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A Tracer Study:

Labour Market
Experiences of the
6th of February
Earthquake
Survivors, Ankara
and Adana Cases

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Executive summary

Purpose and Scope

On February 6, 2023, south-eastern Türkiye experienced two devastating earthquakes. They were measured as 7.7 and 7.6 on the Richter scale, being the most significant seismic events since 1939. The earthquakes impacted 11 provinces very badly. It resulted in 53.537 deaths, 107.204 injuries, and substantial infrastructure damage. The aftermath of the earthquakes, approximately 5 million people were displaced and around 700.000 individuals lost their living environments. As of January 22, 2024, the earthquake-hit area showed devastating structural damages and \$81.5 billion in economic losses. For the recovery and re-integration of the survivors, the Turkish government and civil society and international organizations have been actively involved in recovery actions. These efforts have primarily focused on temporary settlements, health services, and infrastructure restoration. However, there appeared a gap in those efforts regarding economic empowerment and long-term labour market reintegration, which necessitated a closer look at labour market dynamics one-year after the earthquakes. Thus, the current study aims to serve as a tracer study for the survivors' social and occupational needs by looking at their footprints in the labour market and social relationships. The primary objectives of this tracer study are to examine the living and working conditions of earthquake survivors settled in Adana and Ankara; assess their reintegration into the labour market; explore push and pull factors within their migration patterns; provide a dataset for future research; and build evidence-based recommendations for future policy and research purposes.

Methodology

The study adopted a qualitative research design, utilizing in-depth interviews and focus group discussions to explore the multifaceted social realities of displacement and labour market reintegration after the earthquakes. We conducted 9 in-depth interviews and one phone interview in Ankara, and 10 face-to-face interviews in Adana, and two focus group interviews in both cities involving 21 participants. In total, the current study reflects the social, cultural, and labour market experiences of 41 participants settled in Adana and Ankara. The study utilized two-step non-probabilistic sampling strategies. First, the cities were selected based on migration patterns and

labour market dynamics. Second, participants of the interviews were selected based on purposive and convenient sampling strategies by relying on gatekeepers in social networks.

Key Findings

The research yielded three extensive analytical and cultural categories pointing the difficulties of being a survivor in a precarious social and labour relations:

Push and Pull Factors

- The basic motivations behind displacement and new employments were the existence of acquaintance and relatives, healthcare opportunities, educational opportunities, and employment opportunities in the migrated cities.
- The survivors relied mostly on their social networks. If the families are at the stake, concern for new employment opportunities was not the immediate determinant, but the shelter, security, and social support. The geographical proximity was another motivation to move considering the survivors' need for cultural solidarity and physical closeness to reach out left-behind relatives.
- Men are not in the labour market mostly because they have to care for their injured wives and accompany them to the medical care and hospitals.
- Educational needs of children override adult survivors' social and occupational needs.
- There appeared two diversified profiles related to people who lost their jobs after earthquakes: wage-workers vs small and medium scale enterprise owners. Their labour market needs differ in terms of their previous job experiences. The wage workers, corporate employees and employees of SMEs, are comparatively easier to adapt to new job market as they are used to working conditions. However, SME owners, have difficulties in finding a job and adapting to working conditions.

Integration into the Labour market

- The survivors' job-search processes changed in terms of their age, educational background, time pressure as well as lack of returns and disappointments in formal applications, insufficient amount of financial and social support.

- The younger and single participants were relatively flexible about experiencing different employments while the older ones are mostly excluded in the job applications.
- Young people holding university degree and the ones who have previous crafts such as being cook, halva or dough masters were more flexible about finding jobs as they rely on themselves better than the ones holding insecure job positions such as being a farmer.
- The survivors who have been employed as craftsman or running their own (small-scale) business such as owning a restaurant or working as independent lawyer maintained the similar professions after the displacement.
- Contrary to their confidence and trust to public policies, the survivors hardly find any institutional support or offer in finding a new job. They mostly relied on their social networks and the civil society organizations for finding a job.
- Business owners lose their supply chains and costumers, faced bureaucratic barriers to institutional support from employers' business membership organizations in the newly settled provinces. For some business owners, e-commerce emerged as a coping mechanism.
- The lack of trauma-informed work environment increased their anxieties in workplaces as it misses the personal acknowledgement and concern for the survivors.

Integration into Social Environment

- People's social networks in the destination cities prevent them to return their hometowns. However, there is a big ambivalence in their social network belongings as they also feel social and culturally excluded in a new economic and social environment.
- Rural to urban migrants encounter various problems in adapting to new urban life, which also involves a disparity between the pre-migratory expectations and post-migratory realities.
- Life and work practices in urban society is different from traditional rural society make the survivors feel frustrated and hopeless in a new social and economic

environment. Socioeconomic integration comes after cultural integration, showing that integration process is mature and ready for further advance.

- Especially young women embraced urban practices and utilized them to break away from traditional gender roles of their previous rural settings, showing that the effects of the migration process after the earthquake have been experienced differently based on age and gender.
- Integration of earthquake survivors to local labour markets is closely related to the strength of their social networks rather than the institutional support.
- While female participants actively seek psycho-social support to cope with their traumatic experiences and the problems that have arisen with moving and settling to a new city, male participants tend to refuse psycho-social support even though they admit they are having psychological problems after the earthquake. Their unwillingness to seek support have a negative impact on their household in general.

In general, the study highlights the critical role of social networks in the labour market integration of earthquake survivors. Participants heavily relied on these networks to decide on migration destinations, settle, and search for jobs. Strong social ties in the destination cities significantly eased their transition, while those lacking personal networks turned to social media. However, these temporary networks often dissipated, leading to different outcomes based on survivors' expertise. Those with sought-after skills adapted well, showing high integration levels. In contrast, others experienced psychological regression and marginalization, especially those from Hatay, who faced compounded challenges due to their deep cultural and emotional losses.

Push and pull factors also significantly influenced survivors' integration into the labour market and their social adaptation to new cities. The pull factors, such as job availability, safety, and community ties in the destination cities, attracted survivors seeking stability and support. Conversely, push factors like the destruction of homes and livelihoods in their hometowns forced them to relocate. The lack of trauma-informed care in the labour market exacerbated their difficulties, highlighting the need for policies that address both immediate and long-term needs. Health issues also played a significant role, with many survivors prioritizing access to medical care and services over employment opportunities, further complicating their labour market integration and social adaptation. These dynamics underscore the necessity for targeted interventions to support survivors in rebuilding their lives and achieving sustainable integration.

Impact and Recommendations

The study's findings emphasize the importance of addressing the diverse needs of earthquake survivors to facilitate their integration into the labour market and broader society. The study has policy recommendations regarding healthcare, trauma-informed work environment, rehabilitation opportunities and employment processes.

Healthcare

Healthcare needs significantly affect survivors' labour market integration and well-being. A multi-partnered intervention is recommended to improve access to healthcare services for those with chronic illnesses or who need ongoing treatment. Mapping out healthcare opportunities and strengthening access to existing services can provide effective support without requiring substantial new resources. This approach targets survivor's dependent on family members for daily care, ensuring they receive the necessary health and social support to aid their recovery and enhance their labour market integration.

Trauma-Informed Work Environment

Implementing trauma-informed care in workplaces is crucial for addressing the long-term impacts of (Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) on earthquake survivors. The study recommends a training module for human resource managers, developed through workshops involving workforce representatives and trauma experts. This module aims to prevent re-traumatization, improve workplace inclusivity, and enhance survivors' productivity and well-being. By understanding trauma's effects and fostering supportive work environments, employers can better support survivors' integration and recovery. Moreover, for survivors working for public authorities requires a special attention. There is a need to revise public appointment and mobility legislation to meet special needs arise from disasters.

Community-Based Rehabilitation Opportunities

Creating pathways for survivors to share their experiences and contribute to the solution process is vital for their rehabilitation. Organizing workshops that bring together survivors, academics, civil society, and policymakers can foster innovative solutions and resilience. These workshops

aim to convey survivors' experiences to experts, develop collaborative solutions, and reintroduce their stories to the public, enhancing both survivor resilience and policy effectiveness.

Employment Process

To reach and maintain survivors' overall integration carefully through regulated employment policies are essential. Ensuring that job advertisements genuinely target survivors and building monitoring and evaluation structures can prevent further adversity. Supporting job creation efforts in sectors and occupations most needed for recovery process and incentivized employment of earthquake survivors could aid emotional recovery and community rebuilding and provide a multi-dimensional recovery at individual and community levels after natural disasters. Additionally, supporting small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) by enhancing their access to financial capital and evaluating local market conditions can create more job opportunities and foster economic recovery.

By implementing these recommendations, policymakers can address the immediate and long-term needs of earthquake survivors, fostering their integration into the labour market and contributing to broader economic and social recovery.

1. Introduction

On the 6th of February 2023, south-eastern Türkiye was struck by two major earthquakes, measuring 7.7 and 7.6 on the Richter scale, respectively. These seismic events marked the most potent recorded earthquakes in Türkiye since 1939. The impact of these earthquakes was devastating, affecting 11 provinces profoundly. The casualties amounted to 53.537 deaths and 107.204 injuries. Official records indicate that over 40.000 earthquakes were recorded in these provinces after the initial earthquake.

The aftermath of the earthquakes forced approximately 5 million people to flee their homes to seek refuge in other regions, while around 700.000 individuals lost their means of livelihood. As of January 22, 2024, assessments revealed that out of 2.258,622 buildings across the 11 provinces, 39.361 had collapsed, 21.191 were in urgent need of demolition, 202.571 suffered severe damage, and 43.344 incurred moderate damage¹. The destruction extended beyond residential areas to encompass public institutions, vital infrastructure, schools, hospitals, commercial establishments, as well as historical and cultural landmarks. According to an initial assessment by the Government of Türkiye with support from European Union (EU), United Nations (UN), and the World Bank, the earthquakes inflicted over \$81.5 billion in damages on the Turkish economy². The magnitude of this catastrophe underscores the necessity for a comprehensive, prolonged, and intensive effort to facilitate both economic and social recovery.

In efforts to bolster the livelihood conditions in the 11 earthquake provinces by the Turkish government, there have been complementary civil actions taken by various civil society organizations since the first earthquake hit. The latest report published by UNCHR, most of humanitarian assistance and recovery efforts have mostly targeted temporary settlements and construction of new homes for the affected population (UNCHR, 2024). Other achievements in the earthquake-affected provinces are observed in areas related to providing water, sanitation and hygiene, reaching health services, shelters and temporary settlements, individual awareness on protection of young, high-risk groups, and support for economic empowerment. Among the latest measures taken by the government and complementary NGO support, economic empowerment, is

¹ <https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/2023-Kahramanmaras-ve-Hatay-Depremleri-Raporu.pdf>

² <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/turkey/overview>

one of the least reachable and slow-paced humanitarian actions taken since February 6th, 2023 (UNHCR, 2024).

Considering the time needed for resettlement, healing, and integration into the new labour market in new cities, it is reasonable to take medium and long-run measures in the labour market, after the needs assessment phase in the affected areas. In the economic recovery of the region, certain initiatives have been undertaken by the government and international organizations to enhance economic activities, focusing on fulfilling labour demands across the industrial, agricultural, and service sectors. However, it is also necessary to estimate the extent of not only direct economic damage and short-term economic recovery of disaster-stricken areas but also indirect damage such as regional and nationwide economic impact and long-term economic and social recovery opportunities. Despite government endeavours towards economic revitalization, there still exists a notable knowledge gap regarding the relocated population, encompassing their working conditions, reintegration into the labour market, and their motivation to return to earthquake-affected areas.

To address the imperative for a thorough understanding, the current study aims to trace internally displaced people's working and living conditions after the 6th of February earthquakes in 2023 in new resettlement areas, in Ankara and Adana, respectively. United Nations Human Rights Council defines internally displaced person as someone who have been “forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters and who have not crossed an internationally recognised border”³.

The major objectives of the current study are to:

- Examine the living and working conditions of earthquake survivors,
- Assess their reintegration into the labour market,
- Explore push and pull factors within their migration patterns,
- Provide a data set for future research, and
- Build evidence-based recommendations for future policy and research purposes.

³ <https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-internally-displaced-persons/about-internally-displaced-persons>

The rest of this report is organized as follows: in the section below, we discuss methodology of this tracer study including limitations of the research. Literature review on the relation between disaster-driven migration and its impact on regional labour markets are presented after the methodology. Finally, following this discussion we lay out our findings based on analysis of the field data.

2. Research Design and Methodology

The current study encompasses a qualitative research design and methodology. Considering that the existing literature relies predominantly on quantitative data collection, qualitative research enables the depth of reintegration and how social factors have a huge impact on this matter. Therefore, we adopted qualitative research methods such as in-depth interviews and focus group discussions to have a deeper understanding of a multi-faceted social reality of displacement and its determinative role in labour market after the 6th of February Earthquakes. The qualitative analysis also allows us to highlight certain patterns occurring in in-depth and focus group interviews that is closely related to the push and pull factors related to their migration. Thus, the tracer study represents a crucial step towards understanding the post-earthquake dynamics in the labour market and supporting earthquake survivors in their journey towards recovery and resilience by addressing the given objectives.

As a general frame, we conducted the current research in Ankara and Adana, as the provinces carrying two different migration and labour market dynamics, with 40 people who survived after the 6th of February earthquakes. We conducted 9 in-depth interviews and 1 phone interview in Ankara and 10 face to face interviews in Adana to trace deeper knowledge related to their unique experiences (see Table 1). We also conducted two separate focus group interviews in Ankara and Adana to trace the common patterns in their migration and labour market experiences, including 10 and 11 participants, respectively (see Table 2). First, the research procedure started with deciding the cities as Ankara and Adana based on different social and labour dynamics which will be discussed in detail in the following sections. Secondly, researchers used snowballing techniques based on their extensive social networks through the gatekeepers in Ankara and Adana for the preparation of in-depth and focus group interviewee selection. We developed a schema and interview protocol for the interviews as well as preparing a structured information to spread the word for participant search in our own social networks to help the second-step preparation process.

Third, we started conducting in-depth interviews in Ankara and Adana simultaneously. Fourth, after having a general scheme and pattern from the in-depth interviews, we re-structured focus-group interview questions and the patterns to insist on during the group interview. Each researcher conducted one focus group interview separately in Ankara and Adana, trying to capture the intersecting and diverging themes of coming together as the survivor of the earthquakes. Each step mentioned here will be detailed in the following sections.

Table 1. Demographic Information of In-depth Interview Participants

Code	Origin Cities	Gender	Age	Pre-Earthquake Occupation	Post-Earthquake Occupation
Ankara 1	Hatay	Man	43	Subcontracted Worker	Driver in a Governmental Institution
Ankara 2	Hatay	Woman	22	Student	Psychological Counsellor in a Special Education Centre
Ankara 3	Gaziantep	Man	33	A Worker in an Export Company	Research Assistant in a Private University
Ankara 4	Hatay	Man	36	Sales and Marketing in a Construction Firm	Regional Director
Ankara 5	Malatya	Man	40	Civil Servant in Governmental Institution	Civil Servant in Governmental Institution
Ankara 6	Adıyaman	Woman	33	Voluntarily Unemployed	Service Worker in A Tea House of A Private Company
Ankara 7	Hatay	Woman	33	Portfolio Manager in a Private Bank	Unemployed
Ankara 8	Hatay	Woman	38	Housewife	Accountant
Ankara 9	Hatay	Man	50	Restaurant Owner	Restaurant Owner
Ankara 10	Hatay	Woman	47	Academic Instructor	Academic Instructor
Adana 1*	Adıyaman	Man		Halva Master	Retired
Adana 2	Adıyaman	Woman		Housewife	Retired
Adana 3	Adıyaman	Man	43	Tobacco Worker in Own Land	Porter
Adana 4	Hatay	Woman		Manager in a Textile Company	Manager in a Textile Company
Adana 5	Gaziantep	Woman	32	Worker in a Phone Operator	Engineer
Adana 6	Hatay	Man	31	Department Manager in a Tourism Sector	Unemployed
Adana 7	Hatay	Man	55	Tiremaker	Part-time Tiremaker
Adana 8	Hatay	Man	44	Baker	Worker in Döner Shop
Adana 9	Hatay	Woman	23	Student in Agricultural Engineering	Intern in an Agricultural Machinery Company
Adana 10**	Adana	Man		Civil Servant in Municipality	Civil Servant in Municipality

* Adana 1 and 2 interviews were conducted in the same household

**This interview served as an elite interview as the person served as both gatekeeper and the local informer

2.1. Sampling Strategies

To gain a comprehensive understanding of displaced people's current conditions, motivations, and demands in the labour market, we employed a multilayered sampling strategy. First, we selected cities based on the number of people who are settled, the increased settlement demands, and the employment potential of cities after the 6th of February earthquakes. Second, within the selected cities, we selected our participants for the interviews by considering their cities of origin focusing on those that faced the highest levels of destruction, with Hatay being at the top. In addition to that, we also took individuals' ages, educational attainments, genders, marital statuses (e.g., married, unmarried, widowed) into account to build a balanced representation in the interview samples.

Table 2. Demographic Information of Focus-Group Interview Participants in Ankara and Adana

City	Code	Origin Cities	Gender	Age	Pre-Earthquake Occupation	Post-Earthquake Occupation
Ankara	AK-FG1	Adiyaman	Woman	32	Lawyer	Lawyer
	AK-FG2	Hatay	Woman	56	Lawyer	Unemployed
	AK-FG3	Hatay	Man	42	Pharmacy Technician	Pharmacy Technician
	AK-FG4	Hatay	Man	63	Cook	Cook
	AK-FG5	Hatay	Man	49	Retired Military Police	Driver, Private Guard
	AK-FG6	Adiyaman	Woman	28	Teacher in Special Education School	Teacher in Special Education School
	AK-FG7	Hatay	Woman	22	Salesperson in a Medical Equipment Company	Salesperson in a Medical Equipment Company
	AK-FG8	Hatay	Woman	25	NGO worker	NGO worker
	AK-FG9	Hatay	Man		Salesperson of Heavy Oil	Unemployed
	AK-FG10	Adiyaman	Man	36	Private Security Guard	Private Security Guard
Adana	AD-FG1	Adana	Woman	34	Unknown	Works in Women Cooperative
	AD-FG2	Hatay	Man	44	Salesperson in A Sports Shop	Salesperson in A Sports Shop
	AD-FG3	Hatay	Man		Worker in Private Hospital	Worker in Private Hospital
	AD-FG4	Hatay	Man	40	Unknown	Unemployed
	AD-FG5	Hatay	Woman	34	Flower Shop Owner	Administrator of Online Flower Shop
	AD-FG6	Hatay	Woman		Unemployed	House Cleaner
	AD-FG7	Hatay	Man	28	Tourist Guide in a Company	Tourist Guide in a Company
	AD-FG8	Hatay	Man	28	Mechanical Engineer	Mechanical Engineer
	AD-FG9	Adana & Hatay	Woman	35	Civil Servant in Governmental Institution	Civil Servant in Governmental Institution
	AD-FG10	Hatay	Woman	52	Helper in a Flower Shop	Worker in a Flower Shop
	AD-FG11	Hatay	Woman		A Cook in a Hookah Factory	Part-time Dishwasher in a Waffle Shop

Note. AK: Ankara, AD: Adana, FG: Focus Group

2.2. City Selection

We selected Adana and Ankara as the provinces to conduct the field study since they reflect different types of migration patterns that offer a better understanding of the regional labour markets' reorientation in the aftermath of an exogenous shock. According to the initial assessment report prepared by Republic of Türkiye Presidency of Strategy and Budget (PSB, 2023), the earthquake-affected eleven provinces are Adana, Adıyaman, Diyarbakır, Elazığ, Gaziantep, Hatay, Kahramanmaraş, Kilis, Malatya, Osmaniye, and Şanlıurfa. The order of the provinces changes in terms of the harm and damage underwent and the rubble removed as well as the provinces' standing in the national labour market. As can be seen in Table 3, Hatay encountered the most severe damage the housing and it is followed by Kahramanmaraş, Malatya, Adıyaman and Gaziantep.

Table 3. Damages in the Five Earthquake-Hit Cities⁴

City	Houses with Moderate or More Damage	Moderate or More Damaged units with active economic involvement	Rubble Removed	People Sheltered in Containers
Hatay	250.086	46.641	51.974	205.603
Kahramanmaraş	111.022	24.464	29.326	135.215
Malatya	102.736	22.734	27.979	114.652
Adıyaman	64.807	1752	17.068	115.791
Gaziantep	42.073	14.597	11.109	58.397

On the other hand, Table 4 indicates that Adana and Gaziantep share almost the equal employment share in both earthquake-affected areas and in the national employment. Reading the statistics with the amount of increase in the building construction and the acute influx after the earthquake, Adana comes to the front as the nearest potential city that survivors migrated and settled. According to the same report provided by the PSB (2023)⁵, while Adana has one of the highest density of residential houses in the earthquake effected region, Hatay ranks the first for damaged residential houses after the earthquake. Therefore, we might expect an outgoing migration pattern from Hatay

⁴ <https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/2023-Kahramanmaraş-ve-Hatay-Depremleri-Raporu.pdf>

⁵ <https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/Türkiye-Recovery-and-Reconstruction-Assessment.pdf>

to Adana as it provides an outlet for housing, education, healthcare and employment opportunities nearby. The informal data based on the property market reports also helped us to decide Adana as one of the target cities in this study. Accordingly, Emlak Jet, as one of the most referred housing search platforms in Türkiye, reported that Adana ranks fifth among provinces with the highest positive change in house search volumes alongside Kayseri, Diyarbakır, and Mersin, Antalya, Ankara and Eskişehir respectively⁶. In addition, Adana is one of the largest metropolitan provinces in the earthquake-affected region. It has multidimensional economic and social relations with neighbouring provinces, a rich set of pull factors, and familiarity with hosting crisis-driven mass migrations, such as the one following the Syrian crisis. All these factors led us to choose Adana, one in the neighbouring periphery of the epicentre, as one of the target cities within our resource constraints.

Table 4. Employment by Province in Earthquake-Affected Region (2021)⁷

(1000 People)	Total Employment	Formal Employment	Share of Provincial Employment in Disaster Region (%)	Provincial Employment Share in National Employment (%)
Adana	690	425	18	2.4
Adıyaman	122	81	3.2	0.4
Diyarbakır	446	248	11.6	1.5
Elazığ	212	124	5.5	0.7
Gaziantep	712	471	18.5	2.5
Hatay	477	296	12.4	1.7
Kahramanmaraş	338	210	8.8	1.2
Kilis	38	25	16.7	0.1
Malatya	257	149	3.7	0.9
Osmaniye	142	88	10.6	0.5
Şanlıurfa	407	227	100	1.4
Total Region	3,841	2,344		13.3
Türkiye	28,797	20,441		100

Ankara was the other metropolis that we selected to focus on considering its educational, employment, and social network opportunities. Although there is no official data announced, the primary destinations for migration from the earthquake-affected region are observed to be Ankara, followed by Antalya, Mersin, Kayseri, Muğla and Elazığ (see Table 5). Considering the motivations of people migrated from earthquake affected areas, Ankara was the city where most

⁶ <https://www.emlakjet.com/haber/haber/deprem-felaketi-sonrasi-konut-taleplerindeki-degisim-dikkat-cekıyor-1>

⁷ <https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/2023-Kahramanmaraş-ve-Hatay-Depremleri-Raporu.pdf>

of the humanitarian actions were taken in the first hand, as it is the capital city of Türkiye. This perception may have led people move towards Ankara and feed their hopes related to safety, shelters, and basic needs in the short-term period as well as providing them future strategies and eligibilities for finding a larger and diverse labour market, education, and health-related opportunities.

Table 5. Distribution of People Migrated in Other Cities

The Places with The Higher Immigration	Number of People Migrated
Ankara	205.405
Antalya	154.086
Mersin	65.086
Kayseri	40.442
Muğla	40.300
Elazığ	40.000

Note. This table is prepared by gathering data from Anadolu Agency within the framework of the information obtained from the provincial directorates (Yılmaz & Turan, 2023)

2.3. Participant Selection

Once Adana and Ankara were selected as two destination provinces that earthquake survivors migrated to, we employed a two-step non-probabilistic sampling strategy in participant selection based on the disaster-driven migration and labour integration literature suggestions. First, we used a purposive sampling strategy that aims to include participants from the most affected cities. The mostly targeted reasons for outward migration from disaster-stricken areas were the *loss of households* and *economic activity*. While the precise migration patterns from eleven cities are unavailable, it is reasonable to assume that the majority of earthquake survivors migrated from the most devastated cities. To ensure a better representation in the sampling of in-depth and focus group interviews, we focused on the cities listed in Table 3 depicting the number of damaged houses, damages in the formerly active economic units, rubble removed and the number of people living in temporary shelters. Our sampling approach is non-probabilistic due to the lack of precise data on the percentage of individuals in the labour market before and after the earthquake, as well as precise migration patterns in each receiving city. Considering the knowledge gap in the exact

state of physical damage and death toll, the purposive sampling strategy allows us to gain in-depth insights from individuals with specific experiences or characteristics relevant to the post-earthquake circumstances. Second, we used convenient sampling strategy allowing us to reach the survivors who are more available, volunteer, and eligible. This approach enables us to frame our study based on targeted demographics and the varying population sizes across the six cities listed in the Table 5. A convenience sampling strategy facilitated the recruitment of participants through snowballing strategy reached via gatekeepers.

Economic data also suggests which cities were negatively affected most by the earthquake. In the region, annual export figures after the earthquake decreased by 13%. The provinces where export rates decreased the most are Osmaniye, Adıyaman, Kahramanmaraş and Hatay respectively. Despite the massive outflux from the region, unemployment in the region increased at record levels. According to İŞKUR data, those applying for unemployment benefits increased by 83% in Hatay, 50% in Adıyaman, 46% in Kahramanmaraş and 40% in Malatya (Özüdoğru, 2024). These economic characteristics of the region also guides our sampling. The regional GDP breakdown reveals that agriculture comprises 11.6%, industry 29.7%, construction 4.8%, services 43.5%, and taxes and subsidies 10.5%⁸. Production activities in the region are predominantly concentrated in the services and industry sectors. On the other hand, the employment rate and labour force participation lag national averages, while the unemployment rate surpasses them. Currently, the number of employed individuals in the earthquake-affected region stands at 4,075,000, with an informality rate in employment of 36.4%⁹. Hatay, Kahramanmaraş, Adıyaman, Malatya, and Gaziantep emerged as the provinces most severely impacted economically by the earthquake. These five cities, stand out due to extensive damage to housing and workplaces, both commercial and residential buildings, and a significant portion of the population residing in temporary accommodations following the earthquake. Furthermore, access to healthcare, education, economic resources, and social amenities is markedly disrupted in these provinces. Such circumstances not only elevate the likelihood of internal migration from these cities but also dampen the motivation of migrating individuals to return to their hometowns.

⁸ <https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/Kahramanmaras-ve-Hatay-Depremleri-Yeniden-Imar-ve-Gelisme-Raporu-1.pdf>

⁹ <https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/Kahramanmaras-ve-Hatay-Depremleri-Yeniden-Imar-ve-Gelisme-Raporu-1.pdf>

2.4. Materials and Procedure

Once we selected the cities and the participants based on the abovementioned steps, we conducted in-depth and focus group interviews in Adana and Ankara. Our data collection was guided by qualitative data collection methods, namely in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. Considering qualitative research's opportunities for rich and nuanced interrogation of individuals' experiences, perceptions, and attitudes, we arranged the flow of the interview questions targeting their experiences before, during, and after the earthquakes. Accordingly, both in-depth and focus group interview questions aimed to explore the answers of two general questions:

- What are the key factors influencing post-earthquake migration dynamics in Adana and Ankara?
- How do these factors affect reintegration of earthquake survivors into the labour market and community?

We structured our questions in a way that encompasses participants' i) experiences on pre-earthquake life with a specific focus on involvement in economic activities; ii) experiences of earthquake and migration patterns with a specific focus on the role of social networks; iii) and finally post-earthquake experiences of economic and social life in the migrated city with a specific focus on push and pull factors (see Appendix B for the interview questions).

We began the interview protocol by providing participants with a written and verbal informed consent form (see Appendix A) and reminding them that the interview would be recorded. We then asked for general information about themselves and their lives in the city from which they had migrated. The in-depth interviews were semi-structured as the participants did not have a straight line of memories and discourses related to the earthquakes. We continued with their psychological conditions during and after the earthquake, which recalls memories and coping strategies with their discourses intersecting with pre- and post-earthquake times. After establishing an environment of mutual trust, we continued with specific questions related to their decisions to change the city and the socio-economic networks behind them. The following questions focused on their experiences of social integration, both in their employment areas and in the new local culture. These questions led us to move more into their experiences of finding a job in a new labour market and opened the doors to the discourses focusing on the reality of being a survivor and a stranger in a new environment and culture (see the details of question 7 in Appendix B). We tried

to find out all the details about the referral or support procedures carried out by the institutions, the comparison between the previous and the current employment status and the market itself, and the needs for further improvements in the labour market.

We followed similar but more general schema in the focus-group interviews compared to in-depth face-to-face interviews. Accordingly, the interview questions revolved around in the same question categories (see Appendix C for the focus-group interview questions). However, in focus group interviews, we let the interviewees take an active role in building interactions with other interviewees. This way, the social contact and interaction among being a survivor and being a person who has reasons to migrate were ensured. Within that frame, we focused on five categories in focus group questions. First, we asked specific demographic questions and let them introduce themselves to the group. Second, we asked about how the process of migration from the origin city to the current city took place. Third, we asked about the ones and the things that enabled them to decide settling down in the current city (e.g., role of social networks, health concerns, relatives and friends, etc.). Fourth, we opened up their experiences in the new labour market (e.g., how did they find a job, role of social networks or institutional supports, etc.). Finally, we asked general questions about their integration into the social life and new employment area, their internal comparisons and their coping strategies for the future initiatives.

2.5. Research Procedure

The research procedure started with having an ethical approval from International Labour Organization (ILO) Office for Türkiye. Following the approval, we started literature review to better know the post-disaster social and labour-related environment to strengthen our perspective in the field. This was also beneficial for us to plan the field study with strengths and vulnerabilities at the same time. We started building participant pool for in-depth interviews in Ankara and Adana, simultaneously. Both researchers, a social psychologist and international relations experts, spread the word for the field study in their own professional and personal networks including both governmental and non-governmental organizations working on migration and labour in both cities, universities and acquaintances. With the help of the networks and the help of the volunteered interviewees, we reached out potential participants by also considering the representation of people from different origin cities. Throughout this process, there were potential ethical risks that would harm the potential participants' social and psychological well-being such as open announcement

of the interviews. We were extra careful about this risk and took precautions by only using gatekeepers to reach out participants and never forced them to participate in the study. All the participants in the in-depth interviews showed voluntary participation without having an extra incentive.

On the other hand, the preparation process for focus group interviews was quite different from that of in-depth interviews, requiring additional steps. Initially, we employed the same strategy with gatekeepers, reaching out to people on a voluntary basis. However, the nature of focus group interviews necessitated a structured time on weekends and face-to-face social interaction with others in the same room. As a result, potential participants were highly reluctant to participate, as many were occupied with family responsibilities on weekends. This created an immediate challenge in gathering people for the interviews.

To address this issue, we had to revise our recruitment strategy and requested additional incentives from the ILO Office for Turkey, such as shopping cards, to help meet participants' everyday needs. This experience highlighted a primary limitation of post-disaster research: researchers and their plans must account for participants' needs and vulnerabilities, fostering a reciprocal relationship that acknowledges their time and willingness to share. Given the constrained household incomes due to job losses, destruction of homes, loss of loved ones, assets, and migration to new cities, these gift cards provided a necessary incentive for the survivors. Ultimately, thanks to this positive stimulus, we were able to secure the expected participation, and the focus group discussions functioned effectively.

We conducted focus group interviews in a quiet and structured interview rooms in Ankara and Adana with the help of the ILO Office for Türkiye. The organic conversation emerging from the flexibility of the focus-group interview process allowed us to have a deeper understanding of their experiences. Moreover, both focus groups and almost all in-depth interviews were recorded. However, a few participants hesitated to be recorded. All recordings were transcribed and systematically coded by the two researchers independently and compared in terms of identifying themes, and interpreting findings to uncover patterns and insights relevant to the research objectives.

2.6. Limitations of the Research

The current research has limitations regarding sampling, process, and the evaluation of findings. The first limitation pertains to the challenge of sampling and generalizing the findings. Gathering official data on the exact number of people displaced after the earthquakes and its breakdown by international migration proved difficult. Consequently, we employed a non-probabilistic sampling strategy, relying on the most available and volunteer participants through social networks. This approach presented challenges in reaching individuals who had previously migrated from Syria to earthquake-affected cities and subsequently relocated to other areas. Time constraints and the availability of Syrian participants were the primary reasons for their underrepresentation in the sample. This issue was further compounded by their reluctance to discuss labour market processes, as they may be working in the informal jobs market. Furthermore, due to time constraints set for the fieldwork, we were unable to conduct interviews with Syrians under temporary protection or undocumented refugees, despite the thousands who were negatively impacted by the earthquake. Therefore, the research findings may predominantly represent a specific group of people with a focus on experiences of Turkish nationals.

The second limitation concerns the challenges in representing individuals from different cities. Although it was initially planned, there was not a balanced representation of people from various cities of origin, given the density of migrants from Hatay to Adana and Ankara. As a result, participants in the two focus group interviews were predominantly from Hatay. While this appears to be a potential limitation, it allowed us to identify patterns specific to Hatay and its socio-cultural role in fostering psychological resilience and healing. This also facilitated a better understanding and comparison of different migration patterns.

The third limitation pertains to the types of sectors included in the research. For example, although the people in the origin cities priorly work in agricultural sector, there was a limited representation of this sector in the analysis. We identified individuals working in agriculture in the earthquake-affected region who temporarily reside in Ankara during the winter. However, the number of potential participants from this sector was too low to incorporate into the analysis. In addition, it was hard to reach people who are working in informal sectors due to their vigilance and fear of losing hardly achieved jobs. Therefore, the current sample extensively included the ones who work

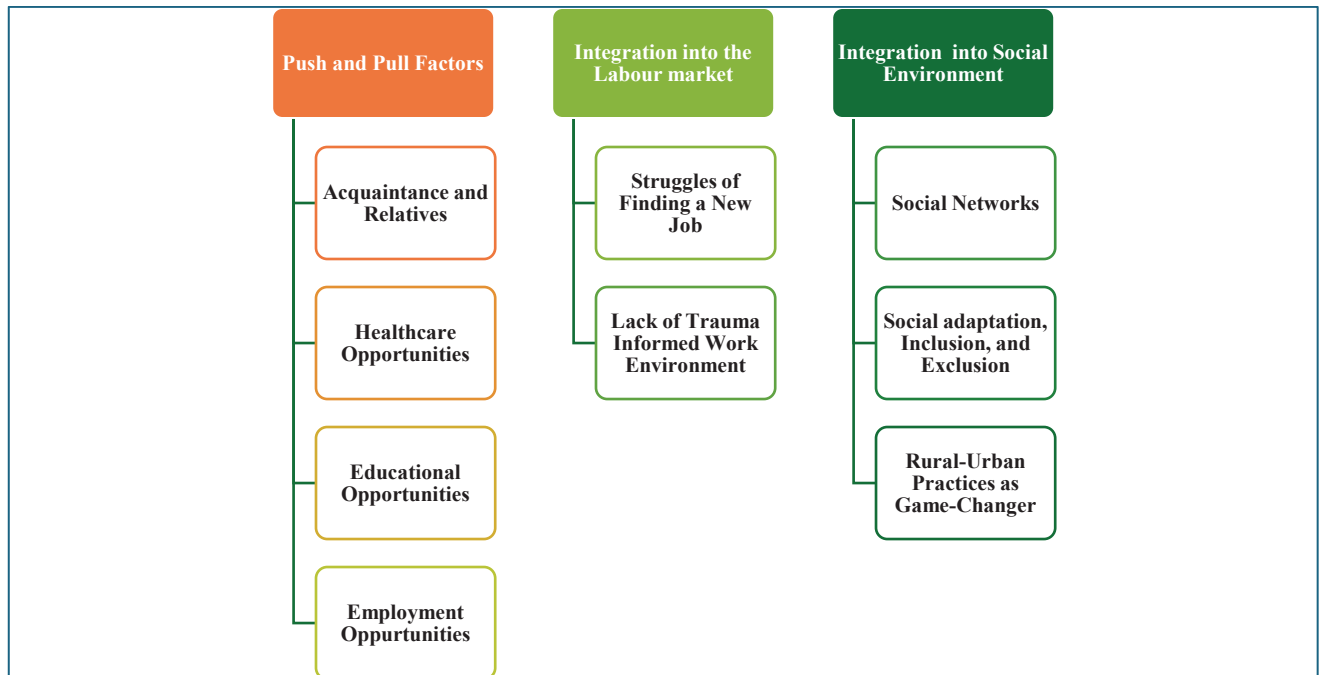
in formal jobs with social security. Consequently, the current research findings may not reflect a detailed analysis of the agricultural and informal sectors.

Lastly, it is important to underscore that the participants' traumatic experiences posed the greatest challenge during the interviews. The loss of family members, homes, or economic activities took a toll on their psychological state, limiting our ability to obtain valid responses to critical questions. This situation also adversely affected the researchers, who experienced secondary trauma. The traumatic process itself necessitated that we, as field researchers, allocate time for personal healing and develop a fresher and comparatively more objective analytical perspective. This approach ensured the integrity of the analysis process and the interpretation of the results.

3. Research Context and Analysis

As the literature clearly pictures, sudden changes in the environment, such as disasters, or climate change and political instability results in the movement of people, although involuntarily (Blaike et. al. 2014; Dun & Gemenne, 2008). Sometimes it is the international migration crossing borders of states, sometimes it is the internal displacement for a prolonged period of time. But either way within the disaster discourse, migration has mostly been assessed as a coping strategy (Hollema et al. 2008). At the onset of disasters, migration often starts from severely affected regions to nearby cities perceived as safer havens. This initial movement gradually extends to cities offering stronger social networks, enhanced housing, and greater economic opportunities. Therefore, comprehending labour market reintegration in the aftermath of a disaster is paramount for workers to secure suitable living conditions and for policymakers to devise appropriate policies and contingency plans for future scenarios (Mendoza & Jara, 2019). Given the risks of long-term unemployment and the precarious status of people who migrated to other cities after the disasters, investigating the labour market conditions is of utmost importance (Aysa-Lastra, 2011; Ivlevs & Veliziotis, 2018).

Figure .1. The Basic Themes of the Field Research



Researching the living and working conditions, labour market integration, and motivation to return of internally displaced people necessitates a multidisciplinary approach that encompasses **psychological** and **socio-economic** dimensions of diverse populations. Therefore, reading labour market conditions and people's social and economic integration into the new socio-economic cultures would be missing without considering their ruminating psychological, cultural, and geography-related concerns. Therefore, the current analysis takes the intersection of (macro and micro) cultures, psychological conditions, and social networks into account to understand survivors' labour market integration, employment procedures, social assistance and longevity of their current employments. In the light of the intersectional perspective that we adopted in the research and the field study, the analysis pointed to three analytical and cultural categories from the in-depth and focus group interviews conducted in Ankara and Adana (see Figure 1).

3.1. Push and Pull Factors: The Basic Motivations Behind Displacement and New Employments.

My cousin just told me. So, we left home to go two streets away. We came to Ankara. It was a very sudden decision... I don't know what happened. I

mean, we were very surprised until we got to Ankara. (Ankara 2, women, Hatay)

Delving deeply into the exploration of push and pull factors is crucial for gaining a comprehensive understanding of the challenges earthquake survivors face in securing employment, as well as the support mechanisms available to them in their new setting. Additionally, understanding their motivations for potentially returning to the earthquake-stricken region is equally important. Push factors can be considered negative conditions of the origin cities whereas pull factors should reflect positive, attractive conditions in the host cities in the frame of the current study. Right after the earthquakes, the origin cities pushed survivors because of the lack of basic needs, proper shelters and living conditions, limited healthcare and educational opportunities, and lack of employment. The host cities such as Adana and Ankara pulled the survivors with the availability of resources, social networks, housing, broader educational and healthcare opportunities, and broader employment areas. However, it is also important to underline that there is a symbiotic relationship between push and pull factors, as they reciprocate and reverse the decision-making process one-year after the earthquake. In other words, the initial pull factors in the origin cities may transform into new sources for push factors as the survivors have been experiencing difficulties in the integration into new job-market as well as new socio-cultural environments. As the general push factors are directly related to demolishes and lack of liveable conditions in the earthquake-affected cities, we mostly refer pull factors under this title that the new cities attracted the survivors from multiple perspectives. However, we strongly recommend the readers to consider the listed titles of pull factors as the potential push factors in the following period.

As illustrated in previous sections, cities experienced varying degrees of damage, when coupled with the pre-existing distribution of employment areas, this underscores the diverse spectrum of survivors from various socio-demographic backgrounds with distinct demands and motivations. However, the analysis revealed that these demands and motivations were not consciously functioning especially right after the earthquake. As one of the interviewees (Ankara 2, a woman from Hatay) pointed, most people left the cities in a hurry after they spent couple of days outside of the buildings and shelters accompanied with freezing cold weather. They relied on a tank of gas to be able to arrive somewhere safe with their own cars. The most available cities were the ones

where their relatives live, they know some acquaintance, or they believe that they can find an opportunity in metropolitan areas.

...the vast majority left Malatya immediately. When I say they left, I mean to very safe areas. They went to places where they had friends and relatives...You never consider Malatya for the first 15 days. What should I do to leave here? I mean, my children, my family, everyone from here. I even told my uncles and my father to move their business out of Malatya. This is how I see the situation at that moment (Ankara 5, man, Malatya)

In addition to survivors' snap decisions about moving to other cities, we observed that most of them have well-defined plans for their families, children's education, and health-care opportunities. Their concerns for new employment opportunities in the migrated city was a second-grade importance. Therefore, it was clear in their stories that people migrated from Hatay, Adıyaman, Gaziantep, and Malatya pointed to importance of health-care facilities, educational opportunities especially for their children, physical distance, and social values as pull factors for finding a new settlement in Ankara and Adana.

3.1.1. Acquaintance and Relatives

One of the first reasons as the other cities pull survivors into a new living condition cities is their previous contacts, relatives, or second-grade acquaintances. Although the strength of motivations for displacement via acquaintances changes in terms of people's educational background and capabilities, they showed the common motivation when deciding to move another city. For example, a 33-year-old man who now works as a research assistant in a private university in Ankara showed how his decisions on employment and displacement changed sharply. Although he was working as a consultant in an export company in Gaziantep, he searched for other employment opportunities by using his contacts from Ankara and people from different universities. His search for new living conditions is shaped with the help of new job opportunities in universities that his *friends* suggested.

... I had friends in Gazi and Hacettepe Universities in Ankara while I was studying at İstanbul University and a professor whom I consult some things. In Gaziantep, my classmate from high school came here with me. We were coming to Ankara

sometimes for sightseeing, so I had some familiarity with Ankara. Since my wife was a Hacettepe graduate... but I had no relatives here. (Ankara 3, man, Gaziantep)

Different from the motivations of Ankara 3, 63-year-old man previously working as a chef in Hatay showed an extreme case of how one can suddenly decide to move to a big city just because of the opportunity that relative's company offered. He was waiting for humanitarian support in Hatay a couple of days after the earthquake with no proper sheltering. His snap decision to move to Ankara because he did not want to miss the opportunity of a travel out of the earthquake zone reflects the same motivations of other interviewees regardless of their educational background. Analysis revealed that if the families are at the stake, concern for new employment opportunities was not the immediate determinant, but the shelter, security, and social support.

My son-in-law was working at Turkcell... We couldn't find a place to stay... They took us to Turkcell's centre. To the centre. They made us eat and drink there. For three days. We slept in the gaps. The children slept, we waited. An aid car had come from here, from Ankara. He said, "I'm going to Ankara, if anyone wants to go, go ahead. We thought, "Come on, my daughter, grandchildren. Let's get in the car." (AK-FG4, man, Hatay)

When different host cities are compared, there was no clear-cut distinctions between people moving to Ankara and Adana. In each case, people first considered whether they have relatives and safe spaces in those cities. However, there was an additional logistic reason for the ones who moved to Adana from Hatay and Adıyaman. To illustrate, a 43-year-old man, who was working as a tobacco farmer in Adıyaman, expressed his and his family's need for cultural and social solidarity in the nearest city, which, in this case, was Adana.

There were many people who went to Mersin, I mean, those who didn't have any acquaintances went there, but we had acquaintances, so we thought this place was suitable for us, I mean, at least we have our own villagers here. (Adana 2, man, Adıyaman)

On the other hand, a young single woman working as a commercial product manager in an extensively known textile company in Hatay underlined the geographical proximity as an important identifier of where to settle, especially for people from Hatay. Her experience of displacement was intersected with family-health problems which brings the cities' proximity to

forward in the times of disasters. However, the field research also showed that their decision to settle in Adana, the nearest town, cannot be excluded from their motivation to move a familiar city where their relatives have been living.

We could not go further because my sister couldn't travel in car (researcher note: her sister is 7-months pregnant with twins) ...So the most accessible area for us was Adana at the beginning and I have uncles here. This was our aim, so that we could reach a relative, an acquaintance. This was the most liveable area (Adana 3, woman, Hatay)

3.1.2. Healthcare Opportunities

Another factor lying behind the people's decision to leave their cities was healthcare-related amenities. After the earthquakes, a vast number of survivors were wounded and physically injured. After people buried the bodies of their family members and friends, and realized the losses, they tried to heal themselves and their remaining family members. Critically, Adana as a destination city emerged as an initial option for a considerable number of participants for its healthcare opportunities. When they first evacuated to other nearby cities such as Mardin and Diyarbakır, either they were told to choose a city for further treatment after initial emergency response or they came to Adana for medical reasons on their own. For these reasons, they mostly decided to move to Adana based on access to healthcare services together with the strength of their social networks, employment opportunities, previous exposure to Adana and proximity to their hometown.

A female participant from Adana revealed how important the role of healthcare opportunities was for her family to move to Adana during the first days and weeks of the disaster and complained about the lack of health assistance in Hatay for her 7-month pregnant sister. Her family's shuffling journey between Adana and Hatay was challenging because her mother and sister were reluctant to leave Hatay. Thus, Adana was the most available and closer city where also her uncle has been living for years.

We could at least reach a doctor [in Adana]. At least there are people who could intervene in case of an emergency. We stayed here [Adana] for about 10 days and an obstetrician examined my sister and told everything was normal, and pregnancy would continue its course. Then we returned [to Hatay] for about 10 days but we

couldn't stay in the tent anymore. So, you understand, we are shuttling back and forth between Hatay and Adana (Adana 3, woman, Hatay)

Another survivor, who refused to be recorded during the interview also shares a similar story. His wife was 8-months pregnant, and they left Hatay after the first day of the earthquake and went to Mardin to his relatives. However, doctors in Mardin told them that the birth would happen anytime soon, and they need a better hospital in case any complications happen during the birth. Our participant then decided to go to Adana and had his first child three days after the earthquake.

Critical point here is the fact that most of our participants considered other determinants such as social networks, proximity, and cultural affinity, etc. However, even though most of them have previously established social networks in Adana and sought after expertise in the labour market, a common pattern from Adana interviews shows us that injuries of their partners limit male earthquake survivors' ability to be involved in the labour market activities. A baker from Hatay, who previously worked in the Middle East, explains his reasons not to go to Libya like his friends to work with a clear reference to the health issues of his partner:

I won't lie. I mean, the offer came. It is not that it did not. But I can't just leave my wife in this condition. Why? Because now there is no one to take care of my wife. Okay, her mother or sister could look after her, but no one can take care like I do. At that time, she could not even go to the bathroom without my help (Adana 7, man, Hatay)

However, unlike the above-mentioned example, there are some cases in which religious beliefs and traditional gender roles further exacerbate access to healthcare. Formerly a halva-master in Adıyaman, a male interviewee living in Adana demonstrated how complicated access to healthcare could be. Coming from a very religious rural background, this interviewee accompanies his wife to different hospitals in different locations of Adana and voluntarily stays out of the labour market.

I have not had a big [job] search. The reason for this is because my wife has health problems. Honestly, I couldn't really focus on work. The main reason for this is that because [she] has different types of health problems, we had to schedule appointments... Because there are different issues, we must go to the city hospital which is a bit inconvenient for us. You must change two vehicles to get there. My wife does not know the way around here. Someone must take her and that someone

is me. So, this also hindered my work. That is why I could not search [job] extensively. (Adana 1, man, Adıyaman)

Men's lack of integration to the labour market due to their wives' health problems can be interpreted as lack of availability and accessibility of care services for survivors. The national and local measures taken after the earthquakes would guarantee both men and women's labour market integration if they provide well-planned care services for the injured wives, kids, people with disabilities, elderly, or people with chronic disease.

3.1.3. Educational Opportunities

It is important to remind the readers that participants of the current research were mostly married, and they moved to Ankara or Adana with their families. This brings the priorities of children's educational needs over the parents' needs. Better opportunities for primary, secondary and high schools for child-survivors shape the displacement plans and their motivation for leaving their hometowns.

The reason why we are here more for my daughter's education is that if we didn't have a child going to secondary school, maybe we wouldn't have left either. So, we would still be living there. (Ankara 1, man, Hatay)

I feel like there are so many options for me here, in terms of both social and human relations, where I can fulfil myself outside my profession. This would be very difficult for me in Malatya. Because there are much more limited people in terms of different worldviews... Also, there are so many options for children. Maybe, we can't find those right now. Right now, I am thinking about what will happen for them 10 years from now, and 10 years from now they may have much better opportunities. (Ankara 5, man, Malatya)

In general, the possible predictors behind choosing Ankara or Adana as a new living place differed for different survivors. In terms of the results of in-depth analysis and focus group interviews, people pointed to clear concerns for finding better options for education and then employment in Ankara, while people settled in Adana pointed to the city's closeness and availability in terms of health practices. Related to pull factors, vast number of participants did not mention job concerns

as the primary reasons of displacement, but rather they valued safety, health, and education over the employment opportunities.

3.1.4. Employment Opportunities

Based on our analysis, employment opportunities appeared as the least influential issue on the migration decision of earthquake survivors. Those who work in public decided to resettle either in Ankara and Adana based on their familiarity with the city, healthcare, and education opportunities as well as the institutions' availability (for the civil servants). Participants who have lost their jobs in their hometown after earthquake can be separated into two different groups. The first group represents wage-labour who lost their jobs after the earthquake, and the second group consists of employers who used to own small and medium sized enterprises. Our analysis suggests that the first group can also be separated into two: corporate employees, and employees of the small and medium sized enterprises. Participants who work for corporate companies had to choose their new employment based on the needs of the company and still their decisions are based on similar reasons.

They cannot lay people of because it is forbidden. They cannot do it because of the state of emergency. (Researcher asks: Would you have trusted your workplace, if it was not for the state of emergency). No, I would not. I think as long as everyone is protecting their own interests, if your interest is no longer aligned with the institution, your job agreement ends. As I said, my friends who worked in non-corporate places were left jobless. If my company were not corporate, they could easily say, 'Sorry, I cannot pay you, you have to go.' As I said, [moving to Adana] was not actually my choice; it was a forced choice. There is no position for me in Hatay right now, so I cannot return even if I have to. (Adana 3, woman, Hatay)

Participants who used to work for small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs), however, directly quotes "the number of employment opportunities" in their new settlement. However, critical issue here is the fact that employment opportunities are still closely related to the strength of their social networks in given city. The ones formerly working in SMEs showed that their job-related decisions

in a new city are mostly determined by their strong social networks as these networks are capable of finding solutions for educational concerns, healthcare amenities or employment.

Why did we come to Ankara? My wife's cousins live here. We thought since Ankara is the capital of Turkey, we would surely find some means of living here. Looking at the population and job opportunities, this place has a larger job market compared to Hatay. That is why we came, thinking there would be some good in it. We were already seeing the state of our Hatay. We didn't want to go back because there was nothing there. And since people were constantly going and coming from Hatay, we were getting information from there. We stayed with our relatives for about a month. By March, I felt ashamed of living in someone else's house. Then we were told that janitor's apartments were empty. However, they said it could not be rented out due to regulations. We applied district governor's office, and they approved it, but apartment management didn't let us rent the place. Then we reached out to some [powerful] people for help. They didn't even ask for a rent afterwards. (Ankara 4, man, Hatay)

While Ankara and Adana clearly present more employment opportunities for the wage workers, earthquake survivors who had previously owned a workplace and employed several workers are struggling to adapt labour market conditions in their new settings.

What will happen to the remaining commercial businesses, what will happen to my job? For example, my father, my uncles are in confectionary business [refreshments sector]. For example, out of 120 employees, only 40 remained. They have all dispersed. Of course, their primary concern was safety. Those who are trying to return, could not find the means. Even if they come back, where will they stay, there is no house. Also, the shops have collapsed. For example, four of my fathers' shop collapsed. There is no action about this. Like, we will demolish this place, we will build it in this amount of time, we will do it this way. There is no such statement and there is no sense of security (Ankara 5, man, Malatya)

Similarly, smaller family businesses, that used to be majority of the earthquake region, consisted of up to 9 workers usually from family members struggle to start anew in their new setting.

Moreover, they are pessimistic about the return opportunities and restarting their business in their hometown. A tire dealer from Hatay presents a great example for this case:

They do not build a shop for someone whose shop was destroyed. They also don't provide a house for someone whose house was destroyed. Only if you apply to TOKİ, you get a house, but they put you in debt. You have to pay a front and they put the rest in debt. We cannot pay that. After all this devastation, after losing everyone we love, we cannot do that. We did not have any savings or bank accounts. Everything we had was all in the shop. We bought a lot of materials in the 9th or 10th month of 2023. We renewed everything, bought a lot of goods, tires and equipment. We used everything to the last bit. After the earthquake it ruined us. If we had managed to save some of our goods and materials from the rubble, maybe I would not have come to Adana. Maybe I could have managed to do something in Hatay. (Adana 6, man, Hatay)

The difficulty in running small and medium sized enterprises appear as the most important motivation for returning to homeland for business owners, after the betterment of housing, education and healthcare services and opportunities. Although the new city's employment opportunities may serve as pull factor for wage workers, the reverse can be said for SME owners. Thus, their hope to re-settle their business in the homeland with more familiar social and economic environment may oppositely serve as a pull factor for returning home. According to official İŞKUR data, the rate of workplaces with 1 to 9 employees in Hatay in 2023 was %86,8¹⁰ and there is a similar trend in most of the earthquake region. Our interviewees reveal that former employers of family businesses face both a human and financial capital loss after the earthquake, while their employees try to find new employment in other cities. Therefore, any policy action that aims for a better return opportunity for earthquake survivors in general must factor in this reality encountered by family businesses and SMEs.

¹⁰ <https://media.iskur.gov.tr/88114/hatay.pdf>

3.2. Integration into the Labour market: Tensions and Reliefs in the New Employment Areas.

3.2.1. Struggles of Finding a New Job

In addition to finding a safe and secure place to continue life routines, we see that people started to search for a new job in Ankara and Adana. The analysis revealed that people's search for new jobs in an unfamiliar work environment changed in terms of their age, educational background, time pressure as well as lack of returns and disappointments reflected as the core psychological obstacles during a job search. We observed that the younger and single participants were relatively flexible about experiencing different employments, or they ended up with finding similar jobs in the new city. We observed that the ones who have been employed as craftsman or running their own (small-scale) business such as owning a restaurant or working as independent lawyer maintained the similar professions after the displacement (see Table 1 and 2 for comparison). It wouldn't be misleading to say young people holding university degree and the ones who have previous crafts such as being cook, halva or dough masters were more flexible about finding jobs as they rely on themselves better than the ones holding insecure job positions such as being a farmer. Bonded by precariousness of previous employment areas and individual factors, the first struggle appeared as the age of the unemployed, preventing them to be seen as the potential workers in the unskilled employment areas. The following quote unveils the burden of age for a middle-aged man who was previously working as tobacco farmer in his own land. He mentions that his brother working as a doorman in Adana helped him to find a job as a porter, which he did not prefer because of his age and tough work conditions, but he had to accept it reluctantly as other potential employers refused him because of his age.

He said if we found another job, it would be more comfortable. We couldn't find it in the end, so we went there... Because why? I am 43 right now. I mean, you want to work in a more comfortable environments, you want to do things, but your body doesn't let you do...I applied to the factories, I went to the municipality... You know, they immediately ask your age... How old are you? I can work so that I applied. I mean, first get people work, observe them then decide about their age and capabilities... I mean, thank God. We stand on our own feet...I work as a porter. We're unloading trucks. (Adana 2, man, Adiyaman)

Most of the participants stated that they were highly motivated to work and applied for several job positions through the municipalities, Turkish Employment Agency (İŞKUR), provincial governorates, and private job-search websites. However, they did not get any return for months which leaves them in a more precarious and insecure status both in job search and existing living conditions because of financial and psychological strains. They relied on local governors' and national institutions' protective power at first, then they stated that they quit hoping for institutional support and looked for civil society organizations' and the relatives' networks for finding any job position because of expensive living conditions.

Although majority of people we interviewed declared that they find jobs via their own social networks, there was one extreme case, a 38-year-old married woman living in Ankara, saying that she found her current position as an accountant from private employments sites (e.g., kariyer.net) giving no information related to being an earthquake survivor. She underlined that there was no additional concern and positive discrimination for survivors. She only stated if asked in the job interviews. This case pictures how indifferent the job market is to the earthquake survivors.

I think (it was only in) İŞKUR. There was a small section where it asks whether you were affected from the earthquake, I checked that part, but I don't think that it was an active concern they were looking at in the evaluation. I mean I had no return from all that job positions via İŞKUR, as I have some priority. I also have a profession, I expected some return, honestly, especially from those who search for an accountant...I only had positive returns from the ones I myself applied for. Thus, there was nothing like 'we came from the post-disaster area, it is an emergency' nothing like that. (Ankara 8, woman, Hatay).

Intersected by their previous employment areas, for some of the participants in both Ankara and Adana, job-search process was not as painful as the ones previously working in precarious status. To illustrate, the sample included civil servants, newly graduated counselling teachers, engineers, tourist guide, etc, who were reappointed by the government. Although we revisited how the civil servants' re-employment processes lack trauma-informed perspectives, we observed that reemployment processes were not based on their professions, rather the availability of any job positions within the institutions. On the other hand, some of participants who are working in corporate institutions were relocated to their existing location with a new job by their employer.

However, most of them were still unhappy and unmotivated about their re-employment in previous jobs as the companies offered symbolic and so-called financial supports compared with other big companies in the market. A young single woman working in a well-known textile company complained about insufficient financial support and limited time for starting their positions in the cities that they were offered. She was living and working in Hatay prior to earthquake, and she pointed that her company's offers for new job positions in other cities were lacking physical, financial, and psychological awareness regarding earthquake zone.

The company couldn't fire me because it's a corporate company. Because it is a state-supported company, and this is a situation that will destroy the entire brand image when any employee comes out and says something negative. Nobody takes that risk. They first asked our friends. Ok, you can choose the city and zone you want to work' ok, let's work somewhere else, but what about the rents? It' 15.000 TL. Where can I go? You don't pay me the premium. I can barely live with my income. Nobody cared about that, and then people feel helpless and stayed at where they are. Most of them couldn't move. (Adana 3, woman, Hatay)

The experiences of finding or starting a new job also varied in terms of the type of the sector participants work. People who have been working in service sector such as running a restaurant or flower shop in Hatay unveiled different roots of current struggles in their job sector. Some of them complained about difficulty of starting a new shop in a new city because of the market prices, loans, and lack of available skilled workers while the others pointed to struggles about losing dedicated customers and moving to online trade. A man in fifties previously running a Hatay-cousin restaurant in Hatay underlined how difficult to start a new restaurant in Ankara as the market prices of the workers, meat and loans skyrocketed after the earthquake.

We have been doing this job for years, but they act as if we don't know the market. I ask the shopkeepers in my surrounding 'how much you pay your dough-master per day?', they tell me 1000 lira. I offer 1200 to the master and he wants 1500 from me. I cannot bring workers from Hatay because the rents are very high here. Neither the chamber of tradesmen nor the chamber of restaurant owners helped us when we opened the shop here. At least don't charge a membership fee, We said we are earthquake victims. Then they said that if you had opened in the earthquake

zone... We need money to open this place. We applied to the Chamber of Tradesmen for a loan, and they asked for two guarantors living in Ankara. I escaped from the earthquake, where will I find a guarantor? Who do I know in Ankara? (Ankara 9, man, Hatay)

On the other hand, 34-year-old young woman from Hatay now tries to maintain her flower shop in online market after the earthquake demolished her shop in Antakya. She and her family moved to Adana because she was familiar with the city as she healed her cancer in Adana hospitals previously and visit the city to find flower supplies for her business. However, she mentioned that her customers abandoned her after the earthquake supposedly because of their concerns for losing money. She and a couple of business holders (e.g., dessert/confectionary shops as family business) in our sample pointed out the need for collaboration and solidarity especially for those who try to sustain their trade either with personal or more organized supports such as using cooperatives' networks with the help of government.

I mean, I understand that they no more shop from my flower store after being a so loyal and dedicated customers. I thought that I will probably not be able to build a new trade system, or I will not spend my money for the products. I suppose people grow a kind of fear. I directly called my customers in Ankara, and they told me that we wait for you to get yourself together after the earthquake. But they see me on the internet and social media. I said that's so much for. This surprised me a lot, that people I worked together for years suddenly changed their paths to other shops. (AD-FG5, woman, Hatay)

3.2.2. Lack of Trauma Informed Work Environment

Individual trauma resulting from an event or series of events has lasting adverse effects on the individual's functioning and mental, physical, social, emotional, or spiritual well-being. Earthquake survivors face multiple layers of losses and traumatic events such as follow-up earthquakes reminding the initial trauma, loss of loved ones, loss of jobs, and loss of property during the first couple of weeks after the first earthquake. Additionally, an earthquake is often followed by secondary adversities (Overstreet et al., 2011). These include displacement, change

of jobs or schools, secondary health problems, changes in family dynamics and roles in the family, changes in socioeconomic status (Kozu & Gibson, 2021).

Following the traumatizing events of the earthquakes, most of the participants have developed the symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). People suffering from PTSD might have a hard time concentrating on their jobs, a reduced capacity to engage with colleagues, work effectively and creatively (National Fund for Workforce Solution, 2021). Moreover, sometimes the workplace can trigger traumatic experiences of employees and employees suffering from PTSD may avoid situations or people that remind them of the traumatic experiences. Our analysis suggests that earthquake survivors have faced not only adversities related to primary and secondary traumatic events but also work-related issues that negatively impact their ability to participate in the labour force.

In our administrative leave incident, they said the following: They said that people with children under the age of 10 would be on administrative leave. Since I lost my children, I didn't have the right to administrative leave. So, I told my manager about it. I lost two loved ones first, but I am not in a condition to come and work. Initially, I was at the hospital for 10 days. Later, I need to go and work, but there is nowhere to work. Everything has collapsed. Where will I stay, what will I do, my mental state is not good. I thought about it, my manager helped me, he managed it somewhat. But even that makes you feel bad. You have to work. (AD-FG9, woman, Adana & Hatay)

As demonstrated above, regulations which lack trauma-informed perspective are far from helping earthquake survivors. Rather, they might cause further mental problems. A retail saleswoman in Adana explains even large companies with professional units were not prepared for a trauma-informed intervention.

Yes, my own department deposited around ten thousand liras for me. Then they say, apply to the emergency unit for further assistance. You know, in corporate companies, there are units along with human resources. Now you're applying for assistance. They call you, asking you five hundred questions. "Friend, you're going to send me a mere pittance anyway... What are you explaining to me?" For the three thousand liras they're going to give us, they ask dozens of questions. For

example, a friend of mine says, "My car's engine broke down and I've been stranded in the middle of the industrial area with my wife and child, wearing only a piece of clothing. You're asking me if I have property, if I have a car? My entire house has collapsed, my life has collapsed, and I've been left in the industrial area with my wife and child under the rain with just a piece of clothes. I asked them what they were questioning me about and hung up the phone," he says. (Adana 4, woman, Hatay)

Critically, this problem is not only related to the working environment but also the employment search process of earthquake survivors. A participant from Adana, who works in labour intensive hard work demonstrates how PTSD prevents him from finding a job that he has previous expertise in. During his employment search, he was offered jobs that require traveling with trucks most of the time. However, he realized that vibrations in the truck re-traumatizes him, so he rejected this employment offer and accepted a more labour-intensive job that requires more hours. The lack of trauma informed care in the labour market is evident and intensified the problems earthquake survivors have been facing. Moreover, our analysis suggests that positive attitudes of company, manager, and coworkers helped earthquake survivor's post-earthquake settlement and even in some cases this reason became the most influential one for their settlement decision. A tourist guide from Adana explains how important those attitudes are:

I was mostly working freelance. When the earthquake happened, two days after the earthquake, a man [from a well-known tour agency] called me. "We sent three buses [for evacuation]" All the buses were completely loaded. On the first day, we went to Adana. Along the way, we picked up people who wanted to get out. For a month, we travelled from city to city with those buses. After that action, I stayed in Adana working for them. I was not sure if someone else would do such a thing. (AD-FG7, man, Hatay)

Finally, lack of trauma informed work environment posits a great danger for earthquake survivors as their mental state and the impact of PTSD increase their likelihood of suffering from occupational hazards. Unable to focus on tasks they previously used to do on a daily basis, survivors work in jobs that require constant focus such as driving, accounting, lifting heavy weight,

using machinery that they had no prior experience, etc. are constantly threatened by work occupational health and safety hazards.

As I said, they had to tolerate earthquake survivors a little in their workplaces. They did not do this. They appoint me to cash register... I worked in a mistake-prone place, and in fact, I made mistakes. I could not exchange money with this psychology anyway. Money was missing from my register, and they deducted it from my salary. (AD, FG3, man, Hatay)

This situation also poses great challenges for earthquake survivors working with machines that requires constant focus. A participant from Adana reveals how lack of focus and numbness might cost deadly injuries after recording ends. He told interviewers he almost dreamed as if he was working in his own tire shop back in Hatay when changing a tire with the machine and his hand was almost caught in the machine. These experiences of earthquake survivors show us how multifaceted traumatic experiences can be within the context of workplace.

3.3. Integration into Social Environment: Facilitating and Challenging Factors

3.3.1. Social Networks

Social networks play an important role in the integration of earthquake survivors into the local labour market especially if the work-related activities in destination are unfamiliar to the migrants. As other research demonstrates, migrant networks increase access to the labour (Zhao, 2003), and income (Amuedo-Dorantes & Mundra, 2007). Such networks also help migrants to have a noneconomic advantage such as being surrounded by people from the same ethnicity or culture (Lubbers et. al., 2007). Especially, in the case of Turkish earthquake survivors, the role of social networks has become particularly important since the institutional support from public institutions is limited. Our research demonstrated kin-based and ethnicity-based ties in the destinations play a very critical role in facilitating earthquake survivors' initial stage of settlement decisions. Interpersonal ties with extended family are of special importance in the social behaviour of Southeast Türkiye which involves familiarity, trust and reciprocal obligation of taking care of the family members.

One key aspect of social networks within the scope of this study is the fact that integration of earthquake survivors to local labour markets is closely related to the strength of their social

networks. Social capital played a crucial role in the employment and earnings of survivors by improving the effectiveness of the job search process compared to those who relied only on institutional support from the public authority. Studies on job-seekers argue that social contacts provide useful information in the local labour market and enhance the success rate of job search outcomes (Lin & Erickson, 2008). Social capital also has a positive effect on survivors' occupations and earnings. One of the participants from Ankara explains this process in detail:

I went to the place I was referred to. He said 'Brother, don't get me wrong, but this job is not suitable for you. You know, you can earn some pocket money and let your mind relax'. What was the job I was going to do? I was going to distribute food in the industrial region for a daily wage of 300 TL. There was no insurance, even the car was so old that has no insurance, no inspection, and even no brakes. I tried for a day, and I had to park the car by steering the wheel to the side of the curb to stop. I am in sales job since 2011 and a salesman without a driver's license cannot find a job in the sector. I just left the place and called my former employer in Hatay. When my boss heard about this, he said, 'I will talk to who owns ... company. I will speak to their regional director for you. Go there and start working.' Indeed, two days later, I received news and started working at their office in OSTİM. (Ankara 4, man, Hatay)

Even though this participant was not happy with the pay rate, he clearly stated how important it is for him to remain in the sector that he has been working for over a decade now. In this case, social connections facilitate the attainment of a higher status job by the power of his social networks. These networks demonstrated the richness of participant's resources to the potential employers. Also, the same networks were considered more reliable since his former employer was directly involved in the process through his interpersonal relations (Erickson & Jacoby, 2003).

Another important element of social networks is the fact that it facilitates self-employment through the provision of material support, and market information which helps entrepreneurs to identify business opportunities, foster new ideas, reduce uncertainty and minimize the cost of self-employment (Allen, 2000). This is crucial for earthquake survivors as they might lack certain aspects of urban social capital, which helps the establishment and operation of business by providing commercial information, administrative assistance and reliable partners for business

practices. An entrepreneur from Ankara explains the whole processes of resettling to Ankara and establishing a business with his nephew:

I went to Aydın first since our business has potential there. I found out that many of my friends, acquaintances went to Europe, but I was late to apply for a visa. I tried my chance in Cyprus, but they did not want me because of my age. Later, I left my family with my nephew in Ankara and went to Libya but actually lost some of my money to swindlers. After that I returned to Hatay but there was no housing and no school for kids, so we returned to Ankara. My nephew knows our business, he told me that our food would be popular here. I have never been in this neighbourhood, but he told me rents are relatively low and we will have more customers here. (Ankara 9, man, Hatay)

However, relying solely on kin or ethnicity based social networks might also hinder the social integration process of the earthquake survivors over time (Green et. al., 1999). Their overreliance on these networks sometimes isolates them from the resources available in the mainstream economy. The literature suggests that economic integration might be better facilitated by connections to non-kin residents, who can assist survivors by providing a bridge to the local labour market (Fong & Ooka, 2002). This process also helps the survivors to overcome cultural barriers and allows for enhanced psychological integration. Kin and ethnic ties are often ascribed status, that is mostly constructed before leaving the earthquake-stricken region, while non-kin resident ties are mostly constructed after migration and based on personal relations.

3.3.2. Social adaptation, Inclusion, and Exclusion

Social exclusion is defined as a state of relative deprivation and involuntary exclusion of an individual's participatory role in society (Kuitenbrouwer, 2003). This state of relative deprivation of earthquake survivors is characterised by poor housing conditions, poor health conditions, inadequate access to improve income generation and access to better employment opportunities. Even though those survivors are not subjected to international forced migration, their psychological state has been shaped by forced migration and they feel alienated by number of factors. Common factors contributing to the psychological marginalisation of earthquake survivors were sleep disturbance, PTSD, poor physical health, anxiety, depression and social isolation. On

the top of such negative post-disaster psychological health conditions, our research demonstrated that discrimination and symbolic exclusion are also important elements deepening their anxieties and concerns of belonging to somewhere and some group as well as their integration into the labour market.

We have been doing this job for years, but they act as if I don't know the market. I ask those who are doing [similar] business around me how much they pay for a worker daily, and they tell me it is around 1000 liras. I offer 1200, but still they ask 1500 from me. The biggest problem we face here is how people perceive us. They treat us like Syrian refugees. We came with our money, yet they still treat us like refugees (Ankara 9, man, Hatay)

While this entrepreneur interviewee never explicitly reveals his reasoning of feeling excluded, his ethnicity and Turkish dialect reveals one of the reasons why he feels alienated and excluded during his interactions with the local labour market. On the other hand, another participant working in a restaurant as a chef demonstrates how important the formation of ties with non-kin residents is for earthquake survivors, as an indicator of social adaptation and inclusion.

There is a fixed [work] routine here. Chef comes, I know this, and I won't do anything else. But I even wash the dishes. I asked couple of days to visit Hatay. [My boss] told me 'Here, take this as travel expense'. I called him three days later and told him 'Boss, I couldn't finish it and I need a couple more days'. He told me 'Chef, just finish your work and come, it doesn't matter if we close the kitchen until you come'. This gives me so much comfort. Is it because of my profession? Or because of my experiences of earthquake? I feel because of my profession, there is an importance put on me. I mean there is a sense of ownership. (AK-FG5, man, Hatay)

Starting as a wage-labour, the interaction of this migrant with a non-kin resident allowed him to have a better income opportunity as he demonstrated his skills to his employer and managed to have a better deal in which he earns a certain percentage of the total income of the restaurant while employers still pay his salary and social security expenses. Starting from a symbolic inclusion in which a non-kin resident employee's acknowledgement of chef's exclusive skills not just allowed this participant to have a better income opportunity, but it also helped him to process his cultural and psychological integration. It is safe to say that once earthquake survivors have culturally and

socioeconomically been accepted and consider themselves as members of their new non-kin resident social networks, most will not return to their rural origins.

Finally, while symbolic inclusion/exclusion is critical for labour market integration for participants working in the private sector, it also has a critical impact on the mobility of public servants who have been appointed to other cities. A teacher who moved to İzmir at first since he mentioned he had a belonging to the city from his previous assignment, relocated to Ankara because of the social pressure he experienced during his time in İzmir.

First of all, right after the earthquake, a serious political atmosphere emerged due to the upcoming elections. This political atmosphere latch onto something related to the earthquake. For instance, from Malatya ... They [locals] see various things as the reason for X party getting so many votes. But they started directing this towards the earthquake survivors, as in using as a tool. So, despite not sharing the same views as the government, they blamed us because of the election results. (Ankara 5, man, Malatya)

While this teacher felt the need to relocate because of this symbolic exclusion, another public servant from Adana shares a similar story which includes both exclusion/inclusion which in turn shaped her decision to stay in Adana. This participant lost both of her daughters and her husband. When she was relocated to Adana and started working again, she realized her co-workers try to avoid her not out of a malign intention.

Because usually when people talk about their children and spouses, they suddenly started to fall silent when I arrived. This started to hurt me even more. You feel like you're being excluded. Actually, they don't want to talk, I mean. They don't want me to get hurt. Then there's this silence again. I wanted to leave on February 6th. They gave me three days. When there's a program, I leave as I want. (AD-FG9, woman, Adana & Hatay)

This case not only demonstrates how symbolic inclusion and exclusion practices become central for earthquake survivors' adaptability to their new work environment, but also the need for a "trauma-informed workplace training" for both public and private sectors. Both employers and employees require such training to understand how their behaviours and practices could be vital for inclusion and exclusion.

When we look at the overall results related to acquaintance related push factors after the earthquake, we may hesitantly infer that people from different districts of Hatay were reluctant to leave their cities and cosmopolite cultural pattern making them feel at home.

3.3.3. Rural-Urban Practices as Game-Changer

One of the most critical findings of the tracer study is the fact that almost all participants overtly or covertly discussed their migration stories, challenges they have faced, their future hopes through a dichotomy between rural and urban life. In general, earthquake survivors moved from southeast Türkiye where traditional gender roles, kin networks, and communal living to more competitive and fast urban destinations in which they long for their previous social safety net. However, a small number of earthquake survivors decided to move to their close proximity like Adana, in order to ensure that they have a rural familiarity, a sense of belonging. Rural to urban migrants encounter various problems in adapting to new urban life, which also involves a disparity between the pre-migratory expectations and post-migratory realities. Even though most of the participants are economically well off compared to their previous pre-earthquake settings, they are facing urban work and social practices that are completely contradictory to their way of living.

Because there are no social activities here. I see Ankara just like a beehive. I see it as the bees flying to flowers in the morning light and returning to the hive in the evening. In our hometown, we would not work on weekends. Here, I am off only on Sundays, and my wife is off on Mondays. So, we never have time to sit down and do something together. Back in our home, we used to have a different circle of friends that we used to go camping, seaside, and picnic. Here I am thinking about buying a car, but then I think, what use would it be? (AK- FG4, man, Hatay)

Earthquake survivors also take advantage of these contradictions when opportunity arises. For example, the same participant complaining about the work-life balance of urban life is very happy to break traditional gendered social norms when his wife starts to work in Ankara.

When I came here, my wife started working. I struggled a lot for 20 years to get her a job in Hatay. Politics work very differently in our hometown because it is small. My perspective was different but the people we socialized with were

different. They always say, 'this is unnecessary'. Here, my wife got a job in 2 days. (AK- FG4, man, Hatay)

Supporting this view, our analysis suggests that especially young women embraced urban practices and utilized them to break away from traditional gender roles of their previous rural settings. Adana in this respect offers a unique opportunity for earthquake survivors, while most of the participants decided to move to Adana based on the rural-ethnic familiarity, it still allowed young female participants to enjoy their break away from traditional gender roles.

I enjoy working as a topographical engineer here. I enjoy working in the construction site. For example, working on a construction site might be challenging for a woman, but I love being out in the field. I enjoy getting fresh air. It is like I found my place in life after the earthquake. In Gaziantep, for example, no one stays out after eight in the evening. It is as if the city is eighty years old. For example, [here] even if I go out at 2 a.m., I feel like I can walk freely as a single woman. That is why I am not very keen on returning to Gaziantep (Adana 4, woman, Gaziantep)

But, you know, since my father was retired and I was not working at that time, I wanted to start working since we will need it financially. I also wanted to work to adapt to real life, because I needed it spiritually. Let me get up in the morning and go to work. Let me see different people in the workplace. Because at home, the same conversations will go on for months. Knowing this, I wanted to work. Frankly, I was someone who wanted to move beyond my own hometown. I was someone who wanted to venture out to other places to benefit from different opportunities. I am not considering going back now, no. I am not considering going back for a long time. Maybe, way later, after retirement or something like that. (AK- FG6, woman, Adiyaman)

The literature on rural-urban migrants suggests that the main difficulties faced by rural-urban migrants lie in how to achieve upward socioeconomic mobility through adapting to modern industrial society and complete the transformation from country people to city people. (Lu et. al. 2013, Yue et. al. 2013). However, in our research we found out that the struggle between urban and rural moves beyond the existing understanding of socioeconomic differences. In our sampling,

rural-urban dichotomy has not been rooted in the education level or the occupation itself. Rather it can be argued that the main problem area is the acculturation raised by rural-urban migration that is mainly the adaptation to a new life and work style after earthquake survivors being established in the urban society. Acculturation in this respect refers to a process in which individuals from out-groups have come into continuous first-hand contact with non-kin resident in-group with subsequent changes and contradictions from the original culture patterns (Redfield et. al. 1936). Two participants from Adıyaman, a young single woman who lives and works in Ankara as a lawyer and a middle-aged man earning his means through physical labour discuss clearly how the struggle between rural and urban underlines integration process:

We used to grow tobacco. Our lands were already scarce. We only had two acres of land. We also used to lease two more and had four acres. Now, I don't know, working all day long. Honestly, when I come home in the evening, I feel it in my back, my stomach, my head. There is always a rush. We work very hard and intense. (Adana 2, man, Adıyaman)

Adıyaman is a small place anyway. You know the bailiff, or you know the clerk. He might be your neighbour, or someone's cousin, and so on. Say you woke up late and you have a hearing at 09:00 in the morning. You can call [clerk]: "I just woke up and I won't make it. Can you take another file before mine? Take it, I am coming through". They will handle it, it is not really a thing. Here, because of the chaos in the courthouses, you even wait half an hour for the elevator line. Or for example, back in Adıyaman clerks used to call us for exploration with prosecutors. "If you are ready, come with us or follow us with your car". Here in Ankara, I waited and waited for the call. Then my boss asked me what happened with the exploration, and I told him that they didn't call me. He asked, "Why would they call?" We didn't have much formality [in Adıyaman]. Our clients are already like a distant relative or a neighbour. They would come to my office to have a tea. No appointment or fee for consultation (AK-FG2, woman, Hatay)

Not only the urban working practices have a negative impact on socioeconomic integration of earthquake survivors in their urban new setting. It can be as simple as having a coffee during the work break, which could intensify rural-urban dichotomy.

We used to live in rural areas in Hatay. For example, we are very warm-hearted people. As Mediterranean people, we are more sincere. We like to share things. But unfortunately, this is not the case in Central Anatolia. We are very separate from each other in this regard. One day I cooked coffee [from Hatay] and gathered people together for a coffee break. The next day I was scolded [by the manager]: 'Who are you? Why do you bring coffee to people? Why are you so intimate with people?' I had a problem like that (Ankara I, man, Hatay)

This participant, a university graduate, who enjoys better salary and working conditions in his new workplace, demonstrates how acculturation could become a bigger issue than as it is in the migration setting. Since this migration pattern represents most of the forced-migration characteristics, it is imperative to understand how central cultural integration is for an overall socioeconomic integration. Life and work style in modern urban society is totally different from traditional rural society, and the process of a new cultural learning of urban society is important and necessary. Socioeconomic integration comes after cultural integration, and it shows us that integration process is mature and ready for further advance. Psychological integration is the ultimate end of migrant integration. In this respect, psychological integration refers the phase in which migrants start to create emotional bonds with the non-kin residents and the host society in general. If earthquake survivors do not feel that they belong to the host society or recognise themselves as members, they cannot be fully integrated to their new setting even though they have better job opportunities in their new setting. Labour market integration that is reflected in the equality of income and employment opportunities should be followed by social integration, which should be understood as the increase of horizontal social relationships with residents.

An alternative reading of this data and the challenges earthquake survivors have been experiencing through urban-rural dyad shows us that while their previous settings represent traditional/corporatist welfare regime, their new environment has been shaped by the commodification of their human needs. In this system people are strongly committed to the preservation of traditional familyhood, in which family benefits encourage motherhood and day care and similar family services are underdeveloped (Esping-Andersen 1990, 27). In the absence of that kind of a social security net, these survivors had to rely purely on their material possessions to sustain those needs. As a result, almost all participants highlighted their increasing need to gain more money and even in some cases previously unemployed women joined in workforce. In other

words, commodification of their needs which was previously provided by their extended family altered earthquake survivors' way of interacting the market forces.

4. General Conclusion

Overall, this tracer study highlights how the labour market integration of earthquake survivors in a new setting is intricately linked to social, cultural and psychological factors, alongside economic realities. This research shows the need to complement quantitative understanding of labour market analysis with qualitative methods which will then provide a better, more holistic picture of the reality. In this respect, it is important to understand that the analysis and recommendations presented in this tracer study focused more to the in-depth experiences of survivors and their interaction with the market forces, rather than offering a general guideline for post-disaster labour market integration. The findings of the study should be interpreted in the light of this perspective, and absence of references to the specific issues or sectors should not be perceived as an indication that there are no room for development in these areas.

First, almost all participants relied heavily on their social networks while deciding their migration destination, settlement preferences, and job search processes. As discussed in detail in previous sections, social networks are crucial for our participants. Our analysis indicates that the strength of earthquake survivors' social networks in the destination city is the key indicator whether they might experience difficulties or have an easy settlement. The stronger ones' social networks in the destination city, the higher is their chance to find a job in the labour market. One related finding of the research is that those who had no social ties in their destination city prior to their migration relied on a different type of social network during their migration and settlement processes. Social networks created through social media networks compensated for their lack of personal social networks and helped this group to find opportunities during the first six months after the earthquakes. However, the biggest problem experienced by this group is that these networks quickly disappeared after a while.

There are two varying results based on the skills of earthquake survivors who engaged in social media networks in this context. Participants from the first group, who possess skills demanded in the labour market, tested their position in the market through regular job search activities and meanwhile have been exposed to increased non-kin resident interaction with the disappearance of

these temporary social support mechanisms. This group has shown high levels of social and labour market integration. As suggested by the literature as well, this group is making significant progress towards total integration. Participants from the second group which lack skills for employment, on the other hand, has shown serious psychological regression after the disappearance of the support mechanisms they acquired through social media networks. This regression is significantly leading to a likelihood of psychological marginalization. Especially, participants from Hatay in this group feel trapped as they also do not consider returning as a viable option. Contrary to their confidence and trust to public policies, they hardly find any institutional support or offer in finding a new job but they relied on social networks and the civil society organizations. Emergency response of the state in the initial months after the earthquake seems to have created a stronger confidence for public policy to protect the survivors; however, the long-term socio-economic recovery response lags behind this initial performance. Labour market recovery can be perceived in this long-term recovery category and development partners including the UN and NGOs will be more needed to support the state in this respect.

Following the first finding, we came to the conclusion that there are more earthquake survivors from Hatay than what the official data suggests. While at first, we anticipated this as a sampling bias, after putting more efforts we realised that survivors from Hatay do not consider returning to Hatay as a viable opportunity. The underlying reason for this disbelief cannot be thoroughly understood by measurable factors such as lack of education, housing, and employment opportunities alone. This group prefers to demonstrate the physical and emotional destruction of the earthquake by referring to the loss of their childhoods, identities, and cultures. As a result, this group particularly experiences urban social and working practices in their new setting as a transgression to their own culture and tradition and as a result of this psychological marginalization they became more vulnerable in their social and work life. Consequently, this psychological marginalization inhibits both their integration and opportunities for healthy urban growth. It is imperative to identify and recognise specific needs of this group while designing policy recommendations since they neither are able to return, nor integrate to their new setting and the resentment that grows inside will further increase their psychological marginalization. As the findings suggests, socioeconomic integration comes after cultural integration, showing that integration process is mature and ready for further advance.

The struggles in integration into labour market can also be traced in the experiences of different worker profiles. There appeared two diversified profiles related to people who lost their jobs after earthquakes: wage-workers vs small and medium scale enterprise owners. Their labour market needs differ in terms of their previous job experiences. The wage workers, corporate employees and employees of SMEs, are comparatively easier to adapt to new job market as they are used to working conditions. However, SME owners, have difficulties in finding a job and adapting to working conditions. Thus, Institutionalisation levels and scales of employers brings about changes in available solutions offered by employers to the workers. We should also bear in mind that bigger, formal enterprises could probably better make use of public subsidies and job retention programmes such as short-term work allowances for their workers (kısa çalışma ödeneği).

Reintegration of the wage workers and workplace owners to the labour market has diversified difficulties. As the former group is familiar with wage-based “working” conditions it may be easier for them to adapt to new environment. On the other hand, the workplace owners such as SMEs have difficulties related to surviving in the “wage-based working conditions” as they are not provided immediate financial support and other opportunities to maintain their business. Thus, there is need for diversified strategies to reintegrate previous small entrepreneurs into labour market either as an employer or workers. They should not be treated the same as previous waged workers who are ready and familiar for "worker" positions. They need special skills and employability programmes to transfer their previous qualifications into labour market. Reskilling programmes and entrepreneurship programmes will need to be carefully designed and implemented in this respect. Identification, profiling of these people is also another field of action for the public authority. Business owners lose their supply chains and consumers, faced bureaucratic barriers to institutional support from employers' business membership organizations in the newly settled provinces. For some business owner's, e-commerce emerged as a coping mechanism. In that sense, it can be recommended that business membership organizations can offer financial support to their members. Also, it would strengthen the business owners if governmental and civil society institutions establish a business network to maintain supply chain and e-commerce trainings.

While each individual case in this research experiences different levels of disadvantage, when it comes to a systematic analysis of the participants, those who have lost their partners and had to shoulder childcare alone appear as the most disadvantageous group. An analysis through a gender

lens reveals that women and men belonging to this group face different gendered challenges in their interactions with the labour market. First of all, women who lost their partners are taking on the responsibility of earning income for the first time in their lives while most of them have no prior work experience. According to one interviewee, these women, numbering in the hundreds in just one social media group in Ankara, present several unique labour market disadvantages that have not been documented in the literature. One of their biggest disadvantages is the absence of strong social networks to support childcare in a different city while they are working. Another significant issue is the fact that these women have limited job opportunities in the labour market which often reinforces the traditional gender roles that put women in service sector jobs such as kitchen and cleaning. Third, their increased vulnerability after losing their partners increases the chance of informal employment in the labour market. On the other hand, men who have lost their partners experience a crisis of masculinity alongside the impact of losing a dear one. These men face a challenge to their changing traditional gender roles with the loss of their partners. While previously these men were only responsible for their breadwinner role, now they are struggling with childcare, an area they have never been familiar with before. These men are harbouring deep concerns about the well-being of their children and are not actively seeking employment if possible, despite having sought-after skills and years of experience. Evidence-based policy recommendation for labour market integration of this group would not only support this most disadvantaged group but also will increase the integration opportunities of their children. The next section provides more detailed recommendations for this group and potential interventions.

Another major finding of this research is the absence of disaster-focused trauma-informed care in the labour market and the pressing need to implement trauma-informed care both in the public and private sectors in Türkiye. Critically, even though the content and scope of this research is on the earthquake survivors and their experiences in local labour markets, the general work climate of Türkiye could benefit a lot from this approach as the country generally suffers from a lack of preparedness against the negative effects of natural disasters. Our participants pointed out the severe negative impact of this situation particularly exacerbating the problems they faced and how it increases their sense of helplessness. Some participants who have been actively working in the job markets for years express their discomfort, especially with the dismissal and undervaluation of the negative impact of the earthquake on their mental health by their employers or managers after a certain period. On the other hand, job seekers complain about the neglect of their traumatic

experiences in the job search process by employment officers. The concept of trauma-informed care has emerged conceptually in the last two decades and is frequently developing further. Especially, lack of trauma-informed care is evident in labour markets. The crucial point here is that trauma-informed care in the labour market is not referring to a clinical intervention, rather is “a way of seeing and responding to people who have likely been impacted by trauma by providing safety, compassion, and mindfully avoiding re-traumatization” (International Employee Assistance Professional Association, 2020) The policy recommendation section will further elaborate on the concept and offer areas of implication within our earthquake context.

Even though we discussed the different ways in which earthquake survivors move from one place to another and push and pull factors, we feel there is a strong need to discuss one factor individually as it presents a much more straightforward solution through policy change. From the very first moment of the earthquake, the migration patterns and labour market relationships of most of the earthquake survivors have been influenced heavily by the health issues either they or their loved ones have experienced. Even after a year mark, labour market integration of several earthquake survivors is still closely related to their access to healthcare services. Several male participants have emphasized that they often have to go for check-ups for their own health issues and this situation would not be well-received in the job market. Similarly, men whose partners or children have health problems believe that regular and formal work opportunities are limited due to their frequent hospital visits. Another critical issue related to this issue is that in families who have migrated from rural areas to urban places, men do not want their wives or daughters to leave the house alone. Even though these men have occupational skills demanded in the labour market and have a much better chance to find a job, these men reject participating in the labour market voluntarily and instead they accompany their daughters/wives to their visits to hospital/school. These men feel that urban practices and the sheer magnitude of metropolitan cities are transgressing their traditional understanding of gender roles, and this situation creates anxiety. We believe that even though this issue seems more complex compared to others, a more nuanced and multi-faceted intervention would fix this problem. One of the intervention tools for this issue should be raising information and awareness on gender equality of the communities with various sociocultural and economic background. In the following part of the report, we will share our recommendations in detail.

Finally, tracer study shows the way in which the mental and physical conditions of the earthquake survivors presents new occupational health and safety risks. All participants experience a psychological and/or physical condition that creates risks not only for their well-being but also for those around them. While resettling in a new city and job, employers or their managers have not factored in possible issues that might arise after their devastating experiences. These survivors work in jobs that require constant focus such as driving, accounting, lifting heavy weight, with machinery that they had no prior experience, etc. In all cases, participants frequently referred how their mental and physical state creates risky situations for them. Our findings suggest that labour market actors have overlooked this situation which might have devastating consequences. While this issue presents a similar challenge as the lack of trauma informed care, it should also be scrutinized under occupational health and safety issues because of the imminent threat it possesses to human life.

5. Policy Recommendations

The policy recommendations have been prepared by adapting a hands-on approach, taking into account the strengths and limitations of the research. We anticipate that the current field research and empirical findings are beneficial to provide valuable insights for decision-makers in crafting public policies. These policies may not only address improvement of decent work conditions for the survivors but also foster economic recovery in regions and sectors affected by earthquakes. The insights we gathered from the research process enable us to provide valuable information for policymakers to design targeted interventions that effectively address the diverse needs and aspirations of earthquake survivors. Especially, it is important to overcome gender blind analytical frameworks offered in the labour market literature and we believe one of the key outputs of this tracer study is, it highlights the importance of mainstreaming gender responsiveness in all policy cycles throughout the recovery and rehabilitation.

In this section, we aim to analyse the strong reflections of the collected data over time and space to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the data analysis. By grounding policy recommendations in empirical evidence and first-hand accounts, we expect to move beyond fallacies of existing literature and aim to ensure that interventions are tailored to the needs and realities of all those affected by the earthquakes. In this context, this section will first focus on more pressing issues that have greater influence on the earthquake survivors in the short term, and

later it will address more complex issues concerning not only earthquake survivors but also disaster preparedness and labour market. Additionally, we also would like to stress the importance of ‘lessons-learned’ findings that were pressing in the immediate aftermath of the earthquake but now lost their current relevance.

5.1. Healthcare

One of the most pressing issues that continues to impact the labour market integration and wellbeing of earthquake survivors is the healthcare needs in their households. We have identified several different patterns that have a negative impact on the earthquake survivors. First pattern represents participants who have physical or psychological problems after the earthquake. These earthquake survivors either do not actively engage with the labour market or try their best to continue working with their medical conditions. In either case, participants from this group are having trouble working in the same sector/occupation due to their medical conditions. Moreover, both employed and unemployed participants based their decision on their perception of the labour market. Participants believe that their value in the labour market is diminished because of their conditions. This is also a recurring theme for participants who are primary caregivers for those suffering from a medical condition in their households. They believe no employee would like to hire someone who constantly asks for absence to take their family members to hospital. Even though the issue remains mainly on healthcare, its implications are widespread and directly impacts earthquake survivors’ economic integration in their new setting. There is a need for flexible work arrangements for those survivors who need to allocate time for healthcare needs of themselves and/or their household. Therefore, we argue that a multi-partnered intervention focusing on this vulnerable group would not only increase their well-being and social integration but also their integration to the labour market.

5.1.1. Mapping Healthcare Services and Increase Accessibility of Healthcare for Earthquake Survivors

First of all, our analysis suggests there is a need to map out healthcare opportunities for internally displaced earthquake survivors in their new settings. The Ministry of Health and Municipalities have advanced services related to patient transportation and home care, but our research suggests earthquake survivors face issues accessing these services. Strengthening the access of earthquake

survivors to the existing healthcare services will provide an effective and impactful method to address at least a part of this problem. This recommendation requires almost no new resources or capacity building, but only strong coordination among different stakeholders. However, its implication would be quite valuable for earthquake survivors.

Target Group

The primary aim is to reach earthquake survivors who are dependent on their family members for their daily lives or healthcare related issues:

- Earthquake survivors with chronic illnesses
- Earthquake survivors who discharged from the hospital and need to continue their treatment.
- Individuals requiring physical therapy or psychological counselling and yet unable to continue these services out of their homes.

Objectives of the intervention

- Provide health and social support to the earthquake survivors.
- Ensure healthy recovery without interruption.
- Accelerate the recovery process.
- Increasing the labour market integration of the target group.
- Empower earthquake survivors and ensure their living environments meet health standards.

5.2. Trauma Informed Work Environment

Trauma informed care is a recently developing area that is critical to understand the depth of earthquake survivors' experiences and find ways to implement for short and long-term wellbeing of survivors. Our analysis suggests that most of the participants develop the symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) following their exposure to acutely traumatizing events of the earthquake. These symptoms involve re-experiencing terror and helplessness; a focus on avoiding cues that might be reminders of the trauma; problems with concentration and focus; and an exaggerated startle response (American Psychiatric Association, 1994). Impact of the PTSD could be long lasting and even had a definitive impact on the brain activity. A study focusing on September 11 survivors in New York found out that brain threat detection systems of the survivors were over-active even a full five years after the events (Ganzel et. Al., 2007). Stress also has a dire

impact on one's work life. Even though this is a new era for most employers and policy makers, it is important to bring this approach to the fore in workplaces and the broader workforce system.

One of the most common themes emerged from this tracer research is the fact that almost all participants have experienced a negative interaction with the labour market. Our analysis suggests that there is a pressing need to highlight trauma induced work experiences of earthquake survivors. Those experiences show us that survivors who are employed in private/public sectors, formal/informal jobs, or those who are actively seeking jobs have been struggling with the labour market based on their PTSD levels. Critically, while in some cases this struggle stems from employers/managers/co-workers behaviours and attitudes, in others it is more systematic. However, in both patterns earthquake survivors' traumatic experiences and their impacts are either undervalued or dismissed completely. Especially those who are struggling with problems with concentration and focus are directly open to occupational accidents. Consequently, any policy developed without putting trauma informed interventions based on the experiences of earthquake survivors will be incomplete. Also, these experiences should also be communicated to a wider audience to ensure a more disaster ready workforce. In light of our analysis, we believe there should be policy recommendations at two intersecting levels; individual and structural. Especially, there is a pressing need for revision of public appointment and mobility legislation after disasters. Moreover, employment services, employment agencies, counselling and job matching services should be informed about the post traumatic experiences of their prospective employees.

Finally, the absence of trauma-informed labour market poses significant risks for earthquake survivors, as their mental state and the effects of PTSD heighten their chances of encountering occupational hazards. Struggling to concentrate on tasks they once performed routinely, survivors often work in roles demanding constant focus which exposes them to occupational health and safety dangers. Even though they are familiar with the task, work environment and the machinery for the job, lack of focus and numbness puts them in danger. Therefore, occupational health and safety legislations should be revised accordingly, including the impact of trauma after disasters.

5.2.1. Trauma Informed Human Resource Training Module

PTSD is not something that one would experience individually. Employees' experiencing PTSD symptoms are having troubles with concentration and focus, engaging with colleagues and working effectively. They also show low levels of productivity and creativity at work. Stress also

negatively affects survivors actively searching jobs and those participating in job training programs. We argue that there is a pressing need to prepare a training module for employment specialists to overcome these problems. However, instead of preparing overly academic and technical training, it is crucial to first discuss with the representatives of the workforce. We suggest a workshop for the representatives of the workforce in which they would be introduced to trauma and its effects on employees and job seekers based on the experiences of the earthquake survivors with their interaction in the labour market. A second strategy would be compiling possible strategies and practices from case studies that illustrate what works. Also, during this workshop, it is critical to create a symbiotic relationship between employer perspective and trauma experts. Implementation of trauma informed workplace management requires a strong support and understanding of the employer perspective. Existing efforts to implement trauma-informed management in the workplace tends to fail as a reason for disconnection between these two parties as employers often find these training overly technical. Only after this symbiotic experience a training module should be prepared for a general use.

Target Group

- Human resource managers from corporate companies,
- Representatives of employer organizations,
- Representatives of employee organizations,
- Representatives of workforce development organizations.

Objectives of the intervention

- Introduce employer organizations to trauma and its impact on workforce,
- Prevent re-traumatization and accelerate the recovery process of survivors,
- More inclusive and responsive human resource management,
- Identifying structural barriers against trauma-informed care in the workforce.

5.3. Rehabilitation/Recovery Opportunities

Previous sections highlight the importance of social dialogue during the recovery period. Unlike emergency response, recovery/rehabilitation process should include effective communication opportunities to bring workers, employers, government and civil society together for planning, implementation and monitoring of all recovery efforts. Special care for adoption of social dialogue

principals will ensure integration of stakeholders on an inclusive ground that is conducive for realisation of decent work and fundamental rights and principles at work for all throughout the recovery process.

One of the fundamental findings of this research is the strong desire among the majority of participants to be part of the solution processes. These individuals, even if they have experienced the earthquake themselves, demonstrate resilience through engaging in aid or coordination activities after the earthquake. This process helps them remain active, take initiative, and use their own competencies to tackle problems that arose after the earthquake. However, this endeavour is often practiced individually, and survivors could not find a systematic approach towards this end. These individuals are highly competent and experienced in their own area of expertise. While providing valuable insights and experiences on their expertise, these individuals find resilience and empowerment. We advocate for creating a venue where earthquake survivors can share their labour market experiences with a broader audience, including universities, civil society, and public. This initiative would not only aid in the rehabilitation processes of survivors but also foster a creative environment for experts who might be unfamiliar with the earthquake context.

5.3.1. Strength in Unity: Building pathways for Earthquake Survivors' workforce integration

This recommendation could be planned as a two-day workshop that aims to bring together stakeholders actively working in the field of labour markets governance with earthquake survivors and academics focusing on disasters and their impacts. The main aim of this workshop is to convey the experiences of earthquake survivors directly to the experts, which will give survivors a sense of being part of the solution to the problems they face. This will not only increase survivors' resilience but also allow experts to have first-hand information from the field. A secondary objective is to bring all stakeholders together to come up with innovative ideas on the matter at hand. Also, a workshop at this magnitude would bring back the attention of the public and policymakers to the impact of the earthquake after more than a year has passed.

Target Group

- Earthquake survivors
- Academics working on disasters.
- Civil society organizations

- Labour organizations
- Policymakers and government officials

Objectives of the workshop

- Conveying Earthquake Survivors' Experiences to Experts
- Developing solutions with all stakeholders
- Reintroducing the experiences of earthquake survivors

5.3.2. Employment Process

Even though accommodation, education and healthcare opportunities are more pressing issues that directly impact survivors' decision to settle in a new city or return to their hometowns, it is the employment that presents a unique opportunity for overall integration of earthquake survivors. In many cases, it is the first social interaction with residents and would shape the rest of the integration pattern. Therefore, employment policies of the earthquake survivors should be handled carefully. There are several online advertisements claiming to hire earthquake survivors. Our findings shows that most of the time these advertisements were not closely regulated and often used as a public relations strategy by the corporate companies. This issue creates a fault line for survivors as they feel they are mistreated. For most of the survivors, employment opportunities present an important milestone for their resettlement process, and being mistreated hinders their social and labour market integration. That is why we argue that this policy should be regulated by İŞKUR carefully so that survivors will not experience adversity with the labour market.

A second issue related to the relation between rehabilitation of earthquake survivors and employment is focusing on employment creation efforts for services needed in the earthquake-affected region and linking skills of the earthquake survivors with these jobs in their hometown. Our analysis suggests that university graduate professionals are seeing this as an indirect coping strategy. While this strategy would help survivors to work where they are emotionally connected and ensure their own well-being, they are also professionals who have been through the same devastating experience and could relate to the experiences of others. Especially, directing young graduates from fields like psychology, social work, psychological guidance and counselling would give them an opportunity to rebuild their city and foster solidarity.

Moreover, there is need for diversified strategies to reintegrate previous small entrepreneurs into labour market either as an employer or workers. They should not be treated the same as previous waged workers who are ready and familiar for "worker" positions. They need special skills and employability programmes to transfer their previous qualifications into labour market. Reskilling programmes and entrepreneurship programmes will need to be carefully designed and implemented in this respect. Identification, profiling of these people is also another field of action for the public authority.

Finally, as discussed in detail in the previous sections, small and medium sized enterprises play a crucial role for stimulation of local labour demand and the recovery of local labour markets. Our findings reveals that these enterprises in the earthquake region used to play a critical role not only on the economic activity but also, they functioned as an instrument of solidarity for both workers and employers. The most important problem that these enterprises face after the earthquake is the loss of productive capital and human capital. While human capital is something hard to replace for most survivors, government could develop policies to foster productive capital requirements of the small family business owners. While there are several opportunities regarding this matter, these options perceived as insufficient by the survivors. Especially, access to capital resources and bureaucratic challenges are identified as the most important challenges by the participants. In this respect, we argue that it is critical to identify existing conditions in the local market. First, there is need to evaluate existing conditions of the local enterprises and identify non-operating businesses due to disaster circumstances and those closed permanently. By doing so it would allow policy makers to have a better understanding of the targeted audience in given context. Secondly, it is vital to support recovered businesses that have thrived after the disaster. Recovered business in this sense refers to the capacity to return pre-disaster conditions. Supporting this group first would enhance their position in the market and allow them to generate more job opportunities in their respective sector. The most effective intervention is increasing their access to financial capital instead of giving incentives such as reduced social security expense etc. Supporting local businesses is the first and most important way to foster new job opportunities at large, and it also increases the return possibility of survivors who have moved to other cities.

6. References

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APPENDIX A: Informed Consent Form

GÖNÜLLÜ KATILIM (ONAY) FORMU

Bu çalışma, Birleşmiş Milletler Uluslararası Çalışma Örgütü tarafından yürütülmektedir. Çalışma, 6 Şubat depremlerinden sonra ülke içi yer değiştiren (daha önce yaşadıkları şehirden ayrılıp başka şehirlerde yeniden düzen kuran ve orada yaşamaya başlayan) kişilerin istihdam alanına katılımlarına, daha önce yaşadıkları şehirlere geri dönmeye dair düşüncelerine, yerel ve ulusal kurumlardan beklentilerine dair görüşlerini almayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu görüşler doğrultusunda elde edilen veriler, ülke içi yer değiştiren kişilerin yaşam ve istihdam koşullarını iyileştirmek adına planlanacak olan politika önerilerine yol gösterecektir.

Çalışmanın Amacı: Bu çalışmanın amacı, depremden sonra şehir değiştiren kişilerin çalışma ve yaşam koşullarını, istihdam alanına yeniden katılma süreçlerini ve taşındıkları yerde kalma/kalmamaya dair düşüncelerini öğrenmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Takip edilecek süreç: Yukarıda belirtilen amaç doğrultusunda görüşmeyi kabul eden kişilerle yüz yüze görüşmeler yapılacaktır. Bu görüşmelerde kişilerin çalışma/istihdam alanına dair süreçlere, depremin öncesi ve sonrasındaki yaşam deneyimlerine, yerel ve ulusal birimlerden beklentilerine dair sorular sorulacaktır. Görüşmeler esnasında daha sonra yazıya döküp analiz edebilmek adına ses kayıtları alınacaktır. Ancak bu ses kayıtları yalnızca araştırmacılar tarafından dinlenecek ve yazıya dökerken tüm katılımcılara birer rumuz verilerek anonim olarak saklanacaktır. Görüşmelerimiz esnasında hiçbir şekilde görüntü kaydı alınmayacaktır.

Rahatsızlıklar ve Riskler: Görüşmeler esnasında depreme dair anıları hatırlamak ve bu süreçler hakkında konuşmak kişilere duygusal olarak zorluk yaşatabilir. Ancak bu süreçler hakkında konuşmak ve kişilerin kendi deneyimlerini ifade etmeleri diğer yandan onlar için rahatlatıcı da olabilmektedir. Bu anlamda katılımcılar ne zaman rahatsız hissedерlerse devam etmeme özgürlüğüne sahiptirler. Görüşmeyi yarıda bırakabilir, verilerinin kullanılmamasını talep edebilirler. Depreme dair anıları ve duyguları konusunda zorluk yaşamaya devam eden katılımcılar, talep ettikleri ve gerekli görüldüğü takdirde, Türk Psikologlar Derneği'nin ücretsiz psiko-sosyal yardım ünitesine yönlendirilecektir.

Kazanımlar: Katılımcılar bu araştırmaya katılarak yerel ve ulusal otoritelere sürece dair geri bildirim verme ve gelecekte (ihtiyaçlara yönelik olarak) geliştirilmesi planlanan sosyal politikalara

katkı sunma imkanına sahip olacaklardır. Bu çalışmaya katılım doğrudan bir fayda sağlanamayabilir, ancak araştırmaya katılım bölgedeki ekonominin gelişimine ve bölgenizdeki depremlerin iş yapıları üzerindeki etkisini ortaya çıkarmamıza yardımcı olacaktır.

Süre: Görüşmelerin süresi katılımcının bu süreyi nasıl kullanmak istediğine bağlı olarak değişecektir. Bir üst sınır olmamakla birlikte bu gibi görüşmeler ortalama 60-90 dakika sürmektedir. Katılımcının durumuna göre daha kısa veya daha uzun bir görüşme de olabilir.

Gizlilik Bildirimi: Uluslararası Çalışma Örgütü ve görüşmeleri yapan araştırmacılar dışında hiç kimse kişisel bilgilerinizi bilmeyecektir. Elde edilen veriler bilgisayar ortamında şifreli bir dosyada, isimler anonimleştirilerek depolanacaktır. Bu veriler 6698 Sayılı Kişisel Verilerin Korunması Kanunu'nda belirtilen süreler boyunca saklanacak ve sonrasında imha edilecektir. Elde edilen bilgilerin veri sorumlusu ILO Türkiye Ofisi olup 6698 Sayılı Kişisel Verilerin Korunması Kanunu (KVKK) kapsamında ele alınacaktır ve diğer kurum / kuruluşlar ile paylaşılmayacaktır.

Soru Sorma Hakkı: Bu araştırma hakkında, katılımın öncesinde veya sonrasında aşağıda belirtilen iletişim adreslerine ulaşarak soru sorabilir, bilgi talep edebilirsiniz. Proje yürütücüsü ve ekipteki diğer araştırmacılar sorularınıza cevap verecektir.

Gönüllü Katılım: Bu araştırmaya katılımınız tamamen gönüllüdür. Görüşme süresince herhangi bir noktada katılmayı reddetme veya çekilme hakkınız bulunmaktadır.

Yukarıdaki şartları okudum. Bu araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ediyorum.

Adı-Soyadı: _____

İmza: _____

Yukarıda verilen bilgileri okudum. Bu çalışmada yer almamla ilgili sorular sorma ve talep ettiğim ek bilgileri alma fırsatım oldu. Araştırmaya katılmayı gönüllü olarak onaylıyorum.

1-Evet

2-Hayır

Katılımcı olarak haklarınızla ilgili her türlü sorunuz için lütfen iletişime geçiniz:

Researchers' name, email and telephone

APPENDIX B: In-Depth Interview Questions

Biraz kendinizden bahseder misiniz? (Yaş, eğitim, cinsiyet ve hane halkı bilgileri için yönergeler verin)

Yaşadığınız şehirde hayatınız nasıldı? Depremden sonra yaşadıklarınızı nasıl anlatırsınız? Başka bir şehre göç etmeye nasıl karar verdiniz?

- Görüşmeci için yönlendirmeler: Şunlar hakkında bilgi almaya çalışın...
- Acil durum barınağı
- İlk Barınak
- Son Barınak
- Hasarlı bir ev, ekonomik fırsatların olmaması, eğitime erişimin olmaması, ikincil afet, yakın akraba kaybı gibi birincil faktörler.

Depremden sonra duygusal ve psikolojik durumunuz nasıldı? Nasıl hissettiğiniz hakkında konuşmak ister misiniz? Ne düşündünüz? Lütfen bana deneyimlerinizden bahsedin.

- Bu sorunlarla nasıl başa çıkıyorsunuz?
- Destek aldınız mı?

Başka bir şehre taşınmaya nasıl karar verdiniz?

- Peki ya arkadaşlarınız ya da aile üyeleriniz? Kararınızı etkilediler mi? (Görüşmeci için yönlendirmeler: Görüşme sırasında olumlu veya olumsuz etkileri açın).
- Göç ettiğiniz şehirde tanıdıklarınız var mı?

Bu ağlar yerleşiminizi olumlu ya da olumsuz etkiledi mi? (Konaklama, iş arama vb.)

- Göç ettiğiniz şehirde tanıdıklarınız var mı?
- Bu ağlar yerleşiminizi olumlu ya da olumsuz etkiledi mi? (Konaklama, iş arama vb.)

Taşınma sonrası nasıl geçti? Bana ne tür durumlarda yeni çevreye uyum sağladığınızı veya sağlayamadığınızı hissettiğinizi söyleyebilir misiniz?

- Mülakatı yapan kişi için ipuçları: Aşağıdaki sorulara yanıt almaya çalışın ancak bunları çok doğrudan sormamaya da çalışın.
- Yeni yere, işe ve topluma uyum sürecinde neler yaşadınız?)
- Ne tür destek mekanizmaları deneyimlediniz?

- Sosyal ağlarınız sizi nasıl destekledi?
- Devletten, yerel yönetimlerden, vakıflardan, yardım kuruluşlarından vb. ne kadar yardım aldınız?
- Yerel veya ulusal makamlardan daha fazla yardıma ihtiyacınız oldu mu/oluyor mu?

Bana yeni bir şehirde iş arama sürecinizden bahsedebilir misiniz?

- Görüşmeci için yönlendirmeler: Aşağıdaki sorulara yanıt almaya çalışın.
- Depremden önceki işiniz?
- Sektöre özgü hikâye
- Formel-enformel istihdam durumu
- Yeniden yerleşim sürecinde karşılaşılan zorluklar
- İş bulmanıza yardımcı olan herhangi bir kişi veya kurum var mı?
- Ayrıldığınız şehir ile taşındığınız şehrin iş olanakları açısından karşılaştırılması (hangi şehir daha fazla alan ve fırsat sağladı).
- Şu anda bulunduğunuz şehirde iş olanaklarınızı artıracak eğitim programlarına katıldınız mı?
- (Hayır ise), eğitim ve beceri geliştirme açısından yerel-ulusal yetkililerden herhangi bir beklentileri olup olmadığını veya hala olup olmadığını anlamaya çalışın.

Şu anki işiniz hakkında konuşalım. Kendinizi bu işte nasıl görüyorsunuz?

- Görüşmeci için yönlendirmeler: Aşağıdaki konulara ilişkin yanıtlar almaya çalışın.
- İş tatmini
- Maaş, çalışma koşulları, sosyal güvenlik, iş güvencesi
- Şu anda çalışmakta olduğunuz işteki en büyük sorunun ne olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz? (Ekonomik, yönetsel, kişisel, sosyal, psikolojik).
- Bu sorunlarla hangi yollarla başa çıkıyorsunuz?
- Herhangi bir çözüm fikriniz var mı (uygulayamasanız bile)?

Memleketinize geri dönmeyi hiç düşündünüz mü? Bu olasılığı düşündüğünüzde aklınıza ne geliyor?

- Görüşmeci için yönlendirmeler: Aşağıdaki sorulara cevap almaya çalışın.
- (Evet ise) Neden?
- Eğitim, sosyal çevre, fiziksel sorunlar, güvenlik, çevresel sorunlar, barınma sorunları, ekonomik faktörler ve psikolojik faktörlerin bu karar veya umut üzerindeki rolü.

- Şimdi deprem sonrası göç, yeni bir yere yerleşme ve iş bulma sürecinizi düşünün lütfen... Bu yolculukta en çok hangi kurum ya da kişinin desteğinden memnun kaldınız? Siz onların yerinde olsaydınız ne yapardınız?
- Sihirli bir küreniz olsa ve geleceğe baksanız, 5 yıl sonra kendinizi nerede, ne iş yaparken görüyorsunuz? Bana hayallerinizden ve beklentilerinizden bahsedin.

APPENDIX C: Focus Group Interview Questions

1. Önce sizleri tanıyalım. Örneğin...
 - a. Kaç yaşındasınız?
 - b. Evli misiniz? Çocuğunuz var mı?
 - c. Hangi şehirden geldiniz?
 - d. Deprem öncesi neler yapardınız?
 - e. Ne zamandır buradasınız?
2. Depremden sonra Adana'ya/Ankara'ya gelmeye, buraya yerleşmeye nasıl karar verdiniz?
 - a. Bahsetmeye başlarsa deprem sırası ve hemen sonrasında neler olduğuna dair bir soru ile devam edilebilir.
3. Yerleşmeye karar verme sürecinizde kimler ve neler etkili oldu?
 - a. Adana/Ankara'da tanıdıklar var mıydı?
 - b. Sağlık ve tedavi süreçleri bu kararı nasıl etkiledi?
 - c. Tanıdıklar ne ölçüde etkili ve yardımcı oldular?
4. (İstihdam süreçleri) Buraya geldikten sonra iş arama süreçlerinizden biraz bahseder misiniz?
 - a. Şu an nerede hangi pozisyonda çalışıyorsunuz?
 - b. İşinizi nasıl/hangi kanallar ile buldunuz?
 - c. Bir kurum veya tanıdık yönlendirmesi oldu mu?
 - d. Kaç yere, nerelere başvurduğunuz?
 - e. Nasıl dönütler aldınız veya almadınız?
5. Burada yaşamaya alışabildiniz mi? Sürecinizden biraz bahseder misiniz?
 - a. Adana/Ankara ile geldiğiniz şehri iş olanakları açısından karşılaştırabilir misiniz?
 - b. Buradaki iş olanaklarınızı artırmak adına neler yapıyorsunuz, ne gibi yollara başvuruyorsunuz?
 - c. (varsa) Şu an çalıştığınız yerde karşılaştığınız problemlerden biraz bahsedebilir misiniz?
 - d. Bu problemler için sizin çözüm önerileriniz ne olurdu?
 - e. İşverenlerinizin depremi yaşama deneyiminize dair hassasiyet gözettikleri oldu mu/oluyor mu?
 - f. Olumlu deneyimleriniz nelerdir?



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