Journal of Economy Culture and Society

ISSN: 2602-2656 / E-ISSN: 2645-8772

Research Article

The Roma in Turkiye: Segregation in The Labour Market and Income Differentiations

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Submitted: 21.03.2021
Revision Requested: 14.08.2021
Last Revision Received: 23.11.2021
Accepted: 07.01.2022
Published Online: 15.08.2022

Citation: Bagce, S. (2022). The Roma in Turkiye: segregation in the labour market and income differentiations. *Journal of Economy Culture and Society*, 66, 113–132. https://doi.org/10.26650/JECS2021-901413

ABSTRACT

In labour market research, rather than demographic and human capital endowments, ethnicity is considered a major explanatory of segregation in job occupations. This article examines the role of job occupations in income differentials within the Roma in Turkiye. The sample covers 1568 respondents and represents 6445 Roma. The conventional determinants for job occupation do not work differently for the income groups. For both the poorest and richest Roma, being a worker in a regular fulltime job provides much more of an increasing effect on income than the jobs in a trade. Discrimination in the labour market is a significant explanatory for all the income groups, except the richest Roma, but it has the highest impact on the poorest Roma. Traditional job occupations do not have an impact on income differentiation within Roma, but segregation for the Roma in the labour market is clear in defining income differentiation. This article asserts that even though the job occupations of the Roma partly present a kind of continuity of the traditional professions, the Roma in Turkiye are predominantly wage earners and working for someone else rather than being self–employed. While sociocultural determinants are significant in the middle–income groups, the voting behaviour in the municipal election has decremental impacts on all the income groups of the Roma.

Keywords: Segregation, discrimination, labour market, Roma

Introduction

The Roma society is one of the largest ethnic minorities in Europe. Today, there are 10–12 million Roma in the member states of the European Union. In addition to their limited access to fundamental social rights such as education, health, employment and acceptable 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 the rural and urban labour markets. By covering all these problems, the E.U. framework for the National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020 was announced in April 2011. For the first time, the Roma issue in Turkiye found a notable response at the governmental level. The problems of the Roma in employment, housing, and discrimination, had come to the agenda of politics with the Roma Initiative in March 2010. However, the Strategy Stage for the Roma Citizens could not be realised until 2016.

Nevertheless, relevant research has been nonstandard small–scaled field examinations mostly focusing on political frameworks. Existing socio–economic studies are generally descriptive and based on reports presenting statistical data (EUAFR 2014; Hugh Frazer and Eric Marlier 2011). Besides, significant numbers of academic research analysing the Roma in the labour market of Turkiye belonging to anthropology and sociology literature rather than economics (Marsh and Strand, 2006; Marsh 2007, 2010; Marsh and Eren 2008; Aras 2009, Özateşler 2014; Akkan et al., 2011). 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 the Roma mainly refers to the traditional professions of the society. The rest of the research underlines the niche market referring to self–employment. On the contrary, an argument asserts that by urbanisation, Roma and gypsy 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, is shaped by informal labour market characteristics and low–income earnings. By following this argument, this article asserts that even though the job occupations of the Roma partly present a kind of continuity of the traditional professions, the Roma in Turkiye are predominantly wage earners and working for someone else rather than being self–employed.

Unlike the studies in this field, this research uses comprehensive data covering 1568 respondents and representing 6445 Roma households. The research was conducted through face–to–face interviews in 12 provinces in Turkiye[1]. By using Quantile Regression (QR) analysis, the article is specifically looking forward (1) to decompose the household income levels of the Roma in Turkiye, and (2) to find out the salient factors differentiating the income levels within the Roma. Additional to the component of income, the analysis is much more related to discrimination and the socio–cultural interaction of the Roma in Turkiye. 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, socio–cultural interactions and political behaviour play a more influential role than the job occupations in income differentiation within the Roma.

1 According to the Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics (NUTS), Turkey has 12 regions in NUTS-1 and 26 sub-regions in NUTS-2. The survey is carried out in 12 provinces, each of them are representative of the NUTS-2 sub-regions of the NUTS-1 regions, where the highest number of Roma live.

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 pursuing a Roma like life examines economic practices embedded in the modern economic system. These economic practices are not in the market economy, but they survive on the walls and in the cracks of it.

In the anthropological research 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 majority of the peripatetic groups had to move to settled life and lost their ethnic identities through rationalised labour market relations in urban life. Those who could protect their identity are the Roma who work in the informal markets of the modern economy [2]. 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 gypsy communities in the area remaining from the dominant identity. Besides, the generic argument that the Gypsy and Roma communities refuse to work in regular jobs might support the same. To not disrupt their identity–building process, the Roma abstain 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 meaning a kind of threat of adaptation to the 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 it is 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 at being involved in the majority society. These contradictory arguments show that the Roma are 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 demanded by the other social groups in the same society. Whereas also, these 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 within urban life shape the root of the Roma studies in social science literature, especially after the discussion on the policies of the 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 mainly discusses the situation of the Roma in the labour market in five manners, these are (1) underemployment and the informal job market, (2) high unemployment levels, (3) low education and skills, (4) discrimination, and (5) inadequate social policies. The literature discussed in the article does not cover social policies for the 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 of the Roma points to the fact that their access to full–time jobs is scarce, jobs generally have short–term and seasonal characteristics,

2 By referring to Gmelch (1986) and Salo (1986), Yılgur proposes 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 into urban life and found creative economic strategies needs to be defined with the concept of *late-peripatetic*.

forcing the Roma to work in the irregular and informal job market. These conditions deprive them of regular income channels, social security, and social interaction practices in the labour market. In addition to the informal labour market conditions, unequal wages due to discrimination and its relation to 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 compared with the non–Roma. The mechanism behind the lower return of education is related to the low education level in the Roma, and in–group 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 the multi–dimensional aspects of the institutional relationship 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 the 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 with the socioeconomic conditions, such as educational and employment opportunities.

The literature points to extensive prejudice, discrimination, unstable and inadequate employment for the Roma society. Dinca and Luches (2018) proposed an occupational integration program for the successful social integration of the Roma. The research opened 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 avoid getting involved in labour market relations at the institutional level and need an intermediary person to get in touch with the labour market practices.

In the manner of more complex and institutionalised 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.

Marsh dominates the literature with his research on the economic life and job market relation

of the Roma in Turkiye (Marsh, Strand 2006; Marsh 2007, 2010; Marsh, 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 urbanisation of Turkiye, the Roma do such jobs as 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 urbanisation and mass production, the Roma were 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 Marsh (2008), the job occupations of the Roma communities in the 2000s were mostly in the service sector in Turkiye. The job occupations in his research are listed as follows; shoe shiners, porters, old object collectors, basket sellers, flower sellers, peddlers, garbage collectors, recyclable material collectors, fortune tellers in tourist centres, traders, and coachmen. The Roma in Turkiye are mostly musicians, instrumentalists, and dancers in the entertainment industry. Moreover, they have traditional craft jobs, such as knitting, knife making, metalworking, and blacksmithing. As niche job occupations, they work as traditional dentists, and they do tin smithing, wire broom making, mining, blacksmithing, tinning, and foundry work. Industrial and hand manufacturing jobs include foundry work, textiles, and agriculture.

The studies on job occupations of the Roma are mainly based on micro–scale field studies. Marsh 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 dissolution of traditional job market practices of the Roma, leading them to be exposed to marginalisation.

Aras (2009) conducted field research in the neighbourhoods of 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. The article proves a link between the cultural characteristics of the Roma and the jobs in informal labour markets that require flexible labour practices, such as flexible working hours and working in a team. The article emphasised the social interactions within the Roma as the shapers of the job expectations of young people. For instance, socialisation in cafés has a decisive role rather than education.

In the recent research focusing on the job occupations of the Roma in Turkiye predominantly follows the same arguments with the previous analyses. In Gen 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 their identity. However, the number of Roma who carry 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 making, tin and sieving have caused the loss of these professions.

Ozatesler (2014) focused on working conditions, socioeconomic dynamics, and the social exclusion of street flower sellers in two central districts of Istanbul: Şişli and Taksim. The article also presented the role of political relations and the perception of being a gypsy in economic practices. Aşkın (2017) investigated the socioeconomic transformations of the conditions in the

sectors of musicians, seasonal agricultural workers, shoemakers, peddlers, street vendors and recyclers 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 entertainers, scrap makers, waste collectors, seasonal agricultural labourers, selling cloth and women's garments, and shoe manufacturing.

A comprehensive study was conducted in Istanbul, Izmir, Konya, Samsun, Erzurum, and the Hatay provinces by Akkan et al. (2011). The study drew attention to the relation of social exclusion to spatial segregation. The 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 was conducted by Aydın (2019). The survey covers 12 cities in Turkiye and 1,568 respondents representing 6,445 Roma people. Furthermore, the research not only provides statistical data but also puts 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 find employment opportunities in the informal job market to the whole Roma who are in employment is 63.1%. While 18.5 % of this rate consists of the female Roma, 44.69 % consists of the male Roma. As for those Roma in informal the economy, 70.8 % is male, and 29.2 % is female" (Aydın 2019: 102).

Besides this, Aydın (2019) calculated the Gini coefficient of the Roma in Turkiye, 0.43, which is higher than the average value of Turkiye, 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 Turkiye, there is no clear inequality pattern between the Roma and the non–Roma[3].

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, where the highest inequality among the non–Roma. Although Çanakkale is one of the least unequal cities for the non–Roma, it is the most unequal city for the Roma.

The most recent study using two comprehensive surveys; the SILC data of Turkiye and a survey of Roma people in 2016[4], estimated the degree of monetary and multidimensional poverty for the Roma and non–Roma in Turkiye. They argue that there is a huge poverty gap between the Roma and the non–Roma. Although the impact of endowment is more dominant, also discrimination generates a significant effect on the poverty gap between the Roma and non–Roma (Yılmaz and Kılıç, 2021).

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

4 This article has the same data set with Yılmaz and Kılıç (2021).

Materials and Research Design

Data

The European Commission's Enlargement Strategy highlighted the precarious situation of many Roma in the Western Balkans and in Turkiye. Their number is estimated at 3.8 million by the Council of Europe.[5] The Roma living in Turkiye is divided into three general groups: Rom, Dom, and Lom[6]. Roms are the most dominant group in terms of population and culture, generally living in the Marmara, Aegean, Central Anatolia, Black Sea, and Mediterranean regions. Doms live mainly in Eastern and South–eastern Anatolia but also reside in some cities in the Mediterranean region such as Adana, Mersin, and Hatay. Loms are the smallest group among the Roma and live in some Black Sea provinces, mainly in Artvin and Sinop. The survey determined the number of the questionnaires based on the number of the Roma populations in the provinces with the aim of 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 Loms[7] Within this scope, the research aims to collect essential information about the Roma from governmental and non–governmental organizations. The head of households responded to the questions on working conditions, education levels and social interaction within the Roma and with the non–Roma. Through the random sampling method, a questionnaire survey through face–to–face interviews was conducted with 1,550 heads of households[8] representing 6445 households.

Although there is no clarity about the population of the Roma in the province level, there are some estimates based on civil society reports and field research conducted by academics. By considering the regional distribution and the specific distinctions among the Roma, the field research was conducted in twelve provinces, covering thirty–one districts, in Turkiye. The field research has been structured around 300 households from Istanbul with a population of over 100 thousand, 150 households from the provinces with 50–100 thousand and 100 households from the provinces which have less than a 50 thousand population. Hitherto research shows that– the Roma reside mainly in 16 provinces in Turkiye. Whereas, considering the regional distribution, the data have been collected in 12 of these provinces, such as Ankara, Antalya, Çanakkale, Diyarbakır, Edirne, Eskişehir, Hatay, Istanbul, Izmir, Kocaeli, Mugla, Samsun. Data collection was accomplished between June 2017– August 2018.

5 An EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020, p.18.

6 "Roma" is a general identification term ignores authentic culture of these three groups. The term has been deemed appropriate to define wide cultural range. By referring to income sources and job occupations, there are many different local naming called Abarabacı (carter), Elekçi (sifter) and Mitrip (musician). Roma is a group. However, using "Roma" in reports is more functional to addressed major socioeconomic problems which are common for all the subgroups (http://www.middleeastgypsies.com/turkey: 18.01.2021)

7 In Yılgur (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 neighbourhood so, were not included into the sample. For instance, Abdals living in Antalya and Muğla, Sheyhbızıns living in Erzurum, Kara Tatarlar in Alpu, Eskişehir are some of these groups.

8 In defining the head of households, in many neighbourhoods, 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.

Table 1: The Regions, Provinces, and Districts of the Sample

Regions of Turkiye	Provinces	District	Number of Head of Households
Central Anatolia	Ankara	Polatlı, Sincan, Altındağ	97
Mediterranean	Antalya	Alanya, Manavgat,	101
Marmara	Çanakkale	Biga, Gelibolu	97
East Anatolia	Diyarbakır	Bismil, Çınar	116
Marmara	Edirne	Keşan, Uzunköprü	155
Central Anatolia	Eskişehir	Tepebaşı	97
East Anatolia	Hatay	İskenderun, Kırıkhan	102
Marmara	İstanbul	Ataşehir, Beylikdüzü, Esenyurt, Fatih, Sarıyer, Silivri, Şişli, Üsküdar	294
Aegean	İzmir	Bergama, Menemen	164
Marmara	Kocaeli	Gebze, Körfez	146
Aegean	Muğla	Fethiye, Milas, Köyceğiz	85
Black Sea	Samsun	Çarşamba, Bafra	114
Total			**1568**

The unit of analysis is the individual in the context of households. To obtain the total income information, the heads of households is a single expenditure unit, and all revenues are added to the observations on the head of the household at 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 and food aid packages.

Equalized Household Income= Total Income/ (Number of Adults + 0.6*Number of Children) 0.9

In this study, to compare the disposable income of heterogeneous households, 2002 Household Budget National Equivalence Scale is used,

$$\alpha = 0.6 and \theta = 0.9$$

$$E = (A + Ac)\theta, 0 \leq \theta \leq 1, 0 \leq \alpha \leq 1$$

{A: number of adults, C: number of children, θ: number of children /number of adults}

This part briefly presents the main characteristics of the Roma heads of the households. Table 2 provides a summary of the descriptive statistics[9] 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 were divided into four groups (16-25, 26-45, 46-65, and 66 and older). The distribution of age intensifies between the ages of 26 and 45, accounting for 49.2%. Marriage at an early age, a common social issue within the Roma justifies this age distribution. For instance, in the sample, the first age of marriage is 20 for males and 17 for the female head of the household.

While the average length of education is 6.3 years for the Roma, 72.9% of them have less than 5 years of education. This rate was 43.5% for adults in Turkiye (older than 15 years old) in 2018 (TUIK, 04.02.2020). While 24.2% of the Roma do not go to school at all, only 6.6% of them are

9 We have set the margin of error, ε is 0,05 and maximum population (N) is 5.000.000. Confidence interval (CI) is %95. More than 384 Roma may cover the minimum representative sample size for Turkey, however we have considered the regional distribution of Roma in Turkey, as well.

literate. 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 illiteracy is 57%, while the rate in Turkiye is 12.8%. The rate of females in Turkiye 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 graduated from secondary school, while only 5.7% of them graduated from high and vocational high school. Although the rate of male Roma with a university degree and higher educational institutions is 1.8%, only 1 of the female Roma in the sample have a university degree.

As for the geographical distribution, most of the Roma reside in the west side of Turkiye. While 41.3% of the sample live in the Marmara Region (Istanbul, Kocaeli, Canakkale, Edirne) and 14.9% of the Roma in Aegean (Izmir, Mugla); 13.2 % of them reside in East Anatolia (Diyarbakir), and 13.5% live in 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 are 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 Turkiye.

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%.

The annual average total income, excluding social transfer payments, is 32.041 TL, which approximately equals to 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 the number of children, health, education, old age/disability benefits, and employment assistance. In order not to lose the conditional social transfers, most of the Roma do not participate in the labour force and 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 3 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 e.g., a musician. The second job occupations group need qualifications and skills, these are jobs such as motor mechanics, repairers, carpenters, plumbers, tailors, and cooks, which are blue–collar job occupations (11.57%). The job occupations in trade activities such as shopkeepers, traders and street venders are in the third category with 15.9 % of the Roma. Nineteen of the Roma are unskilled workers with a regular wage, such as factory labourers, municipal officers, security officers, salespeople, construction workers, garment and leather manufacturers, security guards, municipality officers, waiters and waitresses, and technical service personnel.

Descriptive Statistics of the Sample

Table 2: 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
Literate without formal education	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

While the rate of the unemployed Roma is 21.9%, the rate of the Roma working in irregular jobs (low–paid jobs) is 20%. These jobs are porterage, recycling workers on the street, scrap traders, shoe painters on the street, toilet cleaners, as well as agricultural jobs; seasonal agricultural workers, fruit pickers, sheepherders; and traditional jobs[10] such as tinmen, basket makers, coachmen, blacksmiths, packer, leather craftsman. The researchers in this field have defined the Roma people as peripatetic, nomadic, and they do not put an emphasis on agriculture. Nevertheless, the number of Roma working in traditional jobs (1.73%) is less than the number of Roma working in agriculture (2.04%). The Roma working in agriculture are seasonal workers who reside in the Marmara and East Anatolia regions.

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 Turkiye. As seen in Figure 1[11], there are significant regional income disparities within the cities in Turkiye. 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 the Roma is relatively higher than in other provinces.

Furthermore, the median income level in Turkiye, in general, is higher than the median income of the Roma. Only in Antalya, the median income of the Roma is higher than the non–Roma because the Roma living in 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 Turkiye's south–east. Aydın (2019) emphasizes that the median income of the non–Roma people living in Diyarbakir is lower than the median income of the Roma throughout the country. It is important to highlight in the analysis that while the median income of the Roma is higher than the average in seven cities, it is lower in the remaining five cities.

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

11 The data in this research is the same with Aydın (2019). The data that support the findings of this study are available from the corresponding author, Sinem Bagce, upon reasonable request.

Table 3: 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 Trader	249	15.91
Workers	299	19.11
Low Paid Jobs	314	20.06

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 private job earnings, mainly including daily earnings–related to skills or professions such as music playing and 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%. Although musicians, artists and other qualified jobs are considered valuable in the society, their annual average income level is the second highest one after shopkeeper, commerce, trader, and street vender. The Roma who are shopkeepers, and tradesmen earn a high level of income. Their primary income channel is trade with a rate of 59.8%. They are the second group least benefiting from social payments 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 have traditional jobs, such as in agriculture and recycling and the other low paid jobs with a rate of more than 10% of their annual 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 mainly work in the informal job market. While the rate of the regular wage earners with insurance is 77.8%, the rate of workers with insurance is 35.4%. For instance, 62.8% of the Roma working in the cleaning sector have working insurance and earn more than 70% of their 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 mainly means that only a small amount of income is earned by the head of households, and it is compensated for by 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%.

Methodology

Ethnic differences are essential variables 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 experiences 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 focuses on the diversity of the income levels by the job occupations of the Roma in Turkiye. The decomposition of income in (i) demographic characteristics (ii) labour market variables, such as job occupation, and yearly working hours (iii) the social interaction of the Roma, and (iv) voting behaviour/political preferences are estimated with a quantile regression of equalised household income.

As seen in Table 5, the results show that compared to being male, being the female head of households means a lower income by 29.2%. In contrast to being married, the widow Roma heads of households have more income. Being widowed has an increasing effect on income by 40.8% for the fourth income group (62%–80%)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 Turkiye out of seven regions at total, and there is no observation from East Anatolia in the sample. However, it is essential to highlight that having the Roma identity is salient in the west side of Turkiye. The Roma society is mostly living in the Marmara Region, 41.3%. Therefore, Marmara is the reference point for observing the impact of regions on income. The head of the household residing in Aegean earns 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 24% and in the Black Sea 33.1%. The Roma who live in the Black Sea area have the lowest 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 Turkiye. As seen in Figure 1[12], there are significant regional income disparities between the cities in Turkiye. 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 the Roma is relatively higher than in other provinces.

In comparison to being unemployed, the income–earning hierarchy might be defined as follows: (1) job occupations in art, music, and university degree – 29.8%, (2) commerce and traders – 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 a shopkeeper, a trader , or a vender or has a job in trade, the income increases by 27.1%, while if he/she is working as a qualified blue–collar worker, then the incremental impact is quite lower on income, 15.5%. Whereas all the job occupations have positive effects on income level, being the head of the household who is working in low–paid jobs causes a decremental impact on income, but not to a significant degree, such as agriculture and farming, portering and recycling. In contrast, being a worker in a fulltime job has the third most impactful job position ranking after the jobs related to trade.

Discrimination in the labour market covers unequal economic behaviours that cause unequal economic output from a specific group, compared to the dominant social groups. Discrimination is not a random phenomenon, but a systematic tendency towards a group or the tendency of employers' and stable and continuous employment attitudes. Discrimination in the labour market has

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

an average value of the responses to the questions, such as in which the level of discrimination in (1) the private and (2) the public job market the Roma faces. The responses are valued between 0–4 with range by 1, one–degree increase in discrimination causes a decrease 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 discrimination 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 Kosovo, discrimination is not a significant parameter in Bulgaria, Croatia, and Serbia.

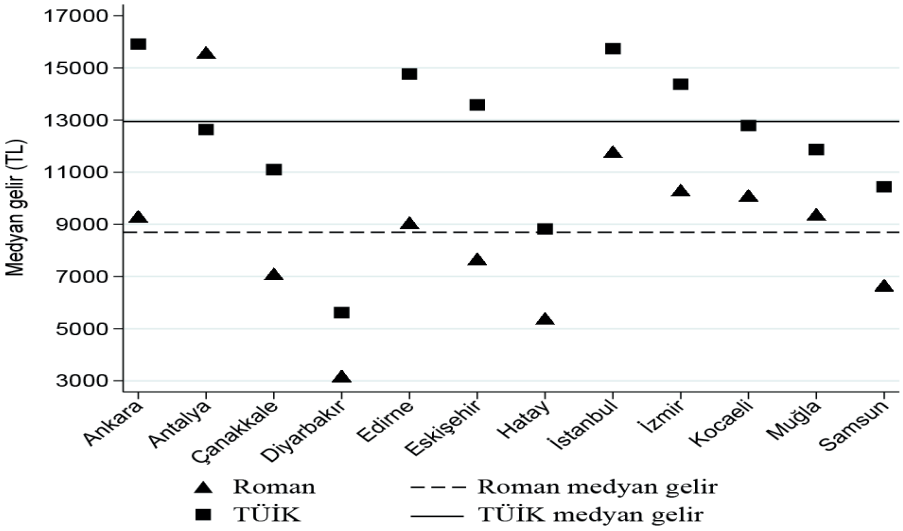

Figure 1: The Median Income of the Roma and the Non–Roma in Turkiye by Cities

▲ Roma – – – – – – – The Median Income of the Roma

■ Non–Roma ——————— The Median Income of the Non–Roma

Source: Aydın K. Türkiye'de Romanlar: Bir Kimlik Ekonomisi, 116R050, Mart 2019: 63.

For the methodology to analyse the impact of job occupation within the Roma on household income, Quantile Regression (QR) is used. Compared to Ordinary Least Square (OLS), the quantile regression gives a more comprehensive results about the independent variables on the dependent variable. While OLS regression estimates the average effects of independent variables, QR presents different effects along with the quantiles of the dependent variable. The OLS model assumes that the regression coefficients effects are constant across the population. On the other hand, to estimate the effects of demographic and labour market parameters on household income, it is more important to show the different effects between the low– and high–income households. In differentiation the household income levels of the Roma in Turkiye require heterogeneous comparison.

Koenker and Bassett (1978) developed QR that quantifies the heterogeneous effects of covariates through conditional quantiles of the outcome variable. By minimizing asymmetrically weighted absolute residuals QR estimates conditional median and a full range of other quantile

functions. Therefore, QR is convenient when the asymmetries and intense tails exist for the distribution of the dependent variable. QR provides robust results for outliers, because the distribution of the outcome does not require strict parametric assumptions (Huang et al., 2017).

In the QR model, generally, let y_i and x_i denote the outcome of interest and the corresponding covariate vector for subject i (i=1, . . ., n), where y_i is independent observations of a continuous random variable with a common cumulative distribution function (cdf) $F_{yi}(\cdot)$.

The QR model with τ^{th} quantile for the response y_i given x_i takes the form of

$$Q_{yi} = (\tau | x_i) = g(x_i, \beta) \quad (1)$$

where $Q_{yi}(\tau | x_i) = g(x_i, \beta)$ is the inverse of (cdf) of y_i given x_i evaluated at τ with $0<\tau<1$, g(.) is a known function. Regression coefficient vector β is estimated by minimizing

$$\sum_{i=1}^{n} \rho_\tau(y_i - g(x_i, \beta)) \quad (2)$$

Where $\rho_\tau(\cdot)$ is the check function defined by $\rho_\tau(u) = u(\tau - I(u<0))$ and I (.) denotes the indicator function.

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 %.

Table 4: Explanatory Variables of Income

Explanatory Variables of Income	Description of The Explanatory Variables
Age (level)	Year of the age of the Head of Household (HHH).
Education Level (level)	Education years comprising six education degrees that needs the acquisition of diploma. (1) uneducated– illiterate, (2) literacy without formal education, (3) primary school degree, (4) secondary school degree, (5) high school degree, (6) university degree.
Gender (dummy variable)	The reference group is male.
Number of Children (level)	Number of dependent children that the HHHs 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 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 traders (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 porterage, 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 tinmen, basket man, coachmen, blacksmith, packer, leather craftsmen.
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 Labour 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 are exposed to discrimination? If yes, in which level do they face discrimination in (1) the private and (2) the 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 a 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 non–Roma relatives in their family? The parameter is between 0 to 1 and range by 0.25.
Voting Behaviour (dummy variable)	If the head of the household voted for the party currently in power 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 for the party in power. The third option is the response of those who did not want to declare the name of the political party they voted for.

Empirical Result

To decompose the explanatory variables within the Roma in Turkiye, regression on the quantiles of the total income is run. The explanation of the variables is on Table 4. It is apparent from Table 5 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 for the 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, graduating from secondary school, rather than primary school, causes higher annual income by 9–10%. While compared to males, being 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 caused by being female. The number of children decreases income, but for the richest quantile, there is no significant increase. One more child for a family means a decrease in income by more than 11–13% for all the quantiles.

Another important observation from the field research is the high rate of early divorces which is also related to early age marriage. The average age of women in a first marriage is 17, while for men it is 20. Therefore, especially for women, being married has an incremental impact on income. As it is in the equalised household income formula, single adults in a family have relatively lower income levels. Although in comparison to being married, being single does not have a significant impact on income, being a widow causes an increase 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%. Compared to being married, being divorced, or widowed has an effect mostly on the 3rd and 4th quantiles. In contrast to that 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 residents in the Marmara region, all the regions have an impact on income for the 1st quantile. The Roma who live in the Black Sea have the highest income rising effect. Notably, the highest income group is in the Aegean and Central Anatolia regions, and 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, to have a trading job causes an increase in income by 27.1%. Whereas, Table 6 demonstrates that the first four quantiles are under the average rate of 27.1%. While it raises income by 28.3% for the richest quantile, for the rest of the 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 workers (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%. The number of 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 and music that need 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 that 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 by 5–9 %. The highest impact belongs to the most inferior income group by 8.7%, while the decreasing effect is around 5% in multiple regression (Table 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 a 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 a rate of 26.1%, for the richest Roma, the parameter is not even significant.

Table 5: Quantile Regression Results of the Income Groups

Log (Income)	(0–20%)	(21%– 40%)	(41%–60%)	(62%–80%)	(81%–100%)
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)
Marital Status					
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)
Region					
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)
Job Occupation					
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 Traders	**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 Labour Market	**–0.087*****	**–0.061*****	**–0.052*****	**–0.043*****	–0.021
	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.048)
Sociocultural Parameter					
Socio–cultural	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***** (0.074)	**–0.227***** (0.064)	**–0.154***** (0.052)	–0.081 (0.063)	**–0.366*** (0.212)
Did not declared	0.007 (0.053)	0.009 (0.046)	0.032 (0.037)	0.028 (0.046)	–0.034 (0.153)
Constant	**8.239***** (0.287)	**8.641***** (0.249)	**8.846***** (0.201)	**8.956***** (0.246)	**4.132***** (0.825)
Number of Observations	312	312	312	312	312
Adjusted R–squared	0.2422	0.2251	0.2232	0.2189	0.3693
	F (19, 1536) = 185.74 Prob > F = 0.0000	F (19, 1536) = 243.85 Prob > F = 0.0000	F (19, 1536) = 211.52 Prob>F= 0.0000	F (19,1536) = 141.80 Prob>F= 0.0000	F (19,1536) = 152.34 Prob>F= 0.0000
	.20 Pseudo R2 = 0.2422	.40 Pseudo R2=0.2251	.60 Pseudo R2= 0.2232	.80 Pseudo R2= 0.2189	1 Pseudo R2 = 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 quite 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; while it is 37.79 % for the Roma, it is 40.78% for the non–Roma.

"For the low–income class, 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).

Conclusion

The article has a considerable disagreement regarding the classification of the job occupations of the Roma in the literature that presents the Roma as working in self– employment and the traditional professions rather than the urbanised workers. This perspective could not go beyond the arguments in the 1980s' literature that defined the Roma and gypsy communities as outsiders of the society or people who refused to proletarianise.

The economic activities of the Roma have mostly been defined in the informal economy or partly the rural economic strategies in the cities defined the Roma and gypsy communities as the outsiders of society or people who refused to proletarianise.

In abstraction, the Roma is part of 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 Turkiye. The 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.

In society, the Roma are ostensibly considered to do such jobs as shoe shiners, porters, old item collectors, basket sellers, flower sellers, peddlers, garbage collectors and collectors of recyclable materials. Whereas the Roma in Turkiye are predominantly wage earners in the informal market, who work as day labourers, rather than in self–employment. In contrast to the arguments

in the literature, losing traditional jobs might not be a disadvantage for the Roma, as it encourages them to get involved in the job market as a labourer at the same time, While the Roma living in developed cities are labourers, the Roma living in small cities and rural areas work in low paid areas of work, such as carriage and carting, recycling, and cleaning.

Occupational segregation plays an important role in explaining income differentials rather than demographic variables, such as gender, age, region, and education. The differences are significant even after labour market variables; job occupations, working hours, and discrimination in the labour market are accounted for.

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 those working in Shopkeeping, Commerce, and Trading. 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 a higher income to the richest Roma.

Acknowledgement: This research was presented in 4th Annual International Conference on Social Sciences (AICSS) that is entitled "Segregation of Roma in Labor Market: The Case of Turkiye" by Dr. Sinem Bağçe and Prof. Dr. Ensar Yılmaz.
Peer-review: Externally peer-reviewed.
Conflict of Interest: The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.
Grant Support: This research is one part of the project entitled "Türkiye'de Romanlar: Bir Kimlik Ekonomisi" which is directed by Prof. Dr. Kenan Aydın at Yıldız Technical University and supported by the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkiye (TUBITAK). TUBITAK ARDEB 1001: 116R050, March 2019. https://app.trdizin.gov.tr/publication/project/detail/TVRrd016QXc.

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