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The Impact of Social Exclusion in Residential Segregation: A gipsy Neighbourhood Fevzi Paşa in Turkey

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ABSTRACT

In this article, residential segregation of a gipsy group is analyzed as ethnicity-based and in relation to social segregation (through the Çanakkale - Fevzi Paşa Gypsy Neighborhood). The aim of this analysis is to define the conditions under which and areas in which this type of segregation provides (dis)advantages. As a result, residential segregation can be explained through three basic reasons as external factors and obligations, internal factors and willingness, and the circular interaction between these two factors. When these factors and their interrelations are evaluated, with specific attention paid to the location and the ethnic group and in a fashion respecting multiculturalism and differences possibilities of reaching urban unification or the undivided city can be achieved.

Key Words: Residential Segregation, Social Exclusion, Urban Space, Gipsy Neighbourhood.

1. INTRODUCTION: SPATIAL SEGREGATION AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION

In the literature, the primary reason for spatial segregation in the urban space is suggested to be housing inequality, and it is most commonly analyzed from a race and ethnicity based focus [1, 2, 3]. On this issue, the Marxist approach explains spatial segregation not in relation to religion, culture, or ethnic roots, but to the concept of “class” and wider structural forces in the economy and society. The housing market is but one of the subcategories of these forces and race-based segregation is a form of this structural inequality. The Neo-Weberian approach, on the other hand, has developed the notion of ‘residential classes’ (by incorporating into the process the ecological model developed by Park and Burgess in the 1920s’ John Rex Chicago school). Housing is a scarce resource and different groups have different patterns of access to housing; individuals differ from one another in relation to their power in the housing market [4]. Accordingly, ethnic groups and immigrants, too, are bound to a

specific type of residence and to specific neighbourhoods due to their general preferences and limitations. Consequently, both approaches converge on the idea that the resources that individuals possess define their power in the housing market and take many different shapes.

Later discussions are grouped under two schools which base exclusion paradigms on significant differences between certain groups and question inequality theories through these paradigms: ‘limitations school and ethnicity school.’ According to the limitations school, inadequate residential conditions of the minorities are a result of external factors created by racial segregation elements in the society or the institutional structure [5]. In other words, this definition ties exclusion and dissociation to obligation. In the criticisms of this school which last to this day, segregation paradigms are defined in relation to the meanings and sanctions of social differences, which are either universal or specific to location, and the focus is on the disadvantages of segregation and dissociation, and the necessity of

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integration. In line with the ethnicity school, however, what determine the existing residential pattern, housing type and quality configurations are individuals' preferences. Nevertheless, according to the human-capital theory, it is not economically rational to invest in poverty-stricken areas for the betterment of either the individuals or the communities. This situation, in turn, increases poverty rates, and therefore spatial differences or dissociation and exclusion in all areas. In approaches tied to cultural or voluntary preferences, it is advocated that the individual's choice of living in a neighbourhood representing his/her ethnic group remains valid even if the socio-economic and cultural differences between him/her and the society lessen. Ethnic stratification model [6] as another approach focuses on the role of exclusion in the housing market. As a result, on the border between being excluded (or not) and/or spatially segregated (or not) lies obligation or limitations, as external factors, and willingness, as an internal factor.

Obligation is defined through legal sanctions, which are covert and usually weak in effectiveness, and through access to necessary financial resources, which are strong. Financially, housing market institutions can decide on exclusion based on economic and partially objective criteria, such as the degree of job security and present and future earning capacity. The roles of governments, as institutions, and individuals in these institutions are effective on limitations in the housing supply. The governments' withdrawal from the housing market and their reduction of the rates of social residences for rent that they subsidize decrease the access to housing by various groups including the ethnic groups. Furthermore, through the discriminatory real estate market, reconstruction rules and pressures for keeping unearned income at a maximum while renting keep some of the unwanted groups from settling in prestigious areas and bring them together in areas which are re-defined or segregated in urban space [7]. The fact that cheap residences are demolished due to current housing policies and that, in their place, expensive residences designed for a higher income group are built limits low income groups' housing choices, thereby increasing the segregation, in the field of housing, of ethnic groups which are generally poverty-stricken [8]. As such, in the access to certain parts of the housing market or in the freedom of choice of the residential user, limitations on the side of supply are as influential as the user's economic power.

Voluntary social segregation is a significant factor in the formation of segregated residential environments. Through this form of segregation rich or poor ghettos are created. Poor ghettos are usually formed by the clustering of people from the same background and are supported by very well-developed internal social networks. In such residential areas, the groups which remain outside of the values and norms of the majority of the society preserve their own culture, thereby paving the way for the solidarity needed in a strange living area. In a minority and/or ethnic culture, social networks are the basic element of social loyalty, of loyalty to the location and to shared values and norms,

and of preservation of identity, and therefore, they help the establishment of social capital.

As these discussions indicate, exclusion processes are subjects which are multi-layered and complicated, and their formation factors are different, and segregation in one institutional field may cause segregation in other fields or may increase its probability [9]. Social exclusion, on the other hand, hampers access to financial resources and to housing, thereby causing exclusion or dissociation in the field of housing.

In this article, the reasons why and the conditions under which the gypsies, as an ethnic group, are spatially segregated in the urban space or form their own neighbourhoods will be questioned through the Fevzi Paşa Neighbourhood model. As such, the aim is to define the internal and external factors and their interaction in relation to residential segregation under conditions specific to the location. For this reason, the relation between ethnicity-based social exclusion and spatial segregation, and the advantages and disadvantages of spatial segregation will be analyzed in relation to internal and external factors.

2. SPATIAL SEGREGATION RELATED TO ETHNIC SEGREGATION /CONCENTRATION IN THE URBAN SPACE

The usual exclusion of ethnic groups at the urban level in housing areas is explained through social segregation, and social segregation and the related exclusion is claimed to be race and ethnicity based [9, 5, 10] and these two concepts are discovered to be in interaction. This is because exclusion is frequently race/ethnicity focused and minorities refer to those groups which are subject to or likely to be subject to segregation. Ethnic clustering in the urban space decreases the loneliness of the members by way of supporting those who are from the same ethnic background through developed internal social networks, provides them with a safe living area, and helps them solve their everyday problems. Spatial segregation, which gains momentum through such advantages, becomes evident through residential segregation.

Residential segregation, created through the choice of ethnic clustering or the obligation due to social exclusion, is regarded as the structural separation into neighbourhoods which are alienated from the society and, in narrower terms, as homelessness, and, in reality, as the problem of access to basic social urban rights, hence to obtainable residences at a good quality which provide the chance to live in a safe environment. As such, residential segregation signifies that the positive aspects of urban development are not equally/homogeneously distributed among the communities [7]. For this reason, solidarity patterns based on ethnic relations are used as 'a survival strategy in overcoming urban inequalities and urban poverty,' thereby making residential segregation a result of both an obligation and a willingness. This type of segregation, which feeds off of loyalty to location and of social relations networks, serves many purposes which are significant for the individual, such as feeling

secure, strengthening the tie to his/her own culture and past experiences, preserving individual and group identity and ensuring its continuity, and developing self-respect [11]. Consequently, although the individual is distanced from the larger society, he/she is not distanced from his/her own group. Segregation in the residential area brings such advantages in addition to various disadvantages.

Residential segregation has disadvantages such as hampering integration and the participation of the group in the larger society, making unemployment chronic, and forcing individuals into the informal sector or poverty [6] thereby increasing the tendency for crime and violence [12]. The life span which is such disadvantageous is related to negative social capital, and is explained through the 'neighbourhood effect,' which is defined as an individual being influenced by those people who live close to him/her and with whom he/she is in regular contact and which feeds off of loyalty to the location [13]. In this article, along with the neighbourhood effect and/or strong social networks, the advantages of residential segregation are treated as a factor that influences choices in segregation, and social and economic exclusion are regarded as external factors, and the Çanakkale city center – Fevzipaşa Neighbourhood – is analyzed through the method discussed below.

3. STUDY AREA AND METHODOLOGY

When the gypsy population in Turkey is compared with that in Europe, it shows a dramatic predominance (according to approximate numbers, 500.000 people in Turkey, 800.000 people in Bulgaria, 2.500.000 people in Romania, 600.000 people in Hungary, 120.000 people in England) [14]. Çanakkale province is one of those in which the Roman community has a significant population. It has the largest gypsy population in the Thracian region after İstanbul (approximately 120.000 people). The total population of the Çanakkale province (according to the 2008 data of the Turkish Statistical Institute) is approximately 476.000 people; the city center inhabits about 44.000 people and the gypsy population in the city center is estimated to be 5000 people (3000 in the Fevzi Paşa Neighborhood and a total of 2000 in the Atatürk and Namık Kemal Neighborhoods and on Bostanlar Avenue) [15]. That the Fevzi Paşa Neighborhood is one in which the gypsies densely cluster and that the neighborhood is spatially segregated due to its characteristics (at social, physical, economic levels) at the urban scale are the criteria for the choice of the study area.

Based on the systematically collected and analyzed data in this neighbourhood, the method of this research is used to test and develop the existing theories (See Section 1) which are based on residential segregation related to social exclusion and residential segregation at the urban level [16]. In obtaining quantitative data, questionnaire study is used as the primary source and utilized in supporting qualitative information. The questionnaire application has been carried out among the neighbourhood residents (three sections the questions of which are designed to comprehend the

social, spatial and economic level) and the employers of workers (designed towards exclusion at the work place and in social life) separately. In both of the questionnaires, there are open-ended questions relating to the reasons of residential segregation. All employers (32 workplaces) have been reached in this application. Nevertheless, despite the aim of reaching all family heads (approximately 900 people) as neighbourhood residents, the questionnaire could only be applied to 30% as they did not answer the questions for several reasons (such as refusing to be interviewed, being afraid or bored, being asleep or ill, or being out of town). Therefore, data obtained through qualitative methods (detailed interviews, participant observations, talking about one's self, and supportive documents such as data from Turkish Statistics Institute, Village Headmen's Office, Recruitment Office), observations, and data on spatial structure based on on-site analyses constitute significant sources of information. In the evaluation of the data, it is vital that the data coding or the organization of the information according to this coding be carried out in relation to internal and external factors which are accepted to vary according to location and are defined broadly in the creation of residential segregation, instead of general and specific hypotheses or existing theories.

4. THE SEGREGATION OF THE GYPSIES AS AN ETHNIC GROUP: THE GYPSY IDENTITY AND CULTURE

This article briefly discusses the gypsy identity and culture within its limited framework because the gypsies are segregated at the urban space as they are alienated due to their ethnic identities not only in Turkey or Çanakkale but also in almost all countries and/or as they choose to live in their own neighbourhoods which are suitable for their bohemian life style.

The gypsies have adapted to the country in which they settled or visited without getting attached to the land or declaring themselves a nation, and they have preserved their identity and especially their bohemian living culture. Different guesses concerning the gypsies' motherland have been made certain towards the end of the 18th century, and it has been argued, based on their language, that they were originally from India and that they dispersed throughout the world after starting to immigrate in the 9th century. The gypsy language is a New-Indian language similar to Sanskrit and it is divided into many different dialects and regional accents. This language, spoken still by the majority of the gypsies, is a very crucial communication tool, hence an identity element, for this community which lacks a motherland [17].

Starting out with the root 'Egypt' since the gypsies came from Egypt, Europeans name them mostly as 'Gypsy' or use other names derived from the same word (German: Zigeuner, Italian: Zigenari, Cingali, French: Cigani, Hungarian: Ciganyok, Czech: Cikan, Polish: Zigenari, Greek: Gifti) [17, 18, 19]. Gypsies do not want to be called gypsies as they are not from Egypt and, since 1968, they seem to have adopted the name

'Roman' which is derived from the word 'rom,' meaning man in the Romani language. However gypsies are known through a lot of identities according to location, time, established social relations and their occupations. In Roman language, Argintari means silvermonger; Çivute means ironmonger; Kirpaçi means basketweaver; Kovaçi means ironmonger or blacksmith; Lautari means musician; in Albanian language, Çergari means one who lives in a tent; in Macedonia, Djambas means horse trainer; in Moldavia, Kantarai means weight counter; Padureani means forester [20] and in Turkey, sepetçi means one who makes and sells baskets; arabacı means one who drives a horse carriage.

As the gypsies do not adhere to a specific religion and as they embrace the beliefs of the country they are passing through or they seem to do so, they do not have an identity defined by their beliefs [18]. Furthermore, the gypsies who are claimed to be grouped under three main categories as Kaldera, Gitano and Manush [21, 22] are rarely addresses by these group names.

It is very difficult to know the number of gypsies for sure due to various reasons such as the number of migrants being high, the fact that they are not regarded as citizens of the countries in which they reside and that they do not keep records of their own lineage, and not disclosing their ethnic identities. 12 million gypsies live throughout the world and in Turkey, according to unofficial records, there are 500 thousand to 2 million gypsies. The reasons why the exact gypsy population remains unknown in Turkey are the lack of governmental policies in categorizing ethnic groups and the gypsies' keeping their identities hidden [23, 24]. Almost 95% of the gypsies in Turkey sustain a settled life style, through marginal jobs that do not require much qualification, such as ironmongery, tinkership, horse training, or garbage collection and through musicianship and dancing at which they are very talented.

5. ÇANAKKALE-FEVZİ PAŞA NEIGHBORHOOD AND THE REASONS FOR SEGREGATION /CONCENTRATION OF GYPSIES IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD

Çanakkale is a province in the northeast of Turkey, located on the Gallipoli and Biga Peninsulas, on the two sides of the Çanakkale Strait, and situated both in Asia and in Europe. The city center is located on the Asian side. This neighbourhood is on the slope of Çanakkale (Çimenlik) Castle, on the shore where the Sarıçay Stream, that divides the city into two, meets the sea, and it is within 10-15 walking distance to trade center and intercontinental ferry port (see Photo 1).

The history of the gypsies in the city started out with the history of the city. The Çimenlik Castle, built in 1462 to provide the security of the strait, is the primary core of the city. The initial residential areas of the city are the Cami-i Kebir neighbourhood that the Muslims working at this castle established around Fatih Mosque and its environs. In the same period, the Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror permitted the gypsies working in the construction of the castle to settle in this neighbourhood

and in the area between the banks of the Sarıçay Stream and the castle (The Old Çay, today's Fevzi Paşa neighbourhood) [25, 26]. All the gypsies who, in 1924, immigrated to the city from the Balkans as exchanges live in Fevzi Paşa, Namık Kemal and Atatürk neighbourhoods. The resident gypsies are comprehended as the 'others', but only Kemal Paşa neighbourhood is named by the urbanites as the gypsy neighbourhood and living this neighbourhood is called 'kıvırcık'.

5.1. Exclusion in Social and Work Areas: External Factors

Fevzi Paşa neighbourhood is the least populated neighbourhood of the city (neighbourhoods with the highest population according to the 2000 census: Barbaros neighbourhood 23.500 people, Cevat Paşa neighbourhood 20.800 people). These data indicate that the gypsies living in this neighbourhood are in the minority.

- The fact that this neighbourhood has the highest population density in the city (300 people/hectares) suggests that they cannot live outside a gypsy neighbourhood (100 people/hectares in Barbaros neighbourhood, 150 people/hectares in Cevat Paşa neighbourhood).
- Despite the fact that the families are not crowded (3.8 people on the average), they live in very small residences (approximately 40-60 m²), and this is a result of economic shortcomings, as they are not only unable to leave the neighbourhood but also excluded in business life.
- The real estate agents state that urbanites refuse to sell their residences to gypsies and that they rarely rent them to gypsies and this signifies that, even if the gypsies are economically powerful, they cannot acquire property outside of their neighbourhoods.
- The local administration plans not to better the conditions in this neighbourhood but to demolish the buildings there and to build, in their place, more expensive and more highly qualified prestige residences. The gypsies being re-settled outside the city as a whole group explains that the local administration is involved in the exclusion process of the gypsies.
- The fact that the primary school does not have any non-gypsy students attending is proof that the gypsies are excluded in education and social life.
- Exclusion in education results in not being able to acquire a qualified, regular job with social security, and this social exclusion, in turn, results in being excluded in business life [27]. The indications of exclusion in business life are discussed below.



Photo 1. Urban location of the Fevzipaşa (Gypsy) District.

Low income level: unemployment and developed informal sector: The average monthly household income (approximately 600 TL) is below the Turkey average (1.602 TL) and the starvation borderline (664.6 TL) [28]. 76% of the family heads provide 96-100% of the household income. Among the family heads, the rate of unemployment is 21.1%¹ (This percentage is 10 in Çanakkale and 10.5 in Turkey) and the rate of those working in the irregular and informal sector is 38.4% (see Graphic 1). The monthly income of a family head working in the informal sector goes down to 85-250 TL at a rate of 5.3%.

Graphic 1. The family heads working in the informal sector.



* Horse carriage drivers, shoe shiners, garbage collectors, load carriers, car and toilet cleaners, and the like.

** selling vegetables, fruits, animal feed, lottery tickets, and the like in the streets.

All of those working in the informal sector and those who are unemployed are literate or primary school graduates but they do not have any professional skills. When the rate of unemployment is analyzed, 18.2% of the first generation, 25% of the second generation (excluding the informal sector), and 56.8% of the third generation are unemployed. The increasing unemployment rate can be explained through low educational level, traditional handicrafts, such as ironmongery, tinkership, basket weaving, and broom making, losing value, and biased attitudes towards the

gypsies. The fact that 65% of the employers state their reasons for employing the gypsies to be the gypsies' working for very low wages and without social security signifies the negative biases towards the gypsies very clearly. That 93% of the family heads do not have social security and 2% provide this through poverty benefits (green card) is indicative of the gypsies' are being excluded in the regular and secure business life as well.

Of those who are employed, the majority (62%) has stated that they did not choose their own jobs; 31% have stated that they did not have another choice; 75 have stated that they work for the social security provided. The fact that they started working at childhood ages (of those who are employed, 17.4% started at 7-10 years of age, 20.5% at 11-12, 24.5% at 13-15, 13.3% at 16-18) and mostly by dropping out of school (72%) indicates that they are not qualified in business life and that this is why they yield towards the informal sector. Those who have regular jobs (including the informal sector), on the other hand, have the concern that if they quit their jobs (26%), they will not be able to find a new job in 6-10 months (52%) or at least a year (18%). As such, it is evident that the labour force market is very limited for the gypsies.

It can easily be realized that the gypsies of Fevzi Paşa are regarded as the 'other' as they are in the minority, thereby being subject to social exclusion and exclusion in business life. Nevertheless, the gypsies are segregated from the larger society not only because they are in the minority but also because of internal factors (demographic structure, life style, developed social networks and the like).

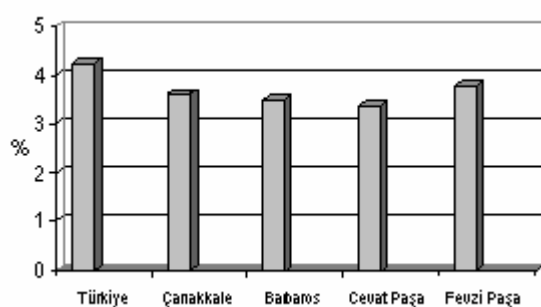
5.2. The Neighbourhood Effect and Developed Social Networks: Internal Factors

All the residents of the neighbourhood define themselves, under their dominant Turkish identity, as 'gypsy or roman,' despite the fact that they do not know which gypsy group they belong to and that only 16% can speak the gypsy language. They relate the reasons for their exclusion to their gypsy identity and their sense of freedom and loyalty to the bohemian life. This

situation is strengthened through the neighbourhood effect. In order to understand this effect or the level of their influence on one another, the characteristics of the demographic structure, education levels, and social networks developed through bohemian life style have been analyzed.

Demographic diversity: The family structure is most commonly nuclear (mother, father and children) (the number of families in one household: 86.9% one family, 12.1% two families, and 1% three families). It has been observed that most of the gypsies above the age of 40 (approximately 62%) live with their family elders. In situations when the family integrity is temporarily split (due to employment, military service, imprisonment, and the like), the tradition of living with family elders continues. The number of people in the family on average is 3.8, which cannot be said to be crowded unemployed (see Graphic 2).

Graphic 2. Number of people in the family on average.

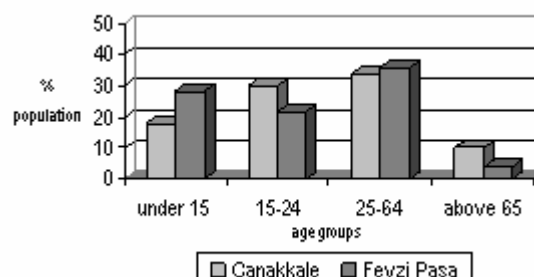


However, the Fevzi Paşa neighbourhood is the most densely populated (300 people/hectare) neighbourhood of the city (the population density of the Barbaros neighbourhood is 100 people/hectare of the Cevat Paşa neighbourhood is 150 people/hectare). This results from the residential structures being very small. Fevzipaşa neighborhood is segregated from the larger society through its demographic characteristics as well (see Graphic 3 and Table 1). It is the neighborhood with the highest (30%) child population (0-14 years of age). The fact that the 15-24 years age group in the city is of a higher rate than the gypsies is due to the university. The fact that the population above the age of 65 is large (12%) is explained through the return of the retired to the city, and that this age group is slow in this neighborhood is explained through tough living conditions, unhealthy nutrition, unhealthy infrastructure and alcohol addiction.

Table 1. The population in the City of Çanakkale and Fevzi Paşa Neighborhood.

Age groups	Population	
	City of Çanakkale	Fevzi Paşa Neighborhood
Under 15	9.240	900
15-24	14.080	735
25-64	15.400	1230
Above 64	5.280	135
Total	44.000	3.000

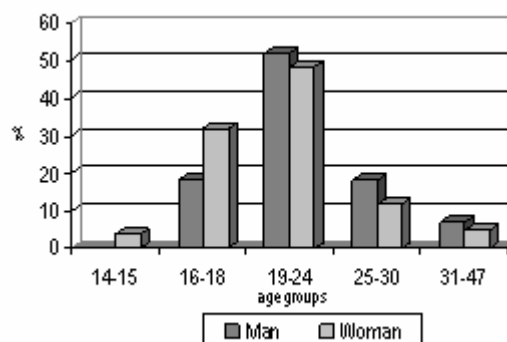
Graphic 3. The rate of the age groups in the city of Çanakkale and Fevzi Paşa Neighbourhood.



Marital status: The most distinctive demographic characteristic of the gypsies is that they marry at early ages. Love marriages are very common (of the male family heads, 88.9% are married, 5.1% are widowed, 2% live separately from their spouses, and 4% are single). 91% have married once. Marriages are established at very young ages (see Graphic 4).

However, there are no men who were married of at 14 or 15 years of age. The majority of the neighbourhood residents (76%) were born in this neighbourhood; 24% live in this neighbourhood due to marriage and all were born in other districts of Çanakkale (Biga, Gelibolu, Ezine) and are mostly (86%) gypsies.

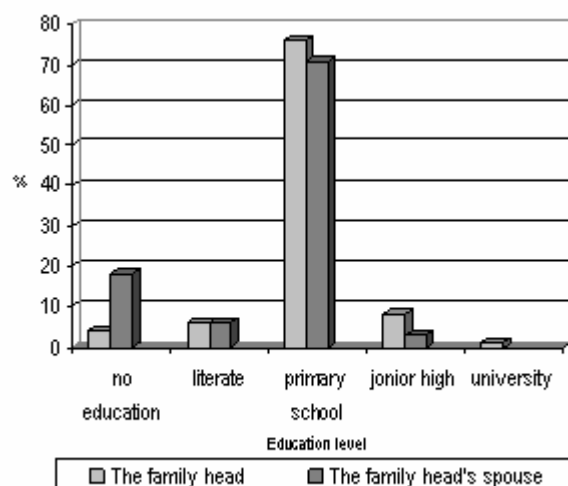
Graphic 4. Marriage age.



Low education level: Fevzi Paşa Neighborhood, along with İsmet Paşa and Namık Kemal neighborhoods in which gypsies are the majority, has the lowest rate of literate residents in the city (5.1%). The rate of those whose last graduated school is primary school is 67%, and this is the highest rate in education (see Graphic 5).

This also suggests that, in this neighborhood, the rate of those who continue with their education after the primary school level is low (26% of the 15-25 years age group).

Graphic 5. Education level of the parent.



The Neighbourhood Effect: Bohemian Life Style and Social Exclusion: In bohemian lives, in which living together is very much liked and joy and sorrow are shared with neighbours and relatives, the present is important, not the future. Hence necessities (shelter, food, heating material, and the like) are met today, this is reason enough to be happy. Listening to music, playing a musical instrument (especially violin, goblet drum, clarinet and accordion), singing one's own songs and dancing are the indispensable elements of life. All family members, kin or neighbours they get along well with get together, have dinner, which is prepared by means of the money everyone has earned that day, and have fun. Wine and rakı are essential drinks at dinner.

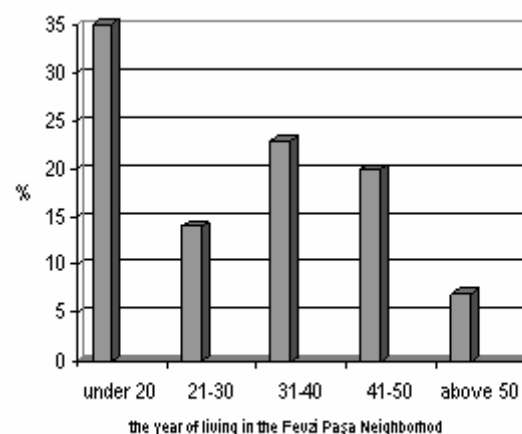
Kakava (Hidrellez) Festivities: Although Hidrellez is a very old holiday celebrated in all of Anatolia, Mesopotamia and Iran, indicating the coming of spring, it is the only holiday that belongs to the gypsies according to their point of view [29]. The gypsies start to build fires by the Sarıçay, eat, drink and have fun as of early morning on the 5th of May along with a group leader. This celebration, which lasts through the night, ends with the gypsies, dressed in white, either sprinkling the stream's water over themselves or getting into the water as the morning dawns. They believe that, by this way, they are cleansed from their sins and they start off a good new year.

Street Weddings: Gypsies lives are spent in the streets except for when they go home to sleep during winter. They carry out all of their weddings, engagement ceremonies, celebrations (births, birthdays, henna parties, and the like) during the months of spring or summer, outdoors, especially in the streets. It is an ongoing tradition to present jewelry and money as gifts during weddings, engagement ceremonies, and ceremonies where young men are sent off to their military duties. Food and alcoholic beverages (wine and rakı) are served at weddings which are organized according to the economic standing of the groom's

father – and in the case of circumcision ceremonies, according to that of the young boy's father.

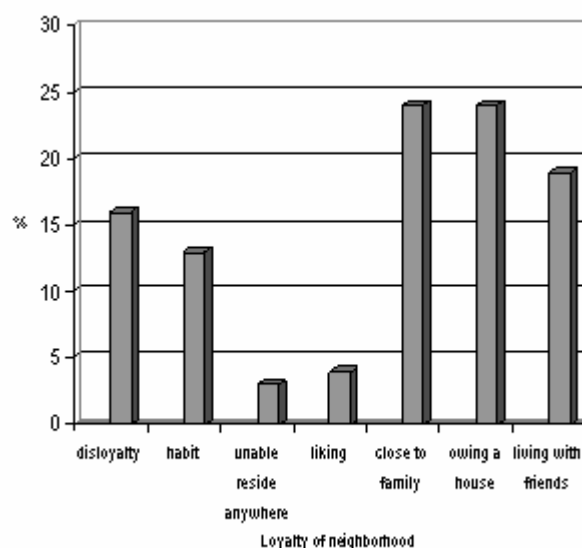
Developed Social Networks: Excluding those who are below the age of 20 and those who have come over due to marriage, the period of living in this neighborhood is 64,2 % above 20 years (see Graphic 6), and this increases not only loyalty to location but also social solidarity.

Graphic 6. The period of living in Fevzi Paşa Neighbourhood.



Those who are loyal to the neighborhood (84%) define their loyalty through several explanations: as can be seen Graphic 7.

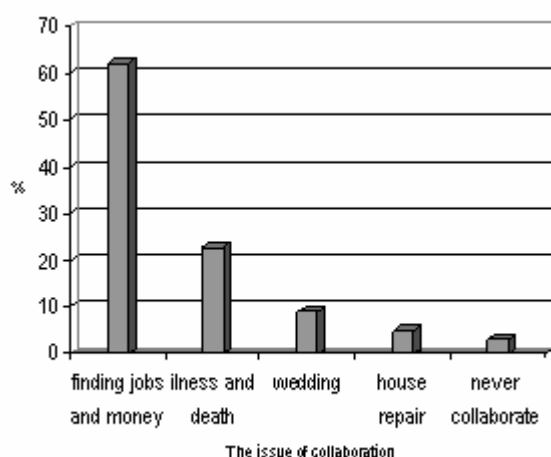
Graphic 7. The reason of the loyal to Fevzi Paşa Neighbourhood.



The fact that most of the residents of the neighborhood know one another (49.5% knows everyone, 15.9% knows 90%, 14% knows at least 50%), and that they live together with their neighbors (74% getting together

everyday) for several reasons such as sharing food, heating material, home and shelter, chatting and having fun, strengthen social networks. The most significant subjects on which they collaborate with their neighbors and friends are finding jobs and money (64.7%), in cases of illness or death (24.2%), weddings (8%), and house repairs (2%); only 1.1% never collaborate on any issue (see Graphic 8).

Graphic 8. The issues of collaboration in Fevzi Paşa Neighbourhood.



Due to the style of living together, finding residences is another significant issue on which social solidarity is influential. In renting residences, neighbors (60%) and relatives (40%) help out. Family heads hear about job opportunities from other residents of the neighborhood, friends or relatives (85.8%), through their own efforts (6.2%), from wedding organizers (for musicians) (2%), from associations (1%), from employers (2%), and from professional intermediaries (3%), and 86% of employers reach gypsies through their friends and relatives.

These data are also indicative of the fact that social networks are also powerful in business life. However, the rates of unemployment and working in the irregular informal sector and income levels are scrutinized; the results of solidarity in business life are not successful. This failure is tried to be overcome by the gypsies' very highly developed skills in music and dancing, which are as developed as their handicrafts, and for this reason, playing an instrument and dancing are taught at very early ages within the family. During detailed interviews, a 62 year-old grandfather, Hasan Kurnaz stated the importance of music and dance for the gypsies, while he was teaching his 4 year-old granddaughter how to play the clarinet, by saying: 'My granddaughter is too young to learn how to play the clarinet but the aim is to get her ears used to it. I, too, learned to play the clarinet from my grandfather when I was six. Music is in our blood. Here children's swaddle is opened by music. My son, grandchildren and I make a living out of playing music at weddings.' The mother of a 9 year-old girl dancing in the streets as she was

walking stated: 'This girl started belly-dancing before she could walk,' thereby emphasizing the important place of dancing within the gypsy culture.

Becoming introvert, which is getting more common through solving all kinds of problems by means of social solidarity networks in the neighbourhood, causes especially the third generation to become segregated from the larger society acutely. The neighbourhood effect (which is determinative in the lives of the previous generation in taking decisions relating to continuing education after compulsory schooling, the significance of education, getting married young and having children, and joining the workforce) strengthens this situation. In the cigarette and alcohol addiction among the young (76%), it is again the elders who display a negative model. Therefore, employers (80%) refuse to employ gypsies as they regard the socio-economic status or the neighbourhoods to set bad examples of disloyalty, lack of discipline, laziness, and addiction, and this has doubled the rate of unemployment among this generation and made them an unwanted group by the urbanites.

5.3. Residential Segregation: The Interaction of Internal and External Factors

Dizdar street parallel to the shore in the north, Hacıoğlu street linked to the trade center via a bridge over the Sarıçay in the east, the Çimenlik castle and the court house building in the west, and the neighbourhood limited by the Sarıçay in the south differ from the trade center and organized residential area they border by their street fabric and formation style. This neighbourhood on the shores of the Sarıçay creates a contradiction with the prestigious residential area on the opposite shore (the Barbaros neighbourhood).

Physical Segregation: In the settlement pattern of the grid system, which was later deformed through dead-end streets or illegal buildings, residential structures and street widths get smaller as one gets to the inner sections. In some sections, streets are only wide enough for one person to pass by. Streets are defined by colourful clothes, carpets and blankets hung to be dried, bulks of electric cables which are usually illegal, left-over construction materials, scraps, wastes, dirty pools of water, pets (horses, dogs, and cats), numerous pushcarts belonging to street vendors, bicycles and motorcycles (see Figure 4). The neighbourhood headman evaluates this environment as follows: 'neither the gypsies nor the administrators care about this status of the neighbourhood. The streets which are in terrible condition in relation to security and cleanliness (Kuyu 1, Kuyu 2 and Testicioğlu streets) are utilized by the addicts (of alcohol, drugs, and thinner) with ease.'

All the buildings, which are adjacent, have few storeys, and small base areas, and to which illegal additions have been made, are painted in striking colours that add liveliness to the streets. These streets, the little squares at their junction points, and the shores of the Sarıçay are places where the old chat, the children play, the housewives carry out their daily chores (shelling vegetables, even cooking, washing clothes, and the

like), the young men gather, and the young girls spend time together; in other words, they are shared places where the community lives together (see Photo.2).

While this style of living is authentic to the gypsies, it also results from the fact that the residences are small and users are crowded.



Photo 2. Street and life.



Photo 3. The tiny residences of the gypsy neighbourhood.

The neighbourhood is composed mostly of one-storey or, at most, illegally built three-storey buildings which have very small base areas (approximately 30-60 m²). The majority of buildings is neglected and in the form of rambling sheds. In each residential unit, approximately 3-5 people live (see Photo 3).

It is known that in two- and three-storey residences, more than one family lives on each floor. Illegal additions (balconies, half-floor additions, enclosed entrances, and the like) have been made to these buildings due to necessities. During the months of summer, pergolas leaning on the walls of the Çimenlik castle are made to store used materials, wood and tin, nylon and cardboard residues, and to live in. Under these conditions of bad quality and dense linear structuring, family privacy and individual freedom cannot be established.

Physical Deprivation: Physical deprivation in the living environment based on poverty can easily be detected in this neighbourhood. The only social equipment area in the neighbourhood is a children's playground of 15 m², which has worn-out play tools and is dirty. Children usually play with garbage or in areas where garbage and scraps are stored. The fronts of one greengrocer and five markets, the two coffeehouses and the streets are areas of social communication and common usage.

Because clean and dirty water mains, garbage collection or use of electricity cannot be maintained in common areas and residences, even minimum conditions of hygiene cannot be supplied. All of the residential buildings are utilized beyond their physical capacity. In most residences (62%), families live in one room of 15-25 m², and the rest rooms, bathrooms, and kitchens are shared. Under these circumstances, neither heating, cooling or airing out can be done nor can insects be dealt with. Gypsies mostly explain their reasons for living in these residences through economic conditions (79%), such as obligation caused by poverty (26.4%), low rents (100-250 TL) (14.1%), and not paying rent (5%). Despite these bad living conditions caused by poverty, they use numerous satellite dishes, air conditioners, branded clothing, expensive household goods (dishwashers, washing machines, home-cinema sets, and the like) and musical instruments, and do not care about conditions of hygiene, thereby creating a contradiction.

In this neighbourhood, where building and living quality is way below levels of liveability, the three most important problems for the gypsies are firstly, inadequate urban services (34.4%) (waterworks and sewage systems, garbage collection, and the like), unqualified residences, poverty, segregation, unemployment and dirtiness, secondly, (21.1%) humiliation, unhealthy living conditions, and anxiety

about the future, and lastly, (7.1%) bad smells (caused by horse carriages, cats and dogs, and dirt), dirtiness (caused by lack of sewage systems), garbage, addiction and insecurity.

The circle of poverty: low health conditions: Because hygiene cannot be established in the neighborhood, lung diseases, especially tuberculosis and hepatitis are common among children, and asthma, bronchitis, and depression are common among women. Children's periodical health controls or their vaccinations are not done. Almost 60% of the men are alcohol and drug addicts. Throughout the whole neighborhood, smoking as of the age of seven (70%) and consuming alcohol, especially wine, as of the age of 10-12 (66%) are widespread. Addictions are mostly observed among the young but the numbers or rates are unreachable.

The residents who suffer from economic impossibilities or lack of social security remark that they are humiliated in health institutions, and for this reason, they refer mostly (74%) to alternative medicine (to healing herbs) or buy medication based on advice, and all disease become chronic as a result.

6. CONCLUSION

With the coming of the 21st century, while sub-national ethnic identities are rasped by developed industrialization and nationalism [30, 31], they are strengthened in the globalization process by multinational corporations and electronic mass communication tools. On the other hand, the approach towards ethnic identities has changed, and ethnic differences began to be regarded as barriers in the process of participation in the larger society or integration, rather than elements to be preserved and respected. It is known that, in this process, the gypsies, as an ethnic group, are continuously segregated in most of the countries in which they live, as a continuation of the centuries-old contempt they have been subject to. This may start out with belittling and insult – as in the Nazi period – and move on with slaughter and genocide. Many ongoing narratives among the society (myths or superstitions relating to child kidnapping, sorcery, lack of faith, and the like) provide sources for negative biases as well. As such, the gypsies have been forced to live in excluded neighbourhoods ever since the 9th century. For this reason, defence mechanisms among the gypsies are initiated and living together/concentration or ethnic clustering – as in the case of the Fevzi Paşa Neighbourhood – occurs automatically.

As is suggested in the theories developed on spatial segregation (see Section 1), the gypsies face ethnic-based residential inequality through social segregation caused by external factors and ethnic clustering caused by the neighbourhood effect which is strengthened by loyalty to location and social networks resulting from internal factors, thereby being excluded in the residential area. When the nature of these factors and their level of influencing segregation are questioned, or in other words, when the reasons and conditions by which the gypsies are segregated are analyzed through

the Fevzi Paşa Neighbourhood, it is realized that 'external and internal factors are interrelated and within a circle of (dis)advantages' for reasons explained below also Figure 1.

- Although, in the segregation of residential areas, this interrelation or circle seems to be an external factor or based on social segregation from a conceptual stand point, it is discovered that social segregation leads to segregation in social and business life, and therefore to disadvantages, as much as to spatial segregation.
- Ethnicity-based segregation in the residential area stems from an economic root or poverty (unemployment and developed informal sector). The fact that the majority lives below the starvation border adequately explains poverty. Yet poverty is a dynamic concept and gypsies who become wealthy (names as 'baro's in the local gypsy language) leave this neighbourhood.
- In ethnic clustering and residential segregation, as opposed to social segregation, those who are subject to segregation forget about it through economic sharing, developed by social networks which are strengthened by ethnic relations, and social support. Consequently, the gypsies mostly (86%) refuse to live outside of this neighbourhood.
- Becoming introvert through ethnic clustering and remaining loyal to the bohemian life style, or preserving the gypsy identity and culture, cause the gypsies to be excluded in social and business life in the demographic structure, and in education. In other words, this disadvantageous position is tied to internal factors through the neighbourhood effect and loyalty to location which is formed by living at the same place for a long time. Moreover, the fact that the majority of the gypsies (90%, 72% among the young) are happy with their social relations with one another, regardless of the very low living standards, is another indication of their desire to live in their own neighbourhoods.
- The gypsies believe that the problems or difficult living conditions of this neighbourhood can be overcome, firstly, if the local administrations do not act in a segregationist manner on issues relating to providing urban services and establishing infrastructure, and, secondly, and more importantly, through their own economic power or job opportunities offered, thereby not wanting to move.
- On the other hand, the gypsies' loyalty to the neighbourhood or to location is a historical phenomenon which is a result of their living in the same neighbourhood, as of the first half of the 15th century, with those who immigrated from the Balkans in the first quarter of the 19th century.

- With the interaction of the external and internal factors explained above along with this concept and/or through the cause-and-effect relation or circular interrelation, it is a necessary outcome

that the neighbourhood is spatially segregated at the urban level and physical deprivation and low health conditions arise as a result.

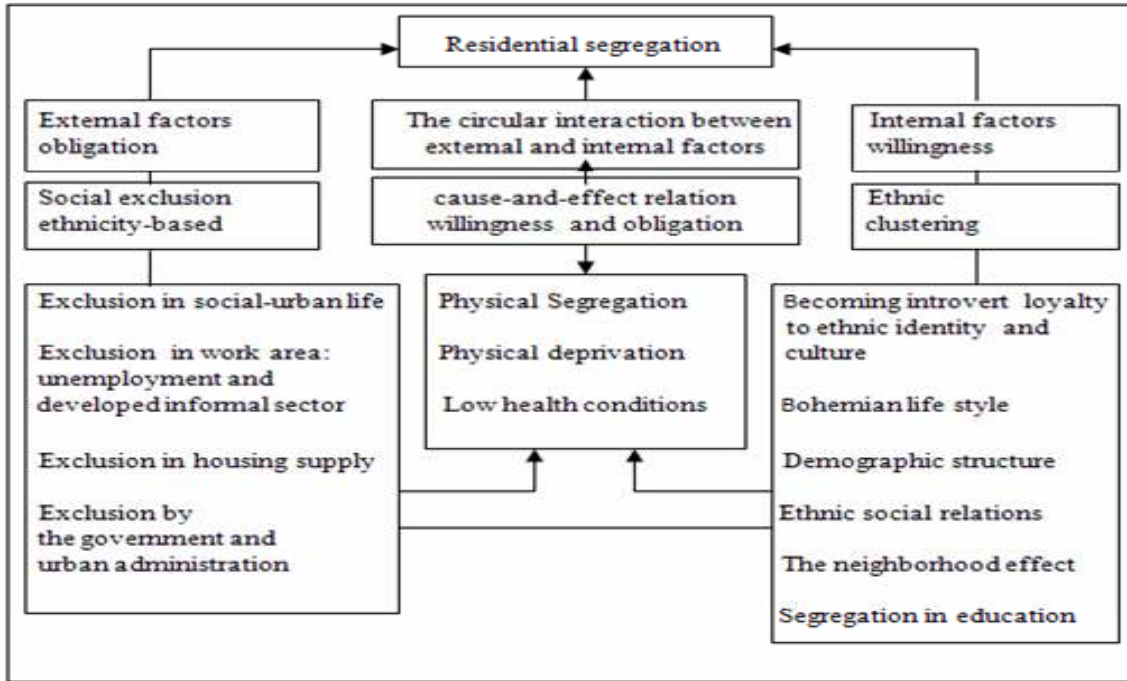


Figure 1. The factors of residential segregation.

It can be seen that the residential segregation of the gypsies depends on both voluntary (internal factors) and obligatory (external factors) reasons and the level of circular interaction between them. As a result, the undivided city, which is regarded as one of the basic goals of development dynamics, such as global economic restructuring processes and welfare state differences of today, is possible through multiculturalism and respect towards differences, and not through disregarding all ethnic groups or forcing them into integration, but through unification.

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