

Job-Occupation Choice and Happiness at Work of Refugees: A Cross-Country Qualitative Research¹

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Abstract

This study aims at examining and comparing the situational conditions, terms and resources that are effective in the choice of job-occupation and situations that make them happy in their job in the country of origin (the country they come from) and the host country (Türkiye) from which they migrate. In line with this aim, the phenomenology approach, which is one of the qualitative research methods, has been used in this study. Qualitative data obtained as a result of structured interviews with 16 refugees who came to Türkiye from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq, currently working in an organization or running their own business, have been subjected to content analysis. According to the findings of the study, it has been determined that the majority of the refugees (f=13) have different jobs in the country of origin and the host country, and the factors that affect their choice of job-occupation have changed. While the main factor that causes the choice of job-occupation in the country of origin is the orientation of the family and being raised in that occupation from childhood (f=6), in the host country, the job-occupation is a necessity rather than a choice (f=11), the obligation to look after the family and financial needs have been the source of the motivation to work in any kind of job. When the two countries are compared, it has been determined that the reasons for the happiness of the refugees in the work they do in the host country also change. The sources that make them happy at work in the country of origin are spending time with family, achievement, service to the country, passion for the work, financial gain, spirituality, dignity and trust. Resources that make them happy at work in the host country are financial gain, social support, autonomous working conditions, being helpful to others, equity, appreciation and spirituality

Keywords: Choice of job-occupation, happiness at work, well-being, refugee workers, qualitative study

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Öz

Bu çalışmanın amacı, göçmenlerin menşe ülkede (geldikleri ülkede) ve göç ettikleri ev sahibi ülkede (Türkiye'de) iş-meslek seçiminde etkili olan ve işlerinde mutlu olmalarını sağlayan durumsal şartların, koşulların ve kaynakların neler olduğunu tespit etmek ve karşılaştırmaktır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda çalışmada nitel araştırma yöntemlerinden biri olan fenomenoloji yaklaşımı kullanılmıştır. Araştırmada; Suriye, Afganistan ve Irak'tan Türkiye'ye gelen mevcutta bir işletmede çalışan veya kendi işini yapan 16 mülteci ile yapılan yapılandırılmış görüşmeler sonucu elde edilen nitel veriler içerik analizine tabi tutulmuştur. Çalışmanın bulgularına göre mültecilerin çoğunluğunun (f=13) menşe ülkede ve ev sahibi ülkede yaptıkları işlerin ve iş-meslek seçiminde etkili olan unsurların farklılaştığı tespit edilmiştir. Menşe ülkede iş-meslek seçimine kaynaklı eden temel unsur ailenin yönlendirmesi ve çocukluktan o meslekte yetişmesi iken (f=6) ev sahibi ülkede ise yapılan işin-mesleğin bir seçimden çok zorunluluk olduğu (f=11), aileye bakma yükümlülüğü ve mali ihtiyaçların herhangi bir işte çalışma güdüsüne kaynaklık ettiği bulunmuştur. İki ülke kıyaslandığında mültecilerin ev sahibi ülkede yaptıkları işte mutluluk sebeplerinin de değiştiği tespit edilmiştir. Menşe ülkede işlerinde mutlu olmalarını sağlayan kaynaklar aileyle vakit geçirme, başarıya, vatana hizmet, yapılan işe tutku, maddi kazanç, maneviyat, saygınlık ve güvendir. Ev sahibi ülkede işlerinde mutlu olmalarını sağlayan kaynaklar ise maddi kazanç, sosyal destek, özerk iş koşulları, başkalarına faydalı olma, hakkaniyet, takdir ve maneviyattır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İş-meslek seçimi, iş mutluluğu, iyi oluş, mülteci işçiler, nitel araştırma

¹ This study is the revised and expanded version of the paper titled "Mültecilerde İş Mutluluğu: Ülke Karşılaştırmalı Nitel Bir Araştırma" presented in Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University between the dates November 03-05, 2022, in the 9th Organizational Behavior Congress and published in the proceedings book.

Introduction

At the end of 2022, 108.4 million people worldwide have been forced to leave their countries and seek for asylum in other countries due to conflict, violence, human rights violations or events which has deeply caused harm for public order (UNHCR, 2023). Türkiye is one of the countries hosting the highest number of asylum seekers in the World by hosting approximately 3,6 million registered Syrian refugees as well as approximately 320,000 refugees and asylum seekers of different nationalities (UNHCR Türkiye, 2023). In Türkiye, only in 2021, 168,103 foreigners were given work permits. Of these, 91,500 are Syrians, 2,479 Iraqis, and 2,923 Afghans (Ministry of Labor and Social Security, 2021). A significant number of immigrants and refugees, whether registered or unregistered, are in the labor market in the host country (Çoban, 2018).

Although migrant workers occupy a significant portion of the workforce in many countries, they are often disproportionately forced to work in high-risk roles, difficult jobs, and low-paying jobs with no job security that locals do not want to work (Eurofound, 2012; ILO, 2020; WHO, 2020). In fact, this situation is similar for refugees in Türkiye, and the biggest economic and social problems for them are the challenges in participating the workforce and working conditions (Kocadaş, 2018). This is the fact that refugees accept to work in unqualified jobs with all kinds of hardships for much lower salaries than local employees in order to earn an income and sustain their lives, employers perceive refugees as a 'cheap labor source' (Ciğerci, 2012). The problem is not just about unemployment or low salaries.

Refugees, who work in qualified jobs in the country of origin, have a professional occupation and a good career, can work as blue-collar jobs in the host country without job security, and they can change their professional identity to rebuild their work life, and their professional qualifications may become invalid (Chen, 2016; Luksyte et al., 2014; Chen, 2008). They are faced with the obligation to give up their professional identity and to do business different than their expertise for reasons such as clinging to life under financial pressures, financial needs, and the obligation to look after

their families (Man, 2004). They may even work informally in difficult and dangerous working conditions, for low wages, in daily and seasonal jobs with no job security (Hill et al., 2019) and they may leave their professional identities, perhaps they may stay away from their own identities. Studies conducted in Türkiye also support this situation. On the other hand, Syrians who have certain jobs or belong to a workforce in their own country become unemployed in Türkiye or they are forced to work in jobs that do not match with their profession. For example, in a study conducted with 150 immigrants, while the rate of those who stated that they were unemployed in Syria was 0.7%, this rate increased to 31.3% after coming to Türkiye. In addition, while the rate of people who were craftsmen, tradesmen, merchants, or had a professional job in Syria was 52%, in Türkiye, this rate decreased to 13.4%. Besides, in the same study, it is seen that 35.3% of immigrants work in daily temporary jobs or paid jobs (Çetin, 2016, p. 1006-1007).

The fact that refugees face many difficulties in professional and social integration (Hynie, 2018) that brings mental and physical health problems for them. It also negatively affects their happiness and psychosocial well-being in their work and life. Some refugees in Türkiye may experience difficulties due to reasons such as lack of work permits, limited work permits, poor working conditions, working in jobs with high levels of danger, poverty and anxiety about being sent back home, even if their education level is high in the country they come from (Civan, 2017; Yalim, 2020, p. 109). These challenges bring about mental health problems for them, trigger symptoms such as depression and anxiety, and reduce their well-being (Lindert et al., 2009; Alemi et al., 2016). Besides, the current study indicates that refugee workers are more unhappy in their jobs than domestic workers (Liu et al., 2020; Bretones et al., 2020).

Refugees, who work in insecure, low-paid and precarious jobs that are less preferred by native workers, are exposed to labor exploitation on the one hand, and have to struggle with discrimination, exclusion and language barriers on the other (İncili & Aysan, 2023, p. 211). However, refugee workers receive almost half less wages

than native workers working in the same workplace and/or doing the same job (Lordoğlu & Aslan, 2016, p. 802), and they have a harder time meeting their nutritional and shelter needs (Çinar, 2018, p. 125), wages are underpaid or delayed by employers (Engin, 2017, p. 8). Compared to native workers, this economic and social exclusion situation has a more negative impact on the well-being and satisfaction (satisfaction) of refugee workers in their social lives and jobs (Spitzer et al., 2023, p. 11-12; Herold et al., 2023, p. 931).

In general, happiness at work or employee happiness is defined as a person's physical, emotional and mental well-being and satisfaction with life both at work and outside of work (Danna & Griffin, 1999). When the literature is examined, it is seen that there are many factors and resources for experiencing happiness at work. Feeling happy in performing the job, characteristics of the job, interactions with managers and colleagues (Danna & Griffin, 1999; Suojanen, 2012), individual characteristics such as psychological capital, sources of intrinsic motivation and life satisfaction (Ramirez-Garcia et al., 2019; Khatri & Gupta, 2019), finding meaningful work (Lips-Wiersma et al., 2023) are some of these sources. On the other hand, excessive workload and job insecurity, lack of work-life balance, exposure to unfair treatment, stress and uncertainties in business life cause individuals to be unhappy (Singh & Aggarwal, 2018).

Socio-economic reasons such as not recognizing the skills and qualifications of refugee workers, challenging job demands, fear of losing the job, long working hours, language barriers, and social exclusion negatively affect the refugee workers' well-being (Wang & Sangalang, 2005; Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007; Paul & Moser, 2009). A sense of belonging, access to economic and social rights, organizational inclusion and social support increase the well-being of refugee workers (Newman et al., 2017; Le et al., 2018; Le et al., 2022). It is suggested that refugees may experience different levels of welfare depending on the conditions of the host country they migrate (Rosenberg et al., 2019). In addition, well-being may be affected by work and non-work conditions in the context of the host country as well as their

individual skills and competencies or other psychological and physical factors (Jiang et al., 2018; Vaquera & Aranda, 2011). Besides, as an opposite supporter to the social exclusion, organizations in the host country with the inclusive perception may foster the wellbeing of the refugee workers as they may feel valuable for being a part of the organization.

Some of the refugees are able to use the qualifications they have in the host country to a certain extent (Luksyte et al., 2014) with unstable working conditions (Bretones et al., 2020), some have to change their occupation or cannot find a suitable job compatible with their professional occupation (Çetin, 2016), experience resource loss, and their subjective well-being may change depending on the context (Shirmohammadi et al., 2023). However, there are relatively few studies on the comparison of past and present work experiences, determining the reasons for choosing these jobs, and how their choices are a source of well-being in the working life of the refugee workers. It has been considered that finding the solutions to unanswered questions is essential in order to comprehend the working conditions, psychological and job needs of refugees in a better way. However, there is still lack of sufficient studies about the job happiness and improving the well-being of migrant workers in the context of host country and working conditions, examining the special needs and capacities of refugees (Le et al. 2018; Le et al., 2022) for further clarification by conducting interviews (Shirmohammadi et al., 2023) which have been one of the motives for the current study. Within the scope of this information given, the study includes the following questions: "What are the jobs-occupations and the reasons for choosing the jobs-occupations in the country of origin and the host country?"; "Has there been a change in the reasons for choosing a job-occupation?"; "What are the sources that make them happy at work?"; "Have the reasons that make refugees happy at work changed in Türkiye?" and "Is it more satisfying for refugees to work in the country of origin or in the host country, and what are the reasons?".

Method

In the current study, the phenomenology design, one of the qualitative research methods, has been used. Phenomenology studies allow the researcher to explore and deeply examine the phenomenon that is required to be understood better or to describe by directly referring to the experiences of the participants (Creswell, 2016). The cases of the study have been determined as 'the choice of job-occupation' and 'the sources of happiness at work'. The study aims at examining the jobs they do in their countries of origin and in Türkiye, the reasons for choosing these jobs and the reasons that make them happy in their jobs, based on their personal and business life experiences, and to investigate them with an exploratory approach. To explore of their occupation, jobs, reasons for choosing these jobs, and the sources that make them happy in their jobs, both in the country of origin and in the host country has provided a comparison between the two countries.

Data Collection Tools

Before data collection process, Institutional Review Board permission for research was obtained from University's Ethical Committee in 2022. Semi-structured interview (Merriam, 2018, p. 87) was used as a qualitative data collection method in the study. The interviews were conducted face-to-face and online. Due to the fact that some of the participants who agreed to participate in the research were in different provinces, and some of them could not find suitable time intervals due to their working hours, online interviews were applied in addition to face-to-face interviews. Thus, time and space problem barriers were tried to be removed for interviews (Carter et al., 2021, p. 713). While preparing the questions that will serve the purpose of the research in the interview guide, open-ended questions were preferred instead of narrow-scoped questions, so the quality of the data to be obtained was intended to be increased (Merriam, 2018, p. 101). In the first part of the structured interview form prepared in accordance with the guideline, questions about age, country of origin, marital status, number of family members in Türkiye and duration of stay in Türkiye were

included. In the second part of the interview form, questions prepared in order to determine the reasons for choosing a job/occupation and the sources of happiness in the country of origin and Türkiye, to compare them and to see the changes were included. The questions posed to the participants in this section are as follows:

-What was your job and what did you do before you came to Türkiye? What were the reasons behind you choosing your job-occupation?

- What do you do in Türkiye, what is your occupation? What were the reasons behind you choosing your job-occupation?

- 'Can you explain the reasons why you were happy by remembering 2 memories when you felt very good/happy at your job when you were in your country?'

- 'Can you explain the reason why you are happy by remembering 2 memories when you felt very good/happy at your current job (in Türkiye)?'

- 'Was it more satisfying to work in your own country? Are you happier working in Türkiye? Can you explain the reasons with your experience?'

Besides, probes have been added during the interview due to language constraints so that the participants could better understand the questions, detail their answers and take examples. Interviews have been conducted in Turkish, and since one participant did not know Turkish very well and spoke English, the interview was conducted in English. Before starting the interviews, the participants were informed about ethical issues such as the research procedure, that the research was conducted for scientific purposes, that their identity information would be kept confidential, that they could withdraw from the research at any time and that audio recordings would be taken in line with their consent. Verbal and written consent was obtained from the people who agreed to participate in the study. The interviews, which lasted an average of thirty minutes, were held outside the workplaces. Some participants did not want to be audio recorded. In this case, while one of the researchers conducted the interview, the other recorded the interview in writing.

Participants

Snowball sampling, which is one of the purposeful sampling methods, has been used to determine the study group (Patton, 2005). Snowball sampling has been chosen as a sampling method due to reasons such as the difficulty of reaching refugees, lack of information about them, and their refusal to meet with a foreigner (researcher). In addition, the risk of bias in including participants in the research was attempted to be reduced by snowball sampling (Naderifar et al., 2017, p. 2). The criteria for inclusion of the participants in the study; regardless of gender, age, country of origin, and the industry they work, they are determined as 'immigrants who have worked in a job in the country of origin and currently working in a job in Türkiye, provided that they volunteer to participate in the research.

16 refugees living in four different provinces in Türkiye, with different work permit and protection status, participated in the study. (Some of the participants requested that the provinces they live, their protection status and work permit status should be kept confidential, and that this information should not be included in the study. For this reason, relevant information was not included in the study.) The research process was terminated when it was determined that the data obtained as a result of the interviews reached saturation, in other words, the answers became repetitive and the thematic saturation was obtained (Silverman, 2016; Bengtsson, 2016, p. 10).

When the socio-demographic characteristics of the study group have been examined; 13 of the 16 participants in the study were male and 3 were female. 8 participants are Syrian, 6 are from Afghanistan and 2 are from Iraq. Their ages range from 30 to 44, with an average age of 38.5. 13 of the participants are married and 3 of them are single. The number of people they are responsible to look after is between 1-6 people and their stay in Türkiye is between 2-10 years. While 5 of the participants work in their own business, 11 of them work in different businesses. There are participants with different graduation levels from Primary School to University.

Data Analysis

The analysis process of the data started with the transcription of the raw audio recordings and written interview notes, the data were ready to proceed for analysis, and then the analysis and coding process was operated. First of all, each participant was coded as P1, P2, ... P16. Then, the data organized on the basis of basic research questions were analyzed with an inductive approach and content analysis technique. Thus, the data were analyzed in depth, prominent/important statements related to the phenomena were determined, and previously unambiguous codes and categories were also revealed (Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Christensen et al., 2020, p. 410). In addition, the eight-step process proposed by Tesch (1990, pp. 142-149) was also taken into account in the coding process.

In the final case, the reasons for choosing a job-occupation in the country of origin of the participants, the reasons that make them happy in their jobs, and the reasons why they choose their job in Türkiye and make them happy in their jobs are classified, categorized and named according to their similarities and differences. By analyzing the participants' statements of regarding the reasons for their choice of job-occupation in the country of origin and Türkiye, 12 codes and 2 categories formed by the codes were obtained. Some of the participants gave more than two examples while describing their happiest moment, and all the reasons they mentioned were included in the analysis. As a result of the classification, similar expressions of the entrepreneurs regarding the sources of happiness in the country of origin are 14 codes and 8 categories in which the codes are collected; similar statements regarding the sources of happiness in Türkiye were arranged under 12 codes and 7 categories where the codes were collected. The literature (e.g. Herold et al., 2023; Shirmohammadi et al., 2023; Jaiswal & Arun, 2020; Gauche, et al., 2017; Pescud et al., 2015) was used in naming codes and categories.

Validity and Reliability

After the interview questions were prepared, they were checked by a faculty member who had previously worked in the refugee sample in the field of organizational behavior and another faculty member who studied the concepts of career, well-being and happiness, and their approval was obtained. In addition, preliminary interviews were conducted with 3 refugees to test the comprehensibility of the interview forms and it was concluded that there was no problem in the clarity of the questions. Besides, with the researcher diversification method, two researchers took part in both the collection and transcription, analysis, coding and interpretation of the data. In order to describe the phenomena correctly, it is significant to reach out consensus at all steps. Thus, descriptive validity (Christensen et al., 2020, p. 404) was aimed to be provided. For reliability, no

guiding hint or question was made to the participants during the interviews, participant views were adhered to during the analysis and interpretation phase, researcher biases or self-interpretations were tried not to be included in the analysis process (Yalçın, 2022, p. 227).

Findings

The results obtained as a result of the content analysis of the qualitative data obtained from the interviews in order to find answers to the research questions of "What are the reasons for choosing the job-occupation and the job-occupation of the refugees in the country of origin and the host country? summary findings and category-code list are presented in Table 1 and Table 2. When Table 1 is examined; it is indicated that 13 of the 16 participants work in a different job in Türkiye than their job-occupation in the country of origin. A

Table 1. Occupations and reasons for choice in country of origin and host country (Türkiye)

Country	Country of Origin		Host Country (Türkiye)	
Participant	Job/Occupation	Choice Reason	Job/Occupation	Choice Reason
P1 (G:M,A:39)	Private driver (in a company)	Passion for cars	Paper collector	Obligation, freelance and independent work
P2 (G:M,A:42)	Baker	Growing up in the job since childhood	Baker	Professional occupation
P3 (G:M,A:42)	Chief of the restaurant (own job)	Starting own business	Paper collector	Obligation, freelance and independent work
P4 (G:W,A:39)	Owner of the job (Garment)	Starting my own business as a woman	Textile worker	Obligation
P5 (G:W,A:31)	Owner of the job (Hairdresser)	Appreciation of the job and starting a business as a woman	Worker in a hairdresser	Obligation, professional occupation
P6 (G:W,A:33)	Teacher	Like children and teaching	Textile worker	Obligation
P7 (G:M,A:30)	Healthcare worker	To help family and humanity	Worker at a furniture firm	Obligation, obtain an occupation
P8 (G:E,A:31)	Farmer	Family occupation	Grocer	To start own business
P9 (G:M,A:37)	Merchant	Family occupation	Grocer	To do the job I like and to do the job I know
P10 (G:M,A:44)	Motor mechanic	To do this job at a very early age	Textile firm (own business)	To start own business, freelance and independent work
P11 (G:M,A:43)	Sect leader	Spirituality	Human rights worker	Spirituality
P12 (G:M,A:44)	(...) manager	To protect the country	Worker at a coffee house	Obligation
P13 (G:M,A:38)	Pharmacist	To have a good occupation, to plan my own job	Textile worker	Obligation
P14 (G:M,A:42)	Tiling worker	To do this job since childhood	Worker at a sawmill firm	Obligation
P15 (G:M,A:30)	Police officer	To protect the country and status	Building worker	Obligation
P16 (G:M,A:43)	Mechatronic engineer	It is a decent job	Technician	Obligation

Note. P: Participant, G: Gender, W: Woman, M: Man, A: Age

P12 requested that the full name of his profession not be written as a condition of participation. For this reason, a part of his occupation is indicated with (...).

remarkable finding is that 6 white-collar workers who have a job in the country of origin are working as blue-collar workers in the host country.

sources of happiness in the work of refugees in the country of origin and in Türkiye are presented in

Table 2. Code and category list of reasons for job-occupation selection in country of origin and host country (Türkiye)

Category	Code	Example Statement of the Participant
The reasons of choosing the job/occupation in the country of origin (f=16)	Family and childhood upbringing (f=6)	<i>"I have been in the bakery since my childhood, I started as an apprentice and became a master. I love baking, the oven. I always continued in that job..." (P2, G: M, A:42); "Merchant is the family business, and it is my father's job. I am a student of my father, I continued like him..." (P9, G: M, A:37)</i>
	Passion, love the profession/job (f=3)	<i>"Ever since I was little, I loved children, I tried to teach my siblings what I learned at school. I also loved to read and learn. This is why I wanted to be a teacher..." (P6, G: W, A: 33)</i>
	Start own business, autonomy (f=3)	<i>"As a child, I loved to do makeup for women. I learned by looking, then I went to school (hairdressing). Then I wanted to start my own business and do it myself, I stood on my own feet..." (P5, G: W, A: 31)</i>
	Statue, prestige (f=3)	<i>"It is important to become an engineer in my culture. Everyone wants to be an engineer. It is a very prestigious job. So I wanted to become an engineer..." (P16, G: E, A: 43)</i>
	Patriotism (f=2)	<i>"I have loved my country very much and wanted to protect it at the same time. That's why I got the training of that occupation, then I became ..." (P12, G: M, A: 44)</i>
	Be beneficial to society (f=2)	<i>"My brother was killed three months before my university exam. ... I chose to be in the healthcare service because of this ... To help the wounded, to take on a mission..." (P7, G:M, A:30)</i>
Reasons to choose occupations in the Host Country (f=16)	Spirituality (f=1)	<i>"My religion is my biggest reason, I started at the mosque at the age of 12. I was an sect leader- imam for 27 years. Everything to be in the way of Allah ..." (P11, G: M, Y: 43)</i>
	Obligation- Be responsible to take care of the family and financial needs (f=11)	<i>"...I have to take care of my family, I will do anything. ...I have to do this job... I don't want to beg for help ..." (P13, G: M, A: 38)</i>
	Autonomy (f=4)	<i>"I don't take orders from anyone in this job. There is no one superior than me I can take care of my job and my life..." (P3, G:E, A:42)</i>
	Own business (f=3)	<i>"I just wanted to do the occupation I already know and I wanted to continue my occupation...It was already my occupation..." (P:9, G:M, A:37)</i>
	Obtain an occupation, start own business (f=2)	<i>"I had to learn a new job to continue my life here, to take care of my family. I wanted to be a furniture maker; I could be a master in this business. One day I might open a shop of my own ..." (P7, G:M, A:30)</i>
	Spirituality (f=1)	<i>"Again, to be in the way of Allah, to gain Allah's consent..." (P11, G: M, A: 43)</i>

Note: f=Frequency (Number of participants' statements), P=Participant, G= Gender, W=Woman, M=Man

When Table 1 and Table 2 are evaluated together, it is seen that the reasons for choosing a job-occupation in the country of origin and the host country of refugees differ greatly. The main reason for choosing a job-occupation in the country of origin is the guidance of the family and being brought up in that job from childhood (f=6). In the country of origin, no one mentioned the obligation to look after a family or financial needs as reasons for choosing an occupation. In the host country, the main reason for choosing a job-occupation is obligation (f=11).

As a result of the content analysis carried out in order to answer the research question, "What are the resources that make refugees happy in their work in the country of origin and in the host country?"; the codes and categories describing the

Table 3 and Table 4. However, an example of participant statement representing the codes is included in both tables.

In Table 3, there are codes and categories based on the experiences of the participants in their country of origin, in which they felt good and happy. The two categories most frequently cited by respondents as a reason for happiness at work in their country of origin are 'family and social relationships' and 'achievement', respectively.

Table 3. Happiness sources of the refugees in the country of origin

Category	Code	Example Statement of the Participant
Family and Social Relationships (f=9)	Spending time with family(f=3)	"Thank Allah,, I was happy there while I was working. If your family is healthy and you have Money for bad days you are happy. If my family is happy and if I can spend more time with them and if I have time to make my children study and take them out I am happy ... " (P13, G: M, A: 38)
	To sustain the family business (f=2)	"My father was a big merchant. I learned to shop from him. My father died later. I was actually going to go to another school, but I took over his business. I know I carry on his legacy, I'm happy about it." (P9, G: M, A:37)
	To make the family proud (f=2)	"The first day I finished school and got a job was my happiest day. I paid my father's debt, I made him proud. Very happy to be proud of it. ... " (P7, G: M, A: 30)
Social relationships at workplace(f=2)	Social relationships at workplace(f=2)	"... My friends were with me, I was happy to work with them..." (P3, G: M, A: 42)
	Competence (f=5)	"...I don't know whether you call it competent or mastery, sister. I was the master of my job. One day a very rich man brought his car. The seat is torn. He said that the upholstery of the chair will be changed, look, if the same does not happen, you will not get your money. I was the master of my job and he didn't know. I did it so well that they brought it from the same vehicle, they looked and I did the same. I was so happy." (P14, G: M, A: 42)
Achievement (f=7)	Self-actualization (f=2)	"...There are no women in our family who do their own business. I wanted it, I did it. I opened my shop, I grew it, I was very happy, I provided job to female friends. ... " (P5, G: W, A: 31)
	To protect the country (f=2)	"I chose this job to protect my country. I was honest, I would fight, I was telling those who worked for me to be good, to be honest, I was saying that we are needed to protect our country." (P12, G: M, A: 44)
Serving the country (f=4)	Be beneficial to society (f=2)	"...I got a job in the hospital, I was going to help the injured, heal them. I did it and I was very happy" (P7, G: M, A:30)
	Love the profession/job(f=4)	"... There are tourists coming to our place. I learned English. I became a private driver in Rent a Car company. I was a driver for important people who came. ... The car is like my life. I am happy every time I drive." (P1, G: M, A: 39)
Passion (f=4)	Earning money (f=3)	"...I earned my own Money. I became happy. I took care of my children." (P4, G: W, A: 39)
	Spiritual pleasure (f=2)	"Doing this job was like a gift from Allah, helping children learn something. I was trying to teach them moral information in the most correct way. I was doing a job that I was very satisfied with spiritually. ... " (P6, G: W, A: 33)
Spirituality (f=3)	Faith (f=1)	"Happy at work, felt close to Allah, happy in the world. I became mouezzin at nine years old, I became an imam-sect leader at the age of twelve. My voice is fine. Miracle of Allah, I was always in the mosque, I was happy. ... " (P11, G: M, A: 43).
	Status (f=2)	"Engineering is a prestigious job. opened my business and they even brought the machines of big companies to me. I have earned respect with my job, I am valuable. I was happy..." (P16, G: M, A: 43)" (P16, G: M, A: 43)
Dignity (f=2)	Trust (f=2)	"In our country, the employer trusts his worker, he does not despise him, we also trust him. It's only been a week, I went to work and he entrusted me and he made me the cashier... He also trusted my work so he told the customers me to do it. There are no cameras everywhere like here..." (P10, G: M, A: 44)
	Trust (f=2)	

Note: f=Frequency (Number of participants' statements), P=Participant, G= Gender, W=Woman, M=Man

When the category of family and social relations is examined; spending time with the family, maintaining the family business, making the family proud with the work done and social relations at the workplace are the sources that make the participants happy in their country of origin. In the category of achievement, there are sources of happiness (codes) of competence and self-actualization. The other two categories that make up the codes frequently expressed by the participants are 'service to the country' and 'passion. There is the code of protecting the country and being beneficial to the society under

the service to the country category and loving the job/occupation under the passion category. Other sources (categories) that the participants stated as a reason for happiness in their work are, in the order of frequency of expression, 'material gain', 'spirituality', 'respect' and 'trust'. There is earning money under the category of material gain, spiritual satisfaction and faith under the category of spirituality, and status under the category of dignity.

Table 4. Sources of happiness in the work of refugees in the host country (Türkiye)

Category	Code	Example Statement of the Participant
Financial Income (f=13)	Making money (f=7)	"I am unhappy here. If my happiness at work is the top of Everest, here is the Mariana trench. Still, if you say something you're happy about for your job, I'm not helping anyone (asking for help from others). I somehow take care of my family, I can send my children to school, I can get their needs.." (P16, G: M, A: 42)
	Fixed income assurance (f=6)	"The day I got my work permit was my happiest day at work. Before that, I worked in construction, I was a waiter, I did the cleaning. It was very difficult. I couldn't find a job. Sometimes they didn't give my money, or they gave very little. I don't think about how to take money from my family anymore. I don't think about what I'm going to do tomorrow. ..." (P7, G: M, A:30)
Social Support (f=8)	Friendly and supportive workplace colleague (f=2)	"Of course, people were happier doing their own work, but here they saw my work first. Later, when they heard that I was Syrian, other friends did not behave badly. They are happy, they are having dinner with me together. They invite me and my children to their home. They help me when I need something. It was a pleasure for me to be treated well by my colleagues at work. I go to work happily because of these reasons." (P5, G: W, A: 31)
	Manager Support (f=2)	"My employer is a very good man. I worked in a tire shop before. I would do any of his work, but he treated me very badly. Now my business owner asks me how I am. ... I called one night and said the child is sick. He came, he helped me. Sometimes I say I don't understand (what is said in Turkish), he doesn't shout, he tries to teach me and explain. He listens and smiles it is good because I am away from my homeland." (P2, G: M, A: 42)
	Establishing Social Relationships (f=2)	"Customers come here. There are also people from my own country, but there are also Turkish customers from other countries. I talk to them, they know me. Then we become friends with some of them. I earn money thanks to this place, but I am very happy to meet good people and make friends...." (P8, G: M, A:31)
Autonomous Working Conditions (f=8)	Respect (f=2)	"I was despised and ostracized because I was Syrian. People didn't talk to me in some of my jobs. Then I got into this job. As they get to know me here, people treat me with respect, which is what I am most happy about. They do not despise me, they do not humiliate me... ." (P6, G: W, A: 33)
	Autonomy (f=4)	"I am happy with this job. I don't have a master. I worked at the washer. Get up, go shout. I do not understand, I say you are right, insult, anger. I said I hated it, let it go, it's any kind of money. I bought these vehicles. ... I work independently. I am comfortable, I know my own business..." (P1, G: M, A: 39)
Be Beneficial to Others (f=5)	Shifts/Flexible working hours(f=4)	"...I worked somewhere before. I worked six days, I worked at night. The boss called me all the time, he says come and go there. It's evening and the work doesn't end. There is no holiday. Now, this job is on time. I can do all my work. I'm going home in the evening. I take care of both my work and my life. I play with the children. I have time for my family." (P3, G: M, A: 42)
	Helping people in need (refugee/immigrant) (f=5)	"I help poor orphans. The customer always takes something even he has no money. Doing this job also allows me to help them. If someone starts a business, we find the money and give it to him. ... The patient needs a wheelchair. He will go to the hospital, he will leave. I took it. If it wasn't for this job, maybe I wouldn't have gotten it, I wouldn't have been able to help that much. I share what comes from Allah." (P9, G: M, A:37)
Fairness (f=4)	Fair and equal treatment (f=4)	"...I worked in day jobs. They didn't give me the money I deserved. I saw that they were giving more money to Turkish workers. But we worked in the same job. No matter, we have to, whatever is given, of course. I've felt bad. We found this job, there is no other job. But here they give me the same money, they treat me the same as they treat other workers." (P15, G: M, A: 30)
Appreciation (f=3)	Appreciation of the occupation (f=3)	"...I made furniture for a client by myself. It had been six or seven months since he had been employed. The closet was finished, ... brother liked it very much. He said that you learned this job, it was very nice. I went to the client's house and put it on, they liked it very much. I was very happy that day" (P7, G: M, A: 30)
Spirituality (f=2)	Earning Allah's approval (pleasure)(f=2)	"...There is no one happier than me when I help other people for the sake of Allah. Earlier, I was gaining his consent by helping spiritually, now I am still struggling for his consent, whether financially. Who needs me here I come, I'm going. Someone was going to get married, take this money and get married. I am so happy. they are smiling I am smiling" (P11, G: M, A: 43)

Note: f=Frequency (number of participants' statements), P=Participant, G= Gender, W=Woman, M=Man

In Table 4, codes and categories created based on the participants' experiences in which they felt good and happy in their work in the host country (Türkiye) are presented.

The two categories most frequently stated by the participants as the reason for happiness at work in Türkiye are 'financial income' and 'social support', respectively. When the financial income

category is examined; earning money and having a regular income are the sources that make the participants happy in Türkiye. Within the social support category, there are sincere and supportive workplace friendship, manager support, socialization and respect happiness sources (codes). Two other categories frequently stated by respondents are 'autonomous working conditions'

and 'useful to others'. Under the category of autonomous working conditions, there is the code of autonomy and working hours/flexible working, being helpful to others and helping refugees/migrants in need. Other sources (categories) that the participants stated as a reason for happiness in their work are "equity", "appreciation" and "spirituality", in the order of frequency of expression. Fair and equal treatment under the category of fairness, appreciation of the work under the category of appreciation, and gaining Allah's approval under the category of spirituality.

Categories and codes have been compared in the context of sources of happiness in two countries in order to find answers to the questions of "Have the reasons that make refugees happy at work changed in Türkiye?" (See Table 3 and Table 4). As a result of the comparison, it has been determined that the sources and priority reasons that make the participants happy in their jobs have changed in general. For example, while the number of participants who stated that they were happy in their job because they earned money in their country of origin was 3, none of the participants mentioned regular income security or permanent job guarantee as a reason for happiness. In Türkiye, earning money and the security of regular income have been the first reason for happiness that comes to mind and responded by 13 participants out of 16. Again, while none of the participants in the country of origin stated autonomous working conditions as a reason for happiness in their job in the country of origin, 8 participants in Türkiye stated that they were happy in their jobs because they could be autonomous in their work and working hours were convenient/flexible.

Finally, in order to find an answer to the question "Whether it is more pleasing for refugees to work in the country of origin or the host country and what are the reasons?", the answers of the participants were analyzed, and 6 codes were created under 2 categories. The findings are presented in Table 5.

Table 5. The country where refugees feel happier at work and its reasons

Category	Code	Example Statement of the Participant
To work in the country of origin (f=14)	Belonging (home country, mother-tongue, fellow citizen) (f=12)	"... I am from Damascus, think like Ankara. My own country, my language, my friends. There is no fellow citizen here, they exclude us. They despise. I want to go back from here and start my business again..." (P3, G:M, A:42).
	To be able to do his/her own job-occupation (f=9)	"...I can't do my own business here; they don't accept my professional certificate. I thought to become a business partner with a Turkish. How comfortable and happy I was really doing my own business there. ..." (P13, G:M, A:38)
	Feeling valuable as a human being (f=7)	The people we do business in Türkiye do not respect or trust us. They want us to work in hourly, daily paid jobs. They don't value us. In our own country, we were valuable both as a business and as a human being..." (P14, G: M, A: 42)
To work in Türkiye (f=2)	No homeland to return and life safety (f=1)	"...I am very happy in Türkiye, I am Iraqi. War in Iraq, life is in danger. I don't have a home to return to... I'm happy no matter what job I do here ..." (P1, G:M, A:39)
	To own a regular job and life in Türkiye (f=1)	"...I started my own business here; I've been here for years. I have income. We're rooted here too ..." (P10, G:M, A:44)

Note: f=Frequency (number of participants' statements), P=Participant, G= Gender, W=Woman, M=Man

According to the findings, 14 out of 16 refugees stated that working in their own country was more pleasing," while only two stated that working in Türkiye was more pleasing and they did not want to return to their country of origin. The reasons why doing business in their own country is more enjoyable have been stated as belonging to the country and culture, being able to practice their own occupation and having built a career and being valued as a human being. The two reasons for those who say they are happier in their jobs in Türkiye and do not want to return are that there is no land to return, and they have a regular work-life in Türkiye.

Discussion and Conclusion

Individuals spend most of their time at work due to a choice or an obligation. A job where you spend

most of your time is not only a means of making money, but also a source of career choice, meaning and happiness. However, individuals' access to employment in qualified jobs may be restricted because they are in the disadvantaged group compared to the labor market and others due to the changes, difficulties, and obligations they experience. Especially for refugees who are included within the sample group of the current study, find themselves within the borders of another country and working environment and face with challenges such as not recognizing their education and vocational documents, exclusion in the labor market, and low social cohesion may make them work in a different occupation or in precarious jobs (agricultural worker, waiter, construction worker). etc.) to work (Çoban, 2018; Agudelo-Suárez, et al., 2021, Güneri, 2021). Besides, the level of happiness at work may differ from person to person, and the primary sources of happiness at work can also vary according to culture, physiological-psychological individual needs and factors, work and social life conditions. It is also known that refugees in the host country are more unhappy in their jobs than local workers, they have different working conditions with local workers of the same qualification, and the reasons for happiness differ (Liu et al., 2020). From this point of view, in this study, it has been aimed to reveal the reasons for the choice of work-occupation of refugees in their own countries and in Türkiye, the reasons that make them happy in their business life, and it has also been attempted to determine whether the resources that make them happy in their work in Türkiye have changed when compared to their own countries.

In line with the aim of the study, when the job-occupation and choice reasons of refugees are examined; refugees appear to be currently working in jobs appropriate to their qualifications, preferences and values and have financial security in the country of origin. In Türkiye, only three refugees who call themselves lucky are able to continue their occupation, whereas refugees with qualifications in the country of origin (teacher, police, engineer, pharmacist, health worker, etc.) do not have diplomas or professional qualifications in Türkiye and find jobs suitable for

them. It is observed that they are working as unskilled workers as they couldn't find jobs that match with their qualifications. Dietz et al. (2015) state that the more skilled and qualified immigrants are, the less likely they are to find a job compared to their local colleagues. Thirteen refugees face barriers to access to decent work (Fedrigo et al., 2021) due to various obstacles such as not having a work permit, social exclusion (economic, cultural exclusion, etc.) or not recognizing their qualifications. In the country of origin, refugees are able to continue the family business in the flow of career choice, family orientation, mastering the work that started as an apprentice in childhood, following their passions, self-employment and autonomy motivation, achieving status-respect, loyalty to the country, the desire to be useful to society and spirituality by choosing their career choices with these spiritual approaches. In the host country, the choice of job-occupation differs, and it is seen that the majority of the participants do not have the luxury of choosing a job-occupation, they work in jobs that are not suitable for their qualifications, they only want to support their families, not to become needy or dependent on others, and to improve their living standards again. A small group is striving to regain a permanent occupation, and the job motivation of the person whose career choice was spiritual in the country of origin remained the same in the host country.

In line with the other purpose of the study, the relevant sources of happiness at work were categorized in order to discover what the sources of happiness in the country of origin and in Türkiye could be for refugees to be happy at work. The sources that make them happy in their job in the country of origin are, in order of frequency of expression; family and social relations, achievement, service to the country, passion, financial income, spirituality, dignity and trust. The fact that family happiness and emotional ties contribute greatly to their happiness at work reveals once again that happiness at work depends on social life as much as it is affected by the work environment. Family relationships are one of the most fundamental factors affecting the happiness of individuals (Lambert, et al., 2010). Satisfaction

with life and emotional well-being constitute some of the building blocks of happiness at work (Ender-Büyükbay & Bozbura, 2017; Khatri & Gupta, 2019). However, the statement of emotion-intensive resources in the first place can be characterized as a reflection of the importance given to relationships and family bonds in eastern cultures.

The sources that make refugees happy at work in Türkiye are, in order of frequency of expression; financial income, social support, autonomous working conditions, being useful to others, equity, appreciation and spirituality. The priority in the host country that keeps refugees happy at work has changed. It has been found out that earning enough money that they do not need anyone to look after their families and having a regular income security are important reasons for them to be happy in their jobs. Again, while autonomous working conditions are not a reason for happiness in the country of origin, half of the participants in Türkiye report that working in jobs where they can be autonomous, not working under a person's command and working hours are suitable for them, along with social support in their jobs are the potential reasons for happiness at work. This change may be due to the change of dominant needs in the hierarchy of needs (Ginevra et al., 2021) and the limited access to decent work (Stave et al., 2021).

When the research findings are evaluated in general, it can be concluded that the needs of refugees to be successful in their jobs and self-actualization remain hidden in Türkiye. In a recent study, it was found that the most basic desire of refugees is to have a job, to have financial resources, to obtain a residence permit to access the rights and services offered by the host country in order to meet the physiological and safety needs of themselves and their families. Elements such as self-development, realization and leisure time outside of work have been expressed very little (Ginevra et al., 2021). Therefore, the fact that they have enough financial income to meet their vital needs makes them happy. Again, supportive relationships in the workplace increase refugees' self-worth perception and job satisfaction which has also been proven by other studies that they experience psychological problems when their perception of social support is low or when they

are exposed to social discrimination (Pasca & Wagner, 2012). It has also been found that refugees who are exposed to high job demands in their jobs and have low freedom of decision-making are at high risk for mental health problems (Porru et al., 2014). One of the striking findings of the study is that refugees report that they are happy to have the opportunity to help those in need with the money they earn from their jobs. Benefiting others is one of the resources that enable individuals to find meaning in their work and professional life and triggers a meaningful work and life happiness (Alparslan et al., 2022; Lips-Wiersma et al., 2023)

It should not be forgotten that business life is central to the well-being of individuals. It is thought that everyone has the right to work in decent working conditions and to reach physical and psychological well-being in business life. As the International Labor Organization (2023) emphasizes, besides generating income, work can lead the way for social and economic progress. It can empower individuals, their families, and the communities to which they belong. However, in this study, the vast majority of refugees are unhappy with their jobs in the host country, and it was found out that they were working in these jobs out of necessity and desperation. As Bastia and Skeldon (2020) stated, despite these difficulties, refugee workers who cannot return to their country due to the difficult living conditions in the country of origin are willing to work in the host country and benefit the country's economy.

Although there are studies in the national literature on topics such as general mental health and well-being of refugees, working conditions and integration, this study is unique in terms of revealing the reasons for job-occupational choice and job happiness by comparing it with the country of origin. However, the study has some limitations. The findings of the study are based on cross-sectional research, and it is thought that a longitudinal study conducted in different time periods can better reveal the cause and effect relationship and changes in the causes of happiness in the host country. Another limitation is that the study was carried out with 16 refugees who could be reached. Although the study was terminated when the codes reached saturation, in other words, when the participants' statements

became repetitive, it is recommended to conduct research that supports the findings of the study or reveals the differences by reaching participants in different provinces and under different working conditions. It is thought that conducting research on a larger and professionally diverse sample in future studies and obtaining more generalizable results from large study groups with the quantitative method will contribute to the literature.

In addition, it is observed that the research conducted in the national literature is mostly on issues such as the immigrant problem, the labor force participation processes of immigrants, working conditions, their effects on the labor market, social exclusions and their consequences, general mental health and social policies that can be developed. However, as in the world, there are very limited studies in the national literature on how immigrants' poor working conditions or their inability to demonstrate their expertise, craft, or profession in the host country affects their quality of life, happiness at work, job satisfaction or positive work attitudes such as work motivation. This may be primarily due to the difficulty of conducting research in host countries, which are understandably reluctant to examine the poor working and living conditions of refugees (Simkhada et al., 2017, p. 6). Additionally, as mentioned before, refugees are in need of these jobs and employers turn this situation into an opportunity, and it can be said that because they are exposed to exclusion and felt unwanted by society, their well-being and happiness are not given due importance by both researchers and practitioners. In particular, as indicated in the study of Erol et al. (2017), there exists a group of people who have skilled professions such as pharmacy, teaching, engineering, and police in the country of origin, but they have to work in daily unskilled jobs in the host country, instead of practicing their own profession. Therefore, even if it is stated that some precautions should be taken, it is a requirement to recognize these skills, control and improve their working conditions, and therefore protect their mental health when including migrant workers into the workforce (Herold et al., 2023), and it can be said that there is

a need for more research and policy development on these issues. Work and labor represent a spirit beyond materiality similar to the context of decent work; considering that everyone has the right to access to good working conditions, welfare, and well-being, it is thought that it is essential to provide refugee workers with working conditions where they can practice their profession, where their work is appreciated, where their rights are protected, and where they can create their identity and happiness, not just to take care of their families or feed themselves..

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