama işleri yok. Lakin bu adamın işi yok. Ne yapacak bu adam doymazsa? Helalinden bulamıyorsa harama tevessül edecek. (Ayhan, 56)*

Consequently, it has been determined that the occupation of the working respondents is generally uninsured, daily-income-based and not guaranteed. It was also observed that the educational level and economic conditions of the respondents does not leave them with any other alternative choices for job preferences. Thus, it was determined that being both uneducated and Roma increases the exclusion of the respondents.

6.6.3. Discrimination Experiences of Respondents

Most of the respondents answered the questions about their perception and experience of discrimination by saying at the beginning of the interview that they had not experienced any discrimination. However, they started to share their own experiences as the interview continued. The respondents reported that they were not discriminated against, that they did not have the characteristics to be picked on, and that they could cope with it even if they did face such a situation because they had the qualities and abilities to defend themselves. On the other hand, it was evident that respondents were quite uncomfortable with discriminatory attitudes and behavior towards the Roma in society in general. As a result, it would seem that the respondents would try to affirm their social identity by getting away from other members of their ethnicity, in spite of the sense of belonging to this ethnicity.

When we look at the profiles of the respondents who initially suggested that neither they themselves nor their relatives had been discriminated against, it should be noted that these respondents were women who did not work and did not go out of the neighborhood. These respondents, far removed from life outside the neighborhood and with little contact with 'Gadjos', as the non-Roma are known, said that they did not encounter any problems in their daily lives due to their Roma identity. This indicates that respondents who said that they did not experience discrimination because of their Roma identity had in fact become introverted. The fact that they cannot socialize with different groups can be due to different life experiences and expectations, such as not participating or being able to participate in working life.

On the other hand, the respondents who revealed the discriminatory attitudes and behavior they are exposed to due to their Roma identity in society were people who generally work, spend time outside the neighborhood and establish relations with non-Roma people. Respondents, who stated that they had been discriminated against in areas such as employment, place of residence, business life, marriage, social life and politics, explained that they could not reveal the fact that they were Roma because they were demeaned by the term Gypsy. They were not allowed to marry non-Roma, they could not make friends, and they were not represented in the political arena. One respondent, for example, stated that he hid his Roma identity during his military service as he was afraid to encounter discriminatory attitudes and behavior due:

> I could not even tell them I was a Roma in the military service… I said I live in Etiler. I said I was a rich kid. At the time, there was a great pressure on Roma, my mother warned us when we started saying "a be", and "be ya" [typical words and accent of Roma people], she warned us never to use words like that. "This is Istanbul, they will judge you; do not forget that you are a Gökhan, you are a Gökhan who lives in Gültepe." We were always like this. I [even] hid it in the military. (Gökhan, 45)[103]

As seen in the expression of a respondent above, it was found that respondents generally tend to hide their identities for fear of being exposed to discrimination. One of the ways to cope with discrimination is to keep identities hidden, another is an attempt to demonstrate a better socio-economic status. Besides, as Gökhan mentioned above, hiding one's identity is one of the conditions that some respondents instruct their children to do, or else they were educated by their own elders in such a way as to lead them to do so. This is considered to be a situation in which new generations do not feel they belong to the social group in question, which in turn leads to the disappearance or forgetting of ethnic, cultural identities.

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[103] *Askerde Roman olduğumu bile söyleyemedim. … Etiler'de yaşıyorum dedim. Zengin çocuğuyum dedim. O zamanlar çünkü çok büyük baskı vardı Romanlar'a. Annem ''a be, be ya'' falan diye konuştuğumuzda sakın öyle konuşma, burası İstanbul, seni yargılarlar, sen bir Gökhan'sın, sen bir Gültepeli Gökhan'sın diye bizi hep böyle. … Ben askerde saklamıştım. (Gökhan, 45)*

As demonstrated by the literature, people at whom discrimination is directed are the object of this behavior not because of their personal characteristics but because of the characteristics of the group they belong to (Banton, 1994: 5; Allport, 1958: 7-10; Göregenli, 2012: 21). People who are different or unfamiliar are perceived as a threat by the rest of the society and are thus marginalized and excluded. Prejudices about 'foreigners' are transformed into labels and thus discrimination is strengthened (Bauman, 2010: 47-87). Therefore, prejudices are also considered as one of the highlights that reinforce discrimination.

As mentioned in the literature and seen from neighborhood life, Roma are considered a social group identified with their places of residence. Therefore, the place where they live, the neighborhood they settle in, is able to give an idea of how people's identities are perceived. In this context, perceptions about densely Roma populated districts or neighborhoods correspond to the negative perceptions about Roma. Therefore, it was revealed that respondents were exposed to negative attitudes and behavior by identifying themselves with their neighborhoods. It was found that this situation negatively affected the life experiences of some respondents. This can be illustrated by one of the respondents during a job application:

> *See, I was getting a job at a hotel. At Taksim… where do you live? I said I lived in Gültepe sir. He said 'we will call you.' Again, a week passed and I called them. He said 'we do not', he said, 'ever,' he said, hire from Gultepe. I asked 'Why sir?' He said they always slack off… I said we are not that kind of peope… You know when they say Gültepe, Kuştepe, Balat they assume so they're Roma. It's obvious. (İrfan, 42)[104]*

Moreover, when the discrimination experiences of the respondents are examined, their relations with non-Roma people should also be discussed. It was learned that a respondent complained to the state security authorities about non-Roma people in

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[104] *Ya ben bir işe girecektim otele. Ee Taksim'de. …Nerede oturuyorsun? Ben dedim Gültepe'de oturuyorum beyefendi dedim. … Dedi biz sizi arayacağız. Tekrardan ben bir hafta geçti aradım. Yok dedi biz dedi Gültepe'den dedi hiç almıyoz dedi. Niye beyefendi dedim bende. Yok dedi onlar dedi ep dedi kaçıyor işten dedi. … Ben dedim biz dedim öyle bir insan değiliz ya dedim. …Hani Gültepe, Kuştepe, Balat diyince zaten hani Roman diyor bu, belli. (İrfan, 42)*

the apartment he was living in. In the words of the respondent, this is what happened:

Do you know that my non-Roma neighbors all rejected us from the beginning? Look, they did not want us, they complained to us. They came to us and they said: "you are Roma, we do not want people like you here; you are Gypsies". They complained to the municipal police. We said: "What is wrong"? They said: "You are so dirty, you are not clean, whatever you have you are throwing from the kitchen balcony". (Ali, 25)[105]

Considering the above statement, it is noteworthy that although there are many flats in the apartment, the flat which is known to be inhabited only by the Roma is held accountable for not paying attention to environmental cleanliness, which was the cause of the complaint. It was typical case of negative prejudice towards the Roma. Although the respondent defines himself and his family as Roma, it is also understood that they have been subjected to discriminatory behavior because of negative perceptions of the Gypsies.

Similarly, attitudes and behavior that change due to prejudices were witnessed one day when the researcher (that is me) was in the neighborhood. On one of the days of the interview, when a theft occurred in the neighborhood, the police were called. The researcher witnessed the difference between the attitudes of the police towards the Roma and the researcher who was the actual 'foreigner'. This event was described by a respondent during the interview:

For example, as you see, the police came, put us in the thief's position, and treated me like a thief [with orders like]: "Give us your identity, come here" and so on. For example, you are a cultured, educated

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[105] *Benim Roman olmayan komşularım hepsi baştan bizi dışladılar biliyor musun? Valla dışladılar bak, valla istemediler, bizi şikayet ettiler. … Bize geldiler işte dışladılar işte siz Roman'sınız, istemiyoruz işte biz şöyle falan filan, siz Çingene'siniz mingenesiniz. Bizi şikayet ettiler belediyeye zabıtasına. … Ayırdır dedik ya, işte dedi siz dedi, aşırı kirlisiniz, temiz değilsiniz, ne bulsanız atıyorsunuz mutfak balkonundan… (Ali, 25)*

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person. He came to you, acted nice to you, but he behaved to us like:
"Give me your identity!" (Gökhan, 45)[106]

Some of the examples above were also included. It was found that discrimination experienced by respondents generally occurred in business life, in their relations with the environment they lived in, and in their daily life or socialization processes away from home. In addition, there were a couple of respondents who said that they had children who did not want to go to school for fear of exclusion, and a person who tried to hide his Roma identity during military service.

Discriminatory experiences experienced by respondents can be effective in the process of taking and implementing important decisions that can change their lives. According to the findings obtained from the research, the great role of the discrimination they experience in life mostly affects them negatively. However, there were also respondents who stated that they were never affected by discrimination in any way:

We have never been a loser (because of being a Roma). We have always proudly said that I am a Roma, and my relatives, all the people around me, are people who have improved themselves (Ahmet, 28)[107]

These respondents relate to the fact that discrimination does not affect them in a way which would stimulate improvement. According to them, the fact that they are no different from the other people in society in matters of clothing, appearance, speech, status, the importance they give to education and their own education show that they have improved themselves. In this context, the fact that they felt the need to improve themselves was considered an attempt to conceal an identity that had a negative perception in society, and to try to make themselves resemble non-Roma people. Like Ahmet, whose statements were given above, Cevriye, who sent her children to

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[106] *Mesela gördüğünüz gibi, polisler geldi bizi şey yerine koydu şu anda yani bir ırsız muamelesi oldu böyle bir, ne biliyim, verin kimliklerinizi verin, gelin buraya falan. Mesela okumuş, kültürlü bir insan sizsiniz mesela. Geldi siz ayağa kalktınız, size ne güzel davrandı, bize kimliğini ver↑, davrandı. (Gökhan, 45)*
[107] *Hiçbir zaman ezikliğini yaşamadık. Biz her zaman onurla gururla Roman'ım dedik ve zaten benim yakınlarım, benim çevremdeki insanların hepsi bazı şeyleri aşmış, kendini geliştirmiş insanlar. (Ahmet, 28)*

school, stated that they were not affected by discrimination, insisting that she gave great importance to education although she had not been able to study herself:

> *Well, to me, if you improve yourself, your family, you own rself, there is nothing negative. [We're] normal, whatever you are we are… Well, it does not affect me. I have my origins and am already self-educated. I have adjusted. It does not affect me at all. As I said, there are still those who cannot improve. Two steps from here. You can distinguish them from their speech. He is the one who cannot improve himself. (Cevriye, 34)[108]*

When the respondents who had been exposed to discrimination and experienced its negative effects were asked how to deal with this behavior, it was observed that they generally followed their own methods. Their own methods include attitudes and behavior shaped during the time they face discrimination. In this context, it was learned that the respondents tried to avoid this behavior by ridiculing with the discriminators. One respondent expressed this as follows:

> *I teach their place… Sometimes they talked with me like that (with some Gyspy pronunciation or accent): "what's up?" or something such. If a non-Roma talks like that with me, I answer very politely: "I am fine. Excuse me, who are you?". And then he knows his place and learns his lesson. (Derya, 19)[109]*

Many respondents indicated that they were frustrated by discriminatory attitudes and argued with people when they were exposed to discrimination. There were even respondents who stated that they had difficulty in controlling their anger in the face of a discriminatory attitude:

> *I get angry. I want to beat them up, but I am not able to. I am yelling, screaming and walking away. Or I will fight if I stay. I am a little nervous, actually not a bit nervous. I am a daredevil. (İrfan, 42)[110]*

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[108] *Valla bana göre kendini yetiştirirsen, aileni, kendini, hiçbir olumsuz bir yanı yok. Normal, siz neyseniz biz de oyuz. …Valla beni etkilemiyor. Ben kendi kendimi, benim kökenim zaten kendini yetiştirmiş. Adapte olmuşum. Beni hiç etkilemiyor. … Dediğim gibi yetiştiremeyenler de hala var. Şurdan iki adım git. Zaten konuşmasından da anlarsın. Kendini yetiştiremeyen insan o. (Cevriye, 34)*

[109] *Ben onlara haddini bildirmişimdir yani. …bazen böyle ''Be yaa naber be yaa''↑ falan filan Roman olmayan böyle konuşursa ''İyiyim buyrun kimsiniz'' dediğimde (.) o zaten haddini bulur. (Derya, 19)*

[110] *Sinir oluyorum. Dövmek istiyorum ama yapamıyorum. Bağırıyorum, çığırıyorum, gidiyorum öyle. Yoksa kalsam kavga edicem. Biraz sinirliyim biraz değil tam sinirliyim. Gözüm pektir. (İrfan, 42)*

Within the scope of efforts to deal with discrimination, no respondent has tried to claim their rights. This can be explained by their unwillingness to deal with a legal struggle, owing to their level of education. Only one respondent stated that she had gone to the police when she had been discriminated against, but she did not get any result out of it, and was even discriminated against by the police:

> *I told the police that he insulted me, humiliated me, laughed at my Gypsyism. I defended my rights. We all live under the blood of the martyrs in this country, and so do I. I complained to the police that he is discriminating against me. The police ignored it. They all are actually discriminating. (Kader, 36)[111]*

Besides the answers received when asked how they were trying to cope with discrimination, their efforts to keep their identities hidden and to assimilate themselves with the identity they see as positive in society have been evaluated in terms of their educational level. In addition to this, the fact that the respondents tried to identify themselves by suggesting the negative characteristics of different groups was also considered as a strategy for coping. Considering the strategies for coping with discrimination, there were respondents who tried to glorify their own identities by revealing the negative characteristics of other groups, and respondents who justified the different characteristics of other groups and legitimized them in their minds. In fact, it has been seen that this justification causes them to internalize the negative features that have been imposed on them. The false consciousness in such respondents is understood from the following statement of the respondent:

> *So we are very inclined to crime, Roma are very prone to crime, this is a fact. Why are they prone? It has been a hundred years since the Republic of Turkey was founded; for a hundred years we have pushed back. That's our fault, not anyone's fault. If I were a highbrowed person now, I could look at the Roma differently. Why? Ninety percent of all kinds of offenses belong to Roma. Theft, murder, mugging, I*

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[111] *Bana hakaret etti, küçük düşürdü, benim Çingeneliğimle alay etti diyorum polise. Hakkımı savunuyorum. Hepimiz şehitlerinin kanı altında yaşıyoruz bu ülkede, o da ben de. Polise şikayet ettim ayrımcılık yapıyor diye. Polis de es geçti. Hepsi ayrımcılık yapıyor ona bakarsan. (Kader, 36)*

> *could be afraid, since they all belong to the Roma, God knows. (Gökhan, 45)[112]*

As can be seen, although the discrimination experienced by the respondents was experienced in different areas, it is evident that they try to redefine themselves as a method for coping with discrimination in general.

6.6.3.1. The Strict Preference for Roma Partners in Marriage

Marriage is a universal phenomenon seen in all societies, but marriage rituals differ from society to society. In all societies, marriage is accepted as the cornerstone of family life. However, the expectations of people from marriage, the reasons for marriage, the mate selection and the manner in which marriage ceremonies occur can be different in every society.

Most people chosen it as a way of salvation, a distancing from woes. Changing life conditions economically forge people's their marriage preferences, encouraging them to choose people with better financial opportunities and status in society.

Within the scope of the study, respondents were asked questions to see whether their marriages were within the group or from outside the group, and whether there were norms that influenced the marriage preferences. Marriage preferences of Roma, who are thought to be prone to in-group marriage, can be examined in the light of Eriksen's terms endogamy and exogamy. According to Eriksen, the concept of exogamy can be used for out-group marriages, and the endogamy concept can be used for in-group marriages (Eriksen, 1995: 157-158). Most respondents stated that the Roma were not against exogamic marriages; some of them emphasized that only endogamic marriages were made in the Roma community. However, the respondents who stated that they lean towards the exogamy are exposed to negative reactions from other communities,

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[112] *Yani biz suça çok yatkınız, Romanlar suça çok yatkın, bu bir gerçek. Neden yatkın? Yüz yıl olmuş Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kurulduğu, yüz yıldan beri ileri itilmişik. Bu da bizim suçumuz yani, kimsenin suçu değil. Şimdi ben de bir kültürlü insan olsaydım, ben de Romanlar'a farklı bakabilirdim. Çünkü neden? Her türlü suç işlemelerin yüzde doksanı Romanlar'a ait. Irsızlık olsun, adam öldürme, gaps, hep Romanlar'a ait olduğu için, ben de korkardım, Allah biliyor açıkçası. (Gökhan, 45)*

and they often admitted that these marriages did not take place. One of the respondents, who said that the endogamy in the Roma were very high, explained that they are not against exogamy: *"Of course, she can be from outside if you love her, it is as it should be."* (Ali, 25)[113]

Another respondent stated that his wife was a non-Roma, but that it was struggle to get married; he stated that his family understood, but that his wife's family reacted badly and wanted to prevent their marriage. The respondent stated that Roma who experience such situations have to make endogamic marriages because of being excluded:

> *We are forced to do so because they exclude us. Perhaps because we are under pressure, we marry each other. So there is this. Difficult, difficult to say, what I say, it is a very difficult thing for me to marry a girl from Nişantaşı. Birds of a feather flock together. (Gökhan, 45)[114]*

One respondent even described, during the interview, how he and a non-Roma girl – in his own words a "Turkish girl" – loved each other but could not marry because her family was against it. Another respondent stated that she married someone who was not a Roma, but was not wanted by her mother-in-law because of her Roma identity: *"They say they do not want a wife from the Roma girls, because they become abusive, disrespectful, uncultured."* (Emine, 50)[115]

When respondents were asked whether they would prefer to have a Roma spouse, some stressed that it was not important where their spouses were from and that Roma and non-Roma can marry each other. On the other hand, some reported that non-Roma people do not comply with their traditions and customs, and therefore they

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[113] *Tabiki de dışardan da olabilir yani sevdikten sonra gönül bu. (Ali, 25)*
[114] *Bizi dışladıkları için biz böyle zorunlu kalıyoruz. Yani baskı altında olduğumuz için belki de birbirimizle evleniyoruz. Bu da var yani. Zor, zor yani bir, ne diyim, Nişantaşı'ndan bir kızla benim evlenmem çok zor bir şey yani. Davul bile dengi dengine bizde. (Gökhan, 45)*
[115] *Alınmaz dediler Romanlar'dan kız alınmaz işte… Ağzı pis olur, davranışları şey olur saygısız gibi kültürsüz gibi öyle işte. (Emine, 50)*

prefer Roma spouses, anda re not in favour of out-group marriages, prefering to live like a family in the neighborhood bound together with in-group marriages.

> *We marry from each other. In general, we prefer to be Roma, of course, we will talk the same words, the same culture. Our words may offend their feelings. (Derya, 19)[116]*
>
> *Of course. He becomes a Roma because he has a way with me. Maybe others do not understand me and they may look for high society or something like that. (Gözde, 31)[117]*
>
> *You know, for example, we do not marry with girls or boys from outside, so we are always family. So we are like a family in a neighborhood. For example, and just as example, we do not accept girls from the Laz or the Kurds, nor do we allow girls to marry them. (Ahmet, 28)[118]*

Moreover, some respondents emhasized that they consider marriage as a means of salvation because of their low economic status and social status. Therefore, they prefer their children to marry non-Roma with good financial status who can provide them with financial support:

> *It is better if they are not Roma. They fit into society, see everything. They know what is going on. At least they will not have a life like ours. They will not be excluded. Sometimes we do with less, we content ourselves with 20 TL (laughter). We are unable to work. Let them change, improve [their lives]. (Güneş, 28)[119]*

The average age of marriage in each society varies depending on both the living conditions of the individual and the customs and traditions of that society. In the course of the interviews, it was found that such marriages were very common due to the poor living conditions of the Roma, lack of opportunities to receive an education and the normalization of early marriages within the group. Moreover, the reasons for

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[116] *Birbirimizden kız alıp veririz. Genelde Roman olmasını tercih ederiz tabi ki, aynı lafı, aynı kültürü konuşalım, lafımız onlara ağır gelmesin. (Derya, 19)*

[117] *Tabi. Roman olur çünkü o benim dilimden anlar belki hani ıı o kişi dilimden anlamaz hani biraz sosyeteye kaçar şuna buna kaçar. (Gözde, 31)*

[118] *Hani mesela dışarıdan kız almayız kız vermeyiz yani hep aileyiz yani. Ee mesela bir mahallede aile gibiyiz yani. Mesela atıyorum mesela Lazlar'dan mesela Kürtler'den kız almayız, kız vermeyiz. (Ahmet, 28)*

[119] *Roman olmasa daha iyi yani. Ortama katılır, her şeyi görür. Neyin ne olup olmadığını anlar. En azından bizim gibi bir hayatı olmaz. Dışlanmaz. Gün oluyor biz 20 milyona kanaat ediyoz mesela (kahkaha). Çalışamıyoruz. Onlar değişsinler, gelişsinler. (Güneş, 28)*

preferring in-group marriages can be shown by the Romas' desire to preserve their traditions and their exclusion by non-Roma.

6.6.3.2. Neighborhood Relations of the Respondents and Exclusion of Other Groups

People prefer to live together for more convenience living conditions and protection against danger. Therefore, the need to survive over time has also necessitated unity and solidarity among people. In today's conditions, this unity and solidarity can be defined by the neighborhood relations established in a quarter or district. Neighborhood relations have an important place in society. A neighbor is as important as family in the social environment of people. In any emergency, people are usually turn first to their immediate neighbors for help. The reasons for giving such value to neighborhood relations can be shown by the unwillingness of people to be alone in society without the assurance that someone is there to help. Therefore, the issue of neighbors is of vital importance.

Gültepe as a research area is a neighborhood where many different groups have lived together for many years. Other groups living in Gültepe and the relations with these groups have an important place in our understanding of the life of the respondents. To this end, the respondents were asked a number of questions about their environment and the relationships with their non-Roma neighbors. Referring to the answers, it is found that people from different cities in Turkey live in this neighborhood although the majority are Roma. In addition, it is stated that people of Syrian origin have recently settled in the neighborhood. It is observed that some of the respondents who gave great importance to neighborhood life and neighborhood relations were disturbed by foreigners in the neighborhood, whereas some of them did not consider this situation a problem. A respondent who affirmatively welcomes the coexistence of many people from different parts of Turkey in the neighborhood expresses this situation as follows:

"Well, I would like to live in this neighborhood because we are so happy. We are all together in sickness and health." (Derya, 19)[120]

However, there are also respondents in the neighborhood who do not wish to live together with people from different regions and avoid contact with them. The reason given is that people from different groups do not understand the lives of the Roma and may be disrespectful to them. One of the respondents who thought that the non-Roma were not like them and could not adapt to the environment stated that they did not want to live with non-Roma people.

> *Of course, my dear, we do not have much to do with Gacos. But we Roma dote upon each other. When there is an argument, we support each other. It is not like that with Gacos. For example, if someone beats his friend, no one in the street opposes it, you understand? People are beating up his wife, no one comes out. (Gözde, 31)*[121]

In addition to these reasons, one respondent linked the cause of the absence of any relationship with the outside groups to a fear of foreigners:

> *We are a little concerned when we call a person who is not ours. Because they are not like us. We said, we all Roma love each other, we enter each other's houses, we chat. We mean no harm. But you do not know who people are out there. (Serap, 20)*[122]

In light of the literature and the respondents' statements, it was seen that fear of foreigners in the society has also been developed among the Roma for other groups. It was learned that the respondents in Gültepe especially disliked and did not want to live with particular ethnic groups.

> *For instance, there were no Kurds in our neighborhood. Our elders did not allow them to come. You know, they are strangers... Kurds even*

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[120] *Valla bu çevreylen yaşamak isterdim. Çünkü çok mutluyuz. Hastalığımızda sağlığımızda hep beraberiz. (Derya, 19)*

[121] *Tabi ki canım biz hani gacolarla fazla şey olmayız. Ama Romanlar ne bilim birbirimize düşkün oluyoruz mesela birimiz tartışma yaptığımız zaman, hepimiz birden çıkabiliyoruz. Arka çıkabiliyoruz. Hani o gacolarda yok. Mesela şimdi birisi kalkıp bir arkadaşını dövse sokakta hiç kimse karşı çıkmıyo, anladın mı? İnsanlar kimisi karısını dövüyo hiç kimse çıkmıyor. (Gözde, 31)*

[122] *...bizden olmayan bir insanı evimize çağırdığımız zaman biraz kaygılanırız. Çünkü bizim gibi değillerdir dışardakiler. Dedik ya birbirimizi çok severiz Romanlar, evimize gireriz sohbet ederiz. ...Bizden yani bir zarar gelmez. Ama dışardaki insanın ne olduğunu bilemezsin. (Serap, 20)*

> *sell drugs. Kurds are poisoning people. I do not even smoke cigarettes. (İrfan, 42)[123]*
>
> *I do not like Syrians either. Why? Because they came to Turkey, take over our jobs, we misplace our homes; rents were 400-500 TL, now they are 1000 TL, we are fired from work. (Gözde, 31)[124]*

In general, when the views of the respondents are considered, it was seen that most of the respondents stated that they wanted to live alongside good people and other issues are not necessarily a problem. However, some respondents emphasized that they did not want to live with anyone other than Roma. It can be assumed that this is due to their sense of exclusion or fear of not being accepted by other people. On the other hand, some respondents stated that they would prefer to live elsewhere than in a Roma neighborhood, despite being Roma. When looking at the stories of respondents who said that they could not live in a mixed neighborhood, it was found that the respondents especially did not want Kurds and Syrians in their neighborhoods. Thus, it was observed that the respondents who thought that they were exposed to discriminatory attitudes by other people because of their Roma identities displayed discriminatory attitudes towards other ethnic groups.

6.6.4. Knowledge and Experiences of Respondents Concerning Urban Transformation

In recent years, urban transformation projects aimed at solving problems that arise in the housing, organization and infrastructure of cities and to reconstruct the city have feature prominently in the country's agenda. These projects, produced in order to help the city to thrive and to make it healthier, bring with them a number of problems while solving the appearance problem of the city. The demolition of old settlements and the construction of modern buildings and shopping centers has negative consequences for the local people living in these settlements. For example, families who cannot afford to buy modern flats which are constructed in lieu of the demolished houses leave their

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[123] *Mesela atıyorum bizim mahallede eskiden Kürtler yoktu mesela. Sokmazdı bizim büyüklerimiz. Hani yabancı ya bunlar mesela. …Kürtler ne bilim uyuşturucu bilem satıyorlar yani. Kürtler milletleri zehirliyorlar. Ben Roman'ım sigara bile içmiyorum. (İrfan, 42)*

[124] *Suriyelileri ben de sevmiyorum. Yani nebilim hani Türkiyeye geldiler işimizden olduk, evlerimize 400 500tl verirken şimdi 1000 tl oldu, işlerimizden kovulduk. (Gözde, 31)*

places and settle in other towns and even in other cities. Re-establishment of the disarrenged order and the process of adaptation to a new habitat and social environment can put people in a difficult situation.

One of the groups who are victims of urban transformation projects is the Roma. They have been discriminated against in many areas of society, as mentioned in the literature, and they try to survive in poor conditions, away from the city centers in areas lacking in infrastructure and services. Roma without regular jobs and with little or no income live in makeshift houses inherited from their families. However, urban transformation projects then drive them out of these places. For this reason, respondents were asked for their views on urban transformation projects, what they thought of these projects and how they evaluated them. Considering the answers, it was seen that respondents do not have enough information about the urban transformation projects and interpret the urban transformation movement in different ways. When asked whether they have information about urban transformation, it is revealed that some of the respondents did not want their houses to be demolished but some respondents believed that they could buy new houses in return for their old houses and at the same price.

The inhabitants of areas selected for the urban transformation are promised a better life, but the old inhabitants, unable to adapt economically to the new housing schemes or to adapt to them, are then obliged to leave their neighborhoods. Urban transformation projects created with the promise of a better life end up displacing people. Most of the respondents participating in the research study in Gültepe stated that they did not favor urban transformation for these reasons. They felt sadness at the fact that they would leave their homes and that the area where their homes origianlly stood would be used for other purposes and by other people. It would be impossible to develop the same social relations in these new places. They expressed this sorrow as follows:

I am not satisfied with the situation, everything's turned into commerce… Now they are trying to take these places from us. They always bow to the wishes of tourists and foreigners. People who are accustomed to living here do not have the opportunity to settle there and they cannot afford these rents. What can I do there, what kind of business I can do, with whom can I make friends? I am not satisfied at all. (İrfan, 42)[125]

But it would be better if not this way. There are other places too; they are banishing all the Roma. For example, in Ataşehir, they spread them out, moving them to different places. They are normally tenants. They could not rent the houses. They lived in the tents. People were scattered here and there. I think it is negative. (Güneş, 28)[126]

One of the reasons why respondents did not want urban transformation is that they do not have a regular income and therefore they cannot afford to pay the rent for new housing. In comparison with houses in the Roma neighborhoods, these newly constructed homes are much more costly. In these modern buildings, natural gas and electricity bills, apartment service charges and the cost of the concierge and security guards can create a great livelihood problem for Roma who cannot rely on regular work or income. This was stated by one of the respondents as follows:

How I am going to heat up that house? The natural gas bill will come to 300–500 million. How would I pay that? I cannot afford it. And there is no comfort in an apartment. Since I was born I have bee used to living in a detached house, I have opened and closed my own door myself. They are causing us so much distress. The cost of a doormn, the service charges, etc… Which work does the government provide us with that will let us afford it all? We do not get three or five billion salaries. We do not have a life like this. There are no such job opportunities, they do not give people the opportunity to work. (Emine, 50)[127]

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[125] *Ben o durumdan fazla memnun değilim her şey ticarete döndü. …Şimdi bunları bizim elimizden almaya çalışıyorlar hep turiste hürmet, yabancıya hürmet. Buraya alışmış insanlar da, şehir dışlarında oturma imkanı yok ödeme imkanı. Ben orada ne yapabilirim, ne iş yapabilirim, kimle arkadaşlık kurabilirim ben hiç memnun değilim. (İrfan, 42)*

[126] *Ama böyle olmasa daha iyi. Başka yerlerde var, sürüyorlar tüm Romanları. Dağıyorlar. Mesela Ataşehirde oldu. Oraya buraya yaydılar. Kiracı normalde bunlar. Ev de tutamadılar. Çadırda yaşadılar. İnsanlar bir oraya bir buraya dağıldılar. Olumsuz bence. (Güneş, 28)*

[127] *Ben o evi nasıl ısıtcam doğalgaz faturası üç yüz-beş yüz milyon gelecek ben onu nasıl ödiyeyim. Bunu karşılaycak durumum yok. Apartmanda oturma rahatlığı yok ben alışmışım doğduğumdan beri müstakil eve, kendim açmış kendim kapamışım, bizi böyle sıkıntıya sokuyorlar. Kapıcı paraları, aidat paraları hangi iş veriyor hükümet bize de biz o şeyleri karşılayalım. Üç-beş milyar maaş almıyoruz aidat parası yok kapıcı*

With urban transformation, Roma who cannot afford to buy new flats in the new buildings have to leave their neighborhood and move to other places. Respondents who have adopted their neighborhoods and neighborhood lives stated that they cannot adapt to the new locations. They worry that the neighborhood culture, which is frequently referrred to during the interviews, will disappear in the new settlements, and in particular they will not be able to get used to apartment life:

> *We are used to our neighborhood; we cannot be anywhere else. Because, lets say you are screaming, you are getting sick, neighbors will come to see you. Our disease is also our neighbor's; our death is also our neighbor's. We do everything with our neighbors. Even if we had a fight with that neighbor, that neighbor will still come to our door. So we cannot cope with going somewhere else. (İrfan, 42)[128]*
>
> *So, we are used to living in the city center. They are shopping centers, so this place is like Levent. You are there in 15 minutes… How do we live there? You should not come down if you go up to apartment… You have to call home before arriving. You know, these apartments have 8-10 flats. How do you get down there again? But here people connect like: "Father! Buy a bread." (Ayhan, 56)[129]*

The concerns respondents had about losing their culture due to urban transformation were expressed by one respondent as follows:

> *Another district… I don't know. We cannot adapt. Now if I g oto Bakırköy or Etiler, I cannot live there. I cannot. It is hard for us. We cannot adapt. For example, we have weddings here. You can't do that in other neighborhoods. (Gökhan, 45)[130]*

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parası ödiycez. Biz de böyle bir yaşam yok toplarız sokaktan odunları yakarız. Böyle bir iş olanağı yok iş olanağı vermiyor insanlara. (Emine, 50)

[128] *Mahallemize alışıkız, başka yerde yapamayız. Çünkü diyelim bi çığlık atıyosun, hastalanıyosun bi bakıyosun ordan komşu, ordan komşu geliyor. Astalığımız da komşudur bizim ölümüz de komşudur. Erşeylerimizi biz komşularla yaparız. Kavgalı olsak bile o komşuyla o komşu gene açar kapımızı gelir. Yani başka yere gitsek yapamayız. (İrfan, 42)*

[129] *Yani biz mesela şaun merkezde yaşamaya alışmışız. Yukarısı alışverişmerkezleri, yani burası Levent gibi bir yer yani. 15 dakikada oradasın. …Biz orada nasıl yaşayacağız? Eve çıktın mı daha inmemen lazım. …Eve gelen eve telefon açması lazım. …Hani çıkacak ya yukarıya 8-10 kat. Bir daha nasıl inecek aşağıya. Ama burada bağıyor: Baba ekmek al. (Ayhan, 56)*

[130] *Başka semt ne bileyim ben. Uyum sağlayamayız. Şimdi kalkıyım ben kalkıyım buradan gidiyim bir Bakırköy'de oturayım, bir Etiler'de oturayım. Yapamam. Ters gelir bize yani. Alışamayız. Şu an bizim mesela burda yazın düğünlerimiz var. Başka semtlerde bunu yapamazsın ki. (Gökhan, 45)*

The respondents described sitting outside their front doors until late at night, raising their children freely on the streets, being together at weddings and at Islamic memorial services and funerals. All such aspects of life that would be lost. Roma expressed sadness in the belief that they would never find this environment again.

Another factor that may cause the respondents distress is the way those Roma whose houses had been demolished within the scope of urban transformation projects were expelled to places far away from where they lived. The Roma living in remote areas of the city have problems in adapting to a new life order and are deprived of job opportunities due to the distance from the city center. It was also noteworthy that a respondent who shared his reaction to the rebuilding of buildings in their own neighborhoods was upset that people who came from different sections to settle in these places considered the places Roma used to live in as 'their own land':

> *…For example, they threw them to Taşoluk. They went to all Roma and gave a house in Taşoluk. They are over mountains and hills. The rich came and settled here, ohh. People are displaced from their own land. So this is not justice. (Cevriye, 34)[131]*

In addition to the respondents who expressed concern about the issue of urban transformation, there are also respondents who think that urban transformation will be good and useful. However, it was found that these respondents did not lean unconditionally towards urban transformation projects. In other words, the respondents who only found the urban transformation positive provided their demands and expectations were realized, as one of the respondents explained:

> *I think urban transformation will be good. But in itself. For example, they will not build our houses (.) And sell them to others… For example, our house is a broken shanty, a broken order, they will improve our order, give us jobs if we do not have work. We will pay them because we will not leave our neighbors, relatives, close friends.*

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[131] *…Ya mesela Taşoluk'a attılar mesela. Bütün Romanlar'ı gittiler Taşoluk'ta ev verdiler. Dağların tepelerin üstünde. Enginler geldi yerleşti buralara, ohh. İnsanlar kendi topraklarından oluyorlar. Ha bu şimdi adalet değil yani. (Cevriye, 34)*

> *Us… They will not be able to throw us out, or send the Roma to places far away, into the mud. (Ahmet, 28)[132]*
>
> *That is what I want most. Because our nation needs to overcome certain things. I want them to get out of their shell, get their heads out from under the sand. As the association, we have given approval for this work. We want change, regeneration. We want transformation in situ. As you know, our people in Sulukule in Edirnekapı were displaced. We do not want it to be like that. We want onsite transformations. (Esad, 56)[133]*

As stated in the literature, the Roma are obliged to migrate to remote areas of the city in the name of urban transformation. In this context, the respondents were asked how they perceived the relationship between the discriminatory attitudes they are exposed to in society and urban transformation and how they perceived this situation. One of the respondents stated that Gültepe was a very valuable place because of its location and thus developers/authorities wanted to use it in a way which would yield much more profit, but for that they needed to remove the Roma. On the other hand, another respondent expresses the view that there is no discrimination when it comes to demolition:

> *Roma or Turkish, sorry, we will tear it down, he says. Although foreign, in Fatih Fener full of Greek, Armenian, Laz, Kurdish. He says he will destroy them. I mean, they do not say we are going to destroy you because you are Roma, they say we will tear it all down. No distinction. No distinction. (Fatma, 29)[134]*

When we look at the statements of the respondents, it is seen that in the research area, Gültepe, the Roma people have adopted the place they live in, along with its

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[132] *Ben iyi olucağını düşünüyorum kentsel dönüşümün. Fakat ee kendi içinde. Yani mesela bizim evlerimizi(.) yapıp başkalarına satmıcaklar. …Mesela evimiz gecekondumuz mu kırık, ee düzenimiz bozuk mu, o düzenimizi iyileştiricekler, bize iş vericekler işimiz yoksa. Biz çünkü ödücez onları. Evimizde doğmuş komşumuzdan, akrabamızdan, canımızdan ciğerimizden ayrılmıcaz. Bizi (...)'in bülbül ötmez dağında, kervan içmez kervan geçmez bağında, çamurun batağın içine Romanlar'ı atmıcaklar. (Ahmet, 28)*

[133] *En çok istediğim o. Çünkü milletimiz bazı şeyleri aşması gerekiyor. Kabuğundan, çıkmalı, kafalarını kumun altından çıkaralını istiyorum. Dernek olarak biz bu iş için onay verdik. Değişsin yenilensin istiyoruz. Biz yerinde dönüşüm olsun istiyoruz. Biliyorsunuz mesela Sulukule Edirnakapı'nın ora, yerinden edildi halkımız. Onun gibi olsun istemiyoruz. Biz yerinde dönüşüm istiyoruz. (Esad, 56)*

[134] *Roman da olsa Türk de olsa afedersin yıkıcaz diyo. Yabancı da olsa Fatih'te Fener'de dolu; Rum dolu, Ermeni dolu, Laz dolu, Kürt dolu. Onları da yıkıcazdiyo. Yani siz Romansınız diye sizi yıkıcaz demiyo, erkes yıkılcak diyo. Ayrım yok. Ayrım yok. (Fatma, 29)*

neighborhood culture and neighborhood relations, and therefore they do not wish to leave. They would happy for these areas to be reorganized and transformed, but they want any urban regeneration projects to be organized with the Roma in mind. A few of the respondents expressed a belief that the state would help them in this regard and that the government would not set in motion a transformation that disrupted the lives of the Roma. Another respondent argues that neither the government nor anyone else thinks about the Roma.

6.6.5. Expectations and Concerns of Respondents Regarding the Future

People's expectations for the future are one of the most important factors in shaping their lives. What a person is planning to do in the future guides his/her life. Usually, previous experiences shape the future expectations of the people. The higher the experience, the higher the standards of expectations for the future. On the one hand, there are situations in which people wish to be realized in the future. On the other hand there are future prospects.

The discriminatory attitude they face in every aspect of society because of their lifestyles and the negative perception of Roma in society also shapes their expectations for the future. For this reason, the respondents were asked various questions about their future plans, expectations and predictions, to try to understand how Roma expectations for the future and perceptions in society towards the Roma have developed.

The position of the respondents shapes their thoughts about the future. From the interviews, it is seen that when the respondents are asked about their own future plans, they are generally quite modest. Some emphasize that they want to live a healthy life; others want to live a proper life with their family and they plan to renovate their house. Based on the findings, in general, a healthy life and a reliable livelihood rank is a priority of respondents. When questions are asked about how respondents

want to change their lives, they stated that they had not been able to study because circumstances did not permit it, and they would give priority to their education if they had the opportunity again. For instance, one of the respondents stated:

> *I wish I had gone to the school. There was no opportunity. There was poverty. They could not send me to school. We wanted to, but we could not study. We did not have the opportunity. (İrfan, 42)[135]*

The low level of education of the respondents further reinforces the disadvantageous position they have in society. For this reason, many emphasized the lack of education of the Roma and stated that the most effective way of correcting their future position was through good education: "*…In the future, if our young people study, they can improve themselves a lot.*" (Cevriye, 34)[136]

It is seen that they are aware of the importance of education as one of the most important determinants of status in society, but they cannot reflect this consciousness in their behavior. Since education symbolizes a better job, life and future, it has always been a topic of concern. Although aware of the importance of education, they did not send their children to school for economic reasons. On the other hand, there were respondents who stated that their children themselves did not want to go to school, th reason being either the discriminatory attitude they faced at school or the fact that they took their elders, who did not study, as examples.

Although most of the respondents mentioned their economic problems, lack of education and the discriminatory attitudes they were exposed to, they mostly stated that they were satisfied with their lives when asked. A respondent summarized the situation as follows: "*I am satisfied. Well, I am going to muddle along. We are healthy,*

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[135] *Okusaydım keşke daha iyi olurdu. …Elverişli değildi o zaman. Fakirlik vardı. Okutamadılar beni. …İstiyorduk; ama okuyamadık. Elverişimiz yoktu. (İrfan, 42)*
[136] *…İleride gençlerimiz okursa, kendini yetiştirirse çok şey olabilir. (Cevriye, 34)*

you know the most important thing is health. Do not have money, but have health."
(Derya, 19)[137]

According to the answers given, being healthy and being able to eat their fill without being dependent on others provided a sufficient standard to be satisfied with in their lives. On the other hand, there were respondents who emphasized that they were not satisfied with their lives due to poor working conditions and the precarious work they were doing.

> *We cannot go on vacation just like that. We work on New Year's Eve, even the Kandil night (a sacred day for Muslims), so we are always working, and we keep working because we need to. We have problems because we do not have a salary. Nor do we have insurance [social security]. (Ali, 25)[138]*

According to the findings, it was determined that most of the respondents' requests for their future were related to economics and education. Although they stated that they are satisfied with their lives, it is often emphasized that they want to change their unfavorable living conditions and aspire to better conditions. It was understood that the fact that the government had brought up a Roma agenda made them more positive and hopeful. Consquently, it was observed that those in the neighborhood generally viewed the government favourably. It was emphasized by the respondents that it was the first time that an agenda for the Roma had been put forth, thanks to the government. It has to be said, though, that the expectations of the Roma for the government do something about the position they hold in a future society is very high. In addition, it is observed that they have the idea that many things will be better in the future by hoping for recent developments. On the other hand, other respondents suspected that nothing would change and things would get worse. The reason for this

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[137] *Memnunum iyi kötü geçinip gidiyorum. Sağlığımız yerinde en önemli sağlık biliyorsun. Paran olmasın sağlığın olsun. (Derya, 19)*

[138] *Ne bir böyle kalkıp da tatilemiş, böyle biz yılbaşı akşamı, kandil akşamı bile çalışıyoruz biz yani, devamlı çalışıyoz, o da ihtiyacımız olduğu için çalışıyoruz. Sıkıntımız var çünkü bir maaşımız yok ki. Sigortamız yok. (Ali, 25)*

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can be attributed to the fact that the government has not actually moved the Roma onto the country's national agenda and has not taken a concrete step towards doing so.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this research is to gain knowledge about perceptions and the experiences of discrimination among the Gypsies living in Gültepe, Istanbul. The main questions of the study are related to the cultural views and the identity of the Gypsies, and the difficulties experienced by the Gypsies themselves and their relatives. In this study, while a qualitative research method was followed, snowball sampling and quota sampling techniques for data collecting and semi-structured interview guide as data collection tool were used. To understand the perceptions and experiences of the Gypsies, in-depth interviews were conducted with eighteen Gypsy citizens living in Gültepe. However, there is no intention to make a general judgment concerning the Gypsies with the data created in the study. Rather than being representative, the data created in the study is more likely to reveal some tendencies in the Gypsies' general cultural characteristics and their perception and experience of discrimination.

Nomenclature has be a complex issue throughout history the world over. It has been an intense talking point in this research as well. Looking at the respondents interviewed in Gültepe, some did not hesitate to define themselves as Gypsy, but most stated that they preferred to be called Roma, considering the latter to be politer and more acceptable. Some respondents even insisted that they were not Gypsy at all. This rejection of the Gypsy identity can be explained by the fact that they cannot identify themselves with imposed Gypsy definitions, and reject these stereotypes. It was observed that the majority of Roma interviewed in the Gültepe neighborhood accepted society's prevailing perception of Gypsies, but that they did not feel this image applied to them. Indeed, in interviews they refused to be considered Gypsy, identifying themselves as people who do not steal, but are independent-minded, make a living the hard way, etc. For this reason, they prefer the Roma name, which has a more positive

perception in general. In other respects, as with other socio-cultural groups exposed to discrimination, the Roma in this neighborhood try to exalt their own culture because they perceive each other as people sharing similar cultural experiences. In interviews, when respondents talk about weddings and traditions, a sense of exaltation of the group they belong to emerges. They often emphasize that they have different tastes and that their weddings are impressive to the extent that the even rich cannot compete. In addition, they think that they are more sensitive in terms of honor, unity and togetherness than other groups are. However, while such positive and valuable features are considered an important element of the Roma culture, there is a risk of the sublimation of the identities of the Roma.

Furthermore, every Roma neighborhood, every street even, emphasizes that they are more Roma than the others, even if they have relatives living in other neighborhoods. Besides, the respondents remark that the real neighborhood of Gypsy is up or down according to their location and that their neighborhoods consist of Roma. The emphasis on this can be regarded as the prejudice and labeling of the Gypsy/Roma community, especially of Gypsies, throughout the society. In order to keep themselves apart and thus their neighborhood from these prejudices and labelings, they also stigmatize the other neighborhoods. Besides, those who live in the neighborhood and are referred to by different nomenclatures such as 'Kuştepeli', 'Gültepeli', 'çadırçılar' (tent people), 'Bulgarian immigrant', 'the original Roma' and 'the locals' are positioned in their own place that is separate from the place in terms of Romanians or Gypsyism.

As stated in Chapter Six, it is seen that most of the respondents' families have migratory experiences. It is determined that most of these respondents had migrated from Thessaloniki and indeed that most of their families had moved directly to Istanbul, although some did spend part of their lives in other cities in Turkey before coming to Istanbul.

As mentioned in Chapter Five, it is seen that Roma in Gültepe also live spatially in a collective way and this situation is thought to cause spatial exclusion. Exclusion here is seen in two ways. One is exclusion, disregard and discrimination towards Roma by the general population of the society. The other is the fact that Roma are not able to get into the social life properly as a result of the inadequate public services in the geography they live in as well as individually limited access to material resources. It has been observed that although living in a group has positive effects on the group in terms of cooperation and solidarity, it negatively affects the group's dynamics of change. In fact, when they are compressed into spatial areas where only Roma live, the 'unrelatedness' between groups leads to continuous reproduction of prejudices about Roma and causes it to be transferred to future generations.

When we look at the issue of urban transformation, contrary to the literature, not all Roma found this to be negative. Some found it to be positive and necessary. Considering the statements of the respondents who said that they found this to be negative, it is seen that Roma become strong attached to the places they live in, to their neighborhood culture and neighborly relations, and therefore they do not want to leave. They want these areas to be reorganized and transformed with urban transformation projects but in accordance with their lives and lifestyle. Respondents who found this to be positive, expressed their belief that the state would help them, and, in particular, that the government would not allow urban transformation to disrupt the lives of Roma.

Another issue to be noted is that although the respondents were not asked any questions about their income status, it can be deduced from the observations made during the research and from some of the comments of the respondents themselves and from their jobs, that in most cases, the respondents' economic condition is below an acceptable level.

As in many studies of Roma, this study clearly shows that the Roma interviewed do not enjoy equality with the rest of the society. In socio-economic terms, they live well below average. In the literature, it is believed that Roma cannot access basic social rights in housing, education or employment, and this is confirmed within the scope of this study, which evaluates the degree of social, economic, spatial and cultural exclusion experienced. The most important of these, according to this study, is cultural exclusion, which is expressed in various ways by the respondents in this research. Within the scope of the study, it is seen that the ways Gypsies dress, the negative associations of the Gypsy identity and Gypsy speech also affect the Roma and lead to cultural exclusion. Therefore, it was found that the respondents preferred to define themselves as Roma instead of Gypsy. The research indicated that respondents considered their identities were stigmatized by the negative connotations of the Gypsy identity, and that they felt discriminated against in the public sphere, whether in the workplace or social life, but especially in relations with non-Roma and in the environment in which they lived. In order to cope with this, it was found that respondents were liable to conceal their identity or to simulate identities that society considered more legitimate.

To sum up, poverty, discrimination, social marginalization and thus social exclusion are a reality for the majority of Gypsies in Turkey. However, this is not specific to their ethnicity. Gypsies are not the only victims. Therefore, it cannot be explained in ethnic terms alone, but a problem common to all poor migrants or deprived people.

Based on these findings, it is important for us to expand our knowledge and advance our understanding of discrimination towards Roma living in Istanbul. But this would call for a richer, more comprehensive, long-term approach to investigating the issue. Likewise, social policies, particularly in the fields of education and employment, are essential if the living conditions of Roma are to improve. Education programs for Roma should therefore be prioritized. It is clear also that influence should be exerted on

media channels to correct the wrong perception of Roma in society, a problem currently exacerbated by those same media channels. Finally, the researcher concluded that people in the community should be advised as to where to apply and what to do in cases of discrimination.

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APPENDIXES

A. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE FORM

GYPSIES AND DISCRIMINATION: A QUALITATIVE RESEARCH ON GYPSIES (ROMA) IN GÜLTEPE

Informed Consent Form:

Hello, I am a graduate student in Sociology Department of Istanbul Şehir University. My name is Nisa Özer. We do various researches in accordance with the courses we took before graduation. The research topic of my thesis is the discrimination perceptions and experiences of Roma/Gypsies living in Istanbul, in the Gültepe neighborhood of Kağıthane district. I have chosen to use the Gypsy nomenclature in my research, but please indicate if you are uncomfortable. I would like to interview you about my research topic. Our interview will take approximately one hour. According to the research method, voice recording will be taken during the interview, but voice recording can be stopped at any time. The audio recording I received will not be shared with anyone except my advisors and the audio recording will be destroyed at the end of the study. As a rule of study, your personal information will be kept confidential. Therefore, we will choose a nickname for you before the interview starts. We will use this name during the interview. In the light of the information we have obtained, a general assessment will be made on the subject, not about individuals one by one. Once the research is complete, I can share the results with you. Thank you very much for your time.

Signature:

Interview No:

Date:

Location:

Time:

1.) PERSONAL INFORMATION

Age   Place of Birth   Marital Status   Educational Status   Occupation   Job

Number of Children   Number of people in household

2.) HOW S/HE DESCRIBE HIMSELF/HERSELF

_ Gypsy or/and Roma

_ The difference between Gypsy and Roma

_ General characteristics of Gypsies/Roma (dance, music, clothing, language, culture, traditions)

_ How Gypsies/Roma are seen in the eyes of people

_ Pros and cons of being Roma

_ How s/he sees non-Roma people

3.) EMIGRATION, IMMIGRATION

_ The origin of his/her family

_ The origins and sub-groups of Gypsies/Roma (Mithribes, Copts, Rom, Dom, Lom?)

_ Knowledge of Gypsies/Roma about migration life

_ Whether s/he or his/her family has immigration experience

_ (If any) Reasons for Migration

_ (If any) How they experienced the migration process

_ (If any) Impact of immigration experience on himself/herself or her/his family

4.) PLACE OF LIVING

_ Since when s/he lived in Gültepe

_ Whether or not s/he lived outside Gültepe

_ (If s/he lived) Why s/he left there

_ Whether s/he wants to leave Gültepe

_ (If s/he wants to leave) Where and how s/he wants to live

5.) HOW TO ASSESS DISCRIMINATION

_ Because of being a Gypsy/Roma whether faced with any behavior that s/he did not like

_ (If encountered) What kind of behavior and where

_ (If encountered) How this behavior occurs

_ (If Encountered) What s/he sees as the causes of this behavior

_ Effect of this behavior on herself/himself

_ (If any) How to deal with the negative effects of this behavior

_ If their relatives are facing behaviors that they do not like because they are Gypsy/Roma

_ (If they encountered) What kind of behavior and where they faced

_ (If they did) What they see as the reasons for this behavior

_The effect of this behavior on them

_ (If any) How to deal with the negative effects of this behavior

6.) RELATIONS WITH THE ENVIRONMENT

_ Who his/her friends/surroundings are

_ Who his/her friends/surroundings prefer to be

_ If there are non-Gypsy/non-Roma neighbors/friends in the neighborhood

_ (If any) How is their relationship (How they agreed, whether they invited them to their house for tea/ dinner/wedding/mevlit, whether or not they were invited to tea/ dinner/wedding/mevlit)

_There are non-Gypsy/Roma people in their relatives

_ How s/he evaluates his/her relationship with Roma and non-Roma relatives

_ Whether or not prefer the spouse/bride/groom is Gypsy/Roma in marriage preference (How does the spouse/bride/groom evaluate Gypsy / Roma?

_ Who, if s/he had a choice, how s/he wanted to live with people

7.) URBAN TRANSFORMATION

_ Knowledge of urban transformation

_ (If any) How to evaluate urban transformation

_ If there is an urban transformation initiative in the neighborhood, what they think about it

_ Reflections on the change in urban transformation

_ How evaluate that the state wants to transform in Gypsy/Roma neighborhoods

8.) FUTURE EXPECTATIONS AND CONCERNS

_ Whether to continue living in Gültepe

_ (If Yes) Causes

_ (If No) Where s/he prefers to live

_ Thoughts about his/her own future

_Thoughts about the future of Gypsies/Roma

_ People's views on Gypsies/Roma whether will change in the future

_ Whether s/he is satisfied with his/her life

_ Possibility to change anything in his/her life though

_ (If Yes) What s/he wants to change

9.) WHAT YOU WANT TO ADD

B. DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

1. Gender?

    1) Woman   2)Man   3)Other

2. Age?

    1) 18-29   2) 30-39   3) 40-49   4) 50-59   5) 60+

3. Educational status?

    1) Not literate

    2) Literate but did not go to school

    3)Drop out of primary school

    4) Primary school

    5) Drop out of secondary school

    6) Secondary school

    7) Drop out of basic education

    8) Basic education

    9) Drop out of high school

    10) High school

    11) Drop out of university

    12) University

    13)Master's degree

    14) Other

4.Do you work now?

    1) Yes   2) No   3) Unemployment (looking for a job)

    4) I am retired   5) Other (please specify)

5. What do you do?

    1) Worker

    2) Officer

3) Craftsman

4) Government official

5) Private sector employees

6) Trade

7) Agriculture

8) Self-employment

9) Other

6. What is your marital status?

1) Married   2) Single   3) Lost spouse   4) Divorced

7. What is your spouse's age? ....

8. Your spouse's educational status?

1) Not literate

2) Literate but did not go to school

3) Drop out of primary school

4) Primary school

5) Drop out of secondary school

6) Secondary school

7) Drop out of basic education

8) Basic education

9) Drop out of high school

10) High school

11) Drop out of university

12) University

13) Master's degree

14) Other

9. 9. Does your spouse currently work?

        1) Yes   2) No   3) Unemployment (looking for a job)

        4) I am retired   5) Other (please specify)

10. What is your husband/wife's job? …………………….

11. Do you have children?

        1) Yes   2) No   3) Other

	Age	Gender	Education	Occupation	Marital status	Does s/he live in household?
1.Child						
2.Child						
3.Child						
4.Child						
5.Child						
6.Child						
7.Child						
8.Child						
9.Child						

12. How many people live in your household?

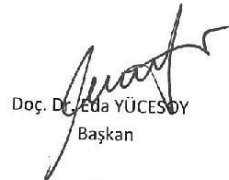| Individuals of household	Age	Education	Occupation	Marital status

C.ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL

ARAŞTIRMA ETİK KURUL KARARLARI

Toplantı Tarihi : 15.2.2019
Toplantı Sayısı : 09/2019
Toplantı Saati : 16:00
Toplantıya Katılanlar : Doç. Dr. Eda YÜCESOY (Başkan)
Prof. Dr. Nihat BULUT
Prof. Dr. Cem BEHAR
Doç. Dr. Elif ÇELEBİ
Doç. Dr. Hızır Murat KÖSE
Doç. Dr. Sinem ELKATİP HATİPOĞLU
Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Betül NİZAM
Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Eyyüp Said KAYA

Karar No : 1- İstanbul Şehir Üniversitesi Araştırma Etik Kurulu, proje yürütücüsü Nisa ÖZER tarafından sunulan, " T A QUALITATIVE RESEARCH ON DISCRIMINATION EXPERIENCES OF GYPSIES (ROMA) LIVING IN İSTANBUL GÜLTEPE'' isimli proje taslağını değerlendirilerek, projenin uygunluğuna karar verilmiştir.
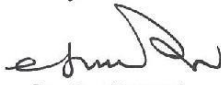
Aşağıda isimleri ve imzaları bulunan İstanbul Şehir Üniversitesi Araştırma Etik Kurulu üyeleri, araştırmacı tarafından kurula sunulan yukarıdaki bilgiler ışığında, ekte belirtilen araştırmanın yürütülmesinde etik açıdan bir sakınca görmemektedir.

Prof. Dr. Nihat BULUT
Üye

Doç. Dr. Eda YÜCESOY
Başkan

Prof. Dr. Cem BEHAR
Üye

Doç. Dr. Hızır Murat KÖSE
Üye

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Üye

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