

# Appendices

## Appendix A

**Table A.1** The Names and Details of the Narrators Who Are Referred Throughout the Study<sup>1</sup>

<i>Book names</i>	<i>Date of birth</i>	<i>Community<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Interview date<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>Explanation</i>
Ahmet	1946		Lawyer	April 19, 2008	Canan's husband, son-in-law of a protector
Aydin	1923		Ex-grocer	June 3, 2008	Living nearby Muradiye neighborhood since 1968
Alper	1964	Muhacirs	—	May 16, 2008	From one of the target families. Mahir's son
Ayfer	1925		—		Neighbor witness in Tepecik neighborhood. Necla's mother. Widow of a coffeehouse owner
Ayten	1945		Solmaz's wife	May 28, 2008	Ordinary townsperson
Berrin	1960	Muhacirs	Domestic worker	April 22, 2008	From one of the main target families. Cevza's sister, working as Canan's domestic labor

**Table A.1** (Continued)

<i>Book names</i>	<i>Date of birth</i>	<i>Community<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Interview date<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>Explanation</i>
Bidon Hilmi	1930	Muhacirs	Petty worker	April 30, 2008	From one of the main target families. Married to Meral
Canan	1947		Retired teacher, daughter of first mayor in the town	April 18, 2008	Employer witness. Her father protected a muhacir Gypsy family working as their domestic labors
Cemal Tantanci	1925		Retired governor, lawyer	April 27, 2009	The governor of the province at the time who was in charge from 1967 to 1971
Cevza	1955	Muhacirs	—	April 22, 2008	Descendant from one of the main target families
Erman	1935		Old secretariat of Drivers' Association	April 17, 2008	Informant on the development of transportation business and relations between drivers in the town
Ezgi	1931	Local Gypsies	—	May 10, 2008	From one of the target families
Faruk	1940		Forestry worker	May 20, 2008	Informant on the forestry business in the town
Fatima	1935		Helva maker's wife	June 3, 2008	Fitnat's daughter
Fazil	1937	Local Gypsies	Baker	May 19, 2008	—

Fitnat	1912		—	June 3, 2008	Ordinary townspeople. Passed away in 2009
Hale	1952		Daughter of a Helvaci	April 18, 2008	Employer witness from one of the Helvaci families
Hulya	1940		—	June 22, 2008	Neighbor witness. Lived in Muradiye neighborhood between 1955 and 1985, widow of an automobile repairman
Huseyin Kiltas	1950		Ex-driver, head of the Drivers' Chamber	June 20, 2008	Perpetrator from Drivers' Community. Came to the town in 1957, got his driving license in 1968
Ilker Tortor	1944		Recent mayor	May 10, 2008	The mayor since 2004 in the town
Ismail	1959		Primary school teacher	July 4, 2008	Neighbor witness. Still living in Muradiye neighborhood
Kadir	1927		Ex-driver and a businessman	August 20, 2009	Leading perpetrator
Karahmet	1961	Yoruk origin	Taxi driver	June 7, 2008	Witness
Kismet	1926	Muhacirs	—	April 22, 2008	From one of the target families. Cevza's mother
Mahir	1947	Muhacirs	Retired postman	May 16, 2008	From one of the target families
Mahmut	1948		Retired teacher	April 7, 2007	My uncle, with close contacts with the socially active, leading figures in the town

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**Table A.1** (Continued)

<i>Book names</i>	<i>Date of birth</i>	<i>Community<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Interview date<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>Explanation</i>
Meliha	1942		—	08 May 2008	Neighbor witness. Former resident in Tepecik neighborhood. Living in the town since 1958. Widow of a coffeeshop worker
Melis	1979		Religious preacher	June 22, 2008	Former resident in Muradiye neighborhood
Meral	1933	Muhacir Gypsies	—	April 28, 2008	From one of the target families. Married to Bidon Hilmi
Mesiye	1941	Local Gypsies	Baker	May 22, 2008	Resident of Tepecik neighborhood
Mukhtar Kemal	1932		Muhtar since 1967, tailor	May 22, 2008	Witness. An important social and political figure in the town
Mustafa	1947		Present head of the Transporter's Cooperative in the town	May 22, 2008	
Necla	1940		Retired primary school teacher	May 10, 2008	Neighbor witness. A resident of Tepecik neighborhood
Necmi	1952	Muhacir	Petty worker	June 27, 2008	He was doing his military service out of the town during the attacks
Nitki	1950		Ex-driver	June 12, 2008	Recent head of the Drivers' Chamber
Ramazan	1948		Ex-driver	June 14, 2008	

Ramiz	1946		Petty businessman	August 18, 2006	Employer witness
Rana	1935	Muhacirs	—	May 12, 2008	From the main target family. Dilaver Kocayar's daughter, Fikret's sister
Salih	1924		Retired butcher and old town counselor ( <i>il encumeni</i> )	May 5, 2008	Witness of the beating of the attorney and important social and political figure at the time
Salim	1942		Ex-driver	May 14, 2008	Perpetrator in the attacks
Selim	1945		Retired teacher	April 12, 2007	My uncle
Sebiye	1955	Muhacirs	—	May 17, 2008	
Seyyal	1966	Muhacirs	Housewife	May 6, 2008	Descendant from the main target family. Living in Edremit, married to a Roman pub manager
Solmaz	1943		Ex-mayor in the early 2000s, small businessman in fruit trade	May 26, 2008	Witness. An important social and political figure in the town
Sukufe	1974	Muhacirs	—	April 22, 2008	Descendant from one of the main target families
Tayfun	1949		Ex-driver	May 24, 2008	
Tijen	1947		Retired teacher	April 12, 2007	My aunt

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## Appendix B

### *The Life Story of the Leading Perpetrator*

Kadir's life story is noteworthy to realize his background and the extent of his power. He told me his story on August 20, 2009. Kadir was born in 1927. He had come to the town from his village Kızıltepe in 1936 to attend primary school. His family was the most powerful one in the village; they had farms and his grandfather was dealing with livestock. From his generation, he was the first one to go to school from his village. He wanted to teach the others.

He joined the military in 1949, where he built a friendship with the muhacir Gypsy Fikret. There, he took a course in driving in Izmir. After two years, he quit the military, went back to his village where he was a peasant, and got his driving license in 1954. At that time, the municipality of Çanakkale was distributing driving licenses. There were only two persons who applied for a license in the town. The other one was also from his village.

In 1955–1956, he decided to move to the town center, as he did not see an enjoyable future under the rule of his father and grandfather in the village. At that time, a new company from Istanbul—Çarmıklı Company—had come to the town to build a hydroelectric terminal. They had announced the job of a foreman (*amela cavucusu*). Kadir took up the job in the company, and his new world of networking started. His task was to find 1,200 employees to work for the company, for which he would get a handsome wage, 180 liras (at the time when an employee at the terminal could make only two or two and half liras a day). He had found 55 persons from the town. For the rest, he went to every village of the town and other towns. At last, he had managed to find all of the employees he needed. The networking and his image as a job-finder at that time would reinforce Kadir's later work, and his image as a respected but also fearful figure in the following years. This network was also meaningful to understanding the great number of villagers in the attacks.

The Çarmıklı company also employed him in the stone quarry (*taşocağı*). His job at the company lasted for two and a half years. When his workload was not much anymore in 1957, he bought a jeep to use in the transportation business (the old jeep of Rater Çavucus, who was working for the municipality). He made very good money out of it. In those times, the jeep would be used to carry people and goods between villages, towns, and the city center. He also carried doctors and judges to their jobs. There were only five jeeps including his in the town at that time.

In those years, the people would take wood from the forest, but there were only four or five very old lorries. Kadir started the business in the late 1950s. He sold the jeep to buy an open lorry in 1959–1960 in a partnership (at that time, there were eight lorries in the town including theirs. In 1961, three more persons bought lorries. At that time, there were 20–30 drivers). After a year, they sold it, and he started working as a driver as he had received a very good offer (55 liras a month while an ordinary driver would get 35). Then, he worked as a driver for a few other buses and lorries.

Kadir recalled that at that time, if one could not drive in the mountains, it would be difficult to get a job. The roads in the mountain though were very dangerous. They only were improved in the late 1960s. He said driving was the best profession at that time. Many girls wanted to marry a driver. Among the drivers, he was the most in demanded, with Fikret Kocayar and three more persons. In the late 1960s, he and Fikret bought a lorry together and worked in the market transporting wood from the storage to final destination. He did not mention any discontent. Instead, he emphasized the misbehavior of the Gypsies.

In the 1970s, Kadir dominated the transportation sector. First, he went into the minibus business. Rahmi had founded Bayramiç Birlik, a minibus company working between the town and the city center, and Kadir became a partner in the only minibus in this company. He also worked as the driver. In the minibus business, there appeared other competitors from the closest town, Ezine. Kadir also had fights over customers with those drivers there. In 1973, he became the head of the drivers' chamber. He was leading many organizations; at that time, he was the second head in the sports club, the head of the state officials' association/club. It was also the year that the tradesmen of the town founded their own company "Eser Nakliyat" to bring their goods from Istanbul that had been handled by the Ezine people's lorries before. Kadir would register the lorry in his name. This was also a significant cooperation in which not agas but the tradesmen and other moderate townspeople collaborated. At that time, Kadir had two open lorries, two buses, and one minibus.

He asserted that they had been better off starting in the 1970s and once in early 1970s he was the second person in the tax records of the town. He had been the strongest among the transporters. Toward the 1980s, however, the number of lorries increased to around 80–100. Then the numbers of drivers had increased dramatically and new companies had mushroomed in other towns. By that time, the driving sector had become comparably less profitable and Kadir started losing his power.

# Notes

## Chapter 1

1. *Radikal*, January 6, 2010.
2. With slight differences, my multidimensional approach to analyze the case is thus similar to Bergmann. See Werner Bergmann, "Exclusionary Riots: Some Theoretical Considerations," in *Exclusionary Violence*, edited by Christhard Hoffmann, Werner Bergmann and Helmut Walser Smith (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2002), 161–185.
3. Jan T. Gross, *Neighbours: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland, 1941* (London: Arrow Books, 2003).
4. *Sepetcis* (basket weavers), who recently settled in the town, were not among these groups at the time.
5. The term refers to Muslim immigrants who formerly lived in the Ottoman Empire and were accepted as refugees by the Turkish Republic. In the town, it is used for the Gypsies who came from Greece in the period of the population exchange in the 1920s.
6. Walter Benjamin, "The Storyteller," in *Illuminations*, edited by Hannah Arendt (New York: Schocken Books, 1969).
7. For a good analysis of the interplay between these two, see Dik Van Arkel, "The Growth of the Anti-Jewish Stereotype: An Attempt at Hypothetical-Deductive Method of Historical Research," *International Review of Social History* 30 (1985): 270–306.
8. Some of the wealthy villagers had already come to the town to benefit from socioeconomic advantages, such as a more vivid public life, economic gains, and education for their children.
9. Everett Cherrington Hughes, "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status," *The American Journal of Sociology* 50, no. 5 (March 1945): 353–359. Hughes describes how some statuses in our societies are determined in relation to personal attributes. These attributes are linked to perceptions through categories and this type of status determining can lead to racial status groups.
10. Dik van Arkel, *The Drawing of the Mark of Cain: A Socio-Historical Analysis of the Growth of Anti-Jewish Stereotypes* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 90–92.
11. Richard Alba and Victor Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).



12. David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 6.
13. Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 44. Brubaker stresses that groups can originate as a result of violence, while Bergmann stresses the opposite situation in which groups exist already before the application of exclusionary violence. For a critique of overestimation of ethnic features in the literature, see John R. Bowen, "The Myth of Global Ethnic Conflict," *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 4 (1996): 3–14.
14. Susan Olzak, *The Dynamics of Ethnic Competition and Conflicts* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), 20.
15. E. Boris, E. A. Janssens, "Complicating Categories: An Introduction." *International Review of Social History* 44 (1999) 7 (Supplement): 1–14.
16. For a discussion on how our perceptions follow the idea of enlightenment pertaining to producing knowledge about nature and society and thus restrict the view of many sociologists, see Pierre L. Van den Berghe, "Why Most Sociologists Don't and Won't Think Evolutionarily," *Sociological Forum* 5, no. 2 (June 1990): 173–185.
17. James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity," *International Organization* 54, no. 4 (Autumn 2000): 848.
18. Michael A. Hogg and Dominic Abrams, *Social Identification: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes* (London; New York: Routledge Press, 1988), 14.
19. Fredrik Barth, "Introduction," in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, edited by Fredrik Barth (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1969): 10–11.
20. Wimmer Andreas, "The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory," *American Journal of Science* 113, no. 4 (January 2008): 986–987. For a new understanding of assimilation and changing boundaries, also see Alba and Nee (*Remaking the American Mainstream*).
21. Foucault, quoted in Stuart Hall, "Introduction Who Needs Identity," in *Cultural Identity*, edited by Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (London; Thousand Oaks; New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1996), 2.
22. Stuart Hall, "The New Ethnicities," in *Race, Culture and Difference*, edited by J. Donald and A. Rattansi (London: Sage Publications, 1992), 252–260.
23. Hall, "Introduction," 4.
24. Hall, "Introduction," 5.
25. Brubaker, *Ethnicity*, 11.
26. Edward P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books; 1968).
27. Hughes, "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status," 354.
28. Pierre van Den Berghe, "Does Race Matter?" in *Nations and Nationalism I*, no. 3 (1995): 359–68.
29. *Ibid.*
30. We can also observe it in postmodern urban groupings by the way we dress, choose our hairstyle, and other external features.

31. Security here should primarily be understood in a psychological sense. Although it includes a search for material sources and physical existence, it primarily refers to psychological and emotional comfort. Military reflections, on the other hand, manipulate and abuse the need for security and the fear for its absence. To find a relative approach with a different terminology, Butler's emphasis on the mutual existence of recognition of identities and redistribution of sources as required remedies for a fair world is helpful.
32. The term "interest" here should be thought of in both material and spiritual satisfactions.
33. Van Den Berghe, "Does Race Matter?"
34. Rogers Brubaker, "Ethnicity without Groups," in *Facing Ethnic Conflicts: Towards a New Realism*, edited by Andreas Wimmer (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004). 39.
35. It is also at stake in relations between individuals. For instance, being wealthy, following dominant moral and behavioral codes, wearing certain brands, and way of talking and looking may serve to make people automatically recognize the other as equal because self-esteem is coupled with legitimate categories. These criteria that are shaped in relation to certain categories and groups can be used in negotiations as well. For a similar account, see the "bargaining with patriarchy" concept of Kandiyoti, and for an interesting study on women who use religious values to gather power to accuse men in their community of mistreating their wives, see Nazli Kibria, "Power, Patriarchy and Gender Conflict in the Vietnamese Immigrant Community," in *Asian, American Women and Gender: A Reader*, edited by Franklin Ng (London; New York: Routledge, 1999), 145–161.
36. For a discussion on the idea of a Roma nation, see Chapter 2.
37. For a research constructing poor people similar as Roma people, see Gyorgy Csepeli and Simon David, "Construction of Roma Identity in Eastern and Central Europe: Perception and Self-Identification," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30, no. 1 (January 2004): 140.
38. I am also inspired by the work of Thomas Acton and David Mayall, but for the sociohistorical conceptualization in this study, the approaches of Lucassen, Okely, and Willems to Gypsiness were more useful. In the second chapter, these works will be further articulated.
39. Judith Okely, *The Traveller-Gypsies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
40. See Leo Lucassen, "The Power of Definition, Stigmatization, Minorization and Ethnicity Illustrated by the History of Gypsies in the Netherlands," *Netherlands' Journal of Social Sciences* 27, no. 2 (October 1991): 80–91. See also Leo Lucassen, Wim Willems and Annemarie Cottaar, *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups. A Socio-historical Approach* (London; New York: MacMillan/St. Martin's Press, 1998).
41. Lucassen, "The Power of Definition."
42. Chapter 2 will provide a discussion on the construction of Turkishness.

43. These very layers are rarely emphasized in Romani literature that deals with Gypsies mainly by focusing on folkloric features.
44. Benjamin, "The Storyteller," 261.
45. *Ibid.*, 263.
46. Harry D. Harootunian, "The Benjamin Effect: Modernism, Repetition, and the Path to Different Cultural Imaginaries," in *Walter Benjamin and the Demands of History*, edited by Michael P. Steinberg (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 67.
47. Paul Thompson, "The Voice of the Past," in *The Oral History Reader*, edited by Robert Pecks and Alistair Thompson (London: New York: Routledge, 1998), 21–29.
48. For the emergence of oral history as a new discipline in the historiography of Turkey, see Arzu Öztürkmen, "Sözlü Tarih: Yeni Bir Disiplinin Cazibesi" (Oral history: The attractiveness of a new discipline). *Toplum ve Bilim, İstanbul* (Winter 2001/2002), 115–121.
49. Alessandro Portelli, "What Makes Oral History Different," in *The Oral History Reader*, edited by Robert Pecks and Alistair Thompson (London; New York: Routledge, 1998): 67.
50. Alex Haley, "Black History, Oral History and Genealogy," in *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, edited by David K. Dunaway and Willa K. Baum (California: Altamira Press, 1996), 9–21. Haley argues that how black people's history has not been written especially for the ones captured and brought to America to work as slaves and the writer explains how he found out about his ancestor and his origins through oral history. In addition to this, Sherbakova argues that political remembering and memory constituted a "serious threat" as for the Soviet regime; Irina Sherbakova, "The Gulag in Memory," in *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, edited by David K. Dunaway and Willa K. Baum (California: Altamira Press, 1996): 235.
51. Paul Thompson, *The Voice of The Past: Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 58.
52. *Ibid.*, 67.
53. *Ibid.*, 69.
54. For the interaction between history and sociology as well as other social sciences such as anthropology, psychology, and geography, see new approaches in historiography by Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory* (Ithaca: New York: Cornell University Press, 1992); Geoff Eley, "Is All the World a Text? From Social History to the History of Society e Decades Later," in *Historic Turn in the Human Science*, edited by Terence, McDonalds (Ann Arbor: Michigan State University, 1996), 193–243.
55. Thompson, *The Voice*, 48.
56. *Ibid.*, 48.
57. *Ibid.* Also see Ronald J. Grele, "Movement Without Aim: Methodological and Theoretical Problems in Oral History," in *The Oral History Reader*, edited by Robert Pecks and Alistair Thompson (London; New York: Routledge, 1998), 38–53.

58. Portelli, "What Makes," 68.
59. Grele, "Movement," 41.
60. Neither local nor nationwide documentation was available on the case. I consulted the archives of municipality, the security forces, the administration of justice, and local governorship at the local level, and the Ministry of Domestic Affairs, the Ministry of Highways, and the Ministry of Forestry at the national level. Most documents on the town and in the period under investigation were destroyed. However, limited findings on socioeconomic context of the time and some statistical values will be used to demonstrate our inquiry in Chapter 3.

## Chapter 2

1. The international Roma movement started in the 1960s. For the intensification of Roma politics from the national to the international level, see Ilona Klimova-Alexander, "The Development and Institutionalization of Romani Representation and Administration. Part 3b: From National Organizations to International Umbrellas (1945–1970)—the International Level," *Nationalities Papers* 35, no. 4 (September 2007): 627–661. For the significance of Roma politics within European politics, see Martin Kovats, "The Emergence of European Roma Policy," in *Between Past and Future: The Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Guy Will (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire, 2001), 94–95; Dena Ringold, Mitchell A. Orenstein and Erika Wilkens, *Roma in an Expanding Europe: Breaking the Poverty Cycle* (New York: The World Bank, 2005); Peter Thelen, "Roma Policy: The Long Walk Towards Political Participation," in *Roma in Europe: From Social Exclusion to Active Participation*, edited by Peter Thelen (Skopje: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2005), 7–74.
2. In 2004, eight CEE countries acquired EU membership: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia. Moreover, in 2007 with Bulgaria and Romania joining the EU, the Roma population increased additionally.
3. For the Gypsy holocaust, see Donald Kenrick and Grattan Puxon, *Destiny of Europe's Gypsies* (New York: Basic Books, 1972); Otto Rosenberg, *A Gypsy in Auschwitz* (London: Allison & Busby Ltd., 1999); Toby Sonneman, *Shared Sorrows: A Gypsy Family Remembers the Holocaust* (Herts: University Of Hertfordshire Press, 2002).
4. See Amnesty International's action on racial discrimination against Roma in Italy: Amnesty International. September 10, 2010. *Italy Must Stop the Discrimination against Roma*. Available online: <http://www.amnesty.org/en/appeals-for-action/italy-must-stop-the-discrimination-against-roma> (accessed January 14, 2011); also see the very recent French policy on the expulsion of Roma: BBC. August 22, 2010. *France Sends Roma Gypsies back to Romania*. Available online: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11020429> (accessed January 14, 2011).

5. Clare Gillsater, Dena Ringold and Julius Varallyay, *Roma in an Expanding Europe: Challenges for the Future* (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2004), 6.
6. Similar to some other scholars in Turkey and Europe, I prefer using the term “Gypsy” and its Turkish counterpart “Çingene,” although I respect others who avoid the term for its pejorative usages. In Turkey, some refer to themselves as Roman in the hope that this will rescue them from discrimination. By referring to others as *Çingene* they just repeat and reinforce existing prejudices and stereotypes about *Çingenes*. The term serves as an umbrella concept and covers many groups. In Europe, the term “Roma” is not accepted by some groups because it leads to misrepresentation. In Turkey, the term “Roman” has become popular in the process of incorporation to international Roma politics, and it has the potential to exclude some others, including Doms or Loms in some cases. I believe that instead of avoiding the term, the pejorative meanings, stereotypes, and prejudices along with the exclusionary practices, discourses, and related inequalities should be problematized. Otherwise, it misses a broader recognition of the struggle for emancipation and instead reinforces the status quo and hierarchies within it. Thus, I only use “Roma” or “Roman” when I refer to those specific self-declared groups, for the ones who identify themselves as such and for the sake of clarification in reference to certain literature and international Roma politics.
7. For example, by The Gypsy Lore Society.
8. Ana Revenga, Dena Ringold and W. Martin Tracy, *Poverty and Ethnicity: A Cross-Country Study of Roma Poverty in Central Europe* (Washington, DC: The World Bank, 2002), 5.
9. Gillsater et al., *Roma in an Expanding Europe*, 8. Whereas Romania has the largest number of Roma, estimated at between 1 and 2 million, Hungary, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Turkey, and Serbia and Montenegro follow with Roma populations between 400,000 and 1 million. See Ringold et.al., *Roma in an Expanding Europe*, 2. Spain has the largest Gypsy population in Western Europe with an estimated number of 630,000; it is followed by France (310,000), Italy (130,000), and Germany (70,000) (Ibid.). Thus, although there are Gypsies in every European country, mainly the CEE countries, such as Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Macedonia, and Serbia and Montenegro have the majority of Roma people as two-thirds of them live in these countries. Also see Charlotte Tubbox (April 18, 2005). “The largest Trans-European Minority.” *The European Magazine*, Available online: <http://www.cafebabel.co.uk/article/13593/the-largest-trans-european-minority.html> (accessed January 14, 2011).
10. Thomas Acton, *Gypsy Politics and Social Change. The Development of Ethnic Ideology and Pressure Politics Among British Gypsies from Victorian Reformism to Romano Nationalism* (London; Boston: Routledge; Kegan Paul, 1974), 54.
11. See Zoltan Barany, *The East European Gypsies: Regime Change, Marginality, and Ethnopolitics* (Cambridge: New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002). On the differences between various parts of Europe due to different state

- systems, see Leo Lucassen and Wim Willems, “The Weakness of Well Ordered Societies. Gypsies in Europe, the Ottoman Empire and India 1400–1914,” *Review. A Journal of the Fernand Braudel Center for the Study of Economics, Historical Systems and Civilizations* 26, no. 3 (2003), 283–313. For different identifications in relation to different ethnic policies, see Acton, *Gypsy Politics and Social Change*, 34–38.
12. Their Indian origin is highly debated.
  13. Yaron Matras, *Romani: A Linguistic Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
  14. Barany, *The East European Gypsies*, 9. The date of their migration triggers ongoing debates as the starting time of the migration changes between the fifth and the eleventh century. For instance, according to Hancock, the Roma people first started to migrate with the effect of Gazneli Mahmut as he enslaved Indian soldiers between AD 1001 and AD 1026. Ian Hancock, *The Heroic Present: The Photographs of Jan Yoors and His Life with the Gypsies*. (New York: The Monacelli Press, 2004). This group was not homogenized as the Indian army consisted of people from very different ethnic groups. Hancock derives this from linguistic traces, which may give an idea of the timing and form of the outmigration from India. On the other hand, the Romani scholar Fraser followed an Arab historian Hamza Isfahani, who mentioned the fifth century as the time of departure by referring to the Iranian shah Behram Gur, who asked for musicians believed to be Gypsy’s ancestors from the Indian king Shangul. Angus Fraser, *Çingeneler (Gypsies)* (Istanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2005). Also see Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov, *Osmanlı İmparatorlugunda Çingeneler (Gypsies in the Ottoman Empire)* (Istanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2006).
  15. Wim Willems, *In Search of the True Gypsy: From Enlightenment to Final Solution* (London; New York: Routledge, 1998).
  16. For example, Fraser and Hancock.
  17. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, international institutions such as the UNDP, the Council of Europe, and the OSCE as well as national and international NGOs engaged themselves in Roma politics within the region, doing some activities such as conducting research, conducting social projects, and seeking social policy programs for Roma in Europe. The first step in the European Roma policy was taken in 1993 by the approval of the report “On Gypsies in Europe” that recognizes Roma as “real European minority” by the Council of Europe (Thelen, “Roma Policy,” 37).
  18. For example, for research on Dom people, see Kevin Holmes, “The Dom of Egypt: A DRC Update, May 2002,” *Kuri: Journal of the Dom Research Centre* 1, no. 6 (Spring/Summer 2002). Available online: <http://www.domresearchcenter.com/journal/16/index.html> (accessed January 14, 2011); Allen Williams, “The Current Situation of the Dom in Jordan: A DRC Update,” *Kuri: Journal of the Dom Research Centre* 1, no. 8 (Spring/Summer 2003). Available online: <http://www.domresearchcenter.com/journal/18/index.html> (accessed January 14, 2011).

19. See David Mayall, *Gypsy Identities 1500–2000; From Egipcians and Moonmen to the Ethnic Romany* (London; New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2004), 12.
20. For a deeper analysis of the representations of Gypsy image and groups, legislations, and thus the construction of the Gypsy category with a focus on British context, see Mayall.
21. Willems, *In Search of the True Gypsy*.
22. Many people do not even realize the difference between race and ethnicity. In Mayall's differentiation that I find fruitful, race would refer to biological difference, objective states, and immutable, while ethnicity would stand for mutable, subjective, cultural, and fluid (277). The distinction between the two is not really conceivable in practice and the two terms are used as synonyms in many cases though.
23. Trubeta considers nomadism as part of the imagined Gypsiness, while other scholars still consider nomadism as the main feature of Gypsy culture. Sevasti Trubeta, " 'Gypsiness,' Racial Discourse and Persecution: Balkan Roma during the Second World War," *Nationalisties Papers* 31, no. 4 (December 2003): 499. Liegeois observes:

Gypsies had long been trapped the allure of a myth (handsome, artistic, unrestrained, but consigned to folklore) and the wretched stereotype of the nomad (dirty, a thief and always too close for comfort). So pervasive was the image that Gypsies had little choice but to let others see what they expected to see.

Jean Pierre Liegeois, *Gypsies: An Illustrated History* (London: Al Saqi Books, 1986), 163.

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

25. McVeigh, "Theorising Sedentarism," gives the example of new travelers for this case. He supports his argument with the existence of cases such as semi-nomadic people and communities as well as sedentary communities who returned to nomadic life. He also argues that the transition to sedentary life was quite problematic as it was not voluntary for all people, but it terrorized the nomads. Furthermore, he formulates an imminent critique: "Despite the virulence of sedentary attacks on the uncivilized nature of the nomad, there is evidence to suggest that sedentarisation was far from emancipatory for formerly nomadic groups." Thus, he questions the promises and lacks of sedentarism in fulfilling those promises for relative emancipation of people. On the contrary, as he asserts, sedentarism may be advantageous and emancipatory for the dominant classes, but not for the whole society.
26. McVeigh approaches sedentarism "not reducible to race or class [but] . . . structured by both" (20). He argues that nomads are against private property, especially land. Also see Leo Lucassen, Wim Willems and Annemarie Cottaar, eds. *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups: A Socio-Historical Approach* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998).
27. Leo Lucassen, "External Vagrants? State Formation, Migration and Traveling Groups in Western Europe, 1350–1914," in *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups: A Socio-Historical Approach*, edited by Leo Lucassen, Wim Willems and Annemarie Cottaar (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 55–74.
28. Lucassen, "External Vagrants?," 56.
29. Lucassen et al., *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups*, 7.
30. *Ibid.*, 11–12.
31. Willems similarly suggests a different approach for Gypsy history that would also enable positioning it in a wider articulation of social phenomena such as immigration. See Willems, *In Search of the True Gypsy*, 308–309.
32. Judith Okely, *The Traveller Gypsies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 10.
33. *Ibid.*, 53.
34. *Ibid.*, 67.
35. Janice E. Perlman, *The Myth of Marginality. Urban Poverty and Politics in Rio de Janeiro* (London: University of California Press, 1976), 243–245. For arguments on how poor people internalize dominant values in Turkey, see Necmi Erdogan, "Garibanların Dünyası: Türkiye'de Yoksulların Kültürel Temsilleri Üzerine İlk Notlar" (The first notes on the cultural representations of the poor in Turkey), *Toplum ve Bilim* (Yaz 2001), 7–21.
36. Okely, *The Traveller Gypsies*, 73.
37. Leo Lucassen, "The Power of Definition, Stigmatization, Minorization and Ethnicity Illustrated by the History of Gypsies in the Netherlands." *Netherlands' Journal of Social Sciences* 27, no. 2 (October 1991): 85.
38. Janos Ladanyi and Ivan Szelenyi, *Patterns of Exclusion: Constructing Gypsy Ethnicity and the Making of an Underclass in Transitional Societies of Europe* (New York: East European Monographs, distributed by Columbia University Press, 2006), 28–29.



39. Heuss explained how ideas around the Enlightenment have been important in the articulation of work and idleness in Germany, and how it is related to anti-Gypsism. See Herbert Heuss, "Anti-Gypsism Research: The Creation of a New Field of Study," in *Scholarship and the Gypsy Struggle; Commitment in Romani Studies*, edited by Thomas Acton (Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2000), 52–69. The unwillingness of Gypsies to work is a widespread prejudice that was repeated by some Gadjos in my fieldwork as well. As Okely would argue, this may be related partly to the different conceptualization of work for some Gypsies. Being mostly occupied in the informal sector rather than getting formal jobs also contributes to this prejudice. This is due to the perception of formal jobs as "real work," although most informal jobs may require more physical and mental efforts and less (in most cases even none) social benefits. The reluctance of Gypsies to get a formal job also is accepted in the society and indicated by some Gypsies as reported by Kolukırık. Suat Kolukırık, *Dünden Bugüne Çingeller* (Gypsies from yesterday to today) (Istanbul: Ozan Yayıncılık, 2009). However, a more important aspect of the prejudice is its contribution to Gypsies' discrimination. During my research on flower sellers, some Gypsies told me that they would prefer a formal job but they would not be accepted in such jobs. The difficulty in getting a formal job especially is due to the low rate of schooling, which is also influenced by their discrimination. Thus, the prejudice and discrimination become intermingled.
40. Another important parallel was constructed between Jews and Gypsies. Although Jews were considered powerful and Gypsies as powerless, both were considered to be strangers: "Gypsies like Jews have penetrated from outside into our cultural and living circle" (Trubeta, "Gypsiness," 499). I find transmissions of prejudices very significant also for this study as will be seen in the part on parallelization of attacks in Chapter 5.
41. *Ibid.*, 505.
42. For a critique, see Peter Vermeersch, "Ethnic Minority Identity and Movement Politics: The case of the Roma in the Czech Republic and Slovakia," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 26, no. 5 (September 2003): 886–889; Thomas Acton and Nicolae Gheorghe, "Citizens of the World and Nowhere: Minority, Ethnic and Human Rights for Roma During the Last Hurrah of the Nation-State," in *Between Past and Future: The Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Guy Will (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire, 2001), 54–70.
43. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London; New York: Verso, 1991).
44. Istvan Pogany, "Minority Rights and the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe," *Human Rights Law Review* 6, no. 1 (2006): 1–25.
45. Paloma Gay Y. Blasco, "Gypsy/Roma Diasporas: A Comparative Perspective," *Social Anthropology* 10, no. 2 (2002): 173–188.
46. Also see Zoltan D. Barany, "Ethnic Mobilization without Prerequisites: The East European Gypsies," *World Politics* 54, no. 3 (April 2002): 277–307.
47. See Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

48. Blasco, "Gypsy/Roma Diasporas," 174–175.
49. Whereas in Turkey, "Roman" became a more neutral term, some prefer the term "Gypsy," because it covers other groups who do not really identify with Romanness such as Dom or Lom or Mitrip (some of these groups of course do not even accept the term Gypsy—such as Mitrip—or they consider it as a form of discrimination. Some only accept local terms or specific group names depending on different criteria such as professions or family names).
50. *Ibid.*, 178.
51. Fredrik Barth, "Introduction," in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, edited by Fredrik Barth (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1969), 18.
52. See Barany, *The East European Gypsies*, 195–200, for the increase in racist and anti-Gypsy movement in this period.
53. Ringold et al., *Roma in an Expanding Europe*, 4.
54. Vermeersch, "Ethnic Minority Identity and Movement Politics," 891–892.
55. For example, Thelen, "Roma Policy," 33–34.
56. Janos Ladanyi, "The Hungarian Neoliberal State, Ethnic Classification and the Creation of a Roma Underclass," in *Poverty, Ethnicity, and Gender in Eastern Europe During the Market Transition*, edited by Rebecca Jean Emigh and Ivan Szelenyi (Westport: Praeger Publisher, 2000), 71.
57. Loic Wacquant, "Decivilizing and Demonizing: Remaking the Black American Ghetto," in *The Sociology of Norbert Elias*, edited by Steven Loyal and Stephen Quilley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 106.
58. Michael B. Katz, *The Undeserving Poor: From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare* (New York: Pantheon, 1989).
59. Ladanyi, "The Hungarian Neoliberal State," 68.
60. Michael Stewart, "Deprivation, the Roma and 'the underclass,'" in *Postsocialism: Ideals, Ideologies, and Practices in Eurasia*, edited by C.M. Hann (London; New York: Routledge, 2002), 143.
61. Ladanyi and Szelenyi developed their arguments in a later study, which displays changes in the ethnic construction of the Gypsy people although they hold on to the term "underclass" with all its problematic associations (Ladanyi and Szelenyi, *Patterns of Exclusion*, 8). Although I am suspicious of any usages of the term "underclass," I appreciate Ladanyi and Szelenyi's approach for their emphasis on the process, and their reluctance of labeling but rather understanding the term in its historical context and as "a historically specific form of social exclusion" (*Ibid.*, 10). Thus, they lay out different types of exclusion in reference to Gypsies while revealing changes in the construction of the category.
62. I agree with Butler, "Merely Cultural," with her call for a broader understanding of discrimination within the intersection of cultural, socioeconomic, and political inequalities. Also fruitful is her focus on reciprocity between the recognition of identities and redistribution of sources for remedies against discrimination. Butler states that cultural recognition is attached to material oppression. It is not possible to separate them, but they are intertwined. In this context, the intermingling nature of social exclusion through ethnicity

- and poverty as reflections of certain group identifications and/or labels facing low living standards in the line of class inequalities becomes clear.
63. Rom, Dom, and Lom Gypsies are referred to as the main groups in Gypsy studies. Their different cultures and civilizations and linguistic differences are also connected to differences in the timing of their alleged emigration from India. See Fraser.
  64. Adrian Richard Marsh and Elin Strand, *Reaching the Romanlar* (Istanbul: International Romani Studies Network (IRSN) Report, 2005), 29–30.
  65. Ana Oprisan, “Overview on the Roma in Turkey,” *Journal of the Dom Research Center: Kuri* 1, no. 7 (Fall/Winter 2002). Available online: <http://www.domresearchcenter.com/resources/links/oprisan17.html> (accessed January 14, 2011).
  66. Emine O. İncirlioğlu, “Secaat Arzederken Merd: Türkiye’de Çingenelerin Örgütlenme Sorunları” (Gypsies’ problems of organization in Turkey). In *Türk(iye) Kültürleri [Cultures of Turk(ey)]*, edited by Gönül Pultar and Tahire Erman (Istanbul: Tetragon İletişim Hizmetleri, 2005), 186.
  67. For example, Erdilek, in my interview with her, indicated that although there is no law that prohibits a Gypsy to become a state officer, they are not accepted for these positions. However, it is not clear how far this statement reflects the reality as İncirlioğlu (184) mentions Gypsy state officers among Trakya Gypsies in her article. Moreover, Kolkurık points at the high probability of Gypsies working in the informal sector, not only because of exclusion but also because of their own choice. Nevertheless, it should be recognized that the choice of Gypsies is highly determined by exclusionary practices.
  68. Marsh and Strand and the interview with Erdilek.
  69. Richard Alba and Victor Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).
  70. İncirlioğlu, “Secaat Arzederken Merd”, observes three groups of Gypsies in Edirne: the ones who are assimilated, “good Gypsies,” and the poor ones (184).
  71. Mischek emphasizes their monopolistic character, but I do not agree with the usage of this term due to the harsh conditions under which they have to work, and their limited profits and opportunity spaces that contrast with the concept of monopoly, which is based on power and exploitation. Udo Mischek, “The Professional Skills of Gypsies in Istanbul,” *Journal of the Dom Research Center: Kuri* 1, no 7 (Fall/Winter 2002). Available online: <http://www.domresearchcenter.com/resources/links/mischek17.html> (accessed January 14, 2011). My own field research among Gypsy people in Turkey and specifically among flower sellers in Istanbul did not find them occupying very advantageous positions as Mischek would argue. Although they are relatively better off compared to the waged jobs that might be offered to them, they face very harsh working conditions and in most of the cases they choose the job due to their limited choices. Thus, their direct or indirect exclusion from formal sectors, the limited degree of their assimilation, and

- their consideration of life practices and work ethic limit their choices to enter formal jobs.
72. Adrian Marsh, "Ethnicity and Identity: The Origin of the Gypsies" in *We Are Here! Discriminatory Exclusion and Struggle for Rights of Roma in Turkey*, edited by Ebru Uzpeder, Savelina Danova/Roussinova, Sevgi Özçelik and Sinan Gökçen (Istanbul: Mart Publishing, 2008), 19–29.
  73. For example, Gypsy attacks against Kurds in Tarlabası and Dolapdere: *Haber Vitrini* (December 14, 2009), "Romanlar Beyoğlunu Karıştıran DTPKK' lıları Satırlarla Kovaladı" (Roma chased DTPKK [Kurdish Salvation Party Supporters] who messed up Beyoğlu with choppers). Available online: [http://www.habervitrini.com/polise\\_yuh\\_pkklilari\\_kovalayan\\_romanlara\\_mudahale-435526.html](http://www.habervitrini.com/polise_yuh_pkklilari_kovalayan_romanlara_mudahale-435526.html) (accessed January 14, 2011). *EurActiv* (December 16, 2009), "Dolapdere'de Çatışan Kürtler ve Romanlar" (Kurds and Roma in clash in Dolapdere). Available online: <http://www.euractiv.com.tr/ab-ve-turkiye/article/dolapderede-carpisan-kurtlerle-romanlar-008116> (accessed January 14, 2011).
  74. Marsh, "Ethnicity and Identity."
  75. Udo Mischek, "Mahalle Identity Roman (Gypsy) Identity under Urban Conditions," in *Gypsies and the Problem of Identities; Contextual, Constructed and Contested*, edited by Adrian Marsh and Elin Strand (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute, 2006), 158–159.
  76. Adrian Marsh, "A Brief History of Gypsies in Turkey," in *We Are Here! Discriminatory Exclusion and Struggle for Rights of Roma in Turkey*, edited by Ebru Uzpeder, Savelina Danova/Roussinova, Sevgi Özçelik, and Sinan Gökçen (Istanbul: Mart Publishing, 2008), 5.
  77. Soulis referred in Marsh, "A Brief History," 7.
  78. Çelik explored four kanunnames from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of the Ottoman Empire in her work. The first kanunname was issued in the time of Mehmet the Conqueror and the rest were from the followers. Faika Çelik, "Exploring Marginality in the Ottoman Empire: Gypsies or People of Malice (*Ehl-i Fesad*) as Viewed by the Ottomans," *European University Institute EUI Working Papers RSCAS*, no. 39 (2004).
  79. Çelik, "Exploring Marginality in the Ottoman Empire," 5.
  80. See Barany, *East European Gypsies*, and Lucassen and Willems, "The Weakness of Well Ordered Societies."
  81. Lucassen and Willems. "The Weakness of Well Ordered Societies."
  82. The scholars pointed at the recognized contribution of nomadic people in the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, many Gypsies were settled in the empire, where they were not the only nomads as there were other tribes such as Yoruks. Ginio, on the other hand, emphasizes the disapproval of Gypsies' nomadic life in their stigmatization under the Ottoman rule. Eyal Ginio, "Neither Muslims nor Zimmis: The Gypsies (Roma) in the Ottoman State," *Romani Studies* 5, 14, no. 2 (2004): 117–144.
  83. Some scholars argue that they were defined in ethnic terms. See Çelik, "Exploring Marginality in the Ottoman Empire."

84. Ginio, "Neither Muslims nor Zimmis," 119. Ginio's findings rely on the records of seriat court of the eighteenth-century Thessaloniki.
85. *Ibid.*, 119.
86. See Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830–1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).
87. Sepetçiler Pavillion on Golden Horn was built in 1643 on the Golden Horn by Gypsy basket weavers' guild's money. See Marsh, "A Brief History," 14.
88. Marushiakova and Popov, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Çingeneler*. Çelik, "Exploring Marginality in the Ottoman Empire," draw attention to the existence of *sancaks* for the classification of Gypsies' separation through their ethnicity in the empire and their professions as contributors to their social marginalization in the empire. The Gypsies of Çanakkale also underline their position in the army and the army supporting them, as it is widely said that Gypsies were settled by the city wall of Çanakkale by Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror for their expertise in making weapons.
89. Kanunname-i Kıbtıyan-ı Vilayet-i Rumeli. The law aims to regulate tax collection from Gypsies and holds the Gypsy community responsible for realizing this aim. This law displays that the taxation is higher for the nomadic and non-Muslim ones.
90. Marushiakova and Popov, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Çingeneler*, 37–39.
91. Barany gives the examples of the Romanian principalities of Moldovia and Wallacia for Gypsy slavery that dates back to 1348 (Barany, *The East European Gypsies*, 85).
92. *Ibid.*, 84–85. Altınöz also mentioned the attacks against Gypsies by other groups such as Yoruks. İsmail Altınöz, "XVI. Yuzyilda Osmanlı Devlet Yönetimi İçerisinde Çingeneler" (The Gypsies in the Ottoman state administration in the sixteenth century), in *Yeryüzünün Yabancıları Çingeneler* (Gypsies: Strangers of the Earth), edited by Suat Kolukırık (Istanbul: Simurg Publishing, 2008), 18.
93. For a deeper elaboration on the topic, see Marsh, "A Brief History," 13–15. Usamma Maksidi, "Ottoman Orientalism," *The American Historical Review* 7, no. 3 (2002): 768–796 referred in Marsh.
94. Marsh, referring to Maksidi, "A Brief History," 15.
95. See Feyzi Baban, "Community, Citizenship and Identity in Turkey," in *Citizenship in a Global World: European Questions and Turkish Experiences*, edited by E. Fuat Keyman and Ahmet İçduygu (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 52–70. Also see Bora for his point on the two dimensions of nationalism in the country: one relying on territory, homeland, and citizenship; the other relying on ethnic and essentialist identity. Tanıl Bora, "İnşa Döneminde Türk Milli Kimliği" (Turkish national identity in the period of constitution), *Toplum ve Bilim* 71 (Winter 1996): 168–195. For different nationalisms in the country, also see Umut Özkırmılı, "Türkiye'de Gayriresmî ve Popüler Milliyetçilik" (Informal and popular nationalism in Turkey), in *Milliyetçilik* (Nationalism), edited by Tanıl Bora and Murat Gültekinil (Istanbul: İletişim Yay, 2002), 3rd edition, 2008, 911–919. For the (re-)formation of Turkish nationalism in different contexts and commonalities through Turkishness,

- see Melek Göregenli, “Bir Ayrımcılık İdeolojisi Olarak Milliyetçilik” (Nationalism as an ideology of discrimination), in *Milli Hallerimiz: Yurttaşlık ve Milliyetçilik: Farkında Mıyız?* (Our national states: Citizenship and nationalism: Are we aware?), edited by Nil Mutluer and Esra Güçlüer (Istanbul: Helsinki Yurttaşlar Derneği, 2008), 78–83.
96. Meltem Ahıska, Fırat Genç and Ferhat Kentel, “*Milletin Bölünmez Bütünlüğü*” *Demokratikleşme Sürecinde Parçalayan Milliyetçilik(ler)* (“Undividable unity of the nation” tearing nationalism(s) in the process of democratization) (Istanbul: Tesev Yayınları, 2007).
97. See Soner Çağaptay, “Türklüğe Geçiş: Modern Türkiye’de Göç ve Din” (Transition to Turkishness: Migration and religion in Turkey), in *Vatandaşlık ve Etnik Çatışma* (Citizenship and Ethnic Conflict), edited by Haldun Gülalp (Istanbul: Metis Yay, 2005), 86–112.
98. For the minorities and nationalism, see Baskın Oran, *Türkiye’de Azınlıklar* (*Minorities in Turkey*) (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 61–63. Tanıl Bora, “Türk Milliyetçiliği ve Azınlıklar” (Turkish nationalism and minorities), in *Milliyetçilik* (Nationalism), edited by Tanıl Bora and Murat Gultekinil, 706–718. Also see Murat Belge, “Türkiye’de Xenofobi ve Milliyetçilik” (Xenophobia and nationalism in Turkey), *Ibid.*, 179–193.
99. B. Ali Soner, “Citizenship and the Minority Question in Turkey,” in *Citizenship in a Global World: European Questions and Turkish Experiences*, edited by E. Fuat Keyman and Ahmet İçduygu (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 298.
100. Republic of Turkey, *1926 Memurin Kanunu* (1926 State Official Law), no. 788, Article 4, 1926; Republic of Turkey, *1965 Devlet Memurları Kanunu* (1965 State Official Law), no. 657, 1965. The law has the potential to have impact on our case as well although there is no clue how it effected relations in practice.
101. Didem Daniş and Ayşe Parla, “Nafile Soydaşlık: Irak ve Bulgaristan Türkleri Örneğinde Göçmen, Dernek ve Devlet”(Futile descent: Immigrant, association and state in the example of Iraqi and Bulgarian Turks), *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 114 (2009): 131–158. Daniş and Parla further argue on the instrumentalization of Turkish descent in the case of immigrants. Although I agree on their perspective, I recognize Turkishness as an instrument itself and not as something that is only instrumentalized in particular times or contexts.
102. Ahıska et al., “*Milletin Bölünmez Bütünlüğü.*”
103. *Ibid.*, 16.
104. Tanıl Bora and Nergis Canefe, “Türkiye’de Populist Milliyetçilik” (Populist nationalism in Turkey), in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce Cilt 4: Milliyetçilik* (Political thought in modern Turkey vol 4: Nationalism), edited by Tanıl Bora and Murat Gultekinil (Istanbul: İletişim Publications, 2002), 654. Bora and Canefe also point at the intensifying hegemony of the left movement using populist discourses in the same period.
105. See Marsh, “A Brief History.” For the racial exclusion of Gypsies from Turkishness, see Atsız’s ideas in Emre Arslan, “Türkiye’de Irkçılık” (Racism in Turkey), in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce Cilt 4: Milliyetçilik* (Political thought in modern Turkey Vol 4: Nationalism), edited by Tanıl Bora and

- Murat Gultekingil (Istanbul: İletişim Publications, 2002), 3rd edition, 2008, 409–426.
106. Another way of legitimization is referring to the founder of the Republic: Atatürk. See Kolukırık, *Dunden Bugune*. For desired distance from Gypsiness, discontent for proximity with Gypsiness, and identification of Abdals with Turkishness, see Suat Kolukırık, “Çingene Oldugu Düşünülen Gruplarda Kimlik: Teber(Abdal)” (Identity among the groups that are considered Gypsies: Teber(Abdal)), in *Kimlikler Lütfen: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nde Kültürel Kimlik Arayışı ve Temsili* (Identities please: The seek and representation for cultural identity in the Turkish Republic), edited by Gonul Pultar (Ankara: ODTU Yayıncılık, 2009), 244–255. For an articulation of Gypsiness in the context of being different and otherization of difference and its impact on lack of identification with Gypsiness, see Binnaz Toprak, *Türkiye’de Farklı Olmak: Din ve Muhafazakarlık Ekseninde Otekileştirilenler* (Being different in Turkey: The otherized ones in the context of religion and conservatism) (Istanbul: Metis Yay, 2009).
  107. Marsh, “Ethnicity and Identity,” refers to Karpāt, *Ottoman Population*.
  108. In my interview with Ana Oprisan, October 20, 2005, and Nese Erdilek, January 5, 2006, and Marsh and Strand.
  109. Marsh, “Ethnicity and Identity,” 21–22.
  110. See Oprisan, “An Overview of the Romanlar in Turkey,” in *Gypsies and the Problems of Identities*, edited by Adrian Marsh and Elin Strand (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2006), 166.
  111. Also see project reports: Sosyal ve Kültürel Yasamı Gelistirme Derneği, *Romanlar ve Sosyal Dislanma Sorunu: Sosyal Politika, ama Nasıl?* (Romanlar and problem of social exclusion: social policy but how?) (Istanbul: 2007) as well as European Roma Rights Center; Helsinki Citizens’ Assembly and Edirne Roman Association, *We Are Here! Discriminatory Exclusion and Struggle for Rights of Roma in Turkey*, edited by Ebru Uzpeder, Savelina Danova/Roussinova, Sevgi Özçelik and Sinan Gökçen (Istanbul: Mart Publishing, 2008).
  112. Marsh and Strand, *Reaching the Romanlar*, 6.
  113. Oran, *Türkiye’de Azınlıklar*, 61–63.
  114. In the part “Areas of Settlement,” the discriminatory parts are clear in Article 1 and Article 4. Article 1 states:

The settlement of immigrants, refugees, nomads and itinerant Gypsies within the country shall be arranged by the Ministries of Internal Affairs and Health and Social Assistance in accordance with the program to be made by the Council of Ministers with a view to ensuring their loyalty to Turkish culture and improving the establishment and distribution of the population.

Article 4 states: “A. Those who are not attached to Turkish culture; B. Anarchists; C. Spies; Ç: Itinerant Gypsies; and D. Persons deported, shall not be accepted as immigrants into Turkey” (The Turkish Law of Settlement quoted

- in Tara Bedard, "Roma in Turkey," ERRC, February 7, 2004), 1–2. Available online: <http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=1345> (accessed January 14, 2011).
115. [134/B/a/5]. Anita Danka, "Türkiye'de Roman Hakları ve Hukuki Çerçeve" (Roman rights and legal framework in Turkey). In *We Are Here! Discriminatory Exclusion and Struggle for Rights of Roma in Turkey*, edited by Ebru Uzpeder, Savelina Danova/Roussinova, Sevgi Özçelik and Sinan Gökçen (Istanbul: Mart Publishing, 2008), 45.
  116. Ana Oprisan, "An Overview."
  117. Suat Kolukırık, "Türk Toplumunda Çingene İmgesi ve Önyargısı" (Gypsy image and prejudice in the Turkish Society), *Sosyoloji Araştırmaları Dergisi* 8, no. 2 (Fall 2005): 52–71.
  118. For other examples of negative usages about Gypsy people in daily language, see Kolukırık, "Türk Toplumunda," 12: "Çingenenin Bismillahından kıl çıkar [one should suspect Gypsies' religious performances]; Bahçeye erik, kapıya çingen bastırma [suspicion on Gypsies' reliable work] [ . . . ]; Çingene çit çit, arkası bit bit [regarding dirt associated with Gypsies]."
  119. Adrian Richard Marsh and Elin Strand Marsh, *Proposal for Phase Two of a Study Mapping Roman Communities in Istanbul* (Istanbul: International Romani Studies Network, 2005), 2.
  120. The belief on Gypsies' cannibalism goes back to the late eighteenth-century stereotype. See Willems, *In Search of the True Gypsy*, 25–27.
  121. From my interview with Özhan Önder, April 27, 2006, who conducted a research on Gypsy people in Zonguldak.
  122. Kolukırık, "Türk Toplumunda," 11.
  123. For a further discussion, the work by Alba and Nee is fruitful for rethinking assimilation as a two-way phenomenon that influences not only the minority and/or immigrant group but also the majority. In some localities in the Turkish context, the effects of Gypsiness are highly visible for Gypsies' cultural and behavioral traits (such as Izmir, Çanakkale, Trakya region). Marushiakova and Popov draw attention to such an influence for the celebration of Hıdrellez in the country that is mainly celebrated by the Gypsies, but also followed by non-Gypsies in many regions.
  124. For example, Elin Strand, "Romanlar and Ethno-Religious Identity in Turkey: A Comparative Perspective," in *Gypsies and The Problem of Identities; Contextual, Constructed and Contested*, edited by Adrian Marsh and Elin Strand (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute, 2006), 97–104. Also see Marsh, "Ethnicity and Identity."
  125. In our case, muhacir Gypsies will be exemplary for the Gypsies that immigrated as a consequence of the population exchange in the early 1920s. Kolukırık also mentioned the emphasis on the Muslim and muhacir identity of some Gypsies in a similar position. See Suat Kolukırık, "Madun ve Hakim: Çingene/Roman Kimliğinin Toplumsal Eleştirisi" (Subaltern and dominant: Social critique on Gypsy/Roman Identity), in *Çingeneler* (Gypsies), edited by Suat Kolukırık (Istanbul: Simurg Press, 2007), 43–55.
  126. For the debates on displacement of Gypsies from the country mainly led by Nihal Atsız in the same period, see Sinan Gökçen and Sezin Öney, "Türkiye'de



- Romanlar ve Milliyetçilik” (Romanlar and nationalism in Turkey), in *We Are Here! Discriminatory Exclusion and Struggle for Rights of Roma in Turkey*, edited by Ebru Uzpeder, Savelina Danova/Roussinova, Sevgi Özçelik and Sinan Gökçen (Istanbul: Mart Publishing, 2008), 129–136.
127. Marsh and Marsh, *Proposal*, 2. Also my interview with the administrative director of Bilgi University Centre for Migration Research; Neşe Erdilek, January 5, 2006, and Marsh “Ethnicity and Identity,” 19–29.
  128. Also consider the violent attacks on minority groups in the country such as pogroms against non-Muslim minorities particularly Greeks that occurred on September 6–7, 1955. Furthermore, I should mention the Wealth Tax on Property (Varlık Vergisi) hit non-Muslims in 1942 and the Trakya pogroms against Jews. See Dilek Güven, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Azınlık Politikaları ve Stratejileri Bağlamında 6–7 Eylül Olayları* (September 6–7 events in the context of minority politics and strategies in the Republican era) (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2006); Ayhan Aktar, *Varlık Vergisi ve Turkleştirme Politikaları* (Wealth on property and politics of Turkification) (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000); Rıfat Bali, *1934 Trakya Olayları* (1934 Thracian incidents) (Istanbul: Kitabevi Press, 2008). Additionally for violent attacks against Alevi in Kahramanmaraş in 1978, see Burak Gürel, “Political Mobilization in Turkey in the 1970s: The Case of the Kahramanmaraş Incidents” (MA thesis, Bogazici University, 2004).
  129. Marsh and Strand, *Reaching the Romanlar*, 13.
  130. Organized by Accessible Life Association (Ulaşılabilir Yaşam Derneği) in Istanbul on May 6, 2006.
  131. İncirlioğlu, “Secaat Arzederken Merd,” 175.
  132. My Gypsy colleagues’ statements from a project on Gypsy people. In Tarlabasi, Gypsy people beat Kurdish people as a sign of their loyalty to the state on April 3, 2006 (<http://www.nethaber.com/?h=50452?>). Also see Strand, “Romanlar and Ethno-Religious Identity in Turkey,” 101.
  133. For example, my Gypsy colleague from a project on Gypsy people.
  134. Suat Kolukırık, “Perceptions of Identity Amongst the Tarlabası Gypsies, Izmir,” in *Gypsies and the Problem of Identities; Contextual, Constructed and Contested*, edited by Adrian Marsh and Elin Strand (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute, 2006), 136.
  135. See Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American*, for different strategies for assimilating immigrants.
  136. See other identifications as well depending on professions, kinships, and localities in the part on Gypsies in Turkey.
  137. The criteria to be accepted as Gypsies also can vary as one can be considered Roman in one group while s/he can fall into the Gadjo category in another Gypsy group. See Zerrin Toprak Karaman, “Siyasi ve İdari Yönüyle Romanlar” (Roma through political and administrative aspects), in *Çingeneler* (Gypsies), edited by Suat Kolukırık (Istanbul: Simurg Yayınları, 2007), 33–43.
  138. Kolukırık, “Perceptions of Identity Amongst the Tarlabası Gypsies,” 137.
  139. From Uzun Yol Roman Dance Documentary performed on June 6, 2006, at Bilgi University.

140. Gypsy colleagues from a project on Gypsy people in Turkey.
141. From my interviews and personal experiences.
142. Kolkukirik, *Dünden Bugüne*, 3.
143. *Ibid.*, 4.
144. Gül Özatesler, "Gypsies in the Economy of Turkey Through a Focus on Gypsy Flower Sellers on the Streets of Istanbul," unpublished paper presented at Gypsy Lore Society Annual Meeting (Washington: Georgetown University, September 2008). Also see Selim Sesler's comments on his music talent at Asli Cakir, "Roman Kitaba Denir, Onun Asli Çingene" (Book is called Roman, the real is Çingene), *Milliyet* (March 6, 2006). Available online: <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2006/03/06/pazar/paz02.html> (accessed January 14, 2011).
145. Marsh and Stand, *Reaching the Romanlar*, 29–30.
146. Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American*, underline possible socioeconomic opportunities for ethnic entrepreneurs to dominate some niches in the market.
147. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
148. The term is borrowed from Michael Stewart, *The Time of the Gypsies* (Colorado; Oxford: Westview Press, 1997).
149. There are over 40 Gypsy associations and 2 federations in the country.
150. Gypsy colleagues from a project on Gypsy people in Turkey.
151. Strand, "Romanlar and Ethno-Religious Identity in Turkey," 101.
152. Mischek, "Mahalle Identity Roman," 157.

### Chapter 3

1. My narrator Salih from the town. For the list of narrators and information, see Table A.1 in Appendix A.
2. Immigrant Gypsies who came from Greece in the population exchange in the 1920s.
3. Mübeccel B. Kıray, *Ereğli: Ağır Sanayiden Önce Bir Sahil Kasabası* (Ereğli: A coastal town before heavy industry) (Ankara: Devlet Planlama Teskilati, 1964). For later works, see Peter Benedict, Fatma Mansur and Erol Tumertekin, eds. *Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974); Peter Benedict, *Ula: An Anatolian Town* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974); Paul J. Magnarella, *Tradition and Change in a Turkish Town* (Rochester: Schenkman Books, 1974); Fatma Mansur, *Bodrum: A Town in the Aegean* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972).
4. I visited the archives in the Ministry of Domestic Affairs, the Ministry of Highways, and the Ministry of Forestry in Ankara, and local governments, municipalities, forestry administration, courts, and public security administrations in Çanakkale and Bayramiç. The maximum period to preserve a document is 20 years according to the public security administration in Çanakkale. This period mostly fluctuates between the departments and according to the significance of the document. It is 5 years for municipalities and local governments.

5. Peter Benedict, "The Changing Role of Provincial Towns: A Case Study from Southwestern Turkey," in *Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives*, edited by P. Benedict, F. Mansur and E. Tumertekin (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 243.
6. For the changes in the population, see the following parts. The numbers for 1970 refer to the period after the attacks as population censuses are conducted at the end of the year. Thus, it does not display Gypsies who had not returned to the town by the fall.
7. Fruits and vegetables became more important after the 1980s.
8. Today, the townspeople mainly remember the Jews engaged in trade and manufacture as the Greeks were deported from the region already in the early 1920s. According to *Cezair-i Bahr-i Sefid Salnamesi* (Annual Report of the Province of Archipelago-including the region of the Gallipoli), in 1870, there were 1 non-Muslim and 56 Muslim primary schools in Bayramiç. According to the 1903 *Maarif Salnamesi* (Annual Report for Education) there was one school (*mekteb*) belonging to the Greeks and two belonging to Muslim students. See Cüneyt Baygun and Ayla Ortaç, eds. *Yurt Encyclopedia* (Istanbul: Anadolu Yayincilik, 1981), 1842.
9. In the 1876 *Cezair-I Bahr-I Sefid Salnamesi*, no Jews or Armenians were recorded. The Jews might have come later; see Rıfat Bali, *1934 Trakya Olayları* (Istanbul: Kitabevi Press, 2008).
10. Baygun and Ortaç, *Yurt Encyclopedia*, 1840.
11. *Ibid.*, 1838.
12. There were only three Greeks left in the town.
13. The wealth tax was issued to tax wealthy people in 1942 for fundraising in case of a possible entry into Second World War. In its application, non-Muslim communities such as Jews, Greeks, and Armenians suffered the most from the burden of high taxing on their wealth. Also see Bali, *1934 Trakya*.
14. Erik-Jan Zürcher, "From Empire to Republic—Problems of Transition, Continuity and Change," in *Turkey in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Erik-Jan Zürcher (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 2008), 15–30. Still, the religion of Gypsies can be questioned in the town as in the common suspicions about Gypsies in Turkey. The old Gypsies had traditionally occupied the craftwork and entertainment service while the newcomers from the population exchange had gone into the trade and petty labor.
15. See Kemal H. Karpat, *Turkey's Politics: The Transition to a Multi-Party System* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959).
16. Benedict, *Ula*, 250.
17. Şaban Tezcan, "Çanakkale'de Şehirleşme" (Urbanization in Çanakkale), in *Çanakkale Savaşları Tarihi* (Çanakkale War History) Vol. 4, edited by Mustafa Demir (Istanbul: Değişim Yayınları, 2008), 3333–3367.
18. The region's economy, after all, has relied on agriculture. In 1973, 71.4 percent of the population was occupied in the agricultural sector. Except for the existence of Kale Seramik Sanayii in Can, most of the factories and workplaces were in the food industry. They included the products of canned vegetables and fruits, olive, and wine. However, even in such limited economy, none of these

- relatively big workplaces were located in the town of Bayramiç. In the town, in the year 1973, there were seven cheese dairies that would be active for 60–75 days in a year and make 12 ton/day (in the city, the total number of dairies was 116 and the amount of production was 174 ton/day). In the district, agriculture was a family business, and 51,946 families had agricultural businesses while 16,082 families worked as agricultural workers or shared or rented a farm (see Çanakkale City Annual Report 1973). The distribution of the working population between sectors in the town was 22 percent in agriculture, 11 percent in manufacturing industry, 19 percent in trade, and 27 percent in general services in the year 2000 (Tezcan, “Çanakkale’de Şehirleşme,” 3333–3367).
19. In the periods 1965–1970 and 1970–1975, the ratio of the population increase in rural areas decreased and started taking negative values in the Çanakkale region. Urbanization in the country, however, accelerated after 1950. Moreover, until 1975, the increase in the urban population in Çanakkale was somewhat limited because a part of the rural population in the district left for larger cities elsewhere (Baygun and Ortaç, *Yurt Encyclopedia*, 1882).
  20. Barlas Tolan, *Türkiye’de Iller Itibariyle Sosyo-Ekonomik Gelişmişlik Endeksi* (Socio-economic development index according to cities in Turkey) (Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teskilatı Müsteşarlığı, SPD Araştırma şubesi Toplum Yapısı Araştırmaları Birimi, 1972), Table G 10.
  21. Çanakkale City Annual Report 1967, 39.
  22. There were 76 tractors in 1968, Republic of Turkey, Köy İşleri ve Kooperatifler Bakanlığı, *Köy Envanter Etüdülerine Göre Çanakkale* (Çanakkale according to village inventory etudes) (Ankara: 1968), 62.
  23. Kadir, who took the lead role in the attacks, became the head in the transportation business.
  24. Yücel Çağlar, *Türkiye’de Ormancılık Politikası* (Forestry policy in Turkey) (Ankara: Çağ Matbaası, 1979). Çağlar harshly criticized the government of the second planning era (1967–1972). He evaluated the politics of the government as a way of destructing forestry, especially using the debates on the law regarding the determination of forestry land in 1967 and the constitutional change regarding forestry crimes in 1970. He asserted that the illegal cutting of trees had increased in the years of these debates. While in 1968, a total of 7540 hectares of forest area was burnt, in 1969 it increased to 16,364 and in 1970 to 15,019.
  25. For 1969, the size of forestry in Çanakkale was 26,943 mil/m<sup>3</sup> of timber out of 839,389 mil/m<sup>3</sup> of timber in the country as a whole, whereas the wood area covered 647,619 hectares out of 18,273.193 in the whole country. Tarım Bakanlığı, Orman Genel Müdürlüğü, *Orman Genel Müdürlüğü Çalışmaları* (Forestry General Directorate Studies) (Ankara: 1969).
  26. Until 1967, Bayramiç was part of the Balıkesir Administration for Forestry.
  27. With 72,098.5 hectares out of a total of 118,456.5 hectares. Yasin Karatepe and Nevzat Gurlevik, “Çanakkale’nin Orman Varlığına İlişkin Ekolojik Yaklaşımlar” (Ecological approach to Çanakkale’s forests), in *Çanakkale II: Ekonomi ve*

- Sosyo-Kültürü*, edited by Ibrahim Guran Yumusak (Çanakkale II, economy and socioculture) (Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür ve Turizm Daire Başkanlığı Kültür Müdürlüğü, Entegra Matbaacılık, 2006), 506.
28. The total area covered with forests in the district of Bayramiç was 71,321.75 hectares according to the 1967 City Annual Report. Among 75 villages, 30 were inside and 42 were at the border of the forest (Village Inventory Etudes, Table 2b on page 17). In the 1973 Çanakkale Annual Report, all 75 villages are shown inside the forest area. Thus, the perspective in the analysis might be different in these two sources.
  29. According to the City Annual Report of 1973, the constructed forestry roads ran 1287+450 km in the borders of Çanakkale by the end of 1971 while a stretch of 2942+773 km was to be constructed.
  30. For the increasing share from 1950 to 1980, see Table 3.5. İlhan Tekeli and Selim İlkin, *Cumhuriyetin Harcı: Modernitenin Altyapısı Oluşurken* (Plaster of the Republic: Constructing the base of modernity) (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2004).
  31. See Tekeli and İlkin, *Cumhuriyetin Harcı*, 369–370, for the background and implication of this policy. For the American influence on highway policy in details, see Robert S. Lehman, “Building Roads and a Highway Administration in Turkey,” in *Hands Across Frontiers*, edited by Howard M. Teaf and Peter G. Franck (New York: Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1955), 363–410. On page 383, see the increase in the investments in road between 1947 and 1953 from 12,057,000 dollars to 49,752,000 dollars. Z. Yehuda Hershlag, *Turkey, The Challenge of Growth* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968).
  32. Muhteşem Kaynak, “Ulaştırma Sektörü” (Transportation Sector). In *Türkiye Ekonomisi “Sektörel Gelişmeler”* (Turkey’s economy “Sector Developments”), edited by Çelik Aruoba and Cem Alpar (Ankara: Türkiye Ekonomi Kurumu, 1992), 77–88. For the international highway transportation, Kaynak draws attention to TIR convention. In 1967, seven international transportation firms had entered Turkey’s market and in 1969 the import of 140 towing vehicles with the credits of World Bank increased the number of the firms to 28 and in 1970 with 302 machine to 85.
  33. The stretch of all-weather roads was 4000 km in 1923; on the eve of the Second World War, the total stretch of roads was 36,000 km. A significant increase was observed since 1948. All-weather roads were estimated at 15,000 km in 1950, 3444 km at the end of 1955, and 29,432 km by 1965. The stretch of hard-surfaced roads was 1700 km in 1950, 3500 in 1955, and 10,750 in 1965.
  34. Hershlag, *Turkey*, 236.
  35. Muzaffer Sencer, *Türkiye’de Köylülüğün Maddi Temelleri* (Material bases of villagehood in Turkey), (Istanbul: Ant Yayınları, Ocak 1971), 69. Industry was also improving. Between 1950 and 1959, the demand for automobiles was met by the imports from Europe and the States. The montage industry emerged in the country in 1954. Between 1955 and 1964, companies involved in automotive industry increased from 2 to 12. In 1964, by a law, the montage industry was directed toward producing. The foundation of the automobile manufacturing like Tofas and Renault started in 1968 and 1969.

36. Ismet Ergun, *Türkiye Ekonomik Kalkınmasında Ulaştırma Sektörü* (Transportation sector in Turkey's economic development) (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Yayınları, No: 10, 1985), 81. The figures include the total of state, city, and village roads.
37. John Kolars, "System of Change in Turkish Village Agriculture," in *Turkey: Geographic and Social Perspectives*, edited by P. Benedict, F. Mansur and E. Tumertekin (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 222.
38. Dördüncü Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı Karayolları Taşıtları İmalat Sanayii Özel İhtisas Komisyonu Raporu, Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Yayın no: DPT 1548-OİK 240: February 1977, 18–28.
39. Yasa, Memduh. Cumhuriyet Donemi Türkiye Ekonomisi 1923–1978 (Turkish economy in the Republican era 1923–1978), (Istanbul: Akbank Kültür Yayını, 1980), Table 5 on 295.
40. Tekeli and İlkin, *Cumhuriyetin Harcı*, 427.
41. Ergun, *Türkiye Ekonomik*, 14.
42. *Ibid.*, 96. Table on page 120 displays the transportation of goods between different ways (highways, railways, etc.). Table on page 122, displays the GPA related to this sector.
43. Benedict, *Ula*, 144.
44. The data is taken from Çanakkale Annual Report 1973, 251–256.
45. See Chapter 5 on drivers' feud and being a driver in those days.
46. John M. Cook, *The Troad: An Archeological and Topographical Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 305.
47. Çanakkale Village Inventory 1968, Table 8-a, 28.

## Chapter 4

1. A common saying of muhacirs in Bayramiç.
2. See Chapter 3 for their presence in Ottoman records.
3. The numbers are estimated, as Gypsies are not distinguished as such in the census.
4. See Table 3.2. in Chapter 3 for the number of the initial muhacir immigrants in the town (360).
5. In some other cities such as Balıkesir and Bursa, people resent to be called *Çingene* and prefer the term *Roman*. That is why I always use Roman during my research in the field while on a theoretical level, I prefer the term *Çingene* which is the dominant term in society and due to reasons that I explained in the theoretical chapter.
6. For the information on the narrators; their community links, age, date of interview and further explanation, see the Appendix A.
7. Local Gypsies use the term, in contrast to the muhacirs.
8. For the function of scapegoating among Gypsy groups as such, see Acton, *Gypsy Politics*, especially 80–82.
9. It should be noted that a neighborhood allocation in the town does not follow strict economic differences, but still sustains various segments combining

- low and middle class people. Thus, in a neighborhood a teacher, a blacksmith, a farmer and a businessman may live together. The class differences would not be expressed as much compared to urban life and after the 1980s when the ties between class differences, competition and consumption have widened.
10. Richard Alba and Victor Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).
  11. The most important local Gypsy family.
  12. See the part on Gypsies' representations on Gypsiness.
  13. See Meral's narrative that I used in the morality part, where she reflected on the unreliability and immorality of the Turks and her fear of her son's staying out late at night.
  14. See Chapter 2.
  15. See Michael A. Hogg and Dominic Abrams, *Social Identification: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes* (London; New York: Routledge Press, 1988), for subjective belief structures as social mobility and change.
  16. See the part on underclass discourse in Chapter 2 and undeserving poor in this chapter.
  17. We will see parallels with Kurds in the following chapter on the attacks.
  18. One should keep in mind that the stigmatization of Gypsies does not only affect Gypsies themselves, but the people who stood close to them. This was clear especially after the attacks in the treatments against the Turks who employed and/or protected the Gypsies. The closeness to the Gypsies is still not easy to express. Thus, it should be noted that people tend to stress their distance to Gypsies in order to avoid stigmatization.
  19. See her narrative in this part on good relations.
  20. See the parts on purity and religion in defining Gypsiness.
  21. This was so, except my local Gypsy narrator Fazil who recognized the boundaries between Turks and Gypsies as intransitive. According to him for cultural reasons a Gypsy and a non-Gypsy were not supposed to marry, although some would defy this taboo.
  22. See the part on Population Exchange and Legitimate Ground in Gypsies' Reactions.
  23. Lucassen also reports the regular usage of dark skin as a marker to be labelled as a Gypsy in nineteenth century German police journals. See Leo Lucassen, "Harmful Tramps': Police Professionalization and Gypsies in Germany, 1700–1945," in *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups*, edited by Leo Lucassen, Wim Willems and Annemarie Cottaar (London: MacMillan Press Ltd, 1998), 82.
  24. See Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995).
  25. A Turkish narrator could not forget the exact dates of the attacks; as it was the year when he got married and the Gypsies were not allowed to make the wedding music. So, they had an unpleasant wedding party.

26. As there was no running water in the houses, they would carry water from fountains, clean the house, and look after the children for the wealthy people including merchants, state officials and small businessmen.
27. This perception is not only limited to the Turkish case. See Leo Lucassen and Wim Willems, "The Church of Knowledge: Representation of Gypsies in Encyclopedias," in *Gypsies and Other Itinerant Groups: A Socio-Historical Approach*, edited by Leo Lucassen, Wim Willems and Annemarie Cottaar (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 45.
28. Adrian Richard Marsh and Elin Strand Marsh, *Proposal for Phase Two of a Study Mapping Roman Communities in Istanbul* (Istanbul: International Romani Studies Network, 2005), 2.
29. Suat Kolukırık, "Türk Toplumunda Çingene İmgesi ve Önyargısı," *Sosyoloji Araştırmaları Dergisi* 8, no. 2 (Fall 2005): 11.
30. See the part on Drivers' Feud in Chapter 5.
31. For the power of stigma as an explanatory tool for this way of perception. Bauman asserted: "Stigma draws the limit of the transforming capacity of culture. The outward signs may be masked, but cannot be eradicated. The bond between signs and inner truth may be denied, but cannot be broken." Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), 68. As our example shows, although on the basis of their own image and practice, some people would not fall into the category of Gypsiness, they still cannot get rid of the stigma.
32. It concerned a Turkish woman, her Kurdish husband and their 26-year-old daughter.
33. Her daughter warned her mother though: "Some may have similar prejudices against us because my father is a Kurd." However, she explained it was not under her control, but added that she would not care if all Gypsies would disappear and she did not understand why I was interested in Gypsies.
34. My research in May 2007 for the co-project "Promoting Romani Rights in Turkey" by EDROM, ERRC and Helsinki Citizenships' Assembly.
35. Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1966), 140.
36. Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1986), 191. Stallbrass and White point at the interconnectivity of the feelings of disgust and desire in this relationship. This could be understood better in two different ways of otherizing Gypsies by both romanticization and negative images (also see David Mayall, *Gypsy Identities 1500–2000: From Egipcians and Moon-men to the Ethnic Romany* (London and New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2004), 14–18).
37. See previous part on "Physical Appearances" for derogatory usages around dark skin.
38. Stallybrass and White, *The Politics*, 53.
39. Loic Wacquant, "Decivilizing and Demonizing: Remaking the Black American Ghetto," in *The Sociology of Norbert Elias*, edited by Steven Loyal and Stephen Quilley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 95–121.



40. Also see the dehumanization of Gypsies and Jews in the Nazi discourse pointed out by Bauman, *Modernity*, 46.
41. Grosz also points out that there is a gendered hierarchy between body fluids and their connection to impurity. Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism* (Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press., 1994), 203.
42. Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London: Sage Publications, 1997). For the particularities of the Turkish context, the control on female body and sexuality both in state procedures and social practices, see Gul Özatesler, "The Changed Perception of the Concept of Virginity Between Two Generations of Women in Turkey," (MA thesis, Central European University, 2005).
43. Joane Nagel, "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21, no. 2 (March 1998): 242–251, 244.
44. Nagel, "Masculinity and Nationalism," 244.
45. Barrington Jr. Moore, *Moral Purity and Persecution in History* (Princeton; New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 2000), 57.
46. Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Rites of Religious Violence in Sixteenth-Century France," in *The Massacre of St. Bartholomew: Reappraisals and Documents*, edited by Alfred Soman (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974), 203–242 referred in Moore, *Moral Purity*, 51, 55.
47. Jeff Weintraub, "The Public/Private Distinction," in *Public and Private in Thought and Practice: Perspectives on a Ground Dichotomy*, edited by Jeff Weintraub and Krishan Kumar (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), 21.
48. For how social boundaries produce inequality, see Susan Moller Okin, "The Public/Private Dichotomy," in *Contemporary Political Theory*, edited by Colin Farrelly (London: Sage Publications, 2004), 181–185.
49. Donna Sullivan, "The Public Private Distinction in International Human Rights Law," in *Women's Rights Human Rights: International Feminist Perspectives*, edited by Julie Peters and Andrea Wolper (New York: Routledge Press, 1995), 128 quoted in Suad Joseph, "The Public/Private-The Imagined Boundary in the Imagined Nation/State/Community: Lebanese Case," *Feminist Review*, no. 57 (Autumn 1997): 75.
50. See Bahrtdt referred in Jan Turowski, "The Dichotomy of 'Private' and 'Public' as a Theoretical Framework for the Analysis for Social Reality," in *Private and Public: Social Interventions in Modern Societies*, edited by Leon Dyczewski, John Kromkowski and Paul Peachey (Washington: Paideia Press and the Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 1994), 8.
51. He said that the municipality supports their celebrations and Turks also would come to watch, as if it were a festival. The head of the municipality also would also visit the celebrations along with other respectable people in town as Solmaz indicated: "All of the people from Bayramiç would come by saying that there is entertainment in the Roman neighborhood. They would entertain people very well, I mean."

52. Stallybrass and White, *The Politics*, 23.
53. *Ibid.*, 43.
54. See two models of “grotesque” of Bakhtin in Stallybrass and White, *The Politic*. In the first model, it basically stands for the Other. Here I use the second model of grotesque that questions and criticizes the construction of the Other in the dominant culture as elaborated above.
55. *Ibid.*, 44.
56. Stallybrass and White, *The Politic* discuss the manipulation of cultural classifications such as demonizing, inversion and hybridization.
57. See Paul Lafargue, *The Right to be Lazy* (Saint Pélagie Prison: Charles Kerr and Co., Co-operative, 1883). Available online: <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lafargue/1883/lazy/> [January 15, 2011] and also see Edgardo Dieleke, “Genealogies and Inquiries Into Laziness From Macunamia,” *Ellipsis* 5 (2007). Available online: [http://www.ellipsis-apsa.com/Volume\\_5-Dieleke.html](http://www.ellipsis-apsa.com/Volume_5-Dieleke.html) [January 14, 2011] and Bertrand Russell, *In Praise of Idleness and Other Essays* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1935).
58. For hierarchizing the poor with a focus on idleness along with moral condemnations, see Sarah Jordan, “From Grotesque Bodies to Useful Hands. Idleness, Industry and the Laboring Class,” *Eighteenth Century Life* 25 (Fall 2001), 62–79.
59. For detailed information on the green card system, see Asena Gunal, *Health and Citizenship in Republican Turkey: An Analysis of the Socialization of Health Services in Republican Historical Context* (PhD Dissertation, Bogazici University, 2008).
60. For the usage of fashion in compensation to obstacles and the incapability that an individual experiences see Georg Simmel, “Modanin Felsefesi” (The Philosophy of Fashion). In *Modern Kulturde Catisma* (The Conflict in Modern Culture) (Istanbul: İletisim Yayınları, 2003), 103–134, especially 120–121.
61. “Bir Çingene’nin oykusu bu; omru boyunca kendi kimliğinden gocmeye calismis bir Çingene’nin . . .” Aşşegül Devociođlu, *Ađlayan Dađ Susan Nehir* (Weeping Mountain, River in Silence) (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2007), 19.
62. Tom Gill, *Men of Uncertainty: The Social Organization of Day Laborers in Contemporary Japan* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2001).
63. Anastasia N. Karakasidou, *Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood: Passages to Nationhood in Greek Macedonia, 1870–1990* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1997), 32.
64. Another narrator, who is a Bosnak, told that they got this name here in the town, while his relatives in Tekirdađ were not called Bosnaks, but accepted as Turks.
65. See the part on population exchange stories for the narratives on Turkishness of the muhacirs.
66. The Gypsy language that is spoken by some Gypsies in the western Anatolia as a dialect of the one spoken in Europe.
67. “*Vatandaş, Turkce Konus.*” The campaigns targeted mainly non-Muslims in the 1950s.

68. See Chapter 2.
69. Karakasidou, *Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood*, 152.
70. *Ibid.*, 36.
71. Yael Navaro-Yasin, "Historical Construction of Local Culture: Gender and Identity in the Politics of Secularism versus Islam," in *Istanbul between the Global and the Local*, edited by Caglar Keyder (Boston: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1999), 59–76.
72. See the part on religion for the (local and Turkish) narratives on local Gypsies, who are seen as better behaving according to Turkish norms and better Muslims than muhacirs.
73. They assert that they would live under the same flag, speak the same language and send their children to the army.
74. Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American mainstream*.
75. Suat Kolukırık, *Dunden Bugüne Çingeneler* (Istanbul: Ozan Yayıncılık, 2009).
76. For the changing criteria pertaining to the acceptance as Turks within the prevailing economic and political context, also see Didem Danış and Ayşe Parla, "Nafile Soydaşlık: Irak ve Bulgaristan Türkleri Örneğinde Göçmen, Dernek ve Devlet." *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 114 (2009): 131–158.
77. In Diyarbakır, it was also a debatable issue for the Gypsies-Dom people who would argue that they belong to a tribe of Kurdish people. Thus, they are both Gypsies and Kurds.
78. Gypsiness is also used as a keyword that embodies those other derogatory usages.
79. See the part on Turkishness and its three levels in Chapter 2.
80. Both to the ones called religious and ethnic such as Greeks, Jews, Armenians and Kurds.
81. See Chapter 1 for the liminality of Gypsies. For the relation between pollution and liminality, see Douglas, *Purity and Danger*.

## Chapter 5

1. Local Gypsy Fazıl.
2. Local Gypsy Sebiye.
3. Milliyet, "Bayramiç Savcısı Vilayeti Sucladı" (Bayramiç attorney accused the provinc[ial authorities]) (February 27, 1970), 4.
4. The neighborhood Muradiye, which is known as the muhacir's and Tepecik, which has been widely occupied by local Gypsies are next to one another. One just has to follow a street for a hundred meters to get the next one. Moreover, the two neighborhoods recently have been identified one in official records recently: "Tepecik." However, people still refer them as different neighborhoods. It also should be noted that spatial differences are perceived differently in the town as a hundred meters can make a big difference in the eyes of townspeople.
5. From my interview on April 27, 2009 in Karaköy, Istanbul with the governor of the province of the time who was in charge from 1967 to 1971. The name is pseudonym like the names of other interviewees in this research.

6. The attacks were called *krım* among the Gypsies. Although there were no killings during the attacks in the town, the term in Turkish includes killings and its English counterpart would be massacre. The Gypsy people used the term to reflect the meaning of the attacks for them as it was not only against their houses but also against their existence in the town. The term employed especially by the Gypsies of the town provides a stronger representation of their feelings and the effect of the attacks on them. The non-Gypsies of the town would prefer a neutral term “events” for the attacks instead. I found this difference on terminology remarkable for their representations.
7. See Dinka Corkalo, Dean Ajdukovic, Harvey M. Weinstein, Eric Stover, Dino Djipa and Miklos Biro, “Neighbors Again? Intercommunity Relations after Ethnic Cleansing,” in *My Neighbor, My Enemy: Justice and Community in the Aftermath of Mass Atrocity*, edited by Eric Stover and Harvey M. Weinstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 143–161, for difference in remembering, interpretations and representations between different communities after the war in Bosna and Herzegovina, and Croatia. Corkalo et al., “Neighbors Again,” for example 157. For different feelings and ways in narratives between Tutsi and Hutu communities after experiencing the violence of 1994, see Timothy Longman and Theoneste Rutagengwa, “Memory, Identity, and Community in Rwanda,” in *My Neighbor, My Enemy: Justice and Community in the Aftermath of Mass Atrocity*, edited by Eric Stover and Harvey M. Weinstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 162–182. For a valuable comment for different narratives through “the distinction between reality and ethnically filtered reality,” see Walker Connor, “A Few Cautionary Notes in Ethnonational Conflicts,” in *Facing Ethnic Conflicts*, edited by Andreas Wimmer, Richard J. Goldstone, Donald L. Horowitz, Ulrike Joraz and Conrad Schetter (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 32.
8. For the usage of violence in seek of “social order,” see Werner Bergmann, “Exclusionary Riots: Some Theoretical Considerations,” in *Exclusionary Violence*, edited by Christhard Hoffmann, Werner Bergmann and Helmut Walser Smith (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2002), 161–185.
9. Huseyin Kiltas, an active perpetrator and driver during the attacks.
10. For the significance of silence on experiences of violence, see Sabine Behrenbeck, “Between Pain and Silence: Remembering the Victims of Violence in Germany after 1949,” in *Life after Death: Approaches to a Cultural and Social History of Europe During the 1940s and 1950s*, edited by Richard Bessel and Dirk Schumann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 37–64. Also see Francesca Declich, “When Silence Makes History: Gender and Memories of War Violence from Somalia,” in *Anthropology of Violence and Conflict*, edited by Bettina E. Schmidt and Ingo W. Schroder (New York: Routledge, 2001), 161–175.
11. See the part on parallelization with Greeks.
12. The attorney had criticized the government of the province [valilik] of Çanakkale for not taking action on time. The governor of the time, Cemal Tantanci, however, did not accept the accusations when I asked him about it. He revealed that he did not take any responsibility about the attacks or

- remedies and instead emphasized that these were “simple events.” When I asked about the remedies, he even found it nonsense.
13. Also see Chapter Two for the stigmatization of the Gypsies in the country.
  14. Jan T. Gross, *Neighbours: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland, 1941* (London: Arrow Books, 2003), unveiled a similar type of fear especially felt by the protectors of the Jews in the town of Jedwabne, Poland. See his work also for a similar case in the sense of experienced violence between neighbors in a scale of a small town. Also see van Arkel, *The Drawing*, for power of terrorization by perpetrators in such violent attacks. In the concluding part, I will demonstrate more on Gross’ and van Arkel’s points.
  15. Halit came from a poor family. He is now in his late seventies. He had started in the driving business very early as an assistant driver on the buses between Izmir and Çanakkale. In the years of the attacks, he was Kadir’s assistant. He later worked for Kadir as a driver in his minibuses. In the town, he has been a frightening ruffian who is known by his insane anger that led him kill someone who just did not bring him a free ashtray.
  16. See Appendix B for Kadir’s life story.
  17. Anastasia N. Karakasidou, *Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood: Passages to Nationhood in Greek Macedonia, 1870–1990* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1997), recognized the different layers of historical narratives in her work with local people in a town in Greek Macedonia. Her account has strong parallels with my perspective on narratives in my field. Her conceptualization and articulation overlapped with my own considerations with slight differences. Thus, in this part on exploring the different strands of narratives, I combine Karakasidou’s and my own account in the field.
  18. Karakasidou, *Fields of*, 231.
  19. *Ibid.*, 231.
  20. Güler also recognized the strength of national historiography on war in the construction of history in Çanakkale see E. Zeynep. Güler, “Çanakkale’den Savas Dışı Anılar” (Memories out of war from Çanakkale), in *Kuşaklar, Deneyimler, Tanıklıklar: Türkiye’de Sözlü Tarih Çalışmaları Konferansı* (Generations, experiences, witnesses: oral history works conference in Turkey), edited by Aynur Ilyasoglu and Gülay Karacan (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2006), 173.
  21. For the only work on the town Bayramiç that provides hints on socio-economic atmosphere while its main targets are archeological sites, see Cevat Başaran, *Geçmişten Günümüze Bayramiç: Tarihi, Coğrafyası ve Arkeolojisi* (Bayramiç from the past to the present: its history, geography and archeology) (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Milli Kütüphane Basımevi, 2002).
  22. Karakasidou, *Fields of*, 232.
  23. Of course, this is problematic as we cannot separate the dominant from the personal that easily but these narratives also present a gap and/or conflict between the experience and dominant discourse.
  24. See the part on silence and fear in the town.
  25. There are also some Turkish people who express unfairness but would not know about the underlying relations that triggered the dislocation. Thus,

- they would refer it as “people generalized the some Gypsy people’s fault to the all.”
26. See Bergmann, “Exclusionary Riots” on exclusionary violence and its conditions: “A collective assault on an ethnic minority within a community must be legitimized and prepared culturally, since it violates the fundamental norms of communal life and—particularly in pacified societies—state monopoly of power.” (172).
  27. Common saying for the attacks meaning that the innocent people would get hurt if they are close to the guilty ones.
  28. Bergmann, “Exclusionary Riots” pointed at the construction of a Jewish threat in his study following the power approach. The collectivization of opposing interests and individual conflicts into ethnic antagonisms would be essential to generate collective violence according to this approach: “A participant in exclusionary violence operates within a friend-foe schema as a victim of an injustice, discrimination, or aggression and reacts, under certain circumstances, with violent forms of social control.” (166) In this context, changes in the balance of power between different groups of people are critical, but it also needs to be transformed to a threatening scenario to generate collective violence (167). For the legitimization point, also see 172. For the demonization of Jews in the Polish town, Jedwabne, see Gross, *Neighbours*. For the significance of representation as threats in Hindu-Muslim conflicts in India, see Stanley J. Tambiah, *Leveling Crowds: Ethnonationalist Conflicts and Collective Violence in South Asia* (London: University of California Press, 1996). For the construction of threat against non-West immigrants in Western Europe especially in recent decades, see Leo Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat: The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005).
  29. For self-victimization of perpetrators involved in racist violence, see Larry Ray, David Smith and Liz Wastell, “Understanding Racial Violence,” in *The Meanings of Violence*, edited by Elizabeth A. Stanko (London; New York: Routledge: 2003), 112–130.
  30. In drivers’ feud story, the relation of this family will be explained in more detail in compatible with the storyline.
  31. Rumors are very powerful generators in similar violent events. Also see Tambiah, *Leveling Crowds*, 53; Bergmann, “Exclusionary Riots,” 173; Gross, *Neighbours*, 122–125.
  32. See the part on nationalism in this chapter. Carrying flags, marching and singing anthems are excessively demonstrative in similarly framed violence. Tambiah also pointed at the significance of rituals in his analysis of conflicts among Hindu and Muslims in India:

A prominent role is played in such disturbances by processions of demonstrators, accompanied by loud music and carrying emblems, flags, statues, and placards, embellished by slogans, insults, and boasts. The timing and presentation of such parades are integrally linked to the religious and civil

calendar of festivals and commemorative rites and to other features of public culture. The processions themselves mobilize people for public support and action. Parading through streets, past civil and religious buildings and monuments, and converging and aggregating at squares and parks and maidans is a public display of social presence and the taking command of space and territory, some of which belongs to the “enemy”[ . . . ]

(Tambiah, *Leveling Crowds*, 53)

33. This part will be clarified by the narratives in the part on Drivers’ Feud.
34. The term of symbolic violence is borrowed from Bourdieu. See Pierre Bourdieu, “Social Space and Symbolic Power,” *Sociological Theory* 7, no. 1 (Spring 1989), 14–25. Bourdieu defines symbolic power as “a power of world making”(p 22). In this sense, the reformation of categories, certain values, perceptions and legitimate areas in the social order is up to the space of symbolic power that can be attained violently.
35. For the relation between boundaries, social order, violence and gendered body, see Maria B. Olujić, “Embodiment of Terror: Gendered Violence in Peacetime and Wartime in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina,” *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 12, no. 1 (1998): 31–50. For how violence was gendered in the break-up of Yugoslavia, see Dubravka Zarkov, *The Body of War: Media, Ethnicity and Gender in the Break-Up of Yugoslavia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); for the avoidance of rape at stake with the possibility of coexistence between groups, see Hayden, Robert M. “Rape and Rape Avoidance in Ethno-National Conflicts: Sexual Violence in Liminalized States,” *American Anthropologist* 102, no. 1 (2000): 27–41. For the construction of nation in relation to gendered body, see Nira Yuval-Davis *Gender and Nation* (London: Sage Publications, 1997).
36. Corkalo et al. “Neighbors Again?” also pointed at feeling of betrayal between neighbors after the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
37. Her father was among the first founders of the Republican Party in the town.
38. See Gross, *Neighbours*, 129–131, for a similar fear from fellow townspeople for hiding Jews and a stigma out of it in his case.
39. On the other hand, Danacıoğlu in her research on the experiences of 1919–1922/23 questioned the construction of Greek neighbors as national enemy in the official historiography through oral narratives from 58 different settlements of Izmir in Turkey. The exact sayings of “they were spoiled” and “the wet wood was put into the fire with the dry ones” dramatically repeated in those narratives as well. Esra Danacıoğlu, “İşgal, Gündelik Hayat, Kurtuluş: Yunan İşgali Altında İzmir” (The siege, daily life and salvation: Izmir under the siege of Greeks). In *Kuşaklar, Deneyimler, Tanıklıklar: Türkiye’de Sözlü Tarih Çalışmaları Konferansı* (Generations, experiences, witnesses: oral history works conference in Turkey), edited by Aynur İlyasoğlu and Gülay Karacan (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2006), 149–156.
40. The expulsion of the Jews is not a story that is even mentioned in the town. They are mentioned as having left on their own will. She might have included the Jews for the sake of power in her narrative or she might have revealed her

- feeling about the departure of the Jews. Although it had not been forced, the feeling and the atmosphere might mean as such for her. However, it is also very probable that she heard discriminative and violent attitudes against the Jews if not in her town in the city center. For the instances in Çanakkale from the year of 1934, see Rifat Bali, *1934 Trakya Olayları* (Istanbul: Kitabevi Press, 2008).
41. One of my most influential narrators, 90 year-old Fitnat, who passed away in 2009, summarized the social history of the town ironically in our conversation on June 03, 2008.
  42. Some townspeople cried when they remembered the sufferings of their Greek neighbors and there were also some who tried to protect their Greek neighbors.
  43. In August 2009, there occurred an attempt of marching and attacking against Kurdish houses in the town with the triggering effect of a fight between a Turkish and a Kurdish individual. For the event see *Radikal*, “Out of Conflicts on Roasted Sheep Intestines, Ethnic Tension Emerged in Bayramiç” (August 5, 2009). Available online: <http://www.radikal.com.tr/Default.aspx?aType=RadikalDetay&Date=5.8.2009&ArticleID=948336&CategoryID=77> [January 17, 2011]. In recent years, many other attacks against Kurds have been also observed in the region, for few instance see the events from October, 2008 in the town of Altınova, Ayvalık in Balıkesir see *Radikal*, “Ethnic Tension Enhanced in Altınova” (October 1, 2008), <http://www.radikal.com.tr/Default.aspx?aType=Detay&ArticleID=901292&Date=01.10.2008&CategoryID=77> [January 17, 2011]; another event from July 2010 in Bursa see *Haber Fabrikasi*, “Provocation, Discrimination, Kurdish Hunt . . . Urgent Action for Peace” (n.d.), Available online: <http://www.haberfabrikasi.org/s/?p=5133> [January 17, 2011].
  44. Güler similarly pointed at the outstanding usage of commonality through locality in the interviews she gathered in the city of Çanakkale. Güler, “Çanakkale’den,” 171.
  45. Navaro-Yashin 2002 in her work argues on the public space in Turkey being not exempted from the impact of the state and people and state not as different entities but sharing the same domain. See her work also for the construction of public life in the country especially in the 1990s: Yael Navaro-Yashin, *Faces of the State: Secularism and Public Life in Turkey* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002).
  46. The discursive and policy level were laid out in depth under Gypsiness in Turkey and the relationship between Turkishness and Gypsiness in Chapter Two. In this part, it will be only mentioned roughly to dwell more on the stresses of the narrators.
  47. Another narrator also claimed about a Gypsy arranging an adoption for himself to be a commissioned officer. In the State classification of Ottoman time, the category of Gypsiness appears in the Ottoman tax enumerators after the conquest of Constantinople and the “Gypsy sancak” in the 1520s in Rumeli (See Marushiakova and Popov). Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830–1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), indicated that the first modern population census in



the empire was conducted in 1828/1829 where they also categorized the population according to collect taxes. In the censuses, the population was referred to as Muslim, Christian, Armenian, Jewish and Gypsy (Kıpti). Karpat pointed at the separate recording of Gypsies although other Muslims would not be registered with different terms such as ethnic names (p. 20). The first initiation of Ottoman identity cards (*tezkere-i Osmaniyye*) was issued and distributed as 20 million in 1866 [p 24]. However, the establishment of General Population Administration [*Nufus-u Umumi Idaresi*] was in 1881/1882 (p. 29) to register the population. In the last Ottoman census in 1905/1906, each registered individual was decided to have a *tezkere* (p. 35). For detailed information, see Karpat, *Ottoman Population*. Through our academic collaboration, the historian specialized on Gypsies in Turkey Adrian Marsh asserted that the practice of having the sign of K for Kıpti has ended in the 1950s while some older Gypsy people have told him their cards remained with the “K” until the 1970’s. Researcher Ali Mezarcıoğlu also affirmed the information with two oral narratives.

48. For different ways of discrimination and state’s role, also see the recent ERRC report.
49. See Chapter Two. B. Ali Soner, “Citizenship and The Minority Question in Turkey,” in *Citizenship in a Global World: European Questions and Turkish Experiences*, edited by E. Fuat Keyman and Ahmet İçduygu (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 298.
50. Republic of Turkey, *Civil Servant Law*, no. 657, Article 48 (1965). Also see Aktar.
51. Also see the narratives of the attorney and the governor of the province in the beginning of this chapter.
52. Bergmann, “Exclusionary Riots” pointed on the belief of perpetrators in collaborating with the state. They would feel that they would not get punished if they had attacked the Jews in Bismarck. He also noted active participation of police in the attacks in Heidelberg in 1819 (168), and soldiers support in the Hep Hep riots of 1819 in Wurzburg (170).
53. The Justice Party was in power between 1965 and 1971.
54. Although some people said that the Gypsies would take their side along with their interests and they would hang the flag of every party and mimic with them, most acknowledged that they mostly vote for Republican People’s Party (RPP) in the town as well as with the considerable population of the town.
55. Milliyet, February 27, 1970.
56. Muhacir Gypsy Cevza.
57. Local Gypsy Ezgi.
58. He posited the story into a nationalist atmosphere by paralleling it to the founder of the republic and his fight as if the fight against the Gypsies was similar to the fight of the national founder against his enemies:

Look, if Kemal Paşa did not exist, would Turkey have been rescued? Mustafa Kemal Paşa rescued Turkey but he had many arm mates [*silah arkadaşları*] and it became thousand of people. They [the leading perpetrators against the

Gypsies] were like this. There was an event in the middle and the event had a core. They [drivers] were the cores. We did not do anything. I would even tell you one thing. We had a grocery. A Gypsy from Bayramiç had run away to Çanakkale. He would come to Bayramiç to sell fish. From here, someone, a butcher, hit his scales. His scales fell down and the Gypsy started crying. My father had seen it and gave him his substitute scales. “Come, hit on this too and let me see you” he said [to the man who had hit the Gypsy’s scale]. Then, nobody could hit because someone from our Bayramiç backed him. The events happen like this.

This narrative reveals his confusion as well. While he was representing Gypsies as if they were enemies following dominant discourse, he started telling his father’s position in helping a Gypsy as if the perpetrators were unfair. All over his narrative, he can easily shift from one side to the other.

59. Kadir remembered using his first jeep to carry doctors and judges for their jobs. Also, see Kadir’s life story in Appendix B.
60. Also see Peter Alford Andrews, *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1989), 68–71.
61. The data are taken from the registration book of the Drivers’ Association in Bayramiç. In 1965, 11 new members came. In 1966, 13; in 1967, 17; in 1968, 20; in 1969, 18; in 1970 17; in 1971 14; in 1972 28; in 1973, 29; in 1974, 32 new members joined to the association. In 2010, the number of active members was 271 (263 indicated by Bayramiç office) and passive (the number of drivers since the foundation but some are not active anymore) were 766.
62. For example: the advertisement serials in *Cumhuriyet* in 1969–1970.
63. Also see Roni Marguiles and Ergin Yıldızoğlu, “Agrarian Change: 1923–1970,” in *Turkey In Transition: New Perspectives*, edited by Irvin C. Schick and Ertugrul Ahmet Tonak (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 269–292.
64. For the effect of changes in the balance of power in exclusionary riots, see Bergmann, “Exclusionary Riots,” 166–167.

## Chapter 6

1. My aunt Tijen.
2. Rogers Brubaker and David D. Laitin, “Ethnic and Nationalist Violence,” *Annual Review Sociology* 24 (August 1998): 428.
3. Berch Berberoglu, *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict: Class, State, and Nation in the Age of Globalization* (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004). For a similar critique to the overall idea of ethnic conflict, see John R. Bowen, “The Myth of Global Ethnic Conflict,” *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 4 (1996): 3–14. Bowen acknowledges that ethnic or cultural identities were involved in the construction and/or realization of some of these conflicts but argues that they were more about power, land, or other resources (3). Also see Beverly Crawford, “The Causes of Cultural Conflict: An Institutional Approach,” in *The Myth of “Ethnic Conflict”: Politics, Economics, and “Cultural” Violence*,

- edited by Beverly Crawford and Ronnie D. Lipschutz (Berkeley: University of California, 1998), 3–43; and Steven Steinberg, *The Ethnic Myth: Race, Ethnicity and Class in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989). For the construction of ethnicity along with economic and political competition, also see Susan Olzak and Joane Nagel, eds. *Competitive Ethnic Relations* (Orlando: Academic Press, 1986). For the adaptation of the approach to ethnic conflicts, see Susan Olzak, *The Dynamics of Ethnic Competition and Conflicts* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).
4. Steinberg, *The Ethnic Myth*, 170.
  5. Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 17.
  6. For a discussion on historical interplay between ethnic status hierarchy, and political and economic empowerment of blacks in the United States, see George M. Fredrickson, *The Comparative Imagination on the History of Racism, Nationalism and Social Movements* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 90–93. For the specific debate on misrecognition and misdistribution, see Judith Butler, “Merely Cultural?” *New Left Review* (227) (January–February 1998): 33–45.
  7. See Hughes “Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status” for the concept of “master status.”
  8. Dik Van Arkel, “The Growth of the Anti-Jewish Stereotype: An Attempt at Hypothetical-Deductive Method of Historical Research,” *International Review of Social History* 30 (1985): 270–306 and Dik Van Arkel, *The Drawing of the Mark of Cain: A Socio-Historical Analysis of the Growth of Anti-Jewish Stereotypes* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009).
  9. Werner Bergmann, “Exclusionary Riots: Some Theoretical Considerations,” in *Exclusionary Violence*, edited by Christhard Hoffmann, Werner Bergmann and Helmut Walser Smith (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 2002), 161–185.
  10. Van Arkel, *The Drawing*, 159.
  11. Also discussed in Chapter 3; we saw ambiguity regarding Gypsies even in the Ottoman records.
  12. Richard Alba and Victor Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).
  13. James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, “Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity,” *International Organization* 54, no. 4 (Autumn 2000): 845–877 (especially see 872–873); Olzak, *The Dynamics*, especially 20–21.
  14. For the emphasis on the fruitlessness of the differentiation between riot and pogrom, see Paul R. Brass, “Introduction: Discourses of Ethnicity, Communalism, and Violence,” in *Riots and Pogroms*, edited by Paul R. Brass (London: Macmillan Press, 1996), 32–34. Brass points at the wide usage of the terms *riots* and *pogroms* that assume differences in organization and planning. He himself stresses the mutual presence of “outbreak of active lawlessness” that is connected to the definition of riot and “official planning or collusion” that

is attached to pogrom in the realization of many violent acts. Bergmann et al. give clues about how to differentiate exclusionary riots from other collective violent instances:

The exclusionary riot may be distinguished from other forms of violence along a range of criteria. The assumption that the minority group constitutes a collective threat makes the exclusionary riot different from a lynching, which, while operating from general prejudice, is directed at a single member of a minority. The extreme asymmetry of power in favor of the rioters distinguishes exclusionary riots from other forms of rioting, such as food or race riots. The low level organization makes them different from vigilantism and terrorism, and the comparative absence of state participation sometimes, but not always, distinguishes exclusionary violence from large-scale massacres and genocide.

(Bergmann et al., "Introduction," 12–13)

15. Bergmann, "Exclusionary Riots," 163.
16. Michael A. Hogg and Dominic Abrams, *Social Identification: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes* (London; New York: Routledge Press, 1988), 26.
17. Bergmann, "Exclusionary Riots," 165–166.
18. *Ibid.*, 166–167.
19. *Ibid.*; Bergmann emphasizes this collective violence as a means of social control by following Donald Black, 167.
20. For example, Drezgic, "Demographic"; Heng and Devan, "State Fatherhood"; Nagel, "Masculinity"; Parla, "The 'Honor'"; and Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation*.
21. Patricia Albanese, "Nationalism, War, and Archaization of Gender Relations in the Balkans," *Violence Against Women* 7, no. 9 (September 2001): 999–1023; Wendy Bracewell, "Rape in Kosovo: Masculinity and Serbian Nationalism," *Nations and Nationalism* 6, no. 4 (October 2000): 563–590; Ruth Harris, "The 'Child of the Barbarian': Rape, Race and Nationalism in France during the First World War," *Past and Present*, no. 141 (November 1993): 170–206.
22. Bergmann, "Exclusionary Riots," 166.
23. Ashgar Ali Engineer, "The Causes of Communal Riots in the Post-Partition Period in India," in *Communal Riots in Post-Independence India*, edited by Ali Ashgar Engineer (Hyderabad: Sangam Books, 1984), 36–39; and Brass, "Introduction."
24. See Brass, "Introduction," 11.
25. As Van Arkel, in "The Growth," argues, a stereotype should be functional to be active.
26. Hogg and Abrams, *Social Identification*, 36.
27. Bergmann, in "Exclusionary Riots," also alludes to effects of rapid urbanization in generating social unrest connected to exclusionary riots (166).
28. Tanıl Bora and Nergis Canefe, "Türkiye'de Populist Milliyetçilik," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce Cilt 4: Milliyetçilik*, edited by Tanıl Bora and Murat

- Gültekingil (Istanbul: İletişim Publications, 2002), 635–662, quoted Osman Yuksel Serdengeçti, a right-wing writer who became known by his populist-nationalist ideas in the 1960s and afterward, 658.
29. Bora and Canefe, “Turkiye’de,” 653–654
  30. *Ibid.*, 661; also see Tanıl Bora, “Linc Acilimi” (Opening out for lynching), *Birikim* 249 (January 2010): 3–5.
  31. Bergmann, “Exclusionary Riots,” 168.
  32. Van Arkel “The Growth,” 278.
  33. Jan T. Gross, *Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz, An Essay in Historical Interpretation* (New York: Random House, 2006), 251.
  34. Jan T. Gross, *Neighbours: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland, 1941* (London: Arrow Books, 2003), 131.
  35. For instance, Gross, *Fear*, 252.
  36. Linda Green, “Fear As a Way of Life,” *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 2 (May 1994): 239.
  37. Gross, *Fear*, 256.
  38. *Ibid.*, 79.
  39. Bora, “Linc Acilimi,” 5.

## Appendices

1. The interviewees are not limited to the names here, but these are the ones whose narratives are directly quoted and/or referred. Otherwise, the total number of interviews approximates to 200 people. All the names of the interviewees are pseudonyms.
2. The communities refer to identifications beyond Turkishness. The people who belong to these communities usually consider and/or represent themselves as Turks as well. The people who do not belong to such a community, on the other hand, consider and/or represent themselves as “ethnic Turks” although the content of the category is open to change as we have seen in this book.
3. The date refers to the first meeting. With most narrators, there have been more than one meeting and different encounters between March 2008 and August 2009.

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