

**T.C.
YILDIZ TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS
PhD PROGRAM IN ECONOMICS**

PhD THESIS

THREE ESSAYS ON IDENTITY ECONOMICS

**SİNEM BAĞÇE
13729013**

**ADVISOR
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**ISTANBUL
2020**

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ÖZ

KİMLİK İKTİSADI ÜZERİNE ÜÇ MAKALE

Sinem Bağçe

Temmuz, 2020

Bu tez, kimlik iktisadı teorisinin eleştirisini ve Türkiye işgücü piyasasında etnik kimliklerin iktisadi çıktıları ölçümleyen üç makaleyi kapsar. İlk makale, kimlik kavramının iktisat literatüründeki evrimini incelemekte, kimlik iktisadı teorisinin güçlü ve zayıf yanlarını ortaya koymaktadır. İkinci makale, 2010 yılı sonrası Türkiye'ye gelen farklı etnik kimliklerdeki mültecilerin Türkiye toplumuna uyum süreçlerini *Etnometre* ölçeği tanımlar. Makale, uyum sürecinde etnik kimliğin rolünü ve İstanbul emek piyasasındaki tezahürlerini analiz eder. İstanbuldaki mültecilerin önemli bir çoğunluğunun paralel bir toplum olarak yaşadıkları sonucuna varılmıştır. Afgan ve Pakistanlı mülteciler iş piyasasında en yüksek ayrımcılığa maruz kalan ve en yüksek marjinalleşmenin gözlemlendiği gruplardır. Araplar en yüksek yıllık gelire sahip grup olmalarına rağmen sosyokültürel olarak büyük ayrılmış oldukları tespit edilmiştir. Üçüncü makale, Romanların çalıştıkları iş kollarının gelir grupları üzerindeki etkisini analiz eder. Romanların çalıştıkları iş kolları, yaş, cinsiyet, eğitim gibi değişkenlere göre hanehalkı gelir farklarını açıklamada oldukça yüksek etkiye sahiptir. Ancak bölgesel farklılıklar, çalışma saatleri, sosyokültürel ve politik uyum parametrelerine göre iş kollarının geliri açıklamada daha düşük açıklayıcılığa sahip olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Özellikle alt gelir gruplarındaki Romanlar için, teknik kalifiyasyon gerektiren işlerde çalışmak ve işçi olmak yüksek oranda gelir artırıcı etkiye sahiptir. Romanlara ait geleneksel iş kollarında çalışanların oranının göz ardı edilebilir ölçüde düşük olduğu tespit edilmiştir. İşgücü piyasasındaki ayrımcılık, en üst gelir grubundaki Romanlar hariç, tüm gelir gruplarındaki Romanlar için artan oranda geliri azaltan bir etkiye sahiptir. Ayrımcılığın yanı sıra, düşük ve düzensiz gelir getiren işlerde çalışmanın ve işsizliğin yüksek oluşu, iş piyasasında Romanlar için mesleki segregasyonun varlığına işaret etmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kimlik İktisadı, İşgücü Piyasası, Göçmenler, Romanlar.

ABSTRACT

THREE ESSAYS ON IDENTITY ECONOMICS

Sinem Bağçe

July 2020

This dissertation comprises three essays that cover the critique of identity economics and the measurement of economic outcomes of ethnic identities in the Turkish labour market. The first essay examines the evolution of the concept of identity in the economics literature. It reveals the strengths and weaknesses of the theory of identity economics. The second article describes the integration process of refugees from different ethnicities, who came to Turkey after 2010, with the scale of *Ethnosizer*. It analyzes the role of ethnic identity in the integration process and on the economic outcomes in the labour market in Istanbul. It is concluded that a significant majority of the refugees in Istanbul live as a parallel society. Afghan and Pakistani refugees are the groups that are exposed to the highest discrimination in the labour market and who are in the highest marginalization. More than half of the Arabs were separated. Arabs are the group with the highest annual income. In the last essay analyzes the impact of job occupations on income groups of the Roma in Turkey. Compare to variables such as age, gender, and education. Job occupation has a very high impact on explaining income differences. However, regional differences, working hours, sociocultural and political cohesion parameters have much more impact on income than job occupation. Especially for the Roma in low-income groups, working in jobs requiring technical qualification and being worker has an income-increasing effect. The proportion of Roma working in traditional job occupation is negligible. Except for the Roma in the highest income group, for all the Roma, discrimination in the labour market has an increasingly reducing effect on income. In addition to discrimination, the high level of unemployment and low and irregular jobs indicate the presence of segregation for Roma in the labour market.

Key Words: Identity Economics, Labor Market, Immigrants, Roma.

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Istanbul; July, 2020

Sinem Bağçe

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ABBREVIATIONS

SILC	: Statistics for Income and Living Conditions
TUIK	: Turkish Statistical Institute
UNDP	: United Nations Development Program
UNHCR	: United Nations Refugee Agency

1. INTRODUCTION

Identity economics has acquired its literature in the last twenty years. It begins with the question; how the theory explains the labour market phenomenon related to discrimination. The theory asserts that the economic choices of individuals majorly not only depend on monetary incentives but also their identities. When the monetary incentives are constant, individuals keep away from the actions and economic activities which conflict with their identities. Akerlof and Kranton (2000) stated a utility function in which identity is an endogenous variable. In this sense, identity is considered in the way of its impact on economic outcomes.

The theoretical and methodological consistency of the concept is still quite weak, or the claims are no longer as sharp as it was at the beginning. Now, identity economics is accepted as an approach in behavioural economics, and experimental research seems to be the applicable methodology for it. However, the results of experiments in Kranton's research present us systematic heterogeneity in social preferences for differentiated social identities which means there is no smooth behavioural path in her research yet to support the same claims in theory.

The dissertation is on the side of empirical research on identity in the labour market. It proposes to the economists to conduct sociological field researches which consider local conditions of society. The dissertation is comprised three essays on identity economics; (1) critical literature on the identity economics, (2) the economic impacts of refugee identity in the labour market of Istanbul, and (3) the identity of the Roma in the labour market of Turkey.

The first essay discussed the theoretical model of Akerlof and Kranton (2000). It underlines its clear understanding of identity and simplification of the social categories that are appropriate to the empirical cases in the dissertation, such as the refugees in Istanbul (2) and the Roma in Turkey (3). Rather than experiments, it follows an empirical methodology to reveal the outcomes of the minor identities in the Turkish labour market. Empirical research on identity is much more successful in providing the purpose and result inconsistency. Generally, this dissertation seeks

to find the answers to the following questions; are the minor identities exposed to discrimination in the Turkish labour market? Furthermore, if so, how to measure the outcomes of discrimination? The first essay presents a critical analysis of the theory of identity in economics. By considering critical recommendations, it seeks to simplify the modelling of identity and clarify progressive steps in the literature.

The second essay seeks to identify the integration process of the refugees in İstanbul who came with the mass migration wave in the recent decade. The essay proposes enriched Ethnosizer, which is a scale determined by ethnic commitments in five aspects, such as language, culture, social interaction, year of migration, and ethnicity. The first part of the essay defines refugees in four processes, (i) integration, (ii) assimilation, (iii) separation, and (iv) marginalization. The sample covers 517 heads of households and 1516 individuals' data. The second part of the second essay seeks to provide empirical observations on the economic life of eight ethnic minority groups in Istanbul. The results indicate the impact of the integration on labour market outcomes, such as annual income, and wage differentiation. The estimations proved that wage discrimination occurs mainly based on the ethnic background rather than human capital endowments.

The third essay presents an overview of the Roma in the Turkish Labor. The essay has an extension of surveys conducted on the Roma living in 12 cities in Turkey. Besides using data similar to SILC (Statistics for Income and Living Conditions), the survey looks for some questions on discrimination, cultural integration and political behaviour of the Roma across the whole of Turkey. The sample covers 1568 respondents and represents 6445 the Roma. The essay assesses the role of job occupation in the determination of the household income differentials in the Roma in Turkey¹.

¹ Household income is expressed as income in the essay.

2. CRITIQUE ON IDENTITY ECONOMICS

2.1. Introduction

As a well-known fact, neoclassical economics excludes *what is humanized* out of the literature for a long time. The definition of rationality is in a very narrow context in mainstream economics. Identity economics is one of the challenges raised against this tradition that has developed in recent years. Rather than the application on differentiated economic outcomes of categorical variables, in a theoretical level, *identity* as an explicit concept was introduced to economics by Akerlof and Kranton (2000). In the literature, the identity-based analysis mainly searches the links between economic welfare and the decision of the actors in question-related to ethnic, racial, gender, and immigrant issues. It is more about discrimination and its repercussions on economic decisions of the relevant actors in a social sphere — utility function of the agent incorporated with identity as a motivation of behaviour to understand differentiated economic behaviours, such as labour force participation, saving, consumption, the decision on welfare distribution.

Firstly, the article examines the evolutionary process of the identity concept in social science literature by considering the substantive strategies in the explanation of human behaviours. Afterwards, the article structures the critics of arguments around the comparison of explanations in modelling identity and methodologies — the main discussion of the literature focus on whether social forces define preferences. The normative assumption of a self-seeking characteristic of the agent is exogenous determination, or socially embedded individual is determined with external factors that called endogenous determination explains the agent in interaction.

The second part argues that identity economics might be an extension of neoclassical economics, even if it seeks to go beyond neoclassical economics, the redefinition of the individual with identity was not entirely different. The ontological transformation of the agent from atomistic to “socially embedded” is fundamentally incompatible with assumptions on an individual and his/her interaction with society.

Therefore, the consequences of the models might not be comprehensive enough to undermine the atomistic individual notion in economics.

Identity might be an inclusive conciliation to understand the differentiated motivation of human behaviour. However, there are many compelling reasons for the inconsistent understanding of the literature that cannot express the interrelating cohesion. The criticism in the last part covers all the models of part the Neoclassical Understanding. Besides, the distinctive assumption of identity economics is on the agent, and the boundaries of the modelling in identity economics briefly examined.

2.2. Incorporation of Individual and Social Identity

As in the other models of behavioural economics, Akerlof and Kranton (2000) transferred the theoretical background from the other social sciences, such as psychology, sociology, social psychology, to improve the power of explanation of human behaviour. In sociology and social psychology, group effect has a higher impact on individual behaviours. Group acceptance and rejection addresses beyond the *homo economicus*. In sociology, systemic discrimination explains the inequalities in society. It argues the unfair treatments related to domination and subordination. However, social psychology focuses on the categorization tendency of social groups, stereotypes, prejudices, implicit bias, dominance, and group hostility in society.

The roots of identity go to self in psychology. According to Baumeister (1987), discussion on self has continued since the 16th century; with social and ideological developments, secularization, industrialization, enlightenment. Psychoanalysis brought maturity to the idea of being individual. The most valuable contribution to the progress of self came from Freud (1921) who analyzed self in its unique circumstances under social norm's pressure and conflict between unsocialized impulse and superego. Although self is a personal, private, profoundly unique, and complex thing, the norm was the first external parameter of self in psychology (Hogg, 2001). On account of norm expresses unwritten rules, most of the people agree with and a socially accepted standard way of behaviours.

Norms reflect social commitments that determine the social space of self. Social physiology analyses self as an embedded concept into social frames. The early attempt to defining an external parameter of self was by Wundt in 1916, the founder

of psychology as an experimental science. According to Wundt, psychology examined social phenomena through isolated individual psychology. Thus, he extended social psychology interests to collective human communities, such as language, religion, and mythology. He addressed the method of inquiry, which asks the individual how an individual feel about herself and makes an explanation of her subjective situations.

In contrast, another approach asserted that the self finds itself in a social group. The understanding revealed the concept of group mind generated with social interaction. The group mind has distinctive characteristics rather than its members (retrieved from Hogg and Vaughan, 2014).

During the 1940s, the first severe group discussions on identity started with Sherif's social experiments. In the path-breaking experiment, Sherif randomly divided eleven years old schoolboys into two groups. They are isolated from each other for a week. After that time, he asked the boys to play games where groups would compete. While in gaming, the divided groups' behaviours to each other were antagonistic. They had structured distinct group identities during the time. This experiment of Sherif (1954) claimed the sufficient condition in-group competition is the creation of ethnocentrism. Following Sherif, Social Identity Theory of Tajfel and Turner presented intergroup differentiation (retrieved from Hogg, Vaughan, 2014).

Since Tajfel (1978) and Turner (1982), the theory of social identity is the primary perspective in social psychology. It focused on conceptualizing the relationship between self and group membership/social categories regarding its perceptual and cognitive dimensions (Hogg and Vaughan, 2014). Their perspective consists of two major theories, social identity theory by Tajfel and self-categorization theory by Turner. While social identity theory interprets behaviours in inter-group, the self-categorization theory focuses on behaviours in intragroup (Valtonen, 2014). The first systematic studies on the aspect began with Tajfel (1970, 1972, 1974, 1978) on social categorization. He focused on the comparison between the groups, prejudice, and stereotyping. He claimed social groups basing on the feeling of belonging.

In social experiments, subjects were tending to define themselves as a member of a group even they are randomly assigned and to award more points to people who is their in-group member. Tajfel called the tendency "minimum group paradigm" that

social categorization is a sufficient premise for in-group favouring discrimination (Tajfel, 1970). He defined social identity as follows, “The individual’s knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of his group membership” (Tajfel, 1972, 292).

Preliminary extension work in this field is the self-categorization theory developed by John Turner in 1982. He examined the self-identification process of individuals with specific social group categories. Self-categorization is a cognitive process and depends upon individuals’ beliefs and values on themselves and their social group. This cognitive process works with a defence mechanism to reduce uncertainty. Hogg and Vaughan expressed the process as follows (Hogg, Vaughan, 2014, 188).

“The processes of self-categorization and prototype-based depersonalization reduce uncertainty because perceptions, attitudes, feelings, and behaviour are now prescribed by an in-group prototype that usually has consensual validation from other group members.”

By the way, social psychologists propounded two types of use; (1) self with social group membership and (2) personnel selfness pertain to her characteristics and interactions. In the most general sense, people have social identities they feel they belong to, and they have personal identities based on social interactions and the ascription set we believe we are. Besides, the recent article by Turner and his colleagues (Turner et al., 1987) supported the same claims on group behaviours and the impact of group categorization on self.

According to Social Identity Theory, to enhance belonging and identity, people need to the value-laden dimension of in-group and concurrently devalue outgroup. There are two concepts to serve the purpose of feeling confident as a part of society. Firstly, the need for “self- esteem” that concerns positive self-image/self-evaluation of the individual for both self and social group.

Secondly, “belief of superiority” that a salient in-group characteristic compares with outgroups. The out-group also encourages self-esteem and strengthen group identification (Brown, Capozza, 2016). In this sense, the minimum group paradigm explains the need for belonging and acceptance with the satisfaction of self-esteem and social group enhancement. In the self-assessment process to reach self-esteem, people need to evaluate circumstances around positively though considering their group superior to others. Hence, they can structure a close identity to the social group. According to Abrams and Hogg (1990), social groups are defined in competition to

have resources, power, authority, and prestige. Accordingly, to understand discrimination between the groups, their salient characterization takes importance. If a nine social group identity delineates arbitrarily in any competition, the identity becomes more salient and face discrimination. When social identity is salient, representing group characteristics by an individual becomes more liable rather than by interpersonal level. Due time self-conception in-group membership gains uniformity of group and high group coordination. Then, social pressure and normative behaviour come into prominence. Under the specific circumstances, different people can behave in the hierarchy senses as a group member who has shared psychological reflexes and thinking (Abrams, Hogg, 1990).

Social physiology analyzes groups as individuals within social interactions. In contrast, sociology and political science analysis of groups are mainly on groups as collective structures (Hogg, Vaughan, 2014). Thus, the primary root of social psychology is in individuals and their interactions as it is in the literature on identity economics, too. In the following part outlines the literature on identity economics; firstly, neoclassical understanding including the earlier research which modelled identity exogenously and complex models; modified neoclassical perspective by endogenizing identity, and more recent criticism on identity economics.

2.3. Neoclassical Understanding in Economics

2.3.1. Canonical Models

Except for some essential critical approaches, what we know about identity in the economics literature is based on the neoclassical understanding that explains differentiated economic outcomes/behaviours concerning differentiated social categories/identities. The transition of focus in economic literature from differentiated economic outcomes to behaviours and from social categories to identity took four decades; since Becker (1957) until Akerlof and Kranton (2000). In the comprehensive study of Akerlof and Kranton's on identity economics in 2010 that covers all the arguments of their research on identity economics, they described their theory as a step forward by Becker. They said, "Becker's approach, like ours, was to expand the utility function. This book thus follows a long tradition of progress in economics" (Akerlof, Kranton, 2010).

Becker (1957), which is called taste-based discrimination, accounted for discrimination against disadvantaged groups with the same reference of differentiated preference/taste of good in utility maximization. The model revealed that the market could eliminate discriminatory firms that are less profitable than non-discriminatory ones. If there is enough non-discriminatory employer who can compensate for the employer's taste of discrimination with lower wages for the non-preferred group, then discrimination can be eliminated.

During the decision-making process, the employer refers to observable features of employees to predict unobserved characteristics. Due to the low cost of searching employees, discrimination according to skin colour and average group behaviour correlates with the group member. Phelps and Arrow proposed two different sources of inequality. (1) The assumption of imperfect information in Phelps' model explains imperfect information about workers' productivity that is compensated. In Arrow, asymmetry in belief is driven in equilibrium notion rather than using differentiated beliefs as proxies. (2) The difference between Arrow and Phelps is on the sources of inequality. Phelps (1972) assumes *ex-ante* exogenous differences between groups of workers. However, in Arrow, K. et al. (1973), group differences are driven endogenously in equilibrium. Their theoretical explanation is called statistical discrimination (Arrow, 1971; K. Arrow et al., 1973; Phelps, 1972) retrieved from Benhabib, 2010)

All the following neoclassical models contain identity notion are designed regarding canonical paradigm that explains social interactions with the decision-making process in an available set of options under rationality assumptions. When there is perfect information about the outcomes of decisions, the agent can maximize her utility. If there is uncertainty, the agent assumes objective and subjective probabilities to maximize an expected utility function. The agent's belief about the outcomes of her actions defines the probabilities.

Akerlof (1997) introduces two types of behavioural models. Firstly, the status-seeking behaviour that people try to increase social distance with others. Secondly, conformist behaviour that people keep themselves closer to other people in society. (Cost-font and Cowell, 2015). Following the Social Identity Theory of Tajfel and Turner that focused on intergroup differentiation, Akerlof and Kranton (2000) assert that the motivation of human behaviour considers social categorization. The

economic choices of individuals primarily not only depend on monetary incentives but also their identities. When the monetary incentives are constant, individuals keep away from the actions and economic activities that conflict with their identities. Thus, identity is a motivation for behavioural changes and differentiates economic outcomes—identity bases on social categories and their behavioural prescriptions. Prescriptions address social norms for the particular social category.

The Utility Function

$$U_i = U_j [(a_j, a_{-j}, I_j)] \quad (1)$$

The Model of Identity

$$I_j = I_j [(a_j, a_{-j}, c_j, E_j, P)] \quad (2)$$

The model decomposes identity into five critical parameters; (i) Usual vectors of the labour's actions, a_j , (ii) The others' actions, a_{-j} , (iii) Social category the labour assigned; c_j . Each social category has ideal characteristics and norms, (iv) The extended form of given social category (already socially in) matched with the ideal one (the labour would like to be in), E_j , (v) Prescribed behaviours, P .

To apply the theory, Akerlof and Kranton (2002) focused on students' reasoning to identify in social engagements in school. They modelled Coleman's survey (1961) on the social arrangements of Illinois High School students by following students' primary motivation in their different categories and their relationship with behavioural orientation into school settings.

In the article, the student formation of academic identity reflects their belonging to a school. Same as in the basic modelling, they define three social categories; the leading crowd, L , nerd, N , and burnout, B , that have determinants of own ideal or stereotyping behaviour prescriptions. These prescriptions determine student social status as having a high or low profile. Their utility differentiates regarding how they accommodate their self-image to this category. The school setting has its expected ideal. By referring to the ethnographic research on high school students, they claim that such social divisions have an impact on school achievements. The explanatory of the utility function of students are effort and financial returns, social category (jock or nerd), and prescriptions. They defined a parameter that measures the difficulties of having ascriptive characterization in social difference, and degree of social difference, — prescriptions designated by physical appearances and ability. In

equilibrium, the skill acquisition is not responsive to the wage but is responsive to the degree of social difference, t . When t is higher, then it is harder for students to be with the burnouts and the nerds to be in the leading crowd. When skill abilities response is high in the group, academic achievements become less even in nerds.

When students' backgrounds are unlikely to accomplish the sets of schooling, resources are inefficient. According to Akerlof and Kranton (2002), the missing point in the article is the motivations of teachers and school administration. Moreover, in economic modelling, economists consider economic returns of schooling; However, families majorly care about decent behaviours and universal moral principles of the society. The most convenient case might be the article by Akerlof and Kranton (2002) that applied the model to show the linkage between identity and schooling. There are three types of groups, and prescriptions are adequately defined and referred to ethnographic results — furthermore, the empirical analysis suited with the model.

Akerlof and Kranton (2005) aimed to amend the basic principle-agent model with identity differentiation between feeling belonging to an organization or not, simplified as being insider or outsider². Insiders (outsider) are paired with high (low) effort action. As an assumption, insiders do not need a reward to work harder. They set a simple utility function of employer and majorly focus on case studies of military and civilian workplaces. In military work, soldiers do not have monetary incentives, but they had been trained a lofty aim. The article also bases on the same arguments with efficiency.

By following Akerlof and Kranton (2005), in 2008, Akerlof and Kranton structured more complex modelling to reveal management policies and organizational behaviours mainly diversified work-groups, concerning being insider/outsider. The model follows ethnographic research of firms and social psychology, such as Blader, and Tyler (2007), to reveal the tie between the workers' belonging motivation and their efficiency. The model bases on a similar logic with the model of contract theory.

² In the efficiency wage models, being insider/outsider as an organizational identity is defined as motivational capital of the firm. Regarding modeling explanation, the primary reference might be Akerlof and Yellen (1990) specialized in wage and effort hypothesis, rather than Akerlof and Kranton (2000), because, theoretically, in 2005, Akerlof and Kranton is far from the arguments of their first article. It might be expected to more profound analysis and clarification on the problematic arguments in the first article. In contrast, they majorly converged into labor market wage modeling and organizational theory.

They give explicit descriptions of motivations in work-group behaviour and write on the self-thinking of employees under the monitoring of the firm. In the equilibrium, most employees reflect intragroup effects on cooperative behaviour.

In Battu et al. (2007) and Battu and Zenou (2010), oppositional identities define behavioural prescriptions. For instance, wearing a veil or not wearing a veil. Utility function oppositional identity modelling depends on sets of binary events, as well as identity categories are weighed with the intensity of belonging represents with coefficient parameters. Under the restriction of the psychological cost of social interaction with the other group, for both categories and direct cost of belonging to a category, the individual agent tries to maximize her utility. The objective of the model in Battu et al., (2007) is to demonstrate social network performance on job occupation in non-white individuals. Individuals are determined with their closest networks and their attachment to the cultural origin such as religion or language. To show the peer pressure and family effect on cultural adaptation. They revealed that although there are adverse effects on labour market outcomes, depending on peer pressure level, non-whites might choose to adopt the oppositional identity.

In Shayo (2009), Klor and Shayo (2010), identity is taken into consideration with the status that extended the model of Akerlof and Kranton (2000) by adding the preference for conformity into the utility function. They seek to affirm the correlation between social identity and voting behaviour. The group identities are endogenously assigned, depending on individual monetary payoffs. However, as a drawback of the model, they underlined the endogeneity problem of the models include economic and social variables. People with a characterization might be more likely to earn a higher income and at the same time associated with a specific group (Costa-Font, Cowell, 2015).

2.3.2. Endogenizing Identity into the Decision-Making Process

There are fewer general models in the literature that can entirely explain the identification and interaction process. Fang and Loury's (2005) extension with the parameter of identity codes structured a model as a stock of identity. They firstly determine identity categories in social networks that the agent embedded into society. Secondly, analyze individual risk-sharing behaviours regarding identity code that is of income. The model by Benabou and Tirole (2007) might be the most critical

research that presented how identity and taboos shape the beliefs and trigger the motivations of particular behaviours. It examined the reasoning relation between beliefs and values. They endogenized identity pay off function and behavioural prescription into the model. The individual can predict her pay off function in possible social frames and considers the cognitive cost of interaction. Therefore, she can invest in her identity called stock of identity capital that includes returns of investment. The agent is aware of her self-identity that defines identity utility with the stock of identity capital.

For a valid unit of explanation, Horst et al. (2006) and Darity Jr et al. (2006) present an integrative approach seeking to optimize the dominance of social identity regarding differentiated identities with their differentiated prescriptions. Horst et al. (2006) criticized the dominance of the social identity concept over personal identity. If an agent's decision-making process primarily relates to her social identity, the assumption of utility maximization of rational agents creates a continuous contradiction between personal and social preferences. Along similar lines, through imposing a more active role in personal identity, the inconsistency of the individual assumption and modelling are also tried to be resolved. However, they emphasized that the social equilibrium point is possible with less personal identity effect on the motivation of actions. The agent has the capability power to choose between social norms and personal desires. Even there is a conflict between social and personal identity. She can put personal limits and rules between social environment relations. The different situations disturb social utility and are seen as a cost for the agent to improve self-fulfilment.

Darity et al. (2006) argued the racist legislation in the history of the USA. They tried to structure a holistic approach considering the critics on identity models. Since the article, the models define identity as passive, given, cyclical, and in the short run. The model has an evolutionary game format. It includes racist, individualist, or mixed identity equilibrium. The agent with racial identity can change her strategy into being racist or individualist overtime. Regarding racial identities, the model reveals the relationship between wealth and accumulation.

2.4. Deepening in Theory of Identity in Economics

Although the concept of identity has sophisticated research literature in social science, due to the aim of simplification and modelling in economics, identity cannot find an explicit examination in the economics literature — primary critics on identity economics made by Davis (2006a, 2009, 2010, 2014b). He considers atomistic agent as an epistemic problem of identity models. He empowered the philosophical side of economic literature. He revealed the problem of multiple selves and the incorporated relation between social identity and personal identity together. Multiple self-problem that comes up when reflexivity of the representative agent during the decision-making process meets interactive relationships with social groups. With the following words of Kirman and Teschl (2004), we can understand the significant focus of Davis,

“Neoclassical understanding fails to represent any identity according to synchronic identity, being able to distinguish between different individuals at a given point in time, and re-identification or diachronic identity, being able to follow the same individual through time and change” (Kirman, Teschl, 2004, 64).

In this part, principally, critics of Davis (2006b) on Akerlof and Kranton (2000), Amartya Sen (1985, 1999, 2002, 2005, 2007), and Kirman (1992) provide us to trace the current critical thinking on identity economics. Subsequently, by following his significant articles, Davis (2014a, 2014b), we attempt to simplify his recommendations in modelling identity and clarify his progressive steps to have an accurate explanation in identity economics. Amartya Sen has an essential place in the development of Davis’s thoughts in individual rationality perspective. For this reason, we would like to remind briefly about the contributions of Sen to the rationality concept of neoclassical economics. As we accentuated before, the core conflict of identity economic literature based on an intricate relation between personal and social identity. It points out the transition in understanding economic agents from atomistic to socially embedded. In this sense, in the literature, the first initiative came from Amartya Sen (1977). In the article on Edgeworth's rationality, he introduced a path-breaking approach to economic rationality (Costa-Font, Cowell, 2015).

The new psychological concepts related to consumer decision process and production activities, sympathy, and commitment, the limited rationality of economic agents, tried to be clarified. Regarding social norms, people are attached to specific groups. Adhering to particular social groups with a degree of proximity determines

the context of a commitment to society. The concept of commitment defines identity with the others, which are different from the neoclassical atomistic understanding. It brought the idea of interdependent preferences that point out the emphasis on the interactive identification process. Davis used the concept of sympathy as equalization of intuitions between the agents. In the words of Davis; “Sympathy involves a concern for others that affects one’s welfare directly, in making commitments one’s welfare is only incidentally related to one’s choice and not the reason for it” (Davis, 2006a, 375).

Sen (1985) recommended using ordered individual preferences seeking for (i) self-centred welfare, (ii) self-goal achievement, and (iii) self-goal choice. He indicated a fundamental problem in the prisoner dilemma game, the conflict between private behaviour and public achievement. The game restricts the value system of the individual. For the corporation, the most critical premises in the game are uncertainty and lack of knowledge rather than individuals’ morality. In contrast, according to Sen, the individual has her goal priority in the decision-making process. If we can set the goal priority of the agent, then it would be easier to examine the motivational contradiction between individual and collective identity. Therefore, commitment is a kind of self-imposed restriction and deregulated parameter that weakens the linkage between individual welfare and choice of action. Besides, sympathy violates the self-welfare objective mechanism (Davis, 2006a). When the individual gives up her self-goal achievement, it means there is a commitment that points out social norms.

We put importance on the article of Darity Jr et al. (2006) because it covered the prominent objections and agreed to points in three dominant approaches in identity economics. Darity Jr et al. (2006) analyzed the approaches of Akerlof and Kranton, Amartya Sen and Kirman regarding the questions. Firstly; how a single person can have different selves understood as a person’s different social identities; we can call it multiple self-problem. Secondly, representation problem; how different persons can make up a single social group understood as their shared social identity. Through following his argumentation, the article briefly explains her major criticism. The critics on the model of Akerlof and Kranton (2000) point out the omitted interrelation between the social identities of the agent (Davis 2006a). Almost all work of Davis indicated the suppressed weight of the reflexivity of an individual in the objective

function because the agent is incapable of managing more than one assigned social identity.

To eliminate multiple selves' problems and develop the models that reveal differentiated preferences, he suggested structuring identity function as a form of the production function. Additionally, sub-objective functions are supposed to be the components of the agent's objective function. He proposed to maintain a personal identity problem by ordering multiple sub-objective functions. Because people tend to have a personal identity form to feel more comfortable rather than being indifferent social context, according to Davis (2006a), Akerlof, and Kranton could not answer the critical questions we referred to above. (1) In neoclassical understanding, although there is a matching measurement between the current and idealized form of social identity, ε , in Akerlof and Kranton (2000), multiple self-problem is omitted. Idealized social identity has a persona who perfectly matches with the behavioural prescription. Besides, social norms are ad-hoc assigned social categories ' norms. Nevertheless, the identification process of the agent inferred internalized social norms.

Personal identity, self, defined with a set of self-image stock that each of them has a particular collection; implication indicates uniqueness. At the same time, the individual has a single specified social identity, as well. (2) Akerlof and Kranton (2000) avoided explaining the salient social identity. In Sen (2002), we see the endogenous social identity of the agent can define her choices and actions. Through the concepts of Sen (2002), reasoning, and self-scrutiny, the individual becomes rationally self-seeking. At the same time, the individual has a reasoning mechanism that can observe her behaviour and get involved to change herself. The concept of self-scrutinizing makes the agent a reflexive actor for both self-decision and social categories. This mechanism provides the individual on how to choose the social identity and to decide how much commitment she should give to the social group. Although the basic capabilities of human beings are structures in self-scrutiny in Sen, he also underlines the obstacles to reach the basic capabilities that prevent have equal rights in the decision-making process.

The capability approach takes the variability of means into account because people cannot be capable of reaching human rights to be free in the decision-making process (Sen, 2005). Therefore, there may not be purely sovereignty of the self in Sen. The

last critic of Davis (2006a) is on the complexity approach of Kirman (2002) based on the theory of social network. Kirman and Teschl (2004) present the first detailed psychological/philosophical analysis of identity in economics. The article defines identity with three questions; what, where, and who. The article considered the agent in differentiated social concepts.

According to Kirman (2002), the mainstream understanding of the agent under given preference orders and constraints did not realize where she lives in, how her social environment is, and importantly who is the agent, what are the personal characteristics of her and how she reflex her social conditions. He alleged that since Kirman and Teschl (2004), the differentiated economic output and segregation have been on the focus of economics without knowledge about the subject. In contrast, the agent can create, change, and learn; therefore, she is self-reflexive and can evaluate her actions. Not only the conditions of her but also her self-perception defines her. In summary, her history, experience, self-image, and her potential to realize her desires shape the agent. Social interactions with many different subjects make the exchange relationship profitable for the agent.

Under the knowledge about the agent, Kirman and Teschl (2004) called attention to the importance of welfare consideration to understand the full account of identity. Kirman and Teschl (2004) indicated a contradictory explanation of the motivation of human behaviour in the identity model of Akerlof and Kranton (2000). They said that the social characteristics of the agent also have effects on her preferences. However, there is no mechanism to reflect the social characteristics.

On the other hand, they reminded Sen's capability approach that brought unconscious, which homo-economicus does not have (Kirman, Teschl, 2004). The article conducted a distinction between neoclassical utility maximization and identity maximization in Akerlof and Kranton (2000). For instance, in the gender discrimination model of Akerlof and Kranton (2000), if a woman does not choose a stereotyped job, she might lose her identity benefit. In contrast, according to Kirman and Teschl (2004), she can increase her utility maximization with her rational choices. Therefore, in the model of the identity of Akerlof and Kranton (2000), it is inevitable that giving up the benefits of identity brings the individual less utility. Social norms, rules, and traditions might be opposed to personal desires. When there is a kind of mismatching, there is no explanation in the utility maximization

mechanism to present the change in behaviour without modifying the constraint structures. Therefore, the utility maximization mechanism cannot reflex personal self-reaction. She might start to act as opposed to social prescriptions, even if the consequences are harmful to her, the mechanism cannot define the logical reasoning behind the behaviour.

Kirman (1992, 1997) formerly used the Metzinger's Phenomenal Self Model (2003) summarized by Davis as follows; "The model reflexes a combination of neuroscience and psychology and means the sense we have ourselves as appears in consciousness which is ongoing and changing process" (Davis, 2006a). The reason for the dynamism of the process is the feedback relation between self-image and social context. Moreover, in A. Kirman and Teschl (2004), we see the ongoing changes in personal identity through interaction with social groups. All the dynamic process contradicts with an unchanged utility notion. According to this perspective, multiple selves' problem with its transparent nature reflects in all choices. Therefore, the phenomenal self contains deals in the all-multiple selves. Due to its invariant components, self generates the inter-temporal multiple self-problem, as well.

In Davis (2006a), the suggested objective function is a personal identity production function that embedded Akerlof and Kranton (2000)

$$PI_j = PI_j [U_j(a_j, a^-, j, I_j)] \quad (3)$$

Davis (2006a) proposed to solve the multiple social identity problems by the objective function called the embedded utility function because the individual can sustain personal unity under the restrictions of the fragmented identity. The previous attempts majorly focused on the transform of the agent ontology from individualist to social. In contrast, Davis (2006a) revealed an objection to the dominance of socially determined agents and redefined the agent. The redefining agent referred to a sociological approach that Davis' point of view structured around. He explained the theoretical background of sociological analysis as follows.

"Through the sociological approach has antecedents in the idea of the 'looking glass self' of Charles Cooley (1902) and the symbolic interactionist thinking of George Mead (1934), current work on identity generally follows the structural approach of Sheldon Stryker (1980), which assumes, in contrast to Mead, social structures— and thus the self and identity—are relatively stable" (Davis, 2006a, 355).

In the same sense, Davis (2006b) put importance on the approaches' assumption that social classifications in social science, artificial or by definitional attempts,

individuals are interacted not only with social groups but also with many other social structures. In the book of Christoforou and Davis (2014) attempted to combine the terms R. D. Putnam (2000) bridging (between heterogeneous groups) and bonding (homogeneous groups) social capital by and relational and categorical social identity concepts of Brewer and Gardner (1996). At the same time, he introduces the concept of instrumental and non-instrumental rationality as a motivational reference in the decision-making process of combined mapping of social capital and social identity.

Through the distinction, he tried to explain the reasoning of differentiated relations of the individual with social groups. Instrumental rationality implies the means-ends rationality. It associates with attention to the consequences of an action. Non-instrumental rationality explains regarding rules and values (both ethical and practical) which are taken to be intrinsically meaningful — the book “Social capital and economics: Social values, power, and social identity” mentioned about non-instrumental rationality in identity motivation which is particularly important in the history of ethics and the philosophy of Immanuel Kant.

A recent review of the literature on this topic during the last decade, the perspective of Kantian ethics in the decision-making process has been studied more in behavioural economics. We emphasize that even if the instrumental rational way of motivation improves utility and satisfaction of group members, people also motivate with non-instrumental rationality as being in a group, responsibilities, and the values of a group (Christoforou, Davis, 2014). Moreover, thus stand on their own apart from the issue of what consequences they may have Davis (2014a).

To have a composite relation between social identity and social capital, Davis (2014a) simplified his expressions. While categorical social identity with instrumental rationality motivation, the individual seeks for collective actions and considers values as. In relational social identity refers to social roles, instrumental rationality motivation defined as the same as in neoclassical understanding seeking efficiency and non-instrumentally considers rules. Taking into consideration slightly different approaches in social psychology in relational social identity, Davis (2014a) structured his perspective on relational categories, which are closer to social psychology. In Putnam (2000), the difference between relational and categorical social identity referred within small social groups are intensively communicated. In

contrast, the focus of Davis (2014a) is more on the larger group of people considered concerning interactions rather than likeness and similarities within the group.

Davis (2014a), takes the social identity theory is as a way to understand the conflict and incorporation of personal identity and social identity. Therefore, it is essential to examine the role of conflict in social capital theory. According to Putnam (2000), social conflicts the social space of the with corporations. Inserting conflict into social capital theory pointed out the explanatory impact of the concept; habitus by Bourdieu in the account of the evolutionary nature of social interaction concept. According to Davis (2014a), low of motion in social networks is well explained in Bourdieu (2000) that habitus presents “the incorporated relation between the objective structures of society and the subjective role of agent” (ibid. 9).

To make a complete argument that begins from bridging social capital and social identity theory referred though critics of instrumental rationality under the light of conflict solving mechanism of the individual in a contradiction between self-interest and social group belonging. According to Stigma Identity Threat Model by Steele (1997), social group conflict causes personal conflict. Still, the responsiveness of individuals depends on the composition of social group belonging, how much these social groups are stigmatized and how individuals handle the conflict. Davis (2014a) emphasized the dominance reference of categorical identity on relational social personal and its motivation. In his research on stratification, he traces the advances in the concept of stigmatized identity threat in social psychology.

Davis (2014b) considered the tendency of the social restratification process in a conflict between others’ stigmatization of their social groups in interactive settings and the scarcity logic of individualist social ontology. To solve the multiple self-problem, he called it inter-sectionality that is the focus in all the articles of him in identity economics, and he suggests combining stratification and identity literature. In stratification, the individual is the representative agent of a group and able to reflect the persona of the social group. In stratification economics, the description of inequality is group-based and in intergroup social conflicts. The preassumption is that social identity equals personal identity. Therefore, we mention group-level inequality in stratification that personal identity does not matter because there is a direct relation between the individual and the social group. Ranking social identities is also another important emphasize of the article, defining the priorities in multiple

selves solves sub-objectives, as well. To do so, he introduced relational (social role-based, interpersonal) and categorical (group-based, intergroup) social identity.

When the individual has social distance due to stigmatized or devalued social identity by the dominant society, she ordered a set of social identity by weighed coefficients in interactive social settings and is role-based. These relational categories are defined in relatively low in hierarchical level. In relational social identity, the individual can have more power to intervene. In this point, Davis (2014b) underlined the importance of Elmer's approach Ellemers et al. Ellemers et al. (1990, 2002) two concepts; mobility and ordered taxonomy for multiple identities. Attempt to enhance social identity, a kind of gaining higher status, can be successful with individual mobility from one group to another. However, individual mobility highly depends on the permeability of boundaries. Otherwise, to have a higher status can be only with the whole group members as a social change (Ellemers et al. 1990).

In Ellemers et al. (2002), the main parameters of central identity and its verified concerns under different social contexts examined. They asserted that they developed a taxonomy of reflections to different concerns when threats to identities and changing level of commitment that provides for ranking social identity categories. Consistently the following stratification, Davis (2014b) put the individual into stratification analysis that in a highly polarized society, the individual can be a representative agent of the particular. In contrast, in a less polarized society, it is still multiple self-problem. Therefore, individual self-play important role. Davis (2014b) claimed that according to the stigma-identity theory of social psychology, the critical parameter is the degree of commitment to the social group to analyze how to respond to stigmatization. According to him, if we do not consider individualist social ontology in our inequality analysis, we reproduce social stratification.

2.5. Critique of Modeling Identity

2.5.1. Problematic Assumptions on Agents

2.5.1.1. Conceptual Ambiguity and Multiple-Self Problem

“In the recent literature on economics and identity, we find that identity is understood as a payoff, as a set of social categories, as an interiorized social norm, as the belief in profound personal values, as a perceptual lens or as non-instrumental deontological elements of action” (Aguiar et al., 2010, 263).

The individual defines herself with a domain within any context and interacts with the others. However, Aguiar et al. (2010) added that there is no concrete reasoning to address the tie between identity and action. To reveal the tie, we need to know the social context and the salient identity of the agent.

Moreover, to claim a strong tie between identity and action, we need continuous/regular patterns. Therefore, each existence should be defined in the related social frames. If it is possible to resolve or decompose the multiple identities of the agent, we will classify the identity impact on motivations.

The critical point is to determine the identity-related context in the model because not all sorts of identity determinations can be fit with the same modelling — biophysical references that are attributed to many meanings by the society, such as race and gender. Nationality, cultural or linguistic symbols, religion, social roles, job occupations, attitudes might differentiate with identifying characteristics of biophysical references.

In the models, the *identity* reflects a social identification process rather than a personal identity/self-image that inferred the internalization of social norms. Multiple self-problem comes up during the decision-making process. The representative agent would belong to different social categories with differentiated strength levels (Benjamin et al., 2010). The behavioural reaction depends upon the social frame. The weight of strength addresses the salient identity of her fits with the social frame.

Moreover, personal identity/ self-has, a set of self-image stock, refers to different social frames, too. Every single person owns a particular collection. The self-image stock is in a complex linkage with social identification. Its interrelated implication indicates the uniqueness or subjectivity of the individual. However, in the models, the individual has a single specified social identity and fail to contain the salient social identity of the individual. For instance, social groups are defined in competition to have resources, power, authority, and prestige (Abrams, Hogg, 1990). Accordingly, to understand discrimination between the groups, their salient characterization takes importance. If a social group identity delineates arbitrarily in any competition, the identity becomes more salient and face discrimination. When social identity is salient, representing group characteristics by an individual becomes more liable rather than by interpersonal level.

Rather than regarding the salient identity of the representative agent, Akerlof and Kranton (2000) considered *individual* as an embedded social agent. Although there is a matching measurement between the current and idealized form of social identity (ϵ_j), the ideal identity of the individual for herself remains ambiguous. There is no statement describing this parameter clearly. Therefore, it is safe to say that the multiple self-problem became emergent but not resolved in neoclassical models.

Davis (2006a) told that Sen could solve the problem with the concept of self-scrutiny. The agent manages multiple self-problem for deciding interaction levels with social categories. In his perspective, the self can represent the social identity it belongs. He interpreted the individual in Sen as a socially embedded rational agent who can evaluate the value and the objective of the interactions.

“People have multiple identities (Sen, 1999; 14), formed by their respective memberships to different groups, such as cultural, professional, or interest groups. However, “given the alternative identifications among which we can choose, the actual identities to which we can give recognition and priority are, to a considerable extent, ours to determine” (Sen, 2000 retrieved Kirman, Teschl, 2004, 77).

Due to the unchanged utility notion, the unresolved problem leads to a contradiction within the dynamic process of interaction. In A. Kirman and Teschl (2004), through interaction with social groups, we see an ongoing change in personal identity. The agent is aware of her preferences. Therefore, she is self-reflexive and can evaluate her actions. Not only the conditions/social characteristics of her but also her self-perception defines her. In summary, her history, experience, self-image, and her potential to realize her desires shape the agent. Social interactions with many different subjects make the exchange relationship profitable for the agent.

Davis (2006a) suggested structuring identity function as the production function form to eliminate the multiple-selves problem. Therefore, we might be able to see the efficient allocation of multiple identities in differentiated preferences. Additionally, sub-objective functions are supposed to be the components of the agent’s objective function to reveal the motivational basis. Davis (2006a) told to order multiple sub-objective functions to maintain a personal identity because people tend to have monolithic personal identity forms to feel more comfortable rather than being in a different social context.

2.5.1.2. Autonomy Problem

Livet (2006) explained autonomy by referring to the concept of capability in Sen (2002). Autonomy explains an individual who can commit herself to her values and goals.

“Autonomy is the capacity of revising preferences” (Sen, 2002, 617; Livet, 2006, 327). Through revisions of past actions, we can have a “justified path of revisions” that brings continuity of our identity. Each step of the action recursively following the next step. Therefore, each choice that we prefer to have a revision that refers to our commitment to ourselves. If there is more than one justifiable path of actions, we have the capability that offers us a smooth recursive continuity of self, autonomy. Accordingly, as an autonomous individual, we can structure our preferences.

In contrast, in neoclassical models neglect the identification process. One can claim that justified path revisions construct identification. Even it might not be in a lifetime period, and it is redefined continuously in interaction with society. The agent does not decide in an intertemporal period. Experience reasoning works just in a restricted time of repeating games. Most of the models explain the current time. The preferences might be biased in her without considering her experience even though future preferences might not be the function of past experiences, experiences shape anticipations. Therefore, the models consider the temporary dimension of the identity and ignore the autonomous character of the individual. This problem narrows down the subjectivity of the individual and embeds her in normative judgments.

2.5.1.3. Representation and Aggregation Problem

The motivation questions in this part are whether society is an aggregation of individuals and whether an individual can be a representative agent of a particular group. Modelling in neoclassical economics uses the representative agent for simplification. As Kirman (2002) discussed that, society is a composite of heterogeneous individuals, in contradiction, in economics, aggregate choices of the heterogeneous individuals presented as a homogeneous specific behavioural path.

“Well-behaved individuals need not produce a well-behaved representative agent; that the reaction of a representative agent to change need not reflect how the individuals of the economy would respond to change; that the preferences of a representative agent over choices may be opposed to those of society as a whole—it is clear that the representative agent should have no future.” (Kirman, 1992, 134)

Since the early studies, there has been a discussion on the representation problem that exists in the incorporated relation between social identity and personal identity. It carries the burden of the dilemma in explanation with the restricted mechanism of understanding.

The classical principle agent utility maximization is to capture behavioural variation in differentiated identity; however, it asserts the universe of the inter-individual phenomenon. It is the same in identity economics that the representative agent is assigned in a social group with a set of stereotypes for behavioural prescriptions and norms that reflect average group behaviour.

There is a quite similar mind in the classical game theory model, and all players come to the moment of decision with all of their preference orderings completely and categorically defined. This model, however, does not permit group-level preferences to be set, which significantly limits the use of classical game theory as a model of groups whose members possess sophisticated social relationships. Replacing categorical preference orderings with conditional preference orderings can overcome the limitation.

Without any doubt, identification is not a process that only exists with the subjective assessment of the individual. Still, if the burden of the monetary and social cost exceeds the tolerable level, we may observe the differences at the individual level. Nevertheless, if theoretical models were not general and aggregation, it would not be possible to model individual differences in dominant patterns.

2.5.1.4. Assignment Problem

Akerlof and Kranton (2000) give a set of descriptions, such as the explanatory variables of identity function (1) (c, E, and P). They delineate idealized social identity with an average characteristic that perfectly matches with the behavioural prescription. Besides, social norms are ad-hoc assigned social categories ' norms. Nevertheless, the identification process of the agent inferred internalized social norms. Personal identity, self, defined with a set of self-image stock that each of them has a collection; implication indicates uniqueness. At the same time, the individual has a single specified social identity, as well.

However, it is not clear in the model whether or not the individual can choose her identity that she feels social belongs to or not. There is also ambiguity in the

assignment in identities. There is no specified social frame, identity choice or assignment can refer to gender roles in households; race, ethnicity (Akerlof, Kranton, 2000), social categories, such as being jock or nerd (Akerlof, Kranton, 2002); job occupations (Akerlof, Kranton, 2005); gender roles in households. Although social frames and contexts differentiate which the individual faced, they present their model as a general explanation of any binary identification. However, the argument is still needed to be clarified because we have contradictory explanations in 2000 and 2010 as follows,

“Beyond actions, to some extent, an individual may also choose the category assignment c_j . Social categories may be ascriptive, and in general, the individual is likely to have some choice over identity, as indeed, people may even have some choice over their gender. Again, this choice may be conscious.” (Akerlof, Kranton, 2000, 719-720).

“In our analysis, we sometimes describe people as choosing their identity. Again, this phrasing could imply conscious choice, but we make no such presumption. People may try and fit in; they may feel more or less comfortable in different situations” (Akerlof, Kranton, 2010, 23).

Let us assume that by consideration of behavioural norms, the agent might choose her identity. However, also, social norms/behavioural prescriptions are exogenously defined and paired with binary identities. As we discussed before, the agent does not have the autonomy of her preferences. If she chooses her identity, then she fully internalizes the prescriptions/social norms of the identity, which means there is no grey area in the behavioural motivation of her. In either case, if the agent violates the prescription of the identity, she suffers from anxiety and cognitive dissonance. Aguiar and Francisco finalize the discussion with these words;

“The rationality of an action is measured concerning correspondence with, or accommodation to, (socially) typified forms of behaviour recognized by the agent. Akerlof and Kranton spoke of coinciding with the ideal social category that others attribute to him” (Aguiar, Francisco, 2009, 558).

To oppose the individual normative conception of the neoclassical approach, the model matches the individuals with stereotype categories without considering freedom of choice within the choice theory. Thus, it becomes normative in a more sensitive topic, identity. For instance, Akerlof and Kranton (2000) used stereotypic categories in social identities. As a gender stereotyping, women (men) matched with beauty (aggression). Behavioural prescriptions are always exogenous to the model, excluding Fang and Loury (2005), Darity Jr et al. (2006), and Horst et al. (2006). For these reasons, it is not easy to claim, like Akerlof and Kranton (2005) wrote that we formalized the notion of identity, social category, norm, and ideal.

2.5.2. Contradictory Assumptions of the Models

Firstly, the ambiguous assumption is about the agent that the individual seems to be open to social influences. The agent tries to minimize the conflict between self-image and identity determined by society and seeks to preserve her identity by considering social effects. The critical ontological problem is the influence comes *ex parte*, just by social spheres.

One can accept that the individual might act entirely under social influence. However, the individual represents not only herself but also a collective identity of her social category. As a result, the individual's social category does not influence identity payoff. It will happen if she does not comply with the norms of her social category. At the same time, the behaviour of other individuals belonging to the same identity as she affects the individual. However, the extent of this effect is implicit. The solution would be a model that is influenced by both the behaviour of people belonging to the same identity and another identity (Darity et al., 2006).

Secondly, in the models, identity has been used as an instrumental tool for rationality to reach maximum utility. However, According to Augiar and Francisco (2008), economic rationality and identity rationality would conflict.

“There is a logical internal coherence based on the accommodation (correspondence or coincidence) of behaviour to the expectations prescribed by the ideal social category. It follows a logic of utility maximization given the beliefs and desires of the agent. The problem is that the two lines of logic are not only different but do not have to be cumulative nor compatible. On the other hand, the two rationales may become increasingly incompatible depending on the emotions involved in the self-categorization of identity” (Augiar, Francisco, 2008, 15).

For instance, to compensate the cost of social exclusion, the individual wants to isolate herself from the dominant identity. However, it is also necessary to work within the market, which is the necessity of economic rationality and to maximize the benefits. The model (Akerlof, Kranton, 2000) says that the individual tries to solve this conflict in favour of identity benefit, not regarding economic rationality. However, this is not an appropriate deduction for all identities. Many marginal identities in society have solved the conflict/dissonance with different methods of reconciliation.

Thirdly, in neoclassical economics, to explain rational preferences, the utility of preference should satisfy logical consistency, such as transitivity, reflexivity, and completeness. If one of them is violated, we cannot rank the preferences and reach to

maximum utility. Davis (2006a) claims that the model of Akerlof and Kranton (2000) is needed to have an objective function of identity to rank the preferences.

Davis (2007) transforms Akerlof and Kranton's utility function (2000) to personal identity as a function of individual utility, which is, at the same time, a function of social identity. Almost all work of him indicated the suppressed weight of reflexivity of the individual in the objective function because the agent defined as incapable of managing more than one assigned social identity. To eliminate multiple selves' problems and improve the models to reveal the behavioural basis of differentiated preferences, he suggested structuring identity function as the production function form. Additionally, sub-objective functions are supposed to be the components of the agent's objective function. Multiple sub-objective functions can be ordered to maintain a personal identity because people tend to have monolithic personal identity forms to feel more comfortable rather than being in different social contexts.

2.5.2.1. Limited Interaction and Static Norms

Contrary to the atomistic perspective of human motivation in the decision-making process, identity economics does not consider the individual in an isolated environment. Although the individual has complex social interactions, in the models, there is a limited interaction universe, and even identity economics asserts its understanding of human behaviour in a more complicated manner at the ontological level. Even if they seem to consider cognitive dimension by referring to the theory of cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1962), the agent uses her identity as an instrument to seek additional income and self-interest to eliminate the dissonance. Nevertheless, for the emotional dimensions, people may prefer to suffer or be radical.

Previous articles define identity as passive, given, cyclical, and in the short run. The model of Darity et al. (2006) has striking characteristics that the agent with racial identity can change her strategy into racist or individualist overtime. In the model, there are two indexed social groups, African and European. Changes in the benefits of racism, the cost of altruism, and the cost of racial antagonism will alter the fraction of racists, individualists and within the social groups change the distribution of income between groups. However, each of the payoff parameters is most certainly affected by the distribution of wealth. In each round, agents randomly interact, and their social group interaction is discounted with the probability. The

inter-group interaction probability determines the growth rate of racialism. Overall, the model examined the impact of racial identity and inter-racial differences on economic and non-economic outcomes. In many aspects, the article has a superiority to explain the persistence of racial discrimination. Wealth disparities between races regenerate supremacy of properties through imposing racial impacts as a “cumulative effects of past and present” (Darity et al., 2006, 284).

In the models, norms or behavioural prescriptions are static. Individuals cannot affect society. R. E. Kranton (2016) would like to develop the weak side of the theory and focused on the question from where the social norms come. Kranton (2016) initially highlighted the micro-foundations of identity, such as social movements, family, economic gain, political power, and historical patterns of division of labour. The research is a kind of defence of identity economics and a summary of the recent research after their first research (Akerlof and Kranton, 2000). Kranton redefined the utility of identity with the words; “People could derive esteem and achieve self-consistency from any number of possible matches between norms and number of behaviours” (Kranton, 2016, 407). In contrast to her expression, there is no probability of coefficient in their basic prototype model or the extended implication in Economics of Exclusion and Poverty. Whereas according to Jenkins (2014) there is no probability for matching, identities are already inside the universe of being a part of society;

“Identification makes no sense outside relationships, whether, between individuals or groups, there are hierarchies or scales of preference, of ambivalence, of hostility, of competition, partnership and co-operation, and so on” (Jenkins, 2014, 7).

The social distinctions consider similarities and differences of others that referred to hierarchical order and social norms of the dominant society. The hierarchical order of dominant identity defines the preferences of social interaction with diversified identities. The hierarchical order of an individual and society may conflict due to different values and interests. Nevertheless, norms might reflect historical backgrounds and social dynamics that impact on each interaction. There is also an inherent conflict between the norms and the individual's own experiences. The hierarchy of the individual is a dynamic process that is emphasized by social hierarchy and norms and redefines preferences and behavioural tendencies in each particular social frame. An individual may test the social hierarchy of identities with her own experience. It refers to the identification process, which is simultaneous in

the realization of similarities and differences with the others. The individual accumulates the images of experiences and conclusive results of the conflict of interest between self and society. However, for the member of the dominant identity, commitments to the norms might be marginalized during the interaction with different people belong to the hierarchically lower identity.

The dominant social identity has links to the norms with commitments. If one of the salient characteristics of the minority group conflicts with the dominant identity in values, the depth of the clash occurs. The degree of commitment by the dominant social identity members defines the relations with the minority. The power of the commission depends on the “solidity” of social norms. The solidity of social norms implies that norms are embedded in institutions of society. Formed and even legalized forms of the norms lose their subjectivity (normative perception) and become absolute. If an individual who tries to present her subjectivity is confronted with a strict hierarchy of /high solidity of social norms, to prohibit identity loss, she wants to be in interaction with those who are most similar to her. She tends to detach herself from society from the dominant society.

2.5.2.2. Methodological Problems

The empirical research based on surveys seems to present relevant results in labour market outcomes rather than analysis of inequity behaviour in social practices. Empirical models are unbeaten since the endogeneity problem can be eliminated because the explanatory variables might the cause of other phenomena that feed each other in the same social framework. Therefore, empirical testing of the model is still developing. It is not easy to say that there is a straightforward behavioural pattern social frame.

The works of Akerlof and Kranton (2002, 2005, and 2008) developed models concerning sociological and ethnographic studies. However, in the recent research on identity economics, Akerlof and Kranton have used different methods to validate the theory. While Kranton adopts the more external approach to identity, Akerlof addressed the importance of narratives and beliefs ³.

³ Internal approach to identity modeling refers cognitive/mental process; such as beliefs, desires and preferences. Whereas, external approach to identity is closer to the orthodox theory and methodology of rational choice that does not permit the reality of any mental process or thought that is not revealed directly by an action; it is the theory of revealed preferences with the axioms of microeconomics; such as transitivity, reflexivity, and completeness.

Kranton considers experimental research as the most appropriate to test the theory of identity economics. Huettel and Kranton (2012) addressed a new research area on behavioural economics, neuro-economics, incorporation between theoretical frameworks of identity economics and experimental research methods of neuroscience. Kranton continued her experimental research on group behaviours in democrats and republicans that underlined the relationship between extreme behaviour and intergroup bias. She analyzed inequity behaviours regarding in-group and out-group differentiation (Kranton et al., 2016). In the same social context, they revealed more-likely individual trait in-group behaviour that is different from the previous results in another experimental research (Kranton et al., 2017). All the results of experimental research by Kranton have presented a systematic heterogeneity in social preferences regarding differentiated social contexts.

Akerlof and Snower (2016) focus on the omitted role of narratives in economics. They claimed that although the economic inadequacy became apparent Soviet Russia, the narratives of powerful politics played an important role in maintaining the power of the Soviet regime. They presented a brief historical account of behavioural motivations in Soviet time that still has an impact on current economic incentives. Its content might be too historical to be published in the *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*. Primarily, the basic notion refers to Bruner and Minds (1986) and Bruner (1990) who thought about understanding the world in two ways; (i) the pragmatic mode of thought that based on empirical observations, (ii) narrative mode based on people's motives and intentions.

2.6. Conclusion

Identity economics has acquired its literature in the last twenty years. Nevertheless, the theoretical and methodological consistency of the topic is still quite weak, or the claims are no longer as sharp as it was at the beginning. In the theoretical level, Akerlof and Kranton do not abandon the neoclassical approach. They continue their modelling by simplifying social phenomena as variable and mechanizing them, self, social identity, norms, with a rough reductionist way. However, they referred to social psychology and sociology in all their research. By doing so, reasoning and causality relation might be biased, because the concepts they used are interrelated

and do not have certain compromise opinions in all identity manners, such as gender, race, ethnicity, and religion.

Except for Davis, there is no attempt to clarify the arguments in the literature. For the followers of identity economics, identity is a variable rather than a vital part of the mechanism in explaining the behaviours. Davis developed critiques to achieve the theoretical simplicity of identity economics. Although identity is a very complex concept, Davis insists on explaining it in an economic mechanism. Davis developed critiques to achieve the theoretical simplicity of identity economics. Although identity is a very complex concept, Davis insists on explaining it in an economic mechanism. However, there are critical analyses addressed the autonomy of personal identity and internal motivations of human behaviour.

In our opinion, instead of rewriting on the concepts already discussed in other social sciences, it would be more valuable to strengthen our methodology. Experimental research seems to be the applicable methodology of identity economics. Kranton has not got a smooth behavioural path in her research yet. The results of experiments provide us to claim a systematic heterogeneity in social preferences (R. E. Kranton, 2016; R. Kranton et al., 2017). However, she still does not have strong evidence to support the same claims in the theory of identity economics. Additional to experimental research, using ethnographic and sociological field researches can support the methodology. For instance, the Identity and Schooling article, which we consider is a case in point regarding the purpose and result consistency, is almost a reproduction of Coleman's sociological research.

Modelling identity might have full of incoherence due to many problems that we criticized. However, identity economics bring us a broader parameter to understand differentiated social characteristics and preferences. We can try to simplify the modelling of identity and clarify progressive steps in the literature considering critical recommendations.

3. IMPACT OF INTEGRATION PROCESS ON ECONOMIC OUTCOMES: REFUGEES IN ISTANBUL

3.1. Ethnizing the Refugees in Istanbul

3.1.1. Introduction

Since 1980, the impact of migration has been still an unabated topic for social scientists and policymakers. The progress of globalization, uprising trends of BIC countries, climate changes, and wars in Middle East countries has led to demographic changes that caused new labour market challenges. While the increasing mobility of labour provides new opportunities for the economies, such as competition in the labour market, it might restructure labour market segmentation by creating a hierarchy of works and discrimination for the fragile social groups, such as minor ethnic origins. Thus, for economists, migration is not a phenomenon that comprises only labour mobility and labour supply circumstances; it might also redefine the labour market norms.

Social scientists have studied the effects of mass migration from Syria to Turkey since April 2011. Due to the lack of individual data, economists have predominantly used quasi-experimental methods to show the shocking effects of migration on the labour market. Besides, sociologists seek to identify the profile of refugees and to reveal social integration problems based on surveys conducted with small sample sizes. Although the public authorities collect the micro-based data with large-scale field research for their periodic reports, the primary data are not accessible. Therefore, academic research refers to the statistics rather than to generate scientific relation between their results and the primary surveys.

Besides, in these reports, there is no information on the ethnic identity of the refugees. For instance, in public perception, due to the visibility effect of the high population, being a refugee in Turkey, majorly means being Syrian, Arab, and Sunni. However, there are different ethnic and religious identities coming from Syria, such as Kurdish, Turkmen, Ezidi, and Domani.

In the first part, the article seeks to find a relation between the ethnic identities of the refugees and their integration process. By considering the information on language, culture, ethnic belonging, social interaction, and migration history of the refugees, the article attempts to define the level of integration of the refugees in Istanbul. The method of the article is an application of the scale *Ethnosizer* (Constant et al., 2006). In 2008, Constant A.F. and Zimmerman K. F. provided empirical methods to use *Ethnosizer*.

Ethnosizer shows the intensity of ethnic identity by measuring the level of commitment to their home and host societies and defines the integration phase of the immigrants. It provides essential insights to answer the following questions, (1) how to understand the process of immigrants in the host society, (2) in which degree they fare in the new country and (3) how identity relates with the economic success of the immigrants (Constant, Zimmerman, 2014, 13).

In the last fifty years, Turkey became the most immigrant-receiving country. Therefore, applying *Ethnosizer* in Istanbul might contribute to the identity economics literature. The scale will provide new questions to the migration studies. It defines the distance of the refugees' sub-identities, such as ethnicity, religion, sect, and gender, to the dominant identities, being Turkish, Muslim, Sunni, Male.

The first part explains the methodology of measuring *Ethnosizer*. The labour market outcomes related to the four-integration process, such as assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization, is in the second part in Quantifying Ethnic Identity. The second part aims to provide empirical observations on economic life outcomes.

This article might help to discuss concrete policies to ensure the social cohesion of the refugees, more than four million living in Turkey, and to multiply the channels of collective inclusion.

3.1.2. Literature

Traditionally, earning assimilation has been argued in the literature primarily focuses on the convergence of the wages earned by immigrants and the natives. There are two perspectives on earning assimilation implications; (1) linear direction of economic assimilation by years, and (2) direction with the conjecture of time and chosen group differentiation. From the first perspective, the human capital approach, process economic assimilation of the immigrants depends on their specific native

jobs in the host country. By additional human capital come through an additional year of residence, the earnings converge to the comparable benchmark of the natives' earning levels. The cross-section regression of the Becker-Mincer model on human capital accumulation defined the economic performance of immigrants. The logarithmic model of wage is a function of socioeconomic characteristics; such as age, education, and the measurement of assimilation, in the meaning of adding one more year being active in the labour market as return on experience.

In 1978, Chiswick wrote preliminary research on the economic assimilation progress of immigrants relative to the comparable natives in the USA. He observed that while the new immigrants' wages are lower than the locals' wages, increasing in residence year in the host country catches the average level of the host labour market's wages. The longitude data on the labour market after Chiswick (1978) emphasized the impact of one-decade residence in the host country on the convergence performance of the immigrants' wage levels. The assumption in Chiswick (1978) might address the uprising performance of the immigrants with the increasing knowledge of the labour market norms of the host country (Carliner, 1980; Borjas, 1982, 1985, 1989; Abbott, Beach, 1993; Constant, Zimmerman, 2014, 14).

In contrast, the article "Assimilation, changes in cohort quality, and the earnings of immigrants" by Borjas (1985), falsified the traditional hypothesis, addresses the direct relation between earning and being an immigrant in the host country. Even if the one group of immigrant's residence year is high, they might not reach the level of earnings of the local people. In the following research by Chiswick (1986) and Borjas (1992), while there is a differentiation of nationalities within the immigrant groups, the tendencies of disparity in wage level of immigrants and the locals address an impossible catch up process. The standard argument on the wage function for immigrants presents five crucial explanatory, such as (1) foreign-born/or native, (2) the number of residence years in the host country, (3) the age at arrival time, (4) the wage-earning time or entry earning (5) economic performance of assimilated immigrant, (5) discriminative attitudes of the natives, (6) collective behaviour creates tension and reciprocity in assimilation (Mark Granovetter, 1978; Burnazoglu, 2017, 30)

In Borjas (1992), there is more emphasis on the direction of earning assimilation based on the conjecture of time. He suggests that the age profile, the characteristics

of the previous immigrant waves who have substantially different skills have an impact on newcomers. Furthermore, he determines migration policies as reshaping tools to generate a successive profile of the immigrants. According to the results, the nationality differences matter in economic success due to the migration wave from the less egalitarian and educated countries. To put forward the profile of the recent immigrant generation, Borjas (1999) concerned the previous studies and extended the model with the explanatory; foreign-born/or native, and the number of years residence in the host country. He found that the relevant skills of the immigrant group have a declining impact on earning, while there is a positive sign of several residence years in the host country. However, he also added that cross-section data might cause to reach the results show slow economic assimilation (Burnazoglu, 2017, 5).

To overcome the problem of cross-sectional data analysis, LaLonde and Topel (1991, 1992) determine the assimilation process, specifically within the intergenerational perspective. To interpret the convergence, they estimated earnings levels subject to the comparability of the base group and the sample group gathers across decennial census. According to them, the impact of immigration on the wages of substitutional local ethnic groups in the host country might be omitted. However, for the newcomers, the migration conjecture has a slightly small decreasing impact on the average wages.

The results of LaLonde and Topel (1991, 1992) might support the argument of Piore (1979) says that labour performance is not the function of the duration of residence, but the function of time when the migrant came in the host country. It means that the labour market outcomes of immigrants are related to the host country's economic conjecture (ibid). On the other hand, Borjas (1992) the argument is contradictory with the literature on economic assimilation because the comparison of intra-ethnic groups or ethnic-native groups might lead to slow integration results. Besides, the random sampling problem in the immigrant groups might cause differentiated results in cross-sectional analysis.

Besides, according to Constant and Massey (2003), the results might not change in long-term analysis, as well. For instance, even if immigrants reside in Germany for a long time, results put forward to the selective emigration, which has not been changed with time. They found strong evidence on earning assimilation that could

not happen in less than a decade long. In the same article, Constant and Massey (2003) tested the earning gap respect to the human capital endowments and gender and found a negligible difference. In their opinion, as a reverse argument, the return migration results cannot falsify the cross-sectional analysis of immigrants' earning. However, they examined that immigrants are negatively selected concerning job prestige and full-time employment.

While the weak market positions of the immigrants are observable with their qualifications, there are also unobservable parameters that display the relationship between economic outcomes and ethnicity. Even though Constant and Massey (2003) use additional control variables, specifically institutional ones of the host country, such as networks, demographic features, they proved that nationality is still a crucial explanatory for earning assimilation. After adding more contradictory variables into the model, such as ethnic origin, and legal status, the earning assimilation became clearer. It supported the same results with the previous studies that earnings varied with nationality (*ibid.*, 16).

There are distinctive diversifications in economic outcomes based on ethnic origins. By referring to the analysis of Burnazoglu (2017), the social interaction practices of immigrant labour seek to come closer to a social identity to overcome the risks of new market conditions. Besides, social identity restructures the solidarity networks within cohorts. It also might change the labour market positions of refugees. Therefore, we may say that solidarity networks reproduce social identities. To understand the motivation being in solidarity networks, economists needed to digitize the social identity components. Antecol and Cobb-Clark (2004) measure the ethnic identity as a parameter; they decomposed it into friendship, socialization networks, and co-worker relations. They conducted a correlation between ethnic identity and the incidence of racially based harassment.

At the beginning of the 2000s, the analysis of economic behaviours and integration performance based on the strength of identity in empirical research has become popular in North America and Europe. One of the preliminary researches on this issue belongs to K. Pendakur and R. Pendakur (2005). In the article, they use the Equality, Security, and Community Survey data of Canada conducted in 2000 and 2002. They found that for European ethnic minorities, the degree of ethnicity is positively correlated with the using informal network channels to find a job. On the

contrary, the result is not the same for the non-European ethnic minorities. Following the same perspective but a new theoretical contribution to modelling oppositional identity integration, by using the UK Fourth National Survey of Ethnic Minorities (FNSEM) conducted in 1993-1994, Battu, et al. (2005) showed a direct correlation between the measurement of identity and probability of being employed. However, in 2007, Battu et al. draw our attention accurately to how much the impact of oppositional identity is vital for adapting the dominant identity. They demonstrate that the self-definition of the immigrant respect to family, friends, phenotype, religion, and language induces adverse labour market outcomes.

Similarly, but just as empirical research, in Battu et al. (2011) examined the consequences of ethnic identity on getting a job explicitly. The depth of identity found with the question in the UK Quarterly Labor Force Survey as the importance of ethnic identity that highly correlated with using ethnic job-finding networks. Moreover, friendship is mostly related to ethnic networking to find a job. To date, various methods have been developed to measure ethnic differences. All of them introduced ethnic identity as a valuable variable in explaining wage and income inequalities (Zorlu, 2003, Mason, 2004; Ramos et al., 2005). Zorlu (2003) points out the significant differentiation in wage level between the seven different ethnic identities, and the labourers have Netherland citizenship. The influence of Ethnicity on wage levels is much stronger than the gender parameter. The analysis has the same methodology as the previous literature that focuses on the migration history parameter and the human capital endowment of the immigrant before and after the migration.

Ramos et al. (2005) found contradictory results in the Israeli labour market. They examined the ethnic wage gap through the decomposition of the differences in wages, such as discrimination, endowments, and characteristics of the differentiated ethnicities. The groups are distinguished by gender and geographical place they migrate from; Eastern and Western; male and female. However, the gender wage gap was significantly more significant than the ethnic wage gap. Mason's analysis (2004) presented a broader perspective in the examination of wage differentiation. He showed empirical results on the heterogeneity of the Hispanic cohorts, such as Mexican- and Cuban Americans, which causes adverse selection in labour market outcomes and discrimination due to skin colour or phenotype. Besides, the

comparison of the self-identification of Mexican- and Cuban Americans in 1979 and 1989 reflected the substantial impact on acculturation.

There are also researches on the ethnic origins of immigrant groups that focus on cultural economics. In Guiso et al. (2006), prior beliefs, and values or preferences—this definition provides an approach that can identify a causal effect from culture to economic outcomes. Besides, the article by Ottaviano and Peri (2006) implies that cultural diversity in the US cities brings a positive impact on the economic outcome. The following research in European cities by Bellini et al. (2009) confirmed the same argument in Ottaviano and Peri (2006).

Mainstream economics has modelled individual migration decisions by considering the cost of moving to another country, human capital, current opportunities, expectations, and preferences. The perspective understands immigrants as an isolated rational economic agent seeks to maximize utility rather than an acculturation decision-maker. Besides, in the life-cycle period, the post-migration process of the immigrants has survival characteristics in terms of the social integration process. Therefore, the latest modelling in economics decomposes *integration* with cultural and social assimilation, acculturation, and separation. For instance, Burnazoglu (2017) combines the search and matching theory with the individual decision-making models to explain the integration process of an immigrant. The model introduced a new matching mechanism depending on multi-dimensional motivations in multiple social identity terms, including pre and post-migration characteristics. She points out that integration outcomes differ with two reasons; (1) migration motivation and (2) social identities.

Social identity in the literature has been a sense of belonging to the social world with family, social groups, and ethnic origin or belonging. Ethnic identity is a personally decided dimension of social identity. While ethnic identity means the balance of commitment to the home and the host country, ethnicity shows the country of birth and cultural ancestry used as a determinant parameter. Since the pioneered article of Akerlof and Kranton (2000), identity shifted to a considerable determinant in economic preferences and the labour market outcomes. According to their theory, if the immigrant's social identity, sense of self, is ethnic, an individual might concern the prescriptions of the ethnicity to be better off in economic outcomes. The identities of the immigrant became the primary variables for the explanation of

participation in economic life, business and solidarity networks, property ownership, consumption, and saving behaviours. The dominant characteristics of acculturated identities in society define the degree of discrimination, wage inequality, and deprivation of social rights.

Individuals' commitments are determinants of the importance of ethnic diversity, ethnicity, common descent, cultural heritage, or innate affiliation categories. The existence of a common ancestor based on shared individual traits and shared socio-cultural experience plays a decisive role in the lives of people in the same ethnic origin, deepening belonging (Constant et al., 2006). By referring to other social science terminologies, Zimmerman (2006) introduces a multi-dimensional concept of ethnic identity in economics. The article supports the human capital approach that by the time immigrants assimilate economically in the host country. However, they do not adapt to the natives in terms of social attitudes. The concept of social non-adaptation assigns to four social processes, such as (1) identity diffusion, (2) identity foreclosure, (3) identity moratorium, (4) identity achievement (Algan et al., 2012; Burnazoglu, 2017, 11). These four permutations of identity conditions might refer to John W. Berry's four strategies of a migrant; the attachment to the ethnic origin and the majority prescriptions, (1) integration, (2) assimilation, (3) separation, and (4) marginalization (Berry et al., 1989).

In recent discussions, it is a consensus in economics that the role of different ethnic formations influences economic performance and success. In the International Handbook on the Economics of Migration, Constant, A. F., and Zimmermann, K. F. (Eds.) (2013) explore the way of having the same economic outcomes with the natives and the possibility of economic assimilation for the immigrants.⁴ The results of Constant and Zimmerman's research on integration and economic performance addressed modest arguments. The researches' assertion predominantly treats the positive impact of being integrated and assimilated on the labour market outcomes, compared to being separated and marginalized in Germany. In Zimmerman et al. (2008), human capital acquired in the host country does not have an impact on the degree of commitment to the original culture. Nevertheless, the human capital

⁴ The comprehensive studies specifically focus on the particular issues of ethnicity and identity in economics, such as Amelie F. Constant and Klaus F. Zimmermann - Migration and ethnicity, *Journal of Population Economics* (volume 20, issue 3, 2007), *International Journal of Manpower* (volume 30, issue 1–2, 2009) and *Research in Labor Economics* (volume 29, 2009).

acquired in the home country affects the self-identification of the immigrant with the host country.

Constant and Zimmerman (2008) explored the effects of ethnic identity and the pre-migration characteristics of an immigrant on the working probability. While cultural activities that are close to the host society influence the working possibility, education does not affect at all. They found that Ethnosizer is a significant scale to explain economic outcomes, and it depends predominantly on pre-migration characteristics and ethnic cohorts. In "*Ethnosizing Immigrant*," Constant et al. (2009) tested Ethnosizer whether it can quantify the individual level of social identity determining by ethnicity. The scale applied to the Socio-Economic Survey of Germany providing ethnic information. They conducted survey questions to structure the scale serving a multi-dimensional view.

Ethnic identity becomes a substantial explanatory variable to analyze the labour force participation and earnings. The article also investigated the differential impact of gender in labour force participation. While being separated and marginalized for males have lower probabilities of finding a job, the males with a strong commitment to the host society have a higher probability of finding a job. Interestingly, being entirely assimilated does not help to improve the probability of finding a job. On the contrary, for the integrated female immigrants, there is a high probability of having a job compared to the assimilated female immigrant. However, there is no significant difference between the total incomes of immigrants when they find a job.

In Constant et al. (2009), rather than ethnic identity, the level integration triggers homeownership. For the integrated and assimilated immigrant, the probability of being a homeowner is higher than the rest of the immigrant's characteristics. The naturalization contains political rights and citizenship rather than economic assimilation. In Zimmerman et al. (2009), the probability of willing to acquire the citizenship of the host country is related to the integration level of immigrants. Nevertheless, ethnic identity and self-defining identity influences future naturalization.

Nekby and Rodin (2010) tested inter-generational data of immigrants in Sweden by using the same methodology with Constant and Zimmerman. They identify the impact of the acculturation on the employment probability of the second and the

middle generation. In contrast to the previous studies in the literature, in the probability of finding a job, there is no reliable evidence to demonstrate the difference between the integrated and assimilated immigrants. The article, Social identity and labour market outcomes of immigrants in Italy (Carillo et al., 2020) supported the results found by Nekby and Rodin (2010). They found that for the assimilated immigrants, the probability of finding a job and having a higher level of income is not much more different than the separated immigrants.

3.1.3. Survey on Ethnic Identities of the Refugees in Istanbul

The ongoing war in Syria since 2011, the civil war and insecurity in North Iraq and Afghanistan caused mass migration waves to Turkey in the last decade. According to UNHCR's monthly published statistics, the number of registered refugees until March 2019 is as follows; 3.6 million Syrians, 170 thousand Afghans, 142 thousand Iraqis, 39 thousand Iranians, 5700 Somalis, and 11.700 people from the other nation (NHCR, [23.04.2019]). However, in the Interior Directorate General of Migration Management, the registered refugees are less than half of the numbers in UNHCR. The difference between the numbers results from the legal status legalized by Turkey.⁵ UNHCR accepts all the immigrants as refugee status rather than considering their legal status in the respective country.

According to the report written by Marmara Municipalities Union's Center, adding all the unregistered refugees and the refugees registered in another city but living in Istanbul, the Syrian population reaches approximately 600 thousand in Istanbul (Erdogan, 2017, 3). While 33% of the refugees with a residence permit in Turkey live in Istanbul, they reside in Esenyurt, Basakşehir, Sultangazi, Kucukcekmece, Bagcılar, Zeytinburnu, and Fatih. The number of non-Syrian refugees from Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, and Pakistan might reach 300.000 (Erdogan, 2017, 73)⁶. With the Open-Door Policy of Turkey since 2011, around 850-900 thousand Afghan, Iraqi, Iranian, and Pakistani refugees have been accepted by Turkey. Almost half of these refugees used Turkey as a transit country to Europe. According to the United

⁵ There are three legal status for the immigrants in Turkey. (1) Temporary Protection status covers Syrian and Palestine refugees. While the number of Syrian refugees in 2012 is 14.237, the number of Syrian refugees increased rapidly after 2013 and reached 3.6 million in 2018. However, due to the returns in 2019, it tended to decrease by about 20 thousand. (2) (3) International Protection status covers the refugees comes from outside of Europe and does not have the same rights as *Temporary Protection* Status. The number of refugees applying for international protection status reached 179,437 in 2018 with a rapid acceleration in 2015, while the number of refugees reached 17.925 in 2011.

Nations October 2017 Report; the populations of non-Syrians refugees living in Turkey are as follows; 145,000 Afghans, 140,000 Iraqis, 32,000 Iranians, and 4,000 Somali refugees

The survey carried out in the districts where the refugee population intensely lives in Istanbul; Kuşukcekmece, Bagcilar, Sultangazi, Fatih, Esenyurt, Sultanbeyli (Erdogan, 2017, 3); covered 517 heads of households and 1516 individuals' data (see **Table 1.3.1**). The questionnaires conducted with the refugees from Syria (246), Afghanistan (85), Iraq (57), Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizstan, and Georgia (99), and Pakistan (30). The survey represents 1 million refugees. 462 heads of household data d between September-November 2019. 55 additional respondents from Afghanistan and Turkmenistan were included in the survey in January 2019 to avoid the risk of sampling bias.

Table 3.1: Distribution the Refugees by Home Country (Individual Data)

Country	Freq.	Per cent
Afghanistan	132	8.71
Georgian	51	3.36
Iran	3	0.20
Iraq	159	10.49
Kirghizstan	10	0.66
Pakistan	35	2.31
Syria	1027	67.74
Turkmenistan	30	1.98
Uzbekistan	69	4.55

In Table 3.1, there are eight different ethnic identities. Most of the refugees in the sample are Arabs (51.3%), followed by Afghans (15%), Uzbeks (8%), Georgians (7.2%), and the Kurdish and Pakistani (5.8 %). There is a smooth distribution of three ethnic identities; Arab (58, 2 %), Afghan-Pakistani (20, 9 %), and Post-Soviet (20, 9 %), which is called *geographical ethnicity*. For Syrian refugees, while 43% of them are from Aleppo, 25% of them are from Damascus, and only 3% of them are from İdlib, and 2% of them are from Latakia.⁷ For Afghan refugees, the major city they migrated from is Kabel, with a rate of 23%. Lahore follows it with the rate, 10%, and 9% of them are from Karachi. For the refugees from Post-Soviet countries, central home cities are Batum, Samarkand, and Tiflis. This information tells that the sample predominantly comes from the urbanized cities. Therefore, the sociological background of the sample brings no striking results in education.

⁷ The report written by AFAD in 2017 displays the same distribution of home city. While more than half of the Syrian refugees came from Aleppo, 11% of them came from Hama, and 6% from Latakia (AFAD, 2017, p.9).

There are only 151 interviewed women in the sample. While 115 of them are Arab, 34 of them are Post-Soviet, and only 3 of them are Afghan-Pakistani. The average age of the sample is 30. In Table 3.2, while 40.6% of the sample is between 16-25, almost half of them are between the age of 26-45, and only 26.5% of these two age groups are women. The mean of education is 9.4 years, which equals more than a secondary school degree. In the distribution of the heads of households by religion, 92% of them are Muslim, and 91% of them are Sunni. Because the refugees in Turkey mainly come from Middle East countries and Turkic Republics. On the other hand, only Georgians are Christian in the sample. Therefore, the sample might dominantly represent the same religious tendency of the local people in Turkey.

The refugees in Istanbul might be more educated compared with the research conducted in the small cities, and the camps., 30% of the refugees in the sample have a bachelor's degree. Arabs have relatively higher education compared with the two geographical ethnicities. While 22% of Arabs have a university degree for Arabs, %29 of them have a high school degree. High school degree is higher in Post-Soviet refugees with 33%. In contrast, only 4% of Afghan-Pakistani refugees have a high school degree.

Afghan-Pakistani and Post-Soviet refugees are predominantly single. They might have to leave their spouses in their home country. Approximately 10% of the Post-Soviet refugees are divorced, which is a differentiated result compared with two of the geographical ethnicities. In contrast, more than half of the Arabs are married, and none of them had left their spouses in the home country.

Table 3.2: Distribution of Statistics (Heads of Household)

Distribution of Statistics of Households	Freq.	Per cent
Female	151	29.21
Male	366	70.79
Non-Educated	54	10.44
Primary School	99	19.15
Secondary School	159	30.75
University Degree	76	14.70
Afghan	78	15.09
Arab	265	51.26
Georgian	40	7.74
Kirghiz	6	1.16
Kurdish	30	5.80
Pakistani	30	5.80
Turkmen	27	5.22
Uzbek	41	7.93

In the distribu tion of	Afghan-Pakistani	108	20.89
	Arab	301	58.22
	Post-Soviet	108	20.89
	Atheist	2	0.39
	Christian	39	7.54
	Muslim	476	92.07
	Orthodox	39	1.54
	Sunni	476	92.07

the heads of households by region; the sample majorly resides on the European side of Istanbul (84.14%). Most of the refugees live in Fatih, Zeytinburnu, Esenyurt, Sultangazi, and Kuçukcekmece in European Side (84, 14%). In Anatolian Side, the Afghan population mainly lives in Beykoz, and the residence of Syrians and Iraqi people are highly in Sultanbeyli. Comparing the sample districts with the estimated population in Marmara Municipality Union Report (Erdogan, 2017); Esenyut, Fatih, Kucukcekmece, Sultanbeyli, Sultangazi, and Zeytinburnu are the same major residence districts for the refugees. However, instead of Basaksehir and Bagcilar, the researchers interviewed the refugees in Eminonu, Esenler, and Kagithane and Kadikoy and Beykoz, which is on the Anatolian side of Istanbul.

3.1.4. Measuring Ethnic Identity

3.1.4.1. Methodology

The two-dimensional scale developed by Constant A.F. and Zimmerman K. F. (2008), *Ethnosizer*, is appropriate for the method of this article. In the first dimension, *Ethnosizer* uses the knowledge of ethnicity of the refugees in five aspects, such as (1) language, (2) culture, (3) social interaction, (4) year of migration, and (5) ethnicity. In the second dimension, the scale defines refugees in four processes, (i) integration, (ii) assimilation, (iii) separation, and (iv) marginalization. The methodology follows the directions of the scaling *Ethnosizer* and rearranges the questions on ethnic identities. In the scale, the sub-indexes of the five variables have equal weights. Sub-indices standardize the existing information and represent the person's ethnic identity from a different perspective. Each sub-index contains equally valuable information.

The one-dimensional *Ethnosizer* is a simple regression model. The components are language, culture, social interaction, history of migration, and self-identification. All alternative answers to each question are assigned a value. In interpreting the outputs of the scale, '1' means the lowest level of commitment, while '0' means the highest level of commitment to Turkish culture. For instance, a person with a 'good' level of

Turkish grammar (self-description in reading and writing) receives a value of 0.25, and each level increases by 0.25. The person who receives '1' means the linguistic identity of her is ethnic.

On the contrary, while a person who has '0' for the same question means that linguistically she is in assimilation, she has lost her own ethnic language identity. In the questioner form, there are five choices that the interviewer wanted the interviewee to make rating him/herself in language capability. Therefore, all the information is dependent on the self-disclosure of the interviewee.

The responses of participants form the variables with equalized average assigned values in each category, such as (1) *language*, (2) the *categories of visible cultural elements*, (3) *social interaction*, ethnic interaction and social relations, (4) *migration history*, migration is the year, family members of the mean value of the answers to the question asking who the in Turkey (5) *self-identity*. Immigrants will not be classified as fully integrated, assimilated, separated, or marginalized in the five components. A person can be integrated into Turkish society culturally and linguistically. Nevertheless, she might majorly be engaged in her ethnic society. It is essential to highlight that, according to Constant et al. (2008), it is scientifically worth not to define persons as ultimately assimilated, marginalized, and in social discourse, it is as a precaution.

3.1.4.2. Construction of Dependent Variable

The methodology of Ethnosizer comprise of two dimensions that the article briefly explained in the previous part is detailed with how each dimension is structured. The first step starts with the definition of ethnic identity from the perspective of Constant et al. (2008). They define ethnic identity as a balanced behaviour of immigrants in commitment between ethnic origin and the resident country culture. Immigrants define a continuous self-identification process in the host society. Therefore, the measurement of the self-identification can capture just the current perception of the immigrant on him/herself. Even so, the immigrant expresses themselves between the home and host country with the cultural norms. Most of the commitments are legalized to provide a form for the integration process, such as language, which might mainly define social interaction, as well.

According to Constant et al. (2008), the level of commitments to home and host society are visualized with a vector normalized from 0 to 1 (see Figure 3.1). It represents the minimum to a maximum commitment with a linear description. The two-dimensional scaling contains the position of immigrants with any possibilities of two commitments to home and host society in terms of five elements of the ethnic identity of Ethnosizer, such as language, culture, ethnic self-identification, ethnic interaction (social interaction) and migration history (Constant et al., 2008, 276).

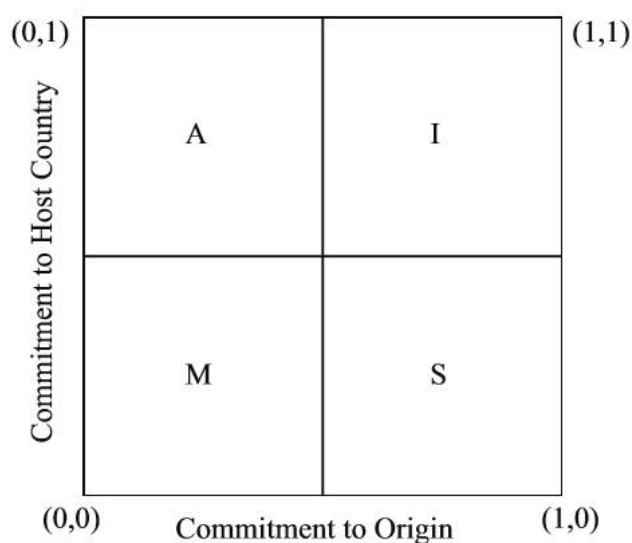


Figure 3.1: Two Dimensional Ethnosizer

Constant, Amelie F., Klaus F. Zimmermann. 2008. Measuring Ethnic Identity and Its Impact on Economic Behavior. **Journal of the European Economic Association**. Vol. 6. no. 2–3: 424–33, 8.

The article seeks to reveal One and Two-Dimensional Ethnosizer that contains ten scales under five dominant conceptualizations, such as language, culture, ethnic self-identification, social interaction, and migration history. The article wants to give a brief explanation to decompose the structure of the scales in the measurement and underline the differences between Constant et al. (2006)'s and ours. One-dimensional Ethnosizer that measure the refugee's commitment to Turkey alone (see Table 3.3).

First, one-dimensional language Ethnosizer composed into three parameters, (1) Own opinion of written Turkish (2) Own opinion of spoken Turkish and (3) Language mostly used (see Ek1/ EKLER). One Dimensional Ethnosizer numbers present that

“the closer the value of the measured ethnic identity is to 0, the less commitment to the origin it indicates, and the closer it is to 1 the less the immigrant's devotion and commitment to the host society is". Following the idea behind, the answers for 1 and 2 with not at all (1), weak (0.75), fair (0.50), good (0.25), and very good (0).

The third component asks the most used language in daily life answered with different languages. The ranked values are given to the languages according to the most used in Turkey. In this sense, Turkish must be the most used language that takes the value 0. It means the refugees mostly use Turkish to give the highest commitment to Turkish society. Due to their closest linguistics to the Turkish language, Turkmen, Kirghiz, and Uzbek languages take 0.25. Kurdish takes 0.50 because Kurdish is the second common language that people use in Turkey. Arabic might be the third most used language in Turkey because minorities live in the southeast Anatolia use Arabic. Arabic takes 0.75. The refugees who have the lowest commitment in language use the languages mostly, such as Urdu, Pashto, Farsi, Georgian, and English.

The Second Dimensional Language Ethnosizer composed into four questions as follows; (1) Writing skills in Turkish (G.1), (2) Speaking skills in Turkish (G.2), (3) Writing skills in own language (G.3), (4) Speaking skills in own language (G.4). The Second-Dimensional Ethnosizers have based on the balance of commitment between the home and the host society. By following the same ranking, the answers provide the Second-Dimensional Language Ethnosizer. As it is the same in previous cases, assimilation, integration, separation, marginalization respectively equals to 1, 2, 3, and 4. The scale defines integration when Turkish speaking ability equals or more than fair (0.50), and the own language is that speaking skills equal or higher than fair. Assimilated has been defined when Turkish speaking ability is more than fair (0.50) and the own language speaking skills equals or less than fair. Separated has been defined when Turkish speaking ability is less than fair (0.50) and the own language speaking ability equals or more than fair. Lastly, when the ability to speak Turkish and the ability to speak her language less than fair (0.50), the respondent is in marginalization.

To have the One-Dimensional Cultural Ethnosizer, we have evaluated three parameters; such as preferred media, preferred music, preferred meals. Here, we made a change compared to the first application in Constant et al. (2006); we

matched preferred media with Turkish TV channels; preferred music with the frequency of listening Turkish singers and cooked meals equalized the frequency of cooking Turkish cousin. All the three parameters have been answered with five ranked choices and valued between 0 to 1, as it had in the previous scale structure; never (1), rare (0.75), few times a month (0.50), few times a week (0.25) and every day (0).

For the Second Dimensional Cultural Ethnosizer, in addition to preferred media in One-Dimensional Cultural Ethnosizer; the question “how often do you use media channels in your language” which is the same as the previous structuring process for the second-dimensional scales is asked. The process continues as follows; the individual takes integrated when preferred media and own language media equal to 0.

The person takes assimilated when preferred media equals 0 and 0,25 and their language media equal to 0. The person is separated, when preferred media equals to 0,50; 0,75; and 1 and own language media equal to 0. Lastly, she/he is marginalized, when preferred media equals to 0,50; 0,75; and 1, and own language media equal to 1. All the following sub-indices are labelled with the integration processes with the same logic as we did in the Second Dimensional Ethnosizer.

While the One-Dimensional Ethnic Self Identification Ethnosizer only contains the answer to “what is your ethnic origin”, in our sample, the refugees do not define themselves as Turkish at all. The sub-index represents a binary parameter that when refugees identify themselves as Turkish, then they take 0. Since the refugees do not define themselves as Turkish at all, the output of the one-dimensional Ethnosizer in self-identification as Turkish is 1 for all the variables. However, in the Second-Dimensional Ethnic Self Identification Ethnosizer, we marked self-identity categorization as Turkish and the origin. In this sense, all the immigrants in our sample define themselves as their origin and take 1. That means if the refugees identify themselves with their ethnicities, then self-identify as origin takes 0 in Second-Dimensional Ethnic Identification.

In the One-Dimensional Social Interaction Ethnosizer, we have asked five questions that determine the social habitat of the refugees. The questions contain the immigrants’ mobility across countries, family life, and interactions with their friends. The ethnicities of their friends are marked according to the population rate of the

minorities in Turkey; respectively, Turkic Republicans, Kurdish, Arab, and the others. The receiving and paid visiting frequency of the immigrants are defined orderly and marked between 0 to 1. Rather than separately asking two variables, we preferred to combine them into one. If the answer is more than “10 times” in the last year, then it takes 0; if it is “5-10 times”, then it takes 0.25; “3-5 times” equals 0.50; “1-3 times” equals to 0.25, and if they respond it is “never”, then it takes 1.

Table 3.3: Five Elements of Ethnic Identity of Ethnosizer

One Dimensional Model	Two-Dimensional Model
(A) Commitment to Turkey Alone	(B) Based on both country
(1) Language Own opinion of written Turkish (G.1) Own opinion of spoken Turkish (G.2) The language mostly used (G.5)	(1) Language Own opinion of written Turkish (G.1) Own opinion of spoken Turkish (G.2) Own opinion of written of Language of origin (G.3) Own opinion of spoken of Language of origin (G.4)
(2) Culture Preferred Media (E.2) Preferred Music (E.3) Cooked Meal (E.5)	(2) Culture Preferred Media (E.2)
(3) Ethnic Self Identification (C.8) Self-identity as Turkish	(3) Ethnic Self Identification (C.8) Self-identity as Turkish Self-identity as the origin
(4) Social Interaction Ethnic Identity of three closest friends and relatives Paid and receives visits to Turkish during the last year Receives visits during the last year Family abroad Ethnicity of employer Ethnicity tradesman preferred for shopping Turkish Spouse	(4) Social Interaction Ethnic Identity of three closest friends and relatives
(5) Migration History Wish to stay in Turkey permanently Take trips country to the origin	(5) Migration History Intend to apply for citizenship Want to return the country of origin

Own categorizations (benefiting from Constant et al. (2006)).

For the question “*What are the ethnic identities of your three closest friends?*”, the responds are digitalized as follows; Turkish (0), Turkmen/Uzbek/Georgian/Kirgiz (0,25); Kurdish (0.50); Arab (0.75); Afghan and Pakistani (1). The refugees in Turkey mostly escape from war and instable political issues in their home country. Therefore, most of them have a family abroad. Instead of asking whether they have family abroad, we prefer to evaluate interaction in the job market and put two new variables, such as *ethnicity of employer* and *ethnicity of tradesman they prefer for*

shopping. The ethnicities of employers and tradespeople are the same in the previous question. In the last question, we have asked *whether they have a Turkish spouse or not*. The answer is binary, marked with 0 or 1. As it is said before, each of the questions in these five dimensions has equal weights. On the other hand, the second dimension of the sub-index only asks the *ethnic identities of three closest friends and relatives* as it is in the one-dimensional sub-index of social interaction. Therefore, this measurement directly provides the label of the integration process.

In the *One-Dimension of Migration History Ethnosizer*, we have asked the immigrants; “*Do you wish to stay in Turkey permanently?*”, and “*How many trips to the home country did you have in the last year?*”. Whereas, in the *Second-Dimension of Migration History Ethnosizer*, we have asked different contents that are directly looking for the plans of the immigrants, such as “*Do you intend to apply for citizenship?*” and “*Do you want to return to your home country?*”. For the first question, the responses are scaled with the willingness of the refugee to have a permanent residence in Turkey; a lot (0), a little (0,25), not much (0,5), neutral (0.75), and never (1). For the second question, the degree of commitment to the host and the relation with the family member in home country are measured. As the number close 0, the social harmony increases, and as the number close to 1, the ethnic belonging increases. The answers are scaled as follows; “never been since I came” (0), “less than 1 in a year” (0.25), “less than 1 in a year with my family” (0.50), “more than 1 year in a year” (0.75), “more than 1 year with my family” (1).

In the *Second-Dimensional Migration History Ethnosizer*, comparing to the one-dimensional one, the commitment to the country is asked with the questions; “*Do you Intend to apply for the citizenship of the Republic of Turkey?*”. The response to the question digitalize as follows; a lot (0), a little (0,25), not much (0,5), neutral (0.75), and never (1) and for the second question, “*Do you want to return to your own country of origin?*”, the responses take the opposite digitals, as never follows (0); neutral (0.25), not much (0,5), a little (0,75), a lot (1).

Descriptive statistics of *one* and *two-dimensional Ethnosizer* provide to predict the degree of commitments. The mean value of the *One-Dimensional Ethnosizer* with 0.783 depicts a high commitment to the ethnic society or culture of origin that brings negative impacts on the integration process to the host society. The two-dimensional scale reveals integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization that are

equalized to the number of times among the five-commitment classification. By following the same behaviour, the mean value of assimilation is low (0.29) compared to the other classifications.

The most remarkable result belongs to separation mean value, 2.19, which means the refugees in the sample behave separated in more than two aspects of the five one-dimensional categorizations, such as language, culture, social interaction, and self-identification and migration history. Even if the sample shows more robust separation than integration, integration gives a positive result. It means that the refugees in the sample reported more than one integration behaviour in the five commitments. Although there are some contradictory results, she makes explicit the detailed sub-explanatory of the scales in the following parts.

3.1.5. Quantifying Ethnic Identity

When the article evaluates the four processes of integration, a significant majority of the refugees are in separation. In contrast, the results do not address an entirely separated immigrant community. The mean of the separated label is 2.1 within the five aspects of the scale. While there are only 13 separated refugees in all the processes, there are only 4 refugees who have never defined as separated. 42.7% of the refugees are separated into two areas, while 34.8% of them are separated into three areas. Correctly, 48.3% of the Arabs and 22.5% of Georgians are separated in more than three areas.

71% of the refugees are not marginalized in any of the five aspects. Only 2.3% of them are marginal in the scale of self-identification. Since the average residence time of the refugees in the sample is close to 5 years, they might express themselves with their ethnic identities. Besides, the content of the questionnaire concerns the ethnic origin of the refugees. In this sense, the survey might direct the participants. The observations show that the highest marginalization is in the Afghan-Pakistani refugees. While 67% of the Afghan-Pakistani refugees are marginalized in two areas, 23% of them are marginalized in three areas. On the other hand, 31 Arabs and 17 Post-Soviet refugees receive the marginalized label only in one area.

76% of the refugees are integrated into only one field, predominantly, it is migration history scale that 60% of the refugees are integrated, while 24% of the refugees are assimilated. Nevertheless, it might be essential to underline that the refugees in the

sample do not have the opportunity to go back due to the war in their home countries. Therefore, it might help them to make any future in Turkey.

Table 3.4: Descriptive Statistics of the *Ethnosizer*

<i>Ethnosizer</i>	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Afghan	78	.567	.09	.22	.755
Arab	265	.563	.106	.26	.798
Georgian	40	.53	.084	.29	.695
Kirghiz	6	.461	.066	.338	.518
Kurdish	30	.505	.126	.272	.687
Pakistani	30	.637	.035	.547	.688
Turkmen	27	.462	.09	.277	.608
Uzbek	41	.481	.07	.353	.645

The coefficients of the One-Dimensional Ethnosizer show increasing or decreasing point values of the four integration processes, between 0 to 1. In Table 3.4, *One-dimensional Ethnosizer* shows the bench point that displays the general position of the refugees in terms of the degree of commitment to the home and the host country. While 0 means to the entirely committed to the host country, 1 is equivalent to the entirely committed refugees to the ethnic culture of them. 0.5 demonstrates the equal distance to the home and the host culture. The lower coefficient than 0.5 shows more commitment to the host culture. Whereas, the higher coefficient than 0.5 indicates the loyalty of refugees to the origin.

Ethnosizer, the closer the value of the measured ethnic identity is to 0, the less commitment to the origin it indicates, and the closer it is to 1, the less the immigrant's devotion and commitment to the host society is. While Ethnosizer is the arithmetic average of the five one-dimensional Ethnosizer, the equivalent integration process of the *one-dimensional Ethnosizer* has been labelled directly from the answer of the related question in the survey.

Table 3.5: Descriptive Statistics of One and Two Dimensional Ethnosizer

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Ethnosizer	517	.783	.153	.42	1.327
Integration	517	1.238	.426	1	2
Assimilation	517	.29	.475	0	2
Separation	517	2.191	.797	0	4
Marginalization	517	.344	.592	0	3

The options of the answers are ranked and equalized to the four-integration process, respectively, assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization. The measurements of the integration process are between 0-4. According to Table 3.5, the

mean of one-dimensional *Ethnosizer* is 0.78, that shows the refugees in the sample are far from being integrated and much closer to their original culture. While the mean of integration is 1.2, the mean of separation is 1.9.

In Table 3.6, firstly, the regression of *Ethnosizer* on the essential characteristic of the refugees refers to the literature, such as ethnicity, religion, sect, gender, age, and education. Furthermore, she observes the explanatory of migration year the refugee has resided and a new contribution, the *Discriminizer*⁸. The additional parameters are statistically significant with 99% confidence interval, and the three of the regression results give almost the same coefficients.

In Table 3.6, for the explanatory variable of *Ethnosizer*, the base group of the ethnicity is Turkmen and Kirghiz refugees. Because for these two ethnicities' *Ethnosizer* are less than 0.5, which means relatively closer to the host society culture-0.46 for both ethnicities. Being Afghan makes *Ethnosizer* higher, approximately 0.1 points, then the Turkmen and Kirghiz refugees. Compared to Turkmen and Kirghiz refugees, Afghan refugees are closer to their original culture. Being Arab is statistically significant for the three regressions, which causes increases in *Ethnosizer* approximately more than 0.1 points. Compared to the Turkmen and Kirghiz refugees, Arabs are relatively closer to their original culture.

The value range of the *Discriminizer* is between 1 to 5 that shows the degree of discrimination against the refugees. When a 1-point increase in the degree of discrimination, *Ethnosizer* increases by 0.015 points that make the refugee far from Turkish society. In the first regression, excluding the explanatory of migration year and *Discriminizer*, being Georgian is relatively closer to Turkish society that causes an increase in *Ethnosizer* by 0.069. Being Pakistani makes *Ethnosizer* higher by 0.16, which is the highest increase in *Ethnosizer* comparing to the other ethnicities, based on Turkmen and Kirghiz refugees.

A one-year increase in education decreases the *Ethnosizer* by 0.04-point means being closer to the host culture. In other words, the refugees have relatively more commitment to Turkish society. Education helps the integration of the refugees into the sample. Besides, the migration year is a significant parameter that explains One-

⁸In order to reflect the perception of the refugees about the acceptance by local people, the author seeks to generate a parametre called Discriminizer, which contains five questions on discrimination exposed at work, in public transport, in the neighborhood, street, hospital, and school. The parametre, Discriminizer, is measured by taking the weighted average of the responses.

Dimensional Ethnosizer. However, the coefficient, -0,036, demonstrates that one more year of residence in Turkey causes slightly more integration to the Turkish culture. Discriminizer is a significant parameter for an explanation of *Ethnosizer* that while the refugee is exposed to discrimination one degree more, the equalized commitment level becomes 0.015 higher, which means predominantly close to their original culture.

Table 3.6: The Regression Results of the *Ethnosizer* (Roboust Standart Errors)

	(1) <i>Ethnosizer</i>	(2) <i>Ethnosizer</i>	(3) <i>Ethnosizer</i>
Afghan	0.100***	0.084***	0.070***
	(0.019)	(0.017)	(0.018)
Arab	0.106***	0.118***	0.114***
	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Georgian	0.069***	0.062***	0.055***
	(0.021)	(0.019)	(0.018)
Kurdish	0.043	0.059**	0.052**
	(0.027)	(0.026)	(0.026)
Pakistani	0.163***	0.147***	0.138***
	(0.019)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Uzbek	0.014	-0.000	-0.006
	(0.020)	(0.018)	(0.019)
Gender: Male	-0.004	0.000	0.001
	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Age	0.002***	0.003***	0.003***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Education	-0.004***	-0.004***	-0.004***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Migration Year		-0.036***	-0.037***
		(0.006)	(0.006)
Discriminizer (1-5)			0.015***
			(0.005)
cons	0.426***	0.475***	0.450***
	(0.029)	(0.027)	(0.028)
Obs.	517	517	517
R-squared	0.216	0.269	0.284
Adjusted R-squared	0.2019	0.2542	0.2684
Mean VIF	2.10	2.04	1.98
Standard errors are in parenthesis; *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$			

In Table 3.7, the positive sign means the decreasing impact of the integration process. For One-Dimensional Cultural Ethnosizer, ethnicity, being Afghan, Arab, Kurdish, and Pakistani are significant ethnic identities in the four sub-scale of the One-Dimensional Ethnosizer. While the ethnicities increase the Ethnosizer, leads to making the refugees far from Turkish culture, for History Ethnosizer, the only ethnicity is the significant parameter in the regression.

Compared to being Turkmen and Kirghiz, being Uzbek is insignificant. Afghan refugees have a positive sign in the three one-dimensional Ethnosizer, such as Culture, Language, and Social Interaction, which respectively increases by 0.15, 0.16, and 0.24 in the sub-scales. In contrast, it has a negative sign on History Ethnosizer and decreases the scale by 0.15 points. Being Arab has a more robust impact on the One-Dimensional Ethnosizers (culture, language, social interaction). Arab refugees are much more far from Turkish society compared to Afghan refugees based on being Turkmen and Kirghiz. Nevertheless, compared to Turkmen and Kirghiz refugees, Pakistanis have the most negative performance in the sub-indices of the integration process. Whereas, being Pakistanis have a positive effect on the One-Dimensional History Ethnosizer that decreases the scale by 0.19 point, which makes the Pakistani refugees closer to the Turkish society in terms of historical proximity.

Being Kurdish has positive coefficients in cultural preferences, language abilities, and social interaction that leads to a negative power on the integration process. However, relatively, these coefficients are lower than the other significant ethnicities. Kurds are the second closest ethnic identity in terms of the three One-Dimensional Ethnosizer, such as culture, language, and social interaction, whose impacts respectively are 0.13, 0.129, and 0.14. In contrast, Kurds have almost the same coefficient on History Ethnosizer with the other ethnicities.

Just for the Social Interaction Ethnosizer, being male is a significant explanatory variable. When the refugee is male, the scale decreases by 0.03 points, which means being men have a slightly positive impact on the social integration process. Besides, age and education are statistically significant parameters for the Cultural and Language Ethnosizer. However, the effects are minimal compared to the ethnic identity parameter. While a one-year increase in age induces a 0.007-point increase in Cultural Ethnosizer, it leads to a 0.006-point increase in Language Ethnosizer. When age increases, the degree of cultural and language integration to Turkish society slightly decreases. The young age refugees tend to integrate quickly, compared to the old ages.

Education is a significant explanatory variable that when all the other factors are constant, a one-year increase in education decreases One-Dimensional Cultural Ethnosizer by 0.01 points. It is the same as in the integration process interpretation; when education increases, social interaction with Turkish society makes the refugees

closer to the host society. A one-year increase in migration decreases Cultural Ethnosizer, which is composed of preferred media, music, and meal, by 0.04 points. The increases in migration year have a positive effect on the cultural integration process. For the One-Dimensional Language Ethnosizer, the migration year is a significant explanatory parameter that has a positive influence on the integration process, when a one-year increase in migration year leads to decreasing in the Cultural and Language Ethnosizer by 0.04 points.

Integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization are the type of stages, depending on the categorical (nominal) variables can take on five values from the two-dimensional analysis of the refugees' ethnic identity behaviours. In this sense, the dependent variables, such as assimilated, integrated, separated, and marginalized, used in a regression model to estimate the linear relationship between the dependent variables of the scales. The descriptive explanatory of household data set, such as gender, ethnicity, age, education, and migration history background is in Table 3.8.

Table 3.7: Regression Results of One-Dimensional Ethnosizers on Refugee's Ethnicity (Roboust Standard Errors)

Explanatory Variables	Culture	Language	Social Interaction	Self-Identification	History
Afghan	0.147*** (0.052)	0.165*** (0.046)	0.243*** (0.025)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.148*** (0.043)
Arab	0.184*** (0.045)	0.258*** (0.040)	0.253*** (0.022)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.102*** (0.037)
Georgian	0.141** (0.057)	0.035 (0.051)	0.002 (0.027)	0.000 (0.000)	0.120** (0.047)
Kurdish	0.134** (0.062)	0.126** (0.055)	0.141*** (0.030)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.102** (0.050)
Pakistani	0.275*** (0.064)	0.385*** (0.057)	0.250*** (0.031)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.191*** (0.052)
Uzbek	-0.025 (0.058)	-0.047 (0.051)	0.010 (0.027)	0.000 (0.000)	0.013 (0.047)
Gender (female)	0.014 (0.026)	0.009 (0.023)	-0.030** (0.012)	0.000 (0.000)	0.014 (0.021)
Age	0.007*** (0.001)	0.006*** (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.000)	0.002* (0.001)
Education	-0.008*** (0.003)	-0.011*** (0.002)	-0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.002)
Migration Year	-0.045*** (0.007)	-0.042*** (0.006)	0.002 (0.003)	0.000 (0.000)	-0.007 (0.006)
_cons	0.508*** (0.070)	0.532*** (0.062)	0.075** (0.033)	1.000 (0.000)	0.273*** (0.057)
Obs.	517	517	517	517	516
R-squared	0.193	0.308	0.450	.-	0.146
Adjusted R squared	0.1772	0.2939	0.4387	--	0.1289
Mean of VIF	2.04	2.04	2.04	--	2.04

Standard errors are in parenthesis; *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

In the interpretation of the Tobit regression, for continuous independent variables, when all variables are constant, a one-unit increase in the dependent variable causes an increase by the amount of the coefficient of the dependent variable. Nevertheless, if the independent variables are discrete, all variables are kept constant; having the independent variable increases the dependent variable by the factor. In the Tobit model, all values above the lower value determined in the dependent variable are observable (Wooldridge, 2012, 589). In Table 3.8, through the Tobit regression, the author has 369 left-censored observations with the value, 0. It intends 148 uncensored observations to address right-censored observations.

The dependent parameter in Table 3.7 is between 0-5, which means the regression might be minimum; 0, and maximum 5. However, while defining the Two-Dimensional Ethnosizer, the author structures conditional arguments. For instance, to have assimilated in the Language Ethnosizer, the refugee's Turkish language skills should be more than fair, and the skills in the mother tongue should be less than fair. Because being assimilated needs to be more committed to the host culture rather than the original culture.

According to the five aspects of the integration process, Table 3.8 presents the definition of Two-Dimensional Ethnosizers. In the integration column, it shows the number of labels taking *integrated*. In this process, all the answers in the Second-Dimensional Ethnosizer are ranked between 0-5. Each aspect has the arithmetic averages that is equivalent to the integration process. For instance, if an individual has two *integrated* labels by language and social interaction, then the Second-Dimensional Ethnosizer regresses on 2. Therefore, the interpretation of the model shows the increases or decreases points to have one more integrated label.

When the reference group is Turkmen or Kirghiz, who are the closest to Turkish ethnicity, being Afghan, Arab, and Pakistani are significant in *integration*, *assimilation*, and *separation*. While being Kurdish is significant only in assimilation and separation, being Georgian significant in Integration and separation. Table 3.8 presents that being Arab increases to be integrated by 0,16 points, and being Kurdish increases assimilated aspects by 0,68 points. In contrast, being Afghan and Pakistani increases marginalized aspects more than the other ethnicities.

Compared to females, being male has a negative effect on taking the label of Integrated in the five aspects of the integration process. Being male is significant for the integration compares to the female refugees; male refugees decrease the integration scale by 0.115 points. In contrast, male refugees increased to be marginalized by 0,35 points.

Age, education, and migration year are significant in the Second-Dimensional Ethnosizers, such as integration and separation. However, the impacts are smaller compared with the other coefficients of ethnicity parameters. When the one-year increase in the age of the refugees, taking the label of *integrated* decreases by 0.008 points and decreases 0.009 points in taking the label of separated. One year more in education causes different effects on being integrated (0.008) and separated (-0.021). The result means that while one more year in education leads to almost the same effect with age in being integrated, it causes decreasing in being separated by 0.022 points. Also, the explanatory impact of migration year gives the expected result that one year more in resident in Turkey causes a positive effect on being integrated (0.081) and adverse effect on being separated (-0.095).

Table 3.8: Tobit Results of Two-Dimensional Measurement on Refugees' Ethnicity

<i>Tobit (0-5)</i>	Integration	Assimilation	Separation	Marginalization
Ethnicity				
Afghan	-0.161* (0.084)	-0.924*** (0.318)	-0.353** (0.139)	2.075*** (0.351)
Arab	-0.158** (0.072)	-0.947*** (0.265)	0.971*** (0.118)	0.520 (0.330)
Georgian	-0.287*** (0.091)	-0.129 (0.320)	0.407*** (0.150)	0.039 (0.405)
Kurdish	-0.132 (0.098)	0.675** (0.334)	0.355** (0.162)	0.574 (0.412)
Pakistani	-0.230** (0.101)	-1.084*** (0.405)	-0.335** (0.168)	2.414*** (0.381)
Uzbek	0.055 (0.091)	-0.256 (0.324)	-0.240 (0.150)	0.812** (0.359)
Gender (female)	0.116*** (0.041)	-0.040 (0.166)	0.055 (0.068)	0.355** (0.161)
Age	0.008*** (0.002)	0.005 (0.007)	0.009*** (0.003)	0.007 (0.007)
Education	0.008* (0.004)	-0.015 (0.018)	-0.022*** (0.007)	-0.017 (0.015)
Migration Year	0.081*** (0.011)	-0.029 (0.043)	-0.095*** (0.018)	-0.188*** (0.044)
Discriminizer (1-5)	-0.046** (0.020)	0.217*** (0.077)	0.072** (0.032)	0.102 (0.065)
_cons	1.400*** (0.114)	-0.247 (0.445)	1.854*** (0.190)	-1.192** (0.467)

sigma: _cons	0.382***	1.198***	0.632***	0.924***
	(0.012)	(0.085)	(0.020)	(0.061)
Obs.	517	517	517	517
R-squared	0.193	0.080	0.197	0.333
Standard errors are in parenthesis; *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$				

3.2. Impact of Ethnic Identities on Labor Market Outcomes: The Refugees in Istanbul

3.2.1. Introduction

This article aims to provide empirical observations on the economic life of the eight ethnic minority groups in Istanbul in the first part of the article. The relation between the integration process and economic outcomes has not to be analyzed by using statistics. Even though there are some inferences on this relation, there is no entire methodology. In this part, by using the integration process labels of the refugees defined with Ethnosizers, the author seeks to find linkages between ethnic identity, integration, and income.

The first part discussed the literature background of the article. However, the researches on migrant identity and economic outcomes use the data of the immigrants who have refugee rights; such as residence permit, working. (Chiswick, 1978; Borjas, 1985; Freiberg, 1992; Jasso and Rosenzweig, 1998; Borjas, 1999; Battu et al., 2005; Constant, Zimmerman, 2008). However, the immigrants living in Turkey consist of three legal statuses, such as (1) the temporary protected status for Syrians and Palestinians, (2) the International Protection Status, and (3) the Subsidiary Protection Status who are using Turkey as a transit country. Most of the immigrants in Turkey use irregular ways to cross the territories of Turkey due to social conflict, civil war, torture, and ill-treatment. They do not have legal “refugee status” who come from the Middle East countries.

On the other hand, few people have the refugee status in Turkey who are outside the geographical commentary on the Geneva Conventions. Due to non-legitimate, refugee status leads to restrictions on social and economic rights. That is why it is challenging to mention the “economic assimilation” of migrant communities.

The refugees, regardless of their legal status, have limited economic rights and labour mobility, including Syrians and Palestinians, in the “Temporary Protection”

status. The rigid legal framework determines the working permit conditions. Thus, the employment of the refugees predominantly is unregistered (Del Carpio, X. V., and Wagner, M., 2015). Moreover, contrary to popular belief, there is a limited number of Syrian refugees who can benefit from social transfers. (Mutlu et al., 2018). Approximately 60% of the Syrian Refugees are in the working-age (Migration Report 2017, 76). According to the Population Survey of Turk Stat in February 2019, while 67.8% of the population are in working age, 23.4% of the population is in the 0-14 age group defined as a child; the rate of the population aged over 65 is 8.8% of the total population. Therefore, a rough projection for describing the Istanbul scale might be around 300.000 Syrian refugees in the working age. Based on the information provided by the Istanbul Provincial Directorate of Immigration, at the end of 2016, approximately 1 million refugees have lived in Istanbul, including Syrians and the other refugees from different countries. Therefore, the extent of the survey contains more than half a million refugees in the labour force.

3.2.2. Stylized Facts

The refugees in our sample migrate to Turkey in the first half of 2016, five years after the mass migration from Syria. The average refugee in our sample is a 30-year-old male, graduated from primary school. He has been living in our country for three years. The household size is 4.5 and lives in a 77.5 m² reinforced apartment. As an employee, he works for 52.7 hours per week and earns a regular monthly salary, 2021.16 TL. While the annual average income (total income) is 34.867 TL, the monthly equivalent of this income is 2.905 TL.

As is seen in Figure 3.2, the distribution of annual income mostly concentrates on the left side, and precisely less than 40.000 TL. While the average annual income is 34.867 TL, the median annual income is 25.920 TL, which means total income per year does not have a normal distribution. The skewness and kurtosis have positive coefficients. In Figure 4.1, annual distribution has left-side kurtosis means the annual income concentrates on less than 50.000 TL. Besides, the median monthly income is 2.160 TL, while the average monthly income is 2.906 TL. It might be useful to show the gap between the poorest and the wealthiest refugees in our sample that while the most deficient 1% of the interviewer earns 1.400 TL per year, in the top of the income distribution, the richest, earns 216.000 TL per year. The difference is

approximately 154 times higher between the richest and the poorest. There are many tools to measure the inequalities within the population. However, the author would like to give a brief analysis of income and majorly focus on the labour market outcomes of being refugees in Istanbul.

Similarly, the average annual regular income (salary) of employees is 24.254 TL; in contrast, the median annual regular income is 21.600 TL. The average annual regular income is close to the monthly minimum wage level of Turkey in 2019, which is 2.020,90 TL. While the average income coming from daily wages is 5.760 TL, the average annual income earned from entrepreneurial economic activities is 4.124 TL. Lastly, the average income from social benefit is only 163 TL per year. According to OECD data, the average working hours in Turkey is 47.7 hours per week ([21.052020]). As such, the weekly average working hours of the sample are 52.7, which is 5 hours more than Turkey's. 40% of the interviewees in the sample reported that they work more than 60 hours per week. When the author examines weekly working hours by geographical ethnicity, she observed that while 65% of Afghan-Pakistani and 61% of the Post-Soviet refugees work more than 60 hours per week, this rate for Arab refugees is 23%.

When it comes to the income channels, regular salary income takes the first place. 368 refugees in the sample earn a monthly salary, and 174 are daily wage earners, while only 42 of them stated that they provided income from entrepreneurial activities. Although the refugees in the sample earn their income on a monthly wage basis, they provided irregular additional income by working for daily wage jobs. The mean of daily wage income is 5.760 TL per year. 174 daily wage earners' standard deviation is quite high compared with the amount of average daily wage, which is 13.005 TL per year. However, the average regular salary income is almost twofold higher than the average daily wage per year, which is 24.253 TL/year.

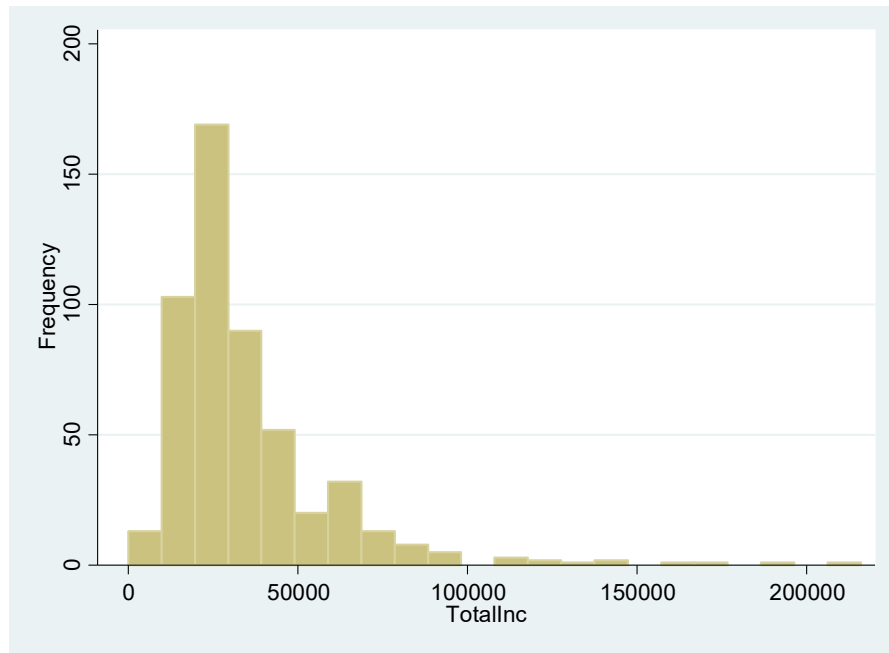


Figure 3.2: Distribution of the Total Income

Total income-earning per year by irregular and regular wage, it is 30.014 TL, which is 4.860 TL less than the total yearly income. The monthly working-class total income per year equals 2.501 TL that is much higher than the net minimum wage, not including social security benefits. However, for the registered gross minimum wage in Turkey equals to 2.558,40 TL. It is so close to the monthly wage of the working-class refugees in our sample.

Taking into consideration, the working-class group in the sample, just 11, and 2% of them have social security benefits. On the other hand, the total working income per year of the refugees who have working permits equals 30.848 TL that is approximately the same amount of gross minimum wage in 2019 in Turkey. The result shows that the refugees working with the permit earn the same amount of income with the standard minimum wage in Turkey. The working-class refugees who work without permit earn 29.909 TL per year, monthly 2. 492 from regular and irregular salary. The result presents the fact that for the working-class refugees, there is small a month of difference to have a working permit or not for the refugees in Istanbul. On the other hand, approximately the employers of 70% of the working-class refugees lead to tax evasion in this way.

There are five groups divided according to the total yearly income into, such as the poorest (0-12.000TL), the second poorest (12.001-24.000 TL), the middle-income group (24.001-36.000 TL), the upper-middle-income group (36.001- 48.000) and the

richest (48.001- max) refugees in our sample. The point the author would like to draw attention to the middle-income group of the sample because the distribution of education level and geographical ethnicity are close to normal distribution. The high weight in this group belongs to Arabs. However, half of the Afghan-Pakistani and the Post-Soviet refugees are in the middle-income group.

The women are majorly in third- and the fifth-income group and the rates equal for both income groups, approximately, 30%. In contrast, although the dominant position of men in the income groups, 40% of the men are in the third, and 25% of them are in the fifth income group.

Taking into consideration of male and female wage gap in the labour market in Istanbul, the author compares the average total working income per year. According to the variable, a woman earns more than men in yearly working income do. While women earn 31.801 TL per year, men earn 29.277 TL per year. This positive wage gap between men and women refugees might be due to three reasons; firstly, the author could not make interview women work in low-income jobs due to so many sociological reasons. Secondly, women are relatively more educated than men are, while average education by year for men is close to 9. This number is over ten years for women. Thirdly, according to the observations that do not base on the statistic, sociologically in Turkey, the refugee women are more reliable compared to the men. When the article evaluates the particular job positions of the refugee women, they predominantly work in cleaning, caregiving, babysitter, the nurse that might be equivalent to a domestic servant and working as teachers in kindergartens and language schools.

Table 3.8 presents descriptive statistics of income earned by the refugees in the sample. In the per capita income groups, 73% of the refugees have less than 5000 TL annual income. The following income groups show that 17% of them have 10001-15000 TL for per capita household. On the contrary, yearly-equalized household income equals to 13.890 TL, while the average annual equivalent household disposable income of individuals in Turkey, 19.139 TL (Gelir ve Yaşam Koşulları Araştırması, 2017).

Table 3.9: Descriptive Statistics of Income

Variable	Mean	Std.Dev.
Income by Trade (earned in a year)	4124.178	15269.4
Daily Wage (earned in a year)	5760.6 TL	13015.21
Income by Salary (earned in a year)	24253.93	26308.95
Income by Social Benefit (earned in a year)	163,94	1513
Income by Other Channels (earned in a year)	533,17	3222,5
Total Income (earned in a year)	34867,54	24803
Working Hours (weekly)	52,6	26,8
Wage Gap	459,16	534,11
Yearly Income per capita Household	11013,21	10975,03
Yearly Equalized Household Income	13890	16455,78

In consideration of the geographical ethnicity, the lowest income per capita belongs to Afghan-Pakistani refugees with a rate of 79.6%, the rate for Post-Soviet refugees is 73%, and for Arab refugees, it is 70%. Overall, the highest rate of yearly per capita income is 10%. The same rate that yearly per capita income level between 15.001-20.000 TL is highest in Post-Soviet refugees with 12%.⁹

Another important parameter, which is also related to ethnic background. 21.6 % of the refugees said that they are good at speaking Turkish; in contrast, 41.7% of them cannot read and write in Turkish. The rate is very good at speaking Turkish is 26.4% among Arabs, 25.6% among Afghans. This rate for reading and writing in Turkish is 9 % for Arabs and 1.2% for Afghans. When the author looks for the relation between the Turkish Speaking level and per capita households, there is no positive correlation between the per capita household level and language level of the refugees. In the same direction, when she observes total income level distribution on Turkish speaking ability, it is seen that 76% of the refugees in the sample declared that their Turkish speaking ability is lower than “fair.”

Although the statistic varies by ethnicity, the interviewees reported that the average monthly salary they earn is less by 459 TL compares with the local people who are doing the same job with them. There is a statistically significant difference in the mean of total annual income (includes working income and all the other income channels) between the three geographical, ethnic groups (0.0001 that is below 0.05), such as Arab, Afghan-Pakistani and Post-Soviet refugees.

To make it clarified, working-class earning per year are respectively (1) Turkmen

⁹ The result given as the income per capita household is measured arithmetically.

(32.533), (2) Uzbek (32.533), (3) Kirgiz (35.200 TL), (4) Arab (31.346 TL), (5) Kurdish (27.226 TL), (6) Georgian (26.709 TL), (7) Afghan (26.489 TL) and (8) Pakistani (24.761 TL). The order is not unexpected for us, due to four reasons; firstly, the first three ethnicity comes from Turkic Republics are culturally not so different than Turkish. Secondly, they can talk in Turkish. Thirdly, the migration history of Turkmen, Uzbek, and Kirgiz dates back to the 1990s that cause an acquaintanceship between the local people and the immigrant from the Turkic Republic. These three ethnicities' average education level is 10 years, while Afghans' is 6.5 and Pakistanis' 4.3.

In contrast, being more educated might not be a significant reason to have a higher working income than Arabs. The three reasons might be logical to explain the higher working income level of Turkmen, Uzbek, and Kirgiz refugees than Arabs. The idea that Arab refugees have higher working income than Kurdish and the rest of the ethnicities might be the sample biases that probably the interviewers were able to talk with the Arab refugees who come from relatively higher income groups. Table 3.10 shows income channels. The more top income groups are predominantly composed of Arab refugees.

Table 3.10: Descriptive Statistics of Income by Sources

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std.Dev.	Max
Income by Trade	517	4124.178	15269.4	120000
Daily Wage	517	5760.6	13015.21	108000
Income by Salary	517	24253.93	26308.95	216000
Income by Rent	517	20.116	400.462	9000
Income by Social Benefit	517	163.946	1513.982	21600
Income by Other Channels	517	533.172	3222.551	36000

According to the working status of the refugees living in Istanbul, 67% of them are working without working permission. Article 4 of Law No. 6458, "Employment of the refugees under temporary protection is forbidden without working permit." (Geçici Koruma Sağlanan Yabancıların Çalışma İzinlerine Dair Yönetmelik, 2016).

Although the law was launched in November 2015, just 11.2% of the refugees have a working permit. Moreover, most of them are Syrians due to the privileged status of the refugees under the temporary protection law. However, it is the most common situation in the field research that most of the refugees do not know the difference between the residences permit and the working permit (Refugees International, 2017).

Approximately 19 % of the sample are unemployed; compare to the unemployment rate in Istanbul at the end of 2018, 12.5% (TUIK Biruni, [21.05.2020]) the unemployment rate of the refugees in Istanbul 6.2 points is higher than the overall domestic unemployment. However, it is an important fact that just 2.6% of the sample does not participate in the labour market, due to disability and illness.

In contrast, participation in the labour market in Istanbul is 57.4% (TUIK Biruni, [21.05.2020]). It would be because of sample biasedness because the interviewers probably tended to talk with the refugees who are working. The survey was carried out mainly in the workplaces, manufacturers, job markets, and neighbourhood coffee shops.

The interviews with women and older men were conducted in the neighbourhoods, rather than these places. Therefore, compared to the results in other reports, employment is high in the study. For instance, according to the report by AFAD (2017), 72.3% of Syrian men living in Istanbul, and 92.4% of women do not work. It shows that the unemployment rate of Syrian refugees living in Istanbul is approximately 84% (AFAD, 2017). They interviewed refugees who are working, and looking for another job is too small, 1.93%. Probably, the result caused by the previous reason, as well as the worry of losing their jobs if they tell us that they are satisfied in their workplace.

In contrast to working status in Turkey, the interviewer asked the refugees' working status at home to examine their working life status pre-migration in their countries. Because, as well as political turmoil and wars, it is essential to take into consideration migration due to economic reasons. Approximately 22% of the sample were unemployed, while 20.5 % of them have their own business, and 19.5% work in daily works with irregular income. The rate of refugees had earned regular income in the private sector is 10.8%, and the public sector is 9.7%.

Just 1.55 % of the interviewer said that they get social benefits. There are almost parallel results found by Metal-Is (2017) 3 % of Syrian refugees have received social benefits. In contrast, in the report written by AFAD, while 36% of the Syrian refugees told that they get cash assistance from the non-governmental organizations, 30% of them declared that they get benefits just from the government institutions

(AFAD, 20017. p.9).

Yearly average income earning from rent is 20.116 TL. However, only 2 of the interviewers declared that they have income from rent. 8, 22% of them earn entrepreneurial income, but the year average entrepreneurial income is 4.124 TL, which equals to 343 TL per month. However, according to the tabulations of entrepreneurial income, she observed that the minimum income is 12.000 TL yearly, while the year maximum entrepreneurial income is 120.000 TL. The interviewers earn entrepreneurial income by trade is just 10% of the sample. The average year entrepreneurial income by trade is 4.124 TL. The highest level of entrepreneurial income per year is 120.000 TL.

On the other hand, when the interviewers ask whether they work if they would work in a regular and secure job in two weeks. While 27% of them replied that they did not think about it before, 42% of them declared that they would like to work for it. The survey also covers the job networking questions that job channels the refugees used to find a job when they arrived in Istanbul. While 41% of them told that their friends helped them to find a job, 29 % of them declared that they found their job on their own.

Table 3.11: Classification of Job Occupations

Job Occupation	Freq.	Per cent
Do not have a job	102	19.73
Artist	5	0.97
Craftsman	18	3.48
Qualified Blue-Collar	50	9.67
Qualified White-Collar	50	9.67
Service	81	15.67
Simple White-Collar	14	2.71
Trade	36	6.96
Worker	161	31.14

In Table 3.11, 19.7 % of the refugees in the sample are unemployed. There are seven job occupation groups, such as (1) Craftsman, (2) qualified blue-collar, (3) qualified white-collar, (4) service, (5) simple white-collar, (6) merchant, (7) simple blue-collar (worker). It is crucial to gather the job occupations, such as the refugees who have a profession with the certificate or graduated from university (lawyer, teacher, nurse, and et cetera) as Qualified White-Collar- 9,67%. While the rate of the refugees who work as a worker in majorly in textile, construction and recycling sector is 31.14%, the refugees work in trade and sales is 7%. The rate of refugees who work in caregiver and service is 15, 67%, and 3.48% of them are working as a craftsman.

In social interaction ethnosizer, the ethnicity of the employer is on the scale. 63 % of the employer of the refugees in the sample are Turkish, and 23 % of them are Arabs,

that means Turkish and Arab employers dominate the labour market. Just 5.2% of them are Afghan-Pakistani, and 4 % of them are Kurdish. However, at this point, it might be more important to know the matching process between employer and employee in terms of ethnicity.

The income groups by the education level, the lowest level of annual income (12.000-24.000 TL) mostly dominated by secondary school graduated refugees with a rate of 38%, who defines the persona of the sample. 49% of them are working more than 60 hours a week. Their hourly salary is between 4- 8 TL equals to 0, 75-1.5 \$.¹⁰ Moreover, 45% of the middle-income group work more than 60 hours per week, as well. For the highest income group, the situation is quite different. Only 30% of them work more than 60 hours per week. The poorest income group earns between 0-12.000 TL per year that pulls the average lower because 48% of the lowest income group work less than 40 hours per week. Most of them work in irregular job positions and earn daily income.

For the highest income groups, the rate of the highly educated refugees is higher compared with the other income groups. 27% of the richest group have a university diploma. In contrast, the same rate is lower for the rest of the income groups as follows; 16.2% (1st), 8% (2nd), 14 % (3rd), and 19% (4th). Besides, the regression results of total income that education level is a significant parameter for the explanation of total yearly income. Figure 3.3 shows that to earn more than 50.000 TL annually, the year of education acquired by the refugee would be more than ten years, which equals more than a higher education degree.

¹⁰ The exchange rate has been taken according to 02.01.2019.

<https://www.tcmb.gov.tr/wps/wcm/connect/TR/TCMB+TR/Main+Menu/Istatistikler/Doviz+Kurlari/Gosterge+Niteligindeki+Merkez+Bankasi+Kurlari/>

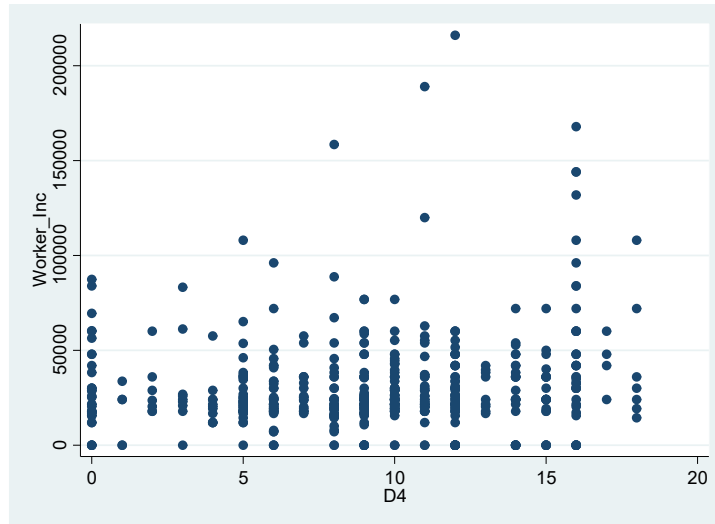


Figure 3. 3: Education and Worker Income

3.2.3. Economic Results of Ethnosizer

The article presents the explanatory variables of the total income covers all the income channels, such as wage, daily income, rent, and entrepreneurial income. In the first regression, the single parameter is ethnicity, while the second one covers age, gender, education, and religion. The third regression, the author has also added the scale of *Ethnosizer*. In the first regression results, being Arab and Post-Soviet is a significant geographical ethnicity; in contrast, by adding new parameters into the estimate, she lost the significance of being Post-Soviet. In the second regression results, there are two statistically significant parameters; being Arab and Education. In the third estimation, *Ethnosizer* is not a statistically significant parameter, but the parameter Discrimination in the labour market is a significant parameter.

In the first regression results of total income on geographical ethnicity, compare to being Afghan and Pakistani, being Arab and Post-Soviet is statistically significant. The author considers geographic ethnicity to give a detailed analysis. In total income components, she refers to more inclusive ethnic determination. Being Afghan-Pakistani is the base group because approximately 60% of Afghan-Pakistani refugees are exposed to discrimination in the labour market. However, there is detailed information in the explanation of the quantile income groups on specific ethnic identities, such as being Afghan, Arab, Kirghiz, Kurdish, Pakistani, Turkmen, and Uzbek.

Table 3. 12: Distribution of the Refugees by Working Status

Working Status	Freq.	Per cent
Working and Have Working Permitted	58	11.22
Working / No Working Permit	346	66.92
Working / Looking for Another Work	10	1.93
Not working	97	18.76
Not working due to disability	2	0.39
Cannot work due to illness	4	0.77

In Table 3.12, approximately 67% of the working refugees in our sample do not have a working permit, while only 11.2% of them do have. 20.16% of the sample does not work at all. Firstly, 18.76% of the sample declared that although they are looking for a job, they are unemployed. Secondly, only 2.4% of the working refugees (1.93% of the sample) are looking for another job. Thirdly, 25% of the non-working refugees due to a disability, and illness equal to 1.4% of the sample.

Table 3.13: Regression Results of Total Income on Ethnicity (Roboust Standart Errors)

Log (Total Income)	ITotalInc	ITotalInc	ITotalInc
Ethnicity			
Afghan	-0.217*	-0.151	-0.150
	(0.117)	(0.119)	(0.119)
Arab	-0.016	0.055	-0.010
	(0.102)	(0.105)	(0.101)
Georgian	-0.230*	-0.184	-0.158
	(0.129)	(0.130)	(0.131)
Kurdish	-0.083	-0.055	-0.051
	(0.141)	(0.141)	(0.140)
Pakistani	-0.184	-0.077	-0.107
	(0.144)	(0.150)	(0.146)
Uzbek	-0.151	-0.144	-0.117
	(0.129)	(0.129)	(0.129)
Age	0.004	0.006**	0.004
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Gender			
Male	-0.019	-0.023	0.003
	(0.059)	(0.059)	(0.059)
Education (year)	0.022***	0.019***	0.020***
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
<i>Ethnosizer</i>		-0.662**	
		(0.264)	
Discr. in Labor Market			-0.052***
			(0.019)
cons	10.073***	10.358***	10.163***
	(0.153)	(0.190)	(0.155)
Obs.	512	512	512
R-squared	0.080	0.091	0.093
Adjusted R Square	0.0631	0.0749	0.0821
Mean of VIF	1.47	2.09	2.05

Standard errors are in parenthesis; *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$

In Table 3.13 for the first regression results on total income, compared to being Turkman and Kirghiz, being Afghan and Georgian decreases yearly total income respectively by 21.7% and 23%. By adding new explanatory variables, while only being Afghan and Georgian are statistically significant in the first regression results. In the second regression of total income on *Ethnosizer* targets to see the effects of the degree of proximity characteristics to the host culture is significant. In the second regression results, a one-year increase in age increases total income by 0.06 %. When education increases by one year, yearly total income increases by 20%. In the third estimation, discrimination in the labour market is significant. When the declaration on discrimination in job increase by one-unit, annual total income decreases by 5.2 %. In the regression results, the error term is independent of the value of the variables (homogeneous variances). On the contrary, there is no assumption of the variability of error terms and the distribution of variance in a quantile regression model (Baur et al., 2013). To explain the significance of *Ethnosizer*, the author applies the quantile regression (Rodriguez, Yao, 2017) of total annual income on descriptive parameters and ethnicity (see Table 3.14). For the first lowest quantile of the annual income, compared to being Turkman and Kirghiz, ethnicity is not a significant explanatory parameter except being Uzbek in the 3rd quantile income group. In contrast, age is a significant variable that affects total annual income positively, when a one-year increase in age leads to an increase in total yearly income by 0,06 % for the 1st quantile income group and by 0,08% for the 3rd quantile group.

Table 3.14: Quantile Regression on Total Income

Log (Total Income)	(1)1st_%25	(2) 2nd_%25	(3)3rd_%25
Afghan	0.020 (0.111)	0.024 (0.144)	-0.104 (0.173)
Arab	0.008 (0.097)	0.164 (0.125)	0.189 (0.151)
Georgian	0.045 (0.121)	-0.086 (0.157)	-0.278 (0.189)
Kurdish	-0.167 (0.129)	0.012 (0.168)	0.236 (0.201)
Pakistani	0.179 (0.139)	0.177 (0.180)	-0.196 (0.216)
Uzbek	-0.088 (0.119)	-0.160 (0.154)	-0.427** (0.185)
Age	0.006** (0.002)	0.005 (0.003)	0.008** (0.004)
Gender (female)	0.005	-0.098	-0.090

	(0.055)	(0.071)	(0.085)
Education (year)	0.023***	0.020***	0.007
	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.009)
<i>Ethnosizer</i>	-0.271	-0.768**	-1.199***
	(0.244)	(0.317)	(0.380)
Discrimination in Labor Market	-0.060***	-0.041*	-0.029
	(0.018)	(0.023)	(0.027)
_cons	9.829***	10.429***	11.025***
	(0.175)	(0.227)	(0.273)
Obs.	512	512	512
Pseudo R ²	0.0403	0.0723	0.1016
Standard errors are in parenthesis; *** $p<0.01$, ** $p<0.05$, * $p<0.1$			

A one-year increase in education provides an increase in total income by 20%. Ethnosizer is purely significant for an explanation of the 2nd and 3rd quantile income groups. When there is no commitment to the Turkish society by the refugees (Ethnosizer equals to 1), the refugees in the 2nd lose their total income by 76.8%, and for the 3rd quantile, decreasing impact is much higher, by 119%.

Depends on ethnic origin, discrimination at work has a high level of response; approximately half of the respondents answered the question of discrimination at work with *not at all*. By following the same direction, 70 refugees responded to the question with *rare*. In contrast, 147 of them are exposed to discrimination at work *sometimes* or *generally* in their working life—the rate of Afghan-Pakistanis. They exposed to discrimination at work *sometimes* and *generally* is 52%. As a result, Afghan and Pakistanis are mostly exposed to discrimination at work. Kurdish and Georgian refugees follow it.

Additionally, more than half of Pakistani refugees stated that they feel discriminated at work. On the other hand, the rate of refugees who answer the discrimination question with *not at all* is 49%. The refugees from the Turkic Republic are not exposed to discrimination. For instance, only 19% of Turkmen and Uzbek refugees replied discrimination questions with *sometimes* or *generally*. For the 1st quantile income group, *discrimination in the labour market* decreases total income by 6% and by 4 % for the 2nd quantile income group.

3.3. Conclusion

Ethnosizer scale presents the distance of minor ethnic identities to the dominant identity. While the Turkmen and Kirghiz refugees have the highest commitment to

Turkish society, the highest marginalization is in the Afghan and Pakistani refugees. Compared to Turkmen and Kirghiz, being Arab is statistically causing an approximate increase of 0.1 in the Ethnosizer, which shows a relatively close position to their original culture.

The average residence time of the refugees in the sample is close to five years, and they still express themselves with their ethnic identities. The highest marginalization is in the Afghan-Pakistani group. On the other hand, the number of marginalized refugees is so small that only 31 Arab refugees receive the marginalized label only in one area. In contrast, 17 of the Post-Soviet refugees receive it. Being Arab have the same impact as being Afghan compared to being Turkmen and Kirghiz, but Arabs are slightly less committed to their ethnic society. However, Arab ethnicity has a more substantial impact on the one-dimensional Ethnosizer (culture, language, social interaction). Arab refugees are much more far from Turkish society compared to Afghan refugees based on being Turkmen and Kirghiz.

Pakistani refugees have relatively negative performance in the cultural integration process compared to Turkmen and Kirghiz refugees. However, being Pakistani have a positive effect on the one-dimensional History Ethnosizer compared to the reference ethnicities that decrease the scale by 0,19 point and makes the Pakistani refugees closer to the Turkish society in terms of historical proximity. Being Kurdish has positive coefficients in cultural preferences, language abilities, and social interaction that hurt the integration process. However, relatively, these coefficients are much less than the other significant ethnicities. Compared to the reference ethnicities, being Kurdish is the second closest ethnic identity in terms of the three one-dimensional Ethnosizer, such as Culture, Language, and Social Interaction.

Education helps to integrate that a one-year increase in education decreases the *Ethnosizer* means to be closer to the host culture. Besides, one more year of residence in Turkey causes slightly more integration to the Turkish culture. Local citizens, in other words, the dominant society culture is also included in the regressions with a new sub-scale, *Discriminator* that while the refugees exposed to discrimination one degree more, the equalized commitment level shows predominantly close to their original culture. When age increases, the degree of cultural and language integration to Turkish society slightly decreases. The young age refugees tend to integrate quickly, compared to the old ages. It is also the same

direction in the literature for the increases in migration year, causes a positive impact on the cultural integration process. The second-dimensional *Ethnosizer* results displace the phrases of integration. It is also the same result that ethnic background is a determinant parameter rather than human capital endowments. For instance, for being assimilated, having a university degree is not significant for the integration process. It is male cause a negative effect on taking the label of Integrated in the five aspects of the integration process. The explanatory impact of migration year gives the expected result that one year more in residents in Turkey causes a positive effect on being integrated and adverse impact on being separated.

For further research, it might give a complete perspective to make the sample larger by adding the local ethnic identities who were born in Turkey and have citizenship, such as Kurdish, Arabs, and Turkmens. However, the Household Living Conditions and Household Labour Statistics prepared by TUIK are conducted without any ethnic identity. Besides, these statistics are descriptive of economic outcomes and are not inclusive of the questions in the research. It would be more explanatory with a control group sampled with the different local ethnicities.

4. ROMA IN THE TURKISH LABOR MARKET

4.1. Introduction

Roma society is one of the largest ethnic minority in Europe. Today, there are 10-12 million Roma in member states of the European Union. In addition to their limited access to fundamental social rights such as education, health, employment, and poor living conditions, they are exposed to discrimination, social exclusion, and segregation. Due to these reasons, a significant part of them is in extreme marginalization in both rural and urban labour markets. By covering all these problems, the EU framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020 announced in April 2011. For the first time, the Roma issue in Turkey found a notable response at the governmental level. The problems of Roma in employment, housing and discrimination, have come to the agenda of politics with Roma Initiative in March 2010. But the Strategy Stage for the Roma Citizens could be issued in 2016.

Nevertheless, the research are unstandardized small-scaled field examinations and mostly focus on political frameworks. Existing socio-economic studies are generally descriptive and based on reports giving statistical data. Besides, significant numbers of academic researches analyzing the Roma in the labour market of Turkey belong to anthropology and sociology literature rather than economics. Although most of them have focused on the issue of discrimination against the Roma, due to the lack of quality data, these analyses might miss reasoning relations between discrimination and labour market conditions. Unlike the studies in this field, by considering job occupations, income channels and income inequalities within the Roma, this article seeks to evaluate the current situation of the Roma in the Turkish labour market.

The literature on the job occupations of Roma majorly refers to the traditional professions of Roma. The rest of the researches underlines the niche market referring self-employment. On the contrary, there is an argument that by urbanization, Roma and gipsy communities had to become labourers. The groups having social adaptation difficulties due to cultural norms tried to find new strategies in the labour market. Still, the area, they found to survive in, shaped by informal labour market characteristics and low-income earnings. By following this argument, the article asserts that even though the job occupations of the Roma partly present a kind of

continuity of the traditional professions, the Roma in Turkey are predominantly wage earners and working for someone else rather than self-employment.

Unlike the studies in this field, the research uses comprehensive data covering 1568 respondents and representing 6445 Roma households. The research conducted with face-to-face interviews in 12 provinces in Turkey. By using multiple regression analysis, the article is specifically looking forward (1) to decompose the household income levels of the Roma in Turkey, and (2) to find out the salient factors differentiating income levels within the Roma. Additional to the component of income, the analysis is much more related to discrimination and socio-cultural interaction of the Roma in Turkey. Therefore, other targets of the research are (3) to answer whether occupational segregation defines income groups within the Roma, and (4) whether the conventional variables have the same impacts on the quantile income groups of the Roma. Lastly, the article seeks to answer (5) whether discrimination, the socio-cultural interaction and political behaviour play a more influential role than the job occupations in income differentiation within the Roma.

4.2. Literature Review

Measuring the impact of the identity of the Roma on economic outcomes requires consideration of historical, social and anthropological backgrounds. The ethnographic research on the Roma and the communities living as the Roma examines economic practices embedded in the modern economic system. These economic practices are not in the market economy, but they are surviving on the walls and in the cracks of it.

In the anthropologic researches on the economic practices of the Roma and Gypsy communities, Okely (1983) and Rao (1987) defined them as nomadic or peripatetic service providers and entertainers. Though the transformation in the relations of capitalist production, the economic activity areas of peripatetic communities narrowed. Therefore, the significant majority of the peripatetic groups had to move to settled life and lost their ethnic identities through rationalized labour market relations in urban life. Those who could protect their identity are the Roma work in

the informal markets of the modern economy ¹¹. Because the Roma groups could survive by looking forward to the areas which are not covered by the dominant identity, they could generate new jobs in niche areas to develop their autonomous fields in the labour market. The employment strategy defines gipsy communities in the area remaining from the dominant identity. Besides, the generic argument that Gypsy and the Roma communities refuse to work in regular jobs might support the same; not to disrupt their identity-building process, the Roma avoids from the actions dominated by the rest of the society. Because, working in regular jobs leads to integration into the labour market, as well as it means a kind of threat of adaptation to dominant social culture and assimilation of identity for the Roma (Brazzabeni, Cunha and Fotta, 2015).

On the other hand, Gmelch and Gmelch (1977) observed that respectability within the Roma comes with the profession and seen as a provider of adaptation and social acceptance by the non-Roma. The economic strategies of the Roma, though capturing certain areas of the labour market, provide success to be involved in the majority of society. These contradictory arguments show that the Roma trapped between the in-group and out-group norms. The concept of a *niche* economic field contains the economic strategies that the Roma might reproduce in different societies. It refers to the mutable goods and services demanding by the other social groups in the same society. Whereas, also the jobs might be defined as undesirable by the other groups (Berland, Rao, 2004; Brazzabeni, et al., 2015).

Even though the challenges of transformed economic strategies with urban life shape the root of the Roma studies in social science literature, especially, after the discussion on the policies of social inclusion of the Roma in the 2000s, researchers put much more attention on employment policies. Their central axis of integration refers to active labour market policies. In the last two decades, the research majorly discusses the situation of the Roma in the labour market in five manners, such as (1) underemployment and informal job market, (2) high unemployment level, (3) low education and skills, (4) discrimination, and (5) inadequate social policies. The

¹¹ By referring Gmelch (1986) and Salo (1986), Yilgur propose to use the concept of late-peripatetic for the Roma communities in Turkey. He put forward the rationale of his proposal that while the emphasis of the concept of peripatetic is mobility and migration, the communities who integrated to the urban life and found creative economic strategies needs to be defined with the concept of *late-peripatetic*.

literature discussing in the article does not cover social policies for inclusion of the Roma but tries to concisely examine the empirical research on the Roma in the labour market.

Empirical research on the labour market conditions for the Roma points the fact that their accession to full-time jobs is scarce, jobs have generally short-term and seasonal characteristics, forced the Roma to work in irregular and the informal job market. These conditions make them deprived of regular income channels, social security and social interaction practices in the labour market. Additional to the informal labour market conditions, unequal wage due to discrimination and its relations with education level, and as a consequence, high unemployment levels are the primary emphasis of the empirical research.

In O'Higgins (2009), the unequal income-earning and differentiated wage levels for the Roma were explored with a survey on the Roma and the non-Roma in South-Eastern Europe. The main comparative determinants were education and wages. O'Higgins (2009) underlined the lower return of education for the Roma comparing with the non-Roma. The mechanism behind the lower return of education is related to the low education level in the Roma, and ingroup behaviour towards education. The low level of participation in education and the constant low level of income for the educated Roma in the labour market makes the Roma lose the meaning of education to have jobs and earn more income.

Szalai and Zentai (2014) explored multi-dimensional aspects of the institutional relation of the Roma at the national level, such as access to the labour market, basic local social services, and socio-political participation. They propounded a sensitive survey for the national census covering the ethnic concentration of employment in different sectors of the economy. According to the local concentration of the ethnicities, inter-ethnic relations and segregated composition of the settlements in micro-regions, Szalai and Zentai (2014) examined the local practices of marginalization of the Roma in Hungary, Romania, and Serbia. The article revealed that the disparities between the micro-regions interplay the socioeconomic conditions; such as educational and employment opportunities.

The literature points to extensive prejudice, discrimination, unstable and lack of employment for the Roma society. Dinca and Luches (2018) proposed an

occupational integration program for the successful social integration of the Roma. The research pens up the mechanism behind the discrimination the Roma face and the impact of support by the social institutions and addressed the importance of in-group social practices, customs, and norms for the capability of the Roma to enter the job market. They found that uneducated and low skilled Roma avoids getting involved in labour market relations at the institutional level and needs another person to get in touch with the labour market practices.

In the manner of more complex and institutionalized labour market relations, O'Higgins and Ivanov (2006) explored the transition to the market economy in the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe for the Roma communities. By comparing the major characteristics of regimes before 1990 and the collapse of socialist industry and agriculture, the main influences of the market economy on the Roma employment are low-quality jobs and lower social benefits. To compensate for the income disadvantages, the Roma tried to develop self-employment opportunities.

Casa-Nova (2007) discussed the meaning of working in the lifestyle of the Roma communities in Northern Portugal and argued that the impact of capitalist market relations on the Roma communities pushed them to prefer self-employed jobs. Due to the prejudices and the deep discrimination attitudes of employers, intra-ethnic solidarity provided security and understanding. Self-employment allowed independence for time management for caring for children and older people in the family. Therefore, the job market relation of the Roma structures on ethnic belonging rather than education, age, and skills.

Marsch dominates with his researches on the economic life and job market relation of the Roma in Turkey (Marsch, Strand, 2006; Marsch 2007, 2010; Marsch, Eren, 2008). He mostly refers to the traditional job occupations and professions of the Roma in the Ottoman Empire, such as the supply of shipbuilding materials, shipbuilding, bridge construction, fortress repair, and mining and army transport (Mischek, 2002). Since the early modern urbanization in Turkey, the Roma deals with blacksmithing and musicianship. They produce tinning, farrier, jewellery, sword, stove, slippers, shoes, wide-headed nails; leather craftsmanship, tailoring, painting, butchery, and horticulture (Unaldı, 2012).

Through the rise of urbanization and mass production, the Roma had not only exposed to spatial segregation but also discrimination in the labour market. Therefore, recent literature focuses on poverty and social exclusion in a sociological manner. According to Marsch (2008), the job occupations of the Roma communities in the 2000s are majorly in the service sector in Turkey. The job occupations in his research are listed as follows; shoe shiners, porters, old stuff collecting, basket selling, flower-selling, peddle, garbage collecting, collecting materials for recycling, fortune-telling in tourist centres, trade, carriage, and carting. The Roma in Turkey is mostly musicians in the entertainment industry, instrumentalism, dancers. Moreover, they have traditional hand-made jobs, such as knitting, knife making, metalworking, blacksmithing. As niche job occupations, they are working as traditional dentist, strainer-hedge-making, wire broom making; mining, blacksmithing, tinning, foundry, industrial and hand-made manufacturing are the parts work such as manually filling matches in mechanically expensive boxes, textile, and agriculture.

The studies on job occupations of the Roma majorly based on the micro scales field researches. Marsch and Eren (2008) conducted their research specifically on the basket makers and musicians in the Roma living in Izmir and Diyarbakir. They claimed that the traditional economic practices of the Roma had guaranteed their identity. At the same time, the changing conditions in socio-economic life destructed the traditional professions through the dissolve of traditional job market practices of the Roma leads them exposed to marginalization.

Aras (2009) conducted field research in the neighbourhoods, Cankurtaran in Istanbul and Menzili Ahir in Edirne. He focused on the concentration of the Roma communities in informal jobs. Aras (2009) sought to examine the forms of participation in the informal labour market, the factors affecting participation and the roles of neighbourhoods. According to the article, there is a linkage between the cultural characteristics of the Roma and the jobs demanded in informal labour markets leading to flexible labour practices, such as flexible working hours, working as a team. The article emphasized the social interactions within the Roma directing job expectations of young people. For instance, socialization in cafés has a decisive role rather than education.

In the recent research focusing on job occupations of the Roma in Turkey predominantly follows the same arguments with the previous analyses. In Genç et al.

(2015), the Roma was able to continue their traditional job occupations by working in flexible and temporary jobs. The article claimed that the endogamic occupational preferences result from motivation to protect the identity. However, the number of the Roma who carries out traditional occupations is quite low. Traditional job occupations are not the preference for the Roma. In contrast, Ozdemir (2014) pointed out that the decrease in demand for some professions such as basket makers, tin and sieving cause the loss of these professions.

Ozatesler (2014) focused on working conditions, socio-economic dynamics, social exclusion of the street flower sellers in two central districts of Istanbul; Sisli and Taksim Istanbul. The article also presented the role of political relations and the perception of being gipsy in economic practices. Aşkın (2017) investigated the socio-economic transformations on the conditions in musicians, seasonal agricultural workers, shoemakers, peddlers, street vendors and recycling sector in İzmir. He expressly underlined the reasoning mechanism of poverty and deprivation phenomena in the context of the economic transformation of the labour market. He classified the current job occupations of the Roma in İzmir, such as entertainment, scrap-making, waste collecting, seasonal agricultural labour, bundling, shoe manufacturing.

One of the comprehensive researches conducted in Istanbul, Izmir, Konya, Samsun, Erzurum, and Hatay provinces belongs to Akkan et al. (2011). The research drew attention to the relation between social exclusion to spatial segregation. Uncertainty of income and insufficient informal networks were associated with the spatial dimension of the labour market. Moreover, they argued that rather than being in lower-income groups, the strategies for subsistence push the unqualified labour of the Roma into the urban poor.

Geographically, the most comprehensive research on the Roma in the Turkish labour market belongs to Aydın (2019). The survey conducts 12 cities in Turkey and covers 1568 respondents representing 6445 Roma people. Furthermore, the research not only provides statistical data but also put forward comparisons of income inequality within the Roma and between the Roma and the non-Roma.

According to the results in Aydın (2019),

“The ratio of the Roma who finds employment opportunities in the informal job market to the employed the Roma is 63.1%. While 18.5 % of this rate consists of female Roma, 44.69 %

consists of the male Roma. Considering the share of those in the informal economy within themselves, 70.8 % of informal employment is male, and 29.2 % is female” (Aydın, 2019, 102).

Besides, Aydın (2019) calculated the Gini coefficient of the Roma in Turkey, 0.43, which is higher than the average value of Turkey, 0.40. Aydın (2019) found that although in the big cities such as Ankara and Izmir, the inequalities among the Roma people are relatively higher than the other cities in Turkey, there is no clear inequality pattern between the Roma and the non-Roma¹².

Moreover, the inequalities between the Roma and the non-Roma populations in the cities of Izmir, Eskisehir, Antalya, and Samsun are very close to each other. For instance, the inequality within the non-Roma is higher than the Roma in Diyarbakir. In contrast, Diyarbakir is the city where the highest inequality among the non-Roma. Although Canakkale is one of the least unequal cities for the non-Roma, it is the most unequal city for the Roma.

4.3. Materials and Research Design

4.3.1. Data

The Roma living in Turkey is divided into three general groups: Rom, Dom, and Lom. Roms are the most dominant group in terms of population and culture, generally living in Marmara, Aegean, Central Anatolia, Black Sea, and Mediterranean regions. Doms live mainly in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia but are also reside in some cities of the Mediterranean region such as Adana, Mersin, and Hatay. Loms are the numerically lowest group among the Roma and live in some Black Sea provinces, mainly Artvin. The survey determined the number of the questionnaires according to the number of the Roma populations in the provinces since fully covering the Roma groups, Roms, Doms.

In contrast, due to the difficulties of the field research conditions, the survey is not representative of the Loms¹³ Within the scope, the research aims to collect the essential information about the Roma from governmental and non-governmental

¹² In this research, the non-Roma represents the households in the Survey conducted by Turkish Statistical Institute.

¹³ In Yilgur (2016), ethnic identity is defined as a clustering tool existing by the interaction with the other peripatetic groups. Same as with this perspective, the sample partly covers the communities living like the Roma, such as Tebers in Ankara. However, the communities live like the Roma, but do not recognize themselves as the Roma, even though they are identified by their neighborhood so, were not included into the sample. For instance, Abdals living in Antalya and Muğla, Sheyhbızın living in Erzurum, Kara Tatarlar in Alpu, Eskişehir are some of these groups.

organizations. The head of households responded to the questions on the working conditions, education levels and social interaction within the Roma and with the non-Roma. Though the random sampling method, a questionnaire survey on face-to-face interviews conducted with 1,550 heads of households¹⁴ representing 6445 households.

Although there is no clarity about the population of the Roma in the province level, there are some estimates according to civil society reports and field researches conducted by academics. By considering the regional distribution and the specific distinctions among the Roma, the field research conducted in twelve provinces, covering thirty-one districts, in Turkey. The field research has been structured around 300 households from Istanbul with a population of over 100 thousand, 150 households from the provinces 50-100 thousand and 100 households from the provinces which have less than 50 thousand population. According to the research in the literature, the Roma in Turkey resides mainly in 16 provinces. Whereas, considering the regional distribution, the data have been collected in 12 of these provinces, such as Ankara, Antalya, Canakkale, Diyarbakir, Edirne, Eskisehir, Hatay, Istanbul, Izmir, Kocaeli, Mugla, Samsun. The collecting data process is conducted between June 2017- August 2018.

The unit of analysis is the individual in the context of households. To obtain the total income, the heads of households is a single expenditure unit, and all revenues are added to the observations on the head of the household as an individual level. The income definition includes all components of monetary income (wages, self-employment, entrepreneurial income, pensions, and cash transfers) and non-cash income/ aid in kinds, such as white appliances, coal for heating, food aid package and clothing given in Ramadan by the local municipalities and private firms.

$$\text{Equalized Household Income} = \text{Total Income} / (\text{Number of Adults} + 0.6 * \text{Number of Children})^{0.9} \quad (4)$$

The annual income data is adjusted to the National Equivalence Scale is developed by the Institute of Statistics of Turkey to compare the heterogeneous households' disposable income. The measurement of equivalized disposable income to the head

¹⁴ In defining the head of households, in many neighborhoods, women are as economically active as men and work in diversified jobs. However, the family-related decisions, especially income, expenditure and saving were generally made by men in the Roma families as it is in dominant society in Turkey. In this respect, in households with men, the head of the household is male and in the absence of men, the head of household is female.

of the household is to divide by equivalized household size. In this research, unlike in the OECD scale which gives 1 to the reference person of household and 0.5 to the households older than 16, 0.3 to the households younger than 14; we use the following formula to find the equalized household disposable income.

4.3.2. Descriptive Statistics of the Sample

Table 4.1: Distribution of Roma Households

Demographic Variables	Frequency	Percentage
16-25 years old	94	5.99
26-45 years old	772	49.23
46-65 years old	600	38.27
66- older	102	6.51
No School	284	18.11
Know reading and writing, but no school	95	6.06
Primary School	764	48.72
Secondary School	298	12.44
High School	99	6.31
University Degree	28	1.78
Female	121	7.72
Male	1447	92.28
Marmara	2662	41.30
Aegean	921	14.29
Central Anatolia	869	13.48
Mediterranean	637	9.88
East Anatolia	851	13.20
Black Sea	505	7.84

This part briefly presents the main characteristics of the Roma heads of the households Table 4.1 provides a summary of the descriptive statistics of the random sample. Although the rate of female heads of households is only 8% in the sample, the sample size of females provides a comparison of income between the families having female and male heads of households. The average age of the sample is 44.6, and the participants' ages ranged into four groups, from 16-25 to 66 to older. The distribution of age intensifies between the ages of 26- years old, 49.2%. Because of the common social problem of the Roma society in Turkey, early age marriage, the age distribution of the Roma household is reasonable. For instance, in the sample, the first marriage age is 20 for males and 17 for the female head of the household.

While the average education is 6.3 years in the Roma, 72.9% of them have less than 5 years of education. This rate for adults in Turkey (older than 15 years old) in 2018 is 43.5% (TUIK, [04.02.2020]). While 24.2% of the Roma do not go to school at all, but only 6.6% of them know reading and writing. While 19% of the Roma have a

primary school degree, only 1.78% of them have a university degree. For the female head of households, the rate of illiterate is 57%, while the rate in Turkey is 12.8%. The rate of females in Turkey who are literate without a diploma is 6.8%, in contrast, the rate for the Roma is 33%. Approximately 8% of the female Roma head of households are graduated from secondary school, while only 5.7% of them are graduated from high and vocational high school. Although the rate of male Roma who has a university degree and higher educational institutions is 1.8%, only 1 of the female Roma in the sample is graduated from university.

According to the geographical distribution, most of the Roma reside in the west side of Turkey. While 41.3% of the sample are living in Marmara Region (Istanbul, Kocaeli, Canakkale, Edirne) and 14.9% of the Roma live in Aegean (Izmir, Mugla); 13.2 % of them reside in East Anatolia (Diyarbakir), and 13.5% of the Roma live in the Central Anatolia (Ankara, Eskisehir). Only 9.9% of the Roma live in the Mediterranean (Antalya), and 7.8% of them reside in the Black Sea (Samsun). It is essential to underline that the representative respondents of Doms in the sample is only 13.2% of the total Roma head of households living in Diyarbakir. Therefore, the sample is predominantly representative of the Rom population of the Roma in Turkey.

While the unemployment rate of the head of households in the Roma is 21.9%, the women's unemployment rate is 51.3%. On the other hand, at the individual level, 51.3 % of the Roma are unemployed. While the unemployment rate for the Roma women is 75.1%, it is 27.8 % for men. Diyarbakir is the province with the highest unemployment rate, with 89.7 % for women and 46.5 % for men. The lowest unemployment rate is in Canakkale with 43%.

Annual average total income, excluded social transfer payments, is 32.041 TL, which approximately equals 2.670 TL monthly income. Based on empirical results and field observations, the important part of income comes from the conditional social transfer payments, such as for family type, health, education, old age/disability benefits, and employment assistance. In order not to lose the conditional social transfer, most of the Roma do not participate labour force or prefer unregistered self-employed jobs. The average amount of yearly social assistance is 2.396 TL. According to the market prices of the products, all the aid in kind is converted into the monetary amount.

Table 4.2 shows the share of 5 primary job occupations of the Roma in the labour market. The first acceptance belongs to the professions obtained with a university degree and being an artist such as a musician. The job occupations need qualifications and skills, such as motor mechanics, repairers, carpenters, plumbers, tailor, and cook, which are blue-collar job occupations (11.57 %). The job occupations in trade activities such as shopkeeper, commissioner, and vender in the street are in the third order with 15.9 % of the Roma. 19% of the Roma are unskilled workers with a regular wage, such as factory labourer, municipal officers, security officer, salespeople, construction, garment, leather workshops, security guards, officers, waiters, and technical service personnel.

While the rate of the unemployed Roma is 21.9 %, the rate of the Roma working in irregular jobs called low-paid jobs is 20%. These jobs are portrage, recycling workers on the street, scrap traders, shoe painters on the street, toilet cleaner, as well as agricultural jobs; seasonal agricultural worker, fruit picking shepherding; traditional jobs¹⁵; tinman, basket man, coachman, blacksmith, packer, leather craftsman. The researchers in this field have defined the Roma people as peripatetic, nomadic, and they did not get engaged with agriculture. Nevertheless, the Roma working in traditional jobs (1.73%) is less than the Roma working in agriculture (2.04%). The Roma working in agriculture is seasonal workers who reside in Marmara and East Anatolia.

Table 4. For the evaluation of regional differences in income level, it is necessary to consider the median income of the Roma and the non-Roma in Turkey. As seen in Figure 4.2¹⁶, there are significant regional income disparities within the cities in Turkey. The income levels in the western regions are higher than the eastern regions. In big cities such as Istanbul, Izmir, and Ankara, the median income of Roma is relatively higher than in other provinces.

Furthermore, the median income level in Turkey, in general, is higher than the median income. Only in Antalya, the median income of the Roma is higher than the non-Roma because the Roma living in the Antalya majorly earns their income from touristic activities. In contrast, both the Roma and the non-Roma have the lowest median income in Diyarbakir, which is in Turkey's south-east. Aydın (2019)

¹⁵ The number of the Roma who are working in the traditional jobs is only 27 in the sample.

¹⁶ The data in this research is the same with Aydın (2019).

emphasizes that the median income of the non-Roma people living in Diyarbakır is lower than the median income of the Roma throughout the country. It is important to highlight in the analysis that while in the seven cities, the median income of the Roma is higher than the median income of the Roma in Turkey, in five cities the median income is lower than the median income of the Roma.

4.2: Distribution of the Job Occupations

Job Occupations	Freq.	Per cent
Unemployed	343	21.92
Art-Music and Graduates	179	11.44
Qualified Blue-Collar	181	11.57
Commerce and Commissioners	249	15.91
Workers	299	19.11
Low Paid Jobs	314	20.06

Figure 4.1 shows the composition of income channels by job occupations. The importance of the composition is to understand whether the job occupations and income channels match or need to compensate for the major income channel with another one. For instance, for a worker, it is expected to observe the income channel as salary. Still, it is also vital to see diversified income channels to show the family members that contribute to household income rather than the head of households.

The yearly average income level of the unemployed head of households is 23.076 TL, which is approximately 32% lower than the average total income. For the unemployed Roma head of households, 47.8% of their income comes from wage and salary. The salary corresponds to regular paid workers, but for the Roma society, it is mostly minimum wage jobs. By taking into consideration the average working months, 6.7 months, the total annual income from the channels is only 11.042 TL. The second primary income channel is social assistance for the unemployed head of households. The rate of social assistance in their yearly average income is 19.5% that is the highest proportion comparing with the other job occupations. Trade and a private job earning, majorly including daily earnings-related to skills or professions such as music playing, repair, are also higher than 10% of the unemployed Roma's annual average income.

The primary income channel for the musicians is private job earnings with the highest rate to yearly average income, 55.4%. The yearly average income is 44.755 TL. Although musician, artists and other qualified jobs are valuable in the society, their annual average income level is the second highest one after Shopkeeper,

Commerce, and Commissioners. For the Roma who are shopkeepers, commissioners and tradesmen earn a high level of income. Their primary income channel is trade with a rate of 59.8%. They are the second-lowest income earners from social assistance after the musicians, artists, and other qualified jobs.

As it is seen in blue-collar jobs, while the primary income channel is private job earnings, the secondary one is salary and wages. The proportion of social assistance to the annual average income level of blue-collar jobs is only 4.4%. The social assistance income is mostly taken by the Roma who has the jobs in respectively traditional jobs, agriculture and recycling and the other low paid jobs with the rate of more than 10% of their annual income.

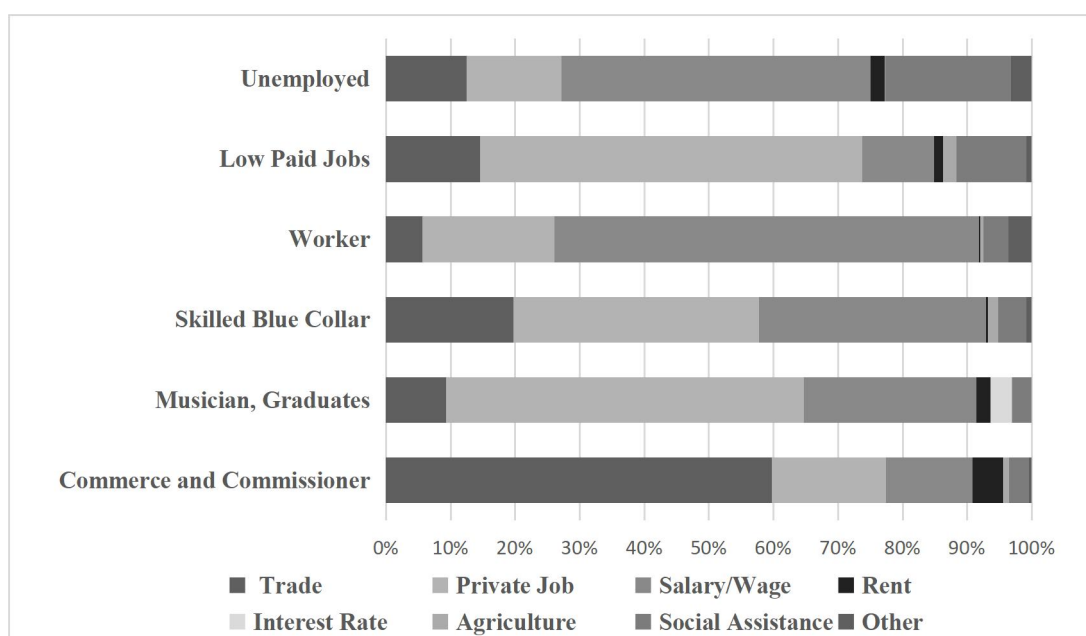


Figure 4. 1: The Composition of Income Channels by Job Occupations (Average Income)

The primary income channel of the workers is salary and wage, 64.4%, and additional work to compensate the living expenses is private job earnings, 21.16%. The Roma are majorly work in the informal job market. However, the regular wage earners are working with insurance, while 77.8% of the Roma head of households working as a worker have insurance; in general, the rate is 35.4%. For instance, 62.8% of the Roma working in the cleaning sector have working insurance and earn more than 70% of total income from salary and wages. Cleaning is the first job occupation that dominantly matches with income channels. As it is the same for the Roma workers, the additional income comes from private jobs.

For agricultural workers, the primary income channel is the trade and private job earnings rather than agriculture. Moreover, social assistance has more than 10% of the total income composition. It majorly means that only a small amount of income comes the head of households' income, it compensated with the other family members working in trade and private jobs. In low paid jobs, the primary income channel is private job earnings with a rate of 64.4%. The other income channels compositions are relatively equal within the trade, salary and social assistance which is around 10%.

4.4. Empirical Results

Ethnic differences are an essential variable in explaining wage and income inequalities (Zorlu, 2003; Mason, 2004., Ramos et al., 2005). The existence of a common ancestor based on shared individual characteristics and shared socio-cultural experience plays a decisive role for the people who come from the same ethnic background (Constant, et al., 2006). In this part, rather than a comparison between different ethnicities, the analysis focusses on the diversification of the income level by the job occupations of the Roma in Turkey The decomposition of income in (i) demographic characteristics (ii) labour market variables, such as job occupation, and yearly working hours (iii) social interaction of the Roma, and (iv) voting behaviour/political preferences are estimated with Multiple Linear Regression.

Table 4. 3: Explanatory Variables of Income

Explanatory Variables of Income	Description of The Explanatory Variables
Age (level)	Age of the head of households.
Education Level (level)	Education years comprises of six regarding education degrees needs the acquisition of diploma. (1) uneducated- illiterate, (2) literacy but did not go to school at all, (3) primary school degree, (4) secondary school degree, (5) high school degree, (6) university degree.
Gender (dummy variable)	The reference group is being male.
Number of Children (level)	Number of dependent children that the head of households are responsible for caring.
Marital Status (dummy variable)	There are four marital statuses such as (1) married, which is the reference group, (2) single, (3) divorced, and (4) widow.
Region (dummy variable)	In the sample, there are six regions that the Roma living in Marmara, Aegean, Mediterranean, Central Anatolia, East Anatolia, and the Black Sea.

Job Occupations (dummy variable)	Job occupations are classified into five significant occupations rather than (0) unemployment, such as (1) musician and college degree jobs (teacher, engineer, designer, etc.); (2) skilled blue-collar (furniture worker, electrical technician, mason, tiler, hairdresser, digger operator, etc.); (3) the jobs included in commercial activities (tradesman, peddler, vender, jobbers, etc.) and commissioners (estate agents, car sellers, etc.); (4) worker (waiter, security guard, factory workers, textile workers in ateliers, public servants, municipal officers, salesman, waitresses, construction workers, miners, transportation worker, cleaning workers, etc.); (5) low paid jobs who generally earn daily income and their salaries and socioeconomic positions are lower than the workers, they do not have social security rights (4), such as portage, recycling workers on the street, scrap traders, shoe painters on the street, toilet cleaner, as well as agricultural jobs, such as seasonal agricultural worker, fruit picking sheepherding; traditional jobs, such as tinman, basket man, coachman, blacksmith, packer, leather craftsman.
Yearly Working Hours (level)	Yearly Working Hours are grouped into four: (1) 0-300 Hours, (2) 301-500 Hours, (2) 501-800 Hours, (3) More than 800 hours.
Discrimination in Labor Market (level)	The parameter, discrimination in the labour market is an average value of the responses to the question that “Do they think that they expose to discrimination? If yes, in which level they face discrimination in (1) private and (2) public job market?” The responses are between 0-4 with range by 1; 0- is not at all, 1- rare, 2-sometimes, 3- frequently, 4-generally.
Sociocultural (level)	The value of the parameter is the average of the responses to five questions as follows; (1) Is it essential for them to live close to the Roma neighbourhood? (2) Do they want to live in a neighbourhood where the Roma do not live? (3) Do they have difficulties when they look for an apartment? (4) What is the rate of the Roma population in their neighbourhood? (5) Do they have the non-Roma relatives in their family? The parameter is between 0 to 1 and range by 0.25.
Voting Behavior (dummy variable)	If the head of the household voted for the same party with the currently elected major’s party in the last municipal elections in March 2019, then the parameter voting behaviour takes 0, which is the reference group. The second group is the people who did not vote with the same dominant party. The third option is the response that did not want to declare the name of the political party they vote.

First of all, the Multiple Linear Regression analysis enables us to examine the impact of particular demographic characteristics holding another important factor constant. The regression of income on the head of the households’ demographic features, labour market conditions, discrimination level they expose to, index of sociocultural life parameters and voting behaviour information further to examine the income determination process for the Roma in Turkey. The multiple regression equation is below:

The first regression of Table 4.4 is a test of demographic characteristics, and all of them found as significant. While age and education are significant variables in all regression levels, the explanatory power of age and education is less than gender and marital status. For instance, a one-year increase in the age of the household leads to a 3.3% increase in the 1st regression column, but not significant in the comprehensive regressions in other columns. It is reasonable that approximately half of the heads of

households are 25-45 years old in the sample. Besides, while the unemployment rate is 21.9% in the Roma society as a whole, the unemployment rate within the head of a household in 45- 65 years old is 30.4%. The observations are similar to the research findings by Kolukırmık and Toktaş (2007) that the Roma in the middle age group does not work regularly, and their labour force participation rate is higher compared to youngsters. The problems that the Roma face in adapting to new market forces might be much harder for the younger Roma.

Education level is the primary parameter of the human capital endowment. It is significant in the explanation of income. While 48% of the head of households graduated from primary school, 18% of them cannot read and write at all. One degree obtained by the head of the household causes 9.7% increases in income. For instance, two degrees more gained by the illiterate The Roma, primary school degree, brings improvements in income more than 20%.

According to the results in Table 5, compared to being male, being the female head of households gets lower income with a rate of 29.2%. In contrast to being married Roma, the widow Roma heads of households have more income. Being a widowed has an increasing effect on income by 40.8% in the last regression column, but being single and divorced is not even significant at all.

Another critical parameter for the demographic features of the Roma is the region they reside in. The field research has been conducted in six regions of Turkey apart from seven, and there is no observation from in East Anatolia is not in the sample. However, it is essential to highlight that being Roma as an identity is salient on the west side of Turkey. The Roma society is mostly living in the Marmara Region, 41.3%. Therefore, Marmara is the reference for observing the impact of regions on income. The head of household residing in Aegean acquires 12.3% less than the Roma living in Marmara. In comparison, the rate of the Roma in Central Anatolia is 32.4%, in southeast Anatolia is 24% and in the Black Sea is 33.1%. Then, compare the Roma in the Marmara, being head of households living in the Black Sea gets the lowest amount of income.

For the evaluation of regional differences in income level, it is necessary to consider the median income of the Roma and the non-Roma in Turkey. As seen in Figure

4.2¹⁷, there are significant regional income disparities within the cities in Turkey. The income levels in the western regions are higher than the eastern regions. In big cities such as Istanbul, Izmir, and Ankara, the median income of Roma is relatively higher than in other provinces.

Furthermore, the median income level in Turkey, in general, is higher than the median income. Only in Antalya, the median income of the Roma is higher than the non-Roma because the Roma living in the Antalya majorly earns their income from touristic activities. In contrast, both the Roma and the non-Roma have the lowest median income in Diyarbakir, which is in Turkey's south-east. Aydın (2019) emphasizes that the median income of the non-Roma people living in Diyarbakır is lower than the median income of the Roma throughout the country. It is important to highlight in the analysis that while in the seven cities, the median income of the Roma is higher than the median income of the Roma in Turkey, in five cities the median income is lower than the median income of the Roma.

By comparing to be unemployed, the income-earning hierarchy might be defined as follows; (1) job occupations in art, music and university degree - 29.8%, (2) commerce and commissioners - 27.1%, (3) workers – 20.7%, (4) qualified blue-collar – 15.5%, and (5) low paid jobs that are not even significant for the explanation of income.

For instance, if the head of the household is shopkeeper, commissioner, and vender or has a job in trade, the income increases by 27.1%, while if he/she is working as a qualified blue-collar, then the incremental impact is quite lower on income, 15.5%. Whereas, all the job occupations have positive effects on the income level, being head of household who is working in the low-paid jobs causes a decremental impact on income, but not in a significant degree, such as agriculture and farming, porter and recycling. In contrast, being worker has the third impactful job position after the jobs related to the trade.

¹⁷ The data in this research is the same with Aydın (2019).

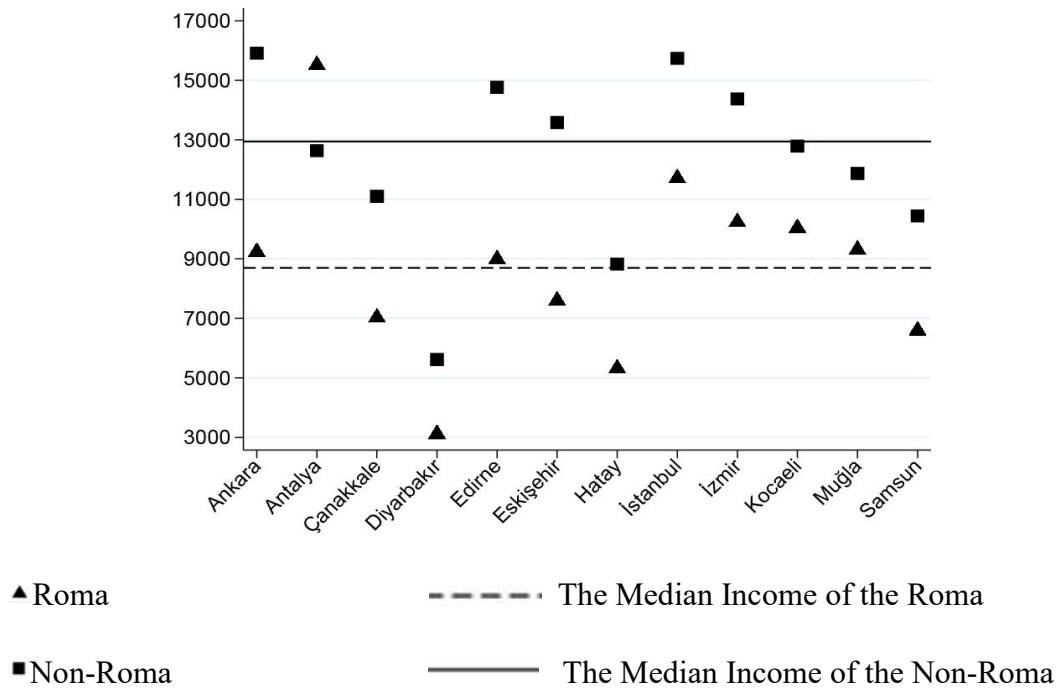


Figure 4. 2: The Median Income of the Roma and the Non-Roma in Turkey by Cities.

Aydın K. Türkiye’de Romanlar: Bir Kimlik Ekonomisi, TUBITAK ARDEB 1001: 116R050, Mart 2019, 63.

Discrimination in the labour market covers unequal economic behaviours that cause unequal economic outputs for a specific group, compared to the dominant social groups. Discrimination is not a random phenomenon, but a systematic tendency towards a particular group or the tendency of employers’ and stable and continuous employment attitudes. The variable, discrimination in the labour market is an average value of the responses to the questions; in which level of discrimination in (1) private and (2) public job market the Roma faces. The responses are valued between 0-4 with range by 1, one-degree increase in discrimination causes decreasing in income by 5.7%. For instance, an incremental movement from 0 to 4 leads to a reducing impact on income by 28%, which shows that discriminations matters in income level. In contrast, Milcher and Fischer (2011) indicated that while discrimination against the Roma in the labour market occurs in Albania and Kosova, discrimination is not a significant parameter in Bulgaria, Croatia, and Serbia (UNDP’s 2004 survey of the Roma minorities).

Antecol and Cobb-Clark (2004) confirmed the effect of social networks within the minorities on the distribution process. They measured the ethnic identity as a parameter, decomposed it into friendship, socialization networks, and co-worker relations. Likewise, in Guiso, Sapienza, and Zingales (2006) observed the widespread impact of culture. The variable presents the effect of the feeling of being safe and accepted by the dominant society on economic outcomes. A similar parameter in the multiple regression, socio-cult is a kind of index to measure the social environment and cultural interaction of the Roma with the non-Roma society. While 0 means the lowest interaction with the non-Roma community, kind of marginalization, 1 means highly interactive social relations between the Roma and the non-Roma. When an influx in the index from 0 to 1 intends 40.6% higher income that has a powerful impact on income regression.

The last explanatory variable is related to the voting behaviour of the Roma. If the dominant party in the district is not the same party that the head of the household voted in the last municipal elections in March 2019, then the parameter takes 1. If the voted party is the same as the dominant, then the variable takes 0. This binary variable shows that when the voted party is not the same as the dominant party, it leads to 13.7% decreases in income. At the same time, there is no increase of the Roma vote for the same party with the dominant party in the municipality.

Table 4. 4: Regression Results of Income (Roboust Standard Errors)

log (Income)	Income (1)	Income (2)	Income (3)	Income (4)	Income (5)
Age	0.033***	0.015	0.015	0.014	0.013
	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Education Level	0.140***	0.104***	0.102***	0.098***	0.097***
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Female	-0.429***	-0.306***	-0.302***	-0.303***	-0.292***
	(0.092)	(0.101)	(0.100)	(0.100)	(0.099)
Number of Children	-0.122***	-0.117***	-0.115***	-0.110***	-0.110***
	(0.016)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Marital Status					
Single	-0.135	-0.017	-0.012	-0.015	-0.011
	(0.099)	(0.087)	(0.086)	(0.085)	(0.086)
Widow	0.405***	0.422***	0.413***	0.413***	0.408***
	(0.098)	(0.094)	(0.093)	(0.092)	(0.091)

Divorced	0.031	0.052	0.071	0.065	0.064
	(0.091)	(0.100)	(0.100)	(0.099)	(0.098)
Region					
Aegean	-0.132**	-0.170***	-0.154***	-0.145***	-0.123**
	(0.059)	(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.052)	(0.053)
Central Anatolia	-0.401***	-0.373***	-0.310***	-0.322***	-0.324***
	(0.074)	(0.078)	(0.079)	(0.079)	(0.079)
Mediterranean	-0.163***	-0.149***	-0.102*	-0.119**	-0.109*
	(0.062)	(0.056)	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.057)
East Anatolia	-0.347***	-0.288***	-0.274***	-0.273***	-0.240***
	(0.060)	(0.053)	(0.053)	(0.053)	(0.052)
Black Sea	-0.490***	-0.374***	-0.337***	-0.345***	-0.331***
	(0.065)	(0.067)	(0.067)	(0.067)	(0.068)
Job Occupations					
Art-Music and Graduate		0.307***	0.293***	0.291***	0.298***
		(0.074)	(0.073)	(0.073)	(0.072)
Qualified Blue-Collar		0.172**	0.164**	0.155**	0.155**
		(0.071)	(0.070)	(0.068)	(0.068)
Commerce and Commissioners		0.294***	0.276***	0.274***	0.271***
		(0.077)	(0.077)	(0.076)	(0.076)
Worker		0.230***	0.214***	0.209***	0.207***
		(0.062)	(0.061)	(0.061)	(0.061)
Low Paid Jobs		-0.108*	-0.098	-0.097	-0.099
		(0.064)	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.063)
Yearly Working Hours					
Yearly Working Hours (301 – 500 Hours)		0.422***	0.428***	0.437***	0.422***
		(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.048)
Yearly Working Hours (501-800 Hours)		0.493***	0.499***	0.505***	0.496***
		(0.044)	(0.044)	(0.044)	(0.044)
Yearly Working Hours (More than 800 Hours)		0.717***	0.722***	0.727***	0.719***
		(0.070)	(0.070)	(0.069)	(0.068)
Discrimination in Labor Market (Average of State and Private)			-0.063***	-0.056***	-0.057***
			(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Sociocultural Parameter					

Sociocultural Index (degree)				0.436*** (0.130)	0.406*** (0.131)
<i>Does the Roma vote for the same political party of the municipality?</i>					
Not the same party					-0.137** (0.055)
Did not declared					0.031 (0.038)
Constant	8.228*** (0.213)	8.242*** (0.238)	8.316*** (0.236)	8.110*** (0.244)	8.145*** (0.250)
Number of Observations	1564	1561	1561	1561	1561
R-squared	0.208	0.345	0.356	0.362	0.366
Adjusted R Square	0.1669	0.3175	0.3208	0.3285	0.3422
Mean of VIF	1.24	1.39	1.38	1.37	1.36
Standard errors are in parenthesis *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$					

The median income for the 3rd, 4th and 5th quantile income groups are between 9,000-10,000 TL. The groups with high standard deviation are the lowest and highest quantile income groups. However, the groups have a normal distribution due to being sorted by ordering from the smallest to the largest. Therefore, there is not a high rate of differentiation between them. On the other hand, for the maximum income, the difference between the highest and lowest quantile income group is around 53%.

The top 20% income group earns approximately half of the total income (49.6%). The lowest 20% income group receives only 4.6% of the total income. In comparison, the lower-middle-income group gets 9.8%, and respectively the middle-income group gets 14.6%, and the upper-middle-income group gets—21.3 %.

It is apparent from Table 6 that the insignificant explanatory variables of the regressions of income point out a critical divergence between the top income group and the bottom income group. For instance, a 1-degree increase in education level causes a 7.5% increase in income for the 1st 20% income group, while 2nd, 3rd, and 4th income groups, the increase is over 9%. On the contrary, it causes a rise of 7.4% for the top 20% income group.

While age is not a significant variable for the first four quantiles, only for the top income quantile, it is a significant explanatory that being one-year older causes a 13% higher income. On the other hand, even though the education level is a

significant parameter for all quantiles, for the middle-income groups (3rd and 4th) having one higher degree in education provides more annual income. For instance, graduated from secondary school, rather than primary school, causes higher annual income by 9-10%. While compared to males, a female head of households decreases yearly income by 20% for the poorest income group, and the impact is much higher for the 4th quantile (25%). For the 2nd and 3rd quantile, being the female head of the household is also significant. For the richest quantile, there is no significant decrease in being female. The number of children decreases income, but for the richest quantile, there is no significant increase. One child more for the Roma family decreases income more than 11-13% for all the quantiles.

Another important observation from the field research is the high rate of early divorce which is also related to early age marriage. The average age of women in a first marriage is 17, while men's is 20. Therefore, especially for women, being married has an incremental impact on income. As it is in the equalized household income formula, single adults in a family have relatively lower income levels. Although comparing to being married, being single does not have a significant impact on income, being widow causes increasing in income by 34.2% for the 1st and 2nd quantiles, by 30.5%, for the 3rd quantile.

In contrast, the 4th income group has a much higher impact on income, by 41%. Compare to being married, being divorced and widowed have an effect mostly on the 3rd and 4th quantiles. In contrast to being a widow is not a significant parameter for the top quantile, being divorced in the top quantile has the highest decremental impact on income, by 70.9%.

The effects of differentiated regions on income have a broad spectrum, between 12% to 139%. Compared to reside in the Marmara region, all the regions have impacts on income for 1st quantile. The Roma live in the Black Sea has the highest income rising effect. Notably, the highest income group in Aegean and Central Anatolia, and also for the 1st and 5th income groups who reside in the Black Sea have a decremental impact on income, approximately more than by 50%. For the 1st and 2nd quantiles Roma in East Anatolia have a more decreasing effect on income by more than 30%.

As it is in Table 5, having a job related to trade causes 27.1% increases in income. Whereas, Table 6 demonstrates that the first four quantiles are under the average rate, 27.1%. While it raises income by 28.3% for the richest quantile, for the rest of quantiles, it has less incremental impacts, by 25.5%. Lastly, the rising effect of a job in trade for the poorest Roma is less than being a worker. For the 1st income group, being a worker has a higher impact on income than commerce and qualified blue-collar (by 34.8%).

On the other hand, being a worker also has a powerful incremental effect on income for the top income group by 49%. Yearly working hours is a significant parameter for all the quantiles. Only for the highest annual working hours level, more than 800 hours in a year, has the highest impact for the top income group, increasing by 120%.

While the jobs in art, music and needs university degrees have profoundly positive effects on income for the first four quantiles, it is insignificant for the income of the highest quantile. The low paid jobs are insignificant explanatory for the 1st, 2nd and the top quantiles. However, for the middle and upper-middle-income groups, it has a decremental effect on income, respectively 16.8% and 20.5%.

Discrimination in the labour market is a combined variable reflects the declaration of discrimination in the public and private sector. The variable is significant for the first four quantile income groups, except the richest income group. A one-degree increase in discrimination level decreases the income level between 5-9 %. The highest impact belongs to the poorest income group by 8.7%, while the decreasing effect is around 5% in multiple regression (Table 4.5).

While the parameter socio-culture has a positive impact on income, the highest impact belongs to the 4th quantile income group by 42% in income. By following it, for the 4th quantile, increasing one degree in the socio-culture index, which means also increasing in social adaptation, brings higher income by 43.8%. In voting behaviour, the quantile regression displays a clear overview that while the income of the poorest Roma is the most affected income group due to not voting for the dominant party with the rate 26.1%, for the richest Roma, the parameter is not even significant.

Table 4. 5: Quantile Regression Results of the Income Groups

Log (Income)	(0-20%)	(21%-40%)	(41%-60%)	(62%-80%)	(81%-100%)
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Age	-0.005	-0.005	-0.007	0.001	0.130***
	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.033)
Education Level	0.075***	0.092***	0.096***	0.091***	0.074*
	(0.015)	(0.013)	(0.010)	(0.013)	(0.043)
Gender					
Female	-0.199*	-0.202**	-0.225***	-0.250**	-0.440
	(0.117)	(0.102)	(0.082)	(0.101)	(0.337)
Number of Children	-0.119***	-0.107***	-0.123***	-0.133***	-0.028
	(0.020)	(0.017)	(0.014)	(0.017)	(0.058)
<i>Marital Status</i>					
Single	-0.043	-0.094	-0.067	-0.033	0.356
	(0.124)	(0.107)	(0.087)	(0.106)	(0.356)
Widow	0.342***	0.342***	0.305***	0.410***	0.422
	(0.122)	(0.106)	(0.086)	(0.104)	(0.350)
Divorced	-0.100	0.071	0.107	0.268***	-0.709**
	(0.114)	(0.099)	(0.080)	(0.097)	(0.327)
<i>Region</i>					
Aegean	-0.183**	-0.192***	-0.144***	-0.104	-0.568***
	(0.075)	(0.065)	(0.052)	(0.064)	(0.215)
Central Anatolia	-0.390***	-0.299***	-0.258***	-0.202**	-1.393***
	(0.094)	(0.082)	(0.066)	(0.081)	(0.271)
Mediterranean	-0.161**	-0.092	-0.085	0.014	-0.367
	(0.079)	(0.068)	(0.055)	(0.068)	(0.227)
East Anatolia	-0.312***	-0.267***	-0.229***	-0.121*	-0.161
	(0.077)	(0.066)	(0.054)	(0.066)	(0.220)
Black Sea	-0.510***	-0.372***	-0.330***	-0.173**	-0.625***
	(0.083)	(0.072)	(0.058)	(0.071)	(0.238)
<i>Job Occupation</i>					
Art-Music and Graduate	0.357***	0.242***	0.249***	0.280***	0.311
	(0.094)	(0.081)	(0.066)	(0.081)	(0.270)
Qualified Blue Collar	0.241**	0.150*	0.075	0.081	0.211
	(0.096)	(0.083)	(0.067)	(0.082)	(0.274)
Commerce and Commissioners	0.283***	0.253***	0.206***	0.251***	-0.162
	(0.089)	(0.077)	(0.062)	(0.076)	(0.254)
Worker	0.348***	0.198***	0.088	0.044	0.490**
	(0.085)	(0.073)	(0.059)	(0.073)	(0.243)
Low paid jobs	-0.033	-0.135*	-0.168***	-0.205***	-0.264
	(0.082)	(0.071)	(0.057)	(0.070)	(0.234)

Yearly Working Hours					
Yearly Working Hours (301 – 500 Hours)	0.464***	0.335***	0.366***	0.375***	0.844***
	(0.074)	(0.064)	(0.052)	(0.064)	(0.213)
Yearly Working Hours (501-800 Hours)	0.517***	0.478***	0.423***	0.351***	0.908***
	(0.066)	(0.057)	(0.046)	(0.056)	(0.189)
Yearly Working Hours (More than 800 Hours)	0.683***	0.712***	0.656***	0.678***	1.209***
	(0.097)	(0.084)	(0.068)	(0.083)	(0.277)
Discrimination in Labor Market	-0.087***	-0.061***	-0.052***	-0.043***	-0.021
	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.048)
Sociocultural Parameter					
Sociocultural	0.287*	0.203	0.420***	0.438***	0.150
	(0.166)	(0.144)	(0.117)	(0.142)	(0.478)
Does the Roma vote for the same political party of the municipality?					
Not the same party	-0.220***	-0.227***	-0.154***	-0.081	-0.366*
	(0.074)	(0.064)	(0.052)	(0.063)	(0.212)
Did not declared	0.007	0.009	0.032	0.028	-0.034
	(0.053)	(0.046)	(0.037)	(0.046)	(0.153)
Constant	8.239***	8.641***	8.846***	8.956***	4.132***
	(0.287)	(0.249)	(0.201)	(0.246)	(0.825)
Number of Observations	312	312	312	312	312
Adjusted R-squared	0.2422	0.2251	0.2232	0.2189	0.3693
Standard errors are in parenthesis. *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$					

Aydın (2019) said that the income shares of the Roma and non-Roma are quietly similar to each other in the low, middle- and high-income groups. The percentage of the low-income Roma and the non-Roma is stable (4.65% for the Roma and 3.64% for the non-Roma). The income shares of the middle-income group are close to each other that while it is 37.79 % for the Roma, it is 40.78% for the non-Roma.

“For the low-income class accounts quiet, different that for it is 19.58% of the total population of the Roma, while it is 13.67%. For non-Roma. The middle-income group is 53.04% for the Roma population; it is higher for the non-Roma, 59.63%. In contrast, the high-income class is 27.38% for the Roma and 26.70% for the non-Roma” (Aydın, 2019, 70).

4.5. Conclusion

The article has a considerable disagreement regarding the classification for the job occupations of the Roma in the literature that presents the Roma work in self-employment jobs and the traditional professions rather than the urbanized workers. This perspective could not go beyond the arguments of the anthropologists in the

1980s. The article has a considerable disagreement regarding the classification for the job occupations of the Roma in the literature that presents the Roma work in self-employment jobs and the traditional professions rather than the urbanized workers. This perspective could not go beyond the arguments of the anthropologists in the 1980s. The who defined the Roma and gipsy communities as “outsiders” of the society or people who refused to proletarianize. The economic activities of Roma have mostly defined in the informal economy or partly the rural economic strategies in cities

defined the Roma and gipsy communities as “outsiders” of the society or people who refused to proletarianize. The economic activities of Roma have mostly defined in the informal economy or partly the rural economic strategies in cities

In abstraction, the Roma is in the same phenomena as the rest of the minor societies which could not adapt to the market. They are predominantly urban poor ethnic minorities in Turkey. Roma society is the most visible ethnicity that suffers from high competitiveness in the market. The traditional professions of the Roma have faced extinction in recent decades. Therefore, rather than a preference, the Roma needed to find new niche areas where the gaps between the economic areas belong to the dominant society.

The ostensible jobs of the Roma in public perception are mostly as shoe shiners, porters, old stuff collecting, basket selling, flower-selling, peddle, garbage collecting, collecting materials for recycling. Whereas, the Roma in Turkey is predominantly wage earners in the informal market, who are work as labour in return of per diem, rather than the self-employment jobs. In contrast to the arguments in the literature, losing traditional jobs might not be a disadvantage for the Roma, at the same time it brings them getting involved in the job market as labourers. While the Roma living in developed cities are labourer, the Roma living in small cities and rural areas are working in low paid jobs, such as carriage and carting, recycling and cleaning.

Even though the education level has an increasing role in income, the impact is not higher than 10 %. Being older is not an important parameter to define income; it is significant only for the richest income quantile. Except for the richest Roma, being female is a disadvantage in the labour market that has a decremental impact on income. Again, for marital status, being a widow profoundly affects income that is

more impact than occupational segregation. However, for the richest Roma, there is no significant difference between being married and single or being a widow. Instead of being a widow, being divorced has an extremely high decreasing impact on income for them. It is essential to underline that the inequalities within the Roma are mostly related to geographical regions. Primarily the Roma reside in the Black Sea, and Central Anatolia has a lower income than the Roma in the Marmara Region. While for the poorest Roma, residing in the Black Sea causes the highest decrease in income, for the richest Roma, living in Central Anatolia leads to the highest decremental impact on income.

Occupational segregation plays less of a role in explaining income differentials than the variables, such as gender, marital status, and region. The differences are significant even after controlling labour market variables; job occupations, working hours, and discrimination in the labour market. Although for the Roma society, musician, artists and other qualified jobs are highly valuable; their annual average income level is the second highest one after Shopkeeper, Commerce, and Commissioners. Except for the highest income group, having a job in commercial activities provides higher income for all the quantiles. In job occupations, only being a worker brings higher income to the richest Roma.

This article argues that discrimination exposed by the Roma is the primary reason for low-income levels rather than the demography and human capital endowments. However, discrimination in the labour market predominantly affects the lowest income group, even though it has a decremental impact on all income groups except the richest quantile. Moreover, the author adds the sociocultural interaction of the Roma with the non-Roma into the explanation. The impact of the sociocultural index, which is much more related to social discrimination and ingroup culture, has more impactful than discrimination in the labour market. Lastly, the political behaviour of the Roma in the municipality election explains the income levels. If the Roma does not vote for the same party with the dominant party of municipality leads to decreasing in income.

In this article, we seek to find the explanation of income. However, due to the lack of data in individual income level, we analyze the annual income according to the income 'human capital characteristics. If there is an analysis based on individual characteristics and income level, the explanation of income might be more

interpretive than the analysis based on the head of households. Undoubtedly that presenting sociological outputs of the field research provides a more comprehensive explanation of the Roma in the labour market.

5. CONCLUSION

The first essay claims that although modelling identity might have full of incoherence due to the problematics of identity economics, it brings us a broader parameter to understand differentiated social characteristics and preferences. The second essay implies that in empirical research on labour supply, additional to demographic and human capital characteristics, ethnicity is influential for job occupation in the labour market. Based on a field research survey in Istanbul, the empirical results of Ethnosizer showed that ethnic background is a predominant explanatory rather than human capital endowments. The third essay found that occupational segregation plays less of a role in explaining household income differentiations than the variables, such as gender, marital status, and region. The conventional determinants for job occupation do work differently for the income groups; for the poorest Roma, having a job position as a worker in blue-collar, cleaning, and regular labourer in industry, in construction or textile, has much more income raising effect than the jobs in the trade. Discrimination in the labour market is significant for all the income groups, except the richest Roma, but has the highest impact on the poorest Roma.

In Turkey, the Roma are living marginalized in the big cities and refugees are majorly separated in Istanbul. For the Roma, the mean of the socio-cultural parameter, which is a simple weighted average of the five questions, is 0,54. For the refugees in Istanbul, the mean of Ethnosizer, which is more complicated, is 0,78. For both parameters, “0” explains closer proximity to Turkish society. But it is needed to have more complex indicators to measure the marginalization of the Roma.

While 14% of the Roma expose to discrimination, this rate is 28% for the refugees in Istanbul. It is not assertive, but the decreasing effect of the level of discrimination is around 5% for both sample; the Refugees and the Roma. While the lowest 20% of the refugees take 8.3 % of the total income, the rate is 4.6% for the Roma. While the highest 20% of the refugees take 41% of the total income, the rate is 54% for the

Roma. Inequality of the distribution of income within the Roma is higher than within the refugees in Istanbul.

In this dissertation, the empirical research analysis on identity economics is used instead of the behavioural economics methods. Because in the literature, the labour market research dominantly conducts applied economics in specific settings to address practical issues, especially in the analysis of demography. The demography, socio-cultural life and the institutional relations of minority groups can be understood better with empirical and ethnographic research methods. Because empirical research uses the inductive method and develops theory by collecting observations, then fit the facts. Also, it provides practical policy recommendations.

On the contrary, behavioural methodology, such as laboratory and field experiments, tries to test the general assumptions of social psychology on human behaviours. The samples mostly contain white, educated, young people who live in urban cities and have high social interactions. Also, behavioural methods do not intend to find economic outcomes. However, an abstract level, behavioural economics mostly interest in motivations behind the preferences. Because in the laboratory, it may be hard to observe the costs of discrimination in market-level.

In the methodology of the two empirical essays, there are some problems to be discussed. Firstly, cross-section analysis is a snapshot rather than presenting accurate life cycle patterns. But, it can shed some light on the factors in discrimination or participation in the labour market. Cross-section analysis can point out the conjectural elements, for example, the political behaviour of the Roma. But, the reasoning might be missed. Some structural coefficients, such as residence year of the refugees, might be different in overtime. And also, in longitude phenomenon, such as the integration process, the parameters need panel observations. Secondly, the survey in the empirical essays does not have information on income at the individual level. Therefore, the head of the households is the unit of analysis. But it might be probably more robust to estimate the variables in individual levels. Thirdly, R squared of the regressions are low, because there are too many unobserved explanatories that could not collect in the survey. However, the goal is not to predict how much the impact precisely. The concern in the essays is more making statements one variable affects others.

Fourthly, the samples might be biased. Due to the social interaction problems with marginalized groups, the respondents in the sample of refugees in Istanbul are mostly active in the labour market. The data are collected in the neighborhood close to manufactures. For the Roma, generally, the local authorities and civil society organization guide the collecting data; therefore, the sample might not entirely random sampling. But, for sure, all microdata collection process has such kind of research design problems.

Lastly, for the refugee essay, rest of the ethnicities, domestic or immigrant (Somalians and Iranian) are excluded. Due to the absence of Turkish in the sample, the reference group is Turkman and Kirghiz refugees who are found as the closest group to Turkish society. Also, for the same reason, in Roma sample, the spatial segregation of the Roma could not be analyzed.

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ANNEXES

Annex 1. İstanbulda Yaşayan Mültecilerin Ekonomik Hayata Katılımı Anketi

İlçe:.....

Anketör:.....

Mahalle:.....

Tarih:.....

A.1 Bu mahallede yaşayanların yüzde kaç Mülteci?

1.Yüzde 1-25 arası

3.Yüzde 51-75 arası

2.Yüzde 26-50 arası

4.Yüzde 76-100 arası

5. Yüzde 100.

Katılımcıya Yöneltilecek Sorular

A.2 Hangi ülkeden ve şehirden göç ettiniz?/.....

A.3 Ne zaman Türkiye'ye geldiniz? (Yıl yazınız)

A.4 İkamet ettiğiniz illeri sırasıyla söyler misiniz? 1-..... 2-..... 3-.....

A.5 Ne zaman İstanbul'a geldiniz? (Ay yazınız)

B.1 Yaşadığınız mekânın durumu nedir?

1.Sabit konut

3.Geçici baraka

2.Seyyar/çadır

4.Diğer (belirtiniz).....

B.2 Yaşadığınız mekânın net kullanım alanı yaklaşık olarak kaç metre karedir?

B.3 Yaşadığınız mekânın mülkiyet durumu nedir?

1.Ev sahibi

3.Ortak kullanımlı

2.Kiracı

4.Diğer (belirtiniz).....

B.4 Aynı hanede/çatı altında kaç kişi yaşamaktadır?

B.5 Ülkenizde eviniz var mıydı? (0/sayısı)

B.6 Ev seçerken kendi kökeninizden insanların/akrabaların bulunduğu yere yakın olması sizin için önemli mi?

1.Çok önemli.

3.Fark etmez.

2.Biraz önemli.

4. Pek önemli değil. 5. Hiç önemli değil.

B.7 Türkiye'ye geldiğinizde ev bulmada zorluk çektiniz mi?

1.Çok zorluk çektik.

3.Ne çektik ne çekmedik

2.Biraz zorluk çektik.

4.Fazla zorluk çekmedik.

5.Hiç zorluk çekmedik.

B.8 Türkiye’de ayrımcılığa maruz kaldığınızı düşünüyor musunuz?

	Sürekli uğruyor (1)	Bazen uğruyor (2)	Ne uğruyor Ne uğramıyor. (3)	Pek uğramıyor (4)	Hiç uğramıyor (5)
B.8.1 Mahalleli (komşular, esnaf) tarafından					
B.8.2 Sokakta/parkta/toplu taşımada toplum tarafından					
B.8.3 Hastanelerde sağlık personeli tarafından					
B.8.4 İşe başvururken					
B.8.5 Çocuklarınızın okulda					

	Çok isterim (1)	Biraz isterim (2)	Fazla istemem (3)	Henüz düşünmedim (4)	Hiç istemem (5)
C.1 Kâhçı olarak Türkiye’de yaşamak ister misiniz?					
C.2 Türkiye vatandaşı olmak ister misiniz?					
C.3 Çocuklarınızın geleceğinin Türkiye’de olmasını ister misiniz?					

C4. Ülkenizi ne sıklıkla ziyaret ediyorsunuz?

1. Ailemle senede 1’den fazla
2. Ailemle senede 1’den az
3. Kendim senede 1’den fazla
4. Kendim senede 1’den az
5. Geldiğimizden beri hiç ülkeme gidemedim

C.5 Türkiye’de doğan çocuğunuz var mı? (0/sayı?)

C.6 Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Vatandaşı eşiniz var mı? (0/1)

D. Hane Halkı ile İlgili Bilgiler (Aynı çatı altında yaşayan bireylerine ait bilgileri içermelidir. Başka evde ikamet eden aile üyelerine ait bilgiler kaydedilmeyecektir.

Sıra No	D.1 Anket yapan kişi ile yakınlığı	D.2 Cinsiyeti	D.3 Yaşı	D.4 Kaç yıl Okudu?	D.5 Mesleği Nedir? (0/meslek)	D.6 Mesleği Eğitim Aldınız mı? (0/ay?)	D.7 Çalışma Durumu	D.8 Ne İş yapıyor? (0/iş)	D.9 Hangi ilke vatandası?	D.10 Ülkesinde çalışma durumu	D.11 Evlilik durumu	D.12 Etnik Kökeni/Millîti	D.12 Dini/Mezhebi
	1. Kendisi	1. Kadın		1. Okula gidiyor			1. Çalışıyor/Çalışma izni			1. Sigortasız	1. Evli		
	2. Eşi	2. Erkek		2. Okul Çağında/Gitmi iyor			2. Çalışıyor/Çalışma izni yok			2. Kamudaydı	2. Bekar		
	3. Çocuğu			3. Okul Çağında değil			3. Çalışmıyor/İş arıyor			3. Özet Sektördeydi	3. Eşi öldü.		
	4. Babası/annesi						4. Çalışmıyor			4. Kendi İğneydi	4. Boşandı		
							5. Engel durumu sebebiyle çalışmıyor			5. Emekliydi	5. Eşi ülkesinde kaldı		
	5. Kardeşi						6. Hastalık durumu sebebiyle çalışmıyor			6. Okula gidiyordu	6. Diğer		
	6. Kayın peder/valide									7. Çalışmıyordu			
	7. Torunu									8. Hastalık ya da Engel durumu sebebiyle çalışmıyordu			
	8. Gelini												
	9. Damadı												
	10. Akrabası												
	11. Diğer,												

E.1 Boş zamanlarınızı nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?

1. Ailem ile
2. Arkadaşlar ile
3. Hobiler
4. İş arayarak
5. Boş zamanım olmuyor.

Kültür	Her gün/Sık (1)	Haftada birkaç kez (2)	Ayda birkaç kez (3)	Çok nadir (4)	Hiç (5)
E.2 Türk TV kanallarını izliyor musunuz?					
E.3 Türk sanatçıları/Türkçe şarkıları dinliyor musunuz?					
E.4 Türkçe kitap/dergi/gazete okuyor musunuz?					
E.5 Türk yemekleri pişirir misiniz/Türk yemeklerini tercih eder misiniz?					
E.6 Kahveye gider misiniz? (Erkek katılımcı) / Kadınlarla toplanıp gün benzeri etkinlikler düzenler misiniz? (Kadın katılımcı)					

F.1 İş arıyor musunuz? (0/1)

F.2 İş bulmanızda size kim yardımcı oldu?

1. Akraba çevresi
2. Arkadaş çevresi
3. Dernekler/vakıflar
4. Kendim araştırdım/ işveren ile iletişim kurdum.
5. Hiç kimse. İşsizim.

F.3 Size iki hafta içinde işe başlama imkânı verilse işe başlar mısınız? (0/1)

F.4 Ailenin/Harcamalarınızı ortak paylaştığınız ev arkadaşlarının aşağıdaki kalemlerden geliri var mı? Varsa yıllık ortalama ne kadar gelir elde ediyor?

	Yok (0)	Yıllık ortalama geliri?
F.4.1 Ticaret		
F.4.2 Yevmiye		
F.4.3 Maaş		
F.4.4 Kira		
F.4.5 Faiz		
F.4.6 Devlet yardımı		
F.4.7 Tarım		
F.4.8 Diğer (belirtiniz)		

F.5 Haftada kaç saat çalışıyorsunuz?

F.6 Ülkenizdeki ailenize/akrabalarınıza parasal yardımda bulunuyor musunuz?

1. Gelirimden yarısından fazlası
2. Gelirimden yarısından azı
3. Gelirimden dörtte biri
4. Gelirimden dörtte birinden az
5. Hiç

	Çok İyi (1)	İyi (4)	Orta (3)	Pek iyi değil (2)	Hiç/Kötü (1)
G.1 Türkçe okuyabilme ve yazabilme beceriniz?					
G.2 Türkçe konuşabilme beceriniz?					
G.3 Kendi dilinizi yazabilme beceriniz?					
G.4 Kendi dilinizi konuşabilme beceriniz?					

G.5 En çok hangisini günlük hayatta kullanıyorsunuz? (.....)
Ana dilinizin dışında hangi dilleri konuşabiliyorsunuz?

	Çok İyi (1)	İyi (2)	Orta (3)	Başlangıç (4)	Hiç (5)
G.5.1 Arapça					
G.5.2 Kürtçe					
G.5.3 İngilizce					
G.5.4 Almanca					
G.5.5 Diğer (belirtiniz)...					
.....					

H.1 İnternete erişiminiz nasıl?

1. Günde 5 saatten fazla
2. Günde 3-5 saat arası
3. Günde 1-3 saat arası
4. Günde bir saatten az
5. İnternetim yok.

H.2 Ailede aşağıdaki sosyal medya araçlarını kullanan var mı? Kaç kişi?

H.3 Geçtiğimiz yıl Türk arkadaşlarınızla karşılıklı ev ziyaretlerinde kaç kez bulundunuz?

1. 10'dan fazla
2. 5- 10
3. 5'ten az
4. Biz ziyarete gittik, fakat onlar bize gelmedi.
5. Hiç

	Türk (1)	Türkmen/Özbek/Kazak (2)	Kürt (3)	Arap (4)	Kendi kökenimden arkadaşlar (belirtiniz) (5)
H.4 En yakın üç arkadaşınız hangi milletten?					
H.5 İşvereninizi hangi milletten?					
H.6 Alışverişinizi genellikle hangi kökenden esnaftan yapıyorsunuz?					

H.7 Alışverişinizde kendi milletinizden esnafları seçiyorsanız, bunun sebebi nedir?

1. Almak istediğim gıda ürünlerini Türk bakkallarda bulamıyorum.
2. Kendi milletimden biriden alışveriş yaparken daha rahat hissediyorum.
3. Kendi milletimden birinin kazanmasını tercih ediyorum.
4. Yakın olduğu için tercih ediyorum.
5. Herhangi bir sebebi yok.

H.8 Ücretinizin Türkiye vatandaşı çalışma arkadaşlarınıza göre daha düşük olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? (0/1)

Ortalama fark nedir?.....

H.9 Evinizde herhangi bir dernek, vakıf veya cemaat üyesi var mı? (0/1)

.....

H.10 Herhangi bir dernek ya da vakıftan yardım alıyor musunuz? (0/1)

.....

H.11 Ev bulmada size kim yardımcı oldu?

1. Akraba çevresi
2. Arkadaş çevresi
3. Dernekler/vakıflar
4. Kendim araştırdım/ev sahibi ile iletişim kurdum.
5. Hiç kimse. Evsizim.

Annex 2. Romanların Ekonomik Hayata Katılımı Anketi

İl: İlçe: Köy: Mahalle:

A1.Yaşadığı mekân durumu nedir?

- 1.Sabit konut
- 2.Seyyar/çadır
- 3.Geçici Baraka
- 4.Diğer (belirtiniz).....

A2.Eviniz var mı? (Geçici baraka veya seyyar çadırdaki yaşayanlara sorulacak!)

- 1.Evet, var
- 2.Hayır, yok
- 3.Diğer (belirtiniz)...

A. Konut Bilgileri

A3. Oturulan Konutun Niteliği Nedir?	A4. Oturulan Konutun Kullanım Alanı Nedir?	A5. Oturulan Konutun Mülkiyet Durumu Nedir?	A5A. Oturulan Konutun Piyasa Değeri Nedir? Tapusu var mı? (Ev Sahibi ise)	A5B. Sahip Olunan Herhangi Bir Arsa veya Arazi var mı? Varsa değeri nedir?
1.Müstakil Konut 2.Apartman Dairesi 3.İkiz ya da Sıralı Ev 4.Diğer (belirtiniz)...		1.Ev sahibi 2.Kiracı 3.Lojman 4.Diğer (belirtiniz)...		

A6.Oturduğunuz bu mahallede/köyde yaşayanların yüzde kaç Roman'dır?

- 1.Yüzde 1-25 arası
- 2.Yüzde 26-50 arası
3. Yüzde 51-75 arası
4. Yüzde 76-100 arası
- 5.Yüzde 100 Roman'dır

A.Konut Seçimi Bilgileri

	(1) Çok	(2) Biraz	(3) Fark Etmez	(4) Değil	(5) Hiç
A7. Ev Seçerken Romanların (akraba veya tanıdık) bulunduğu bölgeye yakın olmak sizin için önemli mi?					
A8. Romanların Bulunmadığı bir mahallede yaşamak ister misiniz?					
A9. Romanların Bulunmadığı bir mahallede ev bulmada zorluk çekiyor musunuz?					

A10.Oturduğunuz konutta aşağıdakiler var mı? Varsa kaç tane olduğunu belirtiniz?

	(0) Yok	Var (sayı?)		(0) Yok	Var (sayı?)
A10.1. Salon			A10.5. Tuvalet (ev içinde)		
A10.2. Oda			A10.6. Antre		
A10.3. Mutfak			A10.7. Balkon		
A10.4. Banyo					

A. Konutta Isınma-Sıcak Su ve Ocak Bilgileri

A11. Konutunuzu Nasıl Isıtıyorsunuz?	A12. Sıcak Su İhtiyacınızı Nasıl Karşılıyorsunuz?	A13. Yemek Pişirmede Aşağıdakilerden Hangisini Kullanıyorsunuz?
1.Soba 2.Merkezi Kalorifer 3.Kat Kaloriferi/Kombi 4.Klima 5.Elektrikli Isıtıcı 6.Diğer (belirtiniz)...	1.Merkezi Sistem 2.Şofben 3.Kombi 4.Güneş Enerjisi 5.Elektrikli Isıtıcı 6.Diğer (belirtiniz)...	1.Tüplü Ocak 2.Doğalgazlı Ocak 3.Elektrikli Ocak 4.Soba 5.Diğer (belirtiniz)...

B3.Aile bireyleriyle ilgili bilgiler

Sıra No	B3.1.Anket yapılan kişi ile yakınlığı	B3.2.Cinsiyeti	B3.3.Yaşı	B3.4.Eğitim Düzeyi	B3.5.Kaç yıl okudu	B4.2.Herhangi bir mesleği var mı? Varsa nedir?	B4.3.Bu mesleği nereden öğrendi?	B3.6.Çalışma Durumu	B4.5.Ne iş yapıyor?	B3.7.Sigortalılık durumu	B3.8. Evlilik durumu	B3.9. Nikah durumu
B3.11												
B3.12												
B3.13												
B3.14												
B3.15												
B3.16												
B3.17												
B3.18												
	1. Kendisi 2. Eşi 3. Çocuğu 4. Babası/ 5. Annesi 6. Kardeşi 7. Kayın peder 8. Kayınvalide 9. Torunu 10. Geline 11. Damadı 12. Akrabası	1. Kadın 2. Erkek		1. Okuma yazması yok 2. Okur-yazar ama kula gitmemiş 3. İlkokul (eski sistem) 5. İlköğretim 6. Lise 7. Üniversite 9. Yüksek lisans	1.Gitmiyor 2.İlköğrtm 3.Ortaoğr 4.Lise 5.Üniversite 6.Diğer.....	Mesleği yoksa 0 yazınız. Varsa mesleğinin adını yazınız	1. Çıranklıktan 2. Okuldan 3. Devletin açtığı kurslardan 4. Özel kurslardan 5. Aileden 6. Diğer.....	1. Kamuda maaşlı 2. Özel sektörde maaşlı 3. Yevmiyeli 4. Kendi hesabına işi var 5. Ücretsiz aile işçisi 6. İşveren 7.Çalışmıyor 8. Diğer.....	Çalışmıyorsa 0 yazınız Çalışıyorsa yaptığı işi yazınız	1. Sigortasız 2. Sigortalı 6. Gen. Sa. Sigortası (yeşil kart) 7. Emekli 8. Diğer:.....	1. Evli 2. Bekar 3. Eşi öldü 4. Boşandı 5. Ayrı yaşıyor 6. Diğer:.....	1. Resmi nikah 2.İmam nikah 3. İkisi de 4. Nikahsız 5. Diğer.....

B5.İş bulmak için aşağıdakilerden hangilerine başvuruyorsunuz?

	(1) Evet	(0) Hayır		(1) Evet	(0) Hayır
B5.1. İŞ-KUR			B5.4. Akraba çevresi		
B5.2. İşçi simsarı			B5.5. Arkadaş çevresi		
B5.3. Doğrudan işveren			B5.6. Gazete/dergi/internet		

**B6.Size
iki
hafta
içinde
işe**

başlama imkânı verilse işe başlar mısınız?

1.Evet

2.Hayır

3.Diğer (belirtiniz).....

B7.Aşağıdaki kurumlardan herhangi birinin verdiği mesleki eğitim aldınız mı?

	(1) Bir aydan fazla aldı	(2) Bir aydan az aldı	(3) Almadı
B7.1. İş Kur			
B7.2. KOSGEB			
B7.3. Belediye			
B7.4. Halk Eğitim			
B7.5. Özel sektör			
B7.6 Diğer.....			

B8.Ne tür eğitim aldınız ve ne kadar süreyle aldınız? (Sadece alanlara sorulacak)

	(1) 1-4 ay	(2) 5-8 ay	(3) 8-12 ay	(4) 1 seneden fazla
B8.1. Dikiş, nakış, örgü vb.				
B8.2. Kuaförlük, cilt bakımı vb.				
B8.3. Resim, fotoğraf, boyama vb				
B8.4. Büro, sekreterlik vb.				
B8.5. Yabancı dil, kişisel gelişim vb.				
B8.6. Diğer.....				

B9. Aşağıdakilerden herhangi birini üretiyor musunuz? Üretiyorsanız yüzde kaçını evde kullanmak, yüzde kaçını Pazarda satmak için üretiyorsunuz?

	(1) Üretmiyor	(2) Üretiyor	(3) Satıyor?	(4) Satmıyor?	(5) Satınca Yıllık Geliri ne kadar oluyor?
B9.1. Peynir, yoğurt, süt vb					
B9.2. El işi, örgü, nakış vb					
B9.3. Halı, kilim vb.					
B9.4. Reçel, pekmez vb.					
B9.5. Elek, kalay, çiçek vb					
B9.6. Diğer					

B10.Yılda ortalama kaç ay çalışıyorsunuz?

.....

B11.Haftalık ortalama kaç saat çalışıyorsunuz?

.....

C1.Aileden herhangi birinin bankada hesabı var mı?

1. Birden fazla kişinin var
2. Tek bir kişinin var
3. Kimsenin yok
4. Diğer (belirtiniz).....

C2.Ailenin aşağıdaki kalemlerden geliri var mı? Varsa yıllık ortalama ne kadar gelir elde ediyor?

	(0) Yok	(1) Var	C2. Yıllık ortalama geliri?
C2.1. Ticaret			
C2.2. Özel iş (kalay, davul zurna vs)			
C2.3. Maaş			
C2.4. Kira			
C2.5. Faiz			
C2.6. Devlet yardımı			
C2.7. Tarım			
C2.8. Diğer.....			

D7.Devlet tarafından sağlanan aşağıdaki yardımlardan alıyor musunuz? Alıyorsanız yıllık ortalama ne kadar alıyorsunuz?

	(1) Almıyor	(2) Alıyor	D7. Yıllık ne kadar alıyor?
D7.1.Dul aylığı			
D7.2.Yaşlı aylığı			
D7.3.Gebelik/doğum parası			
D7.4.Çocuk eğitim parası			
D7.5.Engelli aylığı			
D7.6.Yetim aylığı			
D7.7.Yakacak/kömür			
D7.8.Yiyecek/gıda			
D7.9.Beyaz eşya			
D7.10.Kıyafet/giysi			

C3.Aile veya fert olarak artan gelirinize tasarruf edebiliyor musunuz?

1. Evet
2. Hayır
3. Diğer (belirtiniz).....

C4.Yıllık ortalama ne kadar tasarruf edebiliyorsunuz?

.....

C5.Tasarruflarınızı genelde ne şekilde değerlendiriyorsunuz (Tasarruf yapanlara sorulacak)

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| 1. Banka faizi/repo, vs.
Araç | 4. Otomobil veya Motorlu Araç |
| 2. Altın, döviz vs. | 5. Beyaz Eşya |
| 3. Arsa, ev vb. gayrimenkul
(belirtiniz)..... | 6. Diğer |

C5a. Biriktirdiğiniz altın döviz vb eşyanın değeri yaklaşık olarak ne kadardır? (Tasarruf yapanlara sorulacak)

.....

C6.Herhangi bir kişiye veya kuruma borcunuz var mı? Varsa ne kadardır?

	(0) Yok	(1) Var	C6. Ne kadar?
C6.1.Şahsa			
C6.2.Kuruma/bankaya			

C7.Son dört beş yılda herhangi bir bankadan kredi kullandınız mı?

1. Evet
2. Hayır
3. Diğer (belirtiniz).....

C8.Kişisel veya aile olarak herhangi birinden alacağınız var mı?

- 1.Evet var
- 2.Hayır yok
- 3.Diğer (belirtiniz).....

C9.Yaklaşık olarak ne kadar alacağınız vardır? (Alacağı olanlara sorulacak)

C10.Aile olarak alışverişinizi çoğunlukla nasıl yapıyorsunuz?

1. Nakit olarak
2. Kredi kartıyla
3. Borç olarak
4. Diğer (belirtiniz).....

D.Siz ve diğer aile bireyleri sağlık kontrolü yaptırıyor musunuz? (Aynı hanede yaşayan herkes için sorulacak)

	D3. Siz ve Aileniz Sağlık Kontrolü yaptırıyor musunuz?				D4. Siz ve Ailenizden herhangi birinin sağlık sorunu var mı?		
	(1) Düzenli	(2) Arada bir	(3)Rahatsızlığı olduğunda	(4) Pek yaptırmıyor	(1) Sürekli Devam eden var	(2) Bazen Nükseden var	(0) Yok
1.Kendisi							
2. Eşi							
3. Çocuğu							
4. Babası							
5. Annesi							
6. Kardeşi							
7. Kayın peder							
8. Kayın valide							
9. Diğer.....							

D5. Sizin veya ailenizden herhangi birinin rahatsızlığı olduğunda bağlı olduğunuz aile hekimliğine gidiyor musunuz?

- 1.Evet
2.Hayır
3.Diğer (belirtiniz).....

D6.Paraya ihtiyacınız olduğunda öncelikle nereye başvurursunuz?

- 1.Aileden birine
2.Komşulara
3.Arkadaşlar
4.Bankaya
5.Devlete
6.Diğer (belirtiniz).....

D8.Aşağıdakilerden herhangi birisinde ayrımcılığa uğruyor musunuz?

	(1) Sürekli uğruyor	(2) Bazen uğruyor	(3) Ne uğruyor Ne uğramıyor	(4) Pek uğramıyor	(5) Hiç uğramıyor
D8.1. Sağlık hizmeti alırken					
D8.2. Okulda eğitim alırken					
D8.3. Devlette işe başvururken					
D8.4. Özel sektörde işe başvururken					
D8.5. Devletten yardım alırken					
D8.6. Hayır kuruluşlarından yardım alırken					
D8.7. Bir yerde ev tutarken					

E1.Evin erkeğiyle kadını nasıl evlendiler?

- 1.Anlaşarak
- 2.Görücü usulüyle
- 3.Hem görücü hem de anlaşarak
- 4.Berdel
- 5.Kaçarak
- 6.Diğer (belirtiniz).....

E1A. Akraba evliliği ve/veya başlık parası var mı?

.....

E2.Ailenizde Roman olmayan bir gelin veya damat var mı?

- 1.Yok
- 2.Gelin var
- 3.Damat var
- 4.Diğer (belirtiniz).....

E3.Evin erkeğinin hayatta olan kaç eşi var?

.....

E4.Evin erkeği evlendiğinde (ilk evlilik) kaç yaşındaydı?

.....

E5.Evin kadını evlendiğinde (ilk evlilik) kaç yaşındaydı?

.....

E6.Ailede engelli herhangi bir kimse var mı?

- 1.Evet, büyüklerden biri
- 2.Evet, çocuklardan biri
- 3.Hayır, yok
- 4.Diğer (belirtiniz).....

E7.Aşağıdaki gider kalemlerinin her birine yıllık yaklaşık ne kadar masrafınız oluyor?

	Yıllık ortalama ne kadar?
E7.1.Kira	
E7.2.Elektrik, su, yakıt	
E7.3.Eğitim	
E7.4.Sağlık	
E7.5.Temizlik ve Kişisel Bakım	
E7.6.Gıda/yiyecek	
E7.7.Giyecek	
E7.8.Eğlence (Düğün, tatil vb.)	
E7.9.Diğer (Sigara/Benzin/Tüp/Bez vb.)...	

E8.Ailenizde aşağıdaki motorlu araçlardan olan var mı? Varsa kaç tanedir?

	(0) Yok	(1) Var	E8.10. Sayısı?	E8.11. Kaç yaşında?	E8.12. Piyasa değeri?
E8.1.Otomobil					
E8.2.Kamyonet					
E8.3.Kamyon					
E8.4.Traktör					
E8.5.Motosiklet					
E8.6.Diğer...					

E9.Evinizde aşağıdaki eşyalardan hangileri vardır? (Olanların sayısı da yazılacak)

	(1) Var	(0) Yok		(1) Var	(0) Yok
E9.1. Televizyon			E9.11. Bilgisayar		
E9.2. Buzdolabı			E9.13. Çekyat / Koltuk Takımı		
E9.3. Çamaşır makinesi			E9.15. Masa / Sandalye		
E9.4. Bulaşık makinesi			E9.20. Halı / Kilim		
E9.5. Elektrikli süpürge			E9.21. Kilim		
E9.6. Tüplü ocak			E9.22. Yaylı yatak/Baza		
E9.7. Fırın			E9.23. Klima		
E9.10. Uydu anteni					

E10.Evinizde kaç kişide cep telefonu vardır?

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------|
| 1.Hiç Kimsede yok | 4.3 kişide var |
| 2.1 kişide var | 5.4 kişide var |
| 3.2 kişide var | 6.Diğer (belirtiniz)..... |

E11.Cep telefonu olanların interneti var mı? (Cep telefonu olanlara sorulacak!)

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------|
| 1.Hiç Kimsede yok | 4.3 kişide var |
| 2.1 kişide var | 5.4 kişide var |
| 3.2 kişide var | 6.Diğer (belirtiniz)..... |

E12.Türkiye’de ve dünyada olup bitenler hakkında bilgileri genelde nerelerden alıyorsunuz?

	(1) Pek değil	(2) Biraz	(3) Sık sık
E12.1. Televizyon			
E12.2. Radyo			
E12.3. İnternet/sosyal medya			
E12.4. Gazete			
E12.5. Arkadaş çevresi			

E13.Ailede aşağıdaki sosyal medya araçlarını kullanan var mı?

	(1) Pek değil	(2) 1 kişi	(3) 2 kişi	(4) 3 kişi	(5) 4 kişi ve üstü
E13.1. Facebook					
E13.2. Twitter					
E13.3. Youtube					
E13.4. Whatsapp					
E13.5. Messenger					
E13.6. Email (gmail, yahoo vs)					

E14.Evinizde aşağıdaki gıdalar hangi düzeyde tüketilmektedir?

	(1) Her gün	(2) Haftada birkaç kez	(3) Ayda birkaç kez	(4) Yılda birkaç kez	(5) Pek tüketmiyor
E14.1. Kırmızı et					
E14.2. Tavuk eti					
E14.3. Balık					
E14.4. Süt					
E14.11. Baklagil (fasulye, nohut, mercimek)					
E14.12. Tahıl (bulgur, pirinç, yarma, vs)					
E14.14. Sebze					
E14.15. Meyve					

E. Sigara ve Alkol Tüketimi

	(1) Evet	(0) Hayır	Sigara içen varsa kaç paket? / Alkol tüketimi varsa ne kadar?	Kaç Kişi?
E15. Evinizde sigara içen var mı?				
E16. Evinizde alkol içen var mı?				

F1.Evinizde günde ortalama kaç saat televizyon izlenir?

- 1.1-2 saat arası 3.5-7 saat arası
 2.3-4 saat arası 4.8 saat ve fazlası
 5.Diğer (belirtiniz).....

F2.Televizyonda en çok hangi tür programlar izlenir? (En çok iki şık belirtiniz!)**F2.1**.....**F2.2**.....

- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| 1. Magazin, müzik ve eğlence | 8. Yerli sinema |
| 2. Dizi | 9. Yabancı sinema |
| 3. Açık oturum ve tartışma programları | 10. Haber |
| 4. Dini programlar | 11. Spor |
| 5. Kadınlara yönelik programlar | 12. Çizgi film |
| 6. Belgeseller
(belirtiniz)..... | 13.Diğer |
| 7. Kültür/sanat ve yarışma programları | |

F3.Evinizde kitap okuyan var mı?

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Düzenli okuyan var | 3. Pek okunmaz |
| 2. Ara sıra okuyan var | 4.Diğer |

F4.Evinizde internet bağlantısı var mı? Varsa hangi sıklıkla kullanılıyor?

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. İnternet yok | 3. Günde 1-5 saat arası |
| 2. Günde bir saatten az | 4. Günde 5 saatten fazla |
| 5. Diğer (belirtiniz)..... | |

F. Dernek, Parti, Sendika Üyeliği

	(1) Evet	(0) Hayır	Kaç Kişi?	F6. Ne tür dernek veya vakıf?	F8. Son Seçimde Hangi Partiye Oy Vermiştiniz
F5.Evinizde herhangi bir dernek veya vakfa üye olan var mı?					
F7.Evinizde herhangi bir siyasal partiye üye olan var mı?					
F9. Evinizde herhangi bir sendikaya üye olan var mı?					

F10.Aşağıdaki dini görevleri yerine getirebiliyor musunuz?

	(1) Pek değil	(2) Ara sıra	(3) Düzenli
F10.1. Bayram namazı			
F10.2. Cuma namazı			
F10.3. Beş vakit namaz			
F10.4. Kur'an okuma			
F10.5. Ramazanda oruç			

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Education

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Anadolu Öğretmen Lisesi, Edirne/Turkey. (09.2002 – 06.2006) Turkish and Math

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Article

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