Pathways to Alienation?
A study on the refugee experiences of a group of young Syrian women through the lens of alienation

Yusuf Nural

Erasmus Mundus Master's Programme in Social Work with Families and Children

Supervisor: Helena Johansson

University of Gothenburg
June 2017

Abstract

Title: Pathways to alienation? - A study on the refugee experiences of a group of young Syrian women through the lens of alienation.

Author: Yusuf Nural

Key words: Alienation, Social isolation, Powerlessness, Syrian refugees, Refugee women

Turkey hosts the world's largest number of refugees with just over 2.9 million Syrians as of April 2017, out of which nearly half are children and teenagers. Having been provided free access to education, healthcare, lawful residence and protection from involuntary refoulement, family reunification and formal employment, Turkey has undoubtedly been demonstrating a great support for Syrians. Though, the vast majority of Syrians in Turkey are still living in urban, peri-urban and rural areas under poor housing conditions and struggling to generate income and secure their access to welfare benefits. There are still hundreds of thousands Syrian children out of school and only a very small minority of Syrian youth are enrolled in higher education.

With these adversities in mind, this study aimed at analysing and gaining an understanding into the lives of a group of Syrian refugee girls and young women in Turkey, from their perspectives, by using the concept of alienation which is mainly represented by social isolation and powerlessness variants. Accordingly, the research questions focused on: what factors prevent them realising their wishes and desires at time of interview and in their futures; and their perceptions as to the changes in their relationships with their peers, family and the surrounding community members after their displacement. Addressing these issues were considered important since the course of the conflict in Syria and Turkey's reception policies showed that Syrians are not guests anymore, as they were considered at the outset by the Turkish authorities. Therefore, their lack of socioeconomic adaptation in Turkey and social isolation from their acquaintances and social milieu and the majority society would amount to a large number of marginalized and detached group of Syrians in the long term.

The empirical data of this study was collected through semi-structured interviews with ten Syrian young women between 17 and 21-years-old. The sample is biased towards females since they have traditionally been secluded in the middle eastern countries including Syria, which motivated this study to reach them. Findings show that, complex interplay of previously established gender norms, male originated safety concerns, and structural and financial deficiencies hamper participants' power and control over their educational opportunities and freedom of movement and deprives them from meaningful social interactions outside of their domestic spheres. Besides this, their opportunities to have meaningful, supportive, warm and dependable relationships were found to be impaired with loss of or separation from their peers and family members; a lack of Turkish language competency, a lack of quality family time and lastly, weak ties among Syrians.

It is contended that, alienation is a useful concept to understand their refugee experiences from a different point of view, yet it is fundamental to revisit it in relation to adolescence, gender, social norms and refugees for future research. Lastly, this study advocates for culturally sensitivity and a holistic approach in social work practice and points out the needs of language training, education and employment opportunities, and safe and accessible social and recreational facilities for Syrian girls and young women in Turkey.

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to thank the ten Syrian girls and young women for sincerely sharing their feelings and thoughts regarding their refugee experiences with me. Finding participants proved to be a great challenge. Thank you very much for your consideration and time.

I would like to thank my thesis supervisor Helena Johansson for her unfailing support and keeping her door always open whenever I ran into trouble or had a question about my research.

I would specially like to thank the coordinator of MFamily Master's program, Maria Das Dores Guerreiro, for her commitment, perseverance and initiatives to contribute in our capacities and potentials. I truly believe that you brought warmth and professionalism into this program with your vision, consideration and hard work.

I am grateful to my family. Thank you for always being there for me despite not approving of my career choices.

I would like to extend my thanks to my classmate Lydia Mehrara for her friendship throughout the past two years and for her sympathetic ear and humour during the research and writing process of this report.

And there is Hüseyin Gövercin. I would like to thank you for your help when I applied to this master's program and for many opportunities you have provided me before and throughout my master's education. I would not have been able find participants and interview them without your help in a timely manner. I cannot thank you enough.

Nourhan Alo entered into my life right before I started this Master's program and has become one of the most important people in it. My home comings have never been that exciting before you. Thank you for your emotional support and patience.

I also wish to express my thanks to my friend Ömer Çiftçi for his encouragement and for pushing me further than I thought I could go.

Last but by no means least, I would like to single out my cousin Benjamin Nural. I am fully indebted to you for your patience in helping me to improve my English; and for your unfailing support and belief in me. Thanks to you I survived all the stress in my last semester.

Yusuf Nural

June 2017

Göteborg

Table of Content

1. INTRODUCTION

Background

In April 2011, the first group of Syrian refugees arrived in Hatay (Kaya and Kırac, 2016), my home town in Turkey. By then, they were called *guests* and accommodated in camps (Kirisci, 2014). Today Turkey is home to the largest number of Syrian refugees in the world (UNHCR, 2016) with nearly 3 million (UNHCR, 2017) in which nearly half are children under 18 years old, and one in every three is an adolescent between the age of 12 and 18 (ibid.). As of December 2016, the camps in Turkey host only around 260 thousand of them (AFAD, 2016) whilst the rest are scattered across Turkey's 81 provinces living in abject poverty in unsanitary and fragile houses; struggling to generate income and secure their access to social rights, such as education, housing and healthcare (Amnesty, 2014) due to limited and overwhelmed public services (Kaya and Kırac, 2016).

As my acquaintance with the Syrian people in my town increased through my work as a case worker at an international humanitarian organization and also through personal contacts, these facts and figures began to carry more weight for me as a social worker. I met people of my age and teenagers whose educational attainments did not mean much for or to them, whose involvements in social activities had been very limited and who have developed almost no sense of belonging in Turkey despite being *well-off* and resettled. I met teenagers and young people with suicidal thoughts who did not have close friends and had very poor relationships with their families. They rarely used to go out and often complain about not being able to have socially fulfilling lives of their own. The people I met have been grieving over being deprived of their rights and capabilities to make decisions on their own education, living conditions, social, economic and political participation and futures. They have been grieving over being compelled to bear the burden of upheavals and atrocities they did not create or want to become part of. Although they are likely to be resilient and resourceful for having survived adversity and many struggles (Papadopoulos, 2007) all of these signs seemed to me indicators of powerlessness, isolation and forms of marginalization, and I timidly hypothesized that they were feeling alienated.

The term alienation is described "by sociologists and philosophers as separation from society and separation from means and goals in daily life" (Safipour, 2011, p.2). It amounts to separation from social or political power (Kalekin-Fishman and Langman, 2015) and feeling as an outsider or detached from society (Colman, 2015). It implies individuals' incapability of "participation in representing their priorities and aspirations in the socioeconomic and political sphere" (SCPR, 2015, p. 53). Killeen (1998) placed alienation on one of the ends of a continuum in which a sense of connectedness was placed on the opposite pole. However, despite numerous definitions, alienation was mostly investigated and presented with its different dimensions rather than as a single overarching construct (O'Donnell, Ruchkin, and Schwab-Stone, 2006). For example, Seeman (1959 and 1975) developed the dimensions of *powerlessness, normlessness, isolation, meaningless, self-estrangement and cultural estrangement* whilst Dean (1956 and 1961) constructed three different forms of alienation, namely *social isolation, powerlessness and normlessness.* The dimensions of powerlessness and social isolation are the main focus of this study. Powerlessness refers to one's 'inability to effectively control the outcome of events' (Dean, 1956, p.127) and is associated with lack of power, control, adequacy and competency over one's own destiny (ibid.). And social isolation amounts to feelings of loneliness even when in the company of others and a perceived lack of meaningful, intimate relationships with peers, family and the wider community (Dean, 1961; Williamson and

Cullingford, 1998). It implies a lack of warm, friendly, personal, secure, dependable and supportive relationships (Dean, 1956).

As I continued to read about the notion of alienation among adolescents; the target group of this study in terms of age group, I found out that, alienation amongst adolescents is widely associated with delinquent and deviant behaviours, suicide, drug and alcohol use, sexual promiscuity, homicide, physical aggression, school misconduct and declining educational scores (Calabrase and Schumer, 1986; Calabrase, 1987; Cullingford and Williamson, 1998; O'Donnell et al., 2006; Safipour et al., 2011; Solakoglu and Yuksek, 2016; Tome et al., 2016).

It was also argued that alienation is more manifest in adolescents from low socioeconomic backgrounds, broken homes, culturally deprived environments and minorities (Calabrase and Schumer, 1986; Calabrase and Raymond, 1989). And in empirical studies, causes of alienation among adolescents were attributed to their segregation from their peer groups, deprivation from becoming effectively socialized, their inability to control their environment, growing loss of shared values between them and their parents and lack of involvement in decision making as to their future (Calabrase and Schumer, 1986; Calabrase, 1987 and 1989)

This present study does not aim to measure alienation among adolescent refugees in Turkey. Yet, these findings seemed quite relevant to the refugee experience of children and adolescents. Because, children and adolescent refugees, were reported to experience separation from or loss of significant others, such as parents, family members or familiar peer groups and experience separation from their familiar sociocultural milieu (Ajdukovic and Ajdukovic, 1993; Hodes, 2000; Berman, 2001; and Lustig et al., 2004). And although arriving at a host country brings relief and hope in the beginning they still confront traumatic events (Derluyn and Broekaert, 2008) as they can become strangers in a strange land (Kohli and Mather, 2003) and face difficulties in adapting to a new society, cultural norms and values (Lustig et al., 2004). Family roles and patterns change and they often assume adult roles (Fazel et al., 2011; Lustig et al., 2004). In the host country, they are likely to experience poverty due to costs of fleeing, abandonment of properties in the country of origin and reduced access to housing and welfare benefits and employment opportunities (Hodes, 2000). These adversities are augmented with language barriers, acculturation stress, discrimination and feelings of uncertainty about the future (Derluyn and Broekaert, 2008).

All of these adversities that are corollary of children and adolescents' refugee experiences can reasonably be argued to cause alienation since they became segregated from their peers and deprived of socialization opportunities, control of their environment and future opportunities. This relationship between the causes of alienation and effects of refugee experience caught my attention because in Turkey, there are nearly 415.000 school aged Syrian children are out of school, (HRW, 2015) with many of them in informal employment, notably in agriculture and garment-making, or resorting to begging, and are at risk of exploitation and other forms of abuse (Groth, 2016). Considering the 99% primary school enrolment and 89% of lower secondary school enrolment in pre-war Syria (HRW, 2015), this is a dramatic change as it is very likely to result in economic instability in their future and deprivation from socialisation and learning opportunities which will leave many isolated and segregated as they develop and once they have become adults.

Furthermore, empirical studies show that there is a growing anti-Syrian sentiment and attitude among Turkish people. According to a survey conducted by Erdoğan (2014), 45% of the respondents do not see Syrians culturally akin to Turkish people, and 62.2% believe that Syrian

refugees disturb the peace, are involved in crime, violence, theft, smuggling, prostitution and 66.9% believe that Syrians would not be integrated into Turkish society. Syrians are regarded as a threat to security and blamed for changing the demographic structure and the social fabric of the cities in which they have become more visible than the local people in terms of their number, unrecorded economic activities and irregular compact settlements (Tunç, 2015). The increased visibility of Syrian refugees has created a considerable public discontent and hate speech that manifests itself in social, digital and printed media as investigated and documented by Ataman and Şahan (2014), Erdoğan (2014), Kuş (2016) and Yazıcı (2016).

All of these above presented displacement related adversities and the difficulties faced in the host country allow us to contend that the next decade is likely to witness the development of a marginalized and alienated Syrian youth in Turkey. The course of the conflict in Syria made it more or less clear that Syrian refugees in Turkey are not *guests* anymore and significant number of them will not return back and permanently stay in Turkey (Erdoğan, 2014). It is for this reason that the refugee experiences of Syrian adolescents in Turkey were found to be valuable to research using the concept of alienation.

In the first week of my studies on this report -after exchanging ideas with my supervisor as to my target group- it occurred to me that *Syrian people* do not share similar sociocultural characteristics with the western countries. *Gender* is considered to be one of the most important determinants of social status in Syria where men and women constitute distinct social subgroups and have different roles to fulfil at home and norms to comply with in their everyday lives (Collelo, 1988). Women in Syria are secluded (ibid.) therefore, expecting young Syrian women to show similar responses to the adverse refugee experience as men, might have been wrong.

Besides this, studies show that, Syrian girls are considered to be under particular risk, as child marriages and prostitution have long become a very common negative coping mechanism with economic difficulties after displacement (Groth, 2016; Kivilcim, 2016). In 2014, the Turkish authorities reported that 14% of Syrian girls between 15 and 18 years of age were married, mostly through religious ceremonies rather than civil, and it is likely that the true figure is higher (ibid.). Furthermore, research with Syrian adolescents in Turkey highlights that Syrian girls feel powerless to change their circumstances and are also isolated due to their demanding work and domestic duties which leave very little personal time for them to pursue their own interests, involvement in social activities and interaction with their peers (Mercy Corps, 2014a). Considering these particular adversities faced by Syrian refuge women and girls due to displacement, and the fact that they are less reachable due to cross cutting issues of gender, culture and religion, the focus of this study has shifted from Syrian adolescent boys and young men to Syrian refugee women and girls in Turkey.

To summarise, the refugee experience compounded with the previously established gender roles and expectations may deprive Syrian adolescent refugee girls and young women from meaningful social interactions outside of their domestic sphere and from the ability to realize their wishes and desires and influence their own future opportunities. Considering the high number of Syrian refugees and proportion of children and youth among them, these predicaments, if not addressed, would inevitably leave them detached from the wider society and deprive from social and political power to participate and express their aspirations and priorities, all of which were described as alienation (Colman, 2015; Kalekin-Fishman and Langman, 2015; SCPR, 2015). Despite Turkey's considerable efforts in terms of its hospitality to nearly 3 million refugees, increasing number of issued work permits for Syrians, efforts to increase schooling rates (Icduygu and Simsek, 2016), having provided free access to emergency

health care services and new plans to grant citizenship to 10.000 Syrians initially (Sardan, 2017), the risk of alienation remains to be addressed among adolescents and particularly girls. Because, as Safipour et al. (2011) contends, there is a great chance of alienated adolescents living in poverty, having poor social skills and remaining politically powerless when they become adults. In such scenario, social workers who are mostly employed in local public institutions in Turkey, will inevitably confront a large group of clients, particularly in the cities where the Syrian refugees are highly populated and be on the frontline to assess their needs and implement governmentally mandated or organizationally initiated welfare policies to challenge socioeconomic conditions that are conducive for exclusion and alienation. Therefore, this study is believed to be rather timely to shed light on the situation of a group of young Syrian women and girls in Turkey from a different point of view by using the concept of alienation.

Aim

This study aims at gaining understanding of and analyze the lives of a group of Syrian refugee girls and young women in Turkey, from their perspectives, by using the concept of alienation which is mainly represented by social isolation and powerlessness variants.

It is anticipated that findings of this study would inform the practice of relevant care, humanitarian and social work professionals by offering insights as to the target group's living conditions, future prospects; barriers to their socioeconomic adjustment in Turkey and connectedness to, and relationships with peers, family and surrounding community members.

Research Questions

1) What factors, according to the participants, prevent them realizing their wishes and desires at the time of interview and in their futures?

With this question, the socioeconomic conditions that hamper the participants' power and control over realising their wishes and desires in their daily lives and futures were sought to be understood, from their perspectives, and analysed in relation to the concept of powerlessness.

2) What are the participants' perceptions as to the changes in their relationships with their peers, family and the surrounding community members after their displacement?

With this question, the participants' perceptions on the changes in their relationships with their peers, family and the surrounding community members and the reasons behind these changes were sought to be understood and analysed in relation to the concept of social isolation.

Definitions of relevant terms

In this study, Syrians in Turkey has been referred to as *refugees* which is used as a generic term. However, Syrians in Turkey do not have refugee status. In this section, the terms used in this study and the status of Syrians in Turkey will briefly be explained in order to avoid creating confusion. The rights attached to the respective terms in Turkey has also been presented. According to the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the status of refugees and its 1967 protocol, *refugee* is defined as:

> A person who is outside his or her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of being persecuted because of his or her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail him or herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution (UNHCR, 2011, p.3).

Turkey, as one of the first signatories of the Geneva Convention and its 1967 protocol, maintains a geographical limitation to this refugee definition and differentiates European and non-European asylum seekers (Kıvılcım, 2016; Erdoğan, 2017). Accordingly, application of the convention is only limited to those "who have become refugees as a result of events occurring in Europe" (Kıvılcım, 2016, p.196). Therefore, Syrians and Palestinians from Syria in Turkey have not been granted refugee status. Instead, they have been granted *Temporary Protection Status* under which they receive

> […] free access to emergency healthcare; identity cards indicating their lawful residence in the country; access to accommodation sites that provide shelter, food, and other services; the right not to be detained for their irregular entry; access to family reunification; access to legal consultation and free translation services; and protection from forcible return to their countries of origin, also known as refoulement (HRW, 2015, p.16).

Despite these seemingly good and extensive rights that have been attached to the temporary protection status, it is still widely criticised since it prohibits Syrians who are under temporary protection, to file an application for international protection. That is to say, their application for international protection is not processed during the implementation of temporary protection (Temporary Protection Regulation, 2014), which is problematic, because the conflict in Syria has entered into its 6th year and there is no time limit for the temporary protection regime of Turkey. This means, the confinement in their temporary protection status, have been preventing, and is likely to continue to prevent them from seeking international protection for an indefinite period of time (Kıvılcım, 2016, p.198).

Another term that was used in this study is *immigrant.* Immigrants as migrants leave their countries for many reasons, that are not related to persecution, such as employment, education, family reunification and so forth. Unlike refugees, they are not likely to face risk of persecution or death in their countries of origin and can safely return home (UNHCR, 2011; UNHCR, 2016). Despite the reasons the immigrants and refugees leave their homelands are different, their resettlement experiences show similarities in the host country, such as poverty, separation from family members, limited access to welfare benefits, language barrier, exposure to a new culture and religion and persecution from racism of the new society are experienced by immigrants and refugees (Hodes, 2000). It is for this reason, the studies among immigrants were included in this study.

To sum up, *refugee* has been used as a generic or an umbrella term when referring to the Syrians in Turkey and also in other countries despite that their legal status is different in Turkey and might be different in other countries too.

2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

Although in most of the qualitative researches the generation of theory tends to be a preferred approach, such as in grounded theory, pre-specified theories may be and are used in the beginning of studies and provide a lens that shapes what is looked at and the questions asked (Creswell, 2014; Bryman, 2016). In this study, the concept of alienation is presented by social isolation (Dean, 1956) and powerlessness (Dean 1956; Seeman, 1959) and these concepts have moderately influenced the formulation of the interview guide as well as the analysis of the interview findings. However, it should be noted that these separate usages of alienation have their origins in the field of theology, philosophy, psychology, and social critism and slightly in contemporary social science (Finifter, 1972). Therefore, in order to clarify what is meant by alienation, this section will briefly review the development and usages of the concept of alienation. Thereafter, it will be concluded with the presentation of the two forms of alienation, powerlessness and social isolation that were developed by Dean (1956) and Seeman (1959) and are used as main conceptual frameworks along with the overarching single construct of alienation, in this study.

Concept of Alienation

Alienation as a term was etymologically originated from a Latin noun *alienation* which is derived from a Latin verb *alienare* meaning to *take away*, *remove* or *cause a separation to occur* (Sarfraz, 1997). It initially appeared in theological writings and denoted separation and distance between man and God (Johnson, 1973; Musto, 2010).

Notion of alienation is considered to be one of the most important and fruitful legacies of Hegel (1949) (Sayers, 2011). Hegel discussed alienation in two major ways: alienation-as-separation and alienation-as-surrender (Williamson and Cullingford,1997). He argued that society consist of social, political and cultural institutions and creations of men's hands and minds that are cumulatively called *social substance* (Smith and Bohm, 2008). Accordingly, alienation occurs firstly, when the individual ceases to identify with the *social substance,* known as alienation-as-separation (Sarfraz, 1997). In this form of alienation, the individual, through introspection moves from immature sense of universality to a powerful sense of his own individuality (Williamson and Cullingford, 1997). And secondly, when the *social substance* eventually controls and dominates the socialised man and makes him detached from the world of nature and world of his own, known as alienation-as-surrender (Nettler, 1957). The striking point in Hegel's alienation is its positive effects on the mature development and growth of the individual through externalized consciousness (Williamson and Cullingford, 1997; Kalekin-Fishman and Langman, 2009).

Although alienation was used as a metaphysical or theological concept before Marx, it is in his writings, notably appearing in *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* (Marx, 1964), that it first become an empirical and sociological concept (Finifter, 1972). Marx was influenced by Hegel's notion of *universal essence of man* (Sarfraz, 1997), yet he criticized Hegel's work for being too abstract (Marx, 1964) and widened it from philosophical and religious sphere (Musto, 2010) and from the realm of ideas to its material foundations in the political economy and contextualized the alienating effects of industrial society (Kalekin-Fishman and Langman, 2013). Marx contextualized alienation as four forms of *separation* under the capitalist productive system (Finifter, 1972; Scaff, 1978; Sayers, 2011), namely *separation from the products of labour*, that amounts to worker's loss of control over his

product since it is owned by the employer; *separation from the work process itself* that makes the worker miserable and unhappy since he ca not actively and consciously determine the goal and end product of his work; worker's *separation from himself/our human nature* in which the worker becomes alienated from his own creative potential and the social bonds that define him as human due to the previous forms of separations; and lastly *separation from fellow workers* that derives from the fact that competitive nature of capitalism leaves little room for the solidarity, feelings or collective interest of the workers (Finifter, 1972; Ferguson and Lavalette, 2004).

Alongside Marx, classical Sociologists Weber and Durkheim too added much to the knowledge on the concept of alienation (Lystad, 1972; Affinnih, 1997; Yuill, 2011). In his influential work, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Weber (1958) has investigated the relationship of religion with the world which was indicated to be created by science and bureaucracy (Lystad, 1972). Weber (1958) considered bureaucracy as an *iron cage* and argued that through the relentless rationalization (bureaucratization) after the industrial revolution people got progressively encased in an *iron cage*, were confined by the rigidities of rationalism, got disconnected, become unable to driven by their values of traditions and were prevented to exercise power against (Kalekin-Fishman, 2006). And this iron cage was stressed to be causing "feelings of powerlessness, meaninglessness, and isolation" (Mitzman, 1969 as cited in Safipour, 2011, p.3). According to Sarfraz (1997, p.48), "both of them [Marx and Weber] were convinced that worker's individuality or personal worth is determined by their labour and working conditions which deny an expression of individuality, result in alienation."

Durkheim (1964) considered alienation as a consequence of *anomie* which is accounted as a product of the breakdown of social norms in society (Smith and Bohm, 2008) and "the perceived lack of socially approved means and norms to guide one's behaviour for the purpose of achieving culturally prescribed goals" (Sarfraz, 1997, p. 49). Durkheim contended that the division of labour made the industrialisation possible but it also caused rapid social and economic changes, altered the previously established social norms and values, weakened social ties, fragmented collective consciousness and brought unfamiliar rules and values for the people (Safipour, 2011; Kalekin-Fishman and Langman, 2015). These changes indicated to confront people with anomic situations which led to alienation that made people "estranged from, made unfriendly towards, their society and the culture it carries." (Nettler, 1957, p. 671).

Merton (1938) built on Durkheim's work and argued that anomie occurs when people are not able to achieve culturally defined aspirations and goals through socially structured means. To put it in a nutshell, anomie is the product of mismatch between the cultural goals and inadequate institutional or socially structured means (Irmak and Çam, 2014). According to Merton (1938), individuals develop five different types of adaptation modes to the strain they encounter due to this anomic situation, which are conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism and rebellion. All of these modes amount to either rejection, acceptance or substitution of culturally prescribed goals and/or institutionalised means (Merton, 1938), and except the conformity (since it presents the acceptance of the goals and the means) all of them are asserted to pave the way for alienation (Sarfraz, 1997; Smith and Bohm, 2008).

Alienation was also defined from Psychoanalytical standpoint, mostly by Erich Fromm (Musto, 2010). Fromm (1955) in his book *The Sane Society*, like Marx, attributed the origins of alienation to the capitalism and routinized, abstractive and quantified organisation of labour. These economic features of capitalism asserted to led to *self-alienation* since they caused, as Keniston (1965, p. 463) states, "[…] lack of contact between the individual's conscious self

and his "productive" potential […]." Fromm (1955, p.121) argued that due to such division of labour, man become unable to "[…] experience himself as the active bearer of his own powers […]" or "[…] as the creator of his own acts […]" (ibid., p. 117) and becomes unconsciously powerless, and alienated from self as well as the world outside and others.

Powerlessness and Social Isolation

Sociologist Melvin Seeman's (1959) landmark article, *On The Meaning of Alienation*, is considered to be the most influential work that clarified and brought order to several nuances and meanings of alienation and placed it in a theoretical context through a social-psychological perspective (Dean, 1961, Twining, 1980; Kalekin-Fishman and Langman, 2015;). Seeman (1959 and1975) was influenced by Marx, Weber, Durkheim and Mannheim and accordingly interpreted and synthesized different usages of alienation in the past literature and produced six separate variants and highlighted their social psychological-consequences, namely *powerlessness, normlessness, isolation, meaningless, self-estrangement and cultural estrangement*. Likewise, Dean (1956 and 1961), constructed three different forms of alienation, namely *social isolation, powerlessness and normlessness.*

In this study, dimensions of *powerlessness* (Dean 1956; Seeman, 1959) and *social isolation* (Dean, 1956) were employed as conceptual frameworks in gaining understanding in participants' refugee experiences. Seeman's (1959) definition of powerlessness refers to one's belief or feelings that his own behaviour or choices cannot determine what he wants to achieve and have little influence over the occurrence of the outcomes or reinforcements he seeks. While Dean's notion of powerlessness refers to one's "inability to effectively control the outcome of events" (Dean, 1956, p.127) and is associated with lack of power, control, adequacy and competency over one's own destiny (ibid.). Based on Seeman's (1959) definition, Powerlessness has also been conceptualized in a study among adolescents as "the feeling of being unable to influence the forces that affect the adolescent's chances for success in life" (Mackey and Ahlgren, 1977, p. 220). It was referred as lack of influence and control over social environment and feeling of helplessness (ibid.).

S*ocial isolation*, on the other hand, is considered to be the most relevant expression of alienation for minority members (Jongkind, 1992), it is associated with feelings of loneliness, rejection and repudiation (ibid.). Dean (1956) described social isolation on a continuum, with low social isolation at one end high social isolation on the other by Dean (1956). Accordingly, component of low social isolation entails warm, friendly, personal relations, secure and supportive relationships, community identifications and confidence in dependability of one's acquaintance; whereas the high social isolation component entails aloneness, loneliness, rejection and impersonality (ibid.). It has also been explained as perceived lack of meaningful, intimate relationships with peers, family and the wider community (Rovai and Wighting, 2005).

The reason behind employing Dean's (1956) dimension of *social isolation* rather than Seeman's (1959) *isolation* is because it is related to sociability and individual's friendship status (Seeman, 1959), which is found to be more researchable and relevant within the context of this study, while Seeman's notion of *isolation* is related to low reward value given to goals or beliefs that are highly valued in the society rather than lack of social adjustment or lack of warm and secure social contacts (ibid.).

In general, conceptual framework of this study intended to be limited to only two the main variants of alienation (social isolation and powerlessness) since the time constraint for this report would not permit a thorough investigation of all aspects of it with a qualitative research

approach. On the other hand, alienation shall be represented by its social isolation and powerlessness forms since they were found to be more relevant to conceptualize within the context of forced migration and in accordance with the age group characteristics of the sample group who can be considered in their late adolescence years.

That is to say, adolescents, especially adolescents from minority groups have traditionally been associated with alienation (Calabrase and Raymond, 1989) and loneliness since being included, accepted and loved stressed to be very important in their identity development (Rokach and Neto, 2000). Therefore, one can postulate that this development process is likely to be impeded with the loss of old connections, language barriers and lack of adjustment and acceptance in the host country. As for the powerlessness, it is highlighted by Mackenzie, McDowell and Pittaway (2007), that protracted displacement situations are likely to impede people's sense of agency, capacity for self-determination and trust in themselves especially if they are living dependent and reliant upon humanitarian aid. These conditions are reported to impair people's right to autonomy which enable them to exercise political or socio-economic power (ibid.). These factors were postulated to suit the situation of most of the refugees in Turkey who are struggling to generate income and secure their access to social rights, such as education, housing and healthcare (Amnesty, 2014) just like the most of the participants of this study who were beneficiaries of a humanitarian aid organization themselves. In the light of this information, the variant of powerlessness found to be more relevant to deploy amongst others.

Conclusion

Although the concept of alienation was presented through some influential works of few philosophers and sociologists in this study, historically, it has widely been used in different disciplines by many others which ultimately made it difficult to reach a consensus over its definition. The term alienation was even described as a *panchreston* by Johnson (1973) denoting it as a vogue term that is essentially meaningless. In different studies it was expanded to include or accounted for, apathy, disjunction between two conditions, for example work and self-esteem (Affinnih, 1997), withdrawal, disengagement (Tome et al., 2015), belonginglesness, self-isolation (Clark, 1959), despair, depersonalization, rootlessness, social disorganization, pessimism, loss of beliefs or values (Smith and Bohm, 2008), separation from social or political power (Kalekin-Fishman and Langman, 2015) and feeling as an outsider or detached from society (Colman, 2015).

Feeling of alienation is considered to be very contextual and stem from the socioeconomic, political and cultural contexts that surround an individual (Safipour, 2011 and SCPR, 2015). For instance, the term was used in feminist literature to refer to women's experience of oppression at work and at home (Harris and White, 2013). It has also been used to explain estrangement from others, from oneself, from a specific situation and related negative feelings (ibid.), for example child's alienation from his/her parents (Qin, 2006; Choi, Dancy and Lee, 2013; Kim et al., 2013; Hou, Kim and Wang, 2016). Another highly illustrative definition of alienation can be given from a report analysing the impact of the armed conflict on human and economic development in Syria. Accordingly, alienation is referred to as:

> "The gap between institutions and the human being, whereby individuals become incapable of real participation in representing their priorities and aspirations in the socioeconomic and political sphere, whereby human subjects are alienated and estranged from the objectives, policies and relations that are being formed under such existing institutions" (SCPR, 2015, p. 53).

In another study that inquired the problem of the slums in the Global South and women's position within them, alienation has been considered as "a relational and humanistic concept, implying that people have become separated from what allows them to flourish, to be whole, or to live up to the possibilities of their humanity" (Luttrell, 2013, p.103)

Given these, this study will expand on social isolation and powerlessness forms of alienation and, in the analysis, will consider and employ above presented usages of alienation as a single overarching construct as well.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The primary aim of this section is to reflect on some prominent existing studies on alienation among refugees and immigrants. Despite the vast number of studies on the concept of alienation, it appears that it has suffered from a relative neglect within the field of forced emigration. In this section, studies conducted among refugees, mostly using quantitative methods, are presented. Secondly, studies conducted among immigrants in which alienation is related to different concomitants of migration experience, such as acculturation, psychological distress and so forth are presented. Although the studies among refugees and immigrants have similarities in terms of their findings, they were presented differently as the target group of this study is refugees. Lastly, in the third section, some studies conducted among refugee women with a gender perspective are presented, bearing in mind the focus of this study is young Syrian refugee women. In this section, a few studies related to the altered relationships faced by refugees, including children and youth, were added since they were found to be one of the salient characteristics of the refugee experience and carry particular importance for adolescents and youth.

Alienation among refugees: Product of inadequate psychosocial and socioeconomic adaptation and low acculturation.

In the causal model developed to investigate and explain the feelings of alienation among 180 Vietnamese adult refugees in the United States, (U.S.) by Mindel, Tran and Wright Jr. (1987) it was revealed that social interaction anxiety, self-identity, social support, length of time in the host country, US and marital status have direct influence upon feelings of alienation. Whereas happiness, English communication ability, personal goals, age, education and sponsorship have indirect effects on feelings of alienation. The causal model concluded that alienation of Vietnamese refugees is primarily a complex response to an environment that does not provide for adequate adjustment and assimilation, and secondly, an end product of the interrelationship between range of social and psychological variables and, lastly, the result of a transformation in which social conditions and personal characteristics transformed into psychological states that led to feelings of alienation. Likewise, Nicassio (1983), developed an alienation scale and researched the relationship between alienation and socioeconomic, sociocultural and psychosocial adaptation among 460 Indochinese heads of their household who sought refuge in the U.S. The results indicated that there was a negative correlation between alienation and socioeconomic status, English proficiency, the number of American acquaintances and friends, and refugee's self-perception whereas alienation was positively related to degree of perceived difference between refugees and Americans.

Alienation was also used in the measurement of psychological distress among refugees. In their examination of how pre and post migration factors affect the psychological distress and adjustment of 212 Vietnamese adult refugees in the U.S., Birman and Tran (2008) assessed the psychological distress through measuring anxiety, depression and alienation. Findings of their study showed that, feelings of alienation was negatively correlated with American behaviour, and identity, acculturation. However, the predictions that social support from American friends would reduce alienation was not confirmed and there was not any correlation between pre-migration factors (political detention and trauma experienced) and alienation. As in this study, Potocky-Tripodi (2002) too linked alienation to the acculturation process of refugees and immigrants and presented it as a result of acculturative stress in addition to anxiety, depression,

feelings of marginality, heightened psychosomatic symptoms and identity confusion. Similarly, Birman, Trickett and Vinokurov (2000), assessed the relationship between work status and acculturation and psychological adaptation, represented by life satisfaction and alienation, among 206 Soviet Jewish Refugees in the U.S. In their study, those who were employed in their own pre-migration professions reported less alienation than those underemployed and unemployed. Thus, the study underscored the relevance of work status to psychological adaptation since it was indicated to provide a sense of continuity, occupational comfort and a low sense of cultural isolation and alienation.

Lastly, a recent study was conducted by Shammout (2016) among 378 ninth and tenth grade Syrian students both in refugee camps and cities in Jordan. A 70 item questionnaire was employed to identify their degree of alienation and its relation to academic achievement, gender, number of years of alienation and their place of residence. The results showed that Syrian students' degree of alienation was medium in terms of loss of feeling, normlessness and self-centrality and low in terms of powerlessness, lack of value feeling, loss of aim and meaninglessness. Findings also showed that feelings of alienation were higher among females than males in all previously stated dimensions except the loss of aim. Study also showed that feelings of inability, loss of target and lack of value feelings increased with the number of years of alienation. Feelings of alienation were also found to have a negative influence on academic achievements of the students. Lastly, students residing in cities were found to have higher levels of alienation than those living in refugee camps. This was attributed to the students' thoughts of being burdens and strangers in the host country; Jordan.

Inadequate acculturation and enculturation as predictive of alienation among immigrants

The literature search shows that, the term alienation, in the studies among immigrants has been mainly used to the explain the estrangement between the parents and children due to the intergenerational acculturation gap and decreased emotional involvement of the parents after their migration. At the end of this section, a few different studies are presented which are related to political alienation of immigrants and alienation as an outcome of prejudice and discrimination against minority and adolescent immigrant students.

Acculturation and enculturation were theorized to have four distinct outcomes by Berry (2006), which are "biculturalism (high acculturation and high enculturation; sometimes referred to as integration), assimilation (high acculturation and low enculturation), separation (low acculturation and high enculturation; sometimes referred to as withdrawn), and marginalization (low acculturation and low enculturation; sometimes referred to as alienation)" (as cited in Knight et al., 2009, p. 626). In this case, alienation is associated with marginalization which amounts to individual's or groups' low adherence to their culture of origin and surrounding culture. In that case, there is little attainment and use of both formal and informal patterns and low fulfilment of the requirements of the majority and the origin culture (Marshall and Scott, 2009). Unlike how it is referred or used in here, in the studies among immigrants, alienation often related to acculturation gaps between children and parents in which children were reported to acculturate quicker than their parents. This acculturation gap was found to compound parents' decreased emotional engagement in their children's lives due to a number of post-migration factors and contribute to a sense of alienation between them.

To begin with, an ethnographic and a longitudinal study on alienation in immigrant Chinese families in the U.S. highlighted the growth of alienation between parents and their adolescent

children and attributed it to parent's decreased emotional engagement in children's lives because of their busy work schedules, lack of time spent together, loss of native language among children and language barriers in the new language between them and lastly, strong cultural clashes and dissonant acculturation between them that led to parents and children developing parallel dual frames of reference from their host and origin countries (Qin, 2006; Mukherjee, Qin and Way, 2008). Another study among the same group also illustrated that fathers' and mothers' different post-migration adaptation has different impacts on parent-child relations (Qin, 2009). Accordingly, fathers were found more likely to transfer stress and dissatisfaction onto their children and children were found to spend less time with their fathers after migration and felt the loss of time with their mother more acutely since they used to spend more time with their mothers back at home. It was also found that parents' sacrifices after migration as well their perception of great educational opportunities in the U.S. created high academic expectations from them toward their children and high pressure on their children which often resulted in their resentment towards their parents, decreases in meaningful communication and an increased sense of alienation between them.

Alienation was not only used to explain the estrangement between children and their parents due to intergenerational acculturation gap. It was also used to explain parents' or first generation immigrants' separation from the majority society and mainstream culture due to their low acculturation, all of which was found to result in psychological distress and negative mental health outcomes.

Alienation between immigrant children and parents was explained considering children's ability to acculturate easier and quicker than their parents who are more likely to adhere to traditions and values of their culture of origin by Oppedal and Røysamb (2004) and Merz et al. (2009). In their study with 21 Korean parents of adolescents aged 11-14 years in the U.S., Choi, Dancy and Lee (2013) revealed that parents often feel powerless, ashamed, guilty, regretful and alienated because of their inadequacy in advocating for their children, the incompatible American culture and ambiguity of their children's ethnic identities. Similar findings were found among midlife Soviet immigrants in the U.S.A. As part of their longitudinal studies on depressed moods among midlife immigrant Soviet women and couples in the United States, Miller et al. (2006) and Fogg, Miller and Sorokin (2013) investigated how cultural characteristics, represented by immigration challenges and alienation, contribute to depressed moods of women and couples. Findings of their studies with 226 women and 154 couples respectively showed that, older immigrants, due to their lack of language and cultural competence and difficulty in navigating mainstream culture, may experience feelings of alienation, isolation and marginality. In these studies, alienation was referred to as a feeling that one does not belong to either mainstream or to origin culture and it was predicted to cause cultural divide that separates them from younger family members. Importantly, acculturation was also found to promote mental health indirectly by reducing alienation and lowering the family and personal stress, both of which were predicted to cause symptoms of depression, anxiety and feelings of marginalization (Miller et al., 2006; Fogg et al., 2013).

A Parent-child sense of alienation as a result of insufficient bicultural management and acculturation difficulties experienced by immigrant parents was also found related to adjustment of their adolescent children measured by depressive symptoms, delinquent behaviour and academic performance. Studies conducted by Kim et al. (2013) and Hou, Kim, and Wang (2016) among 379 and 350 Immigrant Chinese families and their adolescent children respectively in the U.S. demonstrated that unsupportive parenting and parent-child sense of alienation appear to cause more depressive symptoms, delinquent behaviours and lower school

success among Chinese American adolescents. Role of alienation as a mediating factor for mental health problems among immigrant adolescents was also identified in the study of Safipour (2011) in Sweden. It was found that the more severe mental health problems are associated with higher feelings of alienation and the feeling of alienation was associated with self-reported physical health problems.

Different levels of acculturation and enculturation and their relation with alienation was also researched by Merz et al. (2009) with 2028 first and second generation immigrant family members in Netherlands with an immigration background from Turkey, Morocco, Suriname, and The Dutch Antilles. Their survey study concluded that second generation immigrants were less likely to place value on family solidarity and traditions of culture of origin than the first generation immigrants which contended to lead to alienation among family members.

Low acculturation as a mediating factor for alienation was found to be researched in relation to different domains of alienation among immigrants. For example, a qualitative study investigated the mechanisms of political alienation and their relation to acculturation attitudes among 15 17-19-year-old non-western immigrant students in Norway. In this study political alienation was described as "citizen's subjective feelings about their abilities to affect the political systems at the individual level" (Buhl, Gniewoszn and Noack, 2009 as cited in Solhaug, 2012, p.5). Interviews with the immigrant students revealed that perceived cultural gaps and political contrasts between their place of origin and the new environment, fear of consequences of their political engagement for themselves or their family, perception of the immigrant role as a guest and future perspectives in terms of residence and belonging have all resulted in political alienation, impacting their political engagement and their belief on their ability to influence the political system.

Another study conducted by Yu et al. (2003) with 15, 200 adolescents of various ethnic and racial backgrounds in the U.S., related alienation with language spoken at home as an indicator of acculturation and found that adolescents who are not speaking English at home are more likely to experience bullying and alienation from their classmates.

Lastly, two different studies among college students and adolescents explained alienation as a result of prejudice against and discrimination of minority and immigrant students. In their study of 879 college students of four ethnic groups in the U.S. Cabrera and Nora (1994), regarded alienation as a three stage process in which intolerance lead to perceptions by minority groups of prejudice and discrimination against them and this resulted in feeling of alienated. Likewise, Benner and Kim (2009), researched the influences of discrimination on socio-emotional adjustment and academic performance of 444 Chinese American adolescents in the U.S and demonstrated that discrimination in early adolescence caused depressive symptoms as well as alienation.

Gender and refugee women

Having reviewed the literature on alienation among refugees and immigrants, it is also necessary to have a brief look at the literature on the influence of gender norms and roles on refugee women as they are the focus in this study.

A study conducted Northcote et al. (2006) among 38 Muslim refugees through focus groups and five open ended interviews with key informants from settlement service organization in Australia pointed out a range factors that, together, reinforced a cycle of social isolation and marginalized them in the wider Australian community. These factors included poor English

competency, separation from family members who remained in their country of origin, ethnic closure and minimal interaction with non-Muslim Australians, poor education, and social constraints imposed on them by their husbands and relatives.

A study conducted by Hatoss and Huijser (2010) to explore the educational opportunities and barriers faced by Sudanese refugees in Australia revealed similar findings. Accordingly, family obligations arising from the previously established gender roles, posed challenges to women's pathways to education in the country of settlement. It was also suggested that the participant women considered education as an opportunity to gain agency to change their lives yet their ability to improve their educational attainments were found to be impeded with their limited level of English and obligations to fulfil in their domestic spheres. However, Hatoss and Huijser (2010) also highlighted that despite such gender roles confining and isolating women within the domestic sphere and preventing their participation in public spaces and paid employment opportunities, they also provided instances of stability in the face of severe dislocation difficulties. Therefore, it was suggested that gender roles can be highly sensitive within the context of displacement and resettlement and staying mindful to their meaning for the refugees is necessary when attempting to change them to improve women's agency, social, economic and educational advancement.

Similar findings were also found also found in a study conducted by Watkins, Razee and Richters (2012) among Karen refugee women in Australia through ethnographic observations and interviews with 67 participants. The study underscored the need for sensitivity to refugees' backgrounds, cultures and gender when investigating their educational attainments. The study revealed that Karen women's cultural customs and gender roles, such as caring for children and elderly and household labour impeded their attendance to English language education. It was highlighted that, their gender roles "limited their opportunities for interaction beyond the home environment" (ibid., p.134). As a result, their language and communication difficulties were found to create a loss of self-efficacy and underpin feelings of stress and helplessness due to developing a belief they cannot do anything outside of their domestic spheres.

In another study carried out by Rida and Milton (2001), among a group of 23 migrant Muslim women in Australia, revealed that the cultural and religious affiliations of Muslim women impinged their decision to attend mixed-sex English language classes. It was found that, a number participants faced opposition from their spouses or other people in their communities. Their acquaintances in their families and social networks were found to exert significant influence on their participation in the language classes and since they were expected to fulfil their domestic roles. It was also revealed that the women who have supportive networks that perceive the English language proficiency as necessary, were more likely to attend to the classes.

However, studies among refugees and immigrants from different ethnic and religious backgrounds reflected different findings as to influence of gender norms on women and their experiences in the country of settlement. For example, in Korac's (2013) study among former Yugoslavian refugees in Rome, it was found that, most of the participants in the study group did not have previously established kinship ties and in Rome or Italy and they were inclined to establish new kinship ties and form diverse networks. Within that context, women were found to have an advantage over men as they were employed in live-in housekeeper jobs and developed valuable contacts and friendship ties with their employers and also with friends and relatives of the families of employers. Such work opportunities were also found to create an environment conducive to learning Italian. However, all the women in the study described their

work as live-in housekeepers as a prison-like experience, and reported they faced a "lack of control over their time and feeling of isolation from the outside world" (ibid., p. 405).

Former Yugoslavian female citizens' involvement in economic activities in the study of Korac (2003) contradicts the situation of women in the above presented studies and requires researchers to consider the women's historical, socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds as suggested in the study of Franz (2003) with Bosnian refugees resettled in the US and Austria. Accordingly, it was revealed that the Bosnian women in her study group, upon their resettlement, continued to uphold their former roles in their families and traditions but also engaged in the socioeconomic activities in their host societies. It was reported that the Bosnian refugees were not interested in their own emancipation nor sought to have a gender-neutral life after they were resettled, yet they transferred and adapted their traditional gender roles to the new socioeconomic context. The study underscored that, the participants' cultural and traditional roles and behavioural patterns in the domestic sphere constituted their Bosnian identities in which family and children have important roles.

The above presented studies show that the influence of the gender dynamics do change depending on the refugee women's countries of origin, cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds. Syrians' perceptions as to the gender norms and roles and their influence on the Syrian women are also different. Bosswall and Al Akash (2015) conducted an ethnographic study, including focus groups and semi-structured interviews with 50 Syrian refugee women aged between 14 to 66, in northern Jordan and investigated their experiences and emotions in displacement. It was found that, the participants' movement were dependent on availability of men, therefore, many women interviewed were reportedly confined to their homes for months. As a result, women's interaction with social groups were found to be limited. Such confinement was also found to limit their opportunities to gain employment, education and involvement in activities outside of their homes, and, eventually, resulted in social isolation, anxiety and loneliness. Besides this, the study also reported that, financial difficulties and the perceived threat of rape in the camp settings, forced many parents to agree to the marriage of their minor or young daughters in order to protect their honour. It was highlighted that many parents believed that their daughters could be safe at home away from the strangers in the camp. However, it was also reported that, such haste and coercive marriage decisions for young Syrian girls to unknown men function to increase their isolation in the new home they move after getting married.

There are studies indicating that the financial difficulties of displacement forced Syrian women break through the traditional gender norms and become involved in the public sphere by engaging in income generating activities in Jordan and Lebanon (Harvey, Garwood and El-Masri, 2013; Ritchie, 2017). Though, conservative norms surrounding the gender roles continue to hold Syrian women responsible for domestic chores and limit their movement outside of domestic sphere. In 2013, it was reported that nearly one third of Syrian men in and out of the camps in Jordan were not willing to let women to engage in economic activities (Ritchie, 2017). These studies also report that, freedom of movement for women in Syria was also limited before the war, yet risks of gender based violence, was indicated to have added further pressures and curtailed Syrian women and adolescent girls from the activities and social interactions outside of their domestic spheres (ibid.).

Certainly, gender dynamics is only one of the aspects that can result in feelings of social isolation and helplessness among refugee women them. Though, displacement is indicated to contain further risk factors for refugee children and youth regardless of their gender. The exile

experience of refugee children and youth involves multiple losses, traumatic experiences and continuing hardships in the host country. They are likely to have lost important others, such as parents, family members or friends (Ajdukovic and Ajdukovic, 1993; Berman, 2001). Refugee experience also involves interrupted education, loss of home, loss of parental support and protection (ibid.), loss of social networks, familiar social and cultural environment, social status, customs and habits; all of which were indicated as conducive factors for social isolation and loss of the sense of security and self-identification (Derluyn and Broakaert, 2008). For example, through semi structured in-depth interviews with 28 Bosnian refugees in the US, Miller et al. (2002) indicated social isolation stemming from loss of community and social relations as one of the primary sources of exile related distress among the participants. Post-migration difficulties were also found to alter the refugees' relationships with their families. In another study conducted among, again, Bosnian refugees in the US, family members reported that, the long hours spent at work and the economic pressures to seek economic opportunities decreased their quality family time (Weine, 2008).

On a broader level, immigrant and refugees were found to establish good relationships with other refugees or immigrants from their own countries since such networks were indicated to diminish the feelings of alienation and loneliness and provide knowledge and resources to overcome uncertainty and financial difficulties throughout the post-migration or displacement phase as contended by Goldin, Cameron and Balarajan (2011). However, a recent study conducted by Stevens (2016), through 46 semi-structured interviews with Syrian households and 20 key informants in Jordan, shows that this further should also be approached with the refugees or immigrants' sociocultural and economic backgrounds in mind. Accordingly, it was found that, the social networks were heavily under-utilized and the majority of the households were not interacting with each other, turning for help or providing emotional support to each other to ease their shock and loneliness. Isolation was found to be a decision made by the households to cope with lack of resources. That is to say, Syrians were not turning each other for help since they were found to be avoiding the shame of not being able to help in return. They were also found feeling ashamed of disclosing their degraded socioeconomic status to others. Collapse of such networks and relationships among Syrians were found to aggravate their loneliness, boredom and depression, yet, such challenges were reportedly ignored to deal with their tangible needs such as shelter and poverty.

Conclusion

The above presented studies differ in their approach to notion of alienation. Some of them employed it as a concept and developed or validated scales to measure it with its sub-dimensions. For example, Nicassio (1983) developed an alienation scale and researched the relationship between alienation and socioeconomic, sociocultural and psychosocial adaptation among 460 Indochinese refugees in the US. Likewise, Safipour (2011) translated and validated the Jessor and Jessor social alienation scale which was designed to measure general feelings of alienation among adolescents, to explore the relationship between social alienation and self-reported health. Safipour (2011), also considered the role of socioeconomic factors and immigration background in exploring this relationship. On the other hand, particularly in the studies among immigrants, alienation was mostly used as a loosely defined term without its conceptual background in consideration. This is notably seen in the studies relating alienation to immigrants' separation from the majority society and from their own children due to low acculturation.

Unlike the above presented studies that used the alienation as a concept or referred to it as a term, this study does not measure alienation through any scale yet it does not refer to alienation

as a loosely defined term either. This study seeks to understand the participants' refugee experiences by using the notion of alienation as a conceptual lens and relate their experiences to, mainly, social isolation and powerlessness variations of alienation as reported previously. Therefore, it differs significantly from previous studies in terms of its methodology as well as findings that were presented and discussed in the next sections.

As for the studies among refugee women; the above presented studies show that gender does not always emerge as a risk or a protective factor in exile. It appears that the influence of gender norms and roles and how they are perceived by refugee women differs depending on their ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds. In the above presented studies. As it can be seen from some of the above presented studies, previously established gender norms and roles continue to influence refugee women in their host countries and restrain their educational and economic attainments and participation in social life. In the face of risk factors, such as, physical and sexual violence, women were found to be confined to home and deprived of social interactions outside for prolonged periods. All of these factors were found to result in feelings of isolation, loneliness and helplessness and separate them from the wider society in some of above presented studies. However, it is also seen that, the refugee women cannot be displayed as vulnerable and dependent within the context of displacement. Economic insecurities after displacement were also found to change the gender roles among refugees and help them to transgress their confinement within their home and engage in income generating activities and social space outside of home, as in the case of some Syrian women in Jordan and Lebanon. Lastly, a few studies on the altered relationships of refugees at different levels and the reasons behind these changes were also presented since the sample group of this study can be considered to be in their late adolescent years in which, social intimacy, support, assistance, encouragement, trust and acceptance of parents, family members and relevant others carry particular importance (Mhaidat and Alharbi, 2016; Malekoff, 2014) and were seemed to be impeded or lacked by refugee youth in the above presented studies. It is certainly acknowledged that, these difficulties in general represent the characteristics of refugee experience, yet it can be postulated that they are very likely to leave Syrian female refugee youth triply disadvantaged considering their age, and the role of gender norms and roles in their culture.

4. METHODOLOGY

Research Design

This study aims to gain understanding on and analyze the lives of a group of young female Syrian refugees in Turkey, through the perspective of the concept of alienation. Therefore, the qualitative research approach which tends to be concerned with words rather than numbers in the collection and analysis of data; and views and interprets events and the social world through the perspective of people being studied (Cresswell, 2014; Bryman, 2016) has been employed. In accord with the characteristics of the qualitative approach, as asserted by Marshall and Rossman (2006) and Cresswell (2014), the data was collected in participants' natural settings and any subjective meanings they ascribe to their experiences and feelings after fleeing to Turkey were explored and interpreted within the framework of social isolation and powerlessness, which are representing the concept of alienation.

As for the research design, it is challenging to minimize this study with one research design since it entails components of both Descriptive and Exploratory research designs. It is descriptive since it focuses on -as can be understood from the formulation of the research questions- what factors are likely to create an environment of social isolation and feelings of powerlessness for the participants and also what are the participants' perceptions and thoughts as to their changed relationships after their displacement. Therefore, as Nassaji (2015) explains this study is concerned with *what is* rather than *why.* Besides this, the exploratory research design components of this study cannot be overlooked. Despite the vast amount of literature on Syrian refugees in Turkey and in other countries, virtually there are not any studies on alienation among them. This study intends to explore their refugee experiences and gain understating of it by using the concept of alienation therefore it corresponds to exploratory research design which focuses on new, unexplored topics or adds to the available knowledge by using a different perspective as contended by Yin (2003).

Philosophical Orientation

Qualitative approach and the aim of this study imply a commitment to social constructivist philosophical worldview. Social constructivism requires researcher to rely on participants' subjective views on the situation being studied and understand the meanings they construct through their historical and social perspectives to interpret them (Cresswell, 2014). Accordingly, in this study, participants' perceived feelings related to the social phenomenon of alienation, represented by feelings of powerlessness and social isolation and also social conditions behind those feelings were sought to be understood and analysed through their own accounts. Considering that the participants' refugee experiences are very likely to be influenced by their new social environment, social constructivist perspective was opted since it acknowledges that the reality is constructed by both individuals and social factors (Teater, 2010).

Induction – Deduction

The relationship between the theory and research is either deductive; theory guides research, or inductive, theory is an outcome of research (Bryman, 2016). Although qualitative research emphasizes inductive approaches in which the focus is on generation of theories, the inductive process is likely to entail a degree of deduction and vice versa (ibid.). Although the qualitative nature of this study implies it to be inductive, it would not be correct to call it completely inductive. Because the theoretical knowledge related to the concepts of social isolation and

powerlessness inevitably affected the preparation of the interview guide, analysis of the findings as well as their management and interpretation throughout the analysis process. Therefore, this study can be located in the middle of an upside-down triangle in which the pointy bottom part represents the starting point of an inductive approach while the wide top surface is representing the starting place of a deductive approach.

Literature Review Search Methods and Limitation Criteria

Finding relevant literature on alienation among refugees and/or immigrants has been very challenging due to vast amount of research available on the concept of Alienation. And the fact that alienation has correlations in different disciplines such as philosophy, sociology, psychology and so forth and that it has been approached from different perspectives, it was quite challenging to find relevant sources in the field of migration, refugees and particularly among women. Therefore, the literature search process has been limited and conducted through combinations of different keywords, namely: alienation AND refugees OR immigrants, Syrian refugees AND alienation, women AND Alienation, gender AND alienation, adolescent refugees AND alienation, adolescent refugees, Syrian refugees in Turkey, adolescence AND forced migration, adolescent Syrian refugees AND Turkey, refugee women, adolescent refugee girls. Using these keywords, the research process was conducted using the following main databases and search engines in addition to the library catalogue of the University of Gothenburg: ProQuest Social Science Database, Web of Science, Jstor, Science Direct, Scopus, Ebscohost and Google Scholar. A thorough search was particularly conducted through the library catalogue and ProQuest Social Science database.

As a result, a high number of articles, books, doctoral dissertations as well as *grey* literature were reached. Particularly, articles took an extensive place in the literature used in this study. Throughout the search process, priority was given to relevance, publication title and to *anywhere except full text* options. I did not attempt to find or choose the most recent publications since I have not been able to identify many studies on alienation among refugees and women. Therefore, I tried to use them all regardless of their publication date. The identified literature paved the way for reaching more related resources. The literature review was an ongoing process throughout this study. It has been developed and updated as the new resources identified and/or needed.

Sampling Procedure

Recruitment of the participants and the selection criterion

In this study more than one sampling approach was used. Research questions, along with the researcher's knowledge about certain groups (Berg, 2009), inform the sampling methods and are likely to provide guidelines as to which categories of people need to be the focus of attention and sampled (Bryman, 2016). With this in mind, purposive sampling approach was employed which aims to sample participants who are relevant to the research questions (ibid.). Inclusion criteria for the purposive sampling approach were participants' age and gender. To put it more explicitly, female Syrians in their late adolescence years, between 16 and 21 years old, were recruited as the focus of this study is adolescent female Syrians. Younger adolescents were not included since the participants were invited to the gatekeeper organization's office for the interviews and it was thought that their parents may have not felt comfortable as to their children's safety on their way to the office and back to their homes (despite all contacted parents and participants were offered to be collected by car offered by the gatekeeper organization). It should also be noted that, the age ranges defining the adolescence periods are not standard and, for example, according to different studies late adolescence may start at 14 or 15 years old and

extend until 19 or 21 (APA, 2002; Sawyer et al., 2012). Given this, this study focused on late adolescents group as much as practically possible in order to ease parents' mind as to their children's safety.

On the other hand, the recruited participants were reached through, and identified, among the beneficiaries of the below presented humanitarian aid organization in Turkey. Therefore, the sampling strategy of this study also corresponds with the convenience sampling method. The convenience sample is also referred to as availability sample, and relies upon subjects who are available and accessible for the research (Berg, 2009). Residential address, along with gender and age, were the selection criteria for this sampling approach. That is to say, since the interviews were planned to be, and some of them were, carried out in the office of the gatekeeper organization -in order to provide participants a private atmosphere without any adult influence from their families- they were recruited from the same neighbourhood as the organization's office.

Another reason behind employing the convenience sampling approach is the challenges experienced in the field. That is to say, in total, contact details of 82 parents who were once beneficiaries of the gatekeeper organization and whose daughters are eligible to be recruited in this study, in terms of their age, were obtained from the gatekeeper organization. The obtained contacts were called by telephone and informed about the study by a Syrian female research assistant -who has been presented in next sections- and asked permission for their children's participation. 27 out of 82 obtained contacts were either failed to be reach or have travelled to different cities and countries, and thus were not able to participate. Out of 82, it appeared that 15 children and young women have been married, out of which, 7 were under 18-years-old and 4 were 18-years-old. Despite the fact married or engaged participants were not planned to be excluded in the sample group, their parents *meant* that it is inconvenient for them to participate in this study and therefore this functioned as a block to their participation. Lastly, a total of 32 parents and children either did not come to the interviews despite them having previously agreed on participating when they were first called and informed, or they did not want to interview at all. Alongside this many parents who agreed with their children's participation but did not come to the interviews, did not even answer the phones when the research assistant rang to ask whether they would still be coming.

This study was initially planned to be conducted with those who have been living in Turkey for more than three years. Because it was postulated that it would have been ethically and methodologically more sound to recruit participants who are more settled in the new country they fled to and less distracted and worried about their immediate and vital needs, such as stable and sufficient income, housing, health and education services and so forth. However, as one can see, difficulties faced in the field and time constraints have obliged me to contact all potential Syrian female participants who are between 16 and 21 years old and employ a convenient sampling approach. Finally, eight participants who were identified through, and among the beneficiaries of the gatekeeper organization, were allowed by their parents and were personally willing to participate in this study.

Lastly, two participants were recruited through personal contacts of the research assistant and a staff member of the gatekeeper organization since it had become nearly impossible to identify and reach more participants from that neighbourhood within the limited time I had in the field. Considering the above explained difficulties, laborious telephone calls and innumerable frustrations, I was, at the end, obliged to be opportunistic and recruit participants from whoever was accessible and available in the field.

Gatekeeping

Gatekeeping is used as the main access point to the participants in this study. Access to the participants were gained through a branch of an international humanitarian organization in Ankara, Turkey. Firstly, a project manager and head of the organization were contacted and informed about the aim and scope of the study. They were asked for contact details of their eligible beneficiaries and permission to use their office for conducting the interviews. Once they agreed to help, I was sent to their aid office that is located in a relatively remote neighbourhood and has a high population of Syrians. Within there, a protection officer was contacted and informed of the selection criterion for the sample, namely, gender, age group and closeness to their office. Subsequently, I was provided with contact details of a total of 82 parents whose daughters were eligible to be recruited in this study, in terms of their age and residential address.

Having said all this, due consideration has been demonstrated to avoid the risks of using gatekeepers to gain initial access to the participants. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), stresses that the problem of access and the potential risks for the participants are not resolved or avoided once a cooperative and friendly relationship have been established with the gatekeepers. In this research, there could have been an *aider-aide recipient* type of power relationship between the gatekeeper and their beneficiaries. Thus, possible exercise of power by the gatekeeper organization might have influenced participants' voluntary participation which is highlighted by Pittaway, Bartolomei and Hugman (2010) for similar researches with vulnerable groups. This issue was addressed by directly explaining my role in this research and independency from the gatekeeper organization and my inability to create a reciprocal relationship between them. In the first private meeting with the participants and/or their parents, it was explained to them that their non-attendance will not result in any lack of support from the gatekeeper organization and that they are free to cancel their participation which will not be reported back to the gatekeepers, in order to make them feel comfortable. The very same issue was addressed for the participant children and young women too. In the beginning of the interviews they were told that, they should not feel obliged by their parents or anyone else to participate in this study and their non-participation will not be reported to their parents or create any conflict.

Sample Size and The Participants

According to Cresswell (2014) and Patton (2002), there are no certain criteria as to how many sites and participants should be sampled in qualitative research. Sample size could be large if the researcher is seeking breadth or it could be small if the researcher seeking depth (Patton, 2002). However, this trade-off between depth and breadth also depends on the resources, such as time and budget the researcher has (Sandelowski, 1995; (Patton, 2002) In the face of such relativity and drawbacks, adequate sample size is described as one that allows a deep analysis and that results in a new and richly textured understanding of experience (Sandelowski, 1995). It is also emphasized that "the sampling is terminated when no new information is forthcoming" (Patton, 2002, p.246). In this present study, due to limited time for data collection, three weeks in Ankara, Turkey, initially 12 participants were aimed to be sampled and this number was aimed to be increased until the researcher perceives that there is no new information is forthcoming. However, the above presented difficulties faced in the recruitment process, 10 participants were recruited. Though, it is firmly believed that the sample size of this study has been rather adequate to answer the research questions posed and permitted deep analysis on the investigated topic. Therefore, the sample size was not attempted to be increased in order to avoid *redundancy* as underscored by Patton (2002).

Despite expectations of reaching a more heterogeneous sample, seven out of ten participants turned out to be from Aleppo governorate of Syria. The remaining three were from Damascus, Deir ez-Zur and Idlib. Across the 10, three were 21 years old; two were 20 years old, one was 19 years old, two were 18 years old and two 17 years old. This study was initially planned to be conducted with those who have been living in Turkey for more than three years for afore mentioned reasons. However, among the sample group that I was able to reach, only two of them had been living in Turkey for three years. Two of them had been living in Turkey for eight and nine months and the rest of the six were ranging from one to two years.

There has not been any sampling criterion as to education or marital status of the participants. There is only one participant who is enrolled with a University in Turkey. Another one had left her university education from the second-year back in Syria. The rest were not able to finish their secondary (1-9 grade) or upper secondary education (9-12 grade) back in Syria. All of the participants had to leave school back in Syria due to the conflict and displacement. Except the one who is continuing her university education back in Turkey, neither of the participant were schooled in Turkey. Amongst all, four were going to Turkish language course and one was enrolled to a boarding Quran course. There was only one participant who is working (in a hair dressers), except her and the university student, all were only occupationally involved with housework. As for the marital status, two participants among all were engaged and the rest of the eight were single.

The fact that the majority of the participants were recruited from the same neighbourhood in Ankara, Turkey and are mostly from the Aleppo governorate of Syria, means they do not represent Syrian adolescent females in general fully or those living in Turkey. Though, it would not have been possible to include participants with a wide variety of demographic backgrounds within the modest sample of this study. Yet it can be said the interviewed participants are likely to represent a great number of Syrian adolescents in terms of their education and socio-economic status considering the high number unschooled Syrians who are living dependent on humanitarian aid in Turkey.

Data Collection Method and Process

Semi-structured In-depth Interviews

Data collection of this research was conducted through semi-structured in-depth interviews. The choice of semi-structured interview was motivated by the qualitative research approach of this study as well as semi structured in-depth interviews' ability to allow participants emphasize their own perspectives, give them room for rich and detailed answers and eventually provide insights into the investigated phenomena through their own views and perceptions (Bryman, 2016). Semi-structured interviews, as underscored by Kvale (1996) and Brinkmann (2003), provide researchers a chance to be visible as a knowledge producing actor in the data collection process and freedom to ask probing and specifying questions in order to follow up or investigate more, to obtain descriptions from the participants as to the investigated phenomenon of alienation.

All interviews were planned to be carried out in the office of the gatekeeper organization in order to provide a private and comfortable environment for the participants when answering questions. However, not all the participants and their parents were willing to come to the office despite the offer by the gatekeeper organization, including a collection and return by car from and to their homes. Finally, four interviews were carried out in the office and four interviews were carried out in the participants' homes. The two participants who were reached through

personal contacts of the research assistant and a staff member of the gatekeeper organization were interviewed at a café and a park that were chosen by them. It should be noted that, the participants who were interviewed outside of their houses were more outspoken and comfortable during the interviews. We were allowed to sit privately with three of the participants who were interviewed at their homes, yet their parents were able to hear us from the other rooms or while passing by us. And in one interview, the participant's mother sat with us since the participant's father was not at home and, reportedly, he would not approve us interviewing their daughter privately as they were a conservative family. The family members' presence is believed to have an impact on the participants' responses. For example, the participants who were not interviewed in their homes were more outspoken about the restricting gender norms, early marriages and so forth as they are presented in the findings and analysis section.

Most of the interviews lasted around 40 minutes and a few around an hour. Only one interview was carried out in English and the rest were carried out in Arabic and were simultaneously translated into English by the research assistant whose presence made the participants and their families very comfortable due to cross cutting issues of gender and culture as comprehensively explained in a later section of *use of a research assistant* in this report. All of the interviews were tape recorded by permission of the participants.

The Interview Guide

The interview guide (please refer to appendix 3) was prepared in a way to obtain answers for the research's aim and questions. It contains a few different sets of questions to gain understanding on participants' lives through the lens of the concepts of alienation, social isolation and powerlessness. The questions were not customized from any quantitative scale or formulated exclusively based on the definitions of these concepts. The interview guide was informed by the literature study on alienation among refugees and immigrants, concepts of powerlessness and social isolation and lastly, discussions with the researcher's supervisor and with another scholar who conducted a doctoral research on alienation and self-reported health among immigrant and non-immigrant Swedish youth. Accordingly, a set of interview questions were developed in a way to understand participants' relations with their friends, family and social milieu including school, neighbourhood and the community they were living in. The second set of questions were formulated to in a way to understand their, worries, wishes and desires at time of interview and in their futures. Also, the effects of displacement and socioeconomic conditions that hamper the realization and their control and power over their wishes and desires. Additionally, a few questions were included to understand their day to day lifestyles. And lastly, a final question was added to understand positive, gratifying and pleasing aspects of their lives.

Use of Research Assistant

The fact that I am not fully competent in the participants' mother tongue, Arabic, which is also my parents' mother tongue, and not all the participants were able to converse in Turkish or English, a female Syrian research assistant facilitated our contacts with the participants and their parents and provided simultaneous translation from Arabic to English and vice versa throughout the interviews. Given that, involvement of research assistants may have had strong influence over the research process and outcomes, regarding flawed or biased data resulting from the translation; and neglecting such issues might have resulted in misleading results as suggested by Jacobsen and Landau (2003) and Deane and Stevano (2016). In this sense, I, as a researcher, took part in all the interviews and have been able to follow up and monitor the

dialogues and understand nearly all of them between the participant and the research assistant and able to ask probing, specifying and directing questions with my limited Arabic language skills. In this regard, the risk of having flawed data from the interviews was reduced as much as practically possible. Furthermore, differences between the research assistant and I together and participants and their parents in terms of intersecting issues of gender, political and religious affiliation, education, wealth, age, ethnicity and culture are likely to raise some concerns and create power differentials as highlighted by Jacobsen and Landau (2003) and Deane and Stevano (2016). In this regard, before the meetings were held, sensitive issues, for example, way of greeting, style of dress, and so forth were taken into account and discussed with the research assistant in order to avoid uncomfortable, inconvenient and inconsiderate situations. In that sense, having a female Syrian research assistant has been a very important advantage to learn about and address these issues. Besides this, neither I nor the research assistant were familiar with the participants' neighbourhoods and we were both aware that careless disclosure of the interview findings may increase vulnerability of the participants as underscored by Mackenzie et al. (2007) thanks to our professional work experience in humanitarian aid work back in 2014 and 2015 in Turkey. All of these factors are believed to enhance confidentiality and do no harm principle in this research. On the other hand, participants and their parents were iteratively told that neither of us are affiliated with any political or religious groups and that the findings would only be used for academic purposes in order to provide reassurance in terms of confidentiality. Lastly, there was not a labour relationship between me and the research assistant since she was an old colleague with whom I had long worked together and developed a very strong, honest and mutually respectful relationship. Instead, she was personally motivated by the opportunity to take part in this social research and learning qualitative research methodology which helped us to establish a well-functioning professional relationship.

Role of the Researcher and the Research Assistant

Initially, I as the researcher had planned to take a passive role throughout the interviews in order to avoid leading the participants and allow them give their accounts. However, in many interviews, I had to intervene in order to explain what was meant by the questions posed, give personal accounts to engage them to speak in more depth and pose structural questions to move to another topic when their accounts started to become irrelevant or they felt uncomfortable. As for the research assistant, her role was quite passive as she was only tasked to translate the questions to and answers. However, there were moments where she provided immediate but short replies to participants when they needed short clarifications for the questions posed. Such replies were followed carefully in order to prevent posing of leading questions.

Analysis Process

Transcription and Translation

The interview records were transcribed word by word in a relatively naturalized way in which pauses, utterances and non-verbal vocalizations were captured and kept (Mason, Oliver and Serovic, 2005). However, during the analysis process, such nonverbal conversations, pauses and utterances were found to be ineffective in the interpretation of the findings, therefore they were left out. In order to save time, the interviews were not transcribed completely. For example, the introduction parts in which the participants were given thanks for their participation or informed about their rights are not translated. Besides, the parts that are irrelevant to the topic, for example, my personal accounts to build rapport with them or to

comfort them were not transcribed. Yet, the records were listened several times to enhance the accuracy of the transcriptions and to capture all the important data

Out of ten interviews, only one of them was carried out in English and without the research assistant, the rest were conducted in Arabic with the help of a research assistant in translation from English to Arabic and vice versa between me and the participants. Despite the nine transcriptions of the interviews being translated into English, they were not directly transcribed from the translation of the research assistant. Since I do understand Arabic, I was able to understand nearly all of the participants' responses in Arabic and translated them word-for-word by myself rather than relying on the research assistant's translation. Although there was not too much difference between my translation and the research assistant's, mine was more accurate since I did not have to do it simultaneously and had time to do it word-for word unlike the research assistant. In this way, the validity of the transcriptions is believed to be enhanced.

Organization of the findings: Thematic Analysis

The findings were organized and analysed using the thematic analysis method which is described as a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns, in other words, themes, within data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The underlying rationale for choosing thematic analysis is its flexibility allowing it to suit different theoretical frameworks (ibid.) That is to say, it can be used as a realist method to report experiences, meanings and the reality of the participants; or as a constructivist method to examine and unravel the socially produced meanings and experiences of the participants; or lastly, it can be used in between these two poles as a *contextualist* method by acknowledging the participants' experiences and the influence of the social context on these experiences while and maintaining its focus on the material and other limits of reality (ibid.) It is my belief that narrative analysis could have provided a better understanding of participants' displacement experiences, however, as previously noted, the data collected is not *thick* or *rich* enough -due to having to translate their replies during the interviews- to allow us understand and analyse the multiple dimensions of their accounts. Though, thematic analysis worked quite well too as it allowed me to reflect their experiences as well as social factors behind them.

Once the transcription of the interview records was completed, the findings were read attentively several times, with the research aims and theoretical interests in mind, in order to get familiarized with the data. During the reading process, initial codes were generated for each participant's interview. In the next stage, independent of the participants, the generated codes were combined and grouped under a number of initial themes using a mind-map, which was quite helpful to organize the codes and the initial themes iteratively. The themes were formulated based on common and repetitive patterns in the interviews, yet, inconsistent or contradicting accounts on the same issue were not left out and also included. The initial thematic map was refined and developed several times on the mind-map and the codes were finally grouped under multiple subthemes, all of which fell under two main themes at the end. During this process, as Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest, the subthemes were created with the aim that they can be meaningful and coherent together while the main themes were created to be as clear and identifiable as possible. Once I decided upon the main themes, I went back to the entire data set and collected the data extracts under their respective subthemes based on the codes generated. Having all the data in collated order also gave me the chance to review and edit them again and ensure relevance within a subtheme.

It should be noted that the entire analysis process was conducted based on a particular data set, rather than the entire data collected since some parts of the interviews were not *inspiring* or *relevant*. The reason for this choice also stemmed from the aim of the research; gaining understanding of the participants lives using the concept of alienation represented by the concepts of social isolation and powerlessness. Therefore, despite the themes identified being based on the data, they were identified with the theoretical interests in mind as underscored by Braun and Clarke (2006). Lastly, the analysis process was conducted with social constructivist philosophical orientation of this study in mind. That is to say, the influence of the sociocultural and socioeconomic factors upon the participants' accounts were tried to be captured and reflected in the findings and analysis as much as the data extracts allowed.

Validity and Reliability

In qualitative research, since the data-collecting instrument is the researcher himself/herself, his/her subjectivity, bias and competency are very likely to, if unchecked, influence the trustworthiness of the data (Brink, 1993). However, traditional concepts of validity and reliability that are used in evaluating the quality of quantitative research (Bryman, 2016) carry different connotations and are introduced differently to qualitative research (Cresswell, 2014). Qualitative validity is checked through different procedures and concerned with correctness, accuracy and truthfulness of the findings (Brink, 1993; Cresswell, 2014); while qualitative reliability is related to consistency, stability and repeatability (Brink, 1993; Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015). It is concerned with whether the research findings are reproducible through the same or comparable research methods at other times, across different researchers and different projects (Brink, 1993; Cresswell, 2014; Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015).

In this study, multiple strategies were employed to enhance the validity of the findings. As suggested by Brink (1993), the participants were clearly informed of the aim and scope of the study to make sure they were clear about the research. My three weeks spent in the field gave me the opportunity to better understand participants' settings and be more reflective in the presentation of the findings and their analysis which is asserted to give more credibility to the participants' accounts (Brink, 1993; Cresswell, 2014). It was not quite possible to convey the findings with thick and rich descriptions as suggested by Cresswell (2014). Because most of the time the participants had to keep their accounts short so that the research assistant could translate them fully. However, common accounts among these short ones were also summarised and included in the findings and analysis. Although a few, inconsistent or contradicting findings were also presented. My position and the research assistant's position and backgrounds were discussed in detail in the respective parts of this report since they are likely to influence the data collection and their interpretation. Lastly, I drew up this report on my own and did not have any peer debriefer to check whether it resonates to people other than me as recommended by Cresswell (2014), To overcome this drawback, the research process has been conducted as transparently as possible. That is to say, the interviews were recorded in a quality way, transcribed word by word and the interview guide and the sample informed consent forms were presented in the appendixes.

As for the reliability, it is hard to anticipate whether the findings of this research are reproducible through similar research methods by different researchers at other times. However, consistency of the participants' responses is believed to be enhanced with the semi-structured nature of the interviews which allowed them to speak freely and permitted me to ask additional questions to clarify their answers or ask for elaboration. Besides, the coherence and similarities among the participants in terms of their education status, gender, age, the governorate they had come from in Syria and the neighbourhood they are living in Turkey, are considered to be strong

factors to enhance the stability and repeatability of the findings. Reliability of the findings were also promoted by checking the transcriptions and the recordings several times to ensure they are typed, used and interpreted accurately and correctly as suggested by Cresswell (2014).

Ethical Considerations

There are ethical issues surrounding social research and its goals should not be pursued at all costs (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007). This study was undertaken in a difficult and complex setting in which its participants were vulnerable and possibly traumatized due to displacement and their dependence upon humanitarian help. These conditions necessitated the consideration of intersecting ethical issues of consent, power, confidentiality, trust, potential harm to participants as well as broader cross-cutting issues of gender and culture as suggested by Mackenzie et al., 2007; Pittaway et al., 2010).

Once contacted parents and participants by the gatekeeper agreed to participate in the study, they were called and informed about the aim and process of the study with clear and simplified language by the research assistant. Before the meetings were held for the interviews, cultural, religious and gender issues were discussed with the research assistant and given due consideration during the interviews. For instance, I, as a male researcher often had to avoid making eye-contact with the participants which seemed to make them feel uncomfortable rather than helping to build rapport. I also avoided handshakes with either participants or their mothers when we first met since it may have not been a preferred way of greeting between man and woman in their typical social interactions. Another example is that, in one of the interviews, a 15-minute break was taken since the participant had had to perform prayer upon the call of the Azan (call to prayer). Besides, the parents of the participants were iteratively told and assured that, the female research assistant will always be present during the interviews which was also asked about by them. Lastly, one of the interviews, that was conducted at the participants' home, was carried out in the presence of her mother since the father would not have approved us to interview his daughter privately, according to the participant's mother.

Informed consents of the participants who are under 18 years old were taken from their parents. The consent forms were translated to participants' native language; Arabic. Neither parents nor the participants were pressured to sign the consent form yet all of them were understanding and signed them. They were asked to sign two copies, out of which one was given to them and the other has been kept by me, as the researcher.

Pittaway et al. (2010) stressed that ethically unsound research practices may exploit and disempower refugees and promote distrust and may lead to emotional or material harm. Accordingly, to prevent emotional harm, avoid evoking adverse experiences and thoughts and cause re-traumatisation among the participants, the participants were told that they have the right to refuse to answer any of the questions and terminate the interview anytime, without giving any reason. Alongside this, participants' *mood,* gestures and responses to the answers were watched and considered carefully and, the research assistant and I tried to be vigilant and sensitive to what was said as well as how it was said during the interviews as suggested by Bryman (2016). For instance, in one of the interviews, the participant burst into tears. Therefore, she was asked whether she would like to end the interview or take a short break. Afterwards, a short break was taken and conversation passed on to another irrelevant conversation topic to distract her.

To prevent this research to be perceived as a mean that might create a reciprocal relationship between parents of the informants and the gatekeeper organization, the participants and their

parents were iteratively informed about my position as a master's student and also told that I, as the researcher, have no business relation with the organization. However, the respondents, demands, messages and questions for, and of people in the gatekeeper organization were listened and responded to in order to be able be cooperative with them rather than *using* them only for gathering data as underscored by Cresswell (2014). For example, a 21 years-old participant asked us how she can get a paid-voluntary job in the gatekeeper organization and she was given a contact detail of a gatekeeper that she can ask about this. Another example is that few unschooled participants were informed about the school registration procedure by the research assistant who is personally experienced as to how and when to take exams and where to do school enrolments and so forth.

The use of the gained private information and their public declaration may cause issues related to trust and confidentiality (Homan, 1992; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Pittaway et al., 2010). To overcome this, participants were informed that research data will be used anonymously and only for research purposes. and it will always be open to their access. The participants and their parents were also told that they can get a brief summary of the final report when it is concluded, in their own language, Arabic, if they would like to. Data that could make participants identifiable were removed from the report, for instance where they live, work or study. Besides these their names were changed to protect their confidentiality. The participants' questions or concerns were also not ignored during and after the interviews. That is to say, they were asked whether they have any questions to ask or concern to express. The consent forms also included my contact details in case they would like to add to or remove anything from their interviews or withdraw from the study afterwards.

Finally, Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) states that research may involve the exploitation of those studied since they supply the information and get little or nothing in return. I am also aware that participants might have felt exploited and thought that they are being objectified for the educational goals of a stranger. To avoid this, they were informed about my professional background as a social worker and that I am interested to learn more about their experiences related to feelings of social isolation and powerlessness in order to be able to address them once I am back at work. In doing so, I hoped to involve them as collaborators, appeal to them here offering an opportunity to feel important or suppose that there are intrinsic rewards in participation in this study and in assisting the pursuit of knowledge that may help to many humanitarian, care or social work professionals as suggested by Homan (1992).

5. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

In this chapter findings of the study are presented and analysed in relation to the past literature, theoretical framework on alienation (mainly presented by its social isolation and powerlessness dimensions as discussed in the Chapter 2) and the research questions in mind. Central and dominant features of the participants' accounts are analysed in relation to different aspects of alienation when it is relevant. Findings are also related to the reviewed literature. Although a few, inconsistent and contradicting narratives were also presented. The chapter is divided into two broad sections, representing two different themes that became evident in the collected data. Firstly, the gender norms and roles that inhibit the participants' free movement, education opportunities and marriage decisions along with the post-migration socioeconomic difficulties are presented and analysed. The findings that are presented and analysed in the first chapter is mostly related to the first research question whilst the second section focus on the second research question. In the second and last section, the participants altered relationships with their peer groups, family and the surrounding community members are focused and discussed as to how they can be conducive to social isolation. It should also be noted that, throughout this chapter and the entire study, alienation has also been considered and used as a single overarching construct along with its social isolation and powerlessness variants, when it is relevant. As noted earlier, there is a vast amount of literature on alienation in different disciplines, including philosophy, sociology and psychology. However, as it can be seen from the literature review in the Chapter 2, the studies on alienation among refugees are very few and they were not conducted using a gender perspective as this present study. Therefore, in this section, some additional relevant literature on refugee women and girls were incorporated to support or contrast the findings and position this study in a wider picture. Lastly, as can be seen in the following section, the participants' demographic information is also shared in a table in order to provide a context as to their backgrounds throughout the analysis of the findings.

Demographic information of the participants

Name[1]	Age	Province in Syria	Time in Turkey	Education Status: Syria-Turkey	Marital Status	Interview Place
Muna	21	Aleppo	1 year, 2 months	8th grade graduate – Not schooled, only attending a Turkish course.	Single	Gatekeeper's Office
Huda	18	Aleppo	2 years	8th grade graduate – Not schooled.	Single	Participant's Home
Ruba	20	Aleppo	2 years	11th grade graduate - Not schooled, working in a hairdresser.	Single	Participant's Home
Malak	19	Aleppo	1 year, 4 months	9th grade graduate – Not schooled.	Single	Participant's Home
Raneem	21	Aleppo	3 years	1st year University student in Turkey.	Single	Cafe
Nada	17	Aleppo	2 years	7th grade graduate – Not schooled.	Engaged	Gatekeeper's Office
Hayad	17	Damascus	8 months	8th grade graduate – Not schooled, attending a Turkish course.	Single	Gatekeeper's Office
Arwaa	20	Deir ez-Zur	1 years 3 months	11th grade graduate – Not schooled, attending a Turkish course.	Engaged	Gatekeeper's Office
Farah	18	Aleppo	3 years	9th grade graduate, not schooled – Only going to boarding Quran school.	Single	Participant's Home
Belqıs	21	Idlib	9 months	Left from 2nd year at University – Not schooled, attending a Turkish course.	Single	Park

[1] Names of all participants have been changed to protect their confidentiality.

Gender Norms and Roles

Introduction

Many of the participants' accounts as to their social relations, daily lives and future self-predictions showed that the influence of gender norms and roles have become more intense as a result of displacement and hinder their free movement, marriage decisions and education opportunities. These factors were found to constitute a self-reinforcing cycle of isolation and deprive them from the avenues and opportunities to gain the control over their own lives, all of which were presented and discussed in this section. Lastly, it should be noted that, while *gender* is a socially constructed notion for males and females; in this section of the study it is used to refer to the issues related to females.

Restricted freedom of movement: A girl does not go out

When participants were asked about their daily routines, it appeared from their accounts that nearly half of them are quite restricted due to gender norms. Gender norms has been referred as 'informal roles and shared social expectations that distinguish expected behaviour on the basis of gender' (Marcus et. al., 2015, p. 4). According to the World Health Organization, the term *gender* itself refers to socially constructed characteristics of men and women. These characteristics include social norms, appropriate behaviours for men and women; gender relations, the way men and women interact with others of the same or opposite sex within households, communities and workplace; and lastly, gender roles, the functions men and women are supposed to assume in society (WHO, 2015). Findings showed that, gender norms in the participants' lives, as Keleher and Franklin (2008) highlighted, manifest themselves not only in the household as gender-based social roles but also outside of their houses by restricting their movement and constraining them from education opportunities.

One of the participants, when asked whether she has ever felt isolated and lonely after fleeing to Turkey, gave her account as to how fleeing to Turkey changed her life and made her less able to move around due to the unfamiliar and *scary* environment as well as gender norms.

> When back in Syria, my life was different. I was younger and used to go to school and I was able go out and [do] such kind of things. Now, neither of these are possible in Turkey. It's a strange country. I don't know anything here. It's scary. When we were back in Syria our lives were different. Here in Turkey everything is scary. It's a country that we don't know. Also, in us (referring to her community) ever since, a girl cannot go out alone, people speak about her. I don't know what. That's all. (Malak)

Within this quote, the participant reflects multiple components of her restricted freedom of movement. Namely, her fear stemming from lack of knowledge about Turkey and gossip as a social sanction on her movement as a female. Influence of gender norms was also seen in the account of another participant, when she was giving her thoughts about the neighbourhood and the community that she is living at, she stated that:

> As girls we do not go out a lot. We don't interact with anybody you know… We are just all the time at home […]. (Nada)

Although there were participants amongst the sample group who are university and Turkish course students and were able to go out freely, -for instance, the one who met us in a park for

the interview- they still gave their accounts as to the restricted movement of Syrian girls in general. One of them mentioned how her family (referring to her two brothers and their families with whom she is living with) started to see her as a responsible person of her own rather than confining her to home and claimed that this is not the case for some other Syrian girls that she knows.

> I know girls who have been limited. […] They always move with their parents, when they (the parents) are at home, they (the girls) stay at home; when the parents go out, they go out with them. (Muna)

Similar findings as to how Syrian women and girls' movement depend on availability of male company, were also found in an in-depth ethnographic study conducted with a large group of Syrian women in Jordan. It is highlighted that, changed compositions of Syrian families in Jordan limited the movement of Syrian women due to unavailability of men accompanying which confined women to home for months and aggravated their isolation (Bosswall and Al Akash, 2015).

Restrictions on Syrian girls' movement and lives in general can also be recognised from the following participant's account who was able to meet us in the office of the gatekeeper organization for the interview. When she was asked what she would do for the Syrian girls if she was given a magic wand, she stated that:

> I would make them be allowed to speak openly, and make them able to express their ideas without any restriction. I would remove the limitations and make them speak and go anywhere freely. I would make them live their freedom in this life. (Arwaa)

As can be seen from the above presented quotes, it would be misleading to claim that gender norms are the only factor that limit the participants' movement because some of them also talked about safety concerns that bounded them to home.

> […] I don't feel safe in our neighbourhood. There are many males there and most of them are not working. They often fight with each other. Therefore, I don't like to go out. And also as girls we don't go out. There have also been kidnapping incidents. So I don't like to go out. (Nada)

Another participant -whose mother also took part in the interview and shared the same safety concerns for her daughters- stated that:

> […] When in Syria, I used to go out and come back without getting scared. Here (referring to Turkey) for example, I get scared even if I only go to a neighbour. Here, our parents are scared when we go out. Here is different. My life changed in terms of being able to go out. But back in Syria we used to go out normally. (Huda)

Families' fear for the safety of their daughters in addition to restrictions stemming from gender norms appear to isolate Syrian girls who also sought refuge in different countries as well. Rohwerder (2016) reports from a comprehensive study conducted by Mercy Corps (2014b) to assess the situation of Syrian and host community adolescents in Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey and the Kurdish region of Iraq and demonstrated that, Syrian girls are often obliged to stay indoors and likely to experience isolation since their movement and involvement in social and education opportunities are restricted by their families due to security concerns. Similar findings were

also seen in a study conducted by UN Women (2013) in Jordan. Accordingly, household surveys with 300 women showed that over one-fifth of the respondents never went outside the house at all.

The participants' accounts reflect a number of factors that restrict their freedom of movement. The common characteristics of these factors is their gender dimension. Accordingly, *as girls* they were expected to stay at home and their movement and activities were found to be dependent on their parents or availability of male companies. Furthermore, their displacement appears to have created *gendered insecurities* in which females are perceived as vulnerable and at risk; whereas males are associated with violence. Therefore, their movement were further hindered.

There is nothing new: domestic and care work responsibilities

When trying to learn about the daily lives of the participants in order to gain an idea of their social relations and find out what they are doing if they are bounded to home, it appeared that nearly all of them were spending their days by doing the household chores and two of them were also responsible of caring for their mentally challenged sisters.

> I have a mentally challenged sister. This is why I work more than all the girls. I prepare the meals and clean the dishes. She always messes up around therefore someone must always be around her to clean her mess. If she wasn't like this, I would have had half day off. [---] There is nothing new in our life […] If there was someone to assist my mom, I would have liked to study, I would have learnt the [Turkish] language comfortably. But now I can't go to school because of the responsibility of my sister. (Malak)

Another participant whose school attendance was found out to be prevented by her brother gave her account as to her daily life and claimed that it is valid for many other Syrian girls.

> We wake up, if there is any house work to do, we do it. Then we have a breakfast. Then if we need to cook, we cook. This is the daily routine of more or less all the Syrian girls here. [---] My sister and I are responsible for all the house work […] This is how our days pass by. (Nada)

Although it is not certain whether they would be able to participate if there were some social activities available to their reach due to afore mentioned limitations stemming from gender norms and safety concerns, a number of participants complained about their monotonous lives and not having anything else to do but domestic work. Besides, lacking meaning in the daily lives of the participants, in terms of not having any psychosocially fulfilling activities, were rather explicit and sensible in nearly all of their narratives.

> I am only responsible with household chores, praying and that's it. I spend all my time at home. There is nothing new in my life. This is my daily routine. (Huda)

> There is nothing outside, always at home. (Hayad)

Making a reading of participants' labour in the family in relation to alienation is a sophisticated task due to lack of *thick* and adequate data yet it is still possible and relevant. Powerlessness as a variant of alienation is originated from Marxist argument of *lack of control* under the capitalist

productive system that gradually separates worker from his product, work process, from himself and from fellow workers (Finifter, 1972; Scaff, 1978; Ferguson and Lavalette, 2004; Sayers, 2011). According to Marx, women's oppression with household labour, childrearing and childbearing work do not constitute a form of alienation since they do not create a surplus value and do not take place in a capitalist productive realm but in the family in which it cannot be exchanged as a commodity (Dickenson, 2001). On the other hand, Kain (1993) contends that alienation can precede capitalism and enter into the home and family. Accordingly, women's household labour becomes alienating -despite it may be found meaningful, enjoyable and emotionally involving by women- when women remains in the family and gets isolated from the sphere outside of their homes which excludes them, which they do not understand and control and which eventually oppress and dominates them. Thus alienation arises when these non-domestic spheres, for instance, political activity or economic activity, becomes independent and autonomous from women and when men -who are given birth and raised by women- become more numerous and powerful in these spheres. Because they can, for example, support social policies, laws or religious attitudes that oppress women and shape the cultural world according to themselves, thus deprive women from the control and understanding (ibid.). The participants' accounts can be considered as illustrations of this theoretical arguments related to household labour and alienation. It is not hard to make an inference that the household labour which is externally enforced by culturally embedded gender norms and roles, conducted by the participants are alienating since they confine them to home and separates them from the social, political and economic realm outside. These social condition of course did not become effective in their daily lives after their displacement. Their previously established traditional gender roles and status sustained their existence and impact in the exile as pointed out by Foroutan (2009) for many female migrants from the Middle East and North Africa. Yet displacement exacerbated their influence since they have become constrained from non-domestic spheres due to gendered insecurities, and from educational opportunities as presented in the next section.

Disrupted education opportunities

Gender roles, which is referred as 'division of responsibility based on gender' (Harper and Marcus, 2014, p.10) also found to impede participants' educational attainments. Gender-role ideologies are stated to constitute beliefs about 'proper or appropriate roles for women and men' (Peplau et al., 1999, p.28). The following account shows how gender roles along with the gender norms create barrier for a participant to get education.

> My brother doesn't accept [me to go to school]. He would never allow a girl go to school. And there are many Syrian males in our neighbourhood (referring this as a problem). And also, because of my sick sister (referring to her mentally challenged sister who is under her care responsibility), I take care of her. (Nada)

In this quote, Nada pointed out males as in her neighbourhood as a source of insecurity in her access to school along with her domestic care and work responsibilities and her brother's sanctions on her school participation. Another account as to the influence of gender norms and roles is:

> For example, when one turns 18-year-old, people (referring to Syrian people) start talking like "oh look at her, she grew old, she must get engaged, why nobody engages her." They don't have any other problem. They just think that a girl must be engaged and married and make children. This is what they think. All the girls I

> know are thinking like this. They don't think differently. I have some friends who are studying. I feel so comfortable when I speak to them. They think differently. I feel like they are the ones who understand me the most. (Malak)

However, it would be wrong to claim that gender norms and roles showed themselves only after the participants fled to Turkey. Participants' opportunities for education were also hindered by traditional gender roles and expectations from women even before the displacement.

> I don't know. I don't think I will be able to go back and finish my studies and work. No. It's all over. There is nothing new. We have maybe more than a thousand relatives, innumerable number of relatives. And out of them maybe there are only two girls who have completed their education. (Malak)

Although one can postulate that effects of the refugee experience might differ between different refugee populations depending on a range of political, socio-economic and cultural factors in their countries of origin and host countries; gendered barriers to education adversely affect different groups of refugee women. A qualitative study examining factors influencing English language education, participation and achievement among 67 Karen refugee women in Australia revealed that gendered, cultural and socio-political pre-migration factors act as barriers to education for the Karen refugee women. The study stressed that Karen women's opportunities for education in their home country, Burma, were limited by cultural gender-role practices and expectations which locates their roles within the home (Watkins, Razee, and Richters, 2012). Similar findings were also found in a study conducted among Sudanese refugees in Australia. Findings of the study revealed that women had many barriers to education due to their family roles that are determined by traditional cultural norms and expectations of their community (Hatoss and Huijser, 2010). This is not to say that participants of this study would have not been going to school even if they had not been displaced. Yet, displacement has created further barriers and education has become less of a priority in their lives despite all the participants wished to continue and complete their education. A participant who recently had started to work as an apprentice in a hairdresser stated that:

> Everything has changed. Life has changed. For example, our education got disrupted. If I was in Aleppo, I would have been at school and completing my education. (Ruba)

The accounts presented above resemble the situation of refugee girls across the world. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees' (UNHCR) handbook for the protection of women and girls underscores that, livelihoods and food security are likely to be jeopardized with the displacement, and in such context, girls are the first to be removed from school or face early marriage at times when the livelihoods are at risk (UNHCR, 2008).

Yet, it would again be wrong to claim that gender norms and roles are the only barriers to participants' education. Logistical and documentation problems were also reported by a few of participants as barriers to their education.

> In truth, if there was a school around here, I would have liked to continue my education. There is a school in the Önder neighbourhood but the problem also is that when I came (to Turkey), I lost my 9th grade certificate at the border and because of that I can't continue and complete my high school education here. (Arwaa)

This participant was planning to pursue a university education and become a lawyer before fleeing to Turkey. She has been seeking help to collect new copies of her documents from Syria yet she had been being stalled since a long time by her parents and relatives. At the end of the interview, it was found out that she got engaged with someone who she only saw once before their engagement. Unavailability of nearby schools was also mentioned by another participant who wishes to continue her education.

> Now I am not studying. I finished the 9th grade and came to Turkey. There is no close school to register. They are very far. I wish to study here. (Huda)

There were also a number of participants who complained about community intimidation in their access to education. That is to say they mentioned about their conservative relatives or acquaintances in their neighbourhood who have been grumbling and gossiping about the schooled girls. Community intimidation, in the form of local conservative attitudes, along with domestic work responsibilities were also pointed out as a barrier for Syrian women's involvement in economic activities in Jordan by Ritchie (2017). Malak's following account shows how community intimidation towards Syrian girls' education hinders their chances for school attendance.

> […] The problem is not my family. It's not them who doesn't accept the idea of allowing me to go to school. I'm not upset with them. It's the community. All [of them are] the same. Everything is forbidden. Why for example it can't be, it can't be, it can't be, nothing can be… And yeah my family lives in accordance with, have to live in accordance with the community's customs. [---] I don't blame my parents or anybody. Here in Turkey, our community, there is no chance to study here. (Malak)

The accounts of the participants, who are not able to pursue their education due to gender norms, demonstrate the influence of, as Tew (2006) names, *oppressive power* over women which reiterates existing inequalities in gender relationships as can be seen in participants' limited access to education opportunities in this study. Tew (2006) stresses that *oppressive power* felt by women is internalized and is likely to lead to a deep sense of hopelessness and helplessness which is recognized as feeling of powerlessness as a form of alienation (Seeman, 1983; Rayce, Holstein, and Kreiner, 2008). All in all, for some of the participants, educational opportunities remain beyond their reach since there are not close schools in their neighbourhood or due to lack of personal documents to register to schools. Yet, these adversities are exacerbated with the gender norms and roles caused by either their families or communities in the form of intimidation.

All of these factors could be considered to be quite alienating in the forms of isolation and powerlessness since they leave the participants deprived from friendly, warm and personal relationships they could build outside of their domestic sphere; as well as individual autonomy, power and control over their educational goals and opportunities since all of them wanted to go to school and complete their studies. Although it is not quite possible to draw adequate references due to lack of studies on alienation among refugees, a quantitative study that developed and tested a causal model on alienation among Vietnamese refugees in the US found that education has significant indirect effect on the feelings of alienation among the sampled group. It was suggested that, cumulative effects of educational deficit along with other deficiencies in personal background, such as English communication ability and personal goals,

deprived refugees from meaningful relationships and isolated them from the contacts that are needed to prevent feeling of alienation (Tran, Wright Jr. and Mindel, 1987). In this study, a number of participants attributed their sense of isolation and loneliness to their disrupted education as follows when they were asked whether they have ever felt isolated or lonely.

> […] for example, here other girls tell me that they are going to Turkish schools. But I tell myself why I am not doing this, why I am not going to school. I look at other girls, they know how they are living, they are continuing their education, hanging out with their families, with their friends, with their beloved ones. But I don't know how I am living. This is why I feel lonely and isolated from all people. (Hayad)

Although not directly articulated, another participant has also explained reason of her feelings of isolation and loneliness with her disrupted education.

> I mean for instance, I go out to street and I see children going to school or coming back from their schools. I feel like, if I was in their place, what would have happened, what would have happened if I was going to school and completing my education (Arwaa)

It should be noted that there was a deep sense of abnormality in these two participants accounts as to their disrupted educational opportunities. That is to say, access to school, and the social networks in the school were what is normal but missed in their lives. Therefore, not being able to go to school was found to create a gap between them and their peers who are going to school.

Child marriages: embedded in tradition, exacerbated by displacement

Child or forced marriages constituted one of the central features of the accounts of more than half of the participants. For some participants, marriages were considered to weaken or suppress their control over their educational opportunities. Therefore, the issue of marriage is quite linked to the issue of disrupted education. One of the participants who had been getting a university education on chemistry engineering in Syria yet had to drop out at her second year when she fled to Turkey gave her account for Syrian girls in general and stated that:

> The most problematic thing for all of them is education. They are getting married when they turn 15, 16, 17, 18-years-old. Those who are getting educated like me or you (referring to the research assistant) is very few. (Belqıs)

The other participant who is a first year university student in Turkey mentioned differences between Syrian people from different governorates of Syria in relation to their thoughts on girls' education. For the participant, who is from Aleppo herself, getting married to a person from Aleppo is desired by her family since they are mostly conservative people, yet to her, it would mean disruption of her education.

> My family would mind if I marry someone who is not from Aleppo. Like somebody from Damascus and Hums. They would not agree with that. And I don't think Aleppo guys are free (in allowing girls to get education) and that I can continue my education (if I get marry someone from Aleppo). And if anyone comes to me and say okay you can continue your education, I will have children so it will be like... if I had one children I will spend two years, at least four, to take care of my baby in future. I don't hope that. […] I don't agree with this idea. (Raneem)

Prevalence and the grim reality of the forced marriages of Syrian girls were also identified when initial contacts were made with a large number of Syrian parents and youth. The recruitment process of the participants revealed that, out of 15 married Syrian girls -whose parents did not allow them to participate in this study- 7 were under 18 years old and 4 were 18 years old. As noted earlier, these forced marriages did not start to take place after the displacement of the participants or Syrians in general. For instance, one of the participants who was 17 years old when she was interviewed, was already engaged back in Syria and got engaged for the second time in Turkey after breaking with her first fiancé. As it is anticipated, she did not want to be engaged and was worried about moving to her fiancé's home after the marriage. When she was asked about her future-self predictions and worries about her future, her response was as following:

> After five years, realistically, I see myself in a new house with new people and family maybe (referring to her future husband's family).
>
> Is this something that you want?
>
> Of course not. I hope for better. [---] I am afraid about the future because of my fiancé's family. Are they good people? I don't know. I don't know them. I only know my fiancé since a month. So I will go and live with them. Will I be able to get used to live there? Nobody knows. So I am worried about this in the future. (Nada)

As noted earlier, although the child marriages existed in Syria before the ongoing war, the conflict increased the figures dramatically. A research conducted by the Save the Children in Jordan demonstrates that, the prevalence of child marriages before the war in Syria was 13% whereas the figure in 2013 in Jordan among Syrians was as high as 25% (Save the Children, 2014). Although this study was not able to investigate the reasons behind the child or forced marriages, the main drives of child marriages among Syrians in Jordan were reported to be lack of resources, poor economic opportunities and protection concerns as to girls' safety from sexual violence (ibid.). Similar findings were also seen in a recent survey conducted among 2,400 refugee women and girls in Lebanon. Accordingly, one third of all the surveyed young women between the ages of 20 to 24 were married before they turned 18-years-old. Percentage of the married girls between the ages of 15 and 17 were found to be 24%. The report also underscored that child marriage rates among Syrians today is four times higher than before the conflict, all of which point to displacement, instability and poverty as driving forces of child marriages (UNFPA, 2017).

As it can be understood from the last account given as a 'worrying future factor' by the 17-years-old participant who is currently engaged for the second time. She was, reportedly, forced to marry by her brother who denied her right to study and complete her education as she wished once. Such haste and coercive marriage decisions for young Syrian girls are stressed to increase their isolation in the new home they move after getting married (Bosswall and Al Akash, 2015) Above conveyed account of the participant is likely to mean that her involuntary engagement and patrilocality upon her marriage will separate her from her web of affection, isolate her in a new home in which she will become an alien as the radical feminist author Merilyn French stresses for patrilocality of women after the marriage (French, 1985 as cited in Jeffords, 2004, p. 74). One can assume that marriage could provide a broader circle of social relations yet forced marriages have been articulated to deprive girls from their familiar surroundings and peers,

particularly when their husbands are older than them since they are less likely to have much in common (Nour, 2009).

In this study, when they were asked, neither of the two engaged participants mentioned their fiancés as reliable people with whom they can share intimate and personal matters. Both of them had seen their fiancés only once before their engagement. One of the participants gave her account as to one of her friends who got married when she was 13-years mentioned her incapability to deal with her husband and household chores.

> This is something haram. Unfortunately, little girls starting to get married even they are only 13-years-old. At least they should be 18, 19 years old. They (referring to parents) make them get married when they are around 13,15. This is too haram to make one married at around this age. One of my friends got married when she was 13, and now she is in a really bad situation, she really can't deal with anything; either with her husband or with her home. (Huda)

Conclusion

Petersen (1999) states that alienation can be experienced and show itself in multiple ways, especially in the lives of women and minorities. Accordingly, it is not only the consequence of being denied to rights and opportunities that others have but also being unable to shape one's own world in which identities, roles and expectations are not imposed with little consideration for the needs and desires of the individual (Moody, 1994 as cited in Petersen, 1999, p.21). In this study, participants' accounts show that influence of pre-existing gender norms and roles continue to shape their everyday life and future perspectives.

In this study, except one, neither of the participants were going to school yet all of them wanted to continue and complete their studies. However, their wishes and desires to complete their education were found to be disrupted by set of factors, most of which related to the gender norms. Accordingly, gender norms were found constrain the school attendance of many and assign them domestic and care roles and also, create a risk for early or forced marriages. As previously noted, all participants were willing to continue and complete their education. However, future-self predictions of half of the participants consisted of either uncertainty or marriage and child care responsibilities. Some of them expressed that they have been feeling isolated and lonely for not being able to go to school as they used to back in their homeland. It must also be noted that a profound sense of nostalgia as to their past social relations with their friends at school were quite explicit in their narratives. The participants also complained about safety concerns yet this is also related to the gender dynamics since the safety risks were reported to be caused by males, meaning that violence was associated with males while vulnerability associated with females.

In this section, it is certainly acknowledged that gender norms and roles are embedded in the culture of the participants and had long been impacting their lives, even before they were displaced. Besides this, one can simply argue that disrupted education opportunities are natural outcome of forced emigration or displacement. However, the argument contended in this section is that, *gender* was found to become one of the parameters for the families when making decisions affecting the lives of their children in the face of scarcities and adversities that became evident with the displacement. For example, this argument can be supported by the increased rates of child marriages among displaced Syrians compare to pre-war figures as presented above.

To conclude, two things must be said about the role of gender in relation to participants' refugee experience. The findings presented above, depict a picture, in which the influence of the gender norms and roles, combined with lack of socioeconomic deprivations dispossess the participants from the avenues and opportunities outside of their domestic spheres. Such segregation can also be contended to be socially isolating as it lessens their chances to establish meaningful relationships with their peer groups.

Secondly and lastly, one should consider that some participants may still be retaining their belief and adherence to traditional gender norms and roles. Continuity of traditional forms of social relations based on gender, might be the only thing that keep them attached to their social milieu and acquaintances, despite they impede participants' power and control over their own destinies. With this argument, restricting and oppressive gender norms and roles are not tried to be tolerated or normalized within the context of displacement. Instead, it is argued that, ignoring the participants' socioeconomic context and meaning of gender norms and roles in their lives might create, as Tew (2006) refers *collusive power* which might encourage the researcher or even the practitioner to take a role of *rescuer* in his/her reflections or practice.

Therefore, it can be concluded that influence of gender norms and roles on the participants' current lives and futures should not always be considered oppressive within the context of displacement; and they can be interpreted in different ways in relation to alienation. They might be alienating by enforcing traditional gender roles to perform thus constraining or even preventing participants' social, educational and eventually economic advancement outside of their domestic sphere and separate them from institutions in the socioeconomic and political sphere in which they are supposed to express their aspirations, priorities as underscored in SCPR (2015). On the other hand, considering their loss of social networks and impeded socioeconomic status upon displacement, family remains to be their primary source of social relationships. Thus performing such roles within their family sphere might also give them sense of continuity, engagement and belonging and keep them attached to what they are used to in the past. Again, this is not to normalize or ignore the discriminatory and oppressive gender roles between men and women, yet to give a wider paradigm to consider in research and practice.

Altered Relationships with Friends Family and the Surrounding Community

Introduction

This second and last part of the findings and analysis section focuses on the altered relationships of the participants that became evident in their accounts. These altered relationships were found to manifest themselves due to certain reasons, namely lack of Turkish language proficiency, sociocultural incongruities, lack or loss of acquaintances and strains in the family relationships.

Loss of old and lack of new acquaintances

Understanding the changes in the participants' relationships with their peers, at many of the interviews, turned out to be a relatively meaningless intention since it was found that the majority of them were no longer in touch with their friends back in Syria, despite the advanced communication technologies through different platforms, such as WhatsApp, Skype, Facebook, Viber and so forth nowadays. Although this is one of the expected and widely recognized features of refugee experience, in pre-migration, transit and resettlement stages (Hodes, 2000; Potocky-Tripodi, 2002;) loss of contacts were experienced by nearly all of the participants and is argued to be one of the main conducive factors for social isolation.

One of the participants, when asked whether it has been difficult to make new friends in Turkey, mentioned how she had lost her connections with her friends back in Syria.

> […] I had gotten used to my friends at school back in Aleppo. I used to know them for 6 years, from the 1st grade until secondary school (9th grade). And when we left, everyone fled to a different place. and we have no news about each other. We lost the connection. It all ended, we got separated. Then we came here everyone is new [---] Yeah, their contacts are gone, contacts of those who fled, have all changed. I don't know their contacts or have anywhere or anyone to go and ask about them or their contacts. (Ruba)

Other participants also articulated their loss of contacts with their friends based on variety of reasons.

> My school friends are not reachable anymore. I can't talk to either of them. I lost all of their contacts. (Malak)

> […] There aren't any connections back in Syria and people changed their numbers and I am not in touch with them anymore. (Arwaa)

> […] we didn't stop being friends. We just lost each other's contacts and got separated from each other and ended up in different places. [---] I have close friends but I can't reach them. I don't know where they are. There are ones who don't have any means to communicate. (Farah)

Lack of new friends to interact with is the second component reflecting the participants' altered social relations at the personal level. Nearly half of them stated that they do not have any friends or anyone to interact with. Two of the participants expressed this issue as the most difficult thing in their current lives. For example, for Belqıs -the 21 years old participant who had to drop out of university at her second year and fled to Turkey- along with financial difficulties, not having anyone to interact with was the most difficult thing in her current life and she stated that she always feels isolated and alone.

> […] I don't have anybody here to visit and to talk. There is nobody. But back in the village (referring her village in Syria), I used to call my friends and tell them to meet me somewhere and they used to come. I used to sit with my brother. But here, I am on my own, where will I go? [---] I get upset. It's not a nice feeling. I really feel lonely here. When I was in Aleppo I used to see my friends even I was in war zone. Seeing them used to make things lighter for me, makes me feel better. But here I don't have anyone at all. (Belqıs)

For Belqis, having meaningful connections with her friends who are accessible was a mediating factor in times of difficulties back in Syria. Yet, her account shows that she lacks such meaningful connections and interactions with her peers. Another participant also articulated that she does not have any friends and expressed how she feels about that.

> I have my sister and my aunt's married daughters. But friends.... I don't have any friends at all. [---] I feel like I am lonely and left alone and there is nobody with me. Back in Syria I had so many friends. But here I don't have any, I am looking for friends but can't find any at my age. Everybody is busy with their own business and

> problems. Nobody has heart to have friends or anything. But I really would like to have friends to go out together with. Back in Syria I used to hang out with my friends but now there isn't anything [to do like that here]. But I really would like to have (friends). Here I feel very alone. (Hayad)

Hayad's account shows that, difficulties faced by Syrians turned them into survivalists and made it difficult for them to spend emotional energy on each other, all of which were profoundly felt by her seen in her wishes to have friends to relate to and interact with. Likewise, Farah, who has been going to a boarding Quran school since 9 months by the time we interviewed her, not being able to socialize with anyone was the most difficult thing in her current life.

> The most difficult thing is I cannot interact with people like me. Like anyone else here. I cannot speak like them. This is the most difficult thing that disturbs me here. I would like to socialize like other people and go somewhere. One can socialize at school, would have friends and would have a different life. Like this, one would at least feel like she/he is in her/his own country a little bit. (Farah).

Farah also gave her account as to her very good relations with her brother however she also complained about not being able to interact with peers and not having anyone in her life that she can relate to. Reportedly, she only had one friend at her boarding Quran course, at time of interview and none in her neighbourhood.

Loss of or separation from friends or familiar social milieu are corollary of displacement and it is certainly not unique to the participants of this study. Though, it is one of the multiple and interrelated factors that are likely to underpin social isolation. For example, a study conducted among a group of Bosnian refugees in the US through semi-structured interviews investigated the stressors of exile pointed out social isolation stemming from loss of community and social relations as one of the primary sources of exile related distress (Miller et al., 2002). In this study, influence of loss of old and lack of new acquaintances show itself in the participants personal and intimate relations too. Accordingly, nearly half of the participants reported that they have no one to speak about personal and intimate matters with while the rest either had their older family members or relatives; or only a few WhatsApp and Facebook friends with whom they never met in person.

Language Barrier

The participants' accounts revealed that it is not convenient to investigate their relationships after displacement independently of the host country language. Because, lack of Turkish language proficiency was one of the foremost issues for the participants. When they were asked about their thoughts about their relations with their neighbours, members of their new surrounding community they are living in, half of them pointed out lack of Turkish proficiency as a problem in their relations with the host community and in making new Turkish friends.

> We have a very big barrier, which is language. Our interaction with Turkish people is only based on simple interactions. But if we learn the language, maybe there would be broader circle of interactions. (Muna)

For Huda, who was 18 years old when she was interviewed and has been living in Turkey since two years, lack of Turkish language competency was an obstacle to interact with her Turkish

friends who she likes a lot and with their neighbours, with whom they get along well but interact very little.

> […] I really like my Turkish friends very much, but I suffer from the language a lot. I understand them with signs/gestures. In this way. [---] The neighbours are very nice and respectful people; how can I explain to you? They have good hearts; they are Muslims like us. It feels like we are living in our country. But we are suffering from the language. Only the language differs us. We feel that this is a bit difficult. Only this, there is nothing else (Huda).

For Farah, who has profoundly been feeling the need for socialization in her life after fleeing to Turkey, not knowing Turkish was one of the reasons for not being able to involve in social activities. As it can be seen from her following account, her limited Turkish language proficiency only was only enough to ask for help in times of need or emergency but it was not enough to express herself about other issues.

> I don't know the [Turkish] language. I speak very little. When I need something I speak but when I don't need anything, I don't speak. It's very difficult not being able to speak to them. (Farah)

It should be noted that, lack of Turkish language proficiency is only one of the conducive factors for social isolation for the participants. It deprives them from making new friends, establish a supportive social network and develop meaningful relationships, all of which are quite vital considering that they are still in their late adolescence years and are likely to seek support, assistance, trust, acceptance of significant others as highlighted by Malekoff (2014) and Mhaidat and Alharbi (2016).

Lack of Turkish language proficiency may also be disempowering them since it is likely to impede their ability to develop environmental mastery. That is to say, by knowing Turkish, they could avail themselves of a range of social and educational services and increase their future opportunities. For example, both Huda and Farah, whose accounts were presented above did not know how to continue and complete their high school education in Turkey and were informed about the procedures by the research assistant at the end of the interviews.

Nearly all participants were seemingly enthusiastic about learning Turkish. However, only half of them were able to attend Turkish courses. The other half were not able to go to Turkish courses either because of previously discussed restricting gender roles and norms or due to external factors. For example, Malak a 19 years old participant, stated that, she has not been able to learn Turkish since, as girls, they are not free to go out and socialize. On the other hand, Huda for example, was not able to improve her Turkish or attend Turkish classes due to an absence of Turkish courses or schools in her neighbourhood and also because of safety concerns.

Inadequate grasp of the host country language was also identified in different studies as a conducive factor for social isolation among refugees. Northcote, Hancock and Casimiro (2006) in their qualitative study among Muslim refugee women in Australia, found out that, participants' poor language competency was a significant isolating factor and inhibited their participation in society. Another study conducted by Peisker-Colic (2002) on migration and settlement experiences of Croatians in Australia, revealed that language barrier was an alienating factor as they compelled migrants to live within their 'ethnic bubble' which absorbed

the linguistic and cultural shock felt by them but also isolated them from the wider society. The association between the ability to speak the host country language and alienation were also found in quantitative studies conducted by Tran et al. (1987) and Nicassio (1983) in the US, among Vietnamese and Indochinese refugees respectively. In the study of Tran et al. (1987), participants who rated their English communication ability as high were found to have more supportive networks and less social interaction anxiety, both of which predicted low levels of alienation. These findings were also confirmed by Nicassio (1983) in his study that investigated several measures of psychosocial adjustment and alienation among a group of Indochinese refugees in the US. Accordingly, alienation was found to be strongly negatively correlated to English proficiency of the participants.

Weak ties among Syrians from different governorates of Syria

According to Dean (1956), one's feeling of social isolation depends on whether or not she/he feels confident of her/his acquaintances and finds them warm, friendly, supportive, dependable and personal. With this in mind, participants were asked about their thoughts as to their community and the neighbourhood they were living in at the time of interview, in order to get a grasp of the characteristics of their relations with their acquaintances in their surrounding communities and neighbourhoods. Their accounts brought interesting findings to the light. Accordingly, half of them mentioned that they do not get along well with their Syrian neighbours as they are from different governorates of Syria, for instance Hums, Aleppo, Damascus, Deir ez-Zor etc. The below presented differences through their accounts is reported to arise from sociocultural incongruities between them and obstruct their interactions with each other.

Goldin, Cameron and Balarajan (2011) highlight the importance of networks, intermediaries and relationships for migrants in transmitting knowledge, information, and social norms. Such networks at meso level stressed to lower the risks and uncertainty of migrants and provide resources to diminish financial burdens as well as feeling of alienation and loneliness (ibid.). However, such solidarity and close relations were not indicated or felt by half of the participants in this study. They reported that they were not getting along well or interacting much with the Syrian people in their neighbourhood if they were not from the same governorate within Syria.

One of the participants who is from Deir ez-Zor governorate of Syria, when she was asked about whether they get along well with their neighbours, trust, talk and depend on each other, she state stated that:

> […] we don't make much contacts with them because we are from different cities of Syria. Only us (referring to her nuclear family) and my aunts are from the Deir ez-Zor but the rest are from Aleppo. But there two neighbours [from Aleppo] that we get along well and speak to them. [---] The ones from Deir ez-Zor, we help each other a lot. We can trust them. (Arwaa)
>
> Can you tell us the difference between the people from Aleppo people and Deir ez-Zor?
>
> It differs a lot. Firstly, for instance you can't do things as you like according to them. No! everything is restricted. [---] They have limitations. They are very different than people from Deir ez-Zor. [---] I mean, for instance, they don't have…. There are so many differences. For example, according to them, girls cannot go to

> school. Once she knows how to read and write, they make her drop out of school. They don't let girls socialize with other people. We go to school together with other people but they don't allow this because this also a way of socialising. For example, when a girl turns around 16, they make her cover her entire body. There are so many differences like this. (Arwaa)

Belqıs as well, who is originally from Idlib, yet has been living in an urban area of Aleppo before she fled to Turkey, gave her account as to their both Turkish and Syrian neighbours and complained about how people from countryside of Aleppo care about their own self-interests. Belqıs explained that, she and her mom get along well with their Turkish neighbours, despite the language difficulties yet she also explained that she cannot rely on either her Turkish or Syrian acquaintances.

> [I can rely on] neither Syrians nor Turkish ones... I told you, our Turkish neighbour is very nice. There are Turkish people like them but there are also Turkish people who don't like Syrians. As for the Syrians, everybody is trying to gain benefit for himself/herself, here (in Turkey). [---] The Syrian community that I am living in here is totally different than the ones I was living in [back in Syria]. Here they are all from south and countryside of Aleppo. They are ignorant and uneducated. They only care about their own gains and benefits and are too materialistic. Our nature is not like that. (Belqıs)

Syria, as a Middle Eastern country, is indicated to be a collectivist society (Husain, Nashwan, & Howard, 2016) in which common good and social harmony are prioritized over individual interest; and cohesiveness and emotional interdependence are highly valued (Bhugra, 2004; Becker and Bhugra, 2005). However, like Belqıs, Hayad from Damascus as well found her new Syrian acquaintances in the neighbourhood she is living in, as survivalist.

> […] Here, most of the people try to eat (obtain) someone else's meat. Here the majority are Syrian Arabs. They don't wish the things for others that they like for themselves. This issue disturbs me a lot. Even people from the same family do not support each other. With things like that how Syrian people, Arab people will win together? (Hayad)

Likewise, participants from Aleppo too differed themselves from their acquaintances in their neighbourhood, who are not from Aleppo. For example, Huda stated that:

> In truth, we are strangers to each other with our neighbours. All of our neighbours here are Syrians but I like the Turkish people more than the Syrians. There are very big differences [between our neighbours here and the ones back in Syria], […] Here, how can I tell you.? All of them are from the same neighbourhood from Syria, they are together like one hand, we feel like they don't like us. (Huda)

Malak as well, who is also from Aleppo pointed out their lack of interaction both with Turkish and Syrian people.

> We just greet each other. They are all Turkish (referring to their neighbours). There are also Syrians but there is not much contact between us.
>
> Why not?

> Here we are living next to our relatives, with my mom's brother and father's brothers. But back in Syria we had neighbours and used to get along with them. But here we don't. They are all from Hums or Damascus.

Becker and Bhugra (2005) argue that interaction of people from different cultural identities could result in feelings of a sense of belonging and comfort or a sense of alienation and distress. Coming into contact with Syrian people from different governorates of Syria, who they perceive as survivalist, conservative and as strangers, appear to create alienation as they do not interact with each other. Their perceptions about other Syrians from different governorates of Syria were found to affect their ability to relate to them. Relevantly similar findings were also found in Steven's (2016) study of Syrian refugees examining the contributions of social networks and social capital to the wellbeing of Syrians living in exile, in Irbid, Jordan. Through 46 semi-structured interviews with Syrian households and 20 key informants, it was found that majority of the households are not interacting with each other, turning for help or providing emotional support to each other to ease their shock and loneliness. In contrast to the findings of this study, the lack of interaction was attributed to financial reasons, such as concerns about reciprocity, generosity; and emotional reasons such as shame and reluctance in disclosing their decreased socioeconomic status. It was also reported that many families did not want to reach out to strangers for safety concerns. However, this comparison between the findings of two studies must be made with their aims, scopes and characteristics of the sample groups in mind.

As a final remark, it should be noted that, the sociocultural differences between the participants and their new Syrian acquaintances in their neighbourhood can be argued to create an environment of social isolation since they can diminish their chance to have dependable friendly warm and supportive acquaintances and relationships. On the other hand, high cultural congruity between their Syrian acquaintances in their neighbourhood could have also resulted in local nationalism or regionalism in the host country as articulated by Goldin et al. (2011) and isolate them from wider society and the mainstream culture. One can argue then their current disengagement with Syrian people might be beneficial in the long term as it may be an incentive to increase their interactions with people of different sociocultural backgrounds and even encourage them to learn the host country language and expand their social networks. Previous studies among different refugee groups support this argument. For example, Korac (2003) investigated the impact of a lack of an integration policy for refugees in Italy among a group of refugees from the former Yugoslavia in Rome and she revealed that, as most of the refugees in her study group were single and did not have previously established kinship ties in Rome or Italy, they were more inclined to establish diverse networks. Likewise, Gurak and Caces (1992) contended that, intra-group weak ties can diminish self-encapsulation of migrants and increases opportunities and resources available to them and links them with a number of different networks.

Strains and Strengths in Family Relations After the Displacement

Participants' accounts as to their family relations after they fled to Turkey appear to have multiple characteristics that can be classified as strain and strength factors. Strain factors include separation from family members and less quality time spent with them. On the other hand, there was a great importance given to the togetherness and unity of their families in the most of the participants' accounts, which can be considered as a strength factor since belonging to a family among adolescent refugees is considered to ameliorate the stress and buffer against adversities (Kohli and Mather, 2003).

It should be considered that strain factors in the participants' family relations are rather interrelated, therefore are better discussed with a holistic approach. For example, some participants were quite unhappy about their family members' long and tiring working hours which diminished their interaction in terms of both quality and quantity. Furthermore, absence of family members and the impact of their separation were also expressed by a small minority of participants.

For instance, for Belqıs, -who reportedly has no friends and has been spending her days alone since her mother is working all day long- her relations with her brother as well as close friends did change in terms of intimacy since they remained in Syria.

> Of course [our relationships changed]. I used to see them. For example, I used to see my brother every day. And I used to see my friends at the University. I used to see them outside. We used to meet up every week to do something. [---] We used to sit with my brother. But here I am on my own, where will I go?" (Belqıs)

Hayad as well reported similar concerns as to her family members in Syria and the changed nature of her family relations.

> […] we are away from my siblings and all family [members in Syria] and this makes us bored and stressed a lot. It changed a lot (referring to her family relationships), from the ground till the sky. (Hayad)

Ruba stated that her brother has been travelling to different provinces in Turkey to find work, stating they are not as close as they used to be before they had to flee from their hometown, Aleppo.

> […] We feel a bit separated from each other due to absence of my brother. He has travelled [to find a job]. Our life changed. We were all together back in Aleppo. (Ruba)

Nearly half of the participants expressed their dissatisfaction due to lack of quality time they spend with their families, particularly with the breadwinners due to their long and tiring working hours. Besides this, household members' worries as to their worsening financial situation was also found to impair their relationships.

Hayad's following account can be considered as a clear illustration for the altered family relations of a group of participants. When Hayad was asked about the last time she did something together with her family, apart from household labour, and whether her relationships with her family changed after they fled to Turkey, she stated that:

> When we were in Istanbul we went to a park. By then we were comfortable, psychologically and in all ways. But now we are at home, don't have much work and neither of us is able to talk to each other, not even able to speak or shout out. At home, we are always fighting because we are upset. My father, god bless him, is ill from his heart and my brother is now the only breadwinner and responsible for all the household. My father is always upset because of my brother's situation, and about how our situation was and how it became. I don't know how, but when people feel alienated [like my brother and father] they can barely put up with themselves, no one is going out and no one is spending time together with their families. My

> brother comes back late and tired from work and all Syrians here are like this suffering from their jobs. My brother is now [economically] responsible for all of us. He comes back home tired, sits 2 hours with us and sleeps. And my father is the same, he is just sitting at home and sometimes he goes to see my brother at his work. So we don't spend time together. [---] It changed a lot, a lot! (referring to her family relationships). My father was very easy going with us. But now he is very strained and stressed about everything. And my brother wasn't getting tired that much and didn't have to work that much [back in Syria].

Such strained family relationships were also found in Qin's (2009) longitudinal study among Chinese immigrants in the US that investigated the influence of Chinese parents' post-migration adaptation on their relationships with their children. It was revealed that, Chinese fathers experienced loss of employment and adjustment and economic difficulties after their migration. Consequently, these adversities impeded their relationships with their children and increased their level of stress and estrangement from their children. Likewise, adolescents as well reported sense of emotional separation from their parents.

Another participant stated that her family life was heavily disrupted due to her brother's working conditions, their lessened interaction and absence her two sisters who remained in Syria. All of these were reportedly the most difficult things in her life by the time she was interviewed.

> […] We got more further from each other. You now my brother is going to work from 7 in the morning till 9 at night. And also the children are going to school from 7 in the morning until to 2-3 o'clock in the afternoon. So we just got further from each other. [---] I have two sisters back in Syria. They are married. We always used to be together and happy. But now it's hard to contact them. Also, for instance, when we came things become harder. Not only one thing. Especially the job issues. For instance, my brother goes to work from 7 in the morning until 9 at night. He can't sit with us, with his family together. He goes to work, comes back to home, eats and sleeps. This is the most difficult thing. For example, he goes to work, he is working in a sweet shop and standing up all day long. When he comes back from work, he eats and after five minutes he buries in the pillow and sleeps. He doesn't even hear the alarm of his phone next to his head in the morning. This is how much tired he gets every day. (Arwaa)

Findings on lessened time spent together as a family appear to be one of the salient characteristics of refugee families regardless of their nationality, ethnic or religious background. Weine et al.'s (2004) study on the consequences of political violence among the Bosnian refugee families, confirms these findings and reported that economic pressures on family members to generate income, their multiple jobs and conflicting schedules decreased the family time they spend together.

Lastly, degraded socioeconomic status of a participant's family, also found to create conflicts between her and her mother and siblings.

> […] when we were back in Syria our situation was different, our income was different. Here there is nothing, nothing, nothing. This is why our life has changed. [---] For example, my mom is often worried about the bills and such things. And there is nothing. Back in Syria we weren't worried about such things. Now there is nothing, there is no money. [---] I always tell her (referring to her mother) and to

> my siblings, if we don't have anything here, if we are restricted from everything and if you can't afford to live in Turkey, why did you come? Such kind of conversations, did you get me? (Malak)

The above presented accounts reflect on the strains or weaknesses in the family relationships of many of the participants stemming from separation, long and tiring working hours of the breadwinners and financial difficulties. However, despite such adversities, nearly all participants put a great emphasis on family togetherness. For the most of them, the unity of their families was the most gratifying aspect of their lives by when they were interviewed. There were also a small minority of participants who gave accounts of their friends and other Syrian people who lost their family members.

> […] Having my family around me [is the most pleasant thing]. A friend of mine lost his father and she keeps grieving for him. (Ruba)

For the following participant her mom was also the primary source of support when she feels alone and wants to share something.

> […] I have my mom with me, she is like a friend, like a sister. Not just a mom. (Ruba)

Farah as well gave her account as to other less fortunate Syrian people who were separated from their parents and stated that the unity of her family was one of only a few nice things in her life.

> […] I have been able to be with my family, my father and mother. There are so many people who got separated from their fathers and mothers. And yeah, there aren't many [other] nice things here. (Farah)

In conclusion, unity of families can be reflected as a strength factor in the participants' family relationships despite it being found diminished in both quality and quantity. Similar arguments were made by Miller at al. (2002) in their research on stressors of exile among Bosnian refugees in the US. It was found that, Bosnian refugees whose families were intact were stronger against intense isolation that were felt by other participants whose family members did not survive the war. Therefore, as suggested by Weine (2008), the role of family in the lives of the participants should not be overlooked as it is the only social context for the majority of them, despite the loses, separations, decreased emotional involvements and conflicts.

Conclusion

In this second and last section of the analysis, participants' accounts as to their altered relationships with their acquaintances at the personal, family and community level were presented. Many of the participants expressed their dissatisfaction in their relationships with their families and people in their neighbourhood. At the family level, this dissatisfaction derived from lack of quality family time, because financial strains obliged some family members work for long hours and created stress on those who are not able to work or who lost their pre-displacement socio-economic status. As for their new social milieu, for those who are living with Syrians in their neighbourhood, sociocultural incongruities were found to obstruct their mutual relationships. For those who have Turkish neighbours, a lack of Turkish language competency was found to limit their interaction with their peers and deprived them of making new acquaintances. For instance, one of the participants, Raneem, who is a university student

in Turkey stated that she does not have close Turkish friends as she cannot express her feelings in Turkish and gets tired of communication barriers.

Coupled with separation from and loss of old friends and family members in Syria, these factors are argued to confront the participants with the risk of social isolation in the face of absence or a lack of meaningful social interactions with their friends, family and neighbours. This further was confirmed in a quantitative study conducted by Masoom (2016) among dwellers of a refugee camp and slums of the Dhaka city. Accordingly, absence of proper social relations with family, friends and neighbours at individual level and with society at large on a wider level were found to result in social isolation (ibid.).

Lastly, for this second part of the analysis, a final remark should be made upon the studies covering the sense of alienation between parents and their children amongst immigrant families as reported above in the literature review chapter. In a number of studies, alienation was observed to grow between immigrant children and their parents because of parents' decreased emotional engagement in their children's lives (Qin, 2006; Qin, Way, and Mukherjee, 2008), unsupportive parenting (Kim et al., 2013; Hou, Kim, and Wang, 2016) and lastly, an acculturation gap between parents and children (Oppedal and Røysamb, 2004; Merz et al., 2009; Choi, Dancy, and Lee, 2013). For the case of this study, it can be reasonably suggested that the findings presented above depict a picture of a lack of emotional engagement. However, there is not much evidence to reflect on acculturation of the participants and their parents. Considering the fact that acculturation occurs through prolonged cross cultural contact (Nwosu and Barnes, 2014) it is hard to determine when and how and to what extent the participants and their parents got acculturated, as their time in Turkey ranged from eight months to a maximum 3 years when they were interviewed, and the language barrier was still a major problem both for them and their parents according to their accounts. In addition to the language barrier, restricted movement of the participants as presented in the first section of the analysis and the fact that, most of them -except one- are unschooled, their cross cultural contact can reasonably be argued to be limited. Lastly, the common tangible challenges, such as poor housing and financial strains that were profoundly felt both by the participants' and their parents' were expressed by the participants when they were interviewed yet none of them touched upon sociocultural adjustment discrepancies between them and their parents. Though, this comparison should be interpreted with caution considering the differences between the refugees in this study and immigrants in the studies that depicted sense of alienation between parents and their children among immigrant families, as the sample groups might show different characteristics and have different opportunities in their respective host countries.

6. CONCLUSION

Concluding Discussion

This study was carried out with the intention of gaining an understanding of and provıdıng an analysis of the lives of a group of young Syrian women in Turkey, from their perspectives, by using the concept of alienation. This intention was influenced by numerous factors related to the situation of Syrian refugees in Turkey.

As the conflict intensified in Syria in the last six years, Turkey has become a home to the largest number of refugees in the world with just over 2.9 million Syrians (UNHCR, 2017). Children constitute nearly half of the Syrians in Turkey (UNHCR, 2017) and over 40% percent of them are not enrolled to schools while only 2.2% of Syrian refugee youth enrolled in higher education (ReliefWeb, 2017). There are only around 260 thousand Syrians living in camps in Turkey, wıth the rest living in urban areas, in mostly overcrowded houses, flats or makeshift arrangements (Baban, Ilcan and Rygiel, 2017) struggling to generate income and secure their access to social rights, such as education, housing and healthcare (Amnesty, 2014). The Turkish government regarded Syrians who sought refuge in Turkey primarily as guests in their reception policies, and not future citizens because such a protracted displacement situation was not anticipated at the outset of the conflict (Baban et al., 2017; İçduygu, 2015)

With these adversities in mind, this study took a view on the refugee experiences of a group of Syrian girls and young women in Turkey by using the overarching concept of alienation and its variants of social isolation and powerlessness. To put it more explicitly, it sought to understand, from their perspectives, their connectedness to the new society and to their own familiar social milieu. It sought to understand their ability to realize their wishes and desires and influence their own future opportunities and express their interests, requests and needs in their socioeconomic, cultural and political spheres.

These issues were found to be important to focus on using the concept of alienation because the conditions in Syria have worsened over the past six years and it has become clear that Syrians in Turkey are not guests anymore and their reception conditions and status in Turkey has accordingly changed (Baban et al., 2017; İçduygu, 2015). Research shows that significant numbers of them will not return back but permanently stay in Turkey (Erdoğan, 2014). Given that, their lack of socioeconomic and psychological adaptation in Turkey and isolation from their social milieu and/or the majority society would amount to a large number of marginalized and detached groups of Syrian youth in the long term in Turkey. Considering that 44% of the Syrians in Turkey are children and teenagers and that more than 230 thousand Syrian babies were born in Turkey (Erdoğan, 2017), such a situation would have drastic outcomes for them and the host society.

This study specifically focuses on Syrian adolescent girls and young women because they have traditionally been segregated and secluded, and constitute a quite distinct social subgroup in terms of their social status and roles in and outside of the domestic sphere in the middle eastern countries, including Syria (Badran, 1986; Collelo, 1988). Such obstacles arising from the cross cutting issues of gender, culture and religion were also a motivating factor to reach them and understand their unique refugee experiences.

Returning to the aim of this study, the research questions focused on what factors prevent them realising their wishes and desires at the time of interview and in their futures; and their

perceptions as to the changes in their relationships with their peers, family and the surrounding community members after their displacement. The empirical data of this study was collected through semi-structured interviews with ten young Syrian women who were between 17 and 21 years old when they were interviewed. The unschooled participants were overrepresented in the sample group despite this not being an intention before commencing the study

In the first section of the findings and analysis chapter, challenges arising out of the complex interplay of the post migration difficulties and pre-established gender norms and roles were presented. For example, for many of the participants, gender norms along with male originated safety concerns in their neighbourhood, structural and financial deficiencies, were found to constrain their free movement, educational attainments, confine them to home and leave them liable to pressure to undertake household labour and care work responsibilities. Influences of previously established gender norms and roles in their culture were also found to be exacerbated with the socioeconomic predicaments that came to light with their displacement and prevent participants from realizing their wishes and desires in non-domestic spheres. For instance, except for one, all participants were out of school yet all of them wanted to continue and complete their studies. However, the participants' and their parents' perceived safety concerns because of the males present in their neighbourhood prevented some of them from going out of their homes. Likewise, for some, inaccessibility of schools was the reason for their disrupted education opportunities.

Early or forced marriages were also found to become a more pressuring issue for many of the participants. One of the participants', Nada's refugee experience can again be reflected here to illustrate all of these challenges. Nada was 17 years old when she was interviewed and was engaged for the second time with the enforcement of her older brother, according to whom, girls cannot go out or to school. Nada stated that, she did not want to get engaged and moving to her future husband's house was her biggest concern as she did not know him or his family. Her movement was also restricted due to safety issues and kidnapping incidents that had happened in their neighbourhood. Besides these, her movement and school attendance were also obstructed due to the care responsibilities required for her mentally challenged sister. Nada's case and the difficulties that she was facing might be considered a little extreme, yet they have components that are also valid for many of the participants. Taken together, pre-established gender norms and roles, compounded with external factors stemming from the refugee experience, were found to dispossess and segregate participants from the opportunities in the socioeconomic sphere and impose their present and future roles externally with little consideration of their needs, expectations and desires.

In the second section of the findings and analysis chapter, the second research question was addressed. Accordingly, it was found that their limited movement and disrupted education opportunities were exacerbated by loss of old, and lack of new, acquaintances. Furthermore, the participants' relationships with their non-kin Syrian acquaintances in their neighbourhood were also found to be limited due to the sociocultural incongruities and a lack of trust among them. On top of these, a lack of Turkish language proficiency was an obstacle for them to make Turkish acquaintances or interact with those in their neighbourhood. Lastly, yet importantly, the participants' relationships with their families were found to involve strains alongside positives. It was found to involve strains as the breadwinners' long and tiring working hours and stress over the loss of pre-displacement socioeconomic status and financial hardships diminished the quality family time they used to spend together. However, their family relationships were also found to involve strength factors because in the face of loss of previous acquaintances and limited interactions with Turkish and non-kin Syrians in their

neighbourhood, family sometimes remained as the only source of interaction and support. The survival of family units was given a great importance by nearly all of the participants.

The findings of this studies correspond with previous studies on alienation among refugees and immigrants in only a limited number of ways since there are not any studies focusing on alienation among female refugees with a qualitative research design. However, some of the findings of this study were found to be conducive factors for alienation in a few quantitative studies. For example, lack of host country language proficiency of the participants that was argued to prevent them from establishing meaningful and supportive relationships, were found to be conducive factor for alienation in the quantitative studies of Tran et al. (1987) and Nicassio (1983) among Vietnamese and Indochinese refugees respectively. Furthermore, in the majority of the studies among the immigrants, alienation was associated with a lack of acculturation, which, in turn created separation between the immigrants and the majority society and between the immigrant children and their parents. Similar findings were neither investigated nor observed in this study. Because, as was mentioned previously, acculturation requires prolonged cross-cultural contact (Nwosu and Barnes, 2014), yet many of the participants were not in such contact for certain reasons, including restricted movement due to gender norms, lack of Turkish language proficiency and disrupted education. On the other hand, language barrier was also a problem for the parents of many of the participants. Therefore, this study does not confirm the previous research in this aspect.

Gender norms surrounding the target groups' free movement, education and marriage are considered to be the outstanding findings of this present study. These disfranchising norms were found to be experienced by half of the participants and aggravate the socioeconomic difficulties that come with displacement. All of these were argued to have adverse consequences in the participants' lives at the time of the study and are very likely to impact their futures adversely. Because they are very likely to alienate them from the majority society in socioeconomic and political spheres in the future and deprive them from educational and economic opportunities and meaningful social interactions in the host country, Turkey.

Calabrase (1989) contended that alienation occurs with the adolescents' increased sense of inability to control their immediate environment and this leads adolescents to a state of powerlessness, helplessness and externally imposed or self-designed withdrawal and isolation. In the face of this state of powerlessness and isolation, they can act on the contrary with group norms, which is referred as anomie or normlessness (ibid.). The participants in this study were not argued or expected to demonstrate anomic behaviours based on the great value put on the *family togetherness* by them. However, overlapping and intersecting issues of gender norms and the economic or structural barriers to education opportunities in the host country were argued to impede their sense of agency, capabilities and future opportunities in socioeconomic and political spheres. These factors obviously deprive them from resources and means and impedes their ability to make active choices in their lives. This was also found to create a gap between their wishes and dreams for the future and their own future self-predictions. This is not to say that they feel powerless and are unable to exercise power and control over their own lives but does reflect the complex interplay of restricting gender norms and the socioeconomic difficulties faced in the host country.

Lastly, another crucial finding is the participants' lack of peers and loss of previous contacts. For most of the participants their adult relatives were their only acquaintances. They spent their adolescent years in exile and some are still in their late adolescent years in which loneliness and alienation are likely to emerge (Rokach and Neto, 2000) in the face of a lack of peers support

and encouragement, inclusion, interpersonal and social intimacy (Schapiro, 1988; Ajdukovic, 1998). For adolescent refugees, these factors carry particular importance. Because, as it can be seen in the findings of this study, post-displacement experiences include a lack of emotional involvement, decreased intimate interaction and stress due to socioeconomic hardships in the refugee families. However, belonging to at least one social group, to a school, to a family or to a community who are emotionally responsive would ameliorate their stress and provide them with safe relationships with adults and peers (Kohli and Mather, 2003). This is not to say the participants are socially isolated, but to underscore their altered social relationships, with their peers, family and community, all of which can reasonably be argued to lead to social isolation in the face of lack of, safe, secure, dependable, supportive relationships. Despıte these factors, this argument needs to be confirmed with more empirical data and interpreted with caution, as for nearly all of the participants, having their families around them was the most gratifying aspect of their current lives at time of interview. Despite the heavy influence of the aforementioned gender norms and roles, lack of community contact, lack of peers, language barrier, disrupted education opportunities, many of them still have emotionally supportive family members. As Papadopoulos (2002, p.70) pointed out that,

> "Isolation" is an idea which needs to be re-examined, handled with care, thought through, and checked against the refugee's actual social reality—their social connectedness to significant others, by virtual as well as face-to-face communication. A person who has no-one to care about anywhere is in a profoundly isolated condition. But a person whose loved ones are in another town or another country may be missing these people, but in communication with them, and may be otherwise be socially robust, with local links to other valued people. To think of such a person as "isolated" might be to misunderstand their situation.

The findings of this study confirm this argument as half of the participants had loved ones either in Syria, in different provinces of Turkey or in different countries, and those people were one of the main sources of meaningful, supportive and caring interaction for the them. Although their interaction was decreased in quantity and became harder due to a lack of technical deficiencies, for example not having an internet connection in Turkey or power cuts in Syria, they were still in touch with their loved ones who are away.

To conclude, this study is only one step towards improving our understanding of the refugee experience of the target group through the lens of alienation. Although the findings in general might be considered as a natural outcome of forced emigration and adaptation to a new environment, it can reasonably be argued that they are likely to pave the way for alienation in the long term. However, there are certainly some practice implications to curb their pathways to alienation as discussed in the following last section of this chapter along with the limitations of this study.

Limitations

There is a limitation that must be acknowledged in this study. Four participants were interviewed in their homes and their parents were able to hear us from the other rooms or while passing by us. In one interview, the participant's mother sat with us as the participant's father was not at home and, reportedly, he would not approve of us interviewing their daughter privately as they were a conservative family. The family members' presence is believed to possibly limit the scope, depth and truthfulness of participants' accounts. For example, the participants who were interviewed privately in the gatekeeper organization's office were more comfortable and more outspoken about the restricting gender norms, child or early marriages

and the changes in their family relationships, as presented in the findings and analysis chapter. Given this, it is firmly believed that this limitation did not diminish the validity of the research or impact the collected data. However, being able to interview all the participants privately could have provided us more realistic accounts from the participants and enrich the findings of the study.

Implications for further research and social work practice

To begin with methodological implications for future research, this study had to be conducted with participants who had been living in Turkey for between eight months and three years due to the difficulties faced throughout the limited time when the participants were recruited. For future research, it is recommended that recruitment of participants who had been settled in Turkey for at least three years, as such a time period would allow them to adjust economically and socially more than the newcomers; and be less worried about their immediate and tangible needs. Besides this, other attempts can be made to triangulate to findings, such as interviews with key informants, families and perhaps, document analysis of the case notes of the relevant service providers. Lastly, it is very fundamental to revisit the concept of alienation in relation to gender, adolescence and refugees for a better contextualization.

As for the practice implications, "the social work profession accepts its share of responsibility for responding to the distress of refugees […]" (IFSW, 2012) and "social workers are considered among those best equipped to deliver the needed care and to empower people from all backgrounds to lead connected, healthy lives" (George, 2012, p.436). There are certainly practical implications for social work profession with regards to the specific findings presented in chapter five, namely, interwoven issues of restricting gender norms, early marriages and school drop outs of the young Syrian women in Turkey. In the face of these problems, it is strongly believed that the increased number, role and significance of local and international non-governmental and humanitarian organizations assisting the refugees in Turkey as can be seen in Cilga (2017), foster cooperation opportunities for social workers who are mostly employed in provincial directorates of the ministry of family and social policies and its other respective provincial agencies in the public sector.

Through such cooperation, governmental social work agencies, academic and educational institutions can be turned into venues to conduct seminars, workshops, etc. to address these issues. To exemplify, they can provide awareness raising sessions for older community members and parents on detrimental effects of the child marriages on the girls' health, psychosocial well-being and future opportunities. Likewise, they can create safe and accessible social and recreational facilities or centres for Syrian girls and young women where they can be empowered with information, language, vocational and illiteracy courses and establish supportive networks and ultimately have the confidence to refuse undesired marriages. Such places would also help to reduce the risk of social isolation for young Syrian women who lack the language skills and peers. Groups of professionals can and should also reach out to and disseminate information for Syrian girls and young women about the school enrolment process, available language courses and how they can navigate through the bureaucratic process when enrolling into school and other relevant services. Such cooperation between governmental and non-governmental service providers would also cultivate the capacity of social workers and enhance the effectiveness and sustainability of the services in the long term.

Speaking of child or early unwanted marriages, I would also like to point to a particular group among young Syrian women in Turkey. As can be seen in the demographics of the participants of this present study, none except one of them was able to continue their studies after they fled

to Turkey and only half of them were able to attend to Turkish language courses despite it having been at least eight months since they had fled to Turkey by the time of interview. Two of the participants were already engaged and many of them stated that they are not likely to be able to continue their education any longer. A few stated that they will most likely be married and have children in the near future. On the other hand, when we look at the statistics, Syrian brides were the largest group among foreign brides in Turkey. 28.8% of foreign women married in Turkey are Syrian (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2017). These figures do not include the religiously conducted marriages through Imams. This further points out the need for further support when the preventive measures fail to reach those who are already married and develop projects and advocate for policies to promote their educational, language and economic attainments, psychosocial well-being, parenting capacities, reproductive health, and socialization opportunities and participation in civic life.

Aside from these practical implications, social workers should also raise their voices and advocate for policies at the macro level in order to enhance education and employment opportunities for Syrians. Because, as Marcus et al. (2015, p.9) underscores, "poor families have to make difficult decisions about how to use scarce resources, and gender norms can set the parameters for these choices" since "girls are costly to feed, clothe and educate, and they will eventually leave the household" (Nour, 2009, p.53). For example, research conducted by Save the Children (2014) among Syrian refugees in Jordan indicated that economic security curb child marriages. In the same study, education is also presented as antidote of the child or unwanted early marriages. It is emphasized that "girls with no education are three times more likely to marry before 18 than those with secondary education" (ibid., p. 10). Therefore, employment and educational prospects for the Syrians in Turkey can and should be advocated by social workers and facilitated through their range of services as much as practically possible.

Last, but by no means least, the above presented practice implications require culturally sensitive and relevant practice. Although it is not an easy task, it is strongly recommended that, the practitioners should be attuned to group differences among refugees. Their way of living, beliefs, language, religion, faith, spirituality, customs, traditions, values, histories and the way they interpret their relationships and experiences and the importance they attribute to all of these as suggested by Potocky-Tripodi (2002) must be taken into account. For example, restrictive gender norms and roles might be perceived as the plight of refugee women, however, these norms and roles, primarily manifest themselves in the family sphere, which can be the main source of support and interaction with the context of displacement as it is for the participants of this present study, multiplying the impact. It is not argued that, power imbalances between men and women should be ignored in the context of displacement but to acknowledge the multidimensional meanings and influence of gender for refugee women. Examples can be augmented but the crux of the matter is that, such adherence is first of all an ethical responsibility in terms of recognising the cultural and ethnic diversity of those served (IFSW, 2012). Furthermore, as previously discussed, it helps practitioners to avoid playing the role of a *rescuer* in the face of what they think are oppressive or disfranchising within the target group's culture; and helps them to access their clients and practice constructively within their culture and real life limitations with care and empathy. In this context, holistic approach to social work practice and employment of ecosystem perspective could be of a great help to recognize the "complexity and avoid reductionism in assessment and intervention" as contended by Healy (2014, p.122). Overall, these practice implications with culturally sensitivity could help to curb the pathways to alienation of young Syrian refugee women in Turkey.

References

AFAD. (2016, December 12). *Current Status in AFAD Temporary Protection Centres*. Retrieved from Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency: https://www.afad.gov.tr/en/2602/Current-Status-in-AFAD-Temporary-Protection-Centres

Affinnih, Y. (1997). A Critical Reaxaminaiton of Alienation. *The Social Science Journal, 34*(3), 383-387.

Ajdukovic, M. (1998). Displaced Adolescents in Croatia: Sources of Stress and Posttraumatic Stress Reaction. *Adolescence, 33*(129), 209-217.

Ajdukovic, M., & Ajdukovic, D. (1993). Psychological Well-Being of Refugee Children. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 17*(6), 843-854.

Amnesty. (2014). *Turkey: Struggling to survive: Refugees From Syria in Turkey.* London: Amnesty International.

APA. (2002). *Develoing Adolescents: A Reference for Professionals.* Washington: American Psychological Association. Retrieved May 30, 2017, from https://www.apa.org/pi/families/resources/develop.pdf

Ataman, H., & Şahan, İ. E. (2014). *Medyada Nefret Söylemi ve Ayrımcı Dil: Eylül-Aralık 2014 Raporu.* Hrand Dink Foundation. İstanbul: Hrand Dink Foundation. Retrieved May 7, 2017, from http://nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/EylulAralik2014raporuson.pdf

Baban, F., Ilcan, S., & Rygiel, K. (2017). Syrian refugees in Turkey: pathways to precarity, differential inclusion, and negotiated citizenship rights. *Journal of Ethical and Migration Studies, 43*(1), 41-57.

Badran, M. (1986). Islam, Patriarchy, and Feminism in the Middle East. *Trends in History, 4*(1), 49-71.

Becker, M. A., & Bhugra, D. (2005). Migration, Cultural Breavement and Cultural Identity. *World Psychiatry, 4*(1), 18-24.

Berg, B. L. (2009). *Qualitative Research Methods* (7th ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Berman, H. (2001). Children and War: Current Understandings and Future Directions. *Public Health Nursing, 18*(4), 243-252.

Berry, J. W. (2006). Acculturation: A conceptual overview. In M. Bornstein, & L. Cote (Eds.), *Acculturation and Parent-Child Relationships: Measurement and Development* (pp. 13-32). Mahwah, NJ:: Taylor & Francis.

Bhugra, D. (2004). Migration, Distress and Cultural Identity. *British Medical Bulletin, 69*, 129-141.

Birman, D., & Tran, N. (2008). Psychological Distress and Adjustment of Vietnamese Refugees in the United States: Association with Pre and Post Migration Factors. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 78*(1), 109-120.

Birman, D., Trickett, E., & Vinokurov, A. (2000). Psychological and Acculturation Correlates of Work Status among Societ Jewish Refugees in the United States. *The International Migration Review, 34*(2), 538-559.

Bosswall, K., & Al Akash, R. (2015). Personal perspectives of protracted displacement: an ethnographic insight into the isolation and coping mechanisms of Syrian women and girls living as urban refugees in northern Jordan. *Intervention, 13*(3), 2013-215.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 77-101.

Brink, H. I. (1993). Validity and Reliability in Qualitative Research. *Curationis, 16*(2), 35-38.

Brinkmann, S. (2003). *Qualitative Interviewing.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Bryman, A. (2016). *Social Research Methods* (5 ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cabrera, A. F., & Nora, A. (1994). College Students' Perceptions of Prejudice and Discrimination and Their Feelings of Alienation: A Construct Validation Approach. *Rewiev of Education Pedagogy and Cultural Studies, 16*(3-4), 387-409.

Calabrase, R. L. (1987). Adolescence: A Growth Period Conducive to Alienation. *Adolescence, 22*(88), 929-938.

Calabrase, R. L. (1989). The Effects of Mobility on Adolescent Alienation. *The High School Journal, 73*(1), 41-46.

Calabrase, R. L., & Raymond, E. J. (1989). Alienation: Its Impact on Adolescents From Stable Environments. *The Journal of Psychology, 123*(4), 397-404.

Calabrase, R. L., & Schumer, H. (1986). The Effects of Service Activities on Adolescent Alienation. *Adolescence, 21*(83), 675-687.

Choi, H., Dancy, B. L., & Lee, J. (2013). Raising children in America: Korean parents' experiences. *20*(6), 508-513Journal of Psychiatric and Mental Health Nursing.

Cılga, M. (2017, May 4). *Syrian Refugees and NGOs in Turkey*. Retrieved May 19, 2017, from https://graphcommons.com/graphs/a5f158c2-9d58-4745-9fe5-97bc9d86dac4

Clark, J. P. (1959). Measuring Alienation Within a Social System. *American Sociological Review, 24*(6), 849-852.

Collelo, T. (Ed.). (1988). *Syria: A Country Study* (3rd ed.). Washington DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress. Retrieved May 3, 2017, from https://www.loc.gov/item/87600488/

Colman, A. M. (2015). *A Dictionary of Psychology.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cresswell, J. W. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches* (4th ed.). Los Angeles, California: Sage Publications.

Dean, D. G. (1956). *Alienation and Political Apathy (Doctoral Dissertation).* Ohio: The Ohio State University.

Dean, D. G. (1961). Alienation: Its Meaning and Measurement. *American Sociological Review, 26*(5), 753-758.

Deane, K., & Stevano, S. (2016). Towards a Political Economy of the Use of Research Assistants: Reflections From Fieldwork in Tanzania and Mozambique. *Qualitative Research, 16*(2), 213-228.

Derluyn, I., & Broekaert, E. (2008). Unaccompanied refugee children and adolescents: The glaring contrast between a legal and a psychological perspective. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry, 31*(2008), 319-330.

Dickenson, D. L. (2001). Property and Women's Alienation from Their Own Reproductive Labour. *Bioethics, 15*(3), 205-217.

Durkheim, E. (1964). *The Division of Labor in Society.* (G. Simpson, Trans.) New York: Free Press.

Erdoğan, E. (2014, September 10). *Unwanted, Unwelcome: Anti-Immigration Attitudes in Turkey.* Retrieved May 7, 2017, from The German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF): http://www.gmfus.org/file/3491/download

Erdoğan, M. M. (2017). *Urban Refugees From "Detachment" to "Harmonization" - Syrian Refugees and Process Management of Municipalities: The Case of Istanbul.* Marmara Belediyeler Birliği Kültür Yayınları. Retrieved May 7, 2017, from http://fs.hacettepe.edu.tr/hugo/MMU%20Urban%20Refugees%20Report%202017_en.pdf

Fazel, M., Reed, R. V., Panter, C., & Stein, A. (2011). Mental Health of Displaced and Refugee Children Resettled in High-Income Countries: risk and Protective Factors. *The Lancet, 379*(9812), 250 - 265.

Ferguson, I., & Lavalette, M. (2004). Beyond Power Discourse: Alienation and Social Work. *British Journal of Social Work, 34*(3), 297-312.

Finifter, A. W. (1972). *Alienation and the Social System.* United States of America: John Wiley & Sons.

Foroutan, Y. (2009). Migration and Gender Roles: The Typical Work Pattern of the MENA Women. *The International Migration Review, 43*(4), 974-992.

Franz, B. (2003). Bosnian Refugee Women in (Re)Settlement: Gender Relations and Social Mobility. *Feminist Review, 73*(1), 86-103.

French, M. (1985). *Beyond Power: On Women, Men, and Morals.* New York: Ballantine Books.

Fromm, E. (1955). *The Sane Society.* London and New York: Routledge.

George, M. (2012). Migration Traumatic Experiences and Refugee Distress: Implications for Social Work Practice. *Clinical Social Work Journal, 40*(4), 429-437.

Gniewosz, B., Noack, P., & Buhl, M. (2009). Political Alienation in Adolescence: Associations with Parental Role models, parenting Styles, and Classroom Climate. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 33*(4), 337-346.

Goldin, I., Cameron, G., & Balarajan, M. (2011). *Exceptional People: How Migration Shaped Our World and Will Define our Future.* Princeton, N.J. : Woodstock: Princeton University Press.

Groth, A. (2016). *A Stronger European Response to the Syrian Refugee Crisis.* Strasbourg: Council of Europe: Parliamentary Assembly.

Gurak, D. T., & Caces, F. (1992). Migration Networks and the Shaping of Migration Systems. In M. M. Kritz, L. L. Lim, & H. Zlotnik (Eds.), *International Migration Systems: A Global Approach* (pp. 150-176). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (2007). *Ethnography: Principles in Practice* (3 ed.). Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Taylor & Francis.

Harper, C., & Marcus, R. (2014). *Gender justice and social norms - processes of change for adolescent girls.* London: Overseas Development Institute.

Harris, J., & White, V. (2013). *A Dictionary of Social Work and Social Care.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harvey, C., Garwood, R., & El-Masri, R. (2013). *Shifting Sands: Changing gender roles among refugees in Lebanon.* Oxfam International. Retrieved March 2, 2017, from http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/shifting-sands-changing-gender-roles-among-refugees-in-lebanon-300408

Hatoss, A., & Huijser, H. (2010). Gendered barriers to educational opportunities: resettlement of Sudanese refugees in Australia. *Gender and Education, 22*(2), 147-160.

Healy, K. (2014). *Social work theories in context : creating frameworks for practice.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hegel, G. W. (1949). *Phenomenology of Mind.* (S. J. Baillie, Trans.) New York: Macmillan.

Hodes, M. (2000). Psychologically Distressed Refugee Children in the United States. *Child Psychology & Psychiatry Review, 5*(2), 57-68.

Homan, R. (1992). The Ethics of Open Research. *British Journal of Sociology, 43*(3), 321-332.

Hou, Y., Kim, S. Y., & Wang, Y. (2016). Parental Acculturative Stressors and Adolescent Adjustment Through Interparental and Parent–Child Relationships in Chinese American Families. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 45*(1), 1466-1481.

HRW. (2015). *"When I Picture My Future, I See Nothing" - Barriers to Education for Syrian Refugee Children in Turkey.* Syrian Arab Republic | Turkey: Human Rights Watch. Retrieved May 2, 2017, from https://www.hrw.org/report/2015/11/08/when-i-picture-my-future-i-see-nothing/barriers-education-syrian-refugee-children

Husain, A., Nashwan, A., & Howard, S. (2016). Middle Eastern Immigrant and Refugee Children and Families. In A. J. Dettlaff, & R. Fong (Eds.), *Immigrant and Refugee Children and Families - Culturally Responsive Practice* (pp. 247-283). New York: Columbia University Press.

İçduygu, A. (2015). *Syrian Refugees in Turkey: The Long Road Ahead.* Migration Policy Institute. Retrieved May 7, 2017, from http://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/syrian-refugees-turkey-long-road-ahead

İçduygu, A., & Simsek, D. (2016). Syrian Refugees in Turkey: Towards Integration Policies. *Turkish Policy, 15*(3), 59-70.

IFSW. (2012, February 23). *Refugees*. Retrieved May 19, 2017, from International Federation of Social Work: http://ifsw.org/policies/refugees/

IFSW. (2012, March 3). *Statement of Ethical Principles*. Retrieved May 7, 2017, from International Federation of Social Workers: http://ifsw.org/policies/statement-of-ethical-principles/

Irmak, F., & Çam, T. (2014). An Overview of Durkheim and Merton's Social Anomie. *International Journal of Human Science, 11*(2), 1297 - 1305.

Jacobsen, K., & Landau, L. (2003). The Dual Imperative in Refugee Research: Some Methodological and Ethical Considerations in Social Science Research on Forced Migration. *Disasters, 27*(2), 185-206.

Jeffords, S. (2004). The Battle of the Big Mamas: Feminism and the Alienation of Women. *Journal of American Culture, 10*(3), 74-85.

Johnson, F. (1973). Alienation: Overview and Introduction. In F. Johnson (Ed.), *Alienation: Concept, Term, and Meanings* (pp. 3-25). New York: Seminar Press.

Jongkind, F. (1992). Ethnic Identity, Societal Integration and Migrants' Alienation: State Policy and Academic Research in The Netherlands. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 15*(3), 365-380.

Kain, P. J. (1993). Marx, Housework, and Alienation. *Hypatia, 8*(1), 121-144.

Kalekin-Fishman, D. (2006). Studying Alienation: Toward a Better Society? *Kybernetes, 35*(3/4), 522-530.

Kalekin-Fishman, D., & Langman, L. (2013). Alienation. In *Internet Encyclopedia: Sociopedia.isa.* Retrieved from http://www.sagepub.net/isa/resources/pdf/Alienation2013.pdf

Kalekin-Fishman, D., & Langman, L. (2015). Alienation: The critique that refuses to disappear. *Current Sociology Review, 63*(6), 916-933.

Kaya, A., & Kırac, A. (2016). *Vulnerability Assessment of Syrian Refugees in Istanbul.* Istanbul: Support to Life.

Keleher, H., & Franklin, L. (2008). Changing gendered norms about women and girls at the level of household and community: A review of the evidence. *Global Public Health, 3*, 42-57.

Keniston, K. (1965). *The Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in American Society.* New York : Harcourt, Brace & World.

Killeen, C. (1998). Loneliness: an epidemic in modern society. *Journal of Advanced Nursing, 28*(4), 762-770.

Kim, S. Y., & Benner, A. D. (2009). Experiences of Discrimination Among Chinese American Adolescents and the Consequences for Socioemotional and Academic Development. *Developmental Psychology, 45*(6), 1682-1694.

Kim, S. Y., Chen, Q., Wang, Y. W., Shen, Y., & Orozco-Lapray, D. (2013). Longitudinal Linkages Among Parent–Child Acculturation Discrepancy, Parenting, Parent-Child Sense of Alienation, and Adolescent Adjustment in Chinese Immigrant Families. *Developmental Psychology, 49*(5), 900-912.

Kirisci, K. (2014). *Syrian Refugees and Turkey's Challanges: Going Beyond Hospitality.* Washington: Brookings .

Kivilcim, Z. (2016). Legal Violence Against Syrian Female Refugees. *Feminist Legal Studies, 24*(2), 193-214.

Knight, G. P., Chanes-Vargas, D., Losoya, S. H., Cota-Robles, S., Chassin, L., & Lee, J. M. (2009). Acculturation and Enculturation Trajectories Among Mexican-American Adolescent Offenders. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 19*(4), 625-653.

Kohli, R., & Mather, R. (2003). Promoting psychosocial well-being in unaccompanied asylum seeking young people in the United Kingdom. *Child and Family Social Work, 8*(3), 201-212.

Korac, M. (2003). The Lack of Integration Policy and Experiences of Settlement: A Case Study of Refugees in Rome. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 16*(4), 398-421.

Kuş, O. (2016). Dijital Nefret Söylemini Anlamak: Suriyeli mülteci Krizi Örnek Olayı Bağlamında BBC World Service Facebook Sayfasına Gelen Yorumların Metin Madenciliği Tekniği İle Analizi. *İstanbul Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi*, 97-121.

Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing.* London: Sage.

Kvale, S., & Brinkmann, S. (2015). *InterViews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing* (3 ed.). Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Lustig, S. L., Kia-Keating, M., Knight, W. G., Geltman, P., Ellis, H., Kinzie, J. D., & Keane, T. (2004). Review of Child and Adolescent Refugee Mental Health. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry, 43*(1), 24-36.

Luttrell, J. (2013). *Gender, Alienation and Dignity in Global Slums (Doctoral Dissertation).* USA: University of Oregon.

Lystad, M. H. (1972). Social Alienation: A Review of Current Literature. *The Sociological Quarterly, 13*(1), 90-113.

Mackenzie, C., McDowell, C., & Pittaway, E. (2007). Beyond 'Do No Harm': The Challange of Constructing Ethical Relationships in Refugee Research. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 20*(2), 299-319.

Mackey, J., & Ahlgren, A. (1977). Dimensions of Adolescent Alienation. *Applied Psychological Measurement, 1*(2), 219-232.

Malekoff, A. (2014). *Group Work with Adolescents: Principles and Practice* (3rd ed.). New York, London: The Guilford Press.

Marcus, R., Harper, C., Brodback, S., & Page, E. (2015). *Social Norms, Gender Norms and Adolescent Girls: A Brief guide.* London: Overseas Development Institute.

Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (2006). *Designing Qualitative Research* (4 ed.). Thousand Oaks, California; London: Sage Publications.

Marshall, G., & Scott, J. (2009). *A Dictionary of Sociology.* Retrieved April 30, 2017, from Oxford Reference: http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/view/10.1093/acref/9780199533008.001.0001/acref-9780199533008-e-721?rskey=5BmF0Y&result=1

Marx, K. (1964). *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844.* (D. J. Struik, Ed.) New York: Herder and Herder.

Masoom, M. R. (2016). Social Isolation of the Stateless and the Destitute: A study on the Refugee-Camp and the Sullied Slum of Dhaka City. *Urban Studies Research*. Retrieved April 28, 2017, from https://www.hindawi.com/journals/usr/2016/9017279/

Mercy Corps. (2014a). *Understanding the Needs of Syrian and Turkish Adolescents in Gaziantep, Turkey to Support Personal Resilience.* Gaziantep: Mercy Corps. Retrieved April 4, 2017, from https://www.mercycorps.org/sites/default/files/Mercy%20Corps%20Syrian%20Adolescence%20Assessment%20Full%20Report%20-%20Turkey%20-%202014.pdf

Mercy Corps. (2014b). *Syrian Adolescents: Their Tomorrow Begins Today. Mercy Corps.* Mercy Corps. Retrieved April 4, 2017, from

https://www.mercycorps.org.uk/sites/default/files/Mercy%20Corps_Syrian%20Adolescents_Their%20Tomorrow%20Begins%20Today_Sept%202014%20(Full%20Report)_0.pdf

Merton, R. K. (1938). Social Structure and Anomie. *American Sociological Review, 3*(5), 672-682.

Merz, E.-M., Oort, F. J., Schuengel, C., & Ozeke-Kocabas, E. (2009). Intergenerational Family Solidarity: Value Differences Between Immigrant Groups and Generations. *Journal of Family Psychology, 23*(3), 291-300.

Mhaidat, F., & Alharbi, B. H. (2016). The Impact Of Correcting Cognitive Distortions In Reducing Depression And The Sense Of Insecurity Among A Sample Of Female Refugee Adolescents. *Contemporary Issues in Education Research, 9*(4), 159-166.

Miller, A. M., Lisa, N., Sorokin, O., & Schwertz, D. (2013). Gender Differences in Acculturation, Stress and Salivary Cortisol Response Among Former Soviet Immigrants. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health, 15*(3), 540-552.

Miller, A. M., Sorokin, O., & Fogg, L. (2013). Individual, Family, Social, and Cultural Predictors of Depressed Mood in Former Soviet Immigrant Couples. *Research in Nursing & Health,, 36*, 271-283.

Miller, A. M., Sorokin, O., Wang, E., Feetham, S., Choi, M., & Wilbur, J. (2006). Acculturation, Social Alienation and Depressed Mood in Mildlife Women from the Former Socviet Union. *Research in Nursing & Health, 29*(2), 134-146.

Miller, K. E., Muzurovic, J., Worthington, G. J., Tipping, S., & Goldman, A. (2002). Bosnian Refugees and the Stressors of Exile: A narrative Study. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 72*(3), 341-354.

Mitzman, A. (1969). *The Iron Cage: An Historical Interpretation of Max Weber*. New Jersey: New Brunswick.

Moody, T. (1994). The alienation of women under the capitalism. In R. Schmitt, & T. E. Moody (Eds.), *Alienation and social critism* (pp. 57-70). Atlantic Highlands, NJ.: Humanities Press.

Musto, M. (2010). Revisiting Marx's concept of Alienation. *Socialism and Democracy, 24*(3), 79-101.

Nassaji, H. (2015). Qualitative and Descriptive Research: Data Type Versus Data Analysis. *Language Teaching Research, 19*(2), 129-132.

Nettler, G. (1957). A Measure of Alienation. *American Sociological Review, 22*(6), 670-677.

Nicassio, P. M. (1983). Psychosocial Correlates of Alienation: Study of a Sample of Indochenese Refugees. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 14*(3), 337-351.

Northcote, J., Hancock, P., & Casimiro, S. (2006). Breaking the Isolation Cycle: The Expereince of Muslim Refugee Women in Australia. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal, 15*(2), 177-199.

Nour, N. M. (2009). Child Marriage: A Silent Health and Human Rights Issue. *Reviews in Obstetrics and Gynecology, 2*(1), 51-56.

Nwosu, O. C., & Barnes, S. L. (2014). Where 'Difference is the Norm': Exploring Refugee Student Ethnic Identity Development, Acculturation, and Agency at Shaw Academy. *Journal of Refugee Studies, 27*(3), 434-456.

O'Donnell, D. A., Ruchkin, V., & Schwab-Stone, M. E. (2006). The mediating role of alienation in the development of maladjustment in youth exposed to community violence. *Development and Psychopathology, 18*(1), 215-232.

Oliver, D. G., Serovic, J. M., & Mason, T. L. (2005). Constraints and Opportunities with Interview Transcription: Towards Reflection in Qualitative Research. *Social Forces; a Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation, 84*(2), 1273–1289.

Oppedal, B., & Røysamb, E. (2004). Mental Health, Life Stress and Social Support Among Young Norwegian Adolescents with Immigrant and Host National Background. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology, 45*, 131-144.

Papadopoulos, R. K. (2002). *Therapeutic Care for Refugees.* London: Karnac Books.

Papadopoulos, R. K. (2007). Refugees, trauma and Adversity-Activated Development. *European Journal of Psychotheraphy & Counselling, 9*(3), 301-312.

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Peisker-Colic, V. (2002). Croatians in Western Australia: Migraiton, Language and Class. *Journal of Sociology, 38*(2), 149-166.

Peplau, L. A., DeBro, S. C., Veniegas, R. C., & Tylor, P. L. (1999). Sociocultural Perspectives on the Lives of Women and Men. In L. A. Peplau, S. C. DeBro, R. C. Veniegas, & P. L. Tylor, *Gender, Culture, and Ethnicity: Current Research about Women and Men* (pp. 23-37). Mouıntain View, CA: Mayfield Publishing.

Petersen, S. L. (1999). *Reducing Alienation in African American Female Students Who Have Dropped Out And Enrolled in A Job Corps High School (Doctoral Dissertation).* Utah: The University of Utah. Retrieved from https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.ub.gu.se/docview/304528815?accountid=11162

Pittaway, E., Bartolomei, L., & Hugman, R. (2010). 'Stop Stealing Our Stories': The Ethics of Research with Vulnerable Groups. *Journal of Human Rights Practice, 2*(2), 229-251.

Potocky-Tripodi, M. (2002). *Best practices for social work with refugees and immigrants.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Qin, D. B. (2006). "Qur Child Doesn't Talk to Us Anymore": Alienation in Immigrant Chinese Families. *Antropology and Education Quarterly, 37*(2), 162-179.

Qin, D. B. (2009). Gendered Processes of Adaptation: Understanding Parent-Child Relations in Chinese Immigrant Families. *Sex Roles, 60*, 467-481.

Qin, D. B., Way, N., & Mukherjee, P. (2008). The Other Side of the the Model Minority Story: The Familial and Peer Challanges Faced by Chinese American Adolescents. *Youth & Society, 39*(4), 480-506.

Rayce, S. L., Holstein, B. E., & Kreiner, S. (2008). Aspects of alienation and symptom load among adolescents. *European Journal of Public Health, 19*(4), 79-84.

ReliefWeb. (2017, February 28). *Turkey: Education External Update - February 2017*. Retrieved May 7, 2017, from ReliefWeb: http://reliefweb.int/report/turkey/turkey-education-external-update-february-2017

Ritchie, H. A. (2017). *Uncertain livelihoods in refugee environments: between risk and tradition for Syrian refugee women in Jordan*. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Rohwerder, B. (2016). *Women and girls in forced and protracted displacement (GSDRC Helpdesk Research Report 1364).* Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham.

Rokach, A., & Neto, F. (2000). Causes of Loneliness in Adolescence: A Cross-Cultural Study. *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth, 8*(1), 65-80.

Rovai, A. P., & Wighting, M. J. (2005). Feelings of alienation and community among higher education students in a virtual classroom. *Internet and Higher Education, 8*(2), 97-110.

Safipour, J. (2011). *Self Reported Health and Social Alienation in Swedish Adolescents: A Cross Sectional Study Among High-School Students in Stockholm (Doctoral Dissertation).* Stockholm: Karolinska Institutet.

Safipour, J., Schoplocher, D., Higginbottom, G., & Emami, A. (2011). Feelings of Social Alienaiton: A Comparison of Immigrant and Non-Immigrant Swedish Youth. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy, 31*(7/8), 456-468.

Sandelowski, M. (1995). Sample Size in Qualitative Research. *Research in Nursing & Health, 18*(2), 179-183.

Sardan, T. (2017, January 30). *Suriyelilerin Türk vatandaşlığında sona doğru*. Retrieved from Milliyet: http://www.milliyet.com.tr/suriyelilerin-turk-vatandasliginda-gundem-ydetay-2387076/

Sarfraz, H. (1997). Alienation: A Theoretical Overview. *Pakistan Journal of Psychological Research, 12*(1-2), 45-60.

Save the Children. (2014). *Too Young to Wed; The Growing Problem of Child Marriage amoung syrian Girls in Jordan.* London: Save the Children.

Sawyer, S. M., Afifi, R. A., Bearinger, L. H., Blakemore, S.-J., Dick, B., Ezeh, A. C., & Patton, G. C. (2012). Adolescence: a foundation for future health. *Lancet, 379*(986), 1630-1640.

Sayers, S. (2011). *Marx and Alienation: Essays on Hegelian Themes.* Basingstoke: Palgrave MAcmillan.

Scaff, L. A. (1978). Conceptualizing Alienation: Reductionism and the Problem of Meaning. *Philosophy of Social Science, 8*(3), 241-260.

Schapiro, A. (1988). Adjustment and identity formation of Lao refugee adolescents. *Smith College Studies in Social Work, 58*(3), 157-181.

SCPR. (2015). *Syria: Alienation and Violence, Impact of the Syria Crisis Report.* Syrian Centre for Policy Research. Syrian Arab Republic: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

Seeman, M. (1959). On The Meaning of Alienation. *American Sociological Review, 24*(6), 783-791.

Seeman, M. (1975). Alienation Studies. *Annual Review of Sociology, 1*(1), 91-123.

Seeman, M. (1983). Alienation Motifs in Contemporary Theorizing: The Hidden Continuity of the Classic Themes. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 46*(3), 171-184.

Shammout, N. A. (2016). A Sample of the Syrian Refugee Students' Degree of Psychological Alienation in Jordan. *Journal of Educational and Social Research, 6*(3), 135-149.

Smith, H., & Bohm, R. (2008). Beyon Anomie: Alienation and Crime. *Critical Criminology, 16*(1), 1-15.

Solakoglu, O., & Yuksek, D. A. (2016). The Relative Influence of Parental Attachment, Peer Attachment, School Attachment, and School Alienation on Delinquency among High School Students in Turkey. *Deviant Behaviour, 37*(7), 723-747.

Solhaug, T. (2012). Political alienation among migrant youth: Exploring the mechanisms of political alienaiton and acculturation among migrant youths in Norwegian Schools. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice, 7*(1), 3-18.

Steven, M. R. (2016). The collapse of social networks among Syrian refugees in urban Jordan. *Contemporary Levant, 1*(1), 51-63.

Teater, B. (2010). *An Introduction to Applying Social Work Theories and Methods* (6th ed.). Maidenhead, England: McGraw Hill/Open University Press.

Temporary Protection Regulation. (2014, October 22). Retrieved May 11, 2017, from Directorate General of Migration Management: http://www.goc.gov.tr/files/_dokuman28.pdf

Tew, J. (2006). Understanding Power and Powerlessness. *Journal of Social Work, 6*(1), 33-51.

Tome, G., De Matos, G., Simoes, C., & Cmacho, I. (2015). Strangers, Powerless and Hopeless in Their Own Town: Alienation among Adolescents in Times of Recession. *British Journal of Education, Society & Behavioural Science, 8*(4), 247-255.

Tome, G., Gaspar De Matos, M., Camacho, I., & Gomes, P. (2016). Impact of Alienation on Portuguese Adolescents' Well-being. *Journal of Psychology & Psychotheraphy, 6*(5), 2-9.

Tran, T. V., Wright Jr., R., & Mindel, C. H. (1987). Alienation Among Vietnamese Refugees in the United States. *Journal of Social Service Research, 11*(1), 59-75.

Tunç, A. Ş. (2015). Mülteci Davranışı ve Toplumsal Etkileri: Türkiye'deki Suriyelilere İlişkin Bir Değerlendirme. *Tesam Akademi Dergisi, 2*(2), 29-63.

Turkish Statistical Institute. (2017, March 2). *Marriage and Divorce Statistics, 2016*. Retrieved May 5, 2017, from Turkish Statistical Institute: http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=24642

Twining, J. E. (1980). Alienation as a Social Process. *The Sociological Quarterly, 21*(2), 417-428.

UN Women. (2013). *Gender based violence and child protection against Syrian Refugees in Jordan, with a focus on early marriage. Interagency assessment.* Jordan: United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women). Retrieved from http://jordan.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2013/7/gender-based-violence-and-child-protection-among-syrian-refugees-in-jordan

UNFPA. (2017, January 31). http://www.unfpa.org/news/new-study-finds-child-marriage-rising-among-most-vulnerable-syrian-refugees#sthash.R1ffojsY.dpuf. *New study finds child marriage rising among most vulnerable Syrian refugees*. Retrieved April 11, 2017, from United Nations Population Fund: http://www.unfpa.org/news/new-study-finds-child-marriage-rising-among-most-vulnerable-syrian-refugees#sthash.R1ffojsY.dpuf

UNHCR. (2008). *UNHCR Handbook for the Protection of Women and Girls*. Geneva: UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Retrieved April 16, 2017, from http://www.unhcr.org/protection/women/47cfa9fe2/unhcr-handbook-protection-women-girls-first-edition-complete-publication.html

UNHCR. (2011). *The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and Its 1967 Protocol.* Geneva: UNHCR. Retrieved May 11, 2017, from http://www.unhcr.org/about-us/background/4ec262df9/1951-convention-relating-status-refugees-its-1967-protocol.html

UNHCR. (2016, July 11). *UNHCR viewpoint: 'Refugee' or 'migrant' – Which is right?* Retrieved May 11, 2017, from The office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees: http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/7/55df0e556/unhcr-viewpoint-refugee-migrant-right.html

UNHCR. (2017, April 6). *Turkey*. Retrieved May 3, 2017, from Syria Regional Refugee Response: Inter-agency Information Sharing Portal: http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=224

Watkins, P. G., Razee, H., & Richters, J. (2012). 'I'm telling you … the language barrier is the most, the biggest challenge' : barriers to education among Karen refugee women in Australia. *Australian Journal of Education, 56*(2), 126-141.

Weber, M. (1958). *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism.* (T. Psrsons, Trans.) New York: Charles Schribner's Sons.

Weine, S. (2008). Family Roles in Refugee Youth Resettlement from a Prevention Perspective. *Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Clinics of North America, 17*(3), 515-532.

Weine, S., Muzurovic, N., Kulauzovic, Y., Besic, S., Lezic, A., Mujagic, A., . . . Pavkovic, I. (2004). Family consequences of refugee trauma. *Family Process, 43*(2), 147-160.

WHO. (2015, August). *Gender*. Retrieved April 16, 2017, from World Health Organization: http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs403/en/

Williamson, I., & Cullingford, C. (1997). The Uses and Misuses of 'Alienation' in the Social Sciences and Education. *British Journal of Educational Studies, 45*(3), 263-275.

Williamson, I., & Cullingford, C. (1998). Adolescent Alienation: Its Correlates and Consequences. *Educational Studies, 24*(3), 333-343.

Yazıcı, T. (2016). Yeni Medyanın Nefret Dili: Suriyeli mültecilerle İlgili Ekşi Sözlük Örneği. *Global Media Journal: Turkish Edition, 7*(13), 115-136.

Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (3rd ed.). Thousands Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Yu, S. M., Huang, Z. J., Schwalberg, r. H., Overpeck, M., & Kogan, M. K. (2003). Acculturation and the health and well-being of U.S. immigrant adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 33*(6), 479-488.

Yuill, C. (2011). Forgetting and Remembering Alienation Theory. *History of Human Sciences, 24*(2), 103-119.

Appendixes

Appendix 1 - Informed consent in English

Briefing on research: This study is part of my education at an international master's program in Social Work with Children and Families, at the University of Gothenburg, in Sweden. The aim of this study is to gain understanding and analyze perceived feelings of alienation among a group of Syrian female adolescents after fleeing to Turkey. To put it more explicitly, their beliefs on their potential to affect their life and future opportunities and their relationships with their peers, family and wider community.

You are invited to participate in this research project. The following is a presentation of how the information will be gathered and used and my adherence to the ethical requirements for a good research. Accordingly,

- You will be interviewed once for around 1 hour to 1.5 hours. A second interview may be added, if it seems necessary.
- A female Syrian colleague will be facilitating the interview by helping with the Arabic-English translation.
- You have the right to decide to participate in the project, even after the interview has been concluded,
- You have the right to refuse to answer any of the questions and terminate the interview without giving any explanation.
- To ensure confidentiality, gathered information will be treated and stored confidentially and will presented anonymously in the report.
- The collected data through the interview will only be used in this study and will be destroyed when the study is totally concluded.
- In order to be able to present the collected data accurately and facilitate the document what is said, the interview will be audio recorded, if you agree.

You are always welcome to contact me or my supervisor in case you have any questions through following contact details:

Researcher's contact details:
Yusuf Nural
E-mail: yusufnural@gmail.com
Tel: +46 76 560 37 52 / + 90 542 536 32 07

Supervisor's contact details:
Helena Johansson
E-mail: helena.johansson@socwork.gu.se
Tel: +46 31 786 57 21

Please sign below if you, have read, understood and willing to participate in this study OR if you authorize your child to participate in this study (in case the participant is under 18-years-old).

IF THE PARTICIPANT IS UNDER 18-YEARS-OLD

As parent or legal guardian, I authorize _____ (child's name) to participate in this study.

Name of the parent/legal guardian :
Signature of the parent/legal guardian :
City :
Date :

IF THE PARTICIPANT IS OVER 18-YEARS-OLD

Name of the participant :
Signature of Participant :
City :
Date :

Appendix 2 - Informed consent in Arabic

استمارة الموافقة عن علم

لمحة عن البحث : هذه الدراسة هي جزء من تحصيلي العلمي لبرنامج الدراسات العليا(الماجستير) للعمل الاجتماعي مع العائلات والأطفال في جامعة غوثنبرغ في السويد. الهدف من هذه الدراسة هي اكتساب فهم وتحليل لمشاعر الاغتراب والعزلة لمجموعة من الفتيات اليافعات السوريات بعد نزوحهم إلى تركيا. لشرح ذلك بشكل واضح اكثر ،إيمانهم بإمكانياتهم وقدراتهم على التأثير على حياتهم وفرصهم في المستقبل ؛ وعلاقاتهنَّ مع الاقران ، العائلة والمجتمع.

انتِ مدعوة للمشاركة في مشروع البحث هذا. التالي هو شرح للطريقة التي ستتم بها جمع المعلومات واستخدامها بالإضافة إلى الالتزام بالقواعد والمتطلبات الأخلاقية لتكون الدراسة مقبولة.ووفقاً لذلك:

- سوف يتم اجراء مقابلة معك لمرة واحدة لمدة ساعة أو ساعة ونصف. يمكن تحديد مقابلة أخرى في حال الضرورة.
- سوف تقوم زميلة أنثى سورية بتسهيل المقابلة والترجمة بين اللغة العربية والانكليزية.
- لديك الحق باتخاذ القرار حول رغبتك في المساهمة في مشروع الدراسة ، حتى بعد اجراء المقابلة.
- لديك الحق برفض الإجابة على أي من الأسئلة المطروحة وإنهاء المقابلة من دون حاجتك لتقديم أي عذر أو تفسير.
- لضمان الخصوصية، سوف يتم معاملة المعلومات المأخوذة بشكل سري ويتم تقديمها على شكل مجهول الهوية في التقرير.
- المعلومات التي سوف يتم جمعها خلال المقابلات سوف تستخدم حصراً في هذه الدراسة فقط وسوق يتم إتلافها عند الانتهاء من الدراسة.
- من اجل تقديم المعلومات التي سيتم جمعها بشكل دقيق وتسهيل توثيق ما يقال في المقابلة ، سوف يتم تسجيل المقابلة صوتيا في حال الموافقة على ذلك من قبل المشارك/ة.

إن كان لديك أي استفسار أو أسئلة انت مرحب بك للتواصل معي أو مع مشرفتي من خلال جهات الاتصال التالية:

للتواصل مع المشرفة:
Helena Johansson هيلين جوهانسن
البريد الالكتروني:
helena.johansson@socwork.gu.se
رقم الجوال:21 57 786 31 46+

للتواصل مع الباحث:
Yusuf Nural يوسف نورال
البريد الالكتروني: yusufnural@gmail.com
رقم الجوال: 536 542 90 + / 52 37 560 76 46+ 32 07

في حال الاطلاع على هذه الوثيقة والموافقة طوعاً على المشاركة في هذه الدراسة أو في حال أنك قُمت بالتصريح وإعطاء الإذن بأن يقوم ابنك أو ابنتك بالمشاركة في هذه الدراسة (في حال كان المشاركين دون 18 عاما)، الرجاء التوقيع :

<u>إذا كان المشاركين دون(18)ثمان عشر عاماً</u>
كوالد/ة أو وصي قانوني ، أصرّح ل._____ (اسم المشارك/ة) بالمشاركة في هذه الدراسة.
اسم الوالد\ة / الوصي القانوني :
توقيع الواد\ة / الوصي القانوني :
المدينة :
التاريخ :

<u>في حال المشارك/ة تجاوز/ سن الثامنة عشر:</u>
اسم المشارك/ ة :
توقيع المشارك/ ة :
المدينة :
التاريخ :

Appendix 3 - Interview guide in English

Section 1

1) How old are you? 2) Which province of Syria are you from? 3) How long have you been living in Turkey? 4) How is your housing and education status? - Where and with whom are you living?

Section 2

1) Can you tell us about your everyday life – How do you describe a particular weekday?
2) Can you tell us about your friends?
   Probing questions: How many friends do you have? What do you generally do when you are with them? Are you able to see them as much as you want?
3) Do you have anyone that you can count on in your difficult times and discuss intimate /personal matters?
   i. If no, who do you talk with when you are sad or happy?
   ii. If yes, do you mind telling us who is he/she – are they?
4) Do you think your relationship with your family changed after you came to Turkey?
   i. If yes, why and how do you feel about that and how does this change affect you?

   Probing questions:
   i. How do you spend your time when you are with your family - What do you generally do when you are all together?
   ii. Do you think your family got used to living in Turkey?
      i. If yes, what are the differences you observe in them?
      ii. If no, is this creating any problem for you? – How?
5) Have you ever felt isolated or lonely?
   i. If yes, can you tell us when and why? And what do you do when you feel so?
6) What do you think about your neighbours and the new community here?
   Probing question**:** Do you talk, get along well, trust to and help each other with your neighbours/surrounding community members? If yes, how; If not, why?

Section 3

1) Can you tell us how fleeing to Turkey influenced/changed your life?
   Probing question**:** What are the most difficult things in your life at the moment?
2) What are your current daily responsibilities?
   i. What would you like to do instead of all of these?
3) What are your dreams and wishes for the future?
4) How and where do you realistically see yourself in 5 years or in the near future?
5) Do you have any worries about the future?
   i. If yes, why?
6) If I give you a magic wand, what would you change to improve your current situation?
7) Lastly, what are the things that are going well, stable and joyful in your life, things that you are happy to have?

Appendix 4 - Interview guide in Arabic

ملحق 1: دليل المقابلات

الجزء الأول: مقدّمة

- التّعبير عن الشّكر للمقابلة على مشاركتها.
- إعطاء معلومات عن حقوقها في رفض الإجابة على أي سؤال و/أو إنهاء المقابلة في أيّ وقت.
- إبلاغ المشارك مرّة أخرى عن تسجيل الصّوت والتزامك سريّة المقابلة وعدم الكشف عن هويتها في الوصف.

الجزء الثّاني: معلومات رئيسية و إحماء

1) كم عمرك؟
2) من أيّة منطقة في سوريا أنت؟
3) منذ متى وأنت تعيشين في تركيا؟
4) ما هو وضعك المعيشي و التّعليمي؟ -أين ومع من تعيشين؟

الجزء الثّالث:

1) هل بإمكانك أن تخبرينا عن حياتك اليوميّة - كيف تصفين يوماً معيّناً من أيّام الأسبوع؟
2) هل بإمكانك أن تخبرينا عن أصدقائك؟
   - أسئلة تقصّي:
   - كم عدد أصدقائك؟
   - ماذا تفعلين بشكلٍ عامٍ عندما تكونين برفقتهم؟
   - هل باستطاعتك رؤيتهم بالقدر الذي تريدين؟
3) هل لديك أي شخص يمكن الاعتماد عليه في أوقاتك الصّعبة ومناقشة المسائل الحميمة / الشخصية معه؟
   - إذا لا، مع من تتحدثين عندما تكونين حزينة أو سعيدة؟
   - ب. إذا نعم ، هل تمانعين أن تخبرينا من هو/هي؟
4) هل تعتقدين أنّ علاقتك بعائلتك تغيّرت بعد مجيئكم إلى تركيا؟
   - اذا نعم ، لماذا؟ ماذا تشعرين حيال ذلك؟وكيف يؤثر ذلك التّغيير عليك؟

أسئلة تقصّي:

- كيف تقضين وقتك مع عائلتك؟ ماذا تفعلون بشكل عام عندما تجتمعون سويّاً؟
- ب. هل تعتقدين أنّ عائلتك اعتادت على العيش في تركيا؟
  - إذا نعم ، ما الفروقات التي تلاحظينها عليهم؟
  - ب. إذا لا ، هل يخلق هذا أيّة مشكلة لديك؟وكيف؟

5) هل سبق لك أن شعرت بأنّك معزولة أو وحيدة؟
   - إذا نعم ، هل بإمكانك أن تخبرينا متى و لماذا؟ وماذا تفعلين حينما تشعرين بذلك؟
6) ما هو رأيك بجيرانك و المجتمع الجديد هنا؟

سؤال تقصّي: هل تتحدثين ، تتواصلين ، تثقين و تساعدون بعضكم أنت والجيران / أعضاء المجتمع المحيط بك؟ إذا نعم، كيف. إذا لم يكن كذلك، لماذا؟

الجزء الرابع:

1) هل يمكنك أن تخبرينا كيف أثّر/غيّر النّزوح إلى تركيا بحياتك؟
   سؤال تقصّي: ما هي الأمور الأصعب في حياتك حاليّا؟
2) ما هي مسؤولياتك اليوميّة الحاليّة؟
   - ماذا تودّين أن تفعلي بدلاً من كلّ هذا؟
3) ما هي أحلامك و أمنياتك للمستقبل؟
4) كيف وأين بشكل واقعي ترين نفسك خلال خمس سنوات أو في المستقبل القريب؟
5) هل لديك أية مخاوف من المستقبل؟ - اذا نعم ، لماذا؟
6) إذا أعطيتك عصا سحريّة ، ماذا سوف تفعلين لتحسّني من وضعك الحالي؟
7) أخيراً ، ما هي الأشياء الجيّدة ، المستقرّة والممتعة في حياتك ، أشياء أنت سعيدة لكونها لديك؟

الجزء الخامس :الإنهاء

- سؤال المشاركة ما إذا كان لديها أيّة أسئلة.
- التّعبير عن تقديرك لها لمشاركتها مشاعرها الخاصّة ، تجاربها وأفكارها.
- التّلخيص لها ما قد فهمته من خلال المقابلة وسؤالها ما إذا كان يبدو ذلك صحيحاً بالنّسبة لها.
- شرح ما ستقوم بعمله بنتائج المقابلة و تذكيرها بأنّه بإمكانك دائماً التواصل معك في حال كان لديها أيّة أسئلة أو استفسارات.

Appendix 5 - Non-Plagiarism Declaration

Non-Plagiarism Declaration

I hereby declare that the Dissertation titled "Pathways to alienation? - A study on the refugee experiences of a group of young Syrian women through the lens of alienation" submitted to the Erasmus Mundus Master's Programme in Social Work with Families and Children:

- Has not been submitted to any other Institute/University/College
- Contains proper references and citations for other scholarly work
- Contains proper citation and references from my own prior scholarly work
- Has listed all citations in a list of references

I am aware that violation of this code of conduct is regarded as an attempt to plagiarize, and will result in a failing grade (F) in the programme.

Date : 06.06.2017

Signature : 

Name : YUSUF NURAL