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Derleme

A MULTIDIMENSIONAL ANALYSIS OF REFUGEE HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS' POVERTY EXPERIENCES IN ESKIŞEHIR[1] [2]

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Abstract

The main aim of this research is to present the experiences and problems of refugee high school students studying in different types of high schools in Eskişehir from a multidimensional perspective. The study revealed that refugee high school students encounter difficulties to varying degrees in areas such as education, accommodation, participation, meeting personal needs, leisure activities, and social relationships. It was determined that a large portion of them live in rented accommodations, some work in conditions that are not favorable outside of school hours, and the majority are unable to participate in leisure activities. Furthermore, it was found that a significant number of students rely on assistance, while some resort to seeking help through transnational migrant networks.

Key Words:*Migration, Refugees, Refugee High School Students, Multi-Dimensional Poverty, Eskişehir*

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ESKİŞEHİR'DEKİ MÜLTECİ LİSE ÖĞRENCİLERİNİN YOKSULLUK DENEYİMLERİNİN ÇOK BOYUTLU PERSPEKTİFTEN ANALİZİ

Öz

Bu araştırmanın temel amacı, Eskişehir'de bulunan farklı türdeki liselerde okuyan mülteci lise öğrencilerinin deneyimlerini ve yaşadıkları sorunları çok boyutlu perspektiften ortaya koymaktır. Araştırmada, mülteci lise öğrencilerinin eğitim, barınma, katılım, kişisel gereksinimlerin karşılanması, serbest zaman faaliyetleri, toplumsal ilişkiler vb. gibi alanlarda belli ölçülerde güçlük çektikleri belirlenmiştir. Büyük bölümünün kirada oturduğu, bazılarının okul saatleri dışında şartları iyi olmayan bir işte çalıştıkları; çoğunluğunun serbest zaman faaliyetlerine katılamadığı tespit edilmiştir. Yine, öğrencilerin önemli bir kısmının yardımlarla geçindiği, bazılarının ise ulus ötesi göçmen ağlarını kullanarak yardım alma yoluna gittikleri belirlenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Göç, Mülteci, Mülteci Lise Öğrencileri, Çok Boyutlu Yoksulluk, Eskişehir*

INTRODUCTION

Migration, which gives rise to potential statuses such as migrant, foreigner, refugee (In this study, the concept of "refugee" is used to characterize people who have come to Türkiye from different countries. Therefore, "refugee" refers to people who have been forced to leave their homes due to fear for their lives, even though they have not been able to obtain the legal status of refugee.), *asylum seeker, conditional refugee, subsidiary protection and international protection* for its subjects and "has always been at the center of human identity (Fisher, 2022, p. 18)", has different consequences. Poverty emerges as the most important of these consequences, and refugee child poverty further deepens the global problem of child poverty. It is observed that a significant portion of refugee households struggling to live in different countries are observed to face various types of poverty, especially absolute poverty. In this context, it is observed that most of the refugees living in Türkiye face a multidimensional poverty that makes itself felt in different areas. The multidimensional poverty that most of the refugees living in different cities of Türkiye receive education and experience negatively affects their lives. Therefore, we are faced with a phenomenon of poverty that should be read from a multidimensional perspective instead of the known poverty narratives. Indeed, according to Tunçsiper and Kabakçı Günay (2021, p. 2), poverty is multidimensional and comprises many social, economic and cultural elements. Poverty, which means that individuals do not have enough material income to sustain their lives, actually has a multidimensional nature.

When we review the studies conducted on the poverty situation of refugee students in Türkiye, we find very few studies that directly make refugee children the 'research unit' in terms of the poverty they experience, and they mostly report the opinions of people who speak on behalf of children. This makes it difficult to clearly reveal the poverty experienced by refugee children since it closes the way for a phenomenological effort, it overshadows how social reality - poverty - is constructed by children. Sarvan and Efe (2020, p. 55), who obtained data on the poverty of Syrian refugee children indirectly, found that refugee children cannot meet their basic needs such as shelter and nutrition, have linguistic problems, and cannot adequately benefit from their health and education rights due to cultural incompatibilities. Aydın, Şahin and Akay (2017, p. 8) addressed the effects of migration on child health under the headings of nutrition, infectious diseases, education, juvenile delinquency and mental health, child abuse, and child labor. In the 2015 Human Rights Watch Report, the obstacles preventing Syrian refugee children living in urban areas of Türkiye (outside the camps) from attending school are listed as *language barriers, economic difficulties, and lack of social cohesion* (İnsan Hakları İzleme Raporu, 2015, p. 3).

Kaya, Güzel Polat and Yiğit (2020, p. 79-84), with an approach other than monetary-oriented poverty studies, aimed to highlight the rights and freedoms of refugee children within the scope of universal children's rights in their review study. Considering that variables such as social exclusion, rights and participation have an important place in contemporary poverty analyses, Kaya, Güzel Polat and Yiğit's examination of refugee children's situation interms of the right to life, the right to education, the right to health, discrimination and unequal conditions and security helps to make a reading on the multidimensional poverty experiences of refugee children. Harunoğulları (2016, p. 29) also addressed the problem of child labor among school-age refugee children. Aiming to reveal the socio-economic and socio-spatial conditions of children, the study was based on fieldwork conducted in Kilis, and analyzed the problems experienced by refugee child laborers whose rights such as play, education and healthy life were jeopardized. Tunçer and Aydoğan (2017, p. 1831), on the other hand, present data on the poverty, deprivation and social exclusion experienced by children with their households in their study in which they examine the socio-economic and educational status, living and working conditions of migrant children in Kırşehir.

In the current study, the poverty experienced by refugee high school students is addressed as a situation that emerges in multiple areas. Recent multidimensional poverty analyses have been conducted under the headings of access to health services, housing/shelter, education, living conditions, social life and social relations, participation and exercise of rights, economic status and consumption, employment status and poverty-coping strategies. Therefore, when measuring multidimensional poverty, variables other than income are utilized (Tunçsiper ve Kabakçı Günay, 2021, p. 2). An increase in income level is insufficient to be able to access health, education and security services and to live in places with infrastructure that provides access to sewage and drinking water. Instead, multidimensional poverty index is one of the important indicators of this situation (Tunçsiper ve Kabakçı Günay, 2021, p. 2). This study is based on the hypothesis that refugee high school students experience multidimensional poverty beyond monetary poverty.

1.1. The Concept and Content of Multidimensional Poverty

In the contemporary literature on poverty, poverty is defined as a deprivation that makes itself felt in different areas beyond the monetary basis and the inability to meet basic needs. In its 2018 report, the World Bank took into account the relative aspect of poverty and prepared a multidimensional poverty index by using the concept of social poverty (deprivation) and various social indicators that add the median income of countries to the calculation formula (Arabacı, 2019, p. 124). On the other hand, taking only income as the basis for determining poverty is incomplete in explaining the welfare status of the individual. Therefore, housing, education, clothing, health, employment status and access to a good standard of living are also among the factors affecting the welfare level of the individual. In the context of this approach, the first poverty study analyzing poverty in relative terms was conducted by Townsend in London; the scope of absolute poverty based on income was expanded and many social factors were added to the calculation of poverty (Kılıç, 2022, p. 9).

Thus, a multidimensional perspective has been adopted in poverty analyses, and studies that go beyond monetary definitions have gained momentum. As a matter of fact, Wagle (2008, p. vii) states that there has been great interest in measuring multidimensional poverty in the recent past. According to Seth (2010, p. 2), the approaches put forward in measuring multidimensional poverty in recent years have inspired the poverty index and motivated many international organizations and policy makers to adopt a multidimensional framework to evaluate both welfare and deprivation levels. Examples include, but are not limited to, the well-known Human Development Index (HDI) and the Human Poverty Index (HPI) published annually by United Nations Develop.

While the human poverty index was used to measure human poverty until 2010, it was replaced by the multidimensional poverty index in the human development report published in 2010 (Ceylan-Çakmak, 2019, p. 27). The index uses three main dimensions (education, health and living standards) to determine the severity of poverty. These three dimensions are further subdivided into *nutrition, child mortality, years of schooling, enrolment status, type of cooking fuel, availability of drinking water, sewage, electricity, housing and assets*. Measurements made with this index range between 0 and 1, with higher values indicating higher poverty. Considering the sub-dimensions in the index draws attention to the multidimensionality of poverty, and the international poverty line of 1.90 dollars, which is a static indicator (Tunçsiper ve Kabakçı Günay, 2021, p. 7).

Table 1. Multidimensional Poverty Index Components

Dimensions	*Ratio of the Dimension*	*Indicators*	*Ratio of the Indicator*
Health	1/3	Food	1/6
		Child death	1/6
Education	1/3	Year of schooling	1/6
		School enrolment	1/6
Life Standards	1/3	Cooking fuel	1/18
		Sewerage	1/18
		Drinking water	1/18
		Electric	1/18
		Shelter	1/18
		Asset	1/18

Source: UN Multidimensional Poverty Report, https://www.tr.undp.org/content/turkey/tr/; Tunçsiper ve Kabakçı Günay, 2021, p. 9

Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) examines and determines individuals' basic deprivation of health, living conditions and education dimensions, and their inability to have these opportunities. The index contains micro data sets. Therefore, it includes information obtained through various household surveys conducted by countries (Kılıç ve Tunçsiper, 2021, p. 102). Alkire and Santos (2010, p. 1) note that the MPI assesses the nature of vulnerability at the individual level, providing a vivid picture of people living in poverty across regions and around the world. According to Duclos (2011, p. 2), The Multidimensional Poverty Index, by focusing on individuals in multidimensional deprivation, it places more emphasis on multidimensional poverty than the HDI, which is neutral towards the existence of multiple deprivation. According to Beja (2021, p. 3) MPI, in a way, determines the minimum condition necessary to lead a life worth living.

Özdemir et al. (2021, p. 306), in a study they prepared to propose a multidimensional poverty assessment scale for university students, addressed multidimensional poverty under the headings of *education, material opportunities, health, international opportunities, communication, physical facilities, security, socio-cultural and self-expression*. Based on the study, a 9-dimensional and 51-question *Multidimensional Student Poverty Scale* was developed. With the scale, student poverty can be determined in detail within the framework of the structured elements (Özdemir et al., 2021, p. 306). In the current study, poverty is addressed not only as *lack of income* and *inability to meet needs,* but also as a problem that manifests itself in areas such as *environment, education, health, rights, participation, social exclusion, subjective well-being, isolation, social security, risk and safety, social life, social relations, and leisure activities.*

It would not be wrong to say that refugee children, who have come to Türkiye from different countries, accompanied or unaccompanied, settled in Eskişehir and continue their education life, face a poverty that makes itself felt in various contexts beyond *failure to meet basic needs.* Therefore, in the present study, their poverty is addressed within the framework of both the dimensions that make up the Multidimensional Poverty Index, the dimensions brought up by Özdemir et al. (2021, p. 306), and dimensions such as *social exclusion, participation in social life, exercise of rights, employment, social security, and leisure activities.*

METHODOLOGY

The fact that the subject of the study was to examine the poverty experiences of refugee high school students who came to Türkiye from different countries of origin, live in Eskişehir and continue their high school education necessitated the use of mixed method research paradigm. Mixed method research is explained as a comprehensive and integrative research method based on the synthesis of the quantitative and qualitative dimensions of the phenomenon in line with the principles of pragmatist philosophy (İlerisoy, 2022, p. 252). Additionally, mixed methods is not simply the collection of multiple forms of qualitative data or the collection of multiple types of quantitative data. It involves the collection, analysis and integration of both quantitative and qualitative data (Creswell, 2015, p. 19). In short, mixed method is the combination of quantitative and qualitative methodologies within the same research. Making inferences for the future based on the findings obtained through the synthesis of it is a research method that aims to find (İlerisoy, 2022, p. 251).

2.1. Study Group

The study population of the research consists of 976 refugee students (Taken from Eskişehir Provincial Directorate of National Education Lifelong Learning Department with official letter.) who came to Türkiye from countries such as Iran, Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan and studying in high schools in downtown Eskişehir. In determining the sample, simple random sampling method was used in the quantitative part and criterion sampling method, one of the purposeful sampling types, was used in the qualitative part. Table 2 provides information about the sample groups in the quantitative and qualitative dimensions.

Table 2. Components of Multidimensional Poverty Index

Sample Groups	*Gender*	*n*	*Country*	*n*
Demographic information about the sample in the quantitative part	*F*	149	Afghanistan	77
	M	129	Palestine	1
	Total	278	Georgia	1
			Iraq	131
			Iran	24
			Pakistan	1
			Syria	27
			Other	16
Demographic information about the sample in the qualitative part	*F*	8	Afghanistan	9
	M	19	Iraq	14
	Total	27	Iran	2
			Syria	2

2.2. Ethical Statement

Ethics committee permission for this study was granted by Anadolu University Social Sciences and Humanities Scientific Research and Publication Council, following the approval of the Ethics Committee on 18.05.2021 with protocol number 69682.

2.3. Data Collection

A questionnaire consisting of 87 questions was used to collect the targeted data for the quantitative part, and a semi-structured interview form consisting of 43 questions was used for the in-depth interviews in the qualitative part.

2.4. Data Analysis

For the quantitative data, descriptive statistical analyses were performed with the SPSS program. For the qualitative part, descriptive analysis and content analysis were performed. SPSS 22.0 program was used to analyze the quantitative data; descriptive (frequency and percentage) statistical calculations were made, and tables of these calculations were drawn and interpreted. *'Descriptive analysis'* was used to analyze qualitative data. In this qualitative section, first, the audio recordings of the data obtained through the interviews were transcribed after being listened to one by one, and categories and themes were obtained by coding the data. In the final stage, in accordance with the 'complementarity' principle of the exploratory sequential design, the qualitative data were interpreted and evaluated to support and complement the quantitative data. Thus, both data groups were related to each other to ensure integrity in meaning and narrative.

FINDINGS

The quantitative and qualitative dimensions of the study were analyzed for both data groups. Tables and interpretations of the quantitative results were given, and direct quotations from the relevant qualitative results were included to support, elaborate and complement the quantitative results.

3.1. Participation in Education and Exercise of Rights at School

School Life: Exercising A Fundamental Right and Problems

Table 3. Refugee High School Students' Transportation Modes to School

Types of Transport to School	*Frequency*	*Percentage*	*Valid Percentage*	*Cumulative Percentage*
Shuttle	10	3,6	3,6	3,6
Car	6	2,1	2,2	5,8
Mass transport	131	46,8	47,1	52,9
Walking	130	46,4	46,8	99,6
Otherer	1	0,4	0,4	100,0
Total	278	99,3	100,0	

Table 3 presents the opinions of refugee high school students regarding their transportation to school. Accordingly, most of the students (261 students) who participated in the study commute to school by *public transportation and on foot.* In addition, 10 students stated that they commuted to school by shuttle service, six students stated that they commuted to school by their own vehicles, and 1 student answered "other". On the other hand, the views of some of the interviewed participants on how they travel to and from school were as follows:

I come and go by bus. In good weather, I ride a bicycle (S7-M, In-depth interview).
I walk from home to school (S14-M, In-depth interview).

One striking finding is that none of the interviewed students use school buses and most of them walk to and from school. The most important reason for this is that most of the refugee students are enrolled in high schools through address-based placement, based on their GPAs. However, the distance between the school and the house can be too long.

Table 4. Factors That Negatively Affect Their School Life

Factors	*Frequency*	*Percentage*	*Valid Percentage*	*Cumulative Percentage*
Language	116	41,4	41,7	100,0
Financial status	150	53,6	54,0	100,0
Immigration	117	41,8	42,1	100,0
Difficulty of the courses	94	33,6	33,8	100,0
Inappropriate curriculum	17	6,1	6,1	100,0
Teacher behavior	16	5,7	5,8	100,0
Approach of the school administration	13	4,6	4,7	100,0
Cultural adaptation	17	6,1	6,1	100,0
Exclusion	30	10,7	10,8	100,0
Other	13	4,6	4,7	100,0
Total	278			

Table 4 presents the views of refugee high school students on the factors that negatively affect their education. With this question, the participants were given the opportunity to mark more than one option. More than half of them (150 students) answered 'financial situation'. This is followed by immigration (117 students), language (116 students), difficulty of lessons (94 students), exclusion (30 students), inappropriate curriculum (17 students), cultural adaptation (17 students), teacher behavior (16 students), school administration's approach (13 students) and other (13 students). Some of the refugee students interviewed stated the following about the factors affecting their education:

> *I can't enroll in the courses I want because of poverty. I want to develop myself in the fields I like and am talented in. I can't do it because we don't have money (S3-M, In-depth interview).*
> *Some friends exclude me (S27-M, In-depth interview).*
> *I don't communicate with anyone at school, our mindsets are very different. They cannot understand my problems and what I am going through (S22-F, In-depth interview).*

For refugee students, school is a space of struggle where inequalities are reproduced. They try to cope with the exclusionary behaviors they encounter to the extent of the strength of their capital.

Table 5. Making Use of School Facilities (School Cafeteria, Gym, Library, Laboratory, etc.)

Use of School Facilities	*Frequency*	*Percentage*	*Valid Percentage*	*Cumulative Percentage*
Yes	*129*	*46,1*	*46,4*	*46,4*
No	*110*	*39,3*	*39,6*	*86,0*
No idea	*39*	*13,9*	*14,0*	*100,0*
Total	*278*	*99,3*	*100,0*	

Table 5 shows the opinions of refugee high school students on their utilization of the facilities (school cafeteria, dining hall, gym, computer room, library, laboratory, etc.) in their schools. As can be seen, 129 students stated that they benefited from these facilities, while 110 students stated that they did not. 39 students answered with "no idea" to this question. The striking point here is that the number of students who stated that they benefited from the facilities at the school and those who stated that they did not is close. It is crucial that all students have access to the opportunities offered by the school and that there is no discrimination among students. Some of the students interviewed expressed the following views on the subject:

Sometimes yes, sometimes no (S20-F, In-depth interview).
I can use my rights if I want, but I didn't want to use them myself. Actually, for me, I would like the way the teachers treat us to be like the way they treat other children rather than using the library and the garden (S22-F, In-depth interview).

The refugee students are observed not to have any significant problems in using places such as *cafeteria, dining hall, library, gymnasium, laboratory,* and *computer room* in their schools.

Table 6. Participation in School Activities

Participation in School Activities	*Frequency*	*Percentage*	*Valid Percentage*	*Cumulative Percentage*
Yes	110	39,3	39,6	39,6
No	164	58,6	59,0	98,6
Total	278	99,3	100,0	

Table 6 presents the opinions of refugee high school students on their participation in school activities (student clubs, celebrations related to specific days and weeks, celebration of national holidays, commemoration ceremonies, artistic and scientific competitions, field trips, intra-school competitions, project competitions, and sports competition. Accordingly, more than half of the students (58.6%) stated that they did not participate in school activities, while 110 students stated that they did. The interviewed students stated the following about participating in these activities:

I know my rights but I have never used any of them (S4-F, In-depth interview).
I can use my rights, I don't have any problems (S12-F, In-depth interview).
Sometimes yes, sometimes no! (S20-F, In-depth interview).

The psychological situation created by being a refugee seem to have a negative impact on such participation; therefore, refugee students, who are a part of the school, are reluctant to participate in artistic, sportive, scientific, and cultural activities at school.

The Pandemic, Hard Times And Education: Holding On to Transnational Solidarity Networks

Table 7. How They Met Their Needs During The Covid-19 Pandemic

How They Met Their Needs During the Covid-19 Pandemic	*Frequency*	*Percentage*	*Valid Percentage*	*Cumulative Percentage*
By our own means	234	83,6	84,2	100,0
With the aids we received	95	33,9	34,2	100,0
Total	278	99,3	100,0	

Table 7 presents the views of refugee high school students on how they met their needs during the Covid-19 pandemic. In this question about *how they met their needs during the Covid-19 pandemic,* students were given the opportunity to choose more than one option. Accordingly, the majority of the students (234 students; 83.6%) stated that they met their needs by their own means, while 95 of them stated that they met their needs with the financial assistance they received. The refugee students interviewed also expressed the following views on how they met their needs during the Covid-19 pandemic:

We were getting help during the coronavirus period, I also worked (S14-M, In-depth interview).
Our acquaintances in Australia sent us money (S21-M, In-depth interview).
We asked for money from my uncles in Afghanistan, that's how we managed (S24-F, In-depth interview).

During the Covid-19 pandemic, some students had to work and a significant portion of households tried to overcome the pandemic with 'help' from their acquaintances, relatives or social circles. It is also observed that the households of which the participants are members have resorted to various strategies. Further, they have built networks and created traditional and new types of solidarity through the aids they said they received from their relatives or acquaintances living in their country of origin or in a different country.

3.2. Health Status

Refugees, Children and Health

Table 8. Health Problems

Do You Have Any Health Problems?	*Frequency*	*Percentage*	*Valid Percentage*	*Cumulative Percentage*
Yes	43	15,4	15,5	15,5
No	235	83,9	84,5	100,0
Total	278	99,3	100,0	

Table 8 displays the views of refugee high school students on whether they have any health problems. As can be seen, the majority of the participants (235 students; 83,9%) stated that they did not have any health problem, while 43 reported having a health problem. One of them mentioned a health problem and explained that the government did not cover the cost of the medication required for her illness and that she paid for it himself:

> *I use an inhaler for my lungs. The state does not cover the cost. We pay 300-500 TL (S20-F, In-depth interview).*

Multidimensional poverty exacerbates this health problem and lowers the threshold of resilience that refugee children should have against diseases.

Table 9. Whether They Have Health Insurance, Which Hospital They Go To, Whether They Pay For Medication

	Frequency	*Percentage*	*Valid Percentage*	*Cumulative Percentage*
Covered by Any Health Insurance				
Yes	139	49,6	50,0	50,0
No	139	49,6	50,0	100,0
Total	278	99,3	100,0	
Which Hospital They Visit				
Public hospitals	224	80,0	80,6	80,6
Private hospitals	11	3,9	4,0	84,5
The closest community health clinic	41	14,6	14,7	99,3
Other	2	0,7	0,7	100,0
Total	278	99,3	100,0	
Paying for Medication				
We pay when we get nonprescription drugs	173	61,8	62,2	62,2
We pay patient co-payment	86	30,7	30,9	93,2
We do not pay anything	7	2,5	2,5	95,7
Other	12	4,3	4,3	100,0
Total	278	99,3	100,0	

Table 9 presents the opinions of refugee high school students on *whether they have health insurance,* which hospitals they visit and whether they pay for medication. Accordingly, half of the participants (139 students; 49.6%) said they had health insurance, while half (139 students; 49.6%) said they did not. Again, regarding *which hospital they go* to, the majority of the participants (224 students; 80%) said public hospitals, 41 said the nearest community health clinic, 11 said private hospitals, and 2 said other. Finally, regarding *the payment of fees when buying medication,* more than half of the participants (173 students; 61.8%) answered that they pay when they buy over-the-counter drugs, 86 of them pay patient co-payment, and 7 of them do not pay any fees. Some of the students interviewed stated the following:

I pay because I am over 18 years old (S7-M, In-depth interview).
We pay a small amount of money, we have insurance (S8-M, In-depth interview).
I have health insurance. They renewed my insurance because I am alone and I am a girl. My insurance continues (S22-F, Stateless Status, In-depth interview).

Most of the refugee students interviewed are observed to have health insurance. However, it should be noted that refugees have problems with issues such as *language, execution of procedures, and inability to communicate* when they go to health institutions.

3.3. Social and Economic Life and Aid Received

Residence and Its Characteristics

Table 10. Status of The Residence

Status of The Residence	*Frequency*	*Percentage*	*Valid Percentage*	*Cumulative Percentage*
Home-owner	32	11,4	11,5	11,5
Tenant	242	86,4	87,1	98,6
Someone else's ve does not pay rent	3	1,1	1,1	99,6
State-owned	1	0,4	0,4	100,0
Total	278	99,3	100,0	

Table 10 shows refugee high school students's views on the status of their housing. Accordingly, most of the participants (242 students; 86.4%) stated that the house they live in is rented, 32 of them stated that they own their own house, three stated that the house they live in belongs to someone else and they do not pay rent, and one stated that the house they live in belongs to the state. Looking at the data, it is clear that most of the students live in rented houses. It was determined that all of the interviewed students live in rented houses. Some students stated the following:

> *Our rent is 800 TL, two rooms and a living room. We cannot find a cheaper house (S20-F, In-depth interview).*
> *Our house is rented. It is a two-bedroom house. It is good, but it could be bigger (S21-M, In-depth interview).*

Being tiny, poorly maintained, and *overpriced* were the most frequently mentioned problems of the students regarding the houses they live in. On the other hand, considering that housing is one of the indicators of *living standards*, one of the three dimensions of the Global Multidimensional Poverty Index, the findings are significant.

Table 11. Having a Separate Room

Whethers /He Has Her/His Own Room	*Frequency*	*Percentage*	*Valid Percentage*	*Cumulative Percentage*
Yes	92	32,9	33,1	33,1
No	186	66,4	66,9	100,0
Total	278	99,3	100,0	

Table 11 presents the opinions of refugee high school students on whether they have their own rooms at home. As can be seen, the majority of the participants (186 students; 66.4%) stated that they did not have a room of their own, while 92 students stated that they had a room of their own. It was also determined that most of the participants interviewed did not have a room of their own. It was also found that some of them shared their rooms with family members. One of the participants said the following:

Our house could be bigger. My brother and I could be in separate rooms (S21-M, In-depth interview).

With migration, most children become stateless and live alone in the countries they seek refuge in. Indeed, the words of one student reflect this situation:

When I turned 18, I had to leave the dormitory. I rented a house with a low rent. I have a one-bedroom house. The rent is 500 TL and I live alone (S22-F, Stateless Status, In-depth interview).

Some of the students living in nuclear families had their own rooms. The following words of a student point to this:

Our house has two rooms, and one living room. I have my own room (S1-M, In-depth interview).

It would not be wrong to say that the fact that some refugee families have many children makes it compulsory to accommodate more than one child in the same room.

Table 12. The Most Important Problems of The House They Live in

The Most Important Problems of The House They Live in	*Frequency*	*Percentage*	*Valid Percentage*	*Cumulative Percentage*
Too cold	76	27,1	27,3	100,0
Too small	162	57,9	58,3	100,0
Too dark	11	3,9	4,0	100,0
Too old and neglected	126	45,0	45,3	100,0
Other	42	15,0	15,1	100,0

Table 12 presents the views of refugee high school students on the most important problems of their homes. For this question, the participants were given the opportunity to mark multiple options. Accordingly, 162 participants stated that the house they live in was too small, 126 stated that it was too old and neglected, 76 stated that it was too cold and 11 participants stated that it was too dark. In addition, 42 students answered other. They also emphasized similar problems and explained the following:

The house is both small and the walls are wet and cracked, very bad (S3-M, In-depth interview).
The house is very bad, the furniture is old and it is too small for us (S4-F, In-depth interview).
Our house is very old and small. There are also insects in the house (S27-M, In-depth interview).

The following statements indicate that some of them liked the house they lived in, but emphasized at least one negative aspect about their houses:

Our house has good heating but it is very old (S16-M, In-depth interview).
Our house has three rooms and a living room. But the walls are damp (S18-F, In-depth interview).

In both quantitative and qualitative sense, students statements about their houses such as *being too small, cold, unheated, poorly maintained* and *old* reflect that one of the important problems of refugees is *housing*.

Life and Work Outside School: Contributing to The Household Budget

Table 13. Employment Status Outside of School Hours

Employment Status	*Frequency*	*Percentage*	*Valid Percentage*	*Cumulative Percentage*
Yes	56	20,0	20,1	20,1
No	222	79,3	79,9	100,0
Total	278	99,3	100,0	

Table 13 presents the opinions of refugee high school students on whether they work outside of school hours. Accordingly, the majority of the participants (222 students; 79.3%) stated that they did not work outside of school hours, while 56 participants (20%) stated that they did. Some of them also stated that they had a job outside of school hours. All international legal regulations and documents related to children underline the inviolability of the child's wellbeing and the right to education. Therefore, the fact that 56 students stated that they work outside school hours is a problem to be noted. Some of the interviewed students stated that they were employed in the following way:

I work as a cleaner and tea seller in an association. I get 750 TL per month and I pay 500 TL for the rent of our house (S6-M, In-depth interview).
I go to work after school without coming home and work until 8 p.m. I work at a tea shop in Hamamyolu. On weekends, I work between 8 a.m. and 8 p.m. I make 2300 TL per month (S13-M, In-depth interview).

It should also be noted that child labor is a strategy used by refugee families to cope with poverty. In addition, the students met their school needs with the money they earned and this was reflected in the words of one student as follows:

I started working in the summer. When I work, I cover my and my brother's school expenses. I work as a busboy and server (S23-F, In-depth interview).

It would not be wrong to say that child labor, which has become a global problem with migration movements and disrupts the education process, increases child exploitation and opens the door to many problems.

We Don't Have a Regular Income

Table 14. Income Status of The Household

Income Status of The Household	*Frequency*	*Percentage*	*Valid Percentage*	*Cumulative Percentage*
Very bad	21	7,5	7,6	7,6
Bad	70	25,0	25,2	32,7
Normal	144	51,4	51,8	84,5
Good	40	14,3	14,4	98,9
Very good	3	1,1	1,1	100,0
Total	278	99,3	100,0	

Table 14 presents the views of refugee high school students on the income status of their households. Accordingly, 144 respondents answered *normal,* 70 respondents answered *bad,* 40 respondents answered *good*, 21 respondents answered *very bad* and only 3 respondents answered *very good* regarding the income status of their families. Due to migration, millions of people leave their assets and professions behind, are deprived of a regular income in the countries they live in and fall into the grip of poverty. Indeed, some of the interviewed students stated that their parents were university graduates, had a profession, and earned a good income in their country of origin. The family income statuses of the interviewed students were found to be as follows: 13 of the students had an income between 1000 and 2000 TL, seven of them had an income between 2001 and 3000 TL, two of them had an income between 3001 and 4000 TL, and five of them had an income between 4001 and 5000 TL. Some of the interviewed students said the following about the income status of their families:

> *Our financial situation is very bad. We cannot buy anything (S3-M, In-depth interview).*
> *Our financial situation is average. We cannot buy everything (S5-M, In-depth interview).*
> *We have a lot of economic difficulties (S12-F, In-depth interview).*

Income status is a factor that determines families' strategies regarding education and the reproduction of their children's cultural capital. "Families with strong economic capital send their children to the educational institutions of their choice and aim to reproduce cultural capital. As the privileges of social class increase, cultural capital increases in parallel (Karademir ve Kaya, 2020, p. 650)." Therefore, it is difficult to say that the economic capital of refugee households living in a disadvantaged way in different countries far from their homelands is sufficient for the activities they will carry out to strengthen the cultural capital of their children.

Money Is Hard to Find: Saving For Needs Or Postponing Needs

Table 15. Which Needs They Have Difficulty Meeting

Which Needs They Have Difficulty Meeting	*Frequency*	*Percentage*	*Valid Percentage*	*Cumulative Percentage*
Food expenses	78	27,9	28,1	100,0
Clothing expenses	113	40,4	40,6	100,0
Phone bill	78	27,9	28,1	100,0
Personal needs	157	56,1	56,5	100,0
Cost of activities such as cinema, theater, sports	154	55,0	55,4	100,0
Transportation (tram, bus, plane, train tickets) costs	78	27,9	28,1	100,0
Other	10	3,6	3,6	100,0

Table 15 presents the views of refugee high school students on which needs they have difficulty meeting. In this question, students were given the opportunity to mark multiple options. Accordingly, more than half of the students (157 students; 56.1%) stated that they have difficulty in meeting their personal needs; more than half of the students (154 students; 55%) stated that they have difficulty in meeting the costs of attending activities such as cinema, theater, and sports; 113 stated that they have difficulty in meeting clothing costs; 78 stated that they have difficulty in meeting food costs; 78 stated that they have difficulty in meeting phone bills, and 78 stated that they have difficulty in meeting transportation costs. Some of the students interviewed stated the following about how they meet their communication needs:

I do not top up my phone every month, I top it up occasionally (S1-M, In-depth interview).
I have a cell phone but no line (S27-M, In-depth interview).

Some described their difficulties, particularly in terms of transportation, personal needs, leisure activities, communication costs, and clothing:

I do not participate in any social activities (S12-F, In-depth interview).
I walk from home to school (S14-M, In-depth interview).

In short, *personal needs*, and *participation in activities such as going to cinema* and *theater,* and *performing sports* stand out as needs that are difficult to meet.

The Construction of Social Capital

Table 16. The Group of Friends They Have

The Group of Friends They Have	*Frequency*	*Percentage*	*Valid Percentage*	*Cumulative Percentage*
All of them are from my own country	68	24,3	24,5	100,0
I have Turkish friends as well	197	70,4	70,9	100,0
I have friends from other countries too	116	41,4	41,7	100,0
Other	8	2,9	2,9	100,0

Table 16 above presents the views of refugee high school students on the friend groups they have. The students were given the opportunity to choose more than one option for this question. Accordingly, more than half of the participants (197 students; 70.4%) reported having Turkish friends, 116 of them having friends from other countries, and 68 of them reported having a group of friends from their own country. In addition, eight of them answered other. Some of the interviewed students stated the following:

I don't have many Turkish friends because I have language problems (S11-M, In-depth interview).
I have both Turkish and immigrant friends (S14-M, In-depth interview).
I have a few friends from Iran and Afghanistan. I don't have many friends from the local community that I communicate with (S22-F, In-depth interview).
I mostly have friends at school. Both local and immigrant (T24-F, In-depth interview).

Factors such as being a migrant, poverty and exclusion can undoubtedly have an impact on the formation of friendships. Refugee students also participate in the school environment with their habitus and capital and try to build friendship networks to the extent of their capabilities.

I'm a Refugee, But: Can We Spend Time Together?

Table 17. Frequency of Activities, Spending Time, Having Fun and Playing Games with Friends

Frequency of Doing Activities With Friends	*Frequency*	*Percentage*	*Valid Percentage*	*Cumulative Percentage*
Always	34	12,1	12,2	12,2
Sometimes	191	68,2	68,7	80,9
Never	51	18,2	18,3	99,3
Total	278	99,3	100,0	

Table 17 presents the views of refugee high school students on the frequency of doing activities, spending time, having fun, and playing games with friends. Accordingly, the majority of the participants (191 students; 68.2%) answered sometimes, 51 said never and 34 said always with regards to spending time and doing activities with friends. Some of the interviewed students said the following on this subject:

I have Iraqi immigrant friends, there are 5 or 6 of us. We travel with them (S8-M, In-depth interview).
I have Afghan friends. I spend more time with them (S16-M, In-depth interview).
Most of my friends are Iranian. I also have Turkish friends (S21-M, In-depth interview).

It would fair to say that the social, economic and cultural capital and the disadvantages and inequalities of being an immigrant are the factors that shape the friendship relations between local and refugee students.

Table 18. Whether They Are a Member of Any Civil Society Organization, Association or Political Party

Membership to a Non-Governmental Organization, Association or Political Party	*Frequency*	*Percentage*	*Valid Percentage*	*Cumulative Percentage*
Yes	6	2,1	2,2	2,2
No	272	97,1	97,8	100,0
Total	278	99,3	100,0	

Table 18 presents the views of refugee high school students on their membership to civil society organizations, associations or political parties. As can be seen, almost all of the students (272 students; 97.1%) stated that they were not members of any civil society organization, association or political party, while six stated that they had such a membership. Among the students interviewed, only one student was found to have a relationship with civil society organizations. This student explained that he worked in an association outside of school hours and contributed to the household budget with the money he earned:

I work at A. G. Association, I work as a tea-brewer and cleaner (S6-M, In-depth interview).

Except for the student working in the association, none of the students interviewed mentioned that they were members of or in contact with civil society organizations, associations or political parties in Eskişehir. Therefore, students do not seem to meet their need for participation at an adequate level. On the other hand, as Max-Neff emphasizes, if the need for participation is not met, there are problems in meeting other needs (Hatiboğlu Eren, 2016, p. 7-8).

Practices of Active Citizenship: Building Social, Cultural and Symbolic Capitals in The Absence of Economic Capital

Table 19. Social Activities They Participate in The City They Live (in Eskişehir)

Activities They Participate in The City They Live in	*Frequency*	*Percentage*	*Valid Percentage*	*Cumulative Percentage*
Youth organizations	14	5,0	5,0	100,0
Environmental organizations	9	3,2	3,2	100,0
Human rights organizations	13	4,6	4,7	100,0
Charity activities	20	7,1	7,2	100,0
Municipal activities	22	7,9	7,9	100,0
Sports club activities	41	14,6	14,7	100,0
Political party activities	4	1,4	1,4	100,0
NGO activities	5	1,8	1,8	100,0
Arts-related activities	15	5,4	5,4	100,0
Summer school activities	16	5,7	5,8	100,0
Other	28	10,0	10,1	100,0

Table 19 shows the views of refugee high school students on the social activities they participate in their city (Eskişehir). The students were given the opportunity to mark more than one option for this question. Accordingly, 41 of the participants reported that they participated in the activities of sports clubs, 22 in municipal activities, 20 in philanthropic (charity) activities, 16 in activities of summer schools, 15 in artistic activities, 14 in youth organizations, 13 in human rights organizations, 9 in environmental organizations, 5 in activities of non-governmental organizations, and 4 in activities of political parties. In addition, 28 participants answered other. Looking at the data in the table, it is clear that students mostly participate in *sports, municipal, charitable and other activities.* The activities of political parties and NGOs were the activities in which the participants showed the least interest. These data overlap with the data in the previous table. As seen in the previous table, almost all of the students (97.1%) are not members of any political party, association, or non-governmental organization. Participation in many activities in daily life is undoubtedly related to financial status. Even when participating in activities that do not require money, it is necessary to have a certain amount of money for eating, transportation and various expenses. Therefore, it should be noted that the quality of the activities that students participate in outside of school hours has a correlational relationship with their poverty status.

Socialization Practices in The Grip of Poverty: Lack of Free Time

Table 20. Leisure Activities

Leisure Activities	*Frequency*	*Percentage*	*Valid Percentage*	*Cumulative Percentage*
Frequency of Attending Cinema, Theater, Sports Competitions				
Always	15	5,4	5,4	5,4
Sometimes	90	32,1	32,4	37,8
I do not attend them	108	38,6	38,8	76,6
Never	65	23,2	23,4	100,0
Total	278	99,3	100,0	
Frequency of Reading Books, Daily Newspapers, Magazines, Etc.				
Always	38	13,6	13,7	13,7
Sometimes	178	63,6	64,0	77,7
I do not read them	36	12,9	12,9	90,6
I never read them	26	9,3	9,4	100,0
Total	278	99,3	100,0	
Frequency of Eating Out (Outside the Home)				
Always	9	3,2	3,2	3,2
Sometimes	173	61,8	62,2	65,5
I never eat out	96	34,3	34,5	100,0
Total	278	99,3	100,0	
Frequency of Going To Places Such As Cafes, Tea Gardens, etc. with Schoolmates				
Always	13	4,6	4,7	4,7
Sometimes	109	38,9	39,2	43,9
I do not go to such places	87	31,1	31,3	75,2
I never go to such places	69	24,6	24,8	100,0
Total	278	99,3	100,0	
What Do You Do On Days Off From School and During Summer Holidays?				
I work if I can get a job	122	43,6	43,9	100,0
I go to a Qur'an course	41	14,6	14,7	100,0
I do my daily prayers	58	20,7	20,9	100,0
I spend time with my Turkish friends	64	22,9	23,0	100,0
I spend time with my friends from my country	56	20,0	20,1	100,0

I go on vacation	40	14,3	14,4	100,0
I do handicrafts at home to earn some extra money	21	7,5	7,6	100,0
I go to a language course	23	8,2	8,3	100,0
I participate in sports activities	50	17,9	18,0	100,0
I study and read at home	112	40,0	40,3	100,0
I attend the activities of associations, charities, and NGOs	5	1,8	1,8	100,0
I go to a music course	9	3,2	3,2	100,0
Other	24	8,6	8,6	100,0
Attendance on Field Trips Organized by The School or Class				
Yes	95	33,9	34,2	34,2
No	183	65,4	65,8	100,0
Total	278	99,3	100,0	
Ability to Invite Friends to Your Home to Celebrate a Birthday, Play Games or Do Something Together				
Yes	89	31,8	32,0	32,0
No	189	67,5	68,0	100,0
Total	278	99,3	100,0	
Regular Daily Activities (Swimming, Playing a Musical Instrument, Attending an Organization)				
Yes	50	17,9	18,0	18,0
No	228	81,4	82,0	100,0
Total	278	99,3	100,0	
Are There Any Items (Such As Bicycles, Skates, Scooters, Etc.) That You Use As a Hobby in Daily Life?				
Yes	96	34,3	34,5	34,5
No	182	65,0	65,5	100,0
Total	278	99,3	100,0	

Table 20 presents the views of refugee high school students on leisure time activities, and the following is observed: a) Regarding *the frequency of attending cinema, theater, sports competitions,* 108 of them answered 'I do not go, 90 of them sometimes, 65 of them never and 15 of them always'. b) when the participants' *frequency of reading books, daily newspapers, magazines, etc* is analyzed, 178 of them answered 'sometimes, 38 of them always, 36 of them not often, and 26 of them never,'c) when the participants' *'frequency of eating out'* is analyzed, 173 of them answered 'sometimes', 96 of them answered 'never,' and 9 of them answered 'always', d) when the participants' *'frequency of going to cafes, tea gardens, etc. with their school friends'* is analyzed, it is seen that 109 of them answered 'sometimes', 87 'never', 69 'never', and 13 said 'always', e) when the participants were asked *'what they do on the days they do not go to school and during summer vacations'* (students were allowed to mark multiple options for this question), 122 of them said that they work if they find a job, 112 of them study and read books at home, 64 of them spend time with Turkish friends, 58 of them do their daily prayers, 56 of them spend time with friends from my country, 50 responded that they participate in sports-related activities, 41 responded that they attend Qur'an courses, 40 responded that they go on vacation, 23 responded that they attend language courses, 21 responded that they do handicrafts at home to earn extra income, nine responded that they attend music courses, five responded that they participate in the activities of associations, charities, and NGOs, and 24 responded as 'other', f) regarding participants' *'participation in field trips organized by their school or class'*, 183 of them answered 'no' and 95 of them answered 'yes', g) regarding participants' *'ability to invite friends to their home to celebrate birthdays, play games or do something together'*, 189 of them answered 'no' and 89 of them answered 'yes', h) When the participants were asked about *their regular daily activities (swimming, playing a musical instrument, participating in an organization, etc.),* 228 of them answered 'no,' and 50 of them answered 'yes', and 1) When the participants were asked about *'whether they have any items that they use as a hobby in daily life'*, 182 of them answered 'no', and 96 of them answered 'yes'. Some of the students explained how they spend their free time as follows:

I play soccer. I don't have time for other activities (S13-M, In-depth interview).
I go home after school. I study, look at the phone or TV. I have no other activities (S16-M, In-depth interview).
I do not participate in any social activities (S8-M, In-depth interview).

The way leisure time is utilized is observed to differ by the gender variable. It would not be wrong to say that the cultural codes carried from the country of origin play a strong role in the emergence of this situation. Some female students explained the following in this regard:

I have no social activities. I go directly home (S20-F, In-depth interview).
I have no social activities whatsoever. I go home after school, I cook. I do everything myself because I live alone (S22-F, In-depth interview).
My mother cannot keep up with everything because she takes care of my brother. I do housework with my brother. That's how I spend my time (S24-F, In-depth interview).

Economic capital is undoubtedly a strong factor that determines how free time is used. Regarding this issue, some students stated the following:

I don't have any social activities because it means expenses (S14-M, In-depth interview).
I can't go out too much. I can't participate because I don't have money (S21-M, In-depth interview).
No, I can't. I don't have the opportunity or time (S23-F, In-depth interview).

Students do not seem to spend their free time with diverse activities. This finding, which can be explained by various reasons (financial situation, weak social capital, working in a job to contribute to the household budget, ingrained cultural stereotypes and perceptions, cultural codes, future anxiety, communication, etc.), especially by poverty, reduces the participation of refugee students in the urban culture.

A Life Dependent On Aid: Are The Aids Enough?

Table 21. Their Views on The Aids They Receive

The Financial Assistance Received	*Frequency*	*Percentage*	*Valid Percentage*	*Cumulative Percentage*
Social Cohesion Assistance (ESSN-Red Crescent Card)	170	60,7	61,2	100,0
Conditional Education Assistance (CCTE)	12	4,3	4,3	100,0
Language Support Assistance	12	4,3	4,3	100,0
Social and Economic Support Assistance (SED)	14	5,0	5,0	100,0
Conditional Health Assistance (CHA)	3	1,1	1,1	100,0
Conditional Child Health Assistance	2	0,7	0,7	100,0
Other	8	2,9	2,9	100,0
Total	278	99,3	100,0	100,0

Table 21 presents the views of refugee high school students on the aid they receive, whether the aid is sufficient or not, and how they view Türkiye's practices in helping refugees. The students were allowed to mark more than one option for this question. Accordingly, more than half of the participants (170 students; 60.7%) stated that they received Social Cohesion Assistance (ESSN-Red Crescent Card), 14 received Social and Economic Support Assistance (SED), 12 received Conditional Education Assistance (CEA), 12 received Language Support Assistance, three received Conditional Health Assistance (CHA), and two received Conditional Child Health Assistance. Some of the students interviewed stated the following:

We receive 1000 TL from the Social Assistance Foundation and 600 TL from the Red Crescent (Kizilay) (S7-M, In-depth interview).
I receive S.E.Y aid (S15-M, In-depth interview).
I get help from social services. I get it because I live in a dormitory and I am orphaned. I get 600 TL.
I also get it from the Red Crescent and the UN (S22-F, In-depth interview).

Some of the interviewed students said that they asked for money from their acquaintances in different countries, pointing to *transnational migrant networks*. It would be fair to say that this money, also called *remittances* in migration literature, contributes to the formation of diasporic relations and transnational spaces.

Getting Out of The Poverty Trap: But How?

Table 22. What Needs to be Done to Overcome Poverty?

Ways to Cope With Poverty	*Frequency*	*Percentage*	*Valid Percentage*	*Cumulative Percentage*
Skilled people should be identified and employed	202	72,1	72,7	100,0
Vocational courses should be offered	176	62,9	63,3	100,0
Free meals should be offered at schools	61	21,8	21,9	100,0
The amount of assistance should be increased	129	46,1	46,4	100,0
Local handicrafts should be taught	60	21,4	21,6	100,0
Other	7	2,5	2,5	100,0

Table 22 presents the views of refugee high school students on what should be done to overcome poverty. The participants were allowed to choose more than one option for this question. Accordingly, the majority of the students (202 students; 72.1%) answered that the skills of refugees should be identified and they should be given jobs; more than half of the students (176 students; 62.9%) answered that vocational courses should be organized for refugees; 129 of them answered that the aids currently provided to us should be increased; 61 of them answered that refugee students should be given free meals in schools, and 60 of them answered that we should be taught local handicrafts in the city where we live. In addition, seven of them answered other. Some of the students interviewed said the following:

We save our money, wait, and then buy stuff (S15-M, In-depth interview)
We pay attention to our expenses (S19-M, In-depth interview).
We can turn the gas on only for two hours a day so that the natural gas bill is not too high (S23-F, In-depth interview).

The students can be said to experience a multidimensional poverty, which lowers the possibility that the strategies they use to cope with poverty will be successful. The strategies they use are similar but they also differ according to the established relationship networks.

CONCLUSION

The phenomenon of migration has been a part of human history since ancient times. Individuals, families and groups migrate for a variety of reasons, from escaping persecution, war and famine to increasing life expectancy (Garcia Coll, 2012, p. vii). Undoubtedly, children form one of the most vulnerable and disadvantaged groups in migration, and one of the most important problems awaiting children in countries of asylum is poverty. For a long time, poverty has been defined on a monetary basis as not being able to meet minimum needs or lacking the income necessary to meet basic needs. However, it has become clear that this paradigm, which was dominant for a long time on poverty, has become dysfunctional in the era of globalization, which has taken deeper roots with neoliberal policies. On the other hand, the increasing global child poverty is becoming an even bigger problem with the refugee child poverty caused by international migration movements. Child poverty, which is characterized by deepening inequalities, must be addressed with "a definition that focuses on inequalities in children's access to social resources beyond household income-based poverty (Akkan, 2022, p. 150)". In the current study, it was concluded that refugee high school students experience a multidimensional poverty that emerges in various areas.

The financial status of the household is one of the factors that negatively affect students' education. Most of the students in our study were found to walk to and from school and use public transportation, which is a strategy they use to cope with poverty. One of the focal issues in the context of refugeeism and poverty is social exclusion. More than half of the students did not encounter social exclusion at school, and those who reported having encountered exclusion resorted to certain strategies to cope with it. In addition, students have different perspectives in benefiting from the opportunities offered by the school. Another variable mentioned in multidimensional poverty perspectives is the *right to participation*. The students' level of participation in school activities is observed to be low. Although there are no obstacles to participation in these activities, refugee children seem reluctant to do so.

The students are also observed to meet their needs that emerged during the Covid-19 pandemic by their own means and with the help they received. They tried to get help from their acquaintances in their country of origin or in a third country and thus strived to hold on to transnational solidarity networks. On the other hand, one of the problems that migration poses for refugees is undoubtedly *health.* Children who contract various diseases during migration may also face the problem of not being able to access health services in the countries they seek refuge in. Most of the students participating in the study do not seem to have any major health problems. They mostly go to public hospitals, most of them have health insurance, pay money when they buy medicine without a prescription, and pay patient co-payments.

Most of the students who participated in the study live in rented accommodation and do not have a room of their own. Child labor is another serious problem caused by migration. A considerable number of students work in precarious jobs outside of school hours. In addition, students have difficulty in meeting their expenses, and they do not spend much time with their friends engaging in diverse activities. Likewise, their level of interest in civil society organizations in their city (Eskişehir) is low. The weakness of active citizenship and civil society practices reduces the participation of refugee children in the democratic life of the city they live in and negatively affects the process of building their cultural and social capital. It is further observed that students attribute vital importance to the aid they receive; however, they think it is insufficient. In addition, the students and their families resort to transnational migrant networks as a strategy to cope with poverty.

When all these results are considered in a holistic way, it should be said that the refugee high school students participating in the study experienced a multidimensional poverty that emerged in various domains. Therefore, we strongly recommend that future research focuses on refugee children's poverty experiences by various factors such as *gender, country of origin, rotational poverty and exclusion, parental education status, reasons for migration, samples to be selected from different cities, strategies to cope with poverty, strategies to cope with poverty within and outside the household, and refugee students studying at different education levels.* Therefore, studies that examine *refugee child poverty* not only in monetary terms but also from a multidimensional perspective will definitely make a significant contribution to the literature. Finally, as Pemberton, Gordon and Nandy (2012, p. 24) emphasize, it is not right to set an arbitrary child poverty income threshold, which is likely to lead to inaccurate results; perhaps a human rights approach is needed to highlight these issues.

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