

FACTORS AND MECHANISMS OF RESILIENCE AMONG
TURKISH MIGRANT WOMEN IN THE UK

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Prof. Dr. Sencer Ayata
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Oya Yerin Güneri
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate,
in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Oya Yerin Güneri
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Esin Tezer (METU, EDS)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Oya Yerin Güneri (METU, EDS)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Eleni Hatzidimitriadou (KU, FHSCS)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tuncay Ergene (HÜ, EBB)

Assist. Prof. Dr. Yeşim Çapa Aydın (METU, EDS)

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name : Sakine Gülfem Çakır

Signature :

ABSTRACT

FACTORS AND MECHANISMS OF RESILIENCE AMONG TURKISH MIGRANT WOMEN IN THE UK

Çakır, Sakine Gülfem

Ph.D., Department of Educational Sciences

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Oya Yerin Güneri

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The main purpose of this study was to investigate factors and mechanisms of resilience among Turkish migrant women in the UK. For this purpose, qualitative and quantitative methods were used in combination. The quantitative study examined the role of perceived discrimination and social support, psychological distress, and integration acculturation attitude in predicting empowerment scores as the indication of resilience among Turkish migrant women in the UK. Demographic characteristics of education level, perceived English language level and residence status were controlled. The quantitative sample of the study consisted of 248 Turkish migrant women in London, while the qualitative sample of the study included 11 women who were selected among the participants of the quantitative study. Data collection instruments used in the quantitative study included, a demographic data form, Social Support Scale (Cohen & Willis, 1985; Soygüt, 1989), General Health Questionnaire (Goldberg, 1972; Kılıç, 1996), Acculturation Attitudes Scale (Ataca & Berry, 2002), and Empowerment Scale (Sciarappa, Rogers, & Chamberlin, 1994). The qualitative data were collected through narrative interviews by using an interview schedule that consisted of topics like migration story/process, experiences in the UK, coping processes/mechanisms, opportunities, discrimination, language and relationships, gender related experiences, changes in life, and social support networks. Results

of the hierarchical regression analysis revealed that the model of linear combinations of educational level, perceived English language level and residence status of participants, perceived discrimination, perceived social support, distress level and integration acculturation attitude significantly explained 38.5% of the total variance in empowerment scores. Among all individual predictor variables, having medium and high educational level, having higher levels of perceived social support and integration attitude, and having lower level of psychological distress were found associated with higher empowerment scores, and thus with higher resilience among Turkish migrant women in the UK. In the qualitative study, the documentary method was used to analyse the transcribed interviews. Results revealed that migration process, language, accommodation, marriage and relationship with husband, social relationships, ties and friends, children and motherhood, losses, husband's family, loneliness and belongingness, Turkish community, health problems and experiences with health services, and discrimination are the important risk and/or protective factors in the resilience of Turkish migrant women. Results also revealed that having or developing an educational orientation is an important protective factor for Turkish migrant women in the host country. Qualitative findings also showed that although almost all women used some strategies to cope with the demands of their lives in a new country, this process went beyond coping and corresponded to transformation and, in turn, resilience for some women.

Keyword: Resilience, Perceived Social Support, Perceived Discrimination, Acculturation Attitudes, Psychological Distress, Turkish Migrant Women

ÖZET

İNGİLTERE’DE YAŞAYAN TÜRK GÖÇMEN KADINLARIN PSİKOLOJİK SAĞLAMLIĞI İLE İLGİLİ ETMENLER VE MEKANİZMALAR

Çakır, Sakine Gülfem

Doktora, Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Oya Yerin Güneri

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Bu araştırmanın temel amacı İngiltere’de yaşayan Türk göçmen kadınların psikolojik sağlamlığı ile ilgili etmen ve mekanizmaları incelemektir. Bu amaçla, nitel ve nicel araştırma yöntemleri birlikte kullanılmıştır. Araştırmanın nicel bölümü, İngiltere’de yaşayan Türk göçmen kadınların güçlenme puanları ile ölçülen psikolojik sağlamlık düzeylerini yordamada, demografik değişkenlerin (eğitim düzeyi, algılanan İngilizce dil düzeyi ve göçmenlik statüsü) etkisini kontrol ettikten sonra, algılanan ayrımcılığın ve sosyal desteğin, psikolojik sıkıntının ve bütünleşme kültürlenme tutumunun rolünü incelemektedir. Çalışmanın nicel bölümünün örnekleme, Londra’da yaşayan 248 kadından oluşurken, nitel çalışma örnekleme, nicel bölümün katılımcıları arasından seçilen 11 kadından oluşmaktadır. Nicel veriler, demografik veri formu, Sosyal Destek Ölçeği (Cohen & Willis, 1985; Soygüt, 1989), Genel Sağlık Anketi (Goldberg, 1972; Kılıç, 1996), Güçlenme Ölçeği (Sciarappa, Rogers & Chamberlin, 1994) ve Kültürlenme Tutumları Ölçeği (Ataca & Berry, 2002) kullanılarak toplanmıştır. Nitel veriler ise, göç hikayesi/süreci, İngiltere’deki deneyimler, başatme mekanizmaları/süreçleri, fırsatlar, ayrımcılık, dil ve ilişkiler, cinsiyetle ilgili deneyimler, karşı karşıya kalınan değişimler ve sosyal destek ağları gibi konuları içeren bir mülakat çizelgesi kullanılarak yapılmıştır. Nicel verilerin analizinde

kullanılan, hiyerarşik regresyon analizi sonuçları, tüm yordayıcı değişkenlerin (demografik değişkenler, algılanan ayrımcılık ve sosyal destek, psikolojik sıkıntı ve bütünleşme kültürlenme tutumu) güçlenme puanlarındaki toplam varyansın %38.5'ini anlamlı düzeyde açıkladığını göstermiştir. Tüm yordayıcı değişkenler arasında, orta ve yüksek eğitim düzeyine sahip olma, yüksek düzeyde algılanan destek ve bütünleşme kültürlenme tutumu ve düşük düzeyde psikolojik sıkıntı, kadınların güçlenme puanları ile ölçülen yüksek psikolojik sağlamlık düzeyi ile ilişkili bulunmuştur. Nitel verilerin analizinde ise belgesel yöntem kullanılmıştır. Nitel sonuçlar, kadınların psikolojik sağlamlığı ve uyumunda; göç süreci, dil, barınma, evlilik ve eşle ilişkiler, sosyal ilişkiler, bağlar ve arkadaşlar, çocuklar ve annelik, kayıplar, eşin ailesi, yalnızlık ve aidiyet, İngiltere'deki Türk toplumu, sağlık problemleri ve sağlık hizmetleri ile ilişkiler ve ayrımcılığın risk ve/veya koruyucu etmenler olarak ortaya çıktığını göstermiştir. Sonuçlar, aynı zamanda, eğitimle ilgili bir yönelime sahip olmanın ya da böyle bir yönelim geliştirmenin göçmen kadınlar için önemli bir koruyucu etmen olduğunu göstermiştir. Nitel veriler ayrıca, kadınların yeni yaşamlarının getirdiği beklentiler ile başa çıkmada farklı stratejiler kullandığını, bu baş etme stratejilerinin ise başa çıkmanın ötesine geçerek bir dönüşüme yol açtığını ve bunun bazı kadınların psikolojik sağlamlığa ulaşmalarını sağladığını göstermiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Psikolojik Sağlamlık, Algılanan Sosyal Destek, Algılanan Ayrımcılık, Kültürlenme Tutumları, Psikolojik Sıkıntı, Türk Göçmen Kadınlar

To my family

&

To the memory of Prof. Dr. Gül Aydın

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

“Migration is an existential shift which affects every part of human life” (Stephen Castles, 2003, p.22)

1.1. Background to the study

Migration is as old as human existence and yet an inevitably current phenomenon in our contemporary world. Today, it is estimated that there are approximately 200 million migrants with various origins and distributions worldwide (International Organisation of Migration, 2008). Thus, the migration and its outcomes have become a global issue that affect almost all countries. According to Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) statistics, the percentage of foreign-born and non-citizens in OECD countries is approximately 12.3 percent of population. Among these countries, Luxembourg, Canada, Austria, Germany, Australia, Switzerland, New Zealand, and the United States has received the highest number of the migrants in the last decade. In terms of origin of the migrants, people from continental Europe including Turkey and Eastern Europe accounts the highest number of immigrants to OECD countries (OECD, 2005). Turkish migrants constitute approximately 20% of all migrant groups in the European Union (Groenendijk, Guild, & Barzilay, 2000). Today, estimated number of Turkish migrants living in European countries is 3,2 million (Erzan & Kirişçi, 2009) and this makes them the largest migrant group in European countries and most of them (78 %) reside in France, Germany and the UK in whole Europe (Balding, Wigglesworth, Euler, & Hanmer, 1997). Turkish migration to European countries (Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, and Sweden) in a large-scale started at the beginning of the 1960s when

bilateral labour recruitment agreements were signed with various countries (Castles & Miller, 1998; Çiçekli, 1998), and have followed the same sequence as many migratory process in which labour migration, family reunification and family formation, and settlement and community formation in the European countries took place (Castles & Miller, 1998).

As argued by Çiçekli (1998) in his book, factors motivating Turkish migration to Europe include pull factors (a combination of economic, demographic, and social developments in European countries) and push factors (economical factors, unemployment, to accumulate greater wealth, securing future), educational (training opportunities, learning foreign language), experience and contacts with previous migrants. Turkish migrants in the European countries generally have little contact with people from host country because of having little in common and the negative attitudes from the host society. Conditions in which Turkish migrants experience language difficulties, challenges in obtaining work permit and in apprenticeship together with the other restrictions historically have led them to take up most undesirable and low-skilled jobs. However, in recent years, the integration of the long-settled migrant communities including Turkish migrants into the labour-market and social life has been given great importance by the European countries. Migration and its consequences also attracted considerable attention from researchers in Turkey because, as both a country of emigration and immigration (Castles & Miller, 1998), Turkey has been influenced by migration to a certain extent. Although majority of the studies on migration in Turkish literature involve internal migration, mostly from rural to urban (e.g. Taşkan, 2007), there are some other studies on international immigrants in Turkey (Bikos, Çiftçi, Yerin-Güneri, Engin-Demir, Hatipoğlu-Sümer et al., 2007; Çelik, 2005; Nudralı, 2007), and Turkish return migrants (Combres, 2007).

For long years, the migration and migration-related outcomes have been approached by the disciplines like economics and sociology with an emphasis on labour market outcomes. Thus, as mentioned by some scholars (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2006;

Sam & Berry, 2006; Timur, 2000), until 1980's psychosocial aspects of acculturation, migrants' ways of coping with distress and difficulties related to migration have been neglected areas of research. The difficulties of resettlement like mourning, uprooting, alienation, poverty, discrimination, and identity issues have been widely researched in the psychology literature (Ehrensaft & Tousignant, 2006).

Migration leads people meet with new cultural context where they will have a living. This new context brings about psychological and socio-cultural changes for migrating people. These changes are known as acculturation (Sam & Berry, 2006). Migrant individual's reaction to the migration related changes is largely determined by personal, social, cultural and economical resources. Although changes as a response to acculturation may involve psychological conflict, such changes may also take place smoothly through a process of culture learning and culture-shedding. The latter process refers to positive adjustment and may take place at personal and social level. In this process, relatively stable psychological changes and subsequent outcomes as a response to demands of acculturation are referred to *psychological adaptation* in migration literature (Berry, 2006b).

Until recently, in the literature, research on migrants' adaptation has been tended to examine the pathologies and victimizations among migrants, thus skewed toward negative end. However, in line with recent shift in mental health field from psychopathology to positive aspects of adaptation in development, constructive aspects of migration experience and migrant's positive adjustment and resilience in the host countries have started to be the focus of research (e.g. Abuzahra 2004; Kramer & Bala, 2004). In these studies, sensitivity to elements of resilience and coping rather than pathology has been emphasised.

There has also been a growing interest on resilience among Turkish scholars in the recent decade (e.g. Dayıoğlu, 2008; Gizir, 2004; Kararmak, 2007; Yalım, 2007). In these studies, resilience corresponds to overcoming adversity toward

positive outcome. Resilience occurs through the transaction between person and environment. In this transaction, compensatory mechanisms, or protective factors within the person/or environment compensate for the lack of positive factors and can function as a buffer for the presence of negative factors (Prilleltensky, Nelson, & Peirson, 2001). Risk factors refer to anything that may contribute to a lack of security in people's relationship with other and with environment (Killian, 2004). Risk and protective factors are often grouped into individual characteristics, the family environment characteristics and the characteristics of wider social environment (Barnard, 1994).

It was suggested that resilience outcome variability in the context of adversity can be attributed in part to the presence or absence of psychological, social, and material resources (Luthar & Cicchetti, 2000; Masten, 2001). These protective recourses or factors operate to reduce maladjustment and psychopathology and to promote better psychological, emotional, and behavioural functioning and well-being. Kirby and Fraser (1997) proposes that risk and protective factors need to be understood within an ecological framework due to the presence of effects at multiple system levels in which individuals' social ecology consists of many different systems having the capacity of the influence the development. It is not withstanding that resilience is a dynamic characteristic more than a fixed attribute. Further, risk and protection can be conceptualised as polar opposites, and resilience emerged from the interplay between risk and protective factors.

In the case of migrants, development toward positive is more complex and multifaceted as they might have multiple adversity factors. Migrants most often experience "new-born" baby situation in a new cultural environment with limited host language skills. In addition to this, they might experience losses of relationships, status, familiar environment etc., which make life more difficult for migrants. In the migration context, most important resilience outcome corresponds to gaining power and control in migrant's lives as a response to changes. One of the concepts in the literature that indicates this process is

psychological empowerment. The construct of empowerment that is often discussed with the disadvantaged groups fits very well in the description of good psychological adaptation. Psychological adaptation is achieved as a result of dealing with acculturation changes and involves finding opportunities and achieving one's goals sometimes even beyond person's initial imagining (Berry, 2006c). This is also perceived as the "growth" or "educational" model by Pedersen (2000) as migrants develop skills and abilities through acculturation that may not be otherwise accomplished. This implies some kind of transformation as a result of migration experience, which is more than absence of pathology or psychological problems. This resembles resilient reintegration that involves "reintegrative or coping process that result in growth, knowledge, self-understanding, and increased strength of resilient qualities" (Richardson, 2002, p. 310). Therefore, empowerment can be considered as the indication of resilience for understanding psychological adaptation among migrant women as it links individual strengths and competencies, natural helping systems, and proactive behaviours to matters of social policy and social change (Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988).

Empowerment is originated from community psychology and involves multiple levels of the context where an individual live in. It emphasizes individual's awareness of power dynamics, development of skills, control over one's life, and the community participation (McWhirter, 1991). Especially awareness of power dynamics has a particular importance for migrants due to their minority status in their new cultural environment. This power inequality and possible experience of exclusion or discrimination prevent migrants from practicing assertive behaviours (McWhirter, 1991). Zimmerman and Rappaport (1988) explain this process from participation point of view and define psychological empowerment as "the connection between a sense of personal competence, a desire for, and a willingness to take action in the public domain" (p. 746). Especially for migrant women who are in relatively powerless position in the migration country, the need to have greater control over their new lives, and the actual attainment of these

goals seem as a prominent task (Rappaport et al., 1984, cited in Fitzsimons & Fuller, 2002). In other words, those characteristics that empower a migrant woman to do well in their new life even though she has experienced what seem like insurmountable difficulties correspond to resilience (Killian, 2004). Therefore, for the purpose of this research, empowerment was used as the primary indicator of resilience among Turkish migrant women.

Until recent decades, international migration has traditionally viewed in terms of labour relocation and international migrants have been assumed to be mostly men. However, as noted by some scholars (Castles & Miller, 1998; Lutz, 1997), one of the changes in migration movements has been toward feminisation of migration. The numbers of migrant women is increasing in the international migration every year and, in line with this, female migration is getting more visible in the research studies. Previous studies suggest that migration experience has the potential to be more distressing for women (Aroian & Norris, 2000). In fact, research has shown that, regardless of the context of the movement, women experience migration and adaptation processes in the receiving country differently than men do (Salgado de Synder, 1987). These differences have been found in different aspects of women's lives (Abadan-Unat, 1982; Espin 1987; McFarlane, Malecha, Gist, Watson, Batten, Hall, 2002; Small, Lumley, and Yelland, 2003).

Migration-generated difficulties like social isolation, prejudice, unemployment, feeling of loss and minority status have been perceived as a stressful life events that require a considerable adjustment on the part of the migrants (Bengi-Arslan, Verhulst, & Crijnen, 2002). Some of these negative factors might be more severe for migrant women as they generally come to the new country as dependent and with less education, low readiness level and lack of necessary language skills. Researchers (e.g. Aroian & Norris, 2000) often noted this vulnerable situation of women. However, this vulnerability changes from person to person depending on certain factors, and characteristics women have.

Utilising resilience theory, some factors can be conceptualised as adversity/risk factors or protective factors in the migration context. Depending on the availability of risk and protective factors in a given context, migrant women's capacity to cope with the adversity and resultant resilience outcome differ. The adversity/risk factors can also be considered as a disempowering experience and create a specific psychosocial vulnerability for migrant individuals. For example, certain demographic factors like educational level (Berry, 2006a; Stein, 1997), language proficiency (Beiser & Hou, 2001; Hwang & Ting, 2008), and legal residence status in the host country (Bollini & Siem, 1995) were perceived as important for migrants' positive psychological and socio-cultural adjustment. Beside these, psychological distress can also be considered a risk factor for migrant individual as it affects his/her coping with the demands of migration. Experiencing physical, cultural, social and psychological changes as a result of migration weaken individual's coping mechanisms, and, thus, some individuals experience physical and/or psychological distress. Not every migrated individuals experience these changes and accompanying distress at the same amount or with the same intensity. The physical and/or psychological distress that individuals or groups experience is often referred as acculturative stress in the acculturation literature (Hovey & Magana, 2002).

Further, discrimination, which appears as one of the mostly studied variables in migration studies (e.g. Berry, 2006b; Castro, 2002), is another adversity experience for migrants. Previous research indicated that, regardless of migrant background, discrimination appeared as one of the most stressful experiences (Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999), and often considered as a risk factor for psychological and physical well being of migrants (Cassidy, O'Connor, Howe, & Warden, 2004; Corning, 2002; Liebkind & Jasinski-Lahti, 2000), self esteem (Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; Verkuyten, 1998) and psychological distress (Brown et al., 2000; Moradi & Hasan, 2004).

In the literature, some other factors that buffer against the adverse affects of

migration related stresses have also been studied. One of such factors that helps individual thrive well when they face adversity is social networks and connectedness (Shih, 2004). Social support functions to mitigate the effects of stress, enhance well being, lessen the severity of illness, and help faster recovery from health problems (Crockett, Iturbide, Stone, McGinley, Raffaelli, & Carlo, 2007). In other words, having actual or perceived social support that involves beliefs that one could draw on people and groups for aid or solace if needed is important protective factor for migrants (Kim, Sherman & Taylor, 2008).

Another protective factor in migrants' adaptation is integration acculturation attitude. Migrants enter the acculturation process with different strategies. Berry (2006c) grouped these strategies into four as assimilation that refers to not maintaining their cultural identity and seeking daily interaction with other cultures; separation that refers to holding their original culture and avoiding interaction with others; integration that refers to both maintaining one's own culture while having daily interactions with other groups; and marginalization that refers to little interest in cultural maintenance and little interest in having relationships with others. Integration strategy was reported as the least stressful for acculturating individuals or groups among all four strategies (Berry, 2006c; Dona & Berry, 1994). Integration is also found to be linked to the lower levels of acculturation stress, better mental health, better quality of life and higher life satisfaction (Berry, 2006c; Dona & Ackermann, 2006), and hence it can be regarded as factor conducive to resilience.

Migration might constitute an adversity that posed a threat for good adaptation among migrant women. Rutter (1996) suggested that the risk mechanisms and processes required further exploration and studying the interplay between acute and chronic life experiences is necessary. Exploration of processes underlying protective factors and research on resilience in different phases of life was also pointed out by Luthar, Cicchetti, and Becker (2000) as important consideration in resilience research. Thus, there is a need to focus on the analysis of the processes

and protective factors that mitigate the effect of migration related stresses on psychological distress and facilitate healthy psychological functioning and adjustment following the stressors of immigration and acculturation. Not all migrant women experiencing migration-related adversities fail to adjust successfully and rather some migrant women appear to achieve a higher level of psychological adaptation and resilience. Therefore, learning more about resilient individuals can contribute to interventions with distressed individuals.

To conclude, it has been evidenced that the migration process and subsequent economical, social-cultural and psychological adaptation play an important role in migrants' psychological functioning, and adaptation (Berry, Poortingo, Segall, & Dasen, 2002; Berry & Sam, 1997; Bhugra, 2000). Although researchers have highlighted the importance of post migration experiences in relation to migration and consequent physical or psychological well-being outcomes in the host country (Bhugra & Jones, 2001), the relationship between migration-generated risks and migrants' resilience as psychological adaptation has not been fully examined. While Turkish migrants have a relatively long history in European countries, research on their psychological adaptation to host countries is very limited. Compared to some other European countries like Germany, the existence of Turkish migrants in the UK is relatively recent happening. Considering the special case of migrant women in the migration literature, it is worth to focus on the resilience of Turkish migrant women in the UK. It was thought that using mixed methods research design would address the focus of this research. Therefore, the particular focus of this study lies on the investigating the correlates of resilience in the face of migration-related adversity in the quantitative part while exploring in more depth the factors and mechanisms in resilience in the qualitative part.

1.2. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore the factors that contribute to the resilience of Turkish migrant women in the UK. In the first phase, quantitative research question examined the role of perceived discrimination and social

support, level of psychological distress and integration acculturation attitude after controlling for demographic characteristics (education level, perceived English language level and residence status) in predicting resilience of Turkish migrant women in the UK. Then, in the second phase, qualitative interviews were used to explore factors and mechanisms in resilience of Turkish migrant women in more depth.

1.3. Significance of the Study

It is expected that the findings of this study have significant contributions to policy, literature and counselling practices. International migration is one of the most important life events in our contemporary world. Today, migrant women form a prominent number in various migration and refugee movements. In 1997, the proportion of migrant women in overall migration flow was around 50% in the European countries and the United States (OECD, 2000). Besides being labour migrant, women generally come to the receiving countries as dependents through family reunification, family formation or the family migration (Kofman, 2000). Today, in overall Europe, Turkish migrant women constitute the largest group of female migrants (Ballarin, Euler, Le Feuvre, Mirail, & Raevaara, 2008). Yet, they did not receive enough attention by the researchers. There is still very limited research evidence on Turkish migrants' experiences in European countries. Therefore, the findings of this study aim to better understand of Turkish migrant women as a particular group, might provide valuable information to policy makers and service providers at national and international level to respond the needs of this specific group and to design policies to enhance their integration and adaptation.

The literature on migrant women has long been dominated by research that focuses on the negative aspects, such as their vulnerability to economic, sexual exploitation, and psychopathology (Timur, 2000). However, positive outcomes of women's migration such as positive adjustment, personal empowerment,

resilience and increased economic and political independence also deserve to be examined. The need for increasing sensitivity to correlates of resilience in individuals and families and to celebrate, promote, and enhance these factors has also been highlighted as an important effort to improve practice in helping professions by various researchers (Barnard, 1994). This promotes proactive posture in relation to life and its circumstances. As Fraser and Galinsky (1997) imply, due to variations in environmental resources, local traditions, and cultural practices of communities across countries, local risk and protective factors that occur in specific communities based on the different grouping variables such as, race or ethnicity, gender, and age need to be identified. Thus, it is necessary to place risk and resilience in the context of culture, tradition, community values, and community responses to diversity. Fraser and Galinsky (1997) maintained that there is a need not only to consider common risk factors and protective mechanisms, but also develop a list of problem-specific risk situations in combination with common risk situations. For migrant women, migration constitutes an adversity that poses a threat for positive adjustment. However, there is a need to focus on the analysis of the processes and factors that facilitates healthy psychological functioning and adjustment following the stressors of migration and acculturation. Knowledge about the factors and processes involved in the successful adaptation despite experience of adversity can bring new insight to the development of social policies aiming to promote the resilience of migrant women and their families. Though increasing sensitivity to correlates of resilience, individuals and families could be encouraged to become more cognizant of their own resilient behaviours. Furthermore, learning more about the process of cultural adaptation, characteristics of resilient migrant women and understanding the mechanism of resilience can contribute to counsellors' understanding of migrant women, and thus might enable them to provide more effective interventions. It is also hoped that the findings of this study provide additional information about the specific risk factors and protective factors and processes that can be guide for resilient-based counselling practices and strategies for migrant women.

As concluded by researchers (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000), detailed studies of different pathways and manifestations of resilience are needed to identify communalities and differences in resilient functioning across the life span. These studies would enable researchers to examine whether resilience can be learned, and whether different types of protective factors foster resilience for different types of events. However, previous research has mostly concentrated on the children and childhood environment. It was stated that resilience is not an absolute mode of being and it is rather a product of person and environment transaction. In any stage and any aspect of one's life, people may be vulnerable for various reasons and may need support or professional health. With its focus on adult resilience, the findings of this study will contribute to the information on adult resilience.

Empowerment as resilience in the context of migration was chosen as a focus of this study. The factors related to empowerment have not been explored in this depth or breadth yet. Empowerment is perceived as vitally important in women's contribution to their family and the society (Stein, 1997). Investigating the characteristics and circumstances of migrant women who achieve empowerment could allow mental health practitioners and policy makers to create the appropriate conditions in supporting them both psychologically and socially. Thus, the findings of this study, which may shed more light on the process of empowerment and enhance the understanding of women's empowerment in disadvantaged situations, might contribute to creating empowerment enhancing conditions for migrant women.

Resilience is perceived as "a dynamic steady state that can not be measured in isolation from its context of generalized resistance resources" (Almedom & Glandon, 2007, p.140). The necessity of adding qualitative dimension in resilience studies was noted in the recent literature. Similarly, Tusaie and Dyer (2004) highlighted the importance of combining quantitative and qualitative research methods in the studies to address the individualised dynamics of resilience. As

suggested by Denzin and Lincoln (2000) utilisation of multiple methods, or triangulation, function as one of the important ways to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question. Mixed methods research design utilised in this study puts both qualitative and quantitative data together as a distinct research design, and has several strengths. First of all, it helps researchers to overcome weaknesses of using qualitative or quantitative approaches alone. Second, it provides more comprehensive evidence for studying a research problem. Third, it helps researchers answer questions that cannot be answered by a sole use of either qualitative or quantitative methods. Lastly, it gives the researcher freedom to use all methods practically as it combines inductive and deductive thinking (Creswell & Clark, 2007). Therefore, as suggested by Creswell and Clark (2007) depending on the complexity of the research problem, a combination of both forms of data can provide the most complete analysis of problems. Further, through the narrative interviewing that was used in qualitative data collection, it is suggested that researcher often approaches the interviewee's experiential world in a more comprehensive mode in which the world is structured by itself (Flick, 2005). The basic idea behind the narrative interview is "to reconstruct social events from the perspective of informants as directly as possible" (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000, p. 59). It is an attempt to enter the subjective world of informants, taking them seriously on their own terms. Therefore, qualitative dimension of the study may potentially assist to learn more about migrant women's own theories and constructions in a relatively new environment, how they make use of their resources, and how their resources and adversities function in their lives. Thus, it was also hoped that the qualitative findings may further contribute to the conceptualisation of resilience construct in the migration context.

1.4. Definition of Terms

Integration acculturation attitude: Integration attitude/strategy is defined as maintaining one's own original culture, while becoming involved in daily

interactions with other cultural groups. With this strategy the individual maintains some degree of cultural integrity while he/she seeks to participate as an integral part of the larger social network of a multicultural host society (Berry, 1997; Berry & Sam, 1997).

Perceived discrimination: Perceived discrimination refers to person's subjective perception of unfair treatment by from others based primarily on membership in a social group (Whitely & Kite, 2006).

Perceived social support: Perceived social support is defined as the perception of one person that he or she is cared and loved by, esteemed and valued by, and being involved in a network of communication and mutual support by family, friends and others (Cobb, 1976).

Psychological adaptation: Psychological adaptation refers to the relatively stable psychological changes that take place in an individual in response to environmental demands (Berry, 2006b).

Psychological empowerment: Psychological empowerment can be defined as person's ability to control his/her own life and to make changes that would have positive consequences for his/her well-being and circumstances (Gammel & Stoppard, 1999).

Resilience: Resilience refers to "a set of phenomena characterized by patterns of positive adaptation in the context of significant adversity or risk" (Masten & Reed, 2002, p. 75).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter will include five sections. First, acculturation and psychological adaptation in migration experience will be presented. Then, information on resilience and psychological empowerment, their relevance to migration experience and gender will be provided. Third, protective and risk factors in the context of migration will be explained.. Fourth, brief information on Turkish migrant women will be presented. Finally, a summary of the review of literature will be provided.

2.1. Migration, Acculturation, Psychological Adaptation and Gender

People migrate to different countries as a result of different motives, such as lack of employment opportunities, education, health and housing facilities, social and community ties, and due to climate changes (Berry & Sam, 1997) and meet with new cultures. It is noteworthy to state that there is no universally accepted terminology to refer migrants. In fact, the terminology to describe migrants changes according to the specific country or regional context. The terms migrants, immigrants, ethnic minorities and ethnic communities are often used interchangeably in the literature (Bollini & Siem, 1995). Similarly, in this study, these four terms are used in the same fashion to indicate non-native ethnic groups. While immigrants refer to the relatively permanent participants, sojourners (e.g., international students, workers, business executives etc.) constitute temporarily residing group of participants in the new society, On the other hand, refugees and asylum seekers are another large group of migrants who are involuntary migrants and frequently do not want to leave their homelands. Thus, migrants are grouped according to two factors; permanent-temporary and voluntary-involuntary. Nevertheless, the term migrant is a generic word that involves all people who

moved to another country temporarily or permanently, voluntarily or involuntarily.

The new cultural context, in which migrants have to live in the host country, leads to changes that they experience during the adaptation process. The adaptation of migrants influenced by several important factors such as the context of sending countries, the motivation behind migration, post migration conditions like entrance to substandard housing and social environments involving overcrowding and poor sanitation, social exclusion, failures in effective care services available to migrants. Post migration conditions also pose further risks and increase the vulnerability migrants to serious illnesses such as tuberculosis (Carballo, Divino, & Zeric, 1998). Other stressful aspects related to migration include leaving family and friends behind, experiencing language difficulties, unfamiliar environment and social customs of the new country (Leyendecker, Schölmerich, & Çıtlak, 2006). In addition to these, culture conflict, job insecurity, regrets about leaving home, family disruption, and uncertain future opportunities also poses further difficulties for migrants. These stressors may result in marital conflicts, divorce, intergenerational conflicts, psychosomatic problems such as ulcers, severe headaches, anxiety attacks and sleeping disorders, alcohol and drug abuse; serious psychopathologies such as schizophrenia, depression and high rate of suicide (Carballo, Divino, & Zeric, 1998).

Differences in gender roles and responsibilities are also underlined by researchers as one of the factors that influence adaptation of migrants. Espin (1987), for example, notes that in terms of gender role behaviour, the contradictions between home and host cultures are stronger for women who migrate from the patriarchal, collectivist society than for men. During acculturation and adaptation, women who come from traditional cultures generally experience more dramatic gender role modifications, from more fixed and specific roles to the more open and unspecified roles. Similarly, Chung, Bemak, and Wong (2000) reported that shifts in traditional gender roles pose more distressing experiences for refugee women

than for refugee men. Important issues that have effects on migrated women are independence, family relationships, shifting of traditional gender roles, changing family dynamics, and employment (Chung, Bemak, & Wong, 2000). Hall, Bance and Denton (2004) found in their qualitative examination on minority ethnic mothers and childcare that mothers have more responsibility for both the childcare and the childcare organisation than fathers. Especially for working mothers, dealing the childcare issues without close family support make the situation worse for them. Bengi-Arslan, Verhulst, and Crijnen (2002) noted that the burden of additional tasks like physical illness of family members in the household increases the risk of psychological distress among immigrant women.

All these factors and their consequences play important role in the individual variations of adaptation to the host country. While some individuals fail to cope with these factors, some others may effectively deal with stressors of migration and achieve certain degree of adaptation ranging from negative to positive. In other words, when people migrate, they do not only face stressful and uprooting aspects of migration but also experience opportunity providing aspects (Ekşi, 2002)

In the migration literature, the psychological acculturation framework has widely been used while examining experiences and changes took place in migrants' lives. Acculturation, in a formal definition, refers to the psychological changes and subsequent outcomes that result from the contact between two or more cultural groups (Berry, 1997; Berry, 2006c; Berry & Kim, 1988). As the result of acculturation, physical changes (a new place, a new type housing etc.), biological changes (new nutritional status, new diseases), cultural changes (political, economic, linguistic etc.), new sets of social relationships, and psychological changes (behavioural changes and an alteration in mental health status) happen (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987).

Although acculturation is proposed as a group-level, sociological phenomenon,

psychological acculturation is recognised as an individual-level phenomenon. According to culture learning perspective, during the process of acculturation individuals undergo cultural and psychological changes in a relatively smooth way through a process of “culture learning” and “culture shedding”. On the other hand, according to stress, coping and adaptation approach, aforesaid changes generate stress for the group or individuals. This stress and accompanying problems experienced by individuals called acculturative stress in the context of intercultural contact (Berry, 2006b).

There are some factors that may moderate or mediate adaptation as prior to and during the process of acculturation (Berry, 2006; Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987). These factors are nature of the host society (plural or assimilationist society), type of acculturating group (refugees, native people, ethnic groups, and sojourners), modes of acculturation (assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalisation), demographic and social characteristics of individual (age, gender, cognitive style, prior intercultural experience, and contact experiences) and psychological characteristics of individual. Thus, as a function of these factors, acculturation might augment one’s life chances and mental health and also lessen one’s ability to carry on (Berry, 2006c; Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987).

The individuals’ capacity to cope with the demands of life events in the new context is influenced by the degree or level of these factors. Further, the individuals’ responses to the demands largely determined by how they evaluate and appraise these difficulties or challenges. Therefore, not all members of a given community participate in the collective changes at the same way and at the same degree. Some individuals quickly adjust themselves whereas others cannot easily deal with them. For example, if the stress exceeds individuals’ capacity, this will lead to some psychological problems like anxiety and depression. On the other hand, if the behavioural changes resulting from intercultural contact are accomplished smoothly and a relative stability in these changes is achieved, then psychological adaptation comes about (Berry, 2006c).

Psychological adaptation refers to relatively stable psychological changes take place in an individual in order to adapt to their new situations and to respond the demands of acculturation (Berry, 2001; Berry, 2006c). On the other hand, sociocultural adaptation involves “how well an acculturating individual is able to manage daily life in the new cultural context” (Berry, 2006c, p. 53). Therefore, it involves a set of external psychological outcomes that connect individuals to their new context, including their ability to deal with daily problems, particularly in the areas of family, life, work, and school (Berry & Sam, 1997).

There are different operationalisations of psychological adaptation in the literature. Depending on its operationalisation in the studies, it may refer to well being and life satisfaction (Aycan & Berry, 1996), a sense of well being and/or self-esteem (Berry, 2001; Berry, 2006c), or physical and psychological well-being (Ataca & Berry, 2002; Schmitz, 2001; Ward, 1996). Psychological adaptation may also imply a redefinition of identity and value systems in the context of frequent loss of social support, an upheaval and a source of stress for some migrants (IOM, 2003). Thus, psychological adaptation involves a set of internal psychological outcomes including a clear sense of personal and cultural identity, good mental health, and the achievement of personal satisfaction in the new cultural context (Berry & Sam, 1997), which corresponds to a general healthy psychological functioning or positive adaptation despite the demands and adversities of acculturation (Castro, 2002).

For most migrants, psychological and socio-cultural adaptations eventually take place. However, gender plays important role in this adaptation. Gender related differences in migration experience are reflected particularly in the areas of psychopathology (Aroian & Norris, 2000; Bengi-Arslan, Verhulst, & Crijnen, 2002; Small, Lumley, & Yelland, 2003), gender roles and opposite sex relationships (Abadan-Unat, 1982; Erel, 2002; Espin 1987), quality of life (Bayram, Thornburn, Demirhan, & Bilgel, 2007) and victimization such as domestic abuse and violence (McFarlane, Malecha, Gist, Watson, Batten, & Hall,

2002; Raj & Silverman, 2002).

It is noteworthy to state that in the literature on migrant women's adaptation, there has been an overemphasis on the negative aspects of migration experience and psychopathology (Timur, 2000). In their study with Asian immigrants, Furnham and Shiekh (1993, cited in Berry & Sam, 1997) found that women had higher levels of psychological symptomatology than men. Similarly, Aroian and Norris (2000) reported that more women (64.8%) than men (43.4%) were classified as depressed among Russian immigrants to Israel. They concluded that being a migrant woman represents a double vulnerability. Similarly, Raj and Silverman (2003) also found that 40 % of South Asian women residing in the United States reported intimate partner violence in their current relationships. Thus, migrant women have been identified among the high-risk groups in migration literature (Tse & Liew, 2004). Further, migrant women, especially from Muslim countries, have been seen as passive victims of their culture compared to standard image of autonomous/independent successful women from Western countries (Lutz, 1997). Consequently, their coping and strengths have been overlooked.

There is no universal association among migration, acculturation and psychosocial adaptation (Berry, 2006a). Each migrant group has characteristics and factors such as demography, social support, host language proficiency, and migration story. These factors may be significant in determining mental health and positive adaptation. Although migration experience poses significant challenges to the migrants and places them in a vulnerable position for exploitation and harassment, there are also examples of migrants who are positively adapting in spite of these adversities and using this experience for enhancing their status and contributing to their empowerment as migrants in the host country. However, in the migration literature, the majority of the studies are focused on the negative consequences of migration experience from the psychopathology perspective (Ekşi, 2002), highlighting the difficulties migrants face in successful adaptation and integration in the host society (Ehrensaft & Tousignant, 2006).

Therefore, studies dealing with acculturation and resilience are rather limited in the literature. In the recent years parallel to the shift in mental health field from psychopathology to positive aspects of adaptation in development, there has been a growing interest among researchers in focusing resilience and protective factors instead of resultant psychopathology and disability among refugees and migrants (e.g. Allen, Vaage, & Hauff, 2006). Migration experience is indicated as one of the most significant life events that may not only result in lower level of psychological functioning but also experience of new learning opportunities and new adaptational requirements (Rogler, 1994). Thus, in this study, the paradigmatic shift from a focus on deficits and dependence toward an emphasis on assets and independence (Zimmerman & Warschausky, 1998) was followed. Resilience framework was also used as a focus in studying psychological empowerment as an indication of psychological adaptation among migrant women. Next section will examine resilience, and empowerment in more detail.

2.2. Resilience, Empowerment and Women in the Context of Migration

2.2.1. Resilience

In the recent years the shift in mental health field from a focus on deficits and dependence toward an emphasis on assets and independence has lead researchers to question the possible dangers of attuning to the pathology, such as possibility of failing to capitalize on available tools for change. As Bonanno (2004) stated, most of the psychological knowledge have been based on individuals who have experienced significant psychological problems or sought for help, resilience go invisible and even were seen “a pathological state or as something seen only in rare and exceptionally healthy individuals” (p.20). Thus, researchers recognized that sensitivity to elements of resilience rather than pathology leads to an increased awareness of therapeutic possibilities.

Resilience approach that has appeared as a positive psychology endeavour to explore personal and interpersonal strengths (Richardson, 2002) holds a proactive

posture in relation to life and its circumstances and also empowers people to construct new meanings for their position in life (Barnard, 1994; Kirby & Fraser, 1997; Masten & Reed, 2002). In resilience perspective, the strength of individuals, families, and communities are assessed and utilized to prevent problems and rearrange existing difficulties (Fraser & Galinsky, 1997). In fact, intervention of every individual may pathologize normal reactions to adversity and undermine natural resilience processes (Bonanno, 2004). Therefore, this perspective necessitates a careful screening of people who need intervention in order not to interfere with or undermine genuine resilience. As a result, a need to go beyond overly simplistic conceptions of health and pathology to learn about possible costs and benefits of various dispositions and adaptive mechanisms (Bonanno, 2004) and the need for a detailed study of different pathways and manifestations of resilience have been highlighted in the literature.

The concept of resilience emerged from the studies with at risk children (Masten & Reed, 2002) and is still evolving (Carver, 1998). Researchers have tried to find out why and how some children overcome the risks they faced (Garmezy, 1996; Greene & Conrad, 2002; Richardson, 2002; Werner, 1995). Richardson (2002) describes emergence and development of resilience theory as three waves. First wave studies were primarily concerned with the personal qualities or characteristics of resilient children. As a result of these studies, researchers reached the list of traits, states, characteristics, conditions, and virtues that help people recover from adversity. This led to a paradigm shift from the identification of risk factors to identification and cultivation of personal strengths. Later it was also acknowledged by the first wave studies that, external factors including aspects of their families and characteristics of their wider social environments might also contribute the child's resilience (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000). In the second wave studies, the process of attaining the identified resilient qualities was the focus. In other words, the idea that disruptive changes or undesirable events have a potential for growth and insight has been projected (Carver, 1998). In the third wave studies, the process nature of resilience was

recognised and this process referred as a process in which person grows through adversity and disruptions with some form of motivational energy (Richardson, 2002). Overall, these three waves of studies highlighted that getting an understanding of the mechanisms over time or a series of linked processes requires something more than a “basic cause” or a single operation of the consequences (Rutter, 1996). Thus, in these studies, aspects of resilience corresponded to (a) overcoming the odds- being successful despite exposure to high risk, (b) sustaining competence under pressure- adapting successfully to high risk, and/or (c) recovering from trauma- adjusting successfully to negative life events (Fraser & Richman, 1999, p. 135). Recently, Almedom and Glandon (2007) highlighted resilience “as a common human response to disasters” (p.129), and “resilience to a crisis events or experiences is more normal than previously acknowledged” (p.138). Recent finding that 50% to 66% of people overcome difficulties and manifest coping and resilience also supports this view (Killian, 2004).

Resilience is generally defined as a “dynamic process encompassing positive adaptation within the context of significant adversity” (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000, p. 543). There have been different assumptions in conceptualising resilience. First of all, the discussion was held over whether resilience is a natural ability to cope in the face of diversity or receive help that facilitates a positive outcome (Killian, 2004). Later, it was concluded that resilience does not refer to a discrete and static personal trait or attribute. More importantly, resilience does not refer to an absence of vulnerability (Waller, 2001). Rather, the resilience of an individual is a process and inferred according to two criteria: (1) individual’s performance with respect to expected behaviour(s) and (2) the existence of a risk or adversity that constitutes a threat to good outcomes. Therefore, this process corresponds to the interaction and accumulation of individual and environmental risk and protective factors that contributes to both risk and resilience (Howard, Dryden, & Johnson 1999). Following up this approach, Richardson (2002) perceives internal and external life prompts, stressors, adversity, opportunities and

other forms of change as the potentials for resilience because the resilience emerges from the interaction between the life prompts and protective factors. He calls this process resilient reintegration. So, resilience is the result of a process in which an individual experience some insight or growth. However, as resilience requires certain manner of interaction among risk and protective factors, it does not function uniformly and automatically (Tusaie & Dyer, 2004). In other words, resilience can only occur in the presence of adversity, which is the main difference between resilience and other terms like positive adjustment or competence (Schoon, 2006).

Resilience studies have predominantly been on children and youth (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000; Werner, 1995; Werner & Smith, 1998). In these studies, positive outcomes are generally conceptualised in terms of normative social functioning in which children attain developmental milestones/tasks sequentially at age-appropriate times without experiencing serious childhood psychosocial problems or absence of emotional or behavioural maladjustment (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000). Although the emphasis was on the importance of the individual differences in susceptibility and what was inherited in the resilience and in successful coping with stress and adversity (Rutter, 1996), there are some common elements of models for risk and protective factors for diverse childhood disorders (Fraser & Richman, 1999).

Bonanno (2005) differentiates adult resilience from child resilience. According to these subtle but important differences, adults experience a potentially traumatic event in the context of noncorrosive circumstances and for a relatively brief duration and thus, they have broader and more available resilience-promoting factors. For example, adults may favour more pragmatic form of coping and/or strategy that may be less effective under more normative circumstances. As the migration is considered as an adversity in the forms of challenges, changes and disruptions in migrant's lives, for adults the resilience process can occur in this context. The consequences of this process can be effective coping, mastery and

positive adaptation. Further, resilience framework appears very relevant to migrant women who are facing significant adversity or stress and looks for resilience to cope with the disruptive life events or challenge as migration (Marie Earvolino-Ramirez, 2007). There is not a lot of study on resilience of migrant women. In one of the very few studies, for example, Kessler and McLeod (1984) found that women are exposed to more network events than men and less guarded from its emotional effects. The distress that women experience as the effect of network crises was found linked to the traditional female roles, especially their nurturing roles. Since women are more attuned to their interpersonal environments or they are more preferred than men for support and comfort in times of trouble, Kessler and McLeod (1984) concluded that this emotional cost of caring is responsible for a substantial part of the overall relationship between gender and distress. Nevertheless, some migrant women effectively manage the adversity in order to function at an optimal level. They also develop great skills and knowledge, and rebound or recover from a disruptive or adverse event in to an effective or beneficial recovery.

In another study, Abuzahra (2004) conducted a qualitative study with 9 women. She examined the importance of spiritual, individual, gender, and familial supports as protective processes for immigrant Muslim women in United States. She found that although nurturing close relationship with others family members, presence of family in a host country, spousal support and flexible gender roles helped them struggle through and cope adaptively with various difficulties and challenges, feeling of being misunderstood and a need to deal with misconceptions, stereotypes, and discrimination constituted a challenge and risk for them. She also found that through an awareness of the need to flexibly modify their ways of thinking and coping strategies, integrationist acculturation strategy seemed to help them deal with new challenges. It could be concluded that research on resilience necessitates a perspective that women may have gender specific process of resilience in the case of adversity. Although migration experience has a special meaning and consequences for both genders, migrant women's dependent

status, less favourable position in labour market in the host countries and having different vulnerabilities make them a special case in the migration. This perspective points out a requirement for a detailed and separate examination of women's positive adjustment within given cultural context.

2.2.2. Resilience and Empowerment

In resilience studies, positive adaptation outcomes are generally conceptualised in terms of normative social functioning of individuals in a particular context (Luthar & Cicchetti, 2000). Thus, the normative expectations for positive adaptation involve historical, cultural and developmental reference points for the criteria for developmental functioning. There are different conceptualizations and operationalisations of resilience in the literature as stated by Almedom and Glandon (2007) in their review. Thus, resilience might have different meanings depending on the scholars' operationalisation (Almedom & Glandon, 2007), and seriousness of the risks under consideration (Schoon, 2006). Further, life stages and context are also important dimensions that affect the choice of outcomes used to define resilience which necessitates making the choice of criteria for identifying positive adjustment explicit (Schoon, 2006).

It is already known that resilience is not a personality characteristic which can be measured by an individual's adaptational response (Kirby & Fraser, 2002). Rather, it is a process in which dynamic person-environment interactions reflect adaptive responses to adversity. Further, resilience is a multifaceted construct, and so, it is difficult to generate "a single resiliometer" to measure it. As a result, different scholars have used different constructs or indicators to get an evidence for resilience. For example, sense of coherence is one of the constructs that has been used as a measure for resilience. On the other hand, absence of symptoms of certain kind of psychological distress is also another way to get an evidence for resilience. However, the use of the absence of psychological distress or psychopathology as the evidence of resilience was criticized because resilience

refers to progress in one's situation (Almedom & Glandon, 2007; Tusaie & Dyer, 2004). As suggested by Tusaie and Dyer (2004) resilience involves using "personal strengths to grow stronger and function above the norm" (p. 3). Therefore, a contextualised conceptualisation of resilience is required due to diverse definitions and different measures that tap into different characteristics of it. As clearly indicated in the literature, population specific outcome measures are more appropriate in order to address context specific dynamics of resilience (Kirby & Fraser, 2002; Tusaie & Dyer, 2004).

When the resilience is taken as an indicator of psychological adaptation in the context of migration, it corresponds to more than just the absence of psychological problems. As mentioned previously, healthy psychological functioning or psychological well being, a positive sense of personal identity, and life satisfaction have been mostly used as the correlates of psychological adaptation (Berry, 2006c; Castro, 2002). However, there is no specific indication and, hence, measure to assess psychological adaptation of migrants. Psychological adaptation that migrant people achieve happens within a range from well to poorly adapted (Berry, 2006c; Castro, 2002). This can be manifested by varying from situations where individuals can manage their lives very well in the new cultural context to ones where they are unable to carry on in this new context. Resilience approach to the psychological adaptation can be understood as the competence and self-efficacy in the new society and occurs through participation in different settings and having a voice because other defining attributes of resilience involve rebounding/reintegration, high expectancy/self-determination, positive relationships/social support, flexibility, and sense of humour (Earvolino-Ramirez, 2007). Considering losses and changes as a result of migration (Yeh, Kim, Pituc, & Atkins, 2008) and the experience of powerlessness as a result of social and cultural context of new country (Dalgard, Thapa, Hauff, McCubbin, & Syed, 2006), migrants need to develop control over their new life situation. In this sense, a high level of psychological empowerment constitutes a proper indication for migrants' resilience because it involves not only well being but also access to

valued resources, self-determination and participation, competence and self-efficacy, and a sense of control that include mastery, beliefs in personal abilities, and a high self-esteem (Prilleltensky, Nelson, & Peirson, 2001). Power and control also play an important role in the promotion of resilience. Further, both resilience and empowerment involves self-esteem and self-efficacy as the main ingredients. Because both constructs originated from origins of health instead of origins of disease, this also provides a common ground for resilience and empowerment (Almedom & Glandon, 2007).

The concept of empowerment has rooted in the user movements and self help groups in community organization methods, adult education techniques, feminist theory, and political psychology. It has attracted researchers' attention from social work, rehabilitation, sociology, community psychology, and counseling (Gammell & Stoppard, 1999; McWhirter, 1991; Zimmerman & Warschausky, 1998). There is no consensus over its definition in the mental health literature. It refers to "a process of increasing personal, interpersonal, or political power so that individual can take action to improve their life situations" (Gutierrez, 1990, p.149). More comprehensive definition of empowerment was provided by Rappaport (1985, cited in Gutierrez 1990, p. 150) as "a sense of control over one's life in personality, cognition, and motivation. It expresses itself at the level of feelings, at the level of ideas about self-worth, at the level of being able to make a difference in the world around us...We all have it as a potential. It does not need to be purchased, nor is it a scarce commodity". On the other hand, McWhirter (1991) defines empowerment as "the process by which people, organizations, or groups who are powerless (a) become aware the power dynamics at work in their life context, (b) develop the skills and capacity for gaining some reasonable control over their lives, (c) exercise this control without infringing upon the rights of others, and (d) support the empowerment of others in their community" (p.224). Another definition of empowerment was provided by Prilleltensky, Nelson, and Peirson (2001) as "a state of affairs in which people have enough power to satisfy their needs and work in concert with others to advance collective goals" (p. 145).

Considering all these definitions, empowerment, being both a process and an outcome, can be seen as a complex, multidimensional and multilevel concept (Chamberlin & Schene, 1997; Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988; Zimmerman & Warschausky, 1998). Empowerment is often discussed with a reference to macro level structures like community organisation, decision-making processes and active participation of community members in a sustained and responsible manner (Killian, 2004). However, psychological empowerment also happens at the individual level (Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988). It is perceived as one of the general goals of many counselling interventions (McWhirter, 1991) since it focuses on a client's ability to gain control on his/her own life and to initiate changes resulting in positive consequences for his/her well being and circumstances (Gammel & Stoppard, 1999). McWhirter (1991) also states that the marginalized groups, due to their social, cultural, socioeconomic, racial, or other reasons, can only be empowered through changing the balance of power at interpersonal, community, and societal levels. Consistent with this view, recognition of the current abilities of marginalized individuals and also development of new skills are the main components of empowerment. Further, the capacity to influence one's own life is another component, which requires concrete skills and believing in those skills to use them. Similarly, Zimmerman and Rappaport (1988) perceive the combination of self-acceptance and self-confidence, social and political understanding, and the ability to play an assertive role in controlling resources and decisions in one's community as the important ingredient of empowerment.

Considering the scarcity of attempts to operationalise empowerment, there are very few instruments to measure empowerment. Rogers, Chamberlin, Ellison, and Crean (1997) developed a scale measuring empowerment containing factors such as self-esteem- self efficacy, power, community activism, optimism and control over the future, and righteous anger from the perspective of consumers, survivors, and former patients. Wowra and McCarter (1999) also tested the Empowerment Scale with outpatients and showed that scale has a high internal consistency and

stable factor structure. The Empowerment Scale was used with different populations including a sample of college students (Nuthall, 1995, cited in Wowra & McCarter, 1999), and with immigrants (Dalgard, Thapa, Hauff, McCubbin, & Syed, 2006). Beside this instrument, empowerment was measured by different instruments in different studies. For example, Hall and Geoffrey (1996) used sense of mastery and perceived control over daily living in their study as an indication of personal empowerment. In their study, it was appeared that having a sense of control is important for person's emotional well being. Fitzsimons and Fuller (2002), in their article, reviewed measurement instruments for empowerment in the literature and found out that scales measuring self-esteem, locus of control, self-efficacy, internal and political efficacy, desirability of control, perceived competence, sense of mastery, alienation, and civic duty were used in the measurement of psychological correlates of empowerment.

It is noteworthy to mention that empowerment is often discussed in a context where there is a disadvantage, exclusion, or stigma present in people's lives in the literature (Fitzsimons & Fuller, 2002). Shih (2004) suggests two different conceptualization of the process that successful individuals go through when they face with adversity: "empowerment" versus "coping" in the case of stigmatized individuals. She notes that in the empowerment model individuals overcome adversity, stigma, through a replenishing and enriching process rather than a depleting process. She thinks that in the coping model, individuals tend to avoid negative outcomes rather than to create positive ones. She maintains that resilient individuals who are thriving in society despite the adversity fit in the empowerment model rather than in the coping model. As one of the components of empowerment, self-determination that refers to the opportunity to experience meaningful decision-making power in matters affects well-being (Prilleltensky, Nelson & Peirson, 2001). This process involves personal decision-making and demonstrates one's sense of agency.

There are very limited studies in the mental health field on empowerment (Wowra

& McCarter, 1999). These studies generally include people with severe mental illness (Hansson & Björkman, 2005), outpatient mental health population (Wowra & McCarter, 1999). However, there were some other settings where empowerment studies were carried out, including schools, self-help and mutual help organizations, community residential settings, religious settings, grass-root organizations, services with learning disabilities, health education settings, and the workplace (Fitzsimons & Fuller, 2002). Considering the migration and its consequences, migrants might potentially have different disadvantages like disruptions in individual's social relationships, some degree of exclusion due to discrimination and possible losses in individuals' lives as a result of leaving their country (Rodler, 1994). Further, ethnic minorities and women are considered as among powerless groups (McWhirter, 1991). For many migrant women, decision-making process might get affected due to the post migration experiences. Considering loss of power as a result of migration, some migrant women may experience a reduced ability to exercise personal control on their lives and on gaining necessary social and material resources (Gutierrez, 1990). As stated by Stein (1997) changes toward lower status in women's lives constitutes a major contextual element that is closely connected to needs, strategies, and options, and available resources (Stein, 1997). Considering the status change in women's lives after migration, this change in status may result in important stresses for these women. As stated in the migration literature, these may affect individual's social functioning. Migrant women's devaluated status due to language difficulties and their dependent status put further restriction on their fulfilling normal and valued social roles. Their new situation makes them vulnerable to further problems because their somehow marginalised and powerless position within the new cultural context.

In sum, because its conceptual relevance to psychological adaptation as resilience in the context of migration, empowerment is considered here to be an important indication for the level of psychological adaptation and hence resilience among Turkish migrant women. This view is also consistent with the growing discussion

on encouraging positive development rather than promoting dependency and the victim status of these people (Fitzsimons & Fuller, 2002). Considering their relatively powerless position in the new cultural environment, both as a process and as an outcome, gaining and strengthening the skills and resources migrant women need to have greater control over their new lives, and the actual attainment of these goals (Rappaport et al., 1984, cited in Fitzsimons & Fuller, 2002) seem quite relevant to the tasks for migrant women. In other words, those characteristics that empower a migrant woman to do well in their new life even though she has experienced what seem like insurmountable difficulties correspond to resilience (Killian, 2004). Next section examines the protective and risk factors related to empowerment and resilience in the context of migration as the focus of this research.

2.3. Protective and Risk Factors in the Migration Context

Research on resilience generally focused on the risk or adversity factors and protective factors. Risk factors refer to “a measurable characteristic in a group of individuals or their situation that predicts negative outcome in the future on a specific outcome criterion” (Masten & Reed, 2002, pp.76). Risk factor represents an increased probability of negative outcome based on the presence of one or more such factors. Stressful/ critical life events constitute one kind of risk factors. The factors that are situated farther away from the individual are called distal risk factors, such as poverty, and situated closer to the individual are called proximal risk factors, such as an abusive parent (Fraser & Galinsky, 1997; Greene & Conrad, 2002). Risk factors can also be categorised as individual characteristics (such as traits and dispositions, biological characteristics, specific life experiences or events (such as the death of a parent), or contextual factors (such as neighbourhood safety) (Schoon, 2006). There is an interactional process among these risk factors. Thus, individual risk factors both influence and are also influenced by the environmental factors. For example, individual risk factors such as lower self-esteem or external locus of control can result in distress in

individual's life or its effect may be exacerbated or triggered by environmental risk factors. As suggested by Fraser and Kirby (1999) there is a direct link between individual vulnerability and behavioural outcomes, but the intensity of this effect may be affected by environmental conditions. Different risk factors are found prominent at different ages and stages of development (Fraser & Richman, 1999). It is also evident that there are multiple risk and protective factors for the resilience an individual. For both factors, their cumulative effects involve "synergetic interaction" among variables and are greater than the effect of any one variable (Rutter, 1999). Finally, risk factors are probabilistic since it is determined according to the negative outcomes that person experience as a result of exposure to risk factors. The degree of individuals' exposure, the attributed meaning to the adversity and the presence of other concomitant risk factors in a specific context are among factors to determine the effect of risk factors (Schoon, 2006).

Protective factors, on the other hand, are implied in the literature as "measurable characteristics in a group of individuals or their situation that predict positive outcome in the context of risk or adversity" (Masten & Reed, 2002, pp. 76). Similarly, protective processes include how these protective factors functions. There is a distinction between the compensatory protective factors and moderator/buffering protective factors. While the former refers to factors that directly reduce a problem or disorder like a statistical main effect, the latter refers to the factors that moderate the effects of risk and exert an even stronger, positive effect on children who have been exposed to adversity (Fraser & Richman, 1999). In other words, protective factors function both directly and interactively (Newcomb & Felix-Ortiz, 1992).

There are various protective factors documented, mostly based on the studies on children and adolescents, in the literature. These factors can be grouped into individual characteristics, the family environment characteristics and the characteristics of wider social environment (Barnard, 1994). Individual factors or

personal factors include both some biological component, such as physical health status and easy temperament, intelligence, and some characteristics closely related to experiences with the social environment, such as positive self-perceptions, a positive outlook of life, positive relationship with other adults (Barton, 2002; Kirby & Fraser, 2002; Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000; Masten and Reed, 2002). Also, being internally oriented and having an internal locus of control; the awareness that one's own action can determine positive or negative reinforcement; one's ability to separate from uncomfortable circumstances, having the ability to reach outside of this situation and connect with others; and a sense of self-empowerment that resides in this capacity: "I'm in control of my own destiny" are linked to protective processes (Barnard, 1994). For adults, acceptance of reality and deep belief that life is meaningful and uncanny ability to improvise (Coutu, 2002); the capacity for elasticity or behavioural flexibility (Block & Block, 1980 cited in Bonanno, 2005); and self esteem, optimism and dispositional hope, life satisfaction and positive affect are among the protective factors (Kararmak, 2007).

Family related protective factors involves the extent and nature of the fit or "match" between the child and parents, possessing and maintaining rituals in the family, i.e. regularity and stability in the family, the family's assumption of a proactive posture and confrontation of the problem or stressor in contrast to a passive and reactive posture, the absence of parent-child role reversals, minimal conflict in the home during infancy, the absence of divorce during adolescence, a substantial and productive relationship with one's mother, and selection of a nontroubled person as a mate (Barnard, 1994). Other protective factors for children include secure attachments, availability of good role models and access to social support (Masten, 2001). Finally, environmental resources includes larger family, school, and neighbourhood related protective factors, such as close relationship with care giving adults, and opportunities within the community, such as effective schools and high levels of public safety, and economic resources in environment (Barton, 2002; Kirby & Fraser, 2002; Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker,

2000; Masten and Reed, 2002).

Studies on resilience have adopted a variety of approaches or models in their attempt to identify risk and protective factors. There have been two main approaches to research on resilience in development. In variable-focused approaches, the focus of investigation is on the linkages among characteristic of individuals, environments, and experiences to try to determine what accounts for good outcomes on the indicators of adaptation when risk or adversity is high. On the other hand, in person-focused approaches, after the identification of resilient people, it is attempted to understand how these resilient people differ from others who are not faring well in the face of adversity. Variable-focused models utilise regression, path analysis, and structural modelling whereas person-focused models utilise cluster analysis, analysis of variance and discriminate function analysis (Masten et al., 1999). Some research studies focus on factors within individuals, families, and wider social context whereas the others focus on the individuals who have overcome the adversity. In this study, both approaches were used in order to identify the factors and mechanisms in the adaptive functioning of Turkish migrant women.

It seems that in terms of vulnerability and resilience, there are gender differences reported in the literature (e.g. Werner & Smith, 1998). Gender differences in protective factors also underlined by researchers (e.g. Schoon, 2006; Kaya, 2007). In Watkins' (2000) qualitative research study with 6 teenage girls from working and poor families, three major themes emerged as protective factors that fostered their resilience. These themes were the centrality of relationships (relationships with mothers and fathers, other adult, and peer relationships), the importance of resistance strategies (psychological and political resistance), and the need for physical resistance (basic self-protection tools to remain physically safe).

In general, women have been considered as at more risk for psychological problems. Cultural context and resources provided in a particular society is also

important in protecting women from developing psychological problems (Baykan, Özkan, Maral, & Candansayar, 2002). Immigrant women appeared in the literature more vulnerable to a lower level of psychological functioning than male counterparts in certain aspects. For example, risk and protective factors for depression manifested themselves differently for men and women in a study with Turkish immigrants in Netherlands (Bengi-Arslan, Verhulst, & Crijnen, 2002). Ataca and Berry's (2002) findings also suggested that there are different predictors of adaptation for male and female Turkish immigrants. For example, low socio-economic status poses more risks for immigrant women than immigrant men.

However, Werner (1995) explained that individuals' dispositions help their selection or construction of their environments and consequently these environments strengthen and maintain their active involvement in life situations and foster their progress in special competencies. This view emphasises the person's capacity to change their environment even in unfavourable conditions and alters the helpless victim position of migrant women's into active constructors of their own environment. In some situations, adversity even brings about useful conditions for people to be "better off". In adverse conditions, migrant women may develop new skills, such as effectively dealing with the demands of cultural context in the migration country. Along with coping with adverse experiences, people can come with a sense of confidence about their actions, and strengthen the sense of security in their personal relationships (Carver, 1998).

Building on the special case of migrant women, they were perceived as a unique opportunity to study resilience due to extensive changes in their life style and environment (Aroian & Norris, 2000). As mentioned before, positive outcome, risk and protective factors are generally determined contextually. The phenomenon of migration and subsequently acculturation present some direct and indirect adversities to the well-being of migrant women but there are also some internal and external protective factors that buffer or ameliorate the effects of

immigration. In some cases, migrant women can get some benefits and gains like acquiring new skills and knowledge, developing confidence or psychological sense of mastery, and strengthening personal relationships while overcoming adversity (Rogler, 1994).

As Luthar and Cicchetti (2000) highlighted resilience based knowledge has strong potentials to promote the well-being of disadvantaged, high-risk individuals in the society. In implementing strategies of the integration of migrant women to host country, processes contributing to resilient adaptation of these individuals can be helpful. In any resilience research, researcher needs to determine the threat to development, the criteria for successful adaptation or outcome, and characteristics of the individual or the environment that contribute to resilient outcome (Masten et al., 1999). Positive adaptation or psychological adaptation was defined with respect to women's level of empowerment, and major protective resources were examined in terms of their contribution to this resilient outcome. Further, as mentioned above, there are different approaches to identify factors associated with and processes underlying adaptive functioning in the case of adversity.

Although migration poses a stress by itself for migrant women but it also results in some proximal risk processes such as changes in socio-economic conditions, employment status, social status, support networks etc. (Dalgard, Thapa, Hauff, McCubbin, & Syed, 2006). In the migration literature, most of the studies have been on either the difficulties migrated women face or the possible negative impacts on migrant women. However, the current study used a resilience framework (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000; Masten, 2001) to build on the successful adaptation of Turkish migrant women. Positive developmental outcome (Lee, 2005) in the context of migration was operationally defined as the ability to have a higher psychological empowerment. Hence, risk and protective factors associated with migrant women's psychological adaptation will be discussed in terms of empowerment level and also general psychological functioning in this study.

In the following sections, protective and risk factors will be discussed in three parts as demographic characteristics, interpersonal and personal factors. Demographic characteristics included educational and perceived English language level, and residence status with special emphasis on residence in the UK. Interpersonal factors covered perceived social support and discrimination. Finally, in personal factors, psychological distress and acculturation attitude were presented. Because there is paucity of research on migrants' resilience, these protective and risk factors will also acknowledge general literature on psychological adaptation and empowerment.

2.3.1. Demographic Characteristics

2.3.1.1. Educational Level

Education brings about changes in one's attitudes and imparts skills and social norms by a process of modernization. Education also helps individuals to achieve a sense of competence and an ability to get around in modern society, which is closely related to the development of a sense of control. Thus in the case of migration, education provides experiences, which are linked to some degree of formal readiness for migration experience and consequent accomplishments. This is very relevant to adaptation to the new culture in the migration country since education affects behaviours by changing attitudes. Education also affects situational factors by leading an actual change in status, an increased income, an increased access to resources and information, and an independence to change location, improved marital options, and better living conditions (Berry, 2006a; Stein, 1997). Thus, it is often used as common indicator of socioeconomic status. Educational level is one of the mostly studied demographic characteristics in relation to different health outcomes in the literature (e.g. Molarius, Seidell, Sans, Toumilehto, & Kuulasmaa, 2000; Sundquist & Johansson, 1997). Similarly, education was also found to be a protective factor for mental health of migrants (Ekşi, 2002). For example, Baykan, Özkan, Maral, and Candansayar (2002) found

that having a lower educational level constitutes a risk factor for mental health problems among women. In a similar vein, Beiser and Hou (2001) found that the highest-educated refugees were in the least-risk group for depression. Likewise, education appears to be inversely related to the likelihood of depression and negatively associated with distress level (Brown et al., 2000). However, there are contrasting results in the literature. For instance, Aroian and Norris (2000) found that education was not a significant predictor of depression among Russian immigrants to Israel.

Education and empowerment are also found to be linked concepts that affect each other positively (Stein, 1997). For instance, Wowra and McCarter (1999) found that education level and employment status is associated with empowerment level among outpatient mental health patients. Both education and empowerment are seen as leading to increased status and autonomy in the society. Further, education is viewed as a personal resource as many people learn problem analysis and problem solving through education, which is potentially effective in better adaptation (Berry, 2006a). Education that is correlated to other recourses like income, occupational status, and social network also makes migrant people familiar with the features of society they settle in, such as language, history, values and norms of the new culture. Dion, Dion, and Pak (1992) suggested that higher educational level, better occupations and greater reported proficiency in English language are associated with the high hardiness and better adaptation among Chinese migrants in Canada. They regarded these demographic characteristics as skills or recourses to cope with the demands of migration experience. These may give certain level of readiness for their new life while it may increase expectations and losses. Another study with Turkish immigrants in Sweden suggested that immigrants with more educational attainment have a better quality of life in the physical and psychological health, and level of independence domains (Bayram, Thornburn, Demirhan, & Bilgel, 2007). More specifically, migrant women's education level affects their behaviours by changing attitudes and leads a certain level of readiness level for their new life.

In sum, the importance of education regarding its different outcomes of was evidenced (Stein, 1997). Thus, education was considered as having a potential link with empowerment and resilience and hence, psychological adaptation among migrants in general and migrant women in particular. However, the way education improves one's well being is not fully explored yet.

2.3.1.2. Language

Having the command of host country's language is another important dimension in migrants' general adaptation and functioning (Ekşi, 2002; Yeh, Kim, Pituc, & Atkins, 2008). Language is important for communicating migrants' needs, for interactions with the people and institutions, for getting employment, and for learning about available resources for them. Beiser and Hou (2001) reported that language proficiency might function as a protective factor by bringing about different outcomes into migrants' lives. While language is facilitating social contact, it mitigates against dependence on others, which has a great importance for gaining and maintaining control of one's life. Further, language promotes the development of new social resources and enlarges the repertoire of individual coping strategies. Finally, it increases migrants' sense of internal coherence.

Deficits in the host country language competence found as one of the main stress sources for Mexican migrants in the United States and the language was stated as having primary significance in acculturation process (Rodriguez, Myers, Mira, Flores, & Garcia-Hernandez, 2002). Consistent with these findings, Yeh, Kim, Pituc, and Atkins (2008) found that language difficulty leads to feelings of insecurity, lack of interactions with non-Chinese students, difficulties in completing everyday activities and tasks, and academic failure among Chinese immigrant youth in the States. Similarly, among Turkish migrants, lack of English language skills produces further problems in education and social life, and hence constitutes a barrier to the integration. For example, Ayman and Berry (1996) found that language was a major barrier to find employment in the first period of

Turkish immigrants' life in Canada.

Hwang and Ting (2008) also suggested that language competence facilitates migrants' cultural acquisition and hence, reduce the stress associated with accessing public services, finding competitive jobs, and increasing one's social support network. Besides, language competence also lessens cultural alienation and enhances one's feelings of belonging by allowing migrants navigate more successfully in the culture of host environment. Birman, Trickett, and Vinokurov (2002) found that competence in the host country language generally represent instrumental adaptation to the new culture such as achievement at school or work because it facilitates to communicate and function in these contexts and also involvement with the culture broadly.

Language related difficulties are more troubling for women who are poorly educated and the elderly who are more likely to be isolated by the circumstances. These difficulties alleviate the possibility of being employed, accessing the services, and limit the options to participate in other important domains like civic life and mainstream social life (Beiser & Hou, 2001). In one study, it was found that after ten-year residence in Canada, English ability becomes a stronger protective factor for refugee women's mental health (Beiser & Hou, 2001). Further, not speaking the host language brings about severe difficulties such as lack of cultural knowledge, low-paid and low-status employment upon migrant women' arrival in the European countries (Morokvasic, 1983, 1984) and makes migrant women more dependent on their husbands (Balding, Wigglesworth, Euler & Hanmer, 1997). In addition to that, lack of host country language prevents migrant women from fighting for their rights at work (Kudat, 1982) and this makes them accept uncomfortable work conditions in the host country (Shütze, 2003). Despite the importance of language in migrants' lives, some research findings also showed that even after years in the host country, there are migrants who speak no host country language. For example, Beiser and Hou (2001) found that despite ten years in Canada, 7.7% of their sample (Southeast Asian refugees)

does not speak English. Turkish migrants in the UK and in other European countries also reported to experience problems with learning the host country language (Önal, 2003).

In sum, language difficulty was considered as one of the important factors on the psychological adaptation of migrants. More specifically, host country language problems might lead to further isolation and feeling of helplessness among migrant women. On the contrary, having the command of host country language may function as a protective factor for some migrant women in coping with demand of daily life in the new cultural environment.

2.3.1.3. Residence Status

Existing literature on residence status of migrants includes discussions mostly in terms of its labour market related outcomes (e.g. Adamo, 2007; Cholewinski, 2004). Beyond labour market outcomes, legal residence status of migrants brings about differences in entitlements for migrants and ethnic minorities in the receiving countries (Bollini & Siem, 1995). These entitlements involve access to the legal employment, housing and health services, the protection of social security, family unity, vocational training, and language and integration courses organized by public authorities (Cholewinski, 2004).

The consequences of legal status were documented by several research findings. For instance, it was found that being in the noncitizen status affects immigrant families' health insurance coverage and their access to health care negatively and hence becomes non-financial healthcare barrier for them in the U.S. (Carrasquillo, Carrasquillo, & Shea, 2000; Ku & Matani, 2001). In other words, migrant groups, because of their residence status, experience different barriers to access to health care than natives regardless of their socioeconomic status (Bollini & Siem, 1995). It was also found that non-citizen women in the U. S. use fewer public programs, prenatal care, and benefits. They were afraid of utilising government services in

general due to their concerns over their immigration status (Geltman & Meyers, 1999).

The employment prospects are also affected by legal status as when migrant women do not have work permit, they are easily exploited by accepting low paying jobs (Carrasquillo, Carrasquillo, & Shea, 2000). Therefore, residence status is closely related to social life of migrant women. This situation results in diverse health outcomes for women according to their position in the society and their educational and religious background, level of integration, racism and discrimination, availability and utilisation of appropriate health services (Bollini & Siem, 1995).

Besides these, residence status also affects women's vulnerability to intimate partner abuse or violence as these women often find themselves living within two conflicting cultures and within a context in which they face isolation and otherness. This situation is more difficult for women who are undocumented or have non-permanent residence status. When women's immigration status is attached to their male partners' residence status, this makes them more vulnerable to unfavourable treatments by their intimate partners. This takes more severe forms if migrant women do not know English, have limited education and limited working skills. Furthermore, residence status also prevents many women from seeking help or leaving the abusive relationship if there is a risk of deportation (Raj & Silverman, 2002).

As the focus of this research involves the UK context, it is noteworthy to mention briefly about the rules and regulations that deals with the entitlements in relation to residence status in the UK. According to the Immigration Rules in the UK, permanent residence status, which is known as indefinite leave to remain (ILR), gives similar rights that a British citizen has except voting rights as only British citizens are eligible to vote. Both statuses give migrants several rights that are different from nonpermanent residence arrangements (Groenendijk, Guild, &

Barzilay, 2000). First of all, permanent residence gives migrants the right to have family reunification that refers to the possibility of family reunion for dependent parents, relatives and unmarried partners. Second, it gives migrants the entitlement to take any employment and/or to enter into self-employment. Third, permanent residence status enables migrants to receive benefits and public funds. Finally, migrants with permanent residence status are entitled to education, grants and scholarships.

In sum, legal status constitutes an important factor for migrants' adaptation and resilience in the new country. Depending on their legal status, migrant women are able to reach more formal and informal support and become less vulnerable to exploitations by their partners or the employers. Further, legal status may affect empowerment and hence resilience of migrant women through entitlements and rights related to their residence status.

2.3.2. Interpersonal Factors

2.3.2.1. Perceived Social Support

Social support has frequently been linked to positive psychological and physical outcomes in the literature, including improved physical mental health, increased sense of adaptation, an increased sense of personal competence, resilience, empowerment, an enhanced sense of reassurance, and self-esteem (Finfgeld-Connett, 2005; Fitzsimons & Fuller, 2002; Hall & Nelson 1996; Tusaie & Dyer, 2004) despite contrasting results (e.g. Bengi-Arslan, Verhulst, & Crijnen, 2002). Perceived social support is one of the strongest predictor of well-being during acculturation, and it functions as protective factor against the stressors of migration (Berry, 2006b).

In the early literature, protective nature of social support against negative consequences of crisis and change was mentioned (Cobb, 1976). Cobb (1976), in

his review, also suggested that social support strengthen person's capacity to recover from physical and psychiatric illnesses, depression, and alcoholism. This finding was supported by Veiel (1995) that, provisions of social support helped women's recovery from severe depression.

There are two models that explain the relationship between social support and better psychological functioning or personal adjustment (Cohen & Wills, 1985). In the first model, a buffering effect of social support is suggested. According to this model, the stress functions as a buffer between person and the stressful events. In the second model, the researchers emphasize a statistical main effect of social support by disregarding interaction of stress and social support. In these studies, the criterion variable to determine the psychological well being or functioning was the levels of anxiety and depression. In their review, Cohen and Wills (1985) gave a detailed account of the mechanisms through which social support influences the mental and physical health outcomes. Having large social networks that provide individuals with regular positive experience and a set of stable socially accepted social roles in people's social environment leads to positive affect, a sense of predictability, and stability in people's life, and recognition of self-worth. This beneficial effect of social support could be related to overall well being. In addition to that, being integrated in a social network may also help individuals avoid practical problems like economical or legal.

Accordingly, there are different operationalizations of functional support. While specific functional scales measure one or more specific aspects of support, global functional indexes assess undifferentiated mixture of support functions (Cohen & Wills, 1985). Among these, confiding dimension of support, which was used in this research, is considered as specific functional support and involves perceived availability of a confidant. Some researchers asserted that having a confidant or an intimate relationship implies the availability of emotional and informational support (Cohen & Wills, 1985), and function as a powerful mediator between stressful life event and the onset of psychological distress (Soygüt, 1989).

It has been suggested that social support may sometimes function more beneficially in its perception than its use (Taylor, Sherman, Kim, Jarcho, Takagi & Dunagan, 2004). Therefore, researcher often makes a distinction between perceived and enacted support. The term perceived support is defined as an appraisal of the extent to which the individual believes that he or she is cared and loved by, esteemed and valued by, and being involved in a network of communication and mutual support by family, friends and others (Cobb, 1976). Cobb noted that availability of one or more of these three different kinds of support function as an encouraging of independent behaviour. In another definition, social support refers to “an advocative interpersonal process that is centred on the reciprocal exchange of information and is context specific” (Finfgeld-Connett, 2005, p. 5). When people know that there are others who are there for them during the stressful times, this becomes comforting or helpful for people, and hence stress-reducing.

Of particular relevance to research on migration is that although the effects of social support have been documented in the studies of the general population, there are relatively fewer findings showing the effects of social support on migrants’ good psychological adaptation. Changes in social support as a result of migration are evident in the literature (Yeh, Kim, Pituc, & Atkins, 2008). Migration experience may also lead some differences in how individuals seek and use social support. Therefore, social support has a particular importance for migrants (Ekşi, 2002). For instance, Berry (2006c) identified social support as one of the predictors of good psychological adaptation. This assertion received some support from the literature (e.g. Bektaş, 2004; Ekşi, 2002). Further, while social support appeared as related to overall self-concept and predictor of self-esteem among primary school migrant children, it was inversely related to self-concept and self-esteem among high school adolescent migrants (Sonderegger, Barrett, & Creed, 2004).

Most studies that examines the effect of social support includes international

university students (e.g. Bektaş, 2004; Crockett, Iturbide, Stone, McGinley, Raffaelli, & Carlo, 2007; Misra, Crist, & Burant, 2003). For instance, Crockett, Iturbide, Stone, McGinley, Raffaelli, and Carlo (2007) found in their study with Latino college students that high levels of parent and peer support moderated the relationship between acculturative stress, and anxiety and depression. They also showed that social support functions more beneficially when the stress level is high. On the other hand, at the low stress times, students experienced anxiety when they were expected to provide their family members and friends with support. Further, Crockett, Iturbide, Stone, McGinley, Raffaelli, & Carlo (2007) suggested that this anxiety might be increased by the support given by a friend in a culturally conflicting or further distress producing way. Therefore, who is giving the support and how the support is given is important in the migration context. Misra, Crist, and Burant (2003), with 143 international university students, found a direct and mediating effect of social support on stress symptoms. Contact with friends from one's own culture and family in their home country appeared as having particular importance in reducing academic stressors and their consequent reactions.

Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Jaakkola, and Reuter (2006) noted that both the ethnic and the host community networks are important for migrants' psychological well being. They found that the contact with host support networks and active social contacts with people from the host society and with relatives and friends living in the migrants' home countries are associated with psychological well being, and hence psychological adaptation of migrants. Similarly, Shin, Han, and Kim (2007) found that social support is a significant predictor of a heightened level of positive affect and less negative affect of depression among Korean immigrants in the States. They noted that social support might function as a buffer by decreasing the negative effect of stress on migrants' psychological well being. Seeking social support appeared as a coping behaviour among African American women in dealing with stressors related to migration experience (e.g. discrimination) (Utsey, Ponterotto, Reynolds, & Cancelli, 2000). However, in Bengi-Arslan, Verhulst,

and Crijnen's (2002) study with Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands, neither the support from neighbours, nor from friends and family members appeared as related to a reduction in the risk for minor psychiatric disorders.

Migrant women experience the loss of significant social support recourses including their regular relationships, obligation(s), networks, familiar food, places and people, and regular behaviours (Abuzahra, 2004; Espin, 1987; Leon & Dziegielewski, 1999). They experience a lack of collective labour of mothers, older siblings and grandparents who are in charge of raising children (Erel, 2002). In another study, McFarlane et al. (2002) reported that immigrant women, especially first generation immigrants, also experience physical assault by family members due to a lack of emotional support, which is resulting from the separation from their extended family. As a result, migrant women not only experience a loss of their support networks but also become the victims of abusive and violent acts as a result of this loss.

Similarly, Turkish women who migrate to the United Kingdom come from a cultural context in which social support is available in the form of family ties and close interpersonal relationships. As pointed out by Mocan-Aydin (2000), it is difficult to reach a generalisation about Turkish culture. On a continuum of collectivism versus individualism, Turkish people appear to be close to collectivist end while at the same time striving for individualism. This goes together with interdependency among the members of the community, in particular reciprocal emotional dependency among family members within a family system. Therefore, the loss of family ties may result in some somatic and psychological difficulties (Abadan-Unat, 1982). For example, Small, Lumley, and Yelland (2003), in their study with 318 Vietnamese, Turkish, and Filipino immigrant women, found that social support, physical health, proficiency of English language, length of residence in the host country, and reasons of immigration were consistently associated with depression.

In sum, social support is one of the important factors that may have impact on the

adaptation of migrants in their new life. Social support has additional point for migrant individuals as they may experience the breaking ties to family and friends and this may lead to a feeling of loss and a reduction in their capacity to cope with the daily hassles (Hovey & Magana, 2002). Social support helps migrants to cope against anxiety and further ineffective social support, in contrast, leads migrants to feel undervalued and contribute to low self-esteem. More specifically, it is an important component of empowerment process (Fitzsimons & Fuller, 2002). Similarly, in Turkish culture, interdependence and interconnectedness are common characteristics. Especially among women, social support transactions like child-care or caring for an elderly parent are more common. It thus seems that for Turkish migrant women social support may potentially be linked to their empowerment and resilience in the new cultural context.

2.3.2.2. Perceived Discrimination

Discrimination is defined as “treating people differently from others based primarily on membership in a social group” (Whitely & Kite, 2006, p. 8). Discrimination can be seen in different forms: blatant, subtle and covert. Although some researchers used scales to assess the level of perceived discrimination, some other researchers used a single item to measure the experience of racial discrimination (Brown at al., 2000). The effect of discrimination can be seen on a continuum where feeling uncomfortable constitutes one end and lowered health and mental well being constitute the other end. Perceived discrimination also affects people’s sense of control over events and outcomes, and may result in feeling of helplessness and lower self-esteem (Belle & Doucet, 2003; Verkuyten, 1998). Therefore, discrimination may affect psychological well being directly or indirectly (Moradi & Risco, 2006).

Perceived discrimination is one of the mostly studied variables in the migration literature. It is found to be the one of the stressors for minority populations or migrant groups (Noh, Beiser, Kaspar, Hou, & Rummens, 1999; Castro, 2002), and

one of the most important risk factors for migrants' well being (Berry, 2006b; Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999). Stress resulted from experiencing discrimination produce physical and mental health problems and affects self-esteem negatively (Whitely & Kite, 2007). Therefore, higher incidence of perceived discrimination can be considered as a risk factor in the migrants' lives. Some studies provided evidence for the relationship between perceived discrimination and psychological distress (Noh, Beiser, Kaspar, Hou, & Rummens, 1999); increased risk of having a mental disorder and multiple mental disorders (Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; Gee, Spencer, Chen, Yip, & Takeuchi, 2007; Lee, 2005); anxiety (Cassidy, O'Connor, Howe, & Warden, 2004); reported psychological symptoms (Dion, Dion, & Pak, 1992); experience of poorer physical and mental health (Karlsen & Nazroo, 2002); greater psychological distress (Moradi & Risco, 2006); anxiety, depression and psychosomatic symptoms (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Jaakkola, & Reuter, 2006); and lower level of self-esteem (Castro, 2002). However, some other studies suggested no direct association between perceived discrimination or racism and psychological well being (e.g. Corning, 2002; Fischer & Shaw, 1999). Therefore, the effect of personal experience of discrimination on the psychological well being among migrants is still inconclusive and the degree and the nature of the relationship between discrimination and well being is still one of the less studied areas in the migration literature (Cassidy, O'Connor, Howe, & Warden, 2004; Liebkind & Jasinski-Lahti, 2000).

In our contemporary world various groups are facing with discrimination. Some forms of discrimination might be subtle and difficult to ascertain objectively and publicly (Noh, Beiser, Kaspar, Hou, & Rummens, 1999). Belle and Doucet, (2003) stated that women experience discrimination based on different characteristics including gender, cultural background, age, socio-economic status, disability, and sexual orientation (Belle & Doucet, 2003). In some studies men found to report higher level of discrimination than do women (Cassidy, O'Connor, Howe, & Warden, 2004; Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999;

Liebkind & Jasinski-Lahti, 2000). According Corning, (2000) this gender difference can be attributable to the women's tendency to deny their experiences of discrimination. It was also shown that perceived discrimination is more strongly associated with the mental health of women than of men (Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999). For instance, Cassidy, O'Connor, Howe, and Warden (2004), in their study with young ethnic minority (Chinese, Indian and Pakistani) people in Scotland, reported that perceived discrimination predicted anxiety among women.

Corning (2002) also found main effects relationships between perceived discrimination and depression and somatisations. Similarly, in their longitudinal study with adolescents, Greene, Way, and Pahl (2006) found that adolescents who experience higher levels of peer and adult discrimination also experience lower self-esteem and more depressive symptoms compared with adolescents who reported less perceived discrimination. Moradi and Hasan (2004) also found a direct link perceived discrimination events and psychological distress with their sample of Arab American individuals.

The studies conducted with Turkish migrants revealed similar results. For instance, one study on Turkish migrants showed that perceived higher level of discrimination associated with lower level of self-esteem and perceived social competence among Turkish adolescents in Netherlands (Verkuyten, 1998). Similarly, perceived discrimination together with trust in the host country authorities had a significant negative impact on the psychological well being of different migrant groups, including Turks in a Finnish study (Liebkind & Jasinski-Lahti, 2000). Further, in a qualitative study with young Turkish and Kurdish people in the UK, it appeared that young Turkish-speaking people are exposed to experiences of discrimination and harassment from white people and some other minority groups due to their ethnicity, their language skills, their refugee status etc. Although Turkish migrants identify themselves as white, they still experience racial discrimination (Enneli, Modood, and Bradley, 2005).

Finally, low perceived discrimination and low perceived legitimacy of discrimination predicted high self-esteem and empowerment (Rüsch, Lieb, Bohus, & Corrigan, 2006). The stress producing nature of racial discrimination reduces a person's sense of control and meaning. Experience of racial discrimination evokes feeling of loss, ambiguity, strain, frustration, and injustice (Brown et al., 2000). Brown et al. also found in their longitudinal study that the experience of discrimination among Black Americans was more consistently related to high levels of psychological distress. In sum, higher level of perceived discrimination is potentially linked to lower level of psychological functioning and less successful adaptation of migrants in their new cultural environment. More specifically, it can be considered as a risk factor for migrant women in dealing with the demands of their new life.

2.3.3. Personal Factors

2.3.3.1. Psychological Distress

Each individual participates in the migration experience and consequent acculturation process to a different extent. Experience of acculturation related changes does not necessarily results in a compromise in individuals' mental health (Castro, 2002). However, for some individuals, these changes exceed the individual's capacity to cope and lead to high levels of psychological distress. In the acculturation literature, this refers to acculturative stress that is a response to environmental stressors located in the experience of acculturation (Berry, 2006a; Berry, 2006c; Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987; Berry & Sam, 1997; Dona & Berry, 1994). In other words, the acculturation process sometimes co-exists with a particular set of behaviours including lowered mental health status, specifically confusion, anxiety, and depression, feelings of marginality and alienation, heightened psychosomatic symptom level, and identity confusion.

The conceptualization of stress generated by acculturation follows the stress and

coping paradigm provided by Lazarus (1991). Consistent with this framework, people's adaptation during acculturation is seen on a continuum ranging from very negative to very positive. This perspective let us perceive acculturation experiences as not only limiting opportunities and diminishing experiences that provide meaning to life but also providing opportunities and interesting experiences. Migrants have to deal with two cultures, in some cases more than two cultures, in contact and have to participate to various extents in both of them during acculturation. In accomplishing these tasks, migrants' appraisal of the experiences as problematic or non-problematic and the meaning they give to these experiences affects their adjustment or adaptive changes in their lives. Sometimes migrants experience greater level of conflict and they judge their experiences to be controllable and surmountable, yet problematic. This problematic situation is mainly resulted from intercultural contact and results in a stress which refers to acculturative stress. When individuals cope successfully with acculturative problems (stressors), stress level will be low and lead to positive effects. However, when these problems are overwhelming and not successfully dealt with, there will be substantially negative effects and a heightened stress levels like anxiety and depression (Berry, 2006b).

In migration literature, psychological distress was often considered as an indication of acculturative stress (Dona & Berry, 1994). In other studies, acculturative stress also referred to the problems related to the acculturation experiences (Berry, 2006a; Berry, 2006c). Therefore, it involves both the problems and also psychological distress during acculturation. By definition, acculturative stress is the response provided by people to life events that are rooted in intercultural contact and includes heightened levels of depression that is linked to the experience of cultural loss, and anxiety that is linked to uncertainty about how one should live in the new society (Berry, 2006b).

Acculturative stress is often used as the outcome variables in acculturation literature (e.g. Berry, Kim, Minde, and Mok, 1987). However, there are studies

that involve acculturative stress as one of the factors affecting psychological outcome (Hovey and Magana, 2002; Hwang and Ting, 2008). For example, Hovey and Magana (2002) found that acculturative stress was a strong predictor of anxiety among Mexican migrant farm workers in the States. In addition to that, Hwang and Ting (2008) found that acculturative stress had a strong relationship with psychological well-being.

Psychological distress in this study considered as the indication of acculturative stress. There are different assessment instruments for psychological distress. One of the instruments that was used to assess the psychological distress among migrants was the 12-item version of the General Health Questionnaire (e.g. Bengi-Arslan, Verhulst, & Crijnen, 2002). This instrument involves some symptoms of somatic complaints, anxiety and sleeping disorders, social dysfunction and depression. GHQ-12 was also used in various studies in Turkey to screen psychological symptoms among women (Baykan, Özkan, Maral, & Candansayar, 2002), depression among university students (Özdemir & Rezaki, 2007), and depression and anxiety among women (Çetinay & Şeref, 2005).

In general, depression as a lower level of psychological functioning was found negatively affecting self-esteem and empowerment among women with mental illness (Rüsch, Lieb, Bohus, & Corrigan, 2006). Beiser and Hou (2001), in their review, reported that mental health can also be predictor of psychosocial variables in migrants' settlement experiences in a new country. They maintained that mental health during the first periods in migrants' life affects subsequent adaptation. In sum, the relationship between psychological distress as an indication of acculturative stress and psychological adaptation is clearly pointed out in the literature. Therefore, acculturation related stress can be considered as a risk factor counteracting against women's resilience during the process of acculturation.

2.3.3.2. Acculturation Strategies

The changes resulted from contact with a new culture following migration is often referred as acculturation (Sam, 2006). In the acculturation studies, acculturation is determined in two ways; acculturation level, or acculturation strategies. Shen and Takeuchi (2001), using acculturation level, found an indirect relationship between acculturation and mental health, suggesting that different levels of acculturation may constitute risk for mental health problems based on present risk or protective mechanisms. The findings of this study also noted the importance of other contributing or confounding psychosocial correlates in examining the functional role of acculturation on mental health of immigrants.

According to second conceptualisation of acculturation, every group or individual undergo acculturation in different ways (Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker, & Obdrzalek, 2000; Sonderegger, Barrett, & Creed, 2004). These variations in acculturation are termed as acculturation strategies. These strategies involve attitudes and behaviours one exhibits in daily intercultural encounters and has two dimensions: “maintaining one’s cultural heritage and identity” and “a relative preference for having contact with and participating in the larger society along with other ethnocultural groups” (Berry, 2006a, p. 34). Depending on these two dimensions four distinct acculturation strategies can be identified: assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalisation.

In assimilation strategy, “individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures” (p.35). In separation strategy, “individuals place a value on holding on to their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others” (p.35). In integration strategy, individuals have “in interest in both maintaining their original culture, and having daily interactions with other groups” (p.35). In marginalisation strategy, individuals have a little interest in “cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss), and little interest in having relations with others

(often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination)” (p.35). Berry (2006a) emphasized that a multicultural society in which the needs of all groups living together in the plural society must be met through adapting national institutions of education, health and labour is required for integration strategy to be attained. This refers to the mutual accommodation both dominant and non-dominant group.

It is evident that there are relationships of acculturation strategies with both positive psychological and sociocultural adaptation (Curran 2003, cited in Berry 2006c) and also with immigrant children’s cognitive test performance (van de Vijver, Helms-Lorenz, & Feltzer, 1999), level of self esteem (Castro, 2002), and psychological stress (Dona & Berry, 1994). More specifically, integration was found to be relevant to good psychological adaptation while marginalisation was found to be relevant to poor psychological adaptation. On the other hand, separation and assimilation was found relevant to intermediate level of psychological adaptation (Berry, 2006c).

In some other studies on acculturation (Berry, 2006c; Castro, 2002; Dona & Berry, 1994; van de Vijver, Helms-Lorenz, & Feltzer, 1999), it was also stated that migrant people emerged as preferring integration as an acculturation strategy over the other three strategies. However, these findings are not consistent with the findings that indicated the preference for separation over integration among Turkish migrants in Germany (Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker, & Obdrzalek, 2000) and lower socio-economic status Turks in Canada (Ataca & Berry, 2002).

In one of the very few studies on acculturation among Turkish migrants, Ataca and Berry (2002) examined the impact of acculturation strategies on their sociocultural and psychological adaptation among Turkish immigrant couples in Canada. They found that among low SES Turkish immigrants, separation attitude is more common than assimilation and integration attitudes. Language difficulty among low socio-economic migrants led sociocultural adaptation problems due to less culturally appropriate knowledge and fewer skills. The authors pointed out the effect of a higher level of education and language proficiency, and hence SES

on their coping with the demands of new life of Turkish immigrants. However, due to the improvement in their living conditions in Canada, low SES immigrants have higher level of satisfaction than the high SES immigrants. The low SES has different consequences for immigrant women as they become more dependent on and submissive to their husbands. Their less interaction with dominant society made them trapped in their house, and led the lowest preference for integration and assimilation strategies among these women.

Bektaş (2004) conducted another study with 135 Turkish university students studying in U.S. to examine the predictors of psychological adaptation among this group. Using level of satisfaction with life and depression as the indication of psychological adaptation, she found that higher self-esteem, not having previous travel experience, overall met expectations significantly predicted depression among students. Further, higher self-esteem, overall met expectations, higher level of perceived social support from Turkish friends were the predictors of more satisfaction among the Turkish students. Among Turkish university students, separation was the most preferred acculturation strategy, and this was followed by integration, marginalization, and assimilation, respectively. Further, female students appeared higher in integration attitude than male students.

In sum, the relationship between acculturation strategies and psychological adaptation is evidenced but there is still no consensus on the role of acculturation strategies in relation to psychological adaptation of immigrant populations (Gomez, Kelsey, Glaser, Lee, & Sidney, 2004; Hovey & Magana, 2000; Shin, Han, & Kim, 2007; Turner & Avison, 2003). Despite the successful application of the stress–health outcome framework in many research studies, gaps still exist. This research examines the specific contribution of integration strategy, which is assumed to be related to the positive psychological adaptation, and hence resilience as an important predictor. As the special focus of this research study is on Turkish migrant women, next section will provide more information on Turkish migrant women.

2.4. Turkish Migrant Women

In contrast to many other European countries, Turkish community is one of the new communities in the UK. Since 1950s, Turkish-speaking people have migrating to the UK and the first group was Turkish-Cypriots. The Turkish migration from Turkey to UK started in 1970 with a bilateral agreement (Önal, 2003; Yalçın, 2003). Like Turkish Cypriots, first comers were men and later their wives and children joined them in late 1970s and early 1980s. In 1980, following the military coup in Turkey, many Turkish nationals sought political asylum in the UK. After the 1990s, second wave of refugee arrival to UK accelerated among Kurdish people from Turkey. Current statistics on Turkish-speaking people in the UK is to a greater extent misleading since there is not a Turkish category in the Census forms and Turkish people generally put themselves in the “white” or “other” categories. However, the estimated number based on the different sources ranges from 115.000 to 300.000 (Yalçın, 2003). Most of Turkish migrants (approximately 135.000 to 200.000) are living in London (Information Centre Guide, 2003), mainly in North-East London. However, unlike the Turkish migrants in Germany (Leyendecker, Schölmerich, & Çıtlak, 2006), they are not segregated in particular neighbourhoods. Some scholars divide Turkish-speaking community into three: Turkish-Cypriots, mainland Turks and Kurds. These three Turkish-speaking communities work and live in the same areas of London, being involved in similar economic, political, social and cultural activities (Mehmet Ali, 2001). There is very little information on Turkish migrants in the UK. Only a few studies focused on the lives of Turkish migrants in the UK from sociological point of view (e.g. Enneli, Modood, & Bradley, 2005; Önal, 2003). Önal (2003) carried out a survey with 800 (529 male and 271 female) Turkish migrants and found that 47.5% percent of the participants were ages between 26-35 (mean age is 30.9), i.e. Turkish speaking people in UK are fairly young. In terms of labour status, most of them work in the textile and restaurant (kebab) sectors and 18% of them are self-employed. In this survey, almost half of the women participants were housewife, and the remaining works in the textile, restaurants and domestic jobs. Most of them were unskilled workers and generally works at the Turkish shops. Therefore,

community creates employment opportunities for their members as a closed community. Enneli, Modood, and Bradley (2005) suggested that self-sufficient nature of the Turkish community also negatively influences the interaction with outer society and leads to a preferred isolation.

Although there is not any published study on Turkish migrant women in the UK, based on other research carried out with this group in other countries like Netherlands, France and Germany one can have a rough picture of Turkish migrant women. In overall Europe, Turkish migrant women outnumber other migrant women from other nationalities and comprise the largest group of female migrants (Ballarin, Euler, Le Feuvre, Mirail, & Raevaara, 2008). Until recent times, Turkish migrant women have come from the rural parts of Turkey. The majority of them had little education, had serious problems with the language, participated in the labour force at very little rates, remained dependent and under the control of the Turkish community, had social life only within their own local community, and relied on TV broadcasts and other media of their home country (Knipscheer & Kleber, 2004; Wihtol de Wenden, 1998).

Similar profile was suggested in a study carried out in Germany by Leyendecker, Schölmerich, and Çıtlak (2006). They found that most of the first generation (who migrate to a new host country) mothers came from rural areas in Turkey, have little or no formal education, tended to live in a predominantly Turkish neighbourhood, spoke almost no German, and had little contact outside of the Turkish community. The impairments in bicultural competencies among these mothers brought about an acculturation gap between the mothers and their children. In another study in the Netherlands, Bengi-Arslan, Verhulst, and Crijnen (2002) examined the prevalence of risk and protective factors for minor psychiatric disorders among Turkish immigrants using a randomly selected sample of 785 participants. They found that Turkish migrant women had more somatic complaints, higher level of depression, and higher prevalence of suicide ideation than Turkish migrant men had. DiCarlo (1998) also conducted a

qualitative study with 30 Turkish women living in USA. Most of the women in DiCarlo's study came to America to follow their husbands. Their reason for the migration was an intention to "step up from their lives" but, instead, they experienced loss of status, loss of social support, and loss of family. DiCarlo (1998) also emphasizes their transmission of the false information on their lives in America to their relatives in Turkey and its motivating effect for prospective migrants.

Finally, in a biographical analysis of a Turkish migrant woman, Hülya, Schütze (2003) demonstrates the typical trajectory of a migrant woman with rural background. In Hülya's life trajectory, being a cultural stranger, serious language difficulty, and being exploited by hardest sort of work in Germany were the themes for a migrant worker. The unfavourable economical condition of her family in Turkey and her intention to help financially her family make her trapped within a situation of compulsory labour.

In sum, all these findings on Turkish migrant women give the indications that these women's readiness level for the experience of migration and acculturation is limited. This situation makes them potentially more vulnerable to unsuccessful adaptation but, on the other hand, provides a necessary condition for their resilience.

2.5. Summary of the Review of Literature

As a result of migration, certain psychological and socio-cultural changes can happen. Some of these changes become stable in migrants lives. When the migrants achieve these permanent changes at psychological level, this resembles psychological adaptation. In the migration literature, psychological adaptation has been mostly studied under acculturation framework. In this framework, psychological adaptation has often conceptualised as healthy well-being, and different operationalisations were used in the literature (e.g. life satisfaction, self-

esteem). With the shift from psychopathology to positive psychology, migration studies also started to investigate resilience as the psychological adaptation in the migration context. In resilience approach, positive or resilient outcome is determined contextually in the face of adversity. One of the concepts that corresponds to positive adaptation despite the demands of migration is psychological empowerment. There are some protective and risk factors in relation to empowerment as the indication of resilience in the migration context. Among these factors, higher educational level, having the command of host country language, and holding legal permanent residence status can be considered as important protective factors in resilience of migrant women. Further, while social support helps migrant women to increase their capacity to cope with the migration related problems, high level of perceived discrimination may function as a risk factor for migrant women in dealing with the demands of new country. Another risk factor in migrant women's adaptation is psychological distress that may weaken their capacity to cope well. Finally, four acculturation strategies also influence the adaptation process in the host country. Among four acculturation strategies, integration attitude can be considered as protective factor for migrant women.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

This chapter consisted of seven sections that present an overview of the research methodology used in the study. The first part provides the design of the study. In the second part research questions, in the third part participants, in the fourth part data collection instruments, in the fifth part procedures followed, in the sixth part data analysis plan, and, finally, in the last part limitations of the study are presented.

3.1. Research Design

In this study, mixed methods research design (Creswell & Clark, 2007) was used. Creswell and Clark, (2007) defined mixed design as:

“a research design with philosophical assumptions as well as methods of inquiry. As a methodology, it involves philosophical assumptions that guide the direction of the collection and analysis of data and the mixture of qualitative and quantitative approaches in many phases in the research process. As a method, it focuses on collecting, analysing, and mixing both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or series of studies. Its central premise is that the use of quantitative and qualitative approaches in combination provides a better understanding of research problems than either approach alone.” (p. 5).

There are different types of mixed methods research design, which have differing uses, procedures, strengths and challenges (Creswell & Clark, 2007). In this study, an explanatory design in which a qualitative component included within a correlational design to explore the resilience of Turkish immigrant women in the UK was used. Incorporation of qualitative into quantitative data was thought to be fruitful and complementary to explain mechanisms and additional factors underlying women’s resilience in more depth.

In this study, the data were collected both concurrently and sequentially. The data collection was initiated with quantitative data. After the half of the quantitative data was gathered, the qualitative data collection started and continued after the completion of quantitative data. Priority was given to both methods while it was skewed toward quantitative data. The integration of two data sets was accomplished at discussion part after having analysed them separately in the results section.

Figure 3.1, shows the phases of the study. The quantitative study that constituted the phase 1 investigated the relationships of certain demographic variables (education level, perceived English language level, residence status), perceived discrimination, perceived social support, psychological distress, and integration acculturation attitude with Turkish migrant women's resilience. Following this macro level analysis, Phase 2 looked at the purposively selected cases, using documentary analysis technique to better understand and most importantly further examine the protective, risk factors and resilience among women.

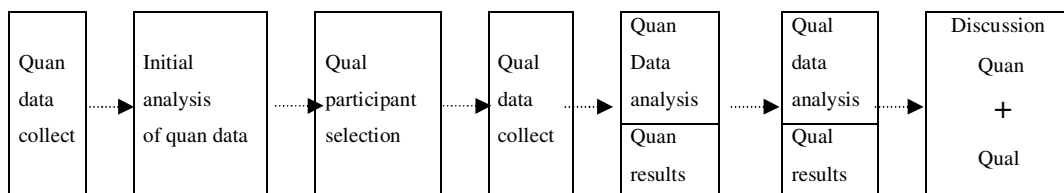


Figure 3.1 The explanatory design of the study (adopted from Creswell & Clark, 2007)

3.1.1. Quantitative study

Aims of the quantitative study were (a) to test how well the previously hypothesized model with the variables such as education level, perceived English language level, residence status, perceived discrimination, perceived social support, psychological distress, and integration acculturation attitude predicted Turkish migrant women's resilience, and (b) to identify and purposefully select

participants for the in-depth, qualitative investigation.

In the quantitative part of the research, data were obtained through a cross-sectional survey method, which involved the administration of self-completed questionnaires to participants at one point in time. As there are not precise numbers of Turkish migrant women in the UK, there was not any available sampling frame. This situation made following procedures to have a random sample impossible within the study. Therefore, a non-probability sample was used in the study through convenience and snowball sampling (Fink, 2006).

3.1.2. Qualitative Study

The aim of qualitative study was to expand further the understanding and examining the protective, risk factors and resilience among Turkish migrant women in the UK. In this sense, qualitative interviews that enabled researcher to describe subjective experiences of Turkish migrant women played a complementary role within the design. As the intent was to get participants' framework and then learn more from the participants, in-depth interviewing was considered as the most appropriate technique (Elliott, 2005; Ungar, 2003). As an in-depth interviewing technique, narrative interviews were considered to be useful to discover specific processes migrant women go through, to elicit the detailed descriptions of specific contexts of those women, and unique localised definitions of positive outcomes for this group of migrants (e.g. Elliott, 2005; Ungar, 2003). This technique is more concerned with eliciting the interviewees' perspective and reveals their experiences in the form of story-telling more than the facts of that life (Miller, 2000).

Open-ended questions were used in the narrative interviews as they allow the participants to provide their naturalistic and subjective point of view. With an opening or inviting open-ended question, women's narrations followed a self-

generating scheme that involved detailed information on events or experiences given by the women. Each narration given by the women involved certain features of event that were selected by these women because they considered them relevant or important to their experiences. In this sense, using narrative interviewing, it was intended to overcome the weakness of imposing structures in the interviews. Narrative interviews were carried out by following four phases: initiation, main narration, questioning and concluding talk (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2000). In these narrative interviews with volunteer participants, a more holistic picture of what they really experience and participants' frames of reference about these experiences were obtained (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). Therefore, through the narrative interviewing, the researcher in the second phase of the study approached the interviewees' experiential world in a more comprehensive mode in which the world is structured by itself (Flick, 2005).

3.2. Research Questions

The present study seeks to answer the following questions:

Main question:

What are the factors that contribute to resilience among Turkish migrant women in the UK?

Sub-question of quantitative study:

After controlling for selected demographic variables (educational level, residence status in the UK, and perceived English language level), how well do interpersonal factors such as perceived discrimination and perceived social support, and personal factors such as psychological distress and integration acculturation strategy predict resilience among Turkish migrant women living in the UK?

Sub-questions of qualitative study:

- (a) How does Turkish migrant women's resilience take place in the UK?
- (b) What are the risk and protective factors in the process of resilience among Turkish migrant women in the UK?

3.3. Participants

3.3.1. Participants of Quantitative Study

In the quantitative part of the study, snowball and convenient sampling was employed. As noted by a number of scholars, sampling minority or rare groups is one of the most difficult tasks in social research (Faugier & Sargeant, 1997, Fink, 1995; Yalçın, 2000). Convenient sampling is useful when a list of names for sampling is difficult or impractical to obtain. However, these recommendations of the members may produce a biased sample (Fink, 1995). Faugier and Sargeant identify (1997) snowball and convenience sampling methodologies as the only feasible methods available when the researchers attempt to study hidden populations for whom lists and consequently sampling frames are not readily available.

A total number of 248 Turkish migrant women participated in the study. The selection criteria for being included in the sample of quantitative study involved being more than 18 years old, and having lived at least for 6 months in the UK at the time of data collection. Questionnaires were distributed to 450 women, 272 of which were completed and returned them to the researcher. The return rate was around 60%. As a result of data cleaning procedure, 24 questionnaires were excluded from the analysis because of either incomplete answers (8 questionnaires) or country of birth that was different from Turkey (16 questionnaires). Thus, the analyses were carried out with 248 Turkish migrant women.

The descriptive characteristics of the sample provided in Table 3. 1. Their ages ranged from 18 to 59 with the mean age of 34.38 years (SD=7.6). Participants' length of residence in the UK ranged from 6 months to 38 years with the mean of 10.02 years (SD= 5.8). As for the marital status, 174 of Turkish migrant women were married (70.2%) and 74 of them were single (29.8%). In terms of educational level, 107 of women were primary school graduates (43.1%), 71 of them were high school graduates (28.6%), and 69 of them were university graduates. For their residence status in the UK, 138 women had British or dual citizenship (55.7%), 66 of them had Indefinite Leave to Remain status (ILR) in the UK (26.6%), 12 of them were visa holders (4.8%), 19 them were refugee or asylum seeker (4.8%), and 12 of them were in the other category (4.8%).

Table 3. 1.

Demographic Characteristics of the Sample (N=248).

Variables	Frequency	%
Marital status		
Married/Co-habiting	174	70.2
Not married (Separated/Divorced/ Widowed)	74	29.8
Educational level		
Primary and secondary school	107	43.1
High school	71	28.6
University	69	27.8
Missing	1	0.4
Residence status		
British/Dual citizenship	138	55.7
Indefinite Leave to Remain	66	26.6
Visa holder (student/work permit)	12	4.8
Refugee/Asylum seeker	19	7.7
Other	12	4.8
Missing	1	0.4
Perceived English language level		
Poor	53	21.4
Average	95	38.8
Good	100	40.3
Employment status		
Unemployed	180	72.6
Employed	63	25.4
Missing	5	2.0

For perceived English language level, 53 migrant women perceived their English language level as poor (21.4%), 95 of them as average (38.8%), and 100 of them as good (40.3%). As for the employment status, 180 of Turkish migrant women were unemployed (72.6%) and 63 of them were employed (25.4%), and 5 of them (2.0%) did not indicate employment status. The reasons for migrating to the UK were also asked to the participants. As seen in Table 3. 2, 77 women migrated to the UK either through joining their husbands or through getting married to a man who was already living in the UK (31.0%), 55 of them moved to the UK to pursue their own education or to get a job (22.2%), 38 of them migrated to the UK for better economical conditions (15.3%), 36 of them moved to the UK for political reasons (14.6%), 24 of them migrated with their parents or to join their parents who were living in the UK (9.7%), and 12 of them were for other reasons (4.8%). There were 6 missing cases in this part (2.4%).

Table 3. 2.

Reasons for migrating to the UK

Reasons	Frequency	%
Following a spouse or migrating after marriage	77	31.0
For education or work	55	22.2
To search for better economic conditions	38	15.3
Political reasons	36	14.6
Family related migration	24	9.7
Other	12	4.8
Missing	6	2.4

3.3.2. Participants of Qualitative Study

Qualitative sampling requires small samples that allow the researcher to do in-depth analysis in its own context. For the interviews, purposive sampling was employed because, with small number of cases, random sampling may lead a bias (Creswell, 2003). A priori determination of the sample structure was used in the qualitative part of the study (Flick, 2005) and so, an explicit sampling frame was used which was guided by quantitative data and research questions. The structure of the interview group was defined in advance based on the quantitative part of the study. Participants were purposefully selected based on their General Health Questionnaire (GHQ) scores and Empowerment Scale (ES) scores. First, a volunteer data set was created for 96 participants who provided their contact details in the given space at the end of the questionnaire. Based on total GHQ scores and ES scores, three groups (women with low, medium, and high scores) of instances were identified and 30 women were found eligible among these 96 women. In this process, first, means and standard deviations for GHQ and ES scores were calculated. Low score group included the scores below the score that is minus one standard deviation from the means of GHQ (below 5.09) and ES (below 48.1). Medium score group included the scores around mean scores of GHQ (around 13.76) and ES (around 55.38), and high score group included the scores above the score that is plus one standard deviation to the means of GHQ (above 22.43) and ES (above 62.66). Then, all 30 women were contacted by telephone and 15 agreed to take part in the interviews. Although all fifteen interviews transcribed, 4 women were excluded from the analysis because two of them were not provided enough narration to be analysed; there were a lot of interruptions in the third case during the interview; and the migration story of fourth case was different as she first moved to Germany where she has lived for a long time and then moved to the UK. Therefore, eventual qualitative analysis included 11 cases. Their ages and length of stay ranged from 26 to 50 years, and 3 to 17 years, respectively.

3.4. Data Collection Instruments

3.4.1. Life Experiences Questionnaire

For the purposes of the quantitative study, the Life Experiences Questionnaire for Turkish-speaking Migrant Women was developed, which included 6 main parts. The first part of questionnaire included questions about demographic information such as age, place of birth, marital status, employment status, level of education, level of perceived English language, and residence status in the UK (See in the Appendix A). The second part included Social Support Scale measuring perceived social support. The third part included GHQ measuring psychological distress. The fourth part included ES to measure resilience. The fifth part included Acculturation Attitudes Scale measuring acculturation attitudes. The final part of the questionnaire included a close-ended question to measure perceived discrimination.

3.4.1.1. Piloting the Life Experiences Questionnaire

In order to assess suitability and clarity of the questionnaire, it was piloted with 11 women, 7 of whom were bilinguals. Participants were asked to complete the pilot evaluation form where they provided comments regarding general layout, instructions clarity and wording of questions, and suggestions possible items to be added. Many researchers (Krueger & Casey, 2000; Fowler, 1995; Ruppental, Tuck & Gagnon, 2005) suggested that focus group discussion is an efficient way to be used in questionnaire evaluation process. Therefore, after completions of forms, these women were also invited in a focus group meeting to assess the cultural competence of the questionnaire, and to obtain their experiences and views as a group. Being one in London and the other in Canterbury, two focus groups were carried out with 8 participants: the first group was composed of highly educated bilingual women having university degrees (n=4), and the second (n=4) was composed of low to moderately educated women.

3.4.2. Social Support Scale

Social Support Scale was used to assess perceived social support level of migrant women. The scale was developed by Cohen and Willis (1985) and translated into Turkish by Soygüt (1989). This self-report scale had four items. The original Turkish version of the scale had a yes or no response format. However, in order to increase the variability, Yılmaz (2002) redesigned response format of the scale as a 5-point likert type scale (For the sample items, please see Appendix B). In this study, a 5-point Likert scale ranging from strongly agree (4) to strongly disagree (0) was used. Thus, the possible minimum score that could be obtained from the scale is 0 and the maximum score is 16. First and second items were related to perceived support by family, and third and fourth items were related to perceived support by friends. Sample items include: ‘When I am ill or in a trouble, my relatives (mother, father, siblings, or husband) offer me necessary help’ and ‘I have close friends with whom I can talk about my private matters and problems’. The internal consistency of the scale was found to be .69 in the original study. A factor analysis with Principal Component Analysis was carried out for this study and a one-factor structure of the scale was appeared in the initial factor extraction, which was parallel to the original structure of the scale. One-factor model explained 52% of the variance with an eigenvalue of 2.081. Factor loadings ranged from .69 to .76. The internal consistency of the scale was found to be .69 in the present study.

3.4.3. General Health Questionnaire

Twelve-item version of General Health Questionnaire (GHQ-12) was used to assess level of psychological distress among participants ((For the sample items, please see Appendix C). The questionnaire was developed by Goldberg (1972) and translated into Turkish by Kılıç (1996). GHQ-12 consists of items that assess the mental well-being over the past few weeks using a 4-point scale (from 0 to 3). There are two sets of responses: in the positively framed items, the responses range from better than usual or more so than usual (0), same as usual (1), less so

than usual (2) to much less than usual (3); and in the negatively framed items they range from not at all (0), no more than usual (1), rather more than usual (2) to much more than usual (3). The score was used to generate a total score ranging from 0 to 36, with higher scores indicating worsening of general psychological well being. Sample items were: ‘Have you recently been able to concentrate on what you’re doing?’ and ‘Have you recently felt you couldn’t overcome your difficulties?’ The internal consistency of the scale was found to be .78 in the original study. A factor analysis with Principal Component Analysis was carried out for this study and a one-factor structure of GHQ was appeared in the initial factor extraction. One-factor model explained 55% of the variance with an eigenvalue of 6.61. Factor loadings ranged from .68 to .80. The internal consistency of the scale was found to be .92 in the present study.

3.4.4. Acculturation Attitudes Scale-Revised (AAS-R)

Acculturation attitudes were measured by a modified version of Acculturation Attitudes Scale that is developed by (Ataca & Berry, 2002). The 11-item scale included 11 attitude domains; social activity, friendship, food, holiday celebration, decoration, language use, child-rearing style, children’s values, newspaper readership, TV audience, and life style (For the sample items, please see Appendix D). Four-statement measurement method was used in this study (Arends-Toth & van de Vijver, 2006). Four items that refer to the acculturation strategies of integration, separation, assimilation, and marginalization were devised for each of these 11 domains. The respondents chose the most preferred acculturation strategy for each domain. The scores for each domain are added up to total scores of each acculturation attitude. Then the total score for each attitude showed the degree of participant’s relevance to that strategy. For example, if one gets a score towards 0, this implies that a disassociation with that acculturation attitude while a score towards 11 represents a strong association with that acculturation attitude. Sample items were: ‘Whom do you prefer to socialise?’ and ‘What values and customs would you like your children to learn?’

Cronbach alpha was calculated separately for four subscales. The results generated satisfactory evidence for the reliability of AAS-R that Cronbach alpha for subscales .85, .62, .80, and .63 for Separation, Assimilation, Integration, and Marginalisation, respectively. After reliability analysis some items were excluded from the totals as they decrease the reliability coefficients: in Assimilation, items 1, 4, 7, 10, and 11; in Marginalisation items 3 and 2.

3.4.5. Empowerment Scale (ES)

The Empowerment Scale, a 28-item scale, was used to assess resilience among participants. It was developed by Rogers, Chamberlin, Ellison, and Crean (1997). The scale was developed to measure the personal construct of empowerment as defined by costumers of mental health services and includes 5 subscales: self-esteem/self-efficacy, power, activism, optimism-control over future, and anger. The responses are measured on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree (4) to strongly agree (1). The score was used to generate a total score ranging from 28 to 112, with lower scores indicating higher empowerment level. Both the total score of the scale (e.g. Rüsch, Lieb, Bohus, & Corrigan) and subscales of the scale (Dalgard, Thapa, Hauff, McCubbin, & Syed, 2006) were used in the previous studies. The internal consistency of the scale was found to be .86 in the original study. Since the original version of ES is in English, it was translated and adapted into Turkish using study sample (For the sample items, please see Appendix E).

3.4.5.1. Translation and adaptation of the ES

In the adaptation process of ES, five steps were followed (See Figure 3. 2.). For the first step of the adaptation to translate ES from English to Turkish, the scale was given to 2 Associate Professors of English Language Teaching, 1 psychologist and 5 psychological counsellors who have the proficiency in both languages. After the completion of translation, the items that best fit to the

original items in the scale were chosen by the researcher and a postdoctoral researcher in the field of psychological counselling and guidance.

After the selection of best translation of items, the Turkish version of ES was given to 3 experts in order to receive feedback prior to administration of the instrument. Experts were 1 professor of Psychological Counselling and Guidance, 1 postdoctoral researcher in the field of psychological counselling and guidance and 1 counsellor who has been working with Turkish migrant women in London. Each expert given the Turkish version of the ES was asked to evaluate the scale critically in terms of its physical layout, wording of the items, and relevance of the content. They were also asked to give feedback about relevancy of items to Turkish culture. There were only a few changes suggested in terms of wording. Finally, the instrument was finalized along with the feedbacks of the experts.

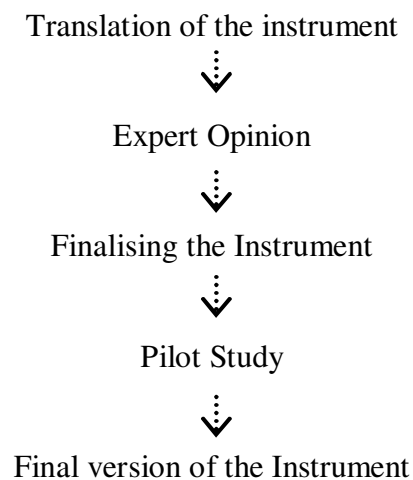


Figure 3. 2. Translation and adaptation steps of ES

The instrument piloted with 11 women as explained in section 3.4.1.1. Following the piloting, necessary changes were made according to the feedbacks given by women. Because of the difficulty of forming a separate sample for the pilot

study, validity and reliability studies of ES could not be carried out before the administration of ES to research sample.

3.4.5.2. Reliability and Validity Analysis for the Turkish Version of ES

To attain further evidence for the construct validity of ES and to support the findings obtained by Rogers, Chamberlin, Ellison, and Crean (1997) a separate Principal Component Analysis with oblique rotation was carried out for the present study, using data obtained from the sample of the study (n=248).

The sample size to item ratio (8.9:1) was within the range of the recommended requirements of a sample size less than 300 for stable factor solutions (Field, 2005). Then, the matrix of correlation coefficients and their respective significance levels were used to check the correlations among the 28 items which have been used to define the factors. Examination of the bivariate relationships revealed that there were not any variable for which the majority of values are greater than 0.05 and any value greater than .9 (Field, 2005). In addition, significant Barlett test of sphericity result confirmed the factorability of correlation coefficients ($\chi^2 = 1710.839$, $df = 378$, $p < .001$ and Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy, which provide a minimum standard that should be passed before a factor analysis, is found to be greater than the suggested minimum value of .60 ($KMO = .79$) (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). Hence, it was considered that the data were adequate for the factor analysis.

Initially, the Principal Component Analysis with oblique rotation revealed an 8-factor model, explaining the 59.8% of the variance. However, the scree plot was used for selecting factors as advised by Stevens (2002) for the sample size exceeding 200. The factors with 10 or more loadings greater than .40 are considered to be reliable when the sample size is exceeding 150 (Field, 2005). As can be observed from the Figure 3. 3, there are four eigenvalues before the last big drop, meaning that four dominant factors would be extracted. Therefore, a 4-

factor structure of ES was considered reliable for this sample and explained 43.5% of the variance. The first, second, third and fourth factors accounted for the 21.5%, 8.8%, 7.4%, and 5.7% of the variance, respectively

The factor structure appeared different from the five-factor structure reported by Rogers, Chamberlin, Ellison and Crean (1997) in the original study. Table 3. 3. shows the factor correlations and factor loadings derived from the principal component analysis. In the original factor structure, five factors were self-esteem/self efficacy, optimism and control over future, power, community activism and autonomy, and righteous anger. However, the four-factor model is kept as final solution after interpretability of these factors was considered, as this four-factor structure is compatible with the theoretical structure of empowerment. As Rogers, Chamberlin, Ellison, and Crean (1997) argued, “there are three legs or supports that constitute empowerment” (p.1045). The first dimension/leg includes self-esteem/self-efficacy, and optimism and control over the future, which can be explained as “a sense of self-worth and a belief that one can control one’s destiny and life events”. The second dimension/leg includes ‘actual power’ of person. The last dimension of empowerment includes righteous anger and community activism, which suggest “the ability and willingness to harness anger into action and a socio-political component of empowerment that is evident in both community activism and righteous anger” (p. 1045). The factor structure in the present study showed that optimism and control over future items were rotated together with self-esteem/self-efficacy, optimism and control over future factors under one factor and named as self-worth and control. This factor structure of the scale was considered as consistent with the theoretical backup of the construct.

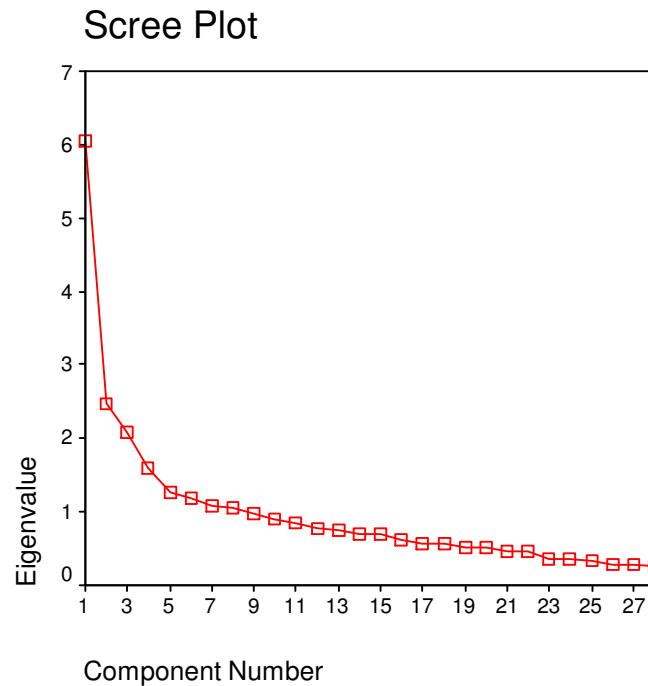


Figure 3. 3. Scree plot for the correlation matrix of 28 measured variables

By examining the Table 3. 3., it can be observed that 10 items (6, 5, 9, 13, 14, 19, 12, 24, 18, 1) loaded on the first factor which was labelled in this study as “self-worth and control”, as all of the items were related to having a sense of self-worth and a belief that one has control over life events and future; 6 items; 21, 17, 22, 8, 16, 23 loaded on the second factor which was identified as “power-powerlessness”, due to the fact that those items loaded on this factor were about the actual power of people; 7 items (27, 28, 26, 20, 3, 11, 25) loaded on the third factor which was labelled as “community activism and autonomy”, as all of these items were about being active involvement in community change and autonomy; and 3 items (7, 4, 10) loaded on the fourth factor which was labelled as “righteous anger”, all three items are related to use of anger in an effective way. Items 2 and 15 were excluded from analysis, as they were not loaded on any of the factors. Sample items were: ‘I can usually determine what will happen in my life’ (self-worth and control subscale); ‘I feel powerless most of the time’ (Power-powerlessness subscale); ‘Working with others in my community can help to change things for the better’ (community activism and autonomy subscale); and

‘People have no right to get angry just because they don’t like something’ (righteous anger).

For the reliability evidence of ES and its subscales, Cronbach alpha was calculated separately for the total scale and the subscales. The results generated satisfactory evidence for the reliability of ES. Cronbach alpha for the total scale was .77, and for subscales .85, .70, .71, and .68 for ES1, ES2, ES3, and ES4, respectively.

Table 3. 3.

Summary of Factor Loadings of Oblimin Rotation for the ES

	Components			
	1	2	3	4
1. Self-worth and control over life (ES1)				
Item 6. I am usually confident about the decisions I make.	,727	-,035	,074	,022
Item 5. I have a positive attitude toward myself.	,672	-,023	,042	-,081
Item 9. I see myself as a capable person.	,670	,094	-,102	,094
Item 13. I am generally optimistic about the future.	,618	,060	-,154	-,017
Item 14. When I make plans, I am almost certain to make them work.	,612	,076	,057	-,108
Item 19. I generally accomplish what I set out to do.	,593	-,071	-,096	-,003
Item 12. I am often able to overcome barriers.	,568	,161	-,108	-,157
Item 24. I feel I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others.	,545	-,028	-,350	,123
Item 18. I am able to do things as well as most other people.	,532	-,148	-,332	,137
Item 1. I can usually determine what will happen in my life.	,523	,170	,075	-,216
2. Power-powerlessness (ES2)				
Item 21 You can't fight the council or the government. (R)	-,197	,666	-,243	-,031
Item 17. Experts are in the best position to decide what people should do or learn. (R)	-,064	,639	-,137	-,023
Item 22. I feel powerless most of the time. (R)	,227	,625	,031	,013
Item 8. Most of the misfortunes in my life were due to bad luck.	-,016	,616	-,098	,022
Item 16. Usually I feel alone. (R)	,235	,543	,096	,140
Item 23 When I am unsure about something, I usually go along with the rest of the group. (R)	,209	,507	,271	-,031
Item 2. People are only limited by what they think is possible.	,177	-,195	,002	-,161
3. Community activism and autonomy (ES3)				
Item 27. Very often a problem can be solved by taking action.	,068	,095	-,735	-,003
Item 28. Working with others in my community can help to change things for the better.	,004	,119	-,724	-,010
Item 26. I feel I have a number of good qualities.	,257	,082	-,612	,051
Item 20. People should try to live their lives the way they want to.	,153	-,022	-,485	-,080
Item 3. People have more power if they join together as a group.	-,179	,001	-,478	-,316
Item 11. People working together can have an effect on their community.	,000	,040	-,440	-,348
Item 25. People have the right to make their own decisions, even if they are bad ones.	,329	-,046	-,436	-,054
Item 15. Getting angry about something is often the first step toward changing it.	,231	-,252	-,315	,172
4. Righteous anger (ES4)				
Item 7. People have no right to get angry just because they don't like something. (R)	-,087	,067	-,030	,763
Item 4. Getting angry about something never helps. (R)	-,107	,075	-,035	,740
Item 10. "Making waves" never gets you anywhere. (R)	-,007	-,047	,217	,665

3.4.6. Interview schedule

The purpose in the narrative interviewing is “to see how participants in interviews impose order on the flow of experience to make sense of events and actions in their lives” (Reissman, 1993, p.2). Accordingly, an interview schedule including open-ended questions was developed (see in the Appendix F). The general themes for the questions were migration story/process, experiences in the UK including challenges or difficulties, coping processes or mechanisms, opportunities, discrimination, language and relationships, gender related experiences, changes in life, social support networks. Under each theme, several questions that could be used alternatively developed. In order to receive feedback prior to interviews, the English version of interview schedule was given to a Lecturer (equivalent to Associate Professor in Turkey) who has expertise in qualitative interviewing. The lecturer was asked to evaluate the questions in terms of their suitability for the narrative interviewing. After this step, the questions were translated into Turkish by the researcher and were given to a bilingual professor of psychological counselling and guidance, and postdoctoral researcher in the field of psychological counselling and guidance in order to ensure their cultural appropriateness.

In the first part of the interview schedule, women’s migration story and their experiences were asked with an inviting question that enables them to structure their narration freely. Then, in the second part, based on the areas in the interview checklist, some open-ended questions calling for narration were asked. Further, using follow-up questions which were tracking respondent’s perspective, the researcher attempted to take the informants’ resources into consideration which has great importance in research with migrants because as Mirdal (1984) suggested researcher’s focusing on strength rather than weakness creates a possibility for greater equality between informant and researcher and thus for a more genuine interaction. During the interview, the probes or questions in the interview schedule were used in two ways: to expand a mentioned theme by the

interviewee or to ask the questions related to research framework that the interviewee did not mention.

3.5. Procedure

Before the commencement of the study, the purpose, rationale, design of study in the form of a proposal was submitted to Research Ethics Committee at the University of Kent and was approved by the committee prior to its commencement in 2005.

In the quantitative part, to begin with, through the web search and document analysis, different community organisations (COs) were selected in May 2005. After selection, a letter explaining the project was posted to almost 15 organisations in London. Four organisations agreed to allow the researcher to use their premises to contact to prospective participants. Then, a tentative map or a baseline of information was constructed on the basis of information given by community organisations, Turkish Consulate and the previous research findings on Turkish migrants in London (Faugier & Sargeant, 1997). This insider knowledge was used to locate women for the study, as there was not any sampling frame covering this population. Quantitative data collection took place between December 2005 and November 2006. The researcher visited each organisation and administered questionnaires to individuals or to groups. In some cases, the researcher left the questionnaires with a prepaid and addressed envelope to be sent later. Besides community organisations, 2 schools, 2 computer courses, a day nursery, a beauty salon, a sport centre, an art centre and personal contacts of the researcher were the means to reach women from a different range of backgrounds. In this sense, efforts were made to ensure that different areas in London were included and women from various backgrounds were reached.

In the qualitative part, once eligible women were identified, the researcher contacted them through phone to arrange meetings and then visited the person on

site to carry out the interviews. All interviews were digitally recorded with permission of the respondents. The impact of the researcher being Turkish migrant woman herself also deserves to be mentioned. The Turkish descent and gender of the researcher enhanced the data collection process and the willingness of the participants to take part in the study positively despite some negative attitudes of a few participants during the data collection. The interviews were carried out between June 2006 and May 2007 and on average interviews took 1 hour 18 minutes. The shortest interview was 47 minutes and the longest one was 1 hour 43 minutes.

During the fieldwork, the researcher tried to establish an atmosphere of mutual confidence considering the possibility of Turkish migrants' insecurity as foreigners in the UK, and their lack of understanding for researcher's interest in them and the meaning of social research. The researcher tried to eliminate this communication barrier by allowing the research participants to ask the researcher questions, which were answered briefly but genuinely and openly.

All participants involved in this study were given an information sheet, which explains the research project briefly both in English and Turkish. For the questionnaires, their verbal consent was taken. For the interviews, before each face-to-face interview, participants were given a consent form, one of signed copy which was left with the participants. All participants were also verbally reassured that they could withdraw at any time and that anonymity and confidentiality would be maintained at all stages of data collection and analysis.

3.6. Data Analysis

3.6.1. Quantitative analysis

Analysis of quantitative data was conducted with the use of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS 13.0). Prior to data analysis, procedures of data

screening were done to assess the accuracy of input, amount and distribution of missing data and to identify and deal with outliers. Then, in order to justify the usage of statistical models for data analysis, underlying assumptions of each approach were checked. Descriptive statistics was conducted to provide indices of central tendency, dispersion and distribution for the demographic variables and acculturation attitudes of the participants. Factor analysis and reliability analysis were used to get validity and reliability evidence for the instruments. Hierarchical regression analysis was conducted in order to see how well demographic variables, perceived social support, perceived discrimination, psychological distress, and integration acculturation attitude predict empowerment scores. The variables were entered into regression in three blocks: in the first block, educational level, perceived English language level, residence status; in the second block, perceived discrimination and social support and; in the third block, psychological distress and integration attitude were entered.

3.6.2. Qualitative analysis

The Documentary Method was used in the qualitative analysis of the transcribed narrative interviews. Being originated from the sociology of knowledge of Karl Mannheim, documentary method has been used in the interpretation of conversations or talks in different settings. The method includes not only the analysis of “what social reality is in the perspective of the actors” but also the analysis of “how this reality produced or accomplished in practice by these actors” (p. 5). The researcher followed rationale and steps explained by Bohnsack (2002) and Nohl (2009) in the analysis. In this method, the empirical base of analysis is the experiences or knowledge of the participants and the researcher does not follow the participants’ “subjective intentions” and “common-sense theories”. Thus, the task of the researcher was to find an access to the structure of action and orientations that even the participants were not aware of. This task was accomplished by the researcher through asking for “the how” is an effort to find “modus operandi” (the way of doing).

According to Bohnsack (2002), the documentary method enables the researcher to access to the “pre-reflexive or tacit knowledge”. In the analysis, “What” question gave the researcher the “immanent meaning”, literal or referential meaning, which refers to the knowledge made explicit by the participants themselves. However, “how” question gave the researcher the framework or structure of orientations underlying depictions or these explicit meanings. Therefore, the task of researcher in reaching documentary meaning was “the theoretical explication of the implicit or intuitive understanding of participant” (p.6) in the narrations. Three steps were followed in the analysis: (a) formulating interpretation, (b) reflecting interpretation, and (c) comparative analysis. In the formulating interpretation of the transcribed interviews, the concern was “what” of the text in which the topical structure of the interview text was identified and the content for each topic was summarised with the researcher’s own words in full sentences. In the second step of the analysis, the concern was “how” of the text and, so, the way a topic was elaborated or dealt with was explicated in order to identify the frame of orientation related to that topic. This was accomplished by analysing “the implicit regularity of experience and the documentary meaning which is embedded in this regularity” (Nohl, 2009, p.15). This analysis included identification of “the continuity, which underlies a sequence of actions or of narrations on such actions” (p.15). This implicit continuity was identified through comparing the narrative in “interview A” with the narratives in “interview B and C”. In the last step, case-ordered cross-case comparative analysis was done. In this step, different frames of orientation was abstracted and formulated as dimensions, which showed how different frames of orientation operated in women’s dealing with their topics and problems.

In the validity of qualitative analysis, certain procedures were followed. First of all, the validity of interpretations was established through peer checks (Creswell & Clark, 2007). In this process a professor, a postdoctoral researcher, and a doctoral student took part. While all formulating interpretations for each case were checked, 45% of reflecting interpretations for cases were checked. In this

sense, conformability was established (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993). Further, multiple case sampling was used to compare the dimensions and their properties between cases and to reach a confidence that the emerging explanation is generic. The aim behind this was to strengthen the conceptual validity of the study and also determine the conditions under which the findings hold (Miles and Huberman, 1984). Finally, purposive sampling was used in order to reach women who would have specific experiences and provide rich detail about these experiences (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993).

3.7. Limitations

Despite the contribution of the findings to the literature, this study has several limitations. First of all, in this study a non-probability sample was used, which places some restrictions on the generalisability of the findings (Fink, 2006). The sample size is also another limitation of the study because the sample used in the quantitative part of this study could not be representative of a large part of Turkish migrant women. The data were collected from London area in the UK and may not also be representative of other Turkish migrant women in other parts of the UK and other European countries. Further, this study included only women who wished to participate in the study and who could and would talk to the researcher freely. Therefore, as Mirdal (1984) suggested, with this method of recruiting participants, one would reach only the most resourceful and better adjusted persons, and this would bias the sample in a particular direction. Additionally, all data were based on self reports, potentially inflating the relations among study variables. Additionally, some constructs were measured using abbreviated scales. For example, perceived social support was measured using a 4-item scale which may not capture the small differences among participants. Finally, the evidence for the perceived discrimination was obtained using one statement, which elicits “yes”, or “no” response. This may have not captured the multidimensional nature and degree of discrimination.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

This chapter involves mainly two parts. In the first part, the quantitative results of the study and in the second part, the qualitative results of the study were presented.

4.1. Quantitative Results of the Study

In this part, the first section presents the procedures followed for preliminary analyses. The second section includes assumption checks for the regression analysis. The third section includes descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations among study variables, and, finally, the last section presents the results of the hierarchical regression analysis.

4.1.1. Preliminary Analyses

Prior to the main analysis, data were screened through the SPSS programme for accuracy of data entry, missing values, and outliers. Accuracy of data entry was checked through inspection of minimum and maximum values, mean and standard deviations for each of the quantitative variables and minimum and maximum values for categorical variables. Missing values analysis with 248 cases revealed that the missing values in the cases were less than 5%. The missing values were replaced by subscale means in the Empowerment Scale, and by the means in Social Support Scale and General Health Questionnaire. Also, as suggested by Field (2005), “exclude cases listwise” procedure was followed in the regression analysis performed (Field, 2005).

Data were also examined for the assumptions for hierarchical regression analysis. The descriptive statistics (z-scores) and diagnostic techniques of regression analysis were used to identify univariate and multivariate outliers. According to the descriptive statistics used, there were no univariate outliers. After that, whether there are any influential cases in the data set were further investigated by using the Mahalanobis distances, leverage values, standardized DFBeta values, and Cook's distances. No cases were identified to have a Mahalanobis distance greater than the high cutoff value $\chi^2(9) = 29.588$ for 10 predictors (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001), a standardised DFBeta greater than the high cutoff value of 1, and a Cook's distance greater than the high cutoff value of 1. Furthermore, the centered leverage value ranged from .020 to .126 (no case > .50). As a result, no cases were identified as influential cases based on the diagnostic tools employed.

4.1.2. Testing Assumptions for Hierarchical Regression

The assumptions for hierarchical regression tested in this section includes mainly (a) normally distributed errors, (b) homoscedasticity, (c) independence of errors, (d) no multicollinearity, and (e) linearity (Field, 2005).

To begin with, normal distribution of residual errors (errors of prediction) was checked through the use of the histogram of the standardized residuals and the normal probability plot, with the observed cumulative probabilities of occurrence of the standardized residuals on the Y-axis and of expected normal probabilities of occurrence on the X axis (Figure 4.1). As the histogram of the standardized residuals represents a roughly normal curve and the normal probability plot represents approximately a 45-degree line (Figure 4. 2), these results conformed to normality expected. Further, the scatter plot of the regression residuals against regression standardized predicted values indicated that the residuals are randomly and evenly dispersed throughout the plot (Figure 4. 3.). Therefore, the homoscedasticity assumption was also met.

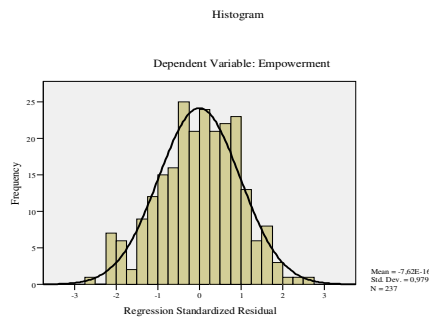


Figure 4. 1. The histogram of the standardized residuals and the normal probability plot.

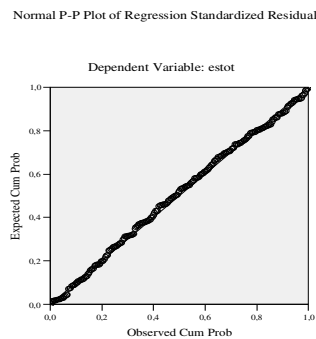


Figure 4 .2. The normal probability plot.

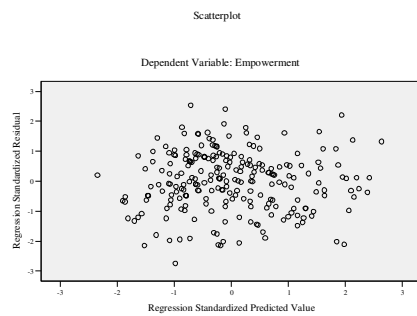


Figure 4 .3. Residuals scatterplot for the regression model

Next, in order to examine independence of errors of prediction, the Durbin-Watson coefficient (d) was used. As d should be between 1.5 and 2.5 to indicate independence of observations (Field, 2005), obtained d value of 1.629 in this study represents non-violation of this assumption.

In order to diagnose whether multicollinearity exists or not, correlations among the predictors were checked (Table 4. 1). Correlation matrix represents that the correlation among the predictors does not exceed the critical value of .80 for multicollinearity (Stevens, 2002). Besides, the variance inflation factor (VIF) and tolerance for the predictors were examined. In the initial analysis, VIF values for separation, integration and marginalisation attitudes was higher than 4. Further, integration attitude was found as the most adaptive acculturation strategy in the literature (Berry, 2006c). Therefore, with this literature support, only integration attitude was kept as a variable in the model. Besides, there was not any tolerance value less than .20, and VIF value higher than 4 for the other predictors (Field, 2005). Consequently, the assumption of multicollinearity was also met.

Finally, the necessity of linear relationship between each predictor and the criterion variable was checked by inspecting partial plots for each predictor variable on the criterion variable and by inspecting bivariate scatterplots between these pairs of variables. These scatterplots indicated that there was a linear relationship between each predictor variable and the criterion variable. Hence, it can be concluded that, on the overall, the main assumptions for the hierarchical regression analysis was evidenced.

4.1.3. Descriptive Statistics and Bivariate Correlations for the Study Variables

Table 4. 1. shows the means and standard deviations for predictor and criterion variables in hierarchical regression analysis, and correlation coefficients among these variables. Results indicated that 6 out of the 10 correlations between the predictor and dependent variables were statistically significant and correlations ranged between .21 to .55. According to these results, empowerment scores ($M = 55.38$, $SD = 7.28$) has large positive correlation with GHQ scores ($M = 13.75$, $SD = 8.67$, $r(237) = .55$, $p < .05$); medium negative correlations with perceived social

support ($M = 11.89$, $SD = 3.71$, $r (237) = -.31$, $p < .05$), and high versus low educational level ($r (237) = -.32$, $p < .05$); and small correlations with good versus poor perceived English language level ($r (237) = -.27$, $p < .05$), with integration acculturation attitude ($M = 5.31$, $SD = 3.13$, $r (237) = -.22$, $p < .05$), and average vs. poor language level ($r (237) = -.21$, $p < .05$) (Cohen, 1988).

As discussed in multicollinearity assumption part, high level of intercorrelation did not exist among the predictor variables that exceeded the critical value of .80 for multicollinearity (Stevens, 2002). Nevertheless, as shown in Table 4. 3, there were some strong and medium negative, and some medium and small positive correlations (ranged from .01 to .68) among predictor variables (Cohen, 1988). These findings indicate that Turkish migrant women who have lower scores in GHQ and higher scores on perceived social support and integration attitude obtain higher scores in empowerment. According to scoring of the scale, the higher scores in empowerment scale imply lower resilience. Thus, these findings indicate that women with lower level of psychological distress, higher level of perceived social support and having integration strategy have higher resilience.

Table 4.1

Descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations for empowerment scores and predictor variables (N=237)

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Bivariate Correlations for Predictor Variables										
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Empowerment scores	55.38	7.28	1.00										
2. Medium vs. low EL	0.29	0.46	.01	1.00									
3. High vs. low EL	0.27	0.45	-.32*	-.39*	1.00								
4. Average vs. poor language level	0.39	0.49	.21*	.18*	-.31*	1.00							
5. Good vs. poor language level	0.40	0.49	-.27*	-.03	.49*	-.65*	1.00						
6. Citizenship vs. no permanent residence	0.56	0.50	-.01	.01	-.05	.05	.09	1.00					
7. ILR vs. no permanent residence	0.27	0.45	.09	.05	-.11*	-.04	-.11*	-.68*	1.00				
8. Perceived discrimination	0.49	0.50	.09	-.09	.09	-.09	.13*	-.06	.01	1.00			
9. Perceived social support	11.90	3.71	-.31*	-.03	.31*	-.06	.19*	.04	-.03	-.10	1.00		
10. GHQ scores	13.76	8.67	.55*	-.08	-.18*	.17*	-.19*	-.06	-.01	.19*	-.43*	1.00	
11. Acculturation attitude: Integration	5.32	3.13	-.22*	.02	.18*	-.04	.27*	.04	-.10	.00	.14*	-.11*	1.00

Note. * $p < .05$

4.1.4. Results of Hierarchical Regression Analysis

A hierarchical regression analysis was employed in order to determine how well predictor variables of perceived discrimination, perceived social support, level of psychological distress, and integration attitude improved the prediction of resilience as measured by empowerment scores after controlling the effects of educational level, perceived English language level, and residence status of participants. Thus, the analysis was conducted with 10 predictors in three steps. Table 4. 2. shows the predictor variables for the regression analysis and the order of these variables entered into the regression, respectively.

Table 4. 2.

Hierarchical regression independent variables

Category/Variable	Coding/Scale
Step 1: 6 variables	
Educational level:	
Educational level dummy 1: Medium vs. Low EL	1=Medium EL, 0= Low EL
Educational level dummy 2: High vs. Low EL	1=High EL, 0= Low EL
Perceived English language level:	
Perceived English language level dummy 1: Average vs. poor	1=Average, 0= poor
Perceived English language level dummy 2: Good vs. poor	1=Good, 0= poor
Residence status:	
Residence status dummy 1: Citizenship vs. no permanent residence status	1= Citizenship, 0= no permanent residence status
Residence status dummy 1: ILR vs. no permanent residence status	1= ILR, 0= no permanent residence status
Step 2: 2 variables	
Perceived discrimination	0= no, 1= yes
Perceived social support	5-point scale, “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree”
Step 3: 2 variables	
GHQ scores	4-point scale, “better than usual” to “much less than usual”
Acculturation attitude: integration	0= no, 1= yes

In Step 1, educational level, perceived English language level, and residence status in the UK as demographic characteristics were entered into regression in order to control their effects. In Step 2, perceived discrimination and perceived social support variables were entered. In Step 3, GHQ scores and integration attitude were entered into the regression analysis in order to find out how well they predicted resilience measured by empowerment scores after controlling the compound effect of demographics, perceived discrimination, and social support. After consulting the relevant literature and due to non-significant correlations with empowerment scores in the initial analysis, some variables such as length of stay, age, marital status, and employment status were excluded from the model. Further, assimilation, separation, and marginalisation acculturation attitudes were also excluded from the final model for mainly two reasons; first, due to high multicollinearity of these attitudes with integration attitude and second, due to the literature support in which integration attitude was found to be the most adaptive acculturation strategy (Berry, 2006).

Table 4. 3.

Hierarchical regression analysis summary for empowerment scores

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	sr^2	<i>t</i>	<i>R</i>	R^2	ΔR^2	ΔF
Model 1						.373*	.139	.139	6.19*
Medium vs. Low EL	-2.28	1.12	-0.14	0.018	-2.04*				
High vs. low EL	-4.97	1.31	-0.30	0.059	-3.79*				
Average vs. Poor Lang	1.58	1.25	0.10	0.007	1.26				
Good vs. Poor Lang	-0.75	1.40	-0.05	0.001	-0.54				
Citizenship vs. no permanent residence	0.53	1.23	0.04	0.001	-0.42				
ILR vs. no permanent residence	1.35	1.40	0.08	0.004	0.97				
Model 2						.443*	.196	.057	8.09*
Medium vs. Low EL	-1.81	1.09	-0.11	0.012	-1.66				
High vs. Low EL	-3.71	1.32	-0.23	0.033	-2.80				
Average vs. Poor Lang	1.76	1.22	0.12	0.009	1.45				
Good vs. Poor Lang	-0.77	1.37	-0.05	0.001	-0.56				
Citizenship vs. no permanent residence status	1.01	1.22	-0.07	0.003	0.82				
ILR vs. no permanent residence status	1.71	1.36	0.10	0.007	1.25				
Perceived discrimination	1.43	0.88	0.10	0.011	1.61				
Perceived social support	-0.43	0.13	-0.22	0.049	-3.43*				
Model 3						.620*	.385	.188	34.57*
Medium vs. Low EL	-0.75	0.97	-0.05	0.003	-0.78				
High vs. Low EL	-2.79	1.17	-0.17	0.025	-2.39				
Average vs. Poor Lang	1.04	1.10	0.07	0.004	0.95				
Good vs. Poor Lang	-0.20	1.24	-0.01	0.0001	-0.16				
Citizenship vs. no permanent residence status	1.82	1.08	0.12	0.012	1.68				
ILR vs. no permanent residence status	2.44	1.21	0.15	0.018	2.03				
Perceived discrimination	0.34	0.79	0.02	0.001	0.43				
Perceived social support	-0.64	0.12	-0.03	0.001	-0.54				
GHQ scores	0.40	0.05	0.48	0.219	7.97*				
Acculturation attitude: Integration	-0.26	0.13	-0.11	0.017	-1.98*				

Note. R^2_{adj} =.117 for Model 1; R^2_{adj} =.168 for Model 2; R^2_{adj} =.357 for Model 3, * p <.001

According to the results showed in Table 4. 3., multiple correlation coefficient between the linear combination of 6 predictors (educational level, perceived English language level, and residence status variables), and empowerment scores is .37 and Step 1 significantly predicted resilience scores, $F(6,230) = 6.19$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .139$, $R^2_{adj} = .117$. The combination of these six predictors accounts for 13.9% of the variation in empowerment scores. In this model, inconsequential contribution of average vs. poor perceived English language level, good vs. poor perceived English language level, citizenship vs. no permanent residence status, and ILR versus no permanent status variables to the variance in empowerment scores was negligible with insignificant result of ($sr^2 = 0.007$), $t(237) = 1.26$, $p > .05$, of ($sr^2 = 0.001$), $t(237) = -0.54$, $p > .05$, of ($sr^2 = 0.001$), $t(237) = -0.42$, $p > .05$, and of ($sr^2 = 0.004$), $t(237) = 0.97$, $p > .05$, respectively. On the other hand, medium versus low educational level variable uniquely accounted for 1.8% ($sr^2 = .018$) of the variation having significant contribution to prediction equation $t(237) = -2.04$, $p < .05$; and high versus low educational level variable uniquely accounted for 5.9% ($sr^2 = .059$) of the variation having significant contribution to prediction equation $t(237) = -3.79$, $p < .001$ in empowerment scores. These findings indicate that women with medium or high education levels received lower empowerment scores, which imply higher resilience, than those with lower educational level did.

In Step 2, after controlling for the effects of demographic characteristics (educational level, perceived English language level, and residence status), multiple correlation coefficient between the linear combination of two predictors (the combination of perceived discrimination and social support) and empowerment scores increased to .44. Step 2 significantly predicted empowerment scores, $F(5, 228) = 8.088$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .196$, $R^2_{adj} = .168$. The combined measures perceived discrimination and social support accounted for 5.7% of the variance in empowerment scores, $\Delta R^2 = .057$, $\Delta F(5, 228) = 8.088$, $p < .001$, after controlling demographic characteristics. Based on these results, perceived discrimination and social support appear to offer less predictive power beyond that contributed by demographic characteristics. In this model, perceived

social support uniquely explained 4.9% ($sr^2 = .049$) in empowerment scores having significant contribution to the prediction equation, $t(237) = -3.43$, $p < .05$. On the other hand perceived discrimination did not have any significant contribution to the prediction equation $t(237) = 1.61$, $p > .05$.

In Step 3, after controlling for the effects of demographic characteristics (educational level, perceived English language level, and residence status) and perceived discrimination and social support, multiple correlation coefficient between the linear combination of two predictors (the combination of GHQ scores and integration acculturation attitude) and empowerment scores increased to .62, and Step 3 significantly predicted empowerment level, $F(6, 230) = 34.571$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .385$, $R^2_{adj} = .357$. The combined measures of GHQ scores and integration attitude accounted for 18.8% of the variance in empowerment scores, $\Delta R^2 = .188$, $\Delta F(2, 226) = 34.571$, $p < .001$, after controlling demographic characteristics, and perceived discrimination and perceived social support. Based on these results, GHQ scores and integration attitude appear to offer much predictive power beyond that contributed by demographic characteristics and perceived discrimination and perceived social support. In this model, GHQ scores uniquely explained 21.9% ($sr^2 = .219$) of the variance; and integration attitude uniquely explained 1.7% ($sr^2 = .017$) in empowerment scores having significant contribution to the prediction equation, $t(237) = 7.97$, $p < .001$ and $t(237) = -1.98$, $p < .05$, respectively. Thus, GHQ scores were stronger predictor of empowerment scores than integration attitude.

Overall, combination of educational level, language level and residence status accounts for 13.9% of the variance in empowerment scores, combination of perceived discrimination and perceived social support accounts for 5.7% of the variance after controlling demographic characteristics, and combination of GHQ scores and integration attitude accounts for 18.8% of the variance in empowerment scores after controlling for demographic characteristics, perceived discrimination and perceived social support. The overall model including all

predictors in three steps accounts for 38.5% of the variance. Based on these findings, it can be concluded that the model of linear combinations of educational level, perceived English language level and residence status of participants, of perceived discrimination and perceived social support, and of GHQ scores and integration attitude significantly predicted empowerment scores and thus, the resilience among Turkish migrant women in the UK. However, among all variables in three models, only educational level, perceived social support, GHQ scores and integration attitude significantly predicted empowerment scores. To conclude, it was found that having medium and high educational level, having higher levels of perceived social support and integration attitude, and having lower level of psychological distress were associated with empowerment scores and thus, resilience among Turkish migrant women in the UK. More specifically, level of psychological distress was the strongest predictor for resilience among these women.

4.2. Qualitative Results of the Study

In this section, the qualitative results of the study and the discussion of individual themes will be presented. The documentary analysis included the life experiences of Turkish migrant women elicited in the narrative interviews. Based on the cross-case comparative analysis, several dimensions and sub-dimensions were identified. These dimensions included migration process, challenges in the UK, support sources, educational orientation as a protective factor, coping, and advice. A summary and discussion of the dimensions are also presented in interim results at the end of each section. In the first part, brief case summaries were presented in order to provide background information about participants.

4.2.1. Case Summaries

This part involves brief biographical information about the interviewees involved in the analysis. Although the participants of the narrative interviews experienced

migration as a common experience, in their personal biography, there are some distinct structural aspects that affected their experiences in the UK differently. Therefore, this brief information about these women aimed at setting the stage for the dimensions presented in this section. As one common characteristic of these women, they all were modern looking women. The names used in this section are fake names that were chosen by the interviewees themselves.

Aslı Bütün moves to the UK from a city in Eastern Anatolia, in 1992, on her own to join her brother who has already been in the UK. She finishes only secondary school in Turkey. Currently, she does a course on hairdressing. She meets her husband in the UK and gets married within her first year in the UK. She is 37 years and has two children. She describes her English level as good. She is a housewife.

Zühal Çivitçi moves to the UK from a big city in Central Anatolia, in 1993 to make an arranged marriage. She has graduated from high school in Turkey. Then, she gets university degree in mathematics in the UK. She is divorced and has a child. She is 32 years old. She describes her English level as good. She is working in a cafe illegally.

Canan Varlıklı moves to the UK from a city in Eastern Anatolia in 1993 to get married with her cousin. She is graduated from primary school in Turkey. She is 33 years old and has a child. She describes her English level as average. She is a housewife.

Pelin Kaymak moves to the UK from a city in Eastern Anatolia in 1999 due to her husband's political problems in Turkey. She is graduated from primary school in Turkey. She is 33 years old and has two children. She describes her English level as poor. She is a housewife.

Beste Parlak migrates to the UK from a city in Eastern Anatolia in 1992 through

arranged marriage. She is graduated from secondary school in Turkey. She is 33 years old and has two children. She describes her English level as average. She is a housewife.

Gizem Eren moves to the UK from a city in Eastern Anatolia in 1989 with her parents. She has to start from preschool in the UK. She has a nurse diploma. She gets married in the UK with a Turkish man from Turkey. She is 27 years old and has two children. She describes her English level as good. She has worked at the hospital for two years but she does not work currently.

Sezen Bulut moves to the UK from a big city in Marmara Region through a fake au-pair visa arrangement to improve her language. She met her husband who is Turkish in her first year in the UK. She is 29 years old and has two children. She describes her English level as good. On and off she does part-time work (e.g. in a job at the council) but she does not work currently.

Gül Deniz moves to the UK from a big city in Marmara region in 1996 with her husband and her younger son. She is a retired teacher in Turkey. She is a divorcee now. She is 50 years old and has two children. She describes her English level as poor. She is a housewife.

Halime Armağan moves to the UK from a big city in Marmara Region, in 1991 to join her father and to do Masters in the UK. She gets her master degree in the UK. She is 36 years old and single. She describes her English level as good. She is a self-employed.

Buse Kaymak moves to the UK from a city in Eastern Anatolia, in 1997 with her husband and daughter. She is graduated from primary school in Turkey. She is 28 years old and has two children. She describes her English level as good. She is a housewife.

Nisan Yağmur moves to the UK from a big city in Aegean Region, in 2003 through au-pair visa. She is graduated from university in Turkey. She does some other courses in the UK. She meets her English husband and gets married 2 years after her arrival to the UK. She is 26 years old. She describes her English level as good. She is working as an assistant teacher currently.

4.2.2. Migration Process

In this part, women's migration process will be presented. Almost all women started their narration by mentioning their migration story. However, this is most probably related to the interviewer's opening question on their life experiences in the UK and their migration story starting from how they decided to come to the UK. The analysis starts with exploring what kind of motives behind their migration and, then continues with how their migration story affected their experiences in the UK. The participants provided different ranges of migration modes, conditions, and reasons for their migration. These are grouped into four sub-dimensions under migration process. These sub-dimensions included *migrating with significant other or joining to a significant other in the UK*, *migrating because of significant other*, *migrating through arranged marriage*, and *migrating through au-pair visa*. Some women started their migration story with an emphasis on their early experiences and condition that brought about their migration.

Migrating with significant other or joining to a significant other in the UK. Three women were considered under this sub-dimension. One of these women is Gizem who migrated to the UK with her parents at the age of 10. Her age at the arrival is important in her migration story. As a child, her family's migration and the conditions in her family environment were important for her early days in the UK. Her early observations in her home environment in the UK were related to her parents' over emphasis on generating wealth when they arrived in the UK. As they were not sure whether they would get legal residence in the UK, her parents

spent all their energy and time to earn more money if they were not granted legal residence. This shows her parents' real motivation behind the migration that they moved to get better economical condition, despite using refugee application process. During this period, her parents were neglectful toward her and her four siblings: "my parents were worried about whether they would be deported if they could not get residence. Any minute, we would have been rejected. That is why; they worked and tried to save some money to use when they returned. We were 5 kids and no body were dealing with our schooling, food etc... No parents were concerned about their kids at those days" (Lines 399-403). For her parents, migration was like an investment for better future. Her parents and her other relatives were not informed about their rights and help they could get at that time: "We were living with 40 people in a house. We did not know about the rules and regulations, and application process for accommodation" (Lines 405-406).

On the other hand, Asli moved to join her brother in the UK. However, Asli started to think of going abroad much before her migration to the UK. Her first boyfriend with whom she was in love was living in Germany and she could not get married with him because of his family. Later, she got engaged with someone else who also has been living in Germany in order to be near to her ex-boyfriend. However, she also broke up with her fiancé after one-and-half-year engagement. After her this break, her brother called in her to the UK. Therefore, her migration can be considered as a familiar topic in her family and her environment/neighbourhood. In the end, her brother made the decision for her and Asli came to the UK through illegal means. Her journey was not pleasant for her, as she had to stay in Bulgaria for 13 days. Asli could not go to Turkey for 5 years as the legal residence procedures lasted for 5 years. This period was really difficult for her. Seeing her family members again after 5 years was really important to her: "...it was like to be born again for me" (Lines 276-277).

Halime moved to the UK to join her father and do Master's, her migration process was very smooth. Halime connects her migration to her father's migration. Her

parents were divorced when Halime was a baby and her paternal aunt and her grandmother brought her up. Her father migrated in the 1970s and the idea of migrating to the UK has been in Halime's frame since her childhood. Therefore, she came to the UK as a part of her father's plan. It appears that her father's presence in the UK and insistence, and also her educational orientation were decisive for Halime as her father promised to pay for her postgraduate education in the UK. After finishing her master's degree in one of the best universities of the UK, she applied different jobs both in the UK and in Turkey. So, she still had the idea of going back to Turkey at that time. However, she could find position and decided to start her own business with the influence and guidance of her father. In this sense, Halime's father is important in her decisions. Halime grew up in an environment in Turkey, where she was surrounded by a group of women who always encouraged her to have education and career and so transmitted her educational orientation. However, Halime was also inhibited by her auntie and grandmother from going out and having a social life outside of the house because of being a female. Halime also retrospectively describe herself as being fond of her independence and mentions her wish to be "a free woman" and "living in her house by herself".

Migrating because of significant other. Under this sub-dimension two women migrated because of their husband's political situation while one woman migrated with her husband for their children's education. Pelin can be considered as in the former group as she had to accept to migrate to the UK due to her current husband's political problems in Turkey. She did not volunteer to leave Turkey as she had an enjoyable life in Turkey despite all difficulties her husband experienced. Pelin did not have any expectations before coming to the UK. Rather, Pelin had future plans in Turkey, yet she had to migrate because of her husband. Pelin had a very risky and difficult travelling to the UK as she was pregnant at that time. Pelin's journey took 1 month. In the immigration office, Pelin and her husband were treated very badly by the immigration officer. The officer questioned their sincerity but Pelin and her husband managed to get

residence permit. Pelin and her husband's migration were also linked to family ties in the UK, as Pelin's four brothers and her husband's relatives were living in the UK.

Buse had to migrate, through illegal means, with her husband and her 1-year-old daughter due to her husband's political problems. They undertook a very difficult journey to France at the back of a lorry and then they took a train journey to the UK from France. Buse's journey took 10 days. Buse and her husband used a people smuggling organisation, which is called "şebeke" among Turkish migrants to move to the UK and they probably had to pay for it. Buse and her husband did not know which country they will migrate to before they were given their train tickets to the UK by the şebeke. Buse was pregnant while their journey to the UK but she did not aware of it. For Buse, her travelling to the UK was not traumatic but the situation she was in was embarrassing as she had to leave a good life behind in Turkey. In the immigration office, Buse and her family did not experience any difficulty and immigration officers were more welcoming and helpful. She and her husband received residence status within six months. Despite Buse's husband's political problems, their migration seems linked to family ties too: "We came and my brother-in-law took us. They were living here and my elder brother was also here. They all came to pick us up" (Lines 17-18).

Gül's migration, on the other hand, was not a sudden decision like Pelin and Buse, she and her husband have been thinking of migrating to the UK for a long time. They had this migration idea when Gül was pregnant for her second son. Her migration motivation was related to her son's citizenship status as she had the information that if she delivers her son in the UK, her son would get dual citizenship. Like the other two women, Gül's three sisters were living in the UK and they had visited them in the UK a few times. Gül's first experiences during these short visits to the UK were related to negative impressions of London: "In my previous visits, I never liked London because it was dark when I first visited after coming from sunny, bright day in Turkey. All houses were smelly. I felt like

I drowned. I didn't like it at all. I thought that I would never live in this country" (Lines 17-21). In the meantime, she got retired and in her last visit to her sister who lost her son, she and her husband stayed for two months. After these two months, her husband made the decision to migrate to the UK. Although the idea of migrating has been part of their life, her husband was the person who made the last decision despite her disapproval: "Eventually because of my husband's insistence and pressure we packed and came to the UK in the last day of our visa as we had visa" (Lines 46-49). Behind her migration, her elder son's education was also an important factor. Her sisters also encouraged them to migrate. In her mind, her migration was for a short while to help her son's adaptation in the UK as he started university. Her husband's record of political problems in Turkey made the refugee process easy for them. Compared to Pelin and Buse, their migration process was much easier. Although, for Gül, the idea of migrating to the UK was a part of their life plans as a family, Gül did not plan to settle in the UK. Still she had plans to go back to Turkey at that time. However, it seems that she had short-term plans like learning English, and leaving enough time for her younger son's learning English as her younger son started primary school in the UK in the meantime. This settling down was also linked to her starting work as a Turkish teacher in a college. Therefore, conditions like starting a job, her elder son's university education, her younger son's starting school in the UK made her to extend her stay and so, her settling down was not her decision again but rather evolved out of the events: "We can't detach ourselves from this country anymore My younger son grew up in this country. My elder son finished university here. We, I and my husband, thought that we could live in both countries by staying for 6 months here and 6 months in Turkey in a year. But we got divorced and we could not actualise this. In the mean time, this made me stay here" (Lines 65-68). In this excerpt, it seems that she negotiated with her husband about the terms to stay in the UK; however, their divorce shattered her plans or dreams, and made her face something she did not expect.

Migrating through marriage. Three women were considered under this sub-

dimension. One of these women is Beste who starts her narration by saying her migration was through marriage. Arranged marriage was not her decision, she was forced to accept marriage by her parents. However, she had some expectations from her marriage regarding economic betterment before coming to the UK.

Zülal also had a passive role in the decision making for her arranged marriage and migration: “well they just gave me as a bride through arranged way” (line 10). However, her efforts to enter university just before her migration were important to her. Although she did not volunteer to get married, she had her own agenda on pursuing her education after coming to the UK. She had her university plans in her mind while accepting marriage to go abroad as she says “if marriage does not happen, I can take refuge with my uncle and continue my education” (Line 12). Therefore, for Zülal, getting married to someone whom she does not know was a strategy for her to pursue her education or to have better conditions. Her age at her accepting arranged marriage is also important to her as she admits that she had dreams and plans in her mind without knowing the situation. This shows that how she was unaware of the situation in the UK when she accepted marriage offer.

Similarly, Canan migrated through marriage. It can be considered as an arranged marriage because her husband is her cousin who was living in the UK. She hardly knew him before getting married. Like Gül, migration was a familiar topic for Canan and going abroad for better living prospects was in her frame. Therefore, for her, improving her economical conditions and helping her family were the reasons for her migration. Therefore, Canan used the marriage in order to migrate to get better economical conditions. For Canan the only way to migrate was through marriage. She accepted her cousin’s marriage offer and thought that this is safer than going on her own. However, her journey was through illegal means and very traumatic. In Canan’s narration, the difficulty she experienced during her journey was one of the dominant themes and affected her life story. Her fiancé initiated the journey process through contacting şebeke to bring her to the UK. Her journey was planned was through Romania where she stayed for three

months. She got caught in Austria border and stayed in the prison for 1 month in Austria under terrible conditions. It was like being in exile as she did not understand the language and had no money. She could not envisage all these experiences that were so traumatic for her: “During those years, everybody was using şebeke (people smuggling gang or network) to come to the UK through illegal means because it was very difficult to get visa. I applied for visa many times but I could not get it due to not having enough money or any educational evidence. Then, I had to use şebeke. First, I went to Romania as they told me it would be easier. They prepared a fake passport. I was engaged at that time. There were other people like us. We could not find way to enter the UK. My fiancé was with me and I had stay with him for three months there. It was weird to stay with him because we hardly knew each other. Then, they arrested us in Austria border. I stayed in the prison for 1 month. I couldn’t contact my fiancé for couple of days. After 1 month, they sent me back to Turkey. It was very difficult” (Lines 21-39). The atmosphere in her family house was narrated toward her feeling ashamed: “I went to my hometown. I felt myself guilty as if I did something terrible. I didn’t do burglary. I didn’t harm anyone’s honour. I was engaged to my cousin and I was with him. He didn’t harm me. We didn’t sleep together. I couldn’t look at my mother’s eyes. I remember I felt cold. I don’t remember the season, may be March or April but I felt really cold. I just kept doing some cleaning and crying during that period. There was nobody whom I could talk to” (Lines 346-354). She felt her family’s honour was damaged. In one month, her fiancé initiated another arrangement with şebeke and she managed to go to the UK. She felt that she cleared her family’s honour. Therefore, despite her traumatic experiences related to her first journey, she felt that she had to go to the UK because of “societal pressures”. Her second journey was also risky and was very uncomfortable, which she now retrospectively questions herself how she took such a risky journey.

Migrating through au-pair visa. Two women moved through au-pair visa on their own. One of these women is Nisan. Her narration was dominated by the events that brought about her migration. She starts from her childhood and family

background. Throughout her childhood and adolescence, her relationship with her extended family was related to struggle and being hindrance for her. There was an unequal treatment of males and females in her extended family and her struggle was for having an equal treatment with her male cousin and being independent like him. It seems that Nisan's struggle with her father and her extended family helped her stand on her feet and separate herself from her family, and further set her own boundaries and establish her identity; this could be very good personal recourse for dealing with migration experience later in her life. After having her first boyfriend at the university, for the first time she had thoughts about going abroad as she thinks that her boyfriend's migration to USA gives her the first concrete idea of going abroad. Later, she had another boyfriend of whom her family did not approve. When they broke up with him despite his refusal, her boyfriend told her male cousin and father that she had slept with him. After this event, despite that her paternal extended family excluded her, her immediate family stood by her side. For the first time, Nisan felt her father's support. After all these events, she decided to go away from her family. Her father encouraged her in her decision. Although she talked about her early thoughts of going away from her town since her childhood, she argues that this incident with her boyfriend was the main reason behind her migration to the UK. It appears that most important figure in Nisan's life is her father and her father is powerless; neither going against societal norms fully nor following his own rules fully. Yet, he encouraged her plans to go abroad and do whatever she wants to do.

Sezen also moved to the UK through au-pair visa but for different reasons. The decision to migrate was a process for Sezen. . She decided to go to the UK with her cousin to improve her English two years before her actual journey to the UK. She entered university entrance exam in Turkey but could not succeed. In the meantime, her parents could not provide financial support for her private preparation course for the exam and had to start working. She has worked in textile for 1 year before coming to the UK and during this period she called her decision about going to the UK off as she had a good position in her job. She was

staying with her four brothers in Istanbul and had to carry out all domestic work for them, which she was not happy with. These conditions and also later her being unemployed speeded up the process for her migration and after being unemployed. With her cousin's insisting, she felt obliged to go to the UK. She got her au-pair visa through false documents and did not work as au pair after entering the UK. She was informed about the advantages and disadvantages of the UK and she did not have big expectations before coming to the UK. Her journey was meant to be short term but her staying in the UK was developed along with the events but not by her deliberate intention.

Interim results: Migration process constitutes an important part of these women's stories. The reasons and motives behind their migration repeated the reasons for migration of women summarized by Ackers (1998) as partner-related motives, career including work or study, personal reasons including family and personal networks, pursuit of personal autonomy, and travel and language. Some women had thought of migration before going to the UK. For example, Halime's father was in the UK and going to the UK at some point in her life was part of her life plans; Gül with her husband has been thinking of moving to the UK for a long time; and Sezen have been thinking of moving to the UK in recent two years. Further, these three women were aware of the conditions in the UK. It can be interpreted that for these women, this brought about some degree of mental preparation for the migration experience and information about what to expect in the host country. This especially affected their first period in the UK, as these three women did not experience much difficulty in their first period. Further, except Nisan, all interviewees had either family members or relatives in the UK before coming to the UK. It seems that migration and migration through marriage was part of some interviewees' family environment. Similarly, Timmerman (2006) stated that marriage is one of the most popular ways among Turkish migrants to get citizenship in European countries where they have established communities. Timmerman also maintains that arranged marriage initiated by young migrants' families is still high among Turkish migrant people with low

level of education. Therefore, women who were forced to accept marriage require a detailed analysis of their value and status in their families in Turkey because they were left in position that they had very little control and power. However, some women who had accepted marriage with someone who barely knew had their own ambitions like pursuing their education or economical betterment which may not be compatible with their husbands and their families. Further, going abroad through marriage with a man whom they hardly know and to go abroad appears as being accepted by these women as one of the alternatives and so, normalised in their life trajectories. Four women undertook difficult and even risky journeys to the UK. The events and experiences during their journey itself constituted a risk factor for some women who used illegal means to enter the UK. For example, Ashi, Pelin, Buse, and Canan entered the UK through illegal means and more or less they had difficult journeys to the UK. However, Canan's journey was the most traumatic one among four women and affected her experiences deeply.

For some women, conditions in Turkey made them leave Turkey. Nisan experienced rather painful events in Turkey as a young girl and had to escape from Turkey. Canan also did not have much choice after her unsuccessful and embarrassing attempt to go the UK and had to escape like Nisan. This affected Canan's experiences negatively. Some women accepted their husband's decision to move to the UK: While in Pelin's and Buse's cases, the reason was their husband's political problems, in Gül's case, it was her son's education and her husband's decision. In this sense all three women, migrated because of their loved ones. Migrating for loved ones might be attributed to the concept of ethic of care or self-sacrifice (Gilligan, 1982). Finally, for more than half of the women, migration was not their decision. Willingness to migrate is another important dimension that affects the adaptation process of migrants. More specifically, migrants who took part in decision to migrate may be in at less risk for depression than those who forced to migrate (Hovey & Magana, 2002). This heightened probability of psychological distress may result from the lack of control on their

lives and also result in maintaining this lack of control after their life conditions are changed.

4.2.3. First Period/Settling Down the UK

Women had different range of experiences during their first months. Depending on the conditions, while for some this period was dominated by the difficulties, some other women had rather pleasant experiences during first couple of months.

Shaped by difficulties. For Asli, first period in the UK was related to missing her family and difficulty in communicating with her family in Turkey. Homesickness, sadness and loneliness were dominant feeling for her. Not having a previous experience of being away from her family was important in her experiences and she retrospectively thinks that she was not ready for this experience. First period in the UK is linked to Asli's not having control over her life as she was living with her brother's family. She was under her brother's control and restrictions and had obligations and responsibilities related to her brother's family as she looked after his son for a while. Then she worked in a factory for a while and during this period she met her husband.

Like Asli, Beste also had to work in a factory for a while. During first periods, she and her husband had economical hardship. Other difficulties were not having Turkish people around her and not being able to reach Turkish goods. She mentions the scarcity of Turkish people at that time compared to now.

Gizem stayed in another city with her family upon their arrival in the UK and moved to London after their first year in the UK. Difficulties in the first period were related to social environment where there were very few Turkish people and her peer relationships in the school were not going well. Language created problems in her peer relationships like exclusion and affected her school success. Similarly, for Nisan, difficulties in first three months are narrated toward language

difficulty and being isolated in the countryside of Edinburgh. As a young person, it was difficult for her to look after old people as an au pair. She had negative experiences with her au pair family. She met her husband during this period, which affected her experiences in the UK.

In Canan's first period in the UK, after getting married, she had tuberculosis and had to stay in hospital for 3 months because of the false treatment of doctors. Not understanding the doctors and nurses and not being able to tell about her needs were very difficult for her because of language. She could not have any help other than her husband's help. These experiences were very painful and still hurt her when she remembers: "I had to stay with only one short and a t-shirt for three months in the hospital. My husband was unemployed and his English was not good. He was just visiting me during visiting time. I couldn't move on my own. I couldn't ask him to help me to have shower. I didn't know English and I couldn't ask nurse. By looking at the dictionary, I explained nurse that I need shower. Then, she took me to the bath tub and left me there. It was really hard for me. I still remember those days" (Lines 392-400). This period is also narrated toward the feeling of ashamed and being problematic because of her health problems. There were a lot of bad looks and rumours around her. She also had some psychological problems, e.g. suicidal ideation during this period. Like Ash and Beste, she started working in the factory during this first period.

Zühal's first period in the UK was dominated by the events around her marriage process and her experiences with her ex-husband's family. She was not aware of her situation in which her family put her during first days and it was "shocking" for her: "I couldn't talk. Only thing I remember is that I went to a room and sat there without saying a word and hearing anything. It was just a shock and I asked myself where I am and what happened to me. Then, at that second, I realised the mistake my family made" (Lines 20-23). She admits that she was so young and she was in helpless position in her husband's family. She could not visit her family for a quite while because of her legal status. Zühal felt trapped and she even

could not see her larger environment. She experienced difficulties related to her situation, her marriage and problems with her husband's family, which will be described later in this section. Starting from her early months in the UK, she was exposed to abusive behaviours by her husband's family.

For Pelin, first period just after migration was related to difficulties of her pregnancy, accommodation and language. Her first experiences in the UK were disappointing for her when she first saw her brother's living arrangement. She mentions about the houses in London as a "shocking" experience for her.

For Buse, unfamiliar environment was the source of difficulty during first months: "It like starting from the scratch. It is like to be born again. You learn everything again, language, your ways. When we left our place to visit my auntie, we always felt confused about the ways. I always felt that we got lost. Ways are difficult here" (Lines 465-469). Buse also had very negative impressions of London in her first period. Like Pelin, she also comes from a small town and when she compares her town with London, she finds London dirty and messy. This might be related to moving to a very big city from small town and also the conditions of the areas where Turkish migrants live in.

Pleasant first period. In contrast to these, Gül's first period in the UK was not related to difficulties despite her negative impressions about the UK. As Gül joined three other sisters and stayed in their house in this first period, she and her family did not experience practical difficulties like housing. She also lent support to her sister who lost her son during this period. "My condition was different form many other people. I can say that first period was good because I was with my family. We were helping each other. My family needed me. I was with my sister in her sad times. I shared her pain. I felt really well. That's why, first months were not difficult. We were staying in my sister's house where were all together" (Lines 130-135). Gül felt useful and fulfilled because of being with the family and being able support her sister in her difficult times. For Gül, first months was not

related to difficulties.

Like Gül, first period in the UK was not difficult for Sezen who was taken by the airport by her friends. She started working in a job that her friends found on the following day. Her friends gave her all necessary information during this period. She was staying with her friends. Therefore, she had informational and instrumental support during this period. For a while, she worked illegally in different jobs like in a restaurant, in a cleaning job, and in a factory. Sometimes she was working in more than one job at the same time and working conditions were demanding for her. Because of overworking, she had some health problems during this period. In the meantime, she met her current husband. First months were like a honeymoon for her and she enjoyed staying with her friends. Having the liberty of visiting Turkey was an advantage for her. Language was difficulty during this period only in health services for her. She admits that first months were not difficult for as she had job, and attended English course with financial support of her current husband.

Like other two women, first period was not stressful for Halime as she lived with her father, who had an English wife, for a while. She knew English when she arrived. Further, she came for her Master's degree and it was meant to be a short-term stay. Therefore, Halime's settling process in the UK was smooth and gradual and she always had option to go back to the Turkey. During her first period, she did not struggle much as she had his father's instrumental support.

Interim results: First impressions of these women in their new environment were related to their immediate environment. Except Halime, Sezen and Gül, first period was related to difficulties for all interviewees. These three women received enough support they needed during their first period in the UK and for all three, their journey was not for settling down the UK. In the literature, it was also stated that while emotional and informational supports are viewed as more responsive to a wide range of stressful events, social companionship and instrumental support

are more specific to the need elicited by a stressful event (Cohen & Wills, 1985).

Getting residence through their dependent status was difficult for some women and the ones who were not granted residence in a short term could not leave the country for a long time. Women who could not get legal residence status shortly after their arrival had the feeling of being trapped or in-betweenness due to their legal situation. As a result of this situation, they did not have the liberty to visit their families in Turkey. This situation made them more vulnerable to psychological problems and abuse by the people whom they depend on. As suggested in the literature, staying as the non-citizen spouse in the UK and other EU countries make migrant women dependent on their spouses and even stay with violent or abusive partners in order not to face deportation (Balding, Wigglesworth, Euler & Hanmer, 1997; Raj & Silverman, 2002). Therefore, not having legal residence status may increase women's insecurities about their ability to function in the host country, and can be stressful for them.

4.2.4. Challenges in the UK

Although some women's narrations were dominated by difficulties, there are some common issues emerged as challenges in the analysis. Challenge is preferred instead of difficulty because these women experienced each sub-dimension differently. In the following parts these challenges will be elaborated under following sub-dimensions: Language, accommodation, marriage and relationship with husband, social relationships, ties and friends, children and motherhood losses, husband's family, loneliness and belongingness, Turkish community, health problems and experiences with health services, and discrimination.

4.2.4.1. Language

Language has a special importance for most women to a different extend. Women's experiences related to language included how it affected their adaptation. While some women managed to learn English, some others did not. One of these women is Canan. For her, language is one of the most important difficulties. She admits that she would not imagine the difficulty of learning English. "I wish a miracle happens so that I can learn English" (Lines 125-126). Language makes her trapped in the house and affects her social life and her mothering very negatively: "I couldn't take my children outside of my house because if my child fights with other children or if a dog attacks my child, I can't defend my children because of English" (Lines 182-183). Not knowing language makes her feel vulnerable and unprotected in her daily life. She thinks that she cannot defend herself without knowing language. For Canan, language difficulty is connected to not expressing herself very well, and difficulties in shopping (like not being able to say what you really want) in daily life. It also creates difficulties in health services as she has to use interpreters and she does not believe interpreters translate all feelings and the symptoms very well. She does not get enough attention and feel trusted regarding her applications to change her house. She thinks that her language problem also affects her parenting. She is concerned that language affects her control over her son and the gap between her and her son will increase with his age if she does not learn English.

Pelin also experiences difficulty to express herself in English in her health problems and symptoms. For example, she experienced this difficulty when she had her first child. Language also leads her not being able to defend "her rights". Pelin uses metaphor of "being like a deaf and dumb". She connects her current difficulties to the language. Language difficulty leads to limited social relationships and this makes Pelin feel lonely. In a way, she did not only loose her usual social networks with the migration but also language limits her having other social relationships in the UK. Her daily life is affected by language that she

becomes on others who know English. This makes her feel “weak”, incompetent, and “being looked down on”. This might be disempowering for Pelin. She feels invaded by culture in the UK, which makes her feel “worn out”. For Pelin, not learning English is oriented toward her unplanned pregnancy for her second child. Her not being able to learn is framed with an orientation toward her mind’s being preoccupied with many other things.

Like Pelin, Gül’s most difficulties were related to language. Language is difficulty mostly in practical matters and in daily communications. She had a cancer treatment and overcame cancer. For her, using interpreters in health services and in therapy was very difficult. This affected her disclosing herself and she did not trust interpreters. She also had fear of gossip when she used interpreters as she talks about private things in therapy. This refers to one of the very basic needs of expressing herself. In using interpreters, there several problems mentioned by Gül; revealing your problem to the third person and not trusting their language ability, and besides language proficiency, the problem of second hand explanation. She experiences same problem in her son’s school: “Everything was unfamiliar. My son started school. I couldn’t talk to her teacher individually. When I went to see my doctor, I couldn’t express myself” (Lines 79-81). Using interpreters in son’s school matters brings about confidentiality issues. Other alternative to interpreters asking help from her friends but this also makes her feel uncomfortable in terms of confidentiality. It seems that language difficulty sets the stage for loss of control over life and less participation in social life. Another important problem related to language was unemployment. Although she had university degree in Turkey, because she did not fluent in English, she could not find a job inline with her qualification. Knowledge of language is very decisive for their job opportunities and social networks. However, because of feeling lonely, Gül has been in contact with Turkish people, which prevented her from learning and practicing her English. Actually, within Turkish community they do not need English even though they are living in London. She equates learning language with isolating herself from Turkish community and this means being

deprived of communicating comforting in their own language.

For Beste “speaking in a second language” is a difficulty. She knows some English but she is not happy with its level and she has a criticizing attitude toward herself due to not learning language despite living in the UK for 15 years. She attended language course for a while but she felt “bored”. She is connecting her not having fluent English, despite attending courses, to her having limited social interaction with English people. Her progress in English is linked to opportunities to do “practice”. Like Gül, her having Turkish networks affects the process negatively. She intends to do voluntary works in order to practice her English.

Although Aslı came to the UK with almost no English, she managed to learn English. During her first year, Aslı’s working in a factory prevented her from learning English. After getting married, she attended courses for two years. Her attempts to improve English indicates her determination and also are linked to support she got from her mother-in-law as she looked after her children when she was in the course. She also finished college despite language difficulty. Although language is not a challenge for her now and even she is helping her mother-in-law when she needs, she still wants to improve it. She wants to write in English by herself. Being dependent on others used to be difficult for during the time when Aslı did not know the English. It appears that knowing English is decisive for being autonomous.

Buse learned English and acknowledges the difference in her life. Now, she is doing courses. She feels settled and is content with her life. She mentioned similar difficulties related to barriers against learning English: having two kids consecutively and dealing with all domestic responsibilities on her own. But what is different in Buse’s narration is that although she experiences the similar feelings that “It was once a week. I couldn’t keep the words in my mind because I was thinking of problems related to my house and my children” (Lines 386-387); she did not give up and continued her English classes. Helping her children’s

homework also helped her English. She is helping her husband as well in his appointments etc and so her English is better than her husband. After learning English she feels more capable and she has future goals for herself: improving her language more and getting a training to be a nurse.

Sezen learned English in the UK by attending course with financial help from her current husband. Like Buse, knowing English affects Sezen's life positively in her social relationships. She has relationships with her English-speaking neighbours, and parents in the school. Language increases the alternatives in social relationships. It helps her monitor her children's success in the school and affects her interactions with teachers: "Because when you don't know the language, teachers don't take you seriously. May be this is racism but it happens" (Lines 470-472). Sezen feels herself lucky as she knows English a little bit and she had friends in the UK when she first came. She thinks that main difficulty in the UK is language that is the key to learning the system in the UK.

Language affected Nisan's early experiences in the UK in which she felt vulnerable due to not knowing English. For her, language is linked to job opportunities and career, stability in her marriage, better income, expressing herself better and relationship opportunities. Language is like a resource for her and functions like as a protective factor in her feeling confident and her adaptation in the UK. Language is also linked to feeling competent in other countries while travelling.

Gizem knows English as she did schooling in the UK. She feels more powerful in dealing with her job and health problems, and in looking around. Gizem thinks that not knowing language leads to exclusion in social life. Like Gizem, Halime did not have language difficulty but language difficulty manifested itself differently for Halime. Halime attended English medium university in Turkey and improved her English during her master's degree in the UK. Her interaction with her English stepmother also helped her improve her English while staying with

them. She only had concerns over her accent and writing in English. In the beginning, for example, she did not feel competent because of language and hid herself in the job related meetings. Thinking over what she will say or whether she will make mistake in grammar or whether she will have a different accent makes her feel less competent and always expecting certain level of approval from others. The positive feedbacks in her work environment, especially from English people, are really important to her and she had the feeling that they are better than me. She tried to overcome language problems through attending courses. So, she tried to feed and support herself by increasing her knowledge.

Interim results: Language is an important challenge in these women's lives. Challenges related to language included the consequences of not knowing language or knowing language and barriers to learning English. First of all, language affected their daily interactions, especially in health services. Language also affected their feeling of competence and made them feel dependent. Therefore, their autonomy was inhibited. Yeh, Kim, Pituc, and Atkins (2008) observed similar consequences of language difficulty among Chinese immigrants in the US that language difficulty contributed to the feeling of insecurity and fear in their interaction with host culture and in their daily activities. In the current study, the negative effect of language on their parenting was also mentioned as a consequence of language. They felt vulnerable because of the feeling that they would not be able to defend themselves. There are a lot of part time opportunities for these women but because they do not know language, they have to stay in their houses or in their small community. Because of language problem, migrant people often have to work illegally in low paying jobs (Birman, Trickett & Vinokurov, 2002) and this situation makes them open to exploitation. Therefore, it can be concluded that language is an important protective factor in these women's empowerment and resilience.

All are aware of the advantage of knowing language but learning English was enormous difficult for some women. For some women, learning English was more

difficult than they could imagine. In terms of barriers to their language learning, childcare and domestic responsibilities constituted barriers. Some women find strategies to overcome this barrier, like asking their relatives or husbands to look after their children. Some other women attributed their English proficiency to their determination and having purpose. However, having an educational orientation appears as an important protective factor for learning English. Some people mentioned about lack of motivation and difficulty to concentrate on like “her mind’s being full of other things” that might be responsibilities related to children and domestic work. On the other hand, some women also perceived not having social relationships with English people as a barrier as they are mostly socialising with Turkish people. Living in a small community appeared an important barrier in learning English. However, during the early months in the new country, having contacts or being in touch with ethnic networks are important for new settlers’ maintaining healthy psychological functioning (Beiser & Hou, 2001). They should spend deliberate effort on separating themselves from Turkish contacts. Further, they should have awareness about their situation and effect of not knowing language in their lives. It seems that they gain this awareness throughout the years. Timmerman (2006) also found that some Turkish migrants were overly preoccupied with earning money or have to earn some money to support themselves during their first period in the UK and then, postpone attending language courses. This pattern was also relevant to the women in this study as some women started to work short after their arrival. This also appears as an important barrier against learning language among these women. Further, in the long run, not being able to learn English result in continuing feeling of failure among migrants (Beiser & Hou, 2001). This may lead to learned helplessness and hopelessness.

4.2.4.2. Accommodation

Some women also experienced difficulties related to their house condition. Pelin’s accommodation problem is one of the main concerns for her. The house where she

has been living since she arrived in the UK is oriented toward her complaints, inconvenience and a source of stress for her. The officers did not pay enough attention to her applications. She links this to her limited language fluency and how officers treat her – not taking her application seriously - because of this limitation. Her one-bedroom house has had also negative influences on her family's life. It affects her marital relationship and her daughter's school success negatively. This makes her feel exhausted and frustrated. She is not sure about whether her distress is a result of her current house or her experiences in last 7 years in the UK.

Similarly, Canan is not happy with her house condition, as she has been living in one-bedroom flat since she got married. She had to live with extended family (her mother and her husband's two brothers) in this one-bedroom flat during her post-partum period. Because of the house conditions, "as 6 people, living in a bedroom flat", she could not deal with her son. Her baby son had problems like constant crying until age 2.

Like Pelin and Canan, Sezen had problems related to her house, as she had to live in a one-bedroom flat for 6 years. However, she found ways to overcome this difficulty: "I stayed in one-bedroom flat for 6 years. My children were small. But still I managed to spare time for them like reading stories to them. We didn't complain about it" (Lines 274-275).

Interim results: House conditions were also pressing for these women. As they and sometimes their husbands are unemployed, they have to rely on accommodation assigned by the local authorities in the UK. In some cases, accommodation destined by the government is small and not enough for the household. It becomes more difficult at times when they also have to accommodate their extended family members for a while.

4.2.4.3. Marriage and Relationship with Husband

Marriage has important place in these women's lives as almost half of the participants migrated due to either marriage or their husbands. Zülal's case was the most extreme one as she accepted to marry with husband without having any prior contact when she was in Turkey. After coming to the UK, her illegal position in the country made her accept whatever her husband's family offered and had to accept marriage without liking her husband and being ready for getting married. She was misinformed about her fiancé as he had gambling problem. She was isolated from her relatives in the UK during marriage process. During this period, she felt fearful and helpless due to her illegal status. Marriage for her was the only solution to escape from the fearful situation although she was also afraid of her fiancé. She had to get married someone who would not accept in a normal situation. This is a common situation among illegal migrant women or women whose status is dependent on their husbands or fiancé. It appears that Zülal's marriage is like a *fait accompli*. First period in Zülal's marriage is related to difficulties and frustrations as very soon after their getting married, her husband starts to spend days and nights out. There was almost no communication between her and her husband. When she learned her husband's gambling problem, she had to undertake the responsibility to convince him to quit gambling. She tried to make him committed to their marriage that she had her son to save her marriage. She is a divorcee for last 7 months. She has been thinking of having divorce for a long time but she postponed because she was not sure whether she could cope with being on her own. After finishing university, she decided to have divorce. She feels free and calls her divorce "second most beautiful thing" she did for herself. She perceives herself as an individual and standing on her feet as a woman: "I could have left him before but I think I was indecisive. Now, he understood me and didn't disturb me. I don't blame him. I wasn't brave enough. I was not sure whether I could live on my own" (lines 181-184). She becomes the "actor" in her life. It seems that both her personal development through difficulties related to her husband and her husband's family and the structural

aspects of the UK like financial support from the government was effective in divorce decision. It seems that having her degree empowered Zülal and then she decided to have a divorce from her husband with whom she was not happy.

Like Zülal, Beste got married through arranged marriage and her parents decided for her. She got married to her husband without knowing him and she thinks that it has led to problems in her marriage. Her relationship with her husband is a difficulty for Beste. There have been disagreements between Beste and her husband in her marriage. For example, one disagreement between Beste and her husband about Beste's wish to go to school in the UK. For Beste, her husband refers to interference and opposition. Her husband's priority is for getting wealth and did not want spend money on her education. Her husband has control over the money spent in their home. Her husband sometimes treats her badly, like "swearing". She even thought of having divorce but could not do because of her children, so, she is sacrificing herself for her children. Keeping up with the domestic work is Beste's duty and her husband does not help her. This is also another source of disagreement. Her husband expects Beste do everything for him: "I even buy his clothes, and if they don't fit him, I take them back" (Lines 828-829). Besides being breadwinner of the family, her husband does not provide any emotional support for Beste. Her husband's perspective is that housewives are useless because they do not earn money. She feels exhausted because of undertaking all domestic responsibilities and not having time to go out of her house.

Like Zülal and Beste, Gizem got married through arranged marriage without knowing her husband very well. In contrast to Zülal and Beste, Gizem's husband moved to the UK through his marriage with Gizem. For her, her marriage was a strategy to pursue her education, to work and to be free from her father's authority as her father did not approve of her working. She thinks that her husband can have his own agenda to get married like getting citizenship. She did not feel much commitment to her marriage. After getting married, her father left the authority to her husband and Gizem became responsible toward her husband. During their first

period, Gizem used her work to avoid her husband. She did not try to know her husband and distanced herself from him. Her first years in her marriage were like sharing her house with a housemate. In the meantime she had two children and quitted her job. After that, she adopted more wife roles in the house. Her husband has been always supportive for her continuing her career in contrast to her father's attitude and that is why, for her, her husband's support regarding her work had a great importance for her: "Because I got married to someone whom I didn't know. Marriage is not simple. But I got married at the age of 18 to continue my education" (Lines 47-49). After getting married Gizem and her husband did not have enough money to support Gizem's education and Gizem's father refused to support her education but at least her husband supported her in her career. She is resentful toward her parents. Now, she feels regretful about getting married at the age of 18. Although she admits that she did not love her husband at the beginning, she is happy with her marriage now. Gizem's husband has been understanding toward her. Her husband provides emotional and companion support, like having conversations about Gizem's relationship. Her husband's views are important to her. He does not have controlling attitudes toward her: "he does not control me. I can go out with my friends...He looks after the children when I go out with my friends" (Lines 262-265).

In contrast to these three women, Sezen met her current husband in the UK during her first year. He is one of her distant relatives. While they were dating, he supported her financially and paid for her English course. They got engaged and married in two years. Then she got two children. Like Beste and her husband, Sezen and her husband have different educational orientations: while Sezen wants to do studies and get a profession, her husband wants to invest on business and get more wealth. She differentiates herself from her husband in terms of values and goals. She attributes this difference to her husband's work environment. She feels more progressed compared to her husband. For example, her English is better than him. This difference started to create problems in their relationship, which she wants to prevent. She is in charge to balance her relationship with her husband in

her marriage: “He started to put limitations. When I don’t accept his limitations, the balance in our relationship is changing. In order to keep balance in our marriage I direct him to a career that he can gain both economical and moral gains. Then, he won’t restrict me” (Lines 201-205). For Sezen, directing her husband to do career is her strategy to be free to pursue her education and career. At the moment, her husband is a real barrier for her career. However, like Gizem, Sezen’s husband helps her in child-care when she needs. Unlike Gizem, Sezen’s husband is a barrier to her socialising with friends. Her husband has controlling attitudes toward her: “My husband doesn’t like my social life outside of the house. He doesn’t want me come home later than him. When I see my friends whom he doesn’t know, he feels uncomfortable” (Lines 541-543).

Like Sezen, Aslı also met her husband in the UK but she could not have chance to know her husband before marriage because of her brother’s restrictions. Her brother prevented her spending time with her fiancé although both Aslı and her fiancé were living in the UK, which she now thinks as an important step before getting married. She had some problems with her husband during first years of her marriage, and now she does not have problems with her husband. She explains this change in her relationship in relation to changes in herself. During first period in her marriage, in contrast to most interviewees, Aslı and her husband had a very active social life with her husband and opportunities to spend time together. However, she did not feel emotionally close to her husband and distanced herself. As Aslı changed, her relationship with her husband changed. She has more insight and awareness regarding herself and her relationship with her husband. Aslı values her husband’s preferences and trying to accommodate her husband’s point of view. She describes her efforts to save her marriage as not giving up and “fighting”. For her, her husband’s cheating was another adversity she decided to fight back. Getting a divorce is quite easy for women in the UK because of benefit system and Aslı has this image or category in which she did not want to be put. She attributes her husband’s cheating to the subculture of Turkish men in the UK that she does not like. So, she has forgiven her husband in order to protect her

family. The emerging theme in this narration is her legitimisation of her husband's cheating with having a reference to Turkish male subculture in the UK. It seems that Aslı and her husband has an established division of labour in their family life. She is aware and accepted that how much and what kind of support she could get from her husband. She is happy about this autonomy. Aslı owned main responsibility for children. She has no expectation from her husband related to their children's education.

Canan also did not know her husband very well before getting married although he was her cousin. They got married straight away and started to live together within couple of days after her arrival to the UK after her traumatic journey to the UK. She was not ready and felt perplexed. In addition to her getting seriously ill in the UK, she and her husband experienced serious economic hardship during their first period although she and her husband have a lot of relatives in the UK. In contrast to some other women, she expects her husband's being more dominant in their marriage. However, her husband is more supportive toward her compared to some other women.

Nisan also met her husband, who is English and 20 years older than her, in the UK. Meeting her husband was important to her. It was like a turning point for her life as she was not happy with her au-pair family through whom she met her. She quitted her au-pair job in Edinburgh and moved to London to join her husband. Compared to the many women, her relationship with her husband is oriented toward a mutual commitment to the relationship. Her husband has positive attitudes and behaviours toward her. It seems that he became refuge for her after the events in Turkey. Her husband also supported Nisan financially. Nisan initiated the marriage after co-habiting with her husband for 6 months in his house. While she was co-habiting, her father gave her conditional support of keeping what she was doing within her immediate family. She interprets her father's attitude at that time as her father's giving her priority over tradition or other norms. Nisan's marriage was a strategy for her as she was determined not to

go back to Turkey. Nisan experienced some problems with her husband like misunderstanding each other due to her limited English and cultural differences.

Interim results: Marriage has different meanings and functions for these women. Some women used their marriage as a strategy. For example, Zülal used arranged marriage to go abroad and continued her education. Later she used her education to end her marriage. Gizem had to get married in order to escape from her family's pressures at the age of 18 almost at the same age with Zülal. She used marriage in order to reach her career goals but later she had children and some health problems and had to postpone her career plans. Nisan also used her husband to reach her aims such as staying in the UK and getting necessary support. Canan got married to move to the UK. Another common theme is that many women get married without knowing their husbands very well. Relationship with husband also has different meanings and function for these women. For some, husbands have support functions and for others, they constitute a barrier. Husbands become barrier to their education and also social life outside of the house. However, some provided financial and emotional support and helped them in child-care.

4.2.4.4. Social Relationships, Ties and Friends

These women experienced challenges related to living away from their families, friends and other social networks. For Beste not having her usual extended family support mechanisms available in Turkey was a difficulty. She also mentioned the changes in her relationship with her friends in the UK toward becoming less close and similar to English people.

For Zülal, social life and relationships was also difficulty that she does not have a satisfactory social life. More specifically, she needs more role models and more diverse and intellectual friends. She perceives friendships or networks as something that should stimulate or motivate her to improve herself. "I tried to be

selective in my friendships. I have a few friends. I don't like spending time with people whom I can't share things and I can't learn from" (Like 336-338). Lack of intellectually stimulating friendships is a difficulty for her. However, she questions whether it was because of her being married and living in a narrow environment. She links her lack of satisfactory social environment to her not being courageous enough and not exploring the possibilities. However, Turkey is linked to more satisfactory social life and more interaction. Social life in the UK is also linked to her concerns about her son's social environment.

Gizem is also not happy with her social life that she wants to spend more time with Turkish people and want to have more Turkish neighbours. She perceives Turkey as providing more satisfying social interactions. Although she spends most of her life in the UK, her parents were concerned about her losing their culture and they prevented her from socializing with English peers. She is not happy with having neighbours from other minority groups and she does not like interacting with them. Gizem does not have many close Turkish friends, which Gizem perceives as a difficulty.

Gül also mentioned about her limited social life in Turkish community in the UK. She differentiates herself from other Turkish people in the UK due to her social, economical and educational background as a retired Turkish teacher. She feels lonely because of not having close friendships to share things.

Interim results: Not having enough alternatives for friendships and contacts with whom they socialise was also important challenge in their lives. Further, within a small community they experienced lack of role models that foster their positive adjustment and development. Relationships with non-Turkish neighbours are not satisfactory and hampered by language difficulty. Besides language, the issue of cultural similarity appeared as an important issue. Furnham and Alibhai (1985) examined the friendship patterns of overseas student in UK. They found that overseas student had a strong preference for co-national friendship network

including people from the same, similar or neighbouring countries. The findings indicated very limited intimate contacts of foreign students with host national that 56 % of all the foreign students appeared as having no British friends. This study showed a preference for both co-nationals and those coming from similar or neighbouring countries.

4.2.4.5. Children and Motherhood

One of the important aspects of these women's lives were their children and their mother role. Pregnancy and giving birth were related to different experiences for these women. Being a mother is important to these women's lives and affected their lives. For example, although Canan and her husband decided not to have a child considering her health problems, she had a child. She felt pressure from the environment regarding having her child. As they had their son after 5 years, there were rumours. She talks about her motherhood with a frame of difficulty and she was not ready to have a child when she had her son. She does not perceive herself as a good mother. Her being graduated from primary school and not knowing language are the points she perceived herself incompetent as a mother. Besides, she is criticizing herself regarding her attitudes toward her son, like not giving her son priority. For her, mothering requires special effort and care that she feels she is not capable of. She connects her son's health and wellness to her mothering performance. For Canan, having a child is a difficulty. Her son's problems were last drop for her and she felt she was not capable of carrying his responsibility. She thinks that she is not able to give her love to her son.

In Zülal's having her son, there is a reference on the effect of pressure from her husband's family. There was an assumed role of children in maintaining marriage: "it was like that after having a child, your husband becomes more committed" (Line 57). However, having her son was a turning point for her that Zülal's having baby son is narrated toward her emotional separation and detachment from her husband. Zülal describes her pregnancy as one of most difficult period in her life.

After having her son, homesickness and missing her mother becomes more prominent and even she had some psychological problems like short episode of amnesia. The homesickness she experienced during this period even makes her think of going back to Turkey despite the risk of not being able to come back to the UK as she could get legal residence in her 5th years in the UK. Obviously, her conditions may become more difficult after having baby because of not having necessary support sources. In the recent years Zülal's relationship with her son has changed toward positive. Until last 2-3 years, she describes herself as a negligent mother. Having control over her life, separating herself from abusive relationship with her husband and in-laws, achieving her goals, realising and using the structural resources provided by government, her sister's presence as a support might have made her more resourceful person and mother. Her son's education is important for her and she helps him in his education. Her son's Turkish language skills are important to her as well. Now, other women are modelling Zülal regarding her contribution to her son's education. This shows the role of modelling and the group dynamics on migrant women very well, it is like a fashion, it could be either positive behaviours or attitudes, or bad ones. It appears that Zülal overcome limiting effect of the community.

Gizem had her first child accidentally and wanted to have abortion in her first pregnancy but her mother prevented the abortion. In the meantime, she was working in the hospital. After having her daughter, she had to quit her job to look after her daughter because she did not trust babysitters and she was not aware of governmental support in childcare. It seems that her mother did not help her in child caring. After two years, she had her second child. Like Zülal, Gizem gives great importance to her children's school success and helps them in their schoolwork. For Gizem, children's future educational success is really important to her. She wants them to have a profession. It seems that like other women all responsibilities related to children is on her. However, for her it is not a long-term responsibility as she is planning to work. For Gizem, having children means more responsibility and less freedom. However, she is happy to give priority to her

children. For her, having small children is only barrier to her work life. Her relationship with her children and their progress are important for her. Now she wants to transfer her culture to her children. She also spends special effort to make them learn Turkish too as she is not happy with her own Turkish language skills. She is actively helping and monitoring them. Her efforts are not burden for her. She feels capable of helping them. This might be because of her knowing the system and the language.

Aslı also had her first child without planning. Her mother-in-law's and sister-in-law's helped her in looking after her son. Although having her second child was her decision, her giving a difficult birth resulted in depression that affected her life deeply. Aslı is in charge of her family and feels responsible for them. Aslı has control over her current life and represents a balanced life between responsibilities related to her children and herself. For her both maintaining her cultural values and at the same time interacting with the culture and life in the UK is important and she is doing this. Transferring these values to her children is important for her. So it is not only an attitude but also an act. Aslı's future plans are oriented toward her children- what is best for her children. Being a good mother is a point of reference for Aslı and dealing with her children is not burden for her. Aslı is aware of needs of her children. Within the years, with the change in Aslı, she gained more insight about herself as a mother. As she improves herself as a person and as a mother, she becomes more self-efficient toward her children. Turkish teacher in her children also helped her to learn the system. In general, for Turkish migrant women, not knowing British education system is a difficulty. So, it appears that Aslı is trying to overcome this difficulty by getting more information. She is aware that her children can only have a career through education in the UK and she is paying deliberate effort to transfer her educational values to her children and to show different lives in the UK. She has the responsibility for their success in the school and it is not burden for her. She is happy to put some extra effort to make them successful. She is interested in other Turkish children in the schools and worried about them. She differentiates herself

from other Turkish parents that she puts her children as priority as opposed to getting more money as a priority.

Like Aslı, Buse's mothering role is important to her in coping with difficulties. She has to stand for her children. For example, she had fears because of discrimination she experienced but she overcame this by the years. She narrates this as if there were two paths to follow; one is surrendering and the second is fighting for surviving and she chose the second path. "Sometimes I feel fearful but then I am saying to myself that I should be strong and stand on my feet (lines 334-335). It seems that discrimination and racist attacks made her stronger and determined. She is the backbone of her family and supporting her husband in practical things like English as well. She functions as gatekeeper of her family due to her husband's psychological and physical problems.

For Sezen, her children are "the meaning of her life". She tries to be a good role model for her children. She tries to transmit her educational orientation to them. She devotes most of her time to them. She is actively involved with their school and has frequent contacts with their teachers. She also consults with their teachers how to help them in their schoolwork.

On the other hand, Beste's having children is linked to barriers to do things to improve herself, specifically to improve her language: "then my children came then I had to postpone my plans about doing voluntary work to improve my English" (Lines 19-20). Beste's spending time with her children is narrated toward something requires more time, and attention all the time. She needs some time for herself and feels exhaustion. She does not have anyone who can help her in child care time to time. Always she has to be in charge: "I feel overwhelmed. I want to spend some time quietly but this is not possible" (Lines 859-861). The things she is doing for her children are important to her. Her children are narrated toward material support she is giving her children like taking them to entertaining activities. She perceives herself as sacrificing for their children. For her, children

are related to obligations. Her daughter's success in the school is important for her. She is trying to monitor her daughter's progress. She is not happy with her daughter's behaviours and performance despite Beste's efforts and her sacrificing. Having children also means spending time at home and doing same boring housework. She is also concerned about her children's losing Turkish cultural values and traditions.

Pelin has conflicting feelings related to her children. While her children constitute some barriers to do things for herself, they also fulfil her life. She also has worries over her children's future in her current cultural context. She does not feel secure in London. The schools in London are linked to bad habits and being involved with drugs. She is also concerned about her children's social life and well-being but not toward career or earning their life.

Similarly, Gül has some worries related to how the social environment will affect her adolescent son but more concerned about his school and career success. She is happy with her elder son's educational success in the UK. She feels happy that living in the UK is contributing to their sons' lives. So, it is apparent that she is staying in the UK for her sons. She experiences culture conflict with her younger son and acknowledges the difficulty of transferring her cultural values to her son- "my younger son is growing up here and my culture and habits are very different from the culture here. There is intergenerational conflict and this creates more difficulties in our relationship. Neither I can understand him nor he can understand me. The intergenerational conflict becomes two-three times more" (Lines 432-436).

Interim results: Although these women have different experiences related to having children, mothering role is important in shaping their experiences in the UK. The pattern of devoting themselves to child care, helping their children with their school work and being involved in the school committees were also found among rural-to-urban migrant women (Erman, Kalaycıoğlu, & Rittersberger-Tılıç,

2002). While for some children constitute a barrier to their social life and improving them, for others children function as motivators in their life successes and adaptation. Some women who did not have support from relatives or their husbands in childcare perceived mothering responsibilities of the children as burden. So, all the responsibilities are on these women's shoulders. Erel (2002) stated that migrant mothers lacks the on-site help with childcare as a result of disruption in family networks in the process of migration and the intensified image of a good mother puts extra pressure on them. Women who have support in childcare have more time to spend in improving themselves. Further, some women put more emphasis on children's educational success as a typical migrant behaviour (Erman, Kalaycıoğlu, Rittersberger-Tılıç, 2002; Leyendecker, Schölmerich, & Çıtlak, 2006). This could be considered as a compensation for their losses or transferring their ambitions to their children. Also, it is an opportunity for upward social mobility. Further, women who have the possibility of working outside of the house in the future were happier with the responsibilities related to their children. As women's power and control in their lives increase and they improve themselves as a person, their mothering skills tend to be positively developed. Some women were also worried about the social environment of the UK where they have to raise their children. Some women also had concerns over for transmitting their culture to their children and this supports the assertion that migrant women are not only the biological reproducers of an ethnic group, but also the transmitter of language and cultural symbols to the young (Athias & Yuval-Davis, 1989).

4.2.4.6. Losses

For some women, migration was related to loss. For example, Gül narrated difficulties related to her age at the arrival as she moved at the age of 42. Her difficulties were related to leaving everything she is familiar with behind and losing her "house" "friends", "life style". Gül also uses the same metaphor Pelin used: to describe her losses after migration: "being like a deaf and dumb at the age

of 42. I can't understand what they say and I can't explain myself. I left a whole life there. My house, my family, my friends, my life style. That's why, it was difficult to adapt here" (Lines 70-74). She compares her situation in Turkey with her current situation. Losing her advantages she had in Turkey after migration was difficult for her. Losing her social life and networks is another difficulty for Gül. In terms of friendships, she does not have many alternatives, which is related to being in the small community. In other words, she experiences the feeling of being trapped in a small community. Gül maintains her losses including loss of social status, decrease in quality of life, limited cultural activities and lowered economical status. These experiences made her feel depressed and distressed. However, she questions whether her feelings of distress are related to migration or her being retired. Her situation is downward social mobility, which is quite common among highly qualified migrants. She describes this process: "In the beginning, it was because of necessity, obligation or not having choices, language problem, not knowing the roads. As the time passes, I felt that I regressed, became lazy and my wishes declined. I used to be a teacher with active social life and progressive life style. Now I became an ordinary housewife like a woman who doesn't have any education and career and find myself visiting other people and going to community centre for schmoozing. All changes I witness in my life are toward negative: economical, social and cultural regression. I fell back and accepted this" (Lines 173-181). For her, her experience was like being in the exile. She is also questioning whether this reluctance in participating in social and cultural activities is related to her diagnosed depression or related to her being migrant. For her people around her in the UK was not intellectually stimulating as many people were with low educational level. Due to this social environment, she felt regressed and lost her interest in what she enjoyed doing when she was in Turkey. This kind of social life makes her feel lonelier and more isolated. Gül experienced change in her marriage. She questions whether it is connected to their migration or not but, her relationship with her husband got deteriorated and she got divorced from her husband: "Although we were committed and a closely connected family, we are parted unfortunately. I don't know whether we would be

separated if we stayed in Turkey. So I am not sure whether it is related to our migration” (Lines 198-200). For Gül, being a woman has some disadvantages in terms of being more vulnerable. Her husband betrayal is also part of this advantage. She sees her husband’s betrayal as an advantage of being a man. As a woman, she perceives herself losing her empowerment after coming to the UK. Gül talks about how not having societal pressure makes Turkish man more unrestrained and irresponsible toward their wives. She experienced problems related to unemployment later.

Similarly, for Pelin, migration is related to losses for her. For example, Pelin had worsened economical conditions in the UK. Her husband could not work because of health problems. Being dependent on insufficient governmental benefits was a difficulty Pelin experienced. Inadequate benefits make her feel deprived compared to her economically “comfortable” life in Turkey. At the moment she feels dependent on benefit. She does not feel as a part of system in the UK. She narrates governmental support as government’s doing favour rather than their entitlement in the UK. Her age at the migration and her town she has to leave is important for her. Compared to her social environment in Turkey, her current social environment in London is narrated with a frame of loss: “loosing her marriage”, “leaving her youthfulness there”, “leaving her childhood there” “leaving everything she lived there”. Despite all the difficulties her husband had in Turkey, she wished to stay in Turkey. She had to leave all her dreams and plans in Turkey. She had had future plans and purposes for life before migration, but now her narration is surrounded around her aimless and futureless life and her hopelessness.

Canan’s life in the UK related to losses as well. She lost her economical independence as she was working in Turkey as a hairdresser. She lost her language: “I came here and trapped in one room and even couldn’t read the clipboards. This is difficult” (lines 149-150). Being dependent on her husband is a difficulty for her. Not having relationships with her Turkish neighbours is a loss

for her. Another important loss for Canan was the loss of her brother in the UK. This unexpected loss in the UK was a big shock for Canan as he was like her father. Her son was 3 years old and her mother had heart operation when her brother was killed. She could not recover since then and this has been the biggest stressful event in her life.

Buse also experienced losses as a result of migration. First of all, she lost her house and had to live in a hotel for a while. She also left her established life in Turkey. They had started from the scratch. “I don’t know. We left a beautiful place in Turkey and came because of political problems of my husband. I had a big house there and everything in it. I left that life and started from the scratch. You are in a foreign place and were surrounded by people from all nationalities in the hotel” (Lines 38-42).

Interim results: For different reasons and in different forms, some women experienced losses. Women who had better conditions and status in Turkey experienced more losses. In another study, Aycan and Berry (1996) examined the employment-related experiences on psychological well being and adaptation of Turkish immigrants in Canada. It was appeared that Turkish immigrants in Canada experienced a decline in income, occupational status, and overall status in their first six months in Canada. The greater loss in their status they experienced, the less satisfied they felt with their new life in Canada. Women who followed their husbands also experienced more losses. Age at the migration is important as some middle aged women had to leave their established life in Turkey and also lost all their friends that they have made within the years. Further, in some cases societal norms may also become supportive for women. Without support sources and outer societal protection, Turkish migrant women become more vulnerable abuse, exploitation, and unfair treatment.

4.2.4.7. Husband's Family

For Zülal, main difficulty in the UK was related to her parents-in-law. Zülal experienced very bad treatment by her husband's family starting from the beginning. She experienced rejection, degradation, inhibition, oppression and domestic abuse by her parents-in-law and their relatives, which was very difficult and painful for her. However, after having her son, she had to start living with her parent-in-laws to avoid her husband. Despite her not liking her husband's family, they become refuge for her not to stay with her husband on her own. It seems that due to her residence application she had to remain married with her husband but she uses her husband's family as a strategy to avoid typical marriage life. Her relationship with her father-in-law is related to abuse and lack of respect- "They even sold all the jewellery given in my wedding. I have been going to school for 7 years and all these years I paid for my education on my own using the money government gave" (lines 249-252). Here the role of financial support by the government in helping her to improve herself is marked. She talks about how she had all these difficulties in a country where a lot of support can be given by the government because of not knowing the regulations. Not knowing her rights and the system in the UK was a big difficulty for her as they become homeless for a while: "We became homeless. His family kicked us out. I didn't know about the governmental support and couldn't apply for benefit" (Lines 254-257). During this difficult period, her husband behaved irresponsibly and was not committed to their marriage. This might be linked to being away from her own support networks because she does not have any other support to make her husband behave in a more responsible way. Besides, she could not leave her husband because of her legal situation. She felt that she did not have any other choice, so, she felt helpless. Her relationship with her husband's family was traumatic for her, and constituted main adversity or difficulty of the UK for her. During this period, she devoted herself to housework in order to escape from the bad feelings or she had to due to fear of her father-in-law. Housework functioned as a strategy for her coping with her condition, like staying in her husband's family house to

avoid her husband. She describes the process of losing her confidence and self-care, and silencing herself. She became alienated to herself. She observed the commonality of this kind of status among women around her. This might give these women the message that you have to accept it as there is no way to escape from this. In this part of Zülal's story, it is apparent that the process of alienation and disempowerment due to her husband's family's bad treatment and insecure position took place because of her legal status in the UK. Until she visited Turkey, she accepted all these treatments and after her visit she realized her situation and the changes started off in her: "those three months were turning point for me. I became aware of myself, came to my self, and knew whom I am. Everything was changed in me. Not only school but all my clothes and style was changed. I threw all my old clothes away because they weren't mine" (Lines 466-470). It seems that his visit made her remember who she was, what goals she had, and how supportive her family was in Turkey by reducing the small group effect and resultant learned helplessness and broadened her possibilities in the UK. Zülal also had to work in her parents-in-law's house like a slave. Her life in her in-laws' house narrated toward her passive and servant-like position in the house. She describes a very abusive environment and this is one of the issues for migrant women who help family business (ref).

The value of Zülal as a bride in her husband's family is quite different from Aslı. Aslı had close and supportive relationships with her husband's family. Her husband's family also affected her marriage life positively. With her migration, she experienced the loss of her family but her husband's family substituted her family in the UK. Her mother-in-law and sister-in-law took care of her during her depression. She perceives her life in the UK as having privileged conditions compared to other Turkish women due to her mother-in-law's support during her depression. It seems that the way Aslı's husband and her husband's family treated her is an important factor in making her feel autonomous and strong.

Interim results: These two women's experiences with their parents-in-laws are

quite important in terms of exemplifying different functions of their husband's families. While they were protective factor for Aslı, they constituted the real adversity for Zülal and triggered her progress toward resilience in the UK. Zülal's case is also important in exemplifying the situation for women whose residence status depends on their husbands. Further, another common thing in the literature and also portrayed in this case, as women are away from their own support or protective networks, they become more vulnerable to domestic violence and abuse in the host country. These women often find themselves in a situation they would not imagine (Raj and Silverman, 2002).

4.2.4.8. Loneliness and Belongingness

Although many interviewees mentioned about loneliness, for Halime, loneliness and belongingness were dominant themes as a difficulty. Halime did not experience practical problems like language in her daily life. However, Halime has felt lonely at different stages of her life and she is not sure whether it is because of being migrant or being single. This feeling is more pressing for her now. She has been overcoming her loneliness through her social life and her work. She feels desperate and experience lack of energy. She has been more career-oriented person in her life trajectory but now she notices the absence of the family in her life. Not being married means being failed for her. She tested her limits in the UK and she achieved her independence and her dreams of being a free woman but now she wants a family. She is asking herself more about what she wants from the life. Being a foreigner also appeared as difficulty for her in different stages of her life. "My adaptation was not difficult but for me getting recognition and acceptance was important and worrying" (lines 104-106). She does not feel belonging to neither the culture in the UK nor the culture in Turkey. She attributes the reason behind not feeling belong to the Turkey is the oppressive atmosphere for women in Turkey. Despite her need for belonging, she also wants to be dissociated from her Turkish background in her relationships in the UK. For her being integrated or being belong to the UK means and can be done through

total separation from her Turkish characteristics: “I feel myself belonging o nowhere. I am integrated here and I feel part of society here but still I don’t feel belong neither to here nor to Turkey. It is like you are a trapeze artist and doing your show without a net. So, you always stay balanced. If you fall down, there is no one to catch you” (Lines 337-347). This excerpt implies that she is lonely in the UK and if she fails nobody will be there for her.

Gül also experienced loneliness for different reasons. Coming to the UK at a later age led her leaving everything she knows behind. She left all her friends in Turkey and did not have many alternatives for friendships in the UK. She was deprived of her usual networks and her social life: “You are lonely, everyone is lonesome. You don’t have many alternatives for friendships. My closest friend is living 20 minutes away from here. If something happen to you, there is no one around you, you are lonely” (lines 252-255).

Interim results: Halime and Gül mentioned loneliness at more individual level. Both women are single at the moment. Gül has sons but one is married and living in his own house. Her other son is a teenager and he is not much dependent on her mother compared to children who are at younger ages. There are not many people around them they can care for. This fits in Gilligan’s ethic of care very well.

4.2.4.9. Turkish Community

These women also mentioned about their perceptions on Turkish community. These perceptions were generally oriented toward criticisms and change in the relationships. Beste mentioned about the changes in relationships in Turkish community. She disapproves and criticises young Turkish people in the UK about losing their cultural values (e.g. respect for elders), traditions, general conduct, and clothing. She is worried about the negative role modelling among Turkish young people in the UK. Her fellow Turkish migrant friends are reluctant to be involved with the activities to improve themselves and to pay for these activities.

For Aslı, on the other hand, mentioned about the changes she made in her relationships with Turkish people. She prefers to have less Turkish friends compared to past and feels integrated. She mentions about the gossip and attributes this to being a member of a small community. Trust issue appeared in relation to her relationships with Turkish people. She separates herself from Turkish community and keeps her relationships with Turkish people within certain limit, which is her strategy for her psychological well-being.

Sezen experienced control and monitoring by the community. She quitted one of her cleaning jobs as a result of the pressure of her relatives to quit because of her being engaged. Sezen has negative perceptions of Turkish community and criticizes parents who neglect their children while spending all their efforts on generating more wealth. Sezen also criticizes Turkish migrant women for not using the opportunities in the UK. They are modelling each other in terms of their possessions like house, car and furniture. However, she also mentions about the changes toward giving more attention to their children and their educational success.

Gizem's perceptions regarding Turkish community are also quite pessimistic. Marriages are worse off and divorce is quite common among her friends. Domestic violence is also not rare among her friends. She does not like the status of Turkish migrant women in the marriages. Men are not committed to their marriages. She is criticizing Turkish migrant women and she thinks that for women's standing on their own feet, learning English is really important. She thinks that they can change their status and get more power. Otherwise, they will be dependent on others. She perceives herself differently and she describes herself as being open to progress and learning new things. She acknowledges the opportunities but she gives the responsibility to women to use them. She describes Turkish women as obeying patriarchal rules and leaving the control to their husbands. She perceives herself in a better position compared to other women. Her perceptions of Turkish families in the UK are oriented toward overemphasis

on generating wealth in the UK. They perceiving investment on their children's future as just financial but not educational and so, they neglect their children. Parents are not informed about the educational system and not monitoring their children's school success. Gizem also critical toward young people like Pelin and Beste that "young girls lost themselves" and lost their roots and identity. She is criticizing Turkish parents including her parents because of neglecting their children and focusing on getting more money.

Pelin also has some criticisms toward Turkish families and their attitudes toward their children. Turkish families "not trusting their children" and "restricting their children". Over controlling creates problems among young Turkish people. Young people have limited social relationships, contacts and gatherings social life where they can socialise with their peers. Pelin also thinks that parents are greedy for money and neglect their children. There is reference on family's concern on their children's not losing Turkish culture, which she is not much bothered with. Limited with their peers are point of references related to young people.

Interim results: These women have some awareness about the community they live in. They perceived Turkish community not as progressing. They are not happy with the status of Turkish migrant women in the UK and have criticism of Turkish migrant women that they are not using opportunities to improve themselves. On the other hand, Turkish community in the UK can be considered as limiting for these women because of gossip, regressive sub-culture and wrong role models. Gossip in Turkish community as a limiting factor appeared in previous studies as well (e.g. Baarnhielm & Eklbad, 2000). These negative perceptions also show that they do not have enough alternatives to choose in terms of friends and there are issues related social relationships within their own community.

4.2.4.10. Health Problems and Experiences with Health Services

Health problems and their experiences with health services in the UK were important for these women. Beste's narration was dominated by her health problems and experiences with health services in the UK. She gave detailed description of her health problems. Her husband has not been understanding and tolerant toward her health problems and thought that she has been exaggerating her health problems. So, her health problems are source of conflict between her and her husband. Beste feels dissatisfied with health services in the UK: "but health services terrible and I hate my GP" (Lines 106-107). It is time consuming to get an appointment and she had to wait to get treatment in health services in the UK. She did not have adequate treatment from health services, local surgery. Her relationship with her General Practitioner (GP) is narrated toward not being understood and not being taken seriously by her doctor. She finds her GP incompetent compared to private doctor or her doctors in Turkey. Her conversations with her doctors in the UK are framed toward arguments with doctors all the time and her disagreements with the doctors. There is a feeling of being neglected by health services in the UK in her narration. Relying on medication without appropriate examination was preferred in her treatment most of the time, which she is not happy with. Therefore, she favours private doctor instead of NHS doctors. Couple of times, she went to Turkey to get treatment for her health problems. She also went to Germany to get treatment because her sister is living in Germany.

Like Beste, Gizem has had couple of health problems. First she had a serious breast operation at age 14 and doctors said that she couldn't have a child. This has affected her future plans that she decided to study and have a career. She is at risk for breast cancer. Later, after her having son she had ectopic pregnancy with twins. She had abortion but doctors left one of the babies accidentally. Than she had serious complications but doctors could not diagnosed the problem. After 11 months, septicaemia developed and she was taken to emergency. The ambulance

personnel did not take her seriously. They came late and did not carry her properly. In the emergency, she had to wait for 3 hours and fainted. She felt she was treated very badly. After being diagnosed, she had a serious operation. For her, it was like facing the death. Her health problems have a great influence in her life decisions: because of the possibility of having breast cancer she even thought that she should not have children. Her ectopic pregnancy was also quite traumatic for her. Her health problems also affected her attitudes toward her children: she has goitre and she feels frustrated at times.

Similar to Beste, Canan does not feel she gets enough attention from her GP that her GP connects her problems directly to stress without detailed examination. She attributes this to doctors and other staff being suspicious toward their complaints because of cheating among Turkish community. She also goes to Turkish doctor to get treatment. Once, her GP referred her to counselling for her distress. Canan attended a few sessions but because telling about her experiences was so painful for her, she did not continue the sessions.

Aslı's had depression after giving a difficult birth to her second son. During her birth and depression, her experiences with the doctors in the UK are negative and oriented toward inadequate treatment. Aslı went to a doctor in Turkey to get treatment and got medication. Later she attended counselling session and it was quite helpful for Aslı. Pelin also feels depressed. Pelin perceives her "depression (bunalım)" as something common among all Turkish migrant women and links this depression to "their living in this country" (Line 72). Her depression is not diagnosed but she knows about depression. Numbness is a point of reference in even the activities that can potentially be considered as enjoyable. Pelin's experiences with health services are oriented toward dissatisfaction, and inadequate treatment and explanation by health practitioners. She connects all her difficulties again to her not knowing language. Nisan also feels disappointment and dissatisfaction about health services due to their not being prompt and sensitive enough in responding to her health problems. Health services in Turkey

are linked to trusting them that she will have an operation in Turkey by paying for it. She is convinced that she can't trust health professionals in the UK.

Sezen also had some emotional problems during postpartum period after her first birth. She experienced discrimination because of not knowing the language very well in the reception of a surgery during this period. However, after she made her complain about the stuff, that stuff was fixed. Therefore, her experiences with health services are related to discrimination but at the same time being taken seriously. Similarly, Gül has positive experiences with the health services after being treated for her cancer. In contrast to these women, recently, she also had depression and she is attending counselling sessions.

Interim results: The dissatisfaction with the health services is a concern mentioned by different interviewees. It seems there is a collective dissatisfaction with health services among Turkish migrant women. Majority felt they were not taken seriously and do not trust health services in the UK. In fact, as noted by Bhui and Sashidharan (2003), there are apparent racial, ethnic and cultural inequalities in access to mental health services and dissatisfactions with the health services voiced by ethnic minorities in the UK. Depression and psychological distress are also important problem experienced by some of the interviewees. It seems that having an appropriate psychological support is very helpful for these women.

4.2.4.11. Discrimination

Discrimination presents herself differently for these women. However, for Buse and her family discrimination by their neighbours was a real difficulty. It started with their first house. Her husband was beaten by their neighbours. Police came very late in that incident and they did not receive enough help from the police. Except her Turkish neighbour, nobody gave testimony for this incident. In this incident, her Turkish neighbour helped them to phone the police as well because

she did not know English very well. Same neighbours also damaged their house when they were not home. In her second house, they experienced theft and they did not receive enough help by the police. Their experiences with the police were dissatisfying for them. Not knowing system in the UK was also effective in their not getting enough attention from the police. Again one Turkish female police helped them through their GP. Their GP also help them to contact with Victim Support Service after theft to get fence to their windows. So, they tried to use services when they were informed. Eventually, they just got fence on their door and had to pay for the windows. They again experienced verbal and physical attacks by their neighbours in their second house. In one incident they recorded their neighbours' swearing at them and then council officers dealt with the situation effectively and since then they have not been exposed to any bad treatment by their neighbours. Especially her children got affected badly from the situation but she narrates herself as overcome her fears and supporting her family. She has the perception that these are problems that can be overcome. Buse also links not getting enough help from officials when they face racist attacks by their neighbours not expressing herself very well due to not knowing language in their early years in the UK. Not knowing language also is a barrier to learn about the system and recourses in the UK- "If I spoke English this much in the past, I would have known where to go and apply. Then, we wouldn't have all this trouble second time" (Lines 376-378).

Pelin had some similar experiences with one of her neighbours that she experienced discrimination and rejection at the beginning due to not knowing the language. Language skills are important Pelin's daily life. She thinks that she can not defend herself even when she is right because of not knowing the language. Therefore, although she thought that there is a discrimination against immigrant people in the UK, she explains her discrimination experiences related to her inadequate English. She might have internalised discrimination. For her, discrimination related to living in a country different from your own country and, so, is something expected. She perceives English people as open to

communication but when they notice she does not speak English, they finish interaction and Pelin probably feels rejected and, hence, discriminated. So, she also thinks that English people has negative thoughts toward immigrant people who cannot speak English. Pelin talks about one incident in GP is oriented toward not being understood and looked funny due to language difficulty, which she rationalizes. Therefore she is attributing discrimination to herself due to not knowing English.

Nisan's experiences of discrimination in Edinburgh are linked to her not knowing English. London is more multicultural and different. Her husband's family is described with an orientation toward being welcoming and tolerant to different cultures. However, her au pair family in Edinburgh is oriented toward being excluded and discriminated, even hostility toward her. She describes how she feels about discrimination that she is more resistant and she is externalising it instead of internalising it, so, she is not taking it personal.

For Beste, discrimination is oriented toward some incidents she has experienced and heard from others. She narrates an attack incident with orientation toward submission, "nothing will happen if I officially complain about it". There is a fear in her narration due to other incidents she hears. Her daughter's school is related to discrimination, which she fought for her rights and won in the end. It appears that she is better in fighting with injustice in public space and then she does not feel resentful about it. For her, discrimination by English people is something expected because of her foreign background.

Zülal experienced discrimination in son's school but she fight against it. The school discriminated her son in enrolment procedures but she sued them and won the case. She is aware of her rights and uses the system. She used to feel intimidated in the past due discriminatory attitudes. However, she is ready to fight for her rights now and when she needs information about her rights, she knows where to ask. In this sense, she is quite integrated in the system in terms of

structural aspects. Further, regarding discrimination, Zülal thinks that as long as migrant people know about their rights regardless of their English language skills, no one can discriminate them: “We all have equal rights here but we should be informed about this. Nobody oppresses you easily because there are laws” (Lines 635-639).

Halime experienced some stereotyping and prejudices in her work life. For example, once in a conference, somebody asks her whether she can do belly dance. Besides, she has been in a multicultural friend group and had a very good links in her work environment. She feels that if she had experienced discrimination, she would have been fight against it. Halime connects discrimination to the class background of migrants and English people. If one is coming from high class, it changes their attitude toward that person.

Gül has a different perspective related to discrimination. She thinks that there is a mutual exclusion by both Turkish migrants and English people. For example she has a very little contact with English people. Because she is living in a Turkish community and going to Turkish community organisations, shops, theatres, films, and restaurants: “We are living here but stayed within our small Turkish community. There are community organisations where I took part in the activities. I am socialising with Turkish people. There is a Turkish cinema and theatre. We are going to Turkish films, plays, shops, and restaurants. We don’t have much relationship with English people. This can be considered as racism because we became introverted. I don’t know may be we were forced and became like this” (lines 365-371).

Interim results: Discrimination is in the daily lives of these women and to large extend connected to language. They experience discrimination in the areas where they have to interact with the host country people or deal with host country institutions, like schools, hospitals, neighbour relationships, and in daily life. The experience of discrimination leads to an increase in feelings of uncertainty and

hence, lack of trust in authorities (Liebkind & Jasinski-Lahti, 2000), and so it is a risk factor in migrants' lives. How they perceive and respond to it is also important that while some women attribute the discrimination to not knowing language and their foreign background and expect it, some other women perceived discrimination as being connected to not knowing their rights and something they can fight against. Shih (2004) suggested that whether people perceive discrimination as legitimate or illegitimate is important because if they see legitimate, they repress their anger and do not take any actions against discrimination (Shih, 2004), which may make people more vulnerable. Further, one woman also mentioned about mutual exclusion and this can be attributed to the self-sufficient nature of Turkish community in the UK.

4.2.5. Support Sources

In this part, support sources and networks and their functions will be presented.

Support networks. Aslı's sister and family in Turkey are the support sources for her in the first period. Aslı has one brother in the UK. However, she does not have supportive relationship with him and his wife. During her depression, her brother and her sister-in-law was not a support at all, rather they worsen the situation for her. She differentiates support from her brother and that from her sister whose support is really important for her. After the attitudes of her brother during her depression, she separates herself from her brother and limits her relationships with him. Counselling was supportive for Aslı and she experienced a lot of changes throughout the sessions. She gained the perspective that she could change the situation. Confidentiality was important for Aslı and she trusted her counsellor. Having a friend whom she could trust to talk to is a form of support for her as well.

Beste has conflicting feelings toward her sister who lives in the UK about whether she is a support for her. Her sister is different from Beste and this difference is

oriented toward her sister's being selfish. Her sister is narrated toward Beste's expectations from her that she is not fulfilling. Her sister is also another source for disagreement between Beste and her husband. Beste's friends and some distant relatives are framed as offering some support. Beste has more interdependent orientation and expects some return when she helps other people: "They are like English people and became selfish" (Lines 658-659). Her relationships are oriented toward disappointment. While she has helped her friends or relatives, she could not get help in return.

For Zülal, her sister in the UK and other family members in Turkey are important support. Zülal's sister is a big emotional support for her rather than being an instrumental support. Her sister becomes her friend, companion whom she can trust or depend on. Her sister's arrival changed her perception of the UK into positive- "After my sister came, I noticed the sunshine here and the sunrise. She completed emptiness in my life. I feel more confident. I know that I am not alone" (lines 391-393). There is a reference on her disappointment about her husband because of not giving her emotional support that she needed. Her feeling of loneliness has gone with her sister's arrival and now she knows she is loved, accepted and supported; somebody is there for her. She perceives herself as getting affected by her loved ones although she also acknowledges she is the one who decides in the end. However, she needs approval from others whom she respects. Her only friend in the UK is related to emotional support for her. She also describes herself as not confident enough as she needs encouragement, indecisive, not determined and courageous enough, therefore emotional support and someone whom Zülal trusts and discuss with about her ideas are important to her. Therefore, for her emotional support is important.

Nisan's support sources are her husband and her family in Turkey as a source of emotional support, her current Turkish boss, other English bosses, and an English family from Edinburgh. She uses her support networks very efficiently. Nisan's family in Turkey is important to her. Her being successful in the UK is linked to

her determination to prove herself to her father. “Making her parents proud of her” is a frame of orientation. Nisan has Turkish networks to socialise with. Availability of Turkish food and Turkish TVs is also supportive for her.

Compared to Nisan, Halime does not feel connected to her family in Turkey because of her family situation. This affects her experiences and positioning in the UK. Her father is not a source of emotional support for her. Her auntie in Turkey provides emotional support for her. Halime has support from her friends mostly. She appreciates her friends’ tolerant and welcoming attitude. She feels her close friends like a family. She has a group of multicultural friends. Her friends are providing real emotional support: “For example if I feel down or sad I call one of my friends. I don’t call my auntie because she doesn’t know what I am doing here. I don’t want to upset her” (Lines 680-686). She had counselling after breaking up with her boyfriend whom with she was co-habiting

Canan’s support sources in the UK are her son, her mother, her sister and brother and her husband. Her marriage is also a support source for her. For Canan, being married as a migrant woman means not being alone and feeling more secure. On the other hand, for Sezen, governmental support sources like support for language course, rent for there house and income support are important as both Sezen and her husband are attending course at the moment. Her Turkish neighbours help her in practical things like collecting her children from school. She has mutually supportive relationships with her friends. Her husband is supportive except on her education.

Pelin received financial support from her bothers and material and informational support from her brothers and their lawyer. Gül, on the other hand, perceived her sons and her three sisters as emotional support for herself. Especially, when she thinks that she is contributing her son’s education, this feeling makes her feel good about living in the UK. Like Gül, Buse has support from her sister and brother in the UK, her friends and her husband. Although she mentioned some issues related to her husband, she still perceives her husband as her biggest

support. Compared to other women she has more satisfying relationship with her husband.

Interim results: Migrant women had various support sources in the UK. These results showed that for some women, having family members and relatives are not sources of support. But for others, especially sisters and brothers in the UK provided significant support. Other support sources were professional psychological help, friends, and Turkish contacts. Governmental support was also important in these women's lives. Although it is difficult to say that this governmental support may serve the functions of their relatives or support network, it at least helps them cope with the demands of this new context. Further, regardless of the source, for these women knowing that someone cares about them appeared as important support in their lives. This supports that emotional and informational supports are viewed as more responsive to a wide range of stressful events (Cohen & Wills, 1985). Thus, these suggest that if they get instrumental/tangible support like support in child-care, when they need, this may function as protective factor. This may also be understood in terms of cultural differences in seeking social support. Kim, Sherman and Taylor (2008) suggested that people from collectivist cultures favour implicit support more than explicit support because implicit support let person feel oneself close to others or being in the company of close others without disclosing one's problems. Kim, Sherman and Taylor (2008) reported that even being with others without disclosing the stressor has a real importance for Asians and Asian Americans. This is quite similar to the experience of these women as some of them expressed their need for having social groups that they feel belong to. In other words, feeling that someone is simply there without discussing the issue at hand may have positive effect for some women. Further, Finfgeld-Connett (2005) also highlighted the importance of having social support networks including people who share common experiences, feel a sense of intimate familiarity. Some women in this study also noted this pattern. Because they are away from their day-to-day interactions that may easily be considered naturally occurring support. Reciprocity is also another dimension

in this relationship. These are often in the receiver position in the host country and even this status may make them feel powerless and incapable. Therefore, mutually supportive relationships are important in terms of its effectiveness and can be considered as protective factor.

4.2.6. Educational orientation as a protective factor

Being restricted in Turkey regarding education. Some women were not given opportunity to study in Turkey. For example, Aslı was constrained by several factors in Turkey when she was there that she was not expected or encouraged to have further education in Turkey: “If I was given chance in Turkey, I would have done similar things and may be I could have gone to the university. But conditions were not good there. My family situation Turkey and my being older in the family didn’t let me continue my education. I was helping my parents, taking care of my younger siblings. My father wanted us to have education but we were living in a village and we didn’t have school there. We had to walk to school for two hours. After coming here, when I started school again, I realised how I like reading and learning new things” (Lines 204-216). Beste also experienced some restrictions by her parents regarding her education in Turkey. Beste’s her own mother placed restriction on Beste’s education due to her gender that prevented Beste from continuing her education in her hometown in Turkey. That is why; her daughter’s having an educational career has a great importance in her narration. This can be considered as a compensation of her own wishes. For her educational career is linked to the possibility of economical independence. Economic independence as a woman is an important frame for Beste but she does not have her economic independence from her husband and she experiences disagreement with her husband in monetary things. So she is concerned with her daughters’ future. Like Beste, Buse had to quit her education after primary school because of her parents’ decision and had to get married. Zülal also had some economical constraints regarding her education. She entered university exam but her family could not support her.

Pursuing an educational pathway in the UK. Having an educational orientation appeared as an important protective factor for these women. Zülal migrated to the UK with an intention of entering university. However, until she got her permanent residence status and her visit to Turkey, she could not actualise her goal due to her struggle with the conditions she was exposed to. Zülal got awareness about her situation after visiting her family in Turkey. Her family's emotional support was also important for her. Her permanent residence status also gave her independence from his husband and his husband's family. There is reference on her determination and her early-specified goal. Her visit to Turkey also changed her perception of her husband and made her less tolerant toward him. Because her frame changed and she started thinking of herself without thinking of her marriage that she accepted all terms without questioning in the past. At this time, she felt that she had to do something for her life. Education was the best option for this. She started to decide for herself and did not need approval of her husband, and started college. In the UK, students at any age may choose to attend the Further Education Colleges to further their post-secondary school education that is equal to high school in Turkey. It may be at the same level, at a higher level, or at a lower level than secondary education and gives people who did not follow regular educational path a required foundation for the university education. This is an opportunity for the migrant women that Zühal, Ashi, Nisan used and may be contributed their adaptation and empowerment. Zülal overcome language barrier by choosing a subject that did not require language skills very much. Her being graduated from high school helped her to be successful in the exams she took. She experienced the feeling of success, which might have motivated her further. However, she still did not know the education system in the UK very well at that time. She got some information about the system through her distant friend. She tried to change her destiny and realized that she could do this for herself. "When I first sat in my class in the school, I felt myself very different. I was tearful, if somebody touched me, I would cry. I was questioning my English level. There were both joy and sadness. I was determined to succeed. I worked until 4 in midnight on some days. I was solving problems in my dreams" (Lines

134-144). Her first experiences with her studies were oriented toward effort, determination, and having the control of her life. During this period, her emotional detachment and independence from his husband has increased. She worked harder and managed to finish A levels, which let her continue with university education. She decided to go to the university although she had some worries over how her husband would react to her decision. It seems that what she did was really different from other women in the community and she appreciates her husband's neutral position regarding her education compared to the attitudes of other husbands in Turkish community. After starting university, she learned more about the system and she developed her own strategies. Here again her determination is marked. Having a goal is linked to her success. The way she builds her educational career exemplifies the empowerment process. Her development also shows her adaptation and integration into the system in the UK. At this point in her life story, she gets her total emotional independence from her husband and she stands on her own feet. She has developed self-awareness and self-confidence, which protects her from negative comments: "After that, my husband started to complain about my studies but he realised that he couldn't prevent me because my confidence were restored and nobody could prevent me from doing what I set to do" (lines 159-161). She is proud of herself and appreciates her success. Being successful is important to her. And her one unsuccessful year is related to problems with her husband. Her husband was neither a barrier nor a supporter for her education but problems in her marriage created problems for her. Finishing her school was her personal goal: "And it is finished and I achieved my dream" (lines 169-170). Zülal mentions about a talk between her and one of her Chinese friends that she gave her a different perspective about difficulties. Her talk with this friend is narrated toward a change in her perception of difficulty- she perceives problems related to her husband as making her more ambitious and somehow determined. This perspective is comforting for her as well. She argues that the difficulties in her life and the feeling of proving herself against her husband's family made her stronger and motivated: "I always remembered the difficult moments in my life and these

motivated me. Then, realised I am very close to the end” (lines 270-271). Here she talks about her degree that is very important to her. Through her success, she had her revenge from them.

Gizem has similar orientation that her working as a nurse has been really important to her. Her father became a barrier for education and career. This affected her life story as well. Her father’s objection made her more determined and she got married in order to overcome her father. A Turkish doctor, Gizem calls him “abi” (brother), emotionally supported her and encouraged her to continue her education. He encouraged her to fight with her father to continue her education. For Gizem, having a job means standing on her own feet. She was not working at the time of the interview but she does not perceive herself as a housewife and her quitting her job was for her kids and temporary. She also does not perceive herself successful enough as she had to quit her job and could not get further training to be a midwife. Her children are also important to her and come before getting more money for her: “Money is not everything. My children are more important than gaining money” (Lines 129-130). For her working means having a life outside of the house and also helping other people. Gizem got her educational and career orientation during her adolescence. She decided to be a nurse when she had the breast operation at the age of 14. Her nurse in the hospital became a model for her: “When I had my operation at 14, the nurse who took care of me was very nice and on that day I said my mum that I would be a nurse. Then, I fought for this goal and I accomplished” (lines 485-488). This shows the importance of having role models around these women. Her educational process is important for Gizem. She attended vocational school and got a nurse diploma. Like Zülal, she had a goal in her mind. However, for her the alternative to having a child was having a career. She receives this perspective from her family, as her two elder sisters were not successful at the school then they got married. Her father expected Gizem to do the same thing. Gizem was more successful and determined than her other two sisters. She started working in a hospital but had to quit because of working conditions. Her father did not allow her to work in the

night shifts because her father was worried about the gossip in their community. However, after getting married, she started working straight away. If her husband did not allow her to work, she would not accept to marry him.

Sezen also had an educational orientation before coming to the UK. She attended vocational school on textile and wanted to continue her education, however, could not continue because of financial difficulties after their wedding. She had to quit her plans to do textile although she was accepted to the course. As she did not have citizenship at that time, she was not entitled to governmental supports for her education. She feels regretful about this but also acknowledge that she would not have her children if she had followed career path. She gave the priority to her children. Now, she wants to do psychology in the UK. She is still attending English course. Like Gizem, being active and doing things outside of the house are point of references for Sezen. She worked for the council in the educational activities for Turkish parents but because of her language course had to quit. She enjoyed working in the project as she has learned new things. Like Zülal, she is becoming the role model for other women around her. She initiated a jogging group and they run in the mornings. She is involved in voluntary works for schools and children, like face painting. She is also involved in the administrative board of her children's school. She is open to social relationships with non-Turkish friends but her husband is limiting her.

Interim results: It appears that for some women having an educational orientation is a protective factor. It is also an important risk that some women were not allowed to continue their education and were expected to help domestic works. However, availability of further education opportunities at any age is an enhancing factor for migrant women's empowerment and resilience. For example, education functioned as transformation agent for Zülal. Having role models around these women is important in encouraging their career and personal development. Consistent role models in moulding a positive and adaptive coping were among protective factors. This appears also relevant to migrant experience

as they like a newborn baby in their new environment. Realistic goal setting combined with motivation and support appeared necessary to achieve their goals, which are considered as the characteristics of resilient individuals (Killian, 2004). Like educational orientation, having a career goal is also emancipating for these women as they experience economical independence and also has the chance to shift from private space to public space. Horton and Wallander (2001) also found that having goals are important for people who face great challenges. They explain the mechanism behind this, as dealing with challenges requires the act of setting and working toward goals. For some cases in current study, barriers did not discourage these women. Rather, they become more determined and resilient. As having purpose and plans in life is also important protective resource for individuals (Rutter et al., 1997), this could also be an important protective factor in the case of migration. Further, feeling successful and competent appeared as an important empowering agent also among internal migrant women in Turkey (Erman, Kalaycıoğlu & Rittersberger-Tılıç, 2002).

4.2.7. Coping

In order to follow their coping, the coping strategies they used, their perception of their life, and their perception of opportunities and successes will be included in this part.

Transformation and being a fighter. Zülal utilised different coping strategies to overcome the difficulties. There are three turning points in Zülal's life. Her having son was the first turning point for her. Her having son started the emotional separation from her husband. Second turning point was her visit to Turkey after couple of years in the UK. Zülal's visiting process led her having control of her life and plans. She was also more informed about the rules and regulations regarding her legal status. After five years, she spends 3 months in the Turkey. After this visits, she calls her husband's family "others", which shows how she separates herself from her husband's family. Her family's love and acceptance

and general loving atmosphere in her family house made her aware of the things she lost during 5 years in the UK. Her sister's coming to the UK to join her was another turning point in her life. She felt considerable support after her sister's arrival. Lack of social support until her sister's coming was a difficulty for her. Her perception of her environment changed after this point. Third turning point was her continuing her education and getting a university degree. Her main conclusion about her journey is that she became the actor of her life and was the decision-maker whatever happened. Now, Zülal has a positive attitude toward herself. She perceives herself being initiative, decisive and competitive. She has curiosity for learning and mastering what she has learnt. Having models is an important motivator for her as they set criteria for her. She also likes being a model for other women. How the people in Turkish community perceive her used to be a point of reference for her. However, now, she does not care about whether they think she is good or bad. Improving herself is a general point of frame for Zülal. She perceives herself as the pioneer to change things for herself: clothing, moving to another house from her in-laws' house, and revealing her decision on divorce. She calls this 'revolt'. She is living for herself, wants to be more self-confident and aware of its process, happy with her current life and being mother, appreciates the support government provides (like rent, financial support), and thinks that it is the responsibility of women to find a way to change their situation in this context: "It was partly related to the ease in this country because I didn't worry about the rent and had pocket money. Government has been paying for everything. That's why; it is not really difficult to live here. If you want to achieve something, they support you. If you wish, all doors are open. You just need to utilise it. There are a lot of things to do in this country" (lines 697-702). She perceives difficulties related to her husband's family as the factor that motivated her to break the rules and become herself. Also, her not loving her husband made her decision and acts easier- 'nothing to loose'. She is proud of her progress. Zülal enjoys the feeling free and independent as a divorced woman in the UK. There are no labels related to being divorced in the UK compared to Turkey. Being mother is important to her and she feels responsible because of this. Not

may be society in the UK but her mother role makes her more careful about her life. Zülal perceives her success as regaining her lost status back. Therefore, her life in the UK was more to do with her losses, losing her family and her status as person: “I don’t think I was successful because I regained my status back” (Lines 568-570). She is considering university as the criteria for her success that she has a well-established education orientation. For immigrant women, having education whose integral part is language is one of the most important qualities to be a part of the community and also to be an actor in their life. Zülal is aware of this, and so, she mentions about her education, her motivation and willingness to education. Zülal’s future plans are related to her career aspirations first of all. She puts herself and her wishes in the first place. She has plans related to Turkey as well. She also has wishes related to her son’s education.

Aslı is another woman who accomplished a lot of changes toward positive in her life. In her life experiences in the UK, depression was an important event. She undertook counselling and is still using medication. She reached this positive change through valuing herself and her children: putting herself first. Another positive change is going out of her house, private sphere, and doing more studies to improve her English. She wants to improve herself more. The changes within last 5-6 years in Aslı are oriented toward changes in her personality characteristics: being more expressive, noticing her positive sides and being receptive to the positive feedbacks from others. She thinks that one can change her or himself if she or he wants. She is the actor in her life. The process of being an individual is a point of reference for her. Changes and her awareness in her relationships, especially with her husband is a point of reference. She is proud of her progress in the UK. Aslı is self-determined and has self-awareness, she is also aware of opportunities in the UK. It seems that her awareness is also constructed by the differences of her life with other immigrated women around her. She criticizes other Turkish migrant women around her as they are not using the opportunities around them. Their individual choice and preference are a point of reference to utilise the opportunities in the UK. Aslı has conflicting feelings about

her depression. While she mentions the transforming function of depression and therapy, it is also apparent that it was a difficult experience for her. She still experiences sleeping problems when she does not take her medication. She perceives difficulties as something she can overcome and feels competent. It seems that this perception of her is quite decisive for her life story. Aslı thinks that personality characteristics might have helped her adjustment positively. In dealing with daily problems, Aslı feels capable and being in the charge of her life. She knows how to get help when she needs. Dealing with difficulties is related to help sources and her power and self-confidence. Although she mentions several difficulties, which are related to moving another country, she does not connect her depression with her migration. The way she is making friends has changed and now she is more careful about her friends. Aslı is open to other cultures and wants to experience them. Obviously, knowing English and getting to know people through courses give her more alternatives in terms of friendships. She has some prejudices regarding Turkish people in London and she is separating herself from them. She is the one who chooses whom to get close. Aslı's need for community organisations is limited to her practical needs, not for her social needs. She has her own networks and she feels self-sufficient in terms of her social networks. She constructed her life around herself and her families needs and she does not need to be a part of a community unless she needs something. Aslı is explaining her successes in the UK around herself. Improving herself is a point of reference for Aslı. Activities that will help her improve herself are important to her. She is aware of that she has to improve her English to have a better position in the UK. She is open to getting help and knows where to go. She is aware of the system in the UK and uses it; she is integrated. She enjoys the conditions in the UK and her life in the UK that her life in the UK is connected to gains of social and economical security. Her life in village in Turkey means deprivation in different aspects of her life. Therefore for her, coming to London represents better conditions and opportunities. Marriage is also a passage to the freedom and having the control of her life. For Aslı, being autonomous and free without being controlled is a success and through her marriage she escaped from her brother's

control. She likes having control over her life and makes her own decisions. As a person she feels capable and successful. Her success in courses is also important to her. She describes herself determined and hard working. It seems that she is happy with her current position/situation since she made deliberate efforts to be in this situation. She is acknowledging the governmental support sources for women but fighting to change the norms in their relationship with their husband is a point of reference for her. She sees herself as a liberated woman from cultural and familial constraints in Turkish society compared to other Turkish women. She is criticising other Turkish women based on this. She thinks that women can change their destiny because they have a lot of resources and capabilities. It appears Aslı used her recourses and support mechanisms to empower herself. She is acknowledging the governmental support sources for women but fighting to change the norms in their relationship with their husband is a point of reference for her. For Aslı, developing herself more and renewing her goals are in her future plans. She is optimistic about future and has plans for herself.

Gizem's coping with difficulties is narrated toward her being a fighter. Her main fight that has been against her father has started during her adolescence and important to her. She separates herself from her father and she protests her father attitude because she thinks that her inhibiting attitude was because of the societal pressures. She protests against the patriarchal culture of her father and the community: "I like fighting. I see difficulties as steps. My main problem was with my father who didn't want me to continue my education. I didn't give up. I started a fight with my father in my family house. I didn't talk to him for a while. I couldn't accept his reaction because he was worried about what our community will think of me. I thought that even if I achieve at the age of 50, I would never give up" (Lines 344-360). Gizem perceives herself as a pioneer in her environment. Now, she becomes a role model for her cousin and tries to support her as she came at the age of 10. She became mentor for her in adapting to her new life. Gizem also wants more success in her life like starting her job again. She does not feel she did enough for her life and wants to improve it. For example, she

wants to improve her Turkish. But she feels a bit tired now because of the responsibilities of marriage and motherhood. For Gizem, her having job, buying her house through mortgage, her driving licence were her successes in the UK. She perceives the opportunities connected to her determination. She feels lucky. Gizem's perception of success is related to whether she works or not. Maintaining her marriage for 11 years, her education, her children's education and future career plans are also successes of her. Gizem feel freer in the UK as a woman.

Utilising opportunities. Nisan can be considered as a fighter as she had to fight against the pressures of her extended family in Turkey. However, her coping in the UK is characterised by searching for and using opportunities in the UK. This might be related to her determination to stay in the UK because of not wanting to go back to Turkey. Her husband's support also made her experience less practical difficulties in the UK like accommodation and finance. She is the actor of her life in the UK to find necessary means and sources to reach her purpose. Being a woman is linked opportunities and autonomy for her in London. Nisan's life in the UK as a woman is oriented toward feeling free and autonomous regarding her clothing and social life while being a woman in Turkey is linked to oppression by moral values regarding independence and sexuality of women. She appreciates the independence from her husband's family, which is different from the relationships in Turkey. Educational opportunities, employment opportunities, better income and flexible working hours are the other opportunities for Nisan in the UK. Nisan has a lot of successes in the UK. Her successes are her learning language, having academic related achievements, her job at the council, sponsoring her parents' visit to the UK, providing opportunity for her sister to stay in London for a while, her marriage, and her adaptation to the UK. She has a success identity linked to her experiences in the UK. She compares housewives in Turkey with the ones in the UK and argument that economy and social life here give different opportunities to Turkish migrant women in the UK. Nisan perceives herself in a progress and everything in her life is getting better and better. She feels more mature, her family is more understanding toward her. She came and succeeded

and in the UK, she learned English and adapted herself into the life quickly. Nisan's plans for future are oriented toward her career and moving to a Mediterranean country with her husband. She is committed to her relationship.

Like Nisan, Buse and Sezen are trying to use immediate opportunities and support sources around them. Buse has more positive perception of her life despite similar losses with Pelin. What is different in her life story is that she feels more control over her life. After ten years, she is living in a more comfortable house. Her husband is working, so, they are in a better position economically. She has friend circles and warm relationships. Here again she is using "we" and this may imply that as a couple they have a social life. She is getting support from a Turkish teacher in her children's school. For Buse, the UK has several advantages. First of all education opportunities for women is really good. She has an educational orientation she had when she was in Turkey. Although she could not continue her education in the UK, at those years, she had a dream of being a midwife and now she has the opportunity to actualise her dream in the UK. So for Buse, despite difficulties in the UK and the losses in her status in the UK, she perceives the opportunities in the UK. There is a reference on her determination to learn English and she does not perceive her children as a barrier for her learning English- "I came here, my children were small and I used to leave them to nursery to attend English course even for 1 hour. I still continue my course and it is going very well. School opportunity is really good here" (Lines 345-348). In general, she has a positive perception of her life in London. She has flexible attitude toward differences among people in London. It seems that she is accepting her life in the UK as it is. Social security and benefits like unemployment support, house support, financial support and free health services are also other opportunities in the UK. She feels more secure in the UK compared to Turkey. Buse's successes oriented toward her kids' educational success and their future success. For Buse, women have a higher status and more rights in society in the UK. She perceives women in Turkey as oppressed and inhibited. She feels equal to men in the UK and free. Like other migrant women she has limited social life and does not have a

fulfilling relationship with her husband. Her husband does not help her in domestic things and she links this to the division of labour in her husband's family in Turkey, which she is questioning now and asks for more help from her husband. Buse's future plans are oriented toward her kids' education and her getting a training and occupation.

Sezen is using opportunities very well. Sezen and her husband receive these benefits as well. Education is also another opportunity and flexible work opportunities for mothers. She used the training opportunities and services for mothers very well. She attended courses like computer, budget management, revelry making, and face painting. She is very active and participating in the system. Sezen feels herself resourceful and helps other women who came to the UK like her, students and the families. She both provides emotional and financial support. She also provides guidance other people as she is more knowledgeable about the system. Sezen generally talks about her observations about the people around her and appreciates government's support for people who are unable to work, housing benefit and income support for low socio-economic status people, and traffic. Sezen's success is tied to her children's school success that she feels successful by contribution to their success. She feels successful about her impact in children's school as administrative board member. She is using her rights and the system like Zülal. She feels "proud of herself" as she thinks that "she did the right thing". She is happy with the rights in the UK as a woman: "Being a woman in the UK is very good because at least there are women's rights. Here, children come first, then women, then animals and then men" (Lines 405-407). She acknowledges the importance of being informed of these as a woman. Sezen's future plans oriented toward her children's educational success and her getting university degree in counselling. She wants to work in the support services for Turkish people. If she cannot have university degree she wants to have a boutique.

Halime utilised her non-Turkish networks to feel integrated and competent in the UK. Until recently, Halime has tended to prefer her English contacts. She was in a

group of well-educated English people. Her postgraduate education was important vehicle to meet her work partner and her professor. Later, she made friends through her work partner. She has an orientation toward improving herself intellectually and she used her contact with English people as a strategy. She has orientation toward her deliberate effort to be with English people to be integrated better. For Halime, opportunities are related to her work life. In the work life in the UK, women are provided more opportunities, like managerial positions in different sectors. Second opportunity is related to social life as a woman. She feels more secure as a woman when she goes out in the nights. She compares the attitudes of men in the UK and those in Turkey in the pubs. For Halime, Turkey is related to male-female inequality, different rights for women and men, being controlled and protected because of being female. Being free from societal pressures as a woman is the biggest advantage for her. Comparing to the other women, Halime is coming from a big city and relatively liberal family but she felt societal pressure while she was living with her auntie in Turkey. Therefore, she is more concerned with women's rights. It seems that like Nisan, Halime also escaped from this control and the societal pressures. Halime's auntie has also similar attitude like Nisan's father that she tolerates Halime's behaviours but does not reveal other people. She is asking for equal rights with men in Turkey in social life, like co-habiting. As a future plan, she wants to have a family and move to Spain.

Being disempowered and trapped. Three women were considered in this group. The common pattern among these women is the domination of difficulties in their narrations. For example, Beste's life in the UK is oriented toward difficulties or sources of stress in the UK: "living in a foreign country", "speaking in a second language", and not having familial support when she needs, "dealing with two kids". Similarly, Canan's narration was dominated by difficulties. For Canan, starting from her journey to the UK, her life was dominated by difficulties. Like these two women, Pelin's migration to the UK and her life in the UK is connected to difficulties: "two children in 7 years", "struggling with two children", "trying to

adjust to the UK”, “struggling with life”, “unemployment” and “economic hardship”. She uses the metaphor of growing up with difficulties like “new born child” in describing her life in the UK. While she was trying to bring up two kids, she was also trying to adjust to the new culture. Pelin’s coping with the difficulties and losses related migration is passive or staying motionless or frozen in the time. Again feeling of being trapped in her life is a point of reference: “I don’t know what to do. It is as I have given 10 years and after finishing this ten-years time I will be released” (lines 227-229). She does not have a purpose in life because this requires being active to have control over her life to certain degree. Her dealing with difficulties is oriented toward giving in. Language difficulty affects her coping and it prevents her from being able to protect her rights and falling into a faulty group all the time. Powerlessness (or process of dispowerment) has grown out of language difficulty for her: “as long as you have a language difficulty, you give up” (Lines 316-317). Pelin mentioned about losing the enjoyment in life. She perceives social gatherings as a way to overcome this depression or crisis. However, she also lost her interest in such activities and finds boring. She frames her life with an orientation toward being trapped with domestic responsibilities but no sharing at home, which “kills the emotions” (Line 82). It seems that she could not get emotional support from her husband. Need for support from her husband might have been increased because these women have diminished alternatives of social support networks. She is explaining all difficulties as something related to her but not something related external conditions. She used to think that her problems were related to not knowing English and that if she could speak English she would not have those problems. But, now, she perceives her problems not only related to the language but also mainly living in the UK as an immigrant. She has more awareness about her conditions in the UK. Pelin appreciates the opportunities for people in the UK. However, she does not want to participate in many of them as she experiences lack of energy and enthusiasm in getting involved with social activities and other opportunities. Further, because of Pelin’s responsibilities related to her children, it is difficult to have time for social activities for herself. She thinks that she always

has to be present for her children in order to prevent them from possible threats. Her current feelings are important to Pelin and want to overcome. However, she does not feel she have control on her current situation. She is not an actor but a passive recipient. Being a housewife is oriented toward not having purpose other than raising her children. Dealing with hassles of daily life is oriented toward something exceeds her capacity and takes her life energy. The things she lived in last 7 years in the UK made her feel numb. She does not have anything that fills and gives a meaning to her life. She feels being interfered by the conditions and “her struggling with the life” (“yaşamla boğuşmak”) in the UK. She perceives her life as something to “struggle with”. Pelin feels bored with expecting help from other and feeling of being burden on others. Being housewife is oriented toward doing nothing. She perceives herself as incapable of using opportunities. Pelin feels more secure for her children in her hometown in Turkey. There is nostalgia in her narration that she perceives everything is better in Turkey than the UK. She feels safer in her hometown in Turkey compared to London. She has the fear of something bad thing might happen to her children in her neighbourhood in London. This makes her feel panicky and alert. Here she explains why she feels insecure in London: coming from small town to big city, “crowd” in London, “fears”, and “doubts”. All these are damaging her feeling of trust. Her need for being surrounded by people who can trust is a point of reference. May be she is missing the culture of interdependency in the Turkey and support from extended family. Pelin is talking about her way of learning things. Her way learning things is oriented toward being impatient and not being persistent enough. According to her, learning language is requires a lot of time and she is not that much patient. Not being able to learn language makes her feel incapable. Language difficulty makes her feel powerlessness and being passive, even something oppressing because it affects her expressing herself and her self-efficacy and in a way it leads to “silencing herself”. Pelin connected her future plans to her husband. She perceives their dependence on benefits as a transitory period. Her husband’s having job is linked to having a life in the UK and being self-sufficient. They will have control over their life when her husband gets a job. Her only plan for herself

is the possibility of doing some voluntary work. Because she is aimless as she said. She also wants to have more comfortable house.

Canan perceives her life as invaded by difficulties. She is not happy with her life in the UK. She does not happy with being stagnant and inactive but at the same time she is not trying to change it. While talking about herself, Canan attributes her decisions to societal pressures, like her second attempt, her marriage and migration, her having son, and her continuing her marriage. She is repressing her feelings. She is questioning herself a lot. She does not feel herself well. Pleasing others, especially her relatives, is more important for Canan than pleasing her son. She is trying to get recognition from them. She feels herself easily irritable. For example, sometimes she does things for her friends at the expense of neglecting her son and if she does not receive a similar treatment she feels disappointed and ends the relationship. She feels undecided or regretful time to time. She has trust issues in her relationships, when she reveals things about herself, she feels vulnerable. She has similar feelings with her sister and her husband time to time. Her mood is changing daily. For Canan, opportunities her life in the UK are related to economical gains like having car and going holidays. Not working is a disadvantage for her. She wants to work and support herself. Being a mother is a success for Canan. Maintaining her marriage for 14 years despite problems and separations is a success. Canan's future plans are oriented toward her son's being an educated with a profession and being a good person.

Similarly, Beste puts emphasis on the difficulty side of things in her life. Beste has orientation toward self-rumination without fighting for her rights especially in her house, private domain. Beste is rather an object of circumstances than an actor that is also documented in how she refers to herself: Either she uses the impersonal "we" or things just happen ("children came"). She is not happy with being trapped in her house with all those domestic responsibilities. She needs time for being on her own and having entertaining activities for her. For Beste being a woman means staying in the house and undertaking all the responsibilities related

to house, children and husband. She wants more recognition by her husband. Being a housewife is oriented toward not getting appreciation from her husband. However, her coping with her husband is not fighting for her wishes. She is voicing her wishes and when she faces barrier she is just giving up but keeps complaining. She is smoking cigarette smoking that is framed as helping her cope. She is not happy with her smoking as a way of coping. However, because of “not having purpose in life” (framed as “people in general” but not as “I” language) or “the load” exceeding their capacity (“we”), she perceives smoking as a source of happiness or “sharing herself with cigarette”. For her, opportunities in the UK related to economical gains- house and car are a point of reference. Compared to Turkey, she feels more independent as something positive about her husband she mentioned is that he does not control her social life. She also feels free to wear whatever she wants to wear compared to Turkey. Beste’s future plans are oriented toward her children’s being successful in life but not toward her life.

Contributing to others’ lives. Gül’s coping is related to emotional costs she paid. Her belief that she is contributing to her sons’ education, language, and success and being together with her sons and her sisters helped her. She does not expect anything for herself and she does not have any orientation toward her inner strengths. For her again being supportive is an important protective factor. Gül is aware of her function in her sons’ and her sisters’ lives. Further, she has gained more recognition and appreciation from the community because of qualities of being retired teacher. This is not something she gained in the UK but rather she brought with her. And at least, she used it by working as a Turkish teacher and also helping others in the community. Therefore, Gül found more places to express herself compared to some other women. Gül perceives are a lot of opportunities in the UK like free education for everyone, easy transportation, freedom and access to libraries, free courses. However, she does not think she is using these because she experienced loss of interest and energy to do these. She thinks that because of her depression, she used a lot of excuses to avoid these activities. Further, her adaptation process made her feel tired as there were a lot of

things to learn and to adapt, and she felt exhausted. Theoretically speaking, psychological distress is an important dimension in migrant women's life in the host country. It seems that Gül could not do her routines she was doing in Turkey and she could not develop new ones because of language barrier and other social and economical barriers. It is like losing control over her life and forgetting who she was. Learning English is a real pressure and it seems that for her it is like a vicious cycle: "When I think retrospectively, I think was depressed and I stop doing things that I liked. I started to find excuses. I didn't read even Turkish novels in order to concentrate on English but reading Turkish was not a barrier. It was something I created because of my depression" (Lines 235-240). Gül is more optimistic when she is talking about her successes. She put more emphasis on practical things she achieved like her current house, having social relationships, her son's success and her contribution to son's success, and her current English level despite difficulty of starting from scratch. She appreciates her progress. Gül feels more settled now and she started to enjoy some parts of her life in London. Now, Gül is in the transition period because of divorce. She does not know what to do. She thinks that she could make plans in relation to her prospective partner or the possibility of being together with her husband again.

Interim results: Different coping styles or experiences were marked among these women. An understanding of their lives provided important clues about their coping. Women who transformed themselves as a reaction to adversity made changes in their relationship with their environment started to give more priority to themselves, had their own space and developed their own goals. This pattern was also found with stigmatised individuals that they become more persistent and assertive as a compensation strategy (Shih, 2004). Transformers also effectively utilised support sources around them, which was really important for their thriving back. These women cultivated more self-worth and power. They also became model for people around them and participated more in community life. Zimmerman and Rappaport (1988) highlighted participation in the life of one's community as an important aspect of psychological empowerment. Participation

may result in “learned hopefulness” (Stein, 1997). They perceived difficulties as a challenge they can overcome. These cases showed that resilience can be developed through helping people draw on their inner resources and strengths (Edward, 2005).

Women who used opportunities around them to maintain their status also improved themselves and achieved some personal and social gains. Women in these two groups had an apparent educational orientation and emphasized social and educational opportunities as they used these to function well in the UK. They also had a more optimistic future orientation. On the other hand, women who coped through helping significant others in their lives did not accomplish many successes and did not utilize opportunities efficiently for themselves. It was found in a previous study that contributing to their children’s school success or taking on important roles in managing their families also help migrant women to gain more self-worth (Erman, Kalaycıoğlu & Rittersberger-Tılıç, 2002). This process also helps them realise their strengths and make them feel powerful and resourceful.

In the fourth group, on the other hand, women felt that the conditions in the UK exceeded their capacity and they had experienced some psychological and health problems. Especially women with rural background could not utilise the opportunities in the UK very well. These women perceived difficulties as something they do not have control over. Women in this group emphasized the economic opportunities in the UK. It seems that the feeling of being useless and being in the position of receiving is disempowering because they used to be resourceful in their home country.

4.2.8. Advices

Women provided different advice that was shaped by their own experiences. Aslı’s advice is oriented toward self-determination and confidence. There are opportunities in the UK but it still depends on how one would deal with them.

Personally she had better conditions in the UK for her compared to Turkey. Zülal considered her way of coming to the UK as a mistake of her parents. Coming to the UK for educational opportunities is her advice and she perceives the UK context as more opportunity providing in terms of education and work. This makes difference in people's lives she thinks. For Sezen, most important advice she could give is learning the language first. Buse is not regretful but also acknowledges the difficulties in the UK. So, if people do not have any chances in Turkey, she recommends. The life in the UK is not a rose garden without thorn. Nisan's advices included learning language, ways to learn to language like separating themselves from Turkish networks and interacting with English people and being purposeful and determined, creating opportunities to have academic and work-related experiences, getting married with a good person, doing some preparation for the UK before their departure, and being open to new experiences, being confident and being persistent. She mentioned the importance of having a clear purpose in their mind when they came to the UK.

Halime's advice included learning about the difficulties, making realistic decisions, having a clear purpose in their mind, and being ready for the difficulties. Canan does not recommend someone to come who has the same conditions with her. She is regretful with her current thinking. She thinks that the conditions in the UK are not better than those in Turkey. She would prefer working instead of getting benefits from the government. Pelin is also regretful and has complaints about the inadequacy of benefits. With such low governmental support, they can only survive. She thinks that if people have to leave the country, they should consider migration. Otherwise, it is like living in deprivation. Gül also feels regretful and she does not recommend.

Interim results: Women's advice was also shaped by their own experiences. Women who could not cope with the adversities felt regretful and did not recommend moving to the UK to live. On the other hand, women who had some achievements in the UK and utilized opportunities mentioned them in advice to

newcomers. Their advice included common patterns like the importance of being self-determined, realistic decision making, and getting information about the conditions before coming, learning language, having clear goals, and using opportunities to achieve these goals.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This chapter involves three sections. The first section presents the discussion of the quantitative and qualitative results of the study in line with the relevant literature. In the second section, implications for practice, and in the third section, recommendations for research are provided.

5.1. Discussion of the Quantitative and Qualitative Results

The purpose of the quantitative study was to investigate whether perceived discrimination, perceived social support, psychological distress and integration acculturation attitude predicted empowerment scores as the indication of resilience among Turkish migrant women in the UK after controlling certain demographic variables. In addition, the purpose of qualitative study was to explore factors and mechanisms that contribute the resilience of Turkish migrant women in more depth. In the quantitative study, the results of the hierarchical regression analysis showed that while demographic characteristics (educational level, perceived English language level, and residence status) account for 13.9% of the variance in empowerment scores, interpersonal factors (perceived discrimination and perceived social support) account for 5.7% of the variance. Further, personal factors (psychological distress and integration attitude) account for 18.8% of the variance in empowerment scores after controlling for demographic characteristics and interpersonal factors. The overall model including all predictors in three steps significantly predicted empowerment scores by accounting for 38.5% of the variance. However, taken individually, the results showed that among all variables in three models, only educational level, perceived social support, psychological distress and integration attitude significantly

predicted resilience. It was found that having medium and high educational level, having higher levels of perceived social support and integration attitude, and having lower level of psychological distress were associated with higher resilience scores among Turkish migrant women in the UK. More specifically, the level of psychological distress was the strongest predictor for resilience among these women.

The results suggested that while educational level was a significant predictor of resilience, residence status and perceived English language level were not found to be significant predictors. These findings supported that education may function as a personal resource in the migration context (Berry, 2006a). Further, since resilience was operationalised as psychological empowerment, these findings also echoed some findings in the literature that indicated educational level as a good predictor of psychological empowerment (Wowra & McCarter, 1999). In fact, Baykan, Özkan, Maral, and Candansayar (2002) also found in their study with 3438 women in Turkey that lower educational status of women is a risk factor for psychological functioning. In their study, women who had educational status below secondary school level had 1.42 times more frequently reported psychological problems. Besides its direct associations with physical and psychological health of the individuals, education also appeared as an important predictor of physical and psychological health status in the families (Stein, 1997). It affects seeking help for parents and their children in the family.

The quantitative findings of the study on educational level also got further evidence by the qualitative results of the study. Qualitative findings showed that besides having higher levels of education, having or developing an educational orientation and also using educational and career opportunities were important to increase migrant women's autonomy, awareness and participation. Hence, having or developing an educational orientation appeared as an important protective factor for migrant women. Cultivating purpose and using the opportunities to achieve their educational purpose appeared as an effective coping strategy among

these women. Similarly, women who were able to selectively disengage from the home and engage with those outside, and then to reengage also coped with difficulties better than other women do. The results also showed that although the UK context provides a lot of education and training opportunities for these women, how women use these opportunities has a great importance.

The findings also revealed that language was not a significant predictor of resilience. These findings can be discussed in line with the literature on language and migrant's psychological adaptation, as there is very limited literature on direct relationship between language and resilience in the migration literature. In this sense, these findings are inconsistent to some findings on migrant's psychological functioning in the literature (e.g. Ekşi, 2002; Yeh, Kim, Pituc, & Atkins, 2008) and also consistent with some others (e.g. Nwadiora & McAdoo, 1996). While some researchers reported findings on the relationships between language difficulty and psychological adaptation (e.g. Beiser & Hou, 2001), others did not find any linkages between those two (e.g. Nwadiora & McAdoo, 1996). There might be several explanations for the current finding. First of all, in this study the language level was determined based on the participants' self reports and this may not portray their actual English proficiency level. Further, in a previous survey on Turkish migrants in the UK, it was found that they generally complete their needs within their local community with limited contacts with the host society and other ethnic groups. Thus, their socialization takes place in a very restricted local community (Önal, 2003). In fact, Turkish community is seen one of the most self-sufficient communities in London since in their local community they can find lots of services ranging from mortgages to a quit-smoking helpline and from driving instruction to massage parlour. In London, there are local community-based newspapers, Turkish TV channels and digital radio channels (Enneli, Modood, & Bradley, 2005). Therefore, it can be interpreted that for the participants of this study, the language difficulty may not manifest itself negatively in their social interactions and daily life within their community.

Yet, according to qualitative results, language was one of the biggest difficulties that was mentioned by half of the interviewees in the qualitative part, and functioned as mediator with other difficulties in these women's lives. Language difficulty affected all aspect of their lives, including daily life, interactions with health services, and parenting skills. It also functioned as disempowering because it contributed to the lack of confidence and feeling of vulnerability due to the feeling of not being able defend themselves. Therefore, it can be concluded that there were discrepancy between quantitative and qualitative results. However, it should be reminded that although majority of the participants in this study (79.1%; See table 3.1.) reported as having average to good level of language proficiency at the time of data collection, the experiences women mentioned in the interviews included all stages of their lives in the UK and some of them were retrospective accounts. This might explain the discrepancy between quantitative and qualitative findings. Qualitative results also implied that despite its importance, learning language is very difficult for some women, which creates additional stress for these women. Barriers included child-related and other domestic responsibilities, difficulty to concentrate, not having social relationships with host country people, and living within small ethnic community. Therefore, qualitative findings showed that language difficulty is an important risk factor and also exacerbates challenges to the adaptation.

Further, the results also suggested that residence status was not appeared as significant predictor of resilience among Turkish migrant women. This finding does not support the notion that residence status poses additional adversity in migrant women's psychological adaptation by increasing vulnerability factors (Raj & Silverman, 2002). However, qualitative results provided further insight regarding the effect of residence status on migrant women's lives. Not having legal residence during first years can be a risk factor for some because the duration between the time of arrival to the UK and getting legal residence status is an important dimension in these women's autonomy. Long waiting period for the procedures related to legal status prevents them from leaving their abusive

environment in husband's family and visiting their families in Turkey. Further, dependent status and not having legal residence may constitute risk factor for abuse and exploitation for migrant women. More importantly, women who came through marriage often lacked necessary information about their new environment and regulations and this made these women extremely dependent on their husband and/or husband's family. Hence, this situation led women being exposed to various forms of abuse.

The findings of this study showed that perceived discrimination did not significantly predicted resilience. These findings did not lend support for the findings on the link between discrimination and lower level of psychological functioning (e.g. Moradi & Risco, 2006; Whitely & Kite, 2006). There might be several explanations for this. First of all, discrimination is closely associated with the degree of contact with host community people. When individuals are highly identified with their group and interact mostly with people from their own group, this harness the negative impact of discriminatory messages (Shih, 2004). For this group of women it can be interpreted that their contact with the English community is happening at a very limited degree. This interpretation got some support from the previous research (e.g. Önal, 2003) and also qualitative results of this study that these women are generally socialising within the Turkish community. Therefore, it can be asserted that experience of discrimination might be less frequent in their lives. In fact, as suggested by the literature, migrant women experience discrimination less than migrant men do (e.g. Liebkind & Jasinski-Lahti, 2000).

The result of this study on discrimination is also contradictory with the other studies on Turkish migrants in the Netherlands (Verkuyten, 1998), in Finland (Liebkind & Jasinski-Lahti, 2000) and in Norway and Sweden (Virta, Sam, & Westin, 2004), indicating that these differences between the findings can be attributed to the different immigration regulations and policies on racial equality in these countries, which deserves further exploration. In fact, policy differences

(assimilationist or multicultural) and attitudes towards migrants in the host countries have an effect on migrants' experiences of discrimination (Virta, Sam, & Westin, 2004). Finally, there might be some other mechanisms that may buffer the effect of discrimination on this group of women. One buffering mechanism proposed in the literature is that depending on individuals' appraisal of discrimination as stressful, their self-image might be perceived as threatened (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). As suggested by Cassidy, Howe and Warden (2004), this threat may affect individuals' self-evaluation or self-esteem and then, resilience. Qualitative results of the study supported this explanation that discrimination is present in these women's lives and can be considered as a risk factor depending on the perception of and responding to the discrimination.

Findings also provided empirical evidence on the relationship between social support and resilience as suggested by previous research (Finfgeld-Connett, 2005). This finding supports the notion that social support function as a facilitator for coping with crisis and adaptation to change (Cobb, 1976). Ataca and Berry (2002) also found that social support predicted psychological adaptation and marital adaptation among Turkish migrant couples in Canada. Further, social support is also stated as an important component of empowerment (Fitzsimons & Fuller, 2002), which received support from the findings of this study. This finding also supports the main effect model proposed by Cohen and Wills (1985). In the mechanism of this effect, individual's perception of a stressful event is intervened by social support that people's perception of potential for harm posed by a situation is redefined. Also, a perception of having necessary resources due to support may also strengthen one's perceived ability to cope with the stressful events and results in an appraisal of stressful events as less stressful.

The qualitative findings also showed the importance of emotional support for Turkish migrant women, which also supports that emotional and informational supports are viewed as more responsive to a wide range of stressful events (Cohen & Wills, 1985). Qualitative findings suggested that if they get

instrumental/tangible support like support in child-care, when they need, this also function as a protective factor. Hall and Nelson (1996) in their study with people who had treatment for a psychiatric problem draws our attention to the gender dimension of social support. They found that women are the primary providers and recipient of both positive and negative social support. They also suggested that positive social support is directly associated with experiences of positive feelings, meaningful activity and community integration among women. Therefore, it can be concluded that availability of emotional support, and instrumental support when it is needed appeared as important in both qualitative and quantitative results. Qualitative results also highlighted the importance of searching for and utilising existing support sources as an important dimension in resilience.

The results of this study also indicated that psychological distress is the strongest predictor of resilience scores. It is difficult to compare these results, because there are very limited studies that examined the relationship between psychological distress and resilience or empowerment directly. One comparable finding was found by R  sch, Lieb, Bohus, and Corrigan (2006), carried out their study with 90 women to examine the relationship between psychological disorders and empowerment level. They found that depression made women more vulnerable to low empowerment. Qualitative findings of this study also suggested that depression and psychological distress were commonly experienced problems among Turkish migrant women.

The results on psychological distress can also be compared with studies conducted on acculturative stress, as psychological distress can also be considered as an indication of acculturative stress. In this sense, this finding is consistent with findings that reported the effect of acculturative stress on the psychological functioning and well being (e.g. Shin, Han & Kim, 2007; Walker, Wingate, Obasi, & Joiner). In their study with 459 university students, Walker, Wingate, Obasi, and Joiner (2008) found that acculturative stress was related to suicidal ideation in

both African American and European American students. In their study, acculturative stress also moderated the effect of depression on suicidal ideation for African Americans. Crockett et al. (2007) also found that acculturative stress was associated with poorer psychological functioning among Mexican American college students. Therefore, acculturative stress or psychological distress during acculturation can function as a proximal risk factor for psychological maladjustment.

In the present study, having an integration acculturation attitude was found to be significant predictor of resilience scores. This result is consistent with the literature on acculturation strategies (Berry, 2006c). However, there are not much empirical findings to compare with this finding. Although theoretically suggested that acculturation process is associated with adaptation process, very few studies provide empirical evidence on how four acculturation attitudes are associated with adaptation. The reason behind this is partly because of different conceptualizations of acculturation strategies and also the usage of different measurement instruments in the literature. One of such studies that provide comparable findings is Castro's (2002) study carried out with 1174 Costa Rican high school students. Castro examined the relationship between four acculturation strategies and psychological adaptation that was measured by level of self-esteem. Castro's findings showed that integration strategy resulted in highest level of self-esteem, and it was followed by separation, assimilation, and marginalisation strategies, respectively. Similarly, while integration was associated with good adaptation, marginalisation was found to be associated with poor adaptation (lower self-esteem and more mental health problems) (Virta, Sam, & Westin, 2004). Castro also explains the mechanisms behind the effect of integration strategy. According to this explanation, people who adopt the integration strategy can use two social support systems, may not experience interethnic conflict, and achieve social and cultural competencies that provide them with self-efficacy. Further, a number of studies also indicated that identity confusion and poor acculturation are related to increased levels of anxiety and poor mental health

(Ponterotto, Baluch, & Carielli, 1998). These findings suggest that acculturating individuals may feel pulled between traditional values, norms, and customs and those in the host society (Hovey, 2000). Therefore, the result of this study gave further evidence for the adaptive nature of integration strategy and its function as protective factor in the resilience of migrant women.

Taken together, the findings of the quantitative and qualitative study provided further explanation and more insight on the factors that predicted resilience among Turkish women. However, the findings of the qualitative study also revealed some additional risk and protective factors. Consistent with resilience theory certain challenges appeared as protective or risk factors depending on their functions. Among these additional risk and/or protective factors, migration process and settling down emerged as an important dimension. In addition, migration mode either forced or voluntary, and journey itself, and family ties in the UK were important factors in these women's lives. Family ties constitute the background, with different reasons in the foreground for these women's migration. A readiness for and realistic information about the conditions in the migration country emerged as protective factors. Similarly, not being informed about the conditions in the UK appeared as a risk factor for especially women who migrate through arranged marriage. Before migration, many Turkish migrants have a positive image of living abroad resulted from "the rosy picture" transmitted by other migrants around them (Kudat, 1982). This affects their preparation level for the migration experience. Being active in decision-making process for migration becomes an important protective factor, which affects women's feeling of having control over their lives and affects their further experiences in the migration country.

According to qualitative results, other risk and/or protective factors were language, accommodation conditions, marriage and relationship with husbands, social relationships, ties and friends, children and motherhood, losses, husband's family, loneliness and belongingness, Turkish community, health problems and

experiences with health services, and discrimination. Among these, the most important risk/protective factor, as mentioned above, was language for these women. In addition, inadequate housing conditions can also be considered as a risk factor. House conditions which are inadequate for living as a family affected these women's marital relationship, relationship with their children, and children's school success. Although benefit system is supportive for these women, it also fosters their dependence. Further, it is only sufficient for basic needs but not for being involved with improving themselves. If they cannot improve themselves, their dependent position becomes permanent. Consequently, being in the receiver position makes them feel passive and recipient.

Marriage appeared as a strategy to pursue certain goals for some women. In the marriage relationship, husbands appeared as both protective and risk factor in these women's lives depending on the quality of the relationship. Some husbands provided emotional support, practical support in childcare, and financial support to attend English course or other courses. For others, their husbands become the barrier against pursuing education or attending courses and having a social life outside of the house. The results showed that the nature and the quality of relationship with husbands' family get more importance for migrant women because of their status. Depending on the relationship, parents-in-law can be a support source by providing emotional support and helping in childcare or real barrier by exploiting and treating migrant women badly. Some women either already had children at their arrival or had children during their first period in the UK. Women with children have the main responsibility for their children and so are the gatekeepers of their families. Responsibilities related to childcare also become barrier for some women when they do not have necessary instrumental support in childcare. Women who had support in childcare were in more favourable condition in learning English as well.

Losses are another risk factor for these women. Migration produced more losses for women who had better conditions in Turkey. Women's relationships with

health services also appeared as a risk factor. Majority women were not happy with health services that trust on host county health professionals and feeling of not being attended adequately were the issues in their interactions with health services.

According to qualitative findings, women used different strategies in dealing with the demands of migration. These different coping strategies or styles showed that individuals' stress responses are affected by the way they cognitively appraise both the stressors and the capacity they have to effectively react to them (Lazarus, 1991). For example, depending on the woman's appraisal of situation as threatening or not, that woman experience different levels of stress responses. Therefore, women's coping responses and related emotions and behaviours evolved around their perceptions and cognitions. Some women changed their cognitions and behaviours in order to manage the external and internal demands, and these changes were related to their resilience and hence, adaptation (Hovey & Magana, 2002). Further, the way these women dealt with the difficulties highlighted the importance of power and control in their adaptation in a new country. Prilleltensky, Nelson & Peirson (2001) defines these two concepts "as having the opportunity to (a) access valued material and psychological resources that satisfy basic human needs, (b) exercise participation and self-determination, and (c) experience competence and self-efficacy which instil a sense of stability and predictability in life" (p. 145). This happens through the interaction between internal and external resources of individuals. Similarly, women's capacities were developed in constant interaction with the social environment.

Women who transformed themselves in order to cope with the demands of new environment can be perceived as resilient. In this sense, resilient migrant women had some common characteristic that resembles the components of empowerment described by Stein (1997). Internal/psychological components of empowerment include a sense of control, competence, coherence, confidence, self-esteem, entitlement, responsibility, participation, solidarity, community, flexibility,

initiative, and future orientation. On the other hand, situational component includes factors such as control over resources, interpersonal, work, and organizational skills, decision-making powers, self-sufficiency, mobility, an ability to get around in society, increased status, financial and social support, autonomy, information, income, and improvements in living conditions such as child care, school attendance of children and housing. In addition, the results showed that the process aspect of empowerment involves the mechanisms through which women gain mastery and control over issues that concern them, develop a critical awareness of their environment, and participate in decisions that affect their lives. These mechanisms provide women with opportunities to develop and practice the necessary skills like decision-making and resource-mobilization skills in order to achieve control over their socio-political environment (Chamberlin & Schene, 1997; Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988; Zimmerman & Warschausky, 1998).

In conclusion, the main purpose of this research study was to explore resilience among Turkish migrant women in the UK. Overall, findings showed the importance of post migration factors in Turkish migrant women's resilience during the process of psychological adaptation. Results of this study showed that although migration is associated with some challenges, having other resources such as support, educational orientation, low level of distress, language skills, and integration attitude, this association showed little overall significance. Therefore, in migration situation, the main effect of being foreigner in a host country can be mediated or buffered by protective resources, and benefits of these protective resources change from individual to individual. Further, along with the utilised strategies for some women, this process goes beyond coping and becomes psychosocial transformation. This process fit very well to the resilience process and so, for some women, psychological adaption involves resilience rather than coping in the migration context. However, as commented by Kadioğlu (1997) on women's emancipation, the resilience of women should not be seen as a direct consequence of migration and exposure to western culture by neglecting their

background, resources and agency.

5.2. Implications for Practice

The findings of present study suggest certain implications for practice. First of all, psychological distress appeared as an important factor in these women's resilience. This gave the indication of acculturative stress among these women. Therefore, in working with migrant women, it may be important to assess psychological distress or acculturative stress levels of these women and understand that this may contribute to these women's resilience and psychological adaptation. In addition to these, the strong relationship between psychological distress and resilience highlights the importance of appropriate psychological help provision for these women in the host countries. This also highlights the necessity to improve services for migrant women with psychological distress for strengthening social connectedness and participation in the life of community. In the qualitative findings, language appeared as an important barrier in these women's interactions with health services. Therefore, involving more bilingual service providers into health services in migration countries can be a recommendation to overcome this barrier for migrants who have limited language fluency. Another recommendation could be initiating a discussion on the ways to use online counselling for migrant groups.

Qualitative findings revealed that women who migrate through marriage are at more risk to lower resilience. The results showed the importance of women being aware of the conditions in the UK before their migration. However, if necessary support is provided, they also can cope with the difficulties and even develop better. Further, responsibilities related to childcare may also constitute a barrier to learning English and having time for themselves for some women who do not have the necessary support. Therefore, providing support in childcare when they need may function as a protective factor for these women.

Further, the results showed that family ties, friends and relatives might not always function as a positive support for these women. Therefore, conducting support groups where migrant women can discuss their difficult experiences and the ways in which they may help them overcome difficulties and develop their resilience. These support groups may give them a feeling of belonging and togetherness. This also functions as the reciprocal exchange of information and support within an interpersonal process in a context specific way. Perceived need together with social network and climate conducive to the exchange of social support are necessary for emotional and instrumental social support (Finfgeld-Connett, 2005). These women could be encouraged to use and enhance personal support networks.

The qualitative findings of study highlighted a particular set of values in working with migrant women having attention skewed towards health, adaptation, competence and diverting strategies as natural helping systems. The findings also showed the process nature of empowerment that occurred as a result of person environment interaction. In previous research, it was evidenced that when women participate in empowerment groups, they developed more control over their environment, an increased self-concept and feeling of mutual support (Stein, 1997). Further, this study also showed the role of women's empowerment in empowering families. Empowerment level of women influences women's mothering skills and the relationship with their husbands. This might be helpful contribution to the family empowerment studies. Therefore, organising women empowerment groups can be very helpful. This emphasizes activating protective processes linked to having an empowerment-oriented approach. This involves given a nurturing environment that taps into universal strengths, all people have an innate capacity for change and transformation; and knowing that human potential is always there, waiting to be discovered and invited forth, even in situations of dire adversity (Killian, 2004).

Educational level and educational orientation appeared as important protective factors in the empowerment of these women. As Timmerman (2006) pointed out

‘integration’ programs involving language and professional skills, rights and duties and external help sources could be offered. As mentioned by Timmerman, these programs are not only helpful for the migrant women’s participation to the host country society, but also to “break the authoritarian power of their husbands and in-laws” (p. 137).

The findings of this study gave some indications that although women’s education is necessary for their resilience and empowerment, there are barriers against women’s education. This could result from the tradition especially in rural parts of Turkey that starting from an early age, girls are expected to help at home and because of economic hardship families could not pay money to send them to school. Often these girls are forced to accept marriage with someone whom they hardly know. Therefore, the barriers to education of girls should be explored in more detail and the efforts to include girls and women into education should be increased. The necessary resources to be devoted to educating women should also be multiplied.

5.3. Recommendations for Future Research

The findings of present study provide number of recommendations for future research. First of all, in this study with its mixed methods research design, the psychological empowerment construct was used as the indication of resilience. The qualitative results supported the notion that a process of transformation and the attributes of empowerment can well characterise the resilience as a reaction to unique adversities of migration. Therefore, as an implication for future migration research, resilience can be measured by empowerment level among migrant women.

Although residence status did not appear as an important predictor of resilience, the qualitative findings showed that it might function as an important risk/protective factor among women who migrate through marriage during their

first couple of years in the host country. Therefore, in future research, focusing on the first period can be a better strategy.

Language appeared as an important factor in migrant women's resilience in the qualitative findings, not in the quantitative findings. In the future research, the degree of contact with host country that could be a moderator in this relationship can be determined. Further, the moderating effect of language also deserves a detailed exploration. It can also be recommended that to be able to have more variation, language level can be measured using a Likert type scale in future studies.

Further, the findings yielded contradictory results on the relationship between discrimination and resilience with other studies carried out on Turkish migrants residing in other European countries. In the future research, comparative studies may generate explanations for this difference. Further, qualitative findings also showed that the perception of discrimination could have buffering effect between perceived discrimination and psychological adaptation. Therefore, investigating migrants' appraisal styles of discrimination can be a fruitful research topic for future research.

Women's experiences with psychological health services appeared as an important additional risk/protective factor. Therefore, migrants' experiences with health services and the ways to improve the quality of health services for migrants can be investigated further.

Social support is an important protective factor in psychological adaptation and resilience. Searching for the barriers against seeking for and utilising support effectively can be an important future research topic. In addition, investigating the ways to encourage or initiate nonprofessional support networks in a culturally appropriate ways among migrant women can be very fruitful research topic for future studies.

The quality and nature of relationship with husband and husband's family appeared as important factors. Therefore, marriage related factors like marital satisfaction can be another important variable to be involved in future research.

Different coping strategies appeared in the qualitative findings could also be tested with large group of migrants. Finally, in this study, only the total scores obtained in Empowerment Scale was used as the outcome variable. Using subscales as the outcome variables can also be recommended for future studies.

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APPENDIX A

DEMOGRAFİK VERİ FORMU

Merhaba,

Bu anket Londra’da yaşayan Türkçe konuşan kadınların yaşamlarına ilişkin çeşitli konularda bilgi edinmek için hazırlanmıştır. Bu anketteki sorulara vereceğiniz cevaplar çok değerlidir ve göçmen kadınlara yönelik verilen hizmetlerin iyileştirilmesinde katkıda bulunacaktır.

Anket İngilizce ve Türkçe olarak hazırlandı. Tercihinize bağlı olarak lütfen sadece Türkçe ya da İngilizce bölümü doldurunuz. Anketi doldurmak yaklaşık olarak 40 dakika sürüyor. **Ankete vereceğiniz tüm bilgiler kesinlikle gizli tutulacaktır ve bu araştırma dışında hiçbir amaçla kullanılmayacaktır.**

Soruların doğru yada yanlış cevabı bulunmamaktadır. Bu nedenle soruları cevaplarken sizin için en uygun olan cevabı işaretleyiniz. Sizin bu anketteki sorulara vereceğiniz açık ve samimi yanıtlar araştırma sonuçlarının güvenilirliği açısından son derece önemlidir.

Çalışma ile ilgili daha detaylı bilgi almak isterseniz, aşağıda verilen telefon numarası veya posta adresinden bana ulaşabilirsiniz. Yardımınız ve işbirliğiniz için şimdiden çok teşekkürler.

Gülfem Çakır
Misafir Araştırmacı
European Centre for the Study of Migration and Social Care
University of KentBeverley Farm
CT2 7LZ Kent Tel. 01227 827269

1- Yaşınız

2- Medeni durumuz:

Bekar	<input type="checkbox"/>	Boşanmış/Ayrı	<input type="checkbox"/>
Evli	<input type="checkbox"/>	Dul	<input type="checkbox"/>
Evli olmayıp birlikte yaşayan	<input type="checkbox"/>		

3- Eđitim durumunuz:

İlkokul ☐
Ortaokul ☐
Lise ☐
Hiçbiri ☐

Yüksek okul ☐
Üniversite ☐
Master/Doktora ☐

4- İngilizce bilginizi nasıl derecelendirirsiniz?

İyi ☐
Orta ☐
Zayıf ☐

5- Göçmenlik statünüz:

İngiliz Vatandaşı/Çifte vatandaşlık ☐
Sürekli oturumu var ☐
Vize sahibi (öğrenci ya da çalışma izni) ☐
Sığınmacı ya da ilticacı ☐

6- Ne kadar süredir İngiltere’de yaşıyorsunuz?

7- Şu an için bir işte çalışıyor musunuz? Evet ☐ Hayır ☐

8- İngiltere’ye geliş sebebiniz neydi?.....

APPENDIX B

ALGILANAN SOSYAL DESTEK ÖLÇEĞİ (SOCIAL SUPPORT SCALE)

1- Ani bir rahatsızlık ya da bunun benzeri beklemediğim olaylarla karşılaştığım zaman, yakınlarım (anneniz, babanız, kardeşleriniz veya eşiniz) bana gerekli yardımı gösterir.

- ☐ tamamen katılıyorum ☐ biraz katılıyorum ☐ emin değilim
☐ pek katılmıyorum ☐ hiç katılmıyorum

3- Yakınlarım dışında önemli sorun ya da sırlarımı paylaşabileceğime inandığım yakın arkadaşlarım var.

- ☐ tamamen katılıyorum ☐ biraz katılıyorum ☐ emin değilim
☐ pek katılmıyorum ☐ hiç katılmıyorum

APPENDIX C

GENEL SAĞLIK ANKETİ (GENERAL HEALTH QUESTIONNAIRE)

SON ZAMANLARDA:

S1. Yaptığınız işe dikkatinizi verebiliyor musunuz?

- ☐ Her zamankinden iyi ☐ Her zamanki kadar
☐ Her zamankinden daha az ☐ Her zamankinden çok daha az

S6. Zorlukları halledemeyecek gibi hissediyor musunuz?

- ☐ Hayır hiç hissetmiyorum ☐ Her zamanki kadar
☐ Her zamankinden sık ☐ Çok sık hissediyorum

S11. Kendinizi değersiz biri olarak görüyor musunuz?

- ☐ Hayır hiç görmüyorum ☐ Her zamanki kadar
☐ Her zamankinden sık ☐ Çok sık

APPENDIX D

KÜLTÜRLENME TUTUMLARI ÖLÇEĞİ* (ACCULTURATION ATTITUDES SCALE-REVISED)

S1. Daha çok kimlerle bir araya gelip vakit geçirmeyi tercih edersiniz?

- ☐ Kendi kültürümden insanlarla
- ☐ İngilizlerle
- ☐ Hem İngilizlerle hem de kendi kültürümden insanlarla
- ☐ Kimlerle bir araya gelip vakit geçirdiğime aldırmam.

S11. Çocuklarınızın daha çok hangi değer ve gelenekleri öğrenmelerini istersiniz?

- ☐ Kendi kültürümün değer ve geleneklerini
- ☐ İngiliz değer ve geleneklerini
- ☐ Hem kendi kültürümün değer ve geleneklerini hem de İngiliz değer ve geleneklerini
- ☐ Çocuklarımdan değer ve gelenekleri öğrenip öğrenmemelerine aldırmam.

*Ölçeğin tamamına ulaşabilmek için araştırmacıyla iletişime geçilebilir.

APPENDIX E

GÜÇLENME ÖLÇEĞİ* (EMPOWERMENT SCALE)

S1. Hayatımda neler olacağını genellikle kendim belirleyebilirim.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Kesinlikle katılıyorum | <input type="checkbox"/> Katılıyorum |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Katılmıyorum | <input type="checkbox"/> Kesinlikle katılmıyorum |

S7. Sadece hoşlanmadıkları için insanların bir şeye kızma hakkı yoktur.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Kesinlikle katılıyorum | <input type="checkbox"/> Katılıyorum |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Katılmıyorum | <input type="checkbox"/> Kesinlikle katılmıyorum |

S11. Birlikte çalışan insanlar, içinde bulundukları topluluk üzerinde etkili olabilirler.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Kesinlikle katılıyorum | <input type="checkbox"/> Katılıyorum |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Katılmıyorum | <input type="checkbox"/> Kesinlikle katılmıyorum |

S16. Genellikle kendimi yalnız hissederim.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Kesinlikle katılıyorum | <input type="checkbox"/> Katılıyorum |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Katılmıyorum | <input type="checkbox"/> Kesinlikle katılmıyorum |

S22. Çoğu zaman kendimi güçsüz hissederim.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Kesinlikle katılıyorum | <input type="checkbox"/> Katılıyorum |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Katılmıyorum | <input type="checkbox"/> Kesinlikle katılmıyorum |

S26. Bazı iyi özelliklerim olduğunu düşünüyorum.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Kesinlikle katılıyorum | <input type="checkbox"/> Katılıyorum |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Katılmıyorum | <input type="checkbox"/> Kesinlikle katılmıyorum |

*Ölçeğin tamamına ulaşabilmek için araştırmacıyla iletişime geçilebilir.

APPENDIX F

MÜLAKAT SORULARI

Giriş: Bu araştırmada, İngiltere’de yaşayan Türk göçmen kadınların buradaki yaşama uyumlarını inceliyorum. Araştırmalar, göçmen kadınların yeni ülkeye uyumunda birçok faktörün etkisi olduğunu gösteriyor. Bu nedenle, bu görüşmede mümkün olduğu kadar detaylı bir şekilde bu ülkede yaşadıklarınızı öğrenmek istiyorum. Yaşadıklarınızı, ayrıntılı bir şekilde anlatmanız araştırma açısından oldukça faydalı olacak. Önce sizin anlatacaklarınızı dinleyeceğim. Sonrasında eğer gerek olursa size bazı sorular soracağım. Hazır hissettiğinizde anlatmaya başlayabilirsiniz.

İzleme Soruları:

Göç hikayesi

- Başka bir ülkeye göç etmeye ilk ne zaman ve nasıl karar verdiniz?
- İngiltere’ye gelmeye nasıl karar verdiniz ve nasıl geldiniz?
- İngiltere’ye gelmeden önce, burayla ilgili beklentileriniz nelerdi? (neler buldunuz?)
- İngiltere’de ilk aylarınızı nasıl geçirdiğinizi anlatır mısınız? (İlk deneyimleriniz nasıldı?)

Zorluklar ve zorluklarla başa çıkma

- İngiltere’de ne tür sıkıntı ve zorluklarla karşılaştınız? (zorluklar yaşadınız)
- Bu yeni ülkede, günlük yaşamınızı nasıl sürdürüyorsunuz? Günlük işlerinizi kendi başınıza yapabiliyor musunuz? (alışveriş, faturalar, banka ile ilgili işlemler, çocuğunuzun okulu ile ilgili işler vs.)
- Başka bir ülkeye göç etmek sizce nasıl bir deneyim, size engeller koyan bir deneyim ya da fırsatlar sunan bir deneyim mi?
- Yaşadığınız deneyimler ve engeller/zorluklar zaman içinde değişiklik gösterdi mi? (örneğin dili öğrenmek, iş bulma, ev sahibi olma, yeni ilişkiler kurma ve sosyal faaliyetler)
- Zorluklarla/engellerle nasıl baş ettiniz?
- Zorluklarla başa çıkmada size neler yardımcı oldu? Size yardımcı olan ne tür kaynaklarınız vardı? (kişisel, ailesel, çevresel)

Fırsatlar/olanaklar

- İngiltere’de ne tür fırsatlar/olanaklar (kişisel, sosyal, ekonomik) yakaladınız?

- İngiltere'deki kaynaklardan yeterince yararlanabiliyor musunuz? (Ev, sağlık hizmetleri, siyasi haklar)
- İngiltere'deki yaşamınızdan memnun musunuz?
- Bir kadın olarak İngiltere'deki yaşamı nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
- Bu yeni ülkedeki hayatınıza baktığınızda, sizce burada ne tür başarılar elde ettiniz?

Ayrımcılık

- Londra'da günlük yaşamınız nasıl geçiyor?
- Zaman zaman burada farklı bir kültürden olduğunuz için farklı muamele gördüğünüz oluyor mu? (örneğin mahalle doktorunuzda, hastanede, ev ararken, komşularınızla ilişkilerde, resmi kurumlarla ilişkilerde vs.)

Dil ve ilişkiler

- İngilizce bil (me)mek günlük yaşamınızı nasıl etkiliyor?
- Buradaki kültürü nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz? (Buradaki yaşam biçimi sizce nasıl?)
- İngilizlerle ya da diğer kültürden insanlarla ilişkileriniz var mı? Kendi kültürünüzden insanlarla ilişkileriniz var mı?

Cinsiyetle ilgili konular

- Kadın olmanızın yaşadıklarınızda herhangi bir etkisi var mı/oldu mu?
- Çocuğunuzun olması yaşamınızı nasıl etkiliyor? (işlevi, anlamı, önemi)

Yaşamda karşı karşıya kalınan değişimler

- İngiltere'ye geldikten sonra yaşamınızda hangi alanlarda, ne tür değişiklikler oldu?
- Bir kayıp duygusu yaşadınız mı? (alışık olunan çevrenin, kültürün ve bağlantıların kaybı?)

Sosyal destek ağı/ bağlantıları

- Boş zamanlarınızı nasıl geçiriyorsunuz?
- Herhangi bir konuda yardıma ihtiyaç duyduğunuzda nereden yardım alırsınız?
- Bu destek kaynakları hayatınızı nasıl etkiledi?

Sonuç ve gelecek:

- Önümüzdeki 10 yıl içersinde kendinizi nerede görüyorsunuz / görmek istersiniz?
- Sizinle aynı koşullarda buraya gelip yerleşmek isteyen bir kişiye neler söylemek istersiniz? (ne çeşit tavsiyeler)

Sonlandırma:

- Eklemek istediğiniz başka bir konu var mı?

APPENDIX G

TURKISH SUMMARY

İNGİLTERE’DE YAŞAYAN TÜRK GÖÇMEN KADINLARIN PSİKOLOJİK SAĞLAMLIĞI İLE İLGİLİ ETMENLER VE MEKANİZMALAR

1. GİRİŞ

Her yıl yaklaşık 200 milyon insan değişik nedenlere farklı ülkelere göç etmektedir (International Organisation of Migration, 2008). Bu nedenle, günümüzde, hemen hemen her ülke göçten bir şekilde etkilenmektedir. Göç alan ve veren bir ülke olarak Türkiye de göç hareketlerinden önemli ölçüde etkilenen ülkeler arasındadır. 1960lı yıllarda ikili anlaşmalarla başlayan Avrupa ülkelerine göç, Türkiye için en önemli göç hareketlerinden biri olarak nitelendirilmektedir. Bazı kaynaklara göre, günümüzde, Avrupa ülkelerinde yaşayan Türk göçmenlerin sayısı 3,2 milyona ulaşmıştır (Erzan & Kirişçi, 2009).

Uzun yıllar boyunca göçün sonuçları özellikle ekonomik ve sosyolojik açılarından ele alınmıştır. Ancak, 1980’lerden başlayarak göç ve göç sonrası kültürlenme sürecinin psikolojik sonuçları da araştırmalara konusu olmaya başlamıştır. Bunlar arasında, yabancılaşıma, ayrımcılık, psikopatolojiler ve yas gibi konular yer almıştır (Ehrensaft & Tousignant, 2006).

Göçe psikolojik sonuçları açısından bakıldığında, göçmenler, göç ettikleri yeni ortamlarda bir takım değişimlerle karşı karşıya kalmaktadırlar (Berry, 2006a). Bu değişimler soysa-kültürel olabildiği gibi psikolojik de olabilmektedir. Literatürde, psikolojik boyutta yaşanan kalıcı değişimler, *psikolojik uyum* olarak adlandırılmaktadır. Psikolojik uyumu ölçmede öz-saygı ve psikolojik iyi olma hali gibi değişik göstergeler kullanılmıştır. Psikoloji alanında gerçekleşen psikopatolojiden pozitif psikolojiye doğru kayma ile birlikte, göç çalışmalarında

da uyumun olumlu ve yapıcı tarafları daha fazla vurgulanmaya başlamıştır. Bu yapıcı sonuçlardan bir tanesi de psikolojik sağlamlık kavramı olmuştur. Göç ve göç sonrası uyum, psikolojik sağlamlık kavramsal çerçevesi kullanılarak ele alınmaya uygun konulardan bir tanesidir.

Risk altındaki çocuklar üzerine yapılan araştırmalardan çıkmış olan (Masten & Reed, 2002) *psikolojik sağlamlık* kavramı, kişinin yaşadığı büyük bir zorluk ya da zorlayıcı yaşantı karşısında gösterdiği olumlu uyum süreci olarak tanımlanmaktadır (Luthar, Cicchetti, & Becker, 2000). Psikolojik sağlamlığın farklı işe vuruk tanımları bulunmaktadır. Bu tanımlarda öne çıkan ortak özellik, psikolojik sağlamlığın bir kişilik özelliği olmaktan çok, kişinin bir zorluk karşısında çevre ile etkileşimi ile ortaya çıkan dinamik bir süreç olduğudur. Bu nedenle de, psikolojik sağlamlık, alan yazında olumlu uyuma karşılık gelen farklı göstergeler ya da kavramlar kullanılarak ölçülmüştür. Bunlardan bir tanesi psikolojik sorunlara ilişkin herhangi bir belirtinin olmamasıdır. Ancak, böyle bir gösterge kullanarak psikolojik sağlamlığı ölçmek, bazı araştırmacılar tarafından eleştirilmiştir (Almedom & Glandon, 2007; Tusaie & Dyer, 2004). Çünkü psikolojik sağlamlık, “kişinin güçlü yanlarını daha güçlü hale getirmek ve normların üzerinde hareket etmek için” kullanmasını içerir (Tusaie & Dyer, 2004, ss. 3). Bu nedenle, psikolojik sağlamlık kavramının kişilerin bulunduğu koşullardan bağımsız tanımlanamayacağı vurgulanmıştır.

Psikolojik sağlamlık, göçmenler açısından ele alındığında, herhangi bir psikolojik sorunun olmamasının ötesinde bir duruma karşılık gelmektedir. Bunun çeşitli nedenleri bulunmaktadır. Göç etmiş bir kişi her şeyden önce yaşamının birçok alanını etkileyecek değişikliklerle karşı karşıya kalır (Yeh, Kim, Pituc, & Atkins, 2007). Bu durum, kişinin yaşamı üzerindeki kontrol duygusunu önemli ölçüde etkiler (Dalgard, Thapa, Hauff, McCubbin, & Syed, 2006). Bunun yanı sıra, göçmenin yeni kültürel çevreye etkin bir şekilde dahil olması da beklenir. Tüm bunlar, göç eden kişi için yaşamın değişik boyutlarını kapsayan bir uyum ve kendini ayarlama deneyimini içerir. Alan yazında, bu deneyime karşılık

gelebilecek ve göç sonrası göçmenlerin psikolojik sağlamlığının göstergesi olabilecek kavramlardan bir tanesi *psikolojik güçlenme* kavramıdır.

Psikolojik güçlenme kavramı, dezavantajlı gruplar üzerinde yapılan çalışmalardan çıkmıştır (Zimmerman & Warschausky, 1998). Bu kavramın farklı tanımlarının ortak olarak vurguladığı özellikler, kişilerin güçlenme sürecinde, kişisel kontrol duygusunda artışı, yaşamla ilgili eleştirel bir anlayış ve farkındalık geliştirmeyi ve hedeflere ulaşmada aktif rol almayı içerir. Göçün, hayatın farklı yönlerini etkileme kapasitesi düşünüldüğünde, beceri kazanmalarını ya da var olan becerilerini güçlendirmeleri, yaşamları üzerinde ihtiyaç duydukları kontrolü sağlamaları ve içinde bulundukları ortama uygun hedefler koymaları göçmen kadınların yeni yaşamlarına uyumda oldukça önemli bir yere sahiptir. Bu nedenle (Rappaport et al., 1984, aktaran; Fitzsimons & Fuller, 2002), bu çalışmada, göç ortamında psikolojik sağlamlığın göstergesi olarak güçlenme kavramı kullanılmıştır.

Psikolojik sağlamlık kavramı, araştırmalarda genellikle risk ve koruyucu faktörlerle birlikte ele alınmaktadır. Risk faktörleri, “bir grup insanda ya da bu grubun içinde bulunduğu durumda bulunan ve belirli bir ölçüte göre, olumsuz bir sonucu yordayan ölçülebilir faktörler” (Masten & Reed, 2002, s.76) olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Koruyucu faktörler ise, bir grup insanda ya da bu grubun içinde bulunduğu durumda bulunan ve bir zorluk ya da risk karşısında olumlu bir sonucu yordayan ölçülebilir faktörler” (Masten & Reed, 2002, s.76) olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Göçle ilgili değişkenler de yordadıkları sonuçlara göre risk ya da koruyucu faktör olarak nitelendirilebilirler. Diğer bir deyişle, psikolojik sağlamlığı yordayan değişkenleri koruyucu faktörler olarak adlandırmak mümkündür.

Göçle ilgili alan yazın incelendiğinde de bazı faktörlerin göçmenlerin uyumuna olumlu katkılar yaptığı görülmektedir. Göçmenlerin uyumuyla ilişkili bulunan demografik faktörler arasında, eğitim durumu (Berry, 2006a; Stein, 1997), göç

edilen ülkenin dilini bilmek (Beiser & Hou, 2001; Hwang & Ting, 2008) ve göçmenlik statüsü (Bollini & Siem, 1995) başta gelmektedir. Bunların dışında, göçmenlerin, kültürlenme sürecindeki psikolojik sıkıntı düzeyi göçmenlerin psiko-sosyal uyumunu olumsuz etkileyen risk faktörlerinden birisi olarak nitelendirilmektedir ve böyle bir sıkıntı kültürlenme stresi olarak adlandırılabilir (Hovey & Magana, 2002). Göçmenler üzerine yapılan çalışmalarda sıklıkla çalışılan diğer bir değişken ise algılanan ayrımcılıktır (Berry, 2006b; Castro, 2002). Bu çalışmalarda elde edilen bulgular, algılanan ayrımcılığın göçmenlerin psikolojik ve fiziksel iyi olma halleri (Cassidy, O'Connor, Howe, & Warden, 2004; Corning, 2002; Liebkind & Jasinski-Lahti, 2000) ve özsaygı düzeyleri (Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; Verkuyten, 1998) açısından bir risk faktörü oluşturduğunu göstermiştir.

Diğer bazı değişkenler ise, göçmenlerin göçle ilgili zorlukların üstesinden gelmelerinde koruyucu faktör işlevi görmektedirler. Bunların en önemlilerinden bir tanesi, sosyal destektir. Sosyal desteğin stresin etkilerini azalttığı ve iyi olma halini arttırdığı bulunmuştur (Crockett, Iturbide, Stone, McGinley, Raffaelli, & Carlo, 2007). Benzer şekilde, ihtiyaç duyulduğunda, gerçek ya da algılanan bir sosyal desteğin bulunması göçmenlerin uyumu için koruyucu faktör görevi görür (Kim, Sherman & Taylor, 2008). Bunun dışında, göçmenlerin yeni kültürel ortamda, nasıl bir kültürlenme tutumu ile hareket ettikleri, göçmenlerin uyumu için bir diğer önemli değişkendir. Berry (2006c). Kültürlenme tutumlarından birisi olan bütünleşme tutumu, göçmenlerin kendi kültürlerini korumakla birlikte, kendi kültüründen olmayan kişilerle de günlük etkileşimlerini sürdürmesi olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Alan yazında, bütünleşme tutumu sıklıkla daha düşük kültürlenme stresi, daha iyi ruh sağlığı, daha yüksek bir yaşam doyumu ve yaşam kalitesi ile ilişkilendirilmiştir (Berry, 2006c; Dona & Ackermann, 2006). Bu nedenle de bu çalışmada psikolojik sağlamlık ile olumlu bir ilişki içinde olacağı ön görülmüştür.

Araştırmanın Amacı

Bu araştırmanın genel amacı, İngiltere’de yaşayan Türk göçmen kadınların psikolojik sağlamlığına katkıda bulunan etmenleri incelemektir. Bu amaçla, çalışmanın nicel bölümü, eğitim düzeyi, algılanan İngilizce dil düzeyi ve göçmenlik statüsü gibi demografik değişkenler kontrol edildikten sonra, algılanan ayrımcılık ve sosyal desteğin, psikolojik sıkıntının ve bütünleşme kültürleşme tutumunun Türk göçmen kadınların psikolojik sağlamlık düzeylerini yordamadaki rolünü incelemiştir. Çalışmanın nitel bölümü ise, Türk göçmen kadınların psikolojik sağlamlığında rol oynayan mekanizma ve etmenlerin mülakatlar yoluyla derinlemesine incelenmesini içermiştir.

Araştırmanın Önemi

Bu araştırmada elde edilen bulguların, alan yazın ve psikolojik danışma uygulamaları açısından çeşitli katkıları vardır. Tüm dünya genelinde, göç hareketleri içersinde, göç eden kadınların sayısında önemli bir artış söz konusudur (OECD, 2000). Uzun yıllar boyunca, kadınlar göç edilen ülkelere eşlerine bağlı olarak göç etmişler ve bu nedenle de araştırmalarda göz ardı edilmişlerdir. Benzer bir durum Türk göçmen kadınlar için de söz konusu olmuştur. Günümüzde, Türk göçmen kadınlar, tüm Avrupa ülkeleri genelinde en büyük göçmen kadın topluluğu durumundadır (Ballarin, Euler, Le Feuvre, Mirail, & Raevaara, 2008), ancak bu grup üzerinde aynı oranda çalışma yapıldığını söylemek pek mümkün değildir. Bu nedenle, bu araştırmanın bulgularının, özelde Türk göçmen kadınlar, genelde ise göçmen kadınlarla ilgili alan yazınına önemli bir katkı yapacağı düşünülmektedir. Bunun dışında çalışmanın bulgularının, Türk göçmen kadınların yaşadıkları ülkelerdeki psikolojik yardım ihtiyaçları hakkında önemli bilgiler sağlayarak bu kadınlara sağlanan psikolojik danışma hizmetlerinin yapılandırılmasına ışık tutacağı beklenmektedir.

Diğer yandan, son yıllara kadar, göç ve kadın üzerine yapılan araştırmalarda,

ağırlıklı olarak göçün olumsuz sonuçlarını öne çıkarıcı çalışmalar yapılmıştır (Timur, 2000). Ancak, göç her ne kadar stres yaratan ve kişiyi zorluklarla karşı karşıya bırakan bir yaşantı olsa da, gelişim ve olumlu uyuma da yol açabilmektedir. Bu çalışmada benimsenen bakış açısının, Türk göçmen kadınların iyiye doğru gelişimini destekleyen ya da önleyen etmenlerin incelenmesi açısından önemli katkılar sağlayacağı beklenmektedir. Psikolojik danışmanın genel amaçları arasında, kişiyi güçlendirme ve kendi hayatındaki kararları verebilme gücüne erişirme gelmektedir (McWhirter, 1991). Bu nedenle, bu çalışma kapsamında göçmen kadınların yeni kültürel ortamlarına uyumunu kolaylaştıran ve destekleyen etmenlerin nicel ve nitel metotların beraber kullanımıyla saptanmasının, psikolojik sağlamlığa dayanan psikolojik danışma stratejileri ve uygulamalarında kullanılabilecek önemli bulgular sağlayacağı öngörülmektedir.

Son olarak da, psikolojik sağlamlık kavramı ile ilgili bulguların büyük bir kısmı çocuklar üzerinde yapılan çalışmalara dayanmaktadır. Son yıllarda bazı araştırmacılar (örneğin, Bonanno, 2005), psikolojik sağlamlığın, yaşamın her aşamasında yaşanabilecek bir olgu olduğunu ve çocukluk dönemlerindeki psikolojik sağlamlığın, yetişkinlik dönemlerinden farklılıkları olabileceğini vurgulamıştır. Bu nedenle, alan yazında bulunan yetişkinlerin psikolojik sağlamlığı üzerine yapılmış çalışmaların sayısının azlığı düşünüldüğünde, bu çalışmanın bulgularının yetişkinlerin psikolojik sağlamlığı ile ilgili alan yazına önemli katkıları olacağı düşünülmektedir.

2. YÖNTEM

Araştırmanın Deseni

Bu araştırmada karma araştırma deseni (Creswell & Clark, 2007) kullanılmıştır. Bu amaçla da nicel ve nitel araştırma metotları birleştirilmiştir. Nicel veriler, anketler yoluyla, nitel veriler ise anlatımsal metodun kullanıldığı derinlemesine

mülakatlar yoluyla toplanmıştır. Veri toplama sürecine, nicel verilerin toplanması ile başlanmış, nicel verilerin yarısı toplandığında nitel çalışmanın mülakatları yapılmaya başlanmıştır.

Örneklem

Bu çalışmanın nicel kısmına Londra’da ikamet eden, 248 Türk göçmen kadın gönüllü olarak katılmıştır. Katılımcıların yaş ortalaması, 34.38 (ss = 7.6) iken, İngiltere’de kalış sürelerinin ortalaması 10.02 yıldır (ss = 5.8). Çalışmanın nitel kısmı ise, nicel çalışmanın katılımcıları arasından seçilen 11 gönüllü katılımcıyı içermiştir.

Ölçme Araçları

Nicel Araştırma

Sosyal Destek Ölçeği. (Cohen & Willis, 1985; Uyarlayan: Soygüt, 1989). Yakın ilişkilerde algılanan sosyal desteği ölçmek amacıyla kullanılmış olan bu ölçek, 4 maddeden oluşmaktadır.

Genel Sağlık Anketi (GSA). (Goldberg, 1972; Uyarlayan: Kılıç, 1996). Psikolojik sıkıntı düzeyini ölçmek için kullanılmış olan bu ölçek, 12 maddeden oluşmaktadır.

Kültürlenme Tutumları Ölçeği. (Ataca ve Berry, 2002). Kültürlenme tutumlarını ölçmek için bu ölçeğin değiştirilmiş, 11 maddelik versiyonu kullanılmıştır.

Güçlenme Ölçeği. (Rogers, Chamberlin, Ellison, and Crean, 1997). Türkçe’ye uyarlanması araştırmacı tarafından yapılan ve bu çalışmada psikolojik sağlamlığı ölçmek için kullanılmış olan bu ölçeğin 28 maddesi bulunmaktadır. Geçerlilik ve güvenirlik çalışmaları iyi sonuçlar vermiştir.

Nitel araştırma

Mülakat Çizelgesi. Nitel araştırmanın verileri ise, göç hikayesi/süreci, İngiltere'deki deneyimler, başetme mekanizmaları/süreçleri, fırsatlar, ayrımcılık, dil ve ilişkiler, cinsiyetle ilgili deneyimler, göç sonrası karşı karşıya kalınan değişimler ve sosyal destek ağları gibi konuları içeren bir mülakat çizelgesi kullanılarak yapılmıştır.

3. SONUÇLAR

Nicel Sonuçlar

Araştırmanın nicel sorusu, İngiltere'de yaşayan Türk göçmen kadınların güçlenme puanları ile ölçülen psikolojik sağlamlık düzeylerini yordamada, demografik değişkenlerin (eğitim düzeyi, algılanan İngilizce dil düzeyi ve göçmenlik statüsü) etkisini kontrol ettikten sonra, algılanan ayrımcılığın, sosyal desteğin, psikolojik sıkıntının ve bütünleşme kültürlenme tutumunun rolü olup olmadığıdır. Bu soruyu yanıtlamak üzere hiyerarşik regresyon analizi yapılmıştır. Tüm yordayıcı değişkenler analize üç blok halinde girilmiştir. Birinci blokta, eğitim düzeyi, algılanan İngilizce dil düzeyi, göçmenlik statüsü; ikinci blokta, algılanan ayrımcılık ve sosyal destek puanları ve üçüncü blokta da GSA ve bütünleşme kültürlenme tutumu puanları analize girilmiştir.

Analiz sonuçlarına göre, birinci blokta girilen demografik değişkenlerin toplam varyansa katkısı % 13.9'dur. İkinci blokta bu değişkenlere ek olarak, algılanan ayrımcılık ve sosyal destek puanlarının açıklanan varyansa katkısı %5.7'dir. Üçüncü blokta ilk iki bloktaki değişkenlere ek olarak, GSA ve bütünleşme tutumu puanlarının açıklanan varyansa katkısı %18.8'dir. Üç blokta girilen tüm değişkenlerin açıkladığı toplam varyans %38.5'dir. Tüm değişkenler arasında her bir değişkenin bireysel katkısı incelendiğinde, eğitim düzeyi, algılanan sosyal destek, psikolojik sıkıntı ve bütünleşme tutumunun, güçlenme puanlarının

yordayıcı değişkenler olduğu bulunmuştur. Buna göre, orta ve yüksek eğitim düzeyine sahip olan, yüksek düzeyde bir sosyal destek algısı bulunan, psikolojik sıkıntı düzeyi düşük olan ve yüksek bütünleşme tutumuna sahip olan Türk göçmen kadınların psikolojik sağlamlık düzeyleri daha yüksektir.

Nitel Sonuçlar

Nitel araştırmanın sorusu, Türk göçmen kadınlarının psikolojik sağlamlığını etkileyen etmenlerin ve mekanizmaların neler olduğudur. Bu amacı gerçekleştirmek için yapılmış olan anlatımsal mülakatların nitel analizi, belgesel yöntem kullanılarak gerçekleştirilmiştir. Üç aşamadan oluşan analizin birinci aşaması olan belirten yorum, 11 mülakatın her biri için konu özeti yapılmasını içermiştir. Yansıtıcı yorum olarak adlandırılan ikinci aşamada ise, ortaya çıkan konuların mülakatlarda nasıl işlendiği (yönelim çerçeveleri) incelenmiştir. Son ve üçüncü aşama ise, farklı yönelim çerçevelerinin mülakatlar arası karşılaştırılmasını içermiştir. Karşılaştırmalı analiz sonucunda bazı ana boyutlar ve alt boyutlar ortaya çıkmıştır. Ana boyutlar arasında, göç süreci, İngiltere’de ilk dönemler/yerleşme süreci, İngiltere’de karşı karşıya kalınan zorluklar, destek kaynakları, koruyucu faktör olarak eğitim yönelimi, baş etme ve tavsiyeler gelmiştir.

Göç süreci

Bu boyut altında, katılımcıların farklı göç etme yolları ve sebepleri, yeni kültürel ortama uyumun önemli etmenlerden biri olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bunlar arasında, birinci grupta, *hayatlarındaki önemli bir insanla ya da İngiltere’de yaşayan önem verdikleri bir insana katılmak için göç etmek* bulunmaktadır. İkinci grupta ise *hayatlarındaki önemli bir insan için göç etmek* yer alırken üçüncü grupta *evlilik yoluyla göç etme* ve son grupta da *kendi başlarına au-pair vizesiyle göç etme* yer almıştır. Bazı katılımcılar için, göç etme düşüncesi, göç etmenin öncesinde hayatlarında yer alırken, diğer bazı katılımcılar için göç kararı daha ani gelişmiştir. Bu da iki grup arasında, göçe hazırlıklı olma ve İngiltere’deki

koşullardan haberdar olma açısından farklılıklara yol açmıştır. Bu farklılıklar, katılımcıların İngiltere’de ilk dönemlerindeki deneyimlerine yansımıştır. Ayrıca, bazı katılımcıların oldukça riskli yolculukları göze alarak göç ettikleri ortaya çıkmıştır.

İngiltere’de ilk dönemler/yerleşme süreci

Katılımcılar, içinde bulundukları koşullara bağlı olarak farklı deneyimlerle karşı karşıya kalmışlardır. İlk dönemler, bazı katılımcılar için zorluklarla şekillenmiş olsa da, diğer bazı katılımcılar için hoş olarak nitelendirilebilecek deneyimlerle geçmiştir. İkinci grupta yer alan kadınların içinde bulundukları koşulların ortak özelliği, ihtiyaç duyduklarında gerekli yardımı alabilmiş olmalarıdır. Birinci grupta yer alan kadınların, birçoğu için kalıcı göçmenlik statüsü alma süreci zor olmuştur ve bu süreçte Türkiye’yi ziyaret edememişlerdir. Bu durum da, bu kadınları hareketsiz kılmış ve yaşamları üzerindeki kontrol duygusunu olumsuz yönde etkilemiştir.

İngiltere’de karşı karşıya kalınan zorluklar

Katılımcıların, İngiltere’deki yaşamlarına bakıldığında, bazı katılımcıların hayatında zorluklar daha baskınken, bazı katılımcılar için bu zorluklar iyiye doğru bir gelişim için ateşleyici görevi görmüştür. Bu zorluklar arasında, *dil, barınma, evlilik ve eşle ilişkiler, sosyal ilişkiler, bağlar ve arkadaşlar, çocuklar ve annelik, kayıplar, eşin ailesi, yalnızlık ve aidiyet, İngiltere’deki Türk toplumu, sağlık problemleri ve sağlık hizmetleri ile ilgili deneyimler ve ayrımcılık* yer almıştır. Dili bilmemek en önemli zorluklardan birisi olarak ortaya çıkmıştır ve katılımcıların hayatlarının farklı bölümlerini etkilemiştir. Ayrıca, dil öğrenmedeki zorluklar ikincil bir zorluk olarak hayatlarında etkisini göstermiştir. Bunun dışında, elverişsiz barınma koşulları bazı katılımcılar için oldukça zorlayıcı olmuştur. Çoğu durumda, devlet tarafından ücretsiz olarak sağlanan evler, ailedeki kişi sayısının ihtiyaçlarını karşılayamayacak düzeyde küçük olmuştur.

Evlilik ve eşle ilişkilerin, katılımcılar için farklı anlamlara ve işlevlere sahip olduğu görülmüştür. Bazı katılımcılar için evlilik, İngiltere'ye gelmek için, İngiltere'de kalabilmek için, eğitimlerine devam etmek için ya da aile baskısından kurtulmak için bir strateji görevi görmüştür. Bunun yanı sıra, eşler bazı katılımcılar için parasal ve duygusal destek kaynağı olurken, bazı katılımcılar için de eğitimlerine devam etmeye ya da ev dışındaki sosyal hayata dahil olmaya engel oluşturmuştur. Eşin ailesi ile ilişkilerde de, bazı katılımcılar için eşin ailesi (İngiltere'de ikamet eden) önemli bir destek olurken, bazı kadınlar için eşin ailesi İngiltere'deki en önemli zorluklardan birisi olmuştur.

Bazı katılımcılar, ailelerinden, arkadaşlarından ve diğer sosyal bağlantılarından uzakta olmanın zorluklarını yaşamışlardır. Buna ek olarak, İngilizce bilmemek Türkler dışındaki insanlarla sosyalleşme olanaklarını azaltmıştır. Bu nedenle, arkadaş seçiminde ve sosyal ilişkilerde seçenek yetersizliği ve rol modeli eksikliği bazı katılımcılar için önemli zorluklar arasında yer almıştır. Bu durum, bazı kadınlar için daha fazla yalnızlık duygusu yaşamayla sonuçlanmıştır. Bunun dışında, Türkiye'de daha olumlu sosyal ve ekonomik koşullara sahip olan kadınların, daha büyük bir kayıp duygusu yaşadıkları görülmüştür. Ayrıca, nitel çalışmanın katılımcıları için, İngiltere'deki Türk toplumunun İngiltere'deki fırsatları kullanma açısından olumsuz etkilerinin daha çok olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır.

Katılımcıların, çocuk sahibi olma ve annelik ile ilgili olarak, yaşantılarını farklı biçimlerde etkileyecek deneyimler yaşadıkları ortaya çıkmıştır. Çocuk sahibi olmak bazı kadınlar için, daha fazla sorumluluk, kendilerine daha az zaman ayırma ya da dil öğrenmenin önünde önemli bir engel anlamına gelirken, diğer kadınlar için hayatlarının anlamı ve İngiltere'deki yaşamlarında güç veren etmenler olarak yer almıştır. Çocukların bakımı konusunda ihtiyaç duydukları zaman gerekli desteği alabilen katılımcılar için annelik rolü daha olumlu deneyimlerle ve algılarla bağlantılı olmuştur. Buna ek olarak, çoğu katılımcı, İngiltere'de aldıkları sağlık hizmetleri ile ilgili olarak, hizmet sunanlar tarafından

ciddiye alınmadıklarını ve bunun sonucu olarak da sağlık hizmetlerine güvenmediklerini ifade etmişlerdir. Ayrıca, sağlık hizmetlerinde olduğu gibi, çocuklarının okulları, komşuluk ilişkileri gibi İngilizlerle etkileşimde olmalarını gerektiren ortamlarda birçok katılımcının ayrımcılığa uğradığı ortaya çıkmıştır.

Destek Kaynakları

Katılımcılar değişik destek kaynaklarından bahsetmişlerdir. Bunlardan bir tanesi İngiltere’de ikamet eden yakın akrabalar ya da aile üyeleri olarak ortaya çıkmıştır ancak bu durumun bazı katılımcılar için geçerli olmadığı ve bu nedenle de, İngiltere’de ikamet eden akraba ve aile üyelerinin her koşulda destek kaynağı olacağı anlamına gelmediği görülmüştür. Nitel sonuçlar, bu kadınlar için parasal destek ve bilgi desteğinin birçok durumda devlet tarafından karşılandığını gösterirken, bu kadınların duygusal desteğe olan ihtiyaçlarını ve duygusal desteğin bu kadınların yaşamlarındaki önemini de ortaya çıkarmıştır. Ayrıca, sonuçlar, sürekli yardım alan konumunda olmanın, katılımcıların bazılarını daha güçsüz ve yetersiz hissettirdiğini ve bu nedenle de, yardım aldıkları kadar yardım sunabildikleri ilişkilerin bu kadınların psikolojik sağlamlığı için önemli bir faktör olduğunu göstermiştir.

Koruyucu Faktör Olarak Eğitim Yönelimi

Analiz sonuçlarına göre, eğitim yönelimine sahip olma ya da böyle bir yönelimi göç sonrası geliştirme, Türk göçmen kadınların psikolojik sağlamlığında ve güçlenmesinde önemli bir koruyucu faktör olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bunda, İngiltere’nin kişilerin istediği yaşta istediği mesleki ya da akademik eğitimi alabilmesine olanak veren eğitim yapılanmasının etkisinin göz ardı edilemeyeceği ortaya çıkmıştır. Bazı kadınlar için bu eğitim olanakları, içinde bulundukları baskıcı ve tutsak edici ortamdan kurtulmaları ve kendi yaşamlarının kontrolünü ellerine almaları için araç görevi görmüştür.

Baş Etme

Katılımcıların, başatme biçimleri, yaşamlarındaki zorlukları, fırsatları ve başarılarını nasıl algıladıklarına göre değışiklikler göstermiştir. Bazı katılımcılar baş etmede, kendilerini dönüştürerek ve zorluklar karşısında mücadeleci bir biçimi benimsemeyi seçmişlerdir. Bu kadınlar, zorlukları, üstesinden gelebilecekleri süreçler olarak tanımlamışlardır. İkinci gruptaki diğer bazı katılımcılar ise fırsatları değerlendirmeye dayalı bir baş etme biçimini benimsemişlerdir. Bu gruptaki kadınlarda öne çıkan ortak durum, İngiltere’deki yaşamlarında çok ciddi bir zorlukla karşılaşmamış olmaları olarak belirmiştir. Bu iki grupta yer alan katılımcıların, güçlü bir eğitim yönelimine sahip oldukları ve eğitim olanaklarını kendi koşullarını değıştirme yönünde kullanabildikleri görülmüştür. Öte yandan, üçüncü grupta yer alan katılımcılar, zorluklarla hayatlarındaki önemli kişilerin hayatlarına katkılar yaparak baş etmeye çalışmışlardır. Bu gruptakilerin olanakları, kendi amaçlarına ulaşmak için kullanamadıkları görülmüştür. Bunun yerine, örneğin, çocuklarının başarıları ve çocuklarının başarılarına katkıda bulunduklarını bilmeleri zorluklarla başa çıkmada önemli bir faktör olmuştur. Son grupta yer alan katılımcılar ise, zorluklarla baş ederken güçsüzlükleştikleri ve köşeye sıkışmış hissettikleri bir süreç yaşamışlardır. Bu gruptaki katılımcılar için, İngiltere’de karşı karşıya kalınan zorluklar baş etme kapasitelerini aşmıştır. Bununla birlikte, bazı fiziksel ve psikolojik sorunlar da yaşamışlardır. Bu gruptaki katılımcılar arasında, dili bilmemenin ve İngiltere’deki yaşama hazırlıklı olmamanın var olan olanakları kullanmalarının önünde önemli bir engel olduğu görülmüştür. Bu da, kendilerini yetersiz bulmalarına, her zaman alıcı konumda olmalarına ve güçsüzleşmelerine yol açmıştır.

Tavsiyeler

Katılımcıların, yeni gelecek olanlara tavsiyeleri, baş etme biçimleri ve deneyimleri ile paralellik göstermiştir. Buna göre, zorlukla baş ederken güçsüzleşen katılımcılar, aynı koşullarda gelecek olanların gelmemelerini tavsiye etmiştir. Ancak, İngiltere’deki olanakları kullanabilen ve yeni yaşamlarında

başarılar elde etmiş olan katılımcılar yeni gelecek olanlara bazı tavsiyelerde bulunmuşlardır. Bu öneriler, yeni gelecek olanların kararlı olmalarını, koşullar hakkında bilgi edinmelerini, karar verme sürecinde gerçekçi beklentiler kurmalarını, dili öğrenmelerini, net hedefler koymalarını ve İngiltere'deki fırsatları bu hedeflere ulaşmak için kullanmalarını içermiştir.

4. TARTIŞMA

Bu çalışmanın amacı, İngiltere'de yaşayan Türk göçmen kadınların, psikolojik sağlamlığına etki eden faktörleri ve mekanizmaları nitel ve nicel araştırma metodlarını birlikte kullanarak araştırmaktır. Araştırmanın nicel analiz sonuçları, eğitim düzeyinin, algılanan sosyal desteğin, bütünleşme kültürlenme tutumunun ve psikolojik sıkıntının psikolojik sağlamlığı yordamada etkili birer değişken olduğunu göstermiştir. Nitel sonuçlar da, bu sonuçları destekleyici bulgular ortaya koymakla birlikte, bu değişkenlere ek diğer bir takım etmenlerin olduğunu göstermiştir.

Eğitim düzeyi hem nicel hem de nitel sonuçlarda etkili bir değişken olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu sonuçlar, daha önceki göç ile ilgili alan yazın da ortaya çıkan bulguları destekler niteliktedir (Berry, 2006a). Nitel sonuçlar da, eğitimin göçmen kadınların yaşamını ne şekilde etkilediğine açıklık getirmiştir. Buna göre, İngiltere'ye geldikten sonra, göçmen kadınların herhangi bir eğitim faaliyetini başarıyla tamamlaması, onların başarı duygularını arttırmaktadır. Bunun sonucunda da, başka bir kültürde yaşama ile ilgili farkındalıkları, yeni kültürel ortama katılımları ve yaşamları üzerindeki kontrol duygularında bir artış meydana gelmektedir. Bu nedenle, eğitim düzeyi ve eğitim yönelimi, bu kadınların psikolojik uyumunda önemli bir koruyucu faktör olarak nitelendirilebilir. Göç alan ülkelerde, göçmen kadınlara yönelik eğitim çalışmalarının artırılması ve bu çalışmaların bu kadınlar için daha çekici hale getirilmesi oldukça önemlidir. Bunun dışında, bu çalışmanın bulguları Türkiye'de kadınların eğitiminin

önündeki engellerin araştırılması ve kaldırılması yönündeki çalışmalara ağırlık verilmesinin gerekliliğinin de altını çizmektedir.

Nicel analiz sonuçları ayrıca, İngilizce dil bilgisinin Türk göçmen kadınların psikolojik sağlamlığını yordamadığını göstermiştir. Bu sonuçlar, göçmenlerin psikolojik uyumu üzerine yapılmış bazı çalışmaların bulguları ile tutarlı iken (Nwadiora & McAdoo, 1996), diğerleri ile (Ekşi, 2002; Yeh, Kim, Pituc, & Atkins, 2008) tutarlı değildir. Bu sonuç, araştırmanın nitel verileri ile de tutarlı değildir. Çünkü İngilizce, nitel bölüm katılımcıların yaşamlarının her alanında önemli bir değişken olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Nicel ve nitel bulgular arasında ortaya çıkan bu farklılık, çeşitli şekillerde yorumlanabilir. Öncelikle, katılımcıların İngilizce dil düzeyi, kendi algılarına göre değerlendirilmiştir ve bu algıların gerçek dil düzeyini yansıtmıyor olması mümkün olabilir. Bulgulardaki farkın diğer bir açıklaması ise, bu kadınların sosyalleşmesinin büyük bir kısmının, İngiltere'deki Türk toplumu içersinde gerçekleşmesi ile ilgili olabilir (Önal, 2003). Yabancı dili bilmeme ilgili sorunların ya da olumsuzlukların bu kadınların, İngiltere'deki yerel halk ve devlet kurumları ile temas düzeyleri ile yakından bağlantılı olduğunu söylemek mümkündür. Bu nedenle, gelecekte yapılacak olan araştırmalarda, göçmenlerin yerel halkla ve devlet kurumları ile temas düzeylerinin de değişken olarak dahil edilmesi önerilebilir. Buna ek olarak, nitel sonuçlar, dil öğrenmenin göçmen Türk kadınları arasında önemli bir sorun olduğunu göstermiştir. Dil öğrenmenin önündeki engellerin araştırılması da önemli katkılar sağlayacak bir çalışma olabilir.

Göçmenlik statüsü nicel sonuçlarda, etkili bir değişken olarak ortaya çıkmamış olsa da, nitel sonuçlar, yasal bir göçmenlik statüsüne sahip olmanın önemini göstermektedir. Özellikle, kadınların yeni ülkeye göç ettikten sonraki ilk yıllarında, yerleşim hakkını alamamalarının, bu kadınları, istismara ve kötü koşullara daha fazla maruz bıraktığı alan yazınında da vurgulanmıştır (Raj & Silverman, 2002). Bu nedenle gelecekteki çalışmalarda, özellikle ilk dönemlerini

geçirmekte olan kadınlara yoğunlaşan çalışmalarda, göçmenlik statüsünün bir değişken olarak incelenmesi önemli görülmektedir.

Literatürde göçmenlerin psikolojik uyumunda etkili olduğu sıkça bulgulanan ayrımcılık (Moradi & Risco, 2006; Whitely & Kite, 2006), bu çalışma sonuçlarıncı desteklenmemiştir. Bunun sebeplerinden bir tanesi olarak, İngilizce, yerel halk ve kurumlarla temas düzeyinin ayrımcılık ve uyum arasındaki ilişkiye etkisi gösterilebilir. Bir diğer nedenin ise, ayrımcılığın Türk göçmen kadınları arasında sık rastlanan bir durum olmaması olabilir. Bunların dışında, daha önceki çalışmalarda da belirtildiği gibi (Cassidy, Howe and Warden, 2004) kadınların ayrımcılığı nasıl algıladıkları ve ayrımcılığa nasıl tepki verdikleri de, ayrımcılığın uyumla ilişkisinde önemli olabilir. Nitel sonuçlar bu açıklamayı büyük oranda desteklemiştir. Ayrıca, bu çalışmanın ayrımcılık ile ilgili nicel sonuçları, Hollanda (Verkuyten, 1998), Finlandiya (Liebkind & Jasinski-Lahti, 2000), Norveç ve İsveç'te (Virta, Sam, & Westin, 2004) Türk göçmenlerle yapılmış çalışmaların bulguları ile de tutarlı değildir. Bu nedenle, algılanan ayrımcılığın farklı Avrupa ülkelerinde yaşayan Türkler üzerine yapılacak karşılaştırmalı bir çalışmayla incelenmesinin, bu farkların nedenlerini ortaya koyması açısından önemli olacağı söylenebilir.

Nicel ve nitel analiz sonuçları, sosyal desteğin, Türk göçmen kadınların psikolojik sağlamlığında etkili bir değişken olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Bu bulgular, sosyal desteğin kriz durumlarıyla baş etmede ve değişime uyum sağlamada önemli katkılar sağladığı bulgusunu (Cobb, 1976) destekler niteliktedir. Kişinin, yeterli desteğe ve kaynağa sahip olduğunu hissetmesi, stres yaratan olaylarla baş ederken, algıladığı gücü arttırmakta ve böylece de stres yaratan olayları daha az baskı yaratıcı olarak algılamasına yol açmaktadır (Cohen & Wills (1985). Buna ek olarak nitel veriler, duygusal desteğin bu kadınların hayatındaki olumlu etkisini ve destek aramanın ve varolan destek kaynaklarını kullanmanın koruyucu etkisini göstermiştir. Bu nedenle, ileriki çalışmalarda sosyal destek aramanın önündeki

engellerin araştırılması, gerek duyulduğunda destek aramayı artırmaya yönelik yapılacak çalışmalar için önemli bulgular sağlayacaktır. Ayrıca, göçmen kadınlar için karşılıklı destek sağlayabilecekleri kendine yardım gruplarının düzenlenmesi, kadınların psikolojik uyumunu artırma yönünde faydalı olabilecektir.

Nicel analiz sonuçları, psikolojik sıkıntının, çalışmanın tüm değişkenleri arasında psikolojik sağlamlığı en etkili biçimde yordayan değişken olduğunu göstermiştir. Bu sonuçlar, psikolojik sıkıntı ya da sorunların güçten düşürücü etkisini ortaya çıkaran diğer araştırma bulgularını (Rüsch, Lieb, Bohus & Corrigan, 2006) destekler niteliktedir. Ayrıca, nitel araştırma sonuçları da, göç sonrası yaşanan depresyon ve psikolojik sıkıntının kadınların yaşadığı yaygın sorunlar arasında yer aldığını göstermektedir. Bu nedenle, göçmen kadınlara hizmet sunan psikolojik danışmanlara, göçmen kadınların kültürlenme sürecinden kaynaklı sıkıntılarının olabileceğinin farkında olmaları ve gerektiğinde bunun düzeyini ölçmelerinin danışma sürecinin etkililiğini artırmak açısından önemli olabileceğini göz önünde bulundurmaları önerilebilir. Göçmen kadınların psikolojik sorunlarının, yeni ortama uyumlarını olumsuz yönde etkilemesi, bu kadınlara yönelik hizmetlerin artırılması ve daha etkili hale getirilmesinin önemini de ortaya koymaktadır.

Bu çalışmada, bütünleşme kültürlenme tutumu psikolojik sağlamlığı yordayan değişkenlerden bir tanesi, olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu bulgu kültürlenme kuramını (Berry, 2006c) destekler nitelikte olsa da, alan yazında kültürlenme kavramının farklı işe vuruk tanımları bulunması nedeniyle bu sonuçlarla doğrudan karşılaştırılabilecek çok fazla çalışma bulunmamaktadır. Ancak, bu bulgunun bütünleşme tutumunun, psikolojik uyum ve sağlamlık açısından korucu bir işlevi olduğunu gösterdiği söylenebilir. Castro'ya (2002) göre, bütünleşme tutumunu benimseyen göçmenler, birden fazla destek kaynağını kullanabilirler, kültürler arası çatışmayı daha az yaşayabilirler ve soysa-kültürel olarak daha yeterli oldukları için daha yüksek bir öz-yeterlilik düzeyine sahip olabilirler ve tüm

bunlar da göçmen kadınların uyumunu ve psikolojik sağlamlığını destekleyebilir.

Özetle, bu çalışmanın sonuçları, göç sonrası bazı faktörlerin Türk göçmen kadınların psikolojik sağlamlığında etkili olduğunu göstermiştir. Göç süreci ve göç sonrası yeni kültürel ortam, kadınlar için bazı zorlukları beraberinde getirmekle birlikte bu zorlukların etkisinin azaltılmasında, eğitim düzeyi ve yönelimi, sosyal destek, düşük psikolojik sıkıntı düzeyi, İngilizce dil bilgisi ve bütünleşme tutumunun önemli rol oynadığı görülmüştür. Diğer bir değişle, bu değişkenler, kadınların psikolojik sağlamlığını destekleme yönünde koruyucu etkenler olarak işlev görmektedir. Ayrıca, bazı kadınlar, yeni yaşamlarına uyum sağlarken ve zorluklarla baş ederken, kendilerinde bir dönüşüm gerçekleştirmişlerdir. Bu dönüşüm süreci de, psikolojik sağlamlık sürecini iyi bir biçimde örneklendirir niteliktedir.

APPENDIX H

CURRICULUM VITEA

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Çakır, Sakine Gülfem
Nationality: Turkish (TC)
Date and Place of Birth: 27 January 1974, Ankara
Marital status: Single
Phone: +90 312 210 40 29
Fax: + 90 312 210 79 67
Email: gulfemcakir@yahoo.com

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	METU Department of Educational Sciences	2001
BS	METU Department of Educational Sciences	1998

WORK EXPERIENCE

2003- Present	METU Department of Educational Sciences	Research Assistant
1999-2003	Ministry of Education	School Counsellor

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English

PUBLICATIONS

1. Hatzidimitriadou, E. & Çakır, S. Gülfem (in press). Community activism and empowerment of Turkish speaking migrant women in London. *International Journal of Migration, Health and Social Care*.
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