

## Refakatsiz Sığınmacı Çocukların Kapsayıcı Eğitimine İlişkin Okul Yöneticilerinin Görüşleri

### School Administrators' Views on the Inclusive Education of Unaccompanied Asylum-Seeker Children

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#### ÖZET

Bu araştırma, refakatçisiz sığınmacı çocuklar için uygulanan kapsayıcı eğitim yaklaşımları hakkında okul yöneticilerinin görüşlerini belirlemeye odaklanmaktadır. Bu araştırma için bir nitel araştırma deseni olan durum çalışması benimsenmiştir. Katılımcılar, Yozgat'ın şehir merkezinden, refakatsiz mülteci çocuklara ev sahipliği yapan 13 okulun müdür ve müdür yardımcılarında oluşmaktadır. Araştırmacılar tarafından oluşturulmuş yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme formu kullanılarak, veriler toplanmıştır. Bulguların yorumlanmasında tümevarımsal içerik analizi yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Araştırmada okul yöneticilerinin görüşlerine göre kapsayıcı eğitim dezavantajlı öğrencileri eğitim ortamlarına dahil eden ve bireysel farklılıkların belirlendiği bir süreç olarak tanımlanmıştır. Aynı zamanda yöneticiler kapsayıcı eğitimi öğrencilerin uyumuna kolaylık sağladığı için fırsat eşitliği içeren ve yararlı bir süreç olarak ifade etmişlerdir. Bununla birlikte okul müdürleri okullarda dezavantajlı gruplara yönelik uygulanan kapsayıcı eğitim çalışmalarının yeterli düzeyde olmadığı yönünde görüşler belirtmişlerdir. Okul yöneticilerinin görüşlerine göre, kapsayıcı eğitimin önündeki engellerinden birinin velilerin olumsuz tutumları olduğu sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Araştırma bulguları, öğretmenlerin kapsayıcı eğitim konusunda yeterli bilgiye sahip olmamalarının ve okulların fiziki yetersizliklerinin kapsayıcı eğitimin önündeki en önemli engeller arasında olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu çalışmanın bulgularına dayanarak, okullarda ayrımcılığı önlemeye yönelik politikaların uygulanması önerilmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** *Kapsayıcı Eğitim, Refakatsiz Sığınmacı Çocuklar, Okul Müdürleri*

#### ABSTRACT

This research focuses on determining the views of school administrators regarding inclusive education approaches applied to asylum seeker children. A case study, a qualitative research design, was adopted for this study. Participants consisted of principals and vice-principals from 13 schools in the city centre of Yozgat that host unaccompanied asylum seeker children. Data were collected using a semi-structured interview form created by the researchers. Inductive content analysis was used to interpret the findings. According to the school administrators' views, inclusive education is defined as a process that includes disadvantaged students in educational environments and identifies individual differences. Administrators also described inclusive education as a beneficial process that facilitates student adaptation and provides equal opportunities. However, school principals expressed the opinion that inclusive education efforts for disadvantaged groups in schools are not at a sufficient level. According to the school administrators' views, one of the obstacles to inclusive education is the negative attitudes of parents. The research findings indicate that teachers' lack of sufficient knowledge about inclusive education and the physical inadequacies of schools are among the most significant obstacles to inclusive education. Based on the findings of this study, it is recommended that policies aimed at preventing discrimination in schools be implemented.

**Keywords:** *Inclusive Education, Unaccompanied asylum seeker children, School principals*



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## INTRODUCTION

Throughout human history, migration movements have been a critical factor in the formation of civilizations and have led to profound changes in the social, economic, and cultural fabric of societies (Castles, 2010). Due to its geopolitical location, Türkiye has historically been a key transit point for migrating communities and has hosted countless migrants or served as a permanent settlement for these groups. Therefore, Türkiye is among the countries where migration movements are intensely felt (Cırıt-Karaağaç & Güvenç, 2019). However, these movements bring with them a few problems. The main problems caused by migration movements include the physical and socio-cultural transformation of settlement areas, an increase in crime rates and propensity for crime, an increase in disruptions in public services, and increased pressure on health systems (Coccia et al., 2024; Nwoke, 2016). In this context, new migration policies have been developed, particularly in Türkiye and European countries, and inclusive practices have been implemented in various fields to enable migrant individuals to sustain their lives (Gümüş & Büyükgöze, 2025). Among the implemented practices related to education, inclusive education stands out (Aydoğan, 2023).

Inclusive education is built on a straightforward but powerful idea: no child should be left out of the learning process simply because of who they are, whether that comes down to their gender, ethnic background, financial situation, health, level of social engagement, or academic standing. Rather than treating diversity as a problem to be managed, this approach embraces it as something that enriches the educational environment as a whole (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2009). In Türkiye, this philosophy takes on a concrete institutional form, as schools under the Ministry of National Education (MoNE) are expected to meet the educational needs of children who carry individual differences or face various disadvantages in their lives. When it comes to making this happen in practice, school administrators bear the central responsibility (MoNE, 2018). Indeed, achieving successful results in inclusive education is closely related to the managerial skills, perceptions, and values of school administrators, regardless of the individual differences of the students (Vlachou & Tsirantonaki, 2023). However, it is noteworthy that school administrators in Türkiye lack sufficient expertise in managing inclusive education processes (Gümüş & Büyükgöze, 2025). Research conducted within this framework has revealed that teachers and administrators lack knowledge about inclusive education, and this is the primary reason for inadequacies in its implementation (Batmaz & Çermik, 2019; Yada & Savolina, 2017). Furthermore, the relatively late adoption of inclusive education practices in Türkiye and the lack of sufficient training opportunities for teachers and school administrators during their tenure are thought to have contributed to their inadequate understanding of fundamental concepts related to inclusiveness (Doğan & Avcıoğlu, 2022; Gümüş & Büyükgöze, 2025). Unaccompanied asylum seeker children, a primary target group for inclusive education, stand out as a disadvantaged group requiring special attention and support in this context.

Studies on unaccompanied asylum-seeking children have primarily focused on their legal rights (Vaghri et al., 2019), policy developments (Ataiants et al., 2018), potential risks and resilience (Hodes et al., 2008), and the challenges they face in host societies (Wernesjö, 2012). Some research has also explored the psychosocial well-being and integration experiences of these children (Camps et al. 2023; de Wal Pastoor, 2015). However, relatively limited attention has been given to their educational processes and their inclusion within school systems, particularly in relation to inclusive education practices (Arnot et al., 2013; Ott & O'Higgins, 2019; Ward, 2022). In the context of Türkiye, existing studies have mainly examined the educational experiences of unaccompanied asylum-seeking students in general and the challenges faced by teachers and school administrators in educating these students (Demirel et al., 2024; Fansa & Ersoy, 2022; Sakız, 2016). Nevertheless, research specifically addressing the educational experiences and inclusion of unaccompanied asylum-seeking children within inclusive education frameworks remains limited, highlighting the need for further investigation in this area. School

administrators play a crucial role in the successful implementation of inclusive education within schools. As instructional leaders, they shape school culture, allocate resources, and guide teachers in responding to the diverse needs of students (Ainscow & Sandill, 2010; Leithwood et al., 2020). Previous studies indicate that school leaders' attitudes toward diversity and their commitment to inclusive values significantly influence teachers' willingness and capacity to implement inclusive practices (Angelides et al., 2006). In this sense, effective school leadership contributes to the development of inclusive school environments where students from different linguistic, cultural, and socio-economic backgrounds can participate meaningfully in educational processes. Therefore, there is a gap in the literature regarding how inclusive education processes and practices are implemented for unaccompanied asylum seeker children and the problems that may arise in these processes. Since school administrators can observe the problems faced by foreign children in their education firsthand and bear responsibility in this regard, it is believed that the opinions of school administrators are important in identifying the problems experienced in the implementation of inclusive education processes within the scope of this research. This research aims to fill the gap regarding how inclusive education processes and practices are implemented for unaccompanied asylum seeker children and the problems encountered in these processes, based on the views of school administrators. For this purpose, answers were sought to the following questions;

1. How do school administrators conceptualize inclusive education and what efforts do they undertake to create inclusive school environments?
2. What challenges do school administrators encounter in implementing inclusive education in their schools?
3. How do school administrators perceive unaccompanied asylum seeker children and their educational processes?
4. According to school administrators, how do other educational stakeholders approach unaccompanied asylum seeker children?

## **Background**

Türkiye's geopolitical position and its active role in responding to crises in neighbouring regions have made it one of the leading host countries for migrants. According to the operational update of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in August 2022, more than four million people from various countries, primarily Syria, Iran, Iraq, and Afghanistan, live in Türkiye under different legal protection statuses, predominantly temporary protection and, to a lesser extent, international protection (UNHCR, 2022). According to the Türkiye Migration and Human Mobility Annual Report, a total of 935,731 foreign students (476,610 male; 459,121 female) were enrolled at all levels of the Turkish education system in the 2021–2022 academic year (Sağiroğlu et al., 2022). This demographic and legal diversity indicates that the population seeking protection in Türkiye cannot be treated as homogeneous under a single legal category; rather, each status corresponds to differentiated regimes in terms of rights, services, and living conditions.

In this context, although the terms asylum seeker and refugee are frequently used interchangeably in both public discourse and empirical research, they refer to legally and operationally distinct categories with significant implications for the populations they describe (Graf et al., 2023). Under international refugee law, a refugee is understood to be an individual who faces a genuine and credible risk of persecution on grounds of their racial identity, religious beliefs, national origin, affiliation with a specific social group, or political views — and who, as a consequence, finds themselves outside their home country and either cannot or chooses not to seek protection from that state (UNHCR, 1951/1967). An asylum seeker, on the other hand, is a person who has applied for international protection but whose application has not yet been determined (UNHCR, 2023). This international framework is implemented in a distinctive manner in Türkiye. Although Türkiye is a party to the 1951 Geneva Convention and its 1967 Protocol, it maintains

the geographical limitation under Article 1B; therefore, refugee status is granted only to individuals coming from events occurring in Europe, while those arriving from non-European countries are assessed under different national protection mechanisms depending on their circumstances (İneli-Çiğer, 2017; Zenginkuzucu, 2021).

This national framework was systematized with the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (YUKK, 2013; No. 6458), enacted in 2013, which regulates the international protection regime under three main statuses: refugee, conditional refugee, and subsidiary protection. In addition, in response to the mass influx from Syria, the Temporary Protection Regulation (TPR, 2014), enacted on 22 October 2014, introduced a group-based protection status without individual assessment, primarily for Syrian nationals (AIDA, 2024; İneli-Çiğer, 2017; UNHCR Türkiye, 2023). Although individuals under temporary protection are granted access to education, healthcare, social assistance, and, under certain conditions, the labor market, this status is not equivalent to refugee status under the 1951 Convention and does not provide the legal guarantees associated with permanent residence (Zenginkuzucu, 2021).

Within this multi-layered legal structure, unaccompanied minors constitute a particularly vulnerable intersection. According to Article 3 of the Temporary Protection Regulation, an unaccompanied minor is defined as a child who enters Türkiye without the accompaniment of a legally or customarily responsible adult or who becomes unaccompanied after entry (AIDA, 2024; Ministry of Family and Social Policies, [MSPF], 2015). Pursuant to Article 66 of the LFIP, such children must be referred to the Ministry of Family and Social Services upon identification, in accordance with the principle of the best interests of the child (AIDA, 2024). However, unaccompanied minors are exposed to multiple risks, including trauma, social exclusion, and stigmatization, both during and after migration, making them one of the most vulnerable groups within the migrant population (Dost & Gökez, 2024; Wernesjö, 2012). The challenges they face, such as forced migration, disrupted education, language barriers, and psychosocial difficulties position them among the most disadvantaged groups within education systems (Dryden-Peterson, 2016;).

In this regard, education functions not only as a protective mechanism against these risks but also as a fundamental tool for social integration (Wernesjö, 2012). Therefore, access to education for unaccompanied minors is not merely a service issue but a fundamental human rights concern. The right to education is guaranteed under Article 28 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations [UN], 1989), to which Türkiye became a party on 14 September 1990, thereby committing to ensuring this right for all children within its jurisdiction (United Nations Treaty Collection, 1990). Article 28 obliges states to make primary education compulsory and free for all, ensure accessibility to secondary and higher education with appropriate financial support mechanisms, provide educational and vocational guidance, and take measures to reduce school dropout and absenteeism (UN, 1989, Article 28). This provision is binding for all children residing within Türkiye.

Within this rights-based framework, the educational needs of refugee and asylum-seeking children are addressed under the concept of inclusive education, which aims to ensure that all children can access education without discrimination in a democratic and diverse society (Kim, 2014). Inclusive education seeks to enable schools to respond effectively to students' diverse social, cultural, and linguistic needs while fostering supportive and equitable learning environments (Ainscow & Sandill, 2010). In this context, school leaders, particularly principals and vice principals, play a critical role in shaping school policies, allocating resources, and fostering inclusive school cultures that support diverse student groups (Leithwood et al., 2020). Türkiye has also undertaken efforts to fulfil its obligations to provide equal educational opportunities for migrant children within this framework (Aydoğan, 2023).

Regarding the implementation of these policies, in response to the rapid influx of Syrian refugees, Temporary Education Centers (TECs) were initially established to provide education for children under temporary protection, where instruction was delivered in Arabic following a modified Syrian curriculum

(Eranlı & Kasalak, 2024). However, since 2016, national education policies have shifted towards integrating refugee students into the Turkish public education system as part of broader inclusive education efforts (Düzel & Alış, 2018). The increasing number of foreign students has significantly transformed the educational landscape in Türkiye, turning many schools into multicultural learning environments. At the same time, this has placed pressure on the physical capacity of schools and highlighted the need to strengthen the inclusive education competencies of teachers and school leaders responsible for supporting these students (Arar et al., 2019).

## METHODOLOGY

### Research Design

A qualitative research approach was used to carry out this investigation. One of the qualitative research designs used in the study was the case study design. To investigate school administrators' views on inclusive education and the educational experiences of children who are unaccompanied asylum seekers in various school settings, this study was created as a multiple case study. Researchers can examine a phenomenon in various contexts and compare similarities and differences between cases by using a multiple case study design (Yin, 2018). In this context, school administrators' opinions on inclusive education for children who are unaccompanied asylum seekers were thoroughly investigated, and a comprehensive approach was taken to address the factors influencing inclusive education practices and the administrators' roles in this process. The case study design allowed for the examination of situations encountered in the educational processes of unaccompanied asylum seeker children within their real-life school context and enabled a detailed understanding of the experiences of school administrators.

### Study Group

The study group consisted of 13 administrators working at 10 primary and 3 middle schools located in the city centre of Yozgat, where unaccompanied asylum-seeking children are enrolled as students. Participants were selected through the sampling method of purposive sampling based on the following criteria: the participant must be a school administrator and have unaccompanied asylum-seeking children enrolled in the school. Children who are asylum seekers are mostly enrolled in primary and middle schools within the context of compulsory education in the country of Türkiye; thus, administrators working at these levels were more likely to have direct experience with these students. Characteristics of the study group are given in Table 1.

Table 1. Characteristics of the study group

Variable	Category	N	%
Position	School Principal	5	38.5
	Vice Principal	8	61.5
School Level	Primary School	10	77
	Secondary School	3	23
Training on Inclusive Education	In-service training	7	54
	Undergraduate coursework	1	8
	No prior training	5	38

Table 1 presents the characteristics of the participating school administrators. Many participants were vice principals (61.5%), while 38.5% were school principals. Most administrators were working in primary

schools (77%), and a smaller proportion were employed in secondary schools (23%). Regarding inclusive education, more than half of the participants (54%) had received in-service training, whereas 38% reported no prior formal training.

### **Data Collection Tools and Processes**

The researchers created a semi-structured interview form called "School Administrators' Views on Inclusive Education for Unaccompanied Asylum-Seeking Children" to collect data. The draft form was revised based on the input of a specialist from a public social service organization and two experts in educational administration at...University. To evaluate clarity and applicability, one school administrator participated in a pilot interview. A few minor changes were made in response to the pilot results. Ten open-ended interview questions and two demographic questions made up the final form. The method used to gather data was interviews. School administrators were contacted by phone in advance of the interviews to arrange suitable times and venues. Interviews were conducted in quiet and private spaces within school buildings. Participants were informed about confidentiality and signed voluntary participation forms. With participants' consent, interviews were audio-recorded and lasted approximately 30–40 minutes. After the recordings were finished, they were verbatim transcribed. It was noted that participant responses started to converge during data collection. Interviews were conducted in accordance with the data saturation principle (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) until no new themes surfaced, at which point saturation was deemed to have been reached. Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data. Because the dataset was manageable in size, the coding process was carried out manually without the use of qualitative data analysis software. To improve reliability, both researchers first independently coded a portion of the transcripts. Until a consensus was reached, the codes were compared and discussed. Using Miles and Huberman's (1994) formula, intercoder agreement was determined to be higher than the acceptable threshold of 80%. The agreed-upon coding framework was used to code the remaining transcripts. Transferability was supported by providing detailed descriptions of the research context and participants. Dependability was ensured through systematic documentation of the research process. Confirmability was strengthened by maintaining audit trails and researcher reflexivity throughout the study. The semi-structured interview form titled "School Administrators' Views on Inclusive Education for Unaccompanied Asylum Seeker Children," developed by the researchers, was used as a data collection tool in the study. The developed form was reviewed by education management experts at ..... University and a specialist from a public social service organization and revised in line with expert suggestions. In the second stage, a pilot study was conducted with a school administrator to test the functionality of the form, and it was found to be understandable and applicable. The interview form includes questions jointly created by the researchers and experts, which were considered to best serve the purpose of the research. The interview form contains two personal information questions and ten interview questions.

### **Analytic Strategy**

The data obtained from the interviews were analysed using thematic analysis. The analysis process followed the stages suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006). First, all interviews were transcribed verbatim and read several times to gain familiarity with the data. In the second stage, initial codes were generated by identifying meaningful expressions related to the research questions. In the third stage, similar codes were grouped together to form preliminary themes. These themes were then reviewed and refined by comparing them with the raw data to ensure consistency and coherence. Finally, the themes were defined and interpreted in relation to the research questions to provide a comprehensive understanding of school administrators' experiences regarding the education of unaccompanied asylum seeker children.

## **Trustworthiness and Rigor**

This study utilized various strategies proposed in the literature to ensure validity and reliability in qualitative research. In qualitative research, the concept of "trustworthiness" is often used by most researchers as an alternative to the traditional concepts of validity and reliability (Arslan, 2022; Başkale, 2016). First, credibility was enhanced through prolonged engagement with the participants and careful examination of the interview data (Başkale, 2016). In addition, the interview form was reviewed by experts in the field to ensure its clarity and relevance (Expert staff working in public social service organizations, education management specialists). To enhance the transferability of the findings, detailed information about the research context, participants, and data collection process is provided. In qualitative research, transferability refers to the extent to which research findings can be applied to other contexts with similar characteristics (Arastaman et al., 2018). In accordance with this principle, the characteristics of the schools included in the study, the roles of the participating school administrators, and the criteria used for participant selection are clearly defined. Furthermore, the number of participants, the data collection methods used, and the duration and process of the interviews are presented in detail. Providing this contextual and procedural information allows readers to assess the applicability of the findings to similar educational settings.

each stage of the research process, including data collection and analysis procedures. Finally, confirmability was strengthened by presenting direct quotations from participants in the findings section, allowing readers to see how the interpretations were grounded in the data.

In qualitative research, consistency refers to the extent to which findings are consistent with the collected data and reflect the meanings expressed by the participants (Arslan, 2022). To ensure consistency in this study, the research process was conducted systematically, and all stages of the study were documented in detail. In accordance with recommendations in the literature, interview recordings were transcribed in detail. Participants were asked to read and confirm the transcripts (Başkale, 2016). Furthermore, the findings were supported by direct quotations from the participants' statements, clearly demonstrating the relationship between the data and the interpretations, and the verifiability criterion was met (Arslan, 2022).

## **Data Analysis**

The data were analysed using deductive qualitative content analysis. In this approach, the analytical framework was guided by the research questions of the study. Accordingly, the interview questions were first developed in line with the research questions, and the themes used in the analysis were organized based on these questions (Dereli, 2023). Due to the importance given to the confidentiality of personal information in the research, the identities of the managers were kept secret by assigning them codes such as "Y1, Y2, Y3, Y4.....Y13". In the content analysis, the information analysed by the researchers was first coded. The coding was done by the researchers, and meaningful names were given to the parts of the forms that were deemed important for the study, such as words or sentences. After the coding was completed, the codes were categorized according to relevant themes, and the themes related to the codes were identified.

Themes were created with the support of previous literature studies. After the themes were determined, the data were coded into sentences or paragraphs to conceptualize and categorize them. Meaningful and important statements from field notes obtained during in-depth interviews and observations were coded through direct quotations. Comparisons were made between the coded data, and phenomena were separated and re-named. Phenomena of a similar type were identified as themes under the main category. Axis coding is described as the second stage where categories are related to each other (Punch, 2005).

## FINDINGS

This section presents the findings and interpretations of the data obtained, in line with the research objectives.

### RQ1. School Administrators' Conceptualizations of Inclusive Education and Efforts to Create Inclusive Schools

Findings related to the first research question revealed that school administrators conceptualize inclusive education under two main themes: the definition of inclusive education and the scope of inclusive education. These themes, sub-themes, and related codes are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Findings regarding school administrators' views on inclusive education

Theme	Sub-themes	Codes	f
Definition of Inclusive Education	Equality and Access	Inclusion in education	9
		Education of disadvantaged children	5
	Diversity and Integration	Inclusion	3
		Respect for individual differences	8
		Peer-based education	6
		Support for all students	2
	Scope of Inclusive Education	Children with Special Needs	Children with disabilities
Children with learning disabilities			3
Foreign Children		Special education students	3
		Gifted students	2
		Refugee children	11
		Unaccompanied asylum seeker children	7
		Children from diverse cultural backgrounds	5
		Children of different religions	2
		Disadvantaged Groups	Children from low socioeconomic backgrounds
Children in institutional care;			2
Children excluded by society			1
		Children denied access to school;	1
	Children affected by earthquakes	1	
	Adults deprived of education	1	

As shown in Table 2, school administrators most frequently associated inclusive education with refugee children (f=11) and inclusion in education (f=9). These findings suggest that administrators tend to conceptualize inclusive education primarily in relation to the inclusion of refugee students in the education system. In particular, the frequent reference to unaccompanied asylum seeker children (f=7) indicates that administrators perceive inclusive education as an important framework for addressing the educational needs of vulnerable student groups.

#### *Definition of Inclusive Education*

School administrators defined inclusive education mainly in terms of ensuring access to education, recognizing individual differences, and integrating disadvantaged students into the education system.

*“I can say that it is about enabling a disadvantaged individual or child to receive education together with other children. It is about eliminating the reasons that exclude children or separate them from society and including them in the education system.” (Y1).*

*Inclusive education is a system that enables students to benefit from educational services in accordance with their needs, considering their individual differences.” (Y8)*

#### *Scope of Inclusive Education*

The analysis of the interview data revealed that administrators perceive the scope of inclusive education as covering a broad range of student groups. In this context, three sub-themes emerged: Children with Special Needs, Children of Foreign Nationality, and Disadvantaged Groups.

##### *Children with Special Needs*

Within this sub-theme, administrators frequently referred to children with disabilities (f=8), children with learning disabilities (f=3), special education students (f=3), and gifted students (f=2). These findings indicate that administrators primarily associate inclusive education with students who require additional educational support.

*“Students with disabilities should be able to continue their education together with their peers in mainstream classrooms.” (Y4)*

##### *Children of Foreign Nationality*

The second sub-theme included refugee children (f=11), unaccompanied asylum seeker children (f=7), children from different cultural backgrounds (f=5), and children of different religions (f=2). These findings suggest that administrators perceive inclusive education as an approach that promotes the inclusion of culturally diverse student groups.

*“This could include unaccompanied asylum seeker children, refugee children in general, students with special needs, and students from different religions or cultural backgrounds.” (Y6)*

*“I can specify disabled individuals, refugees, asylum seekers, children from low-income families, children from different ethnic backgrounds, and individuals of different religions.” (Y8)*

##### *Disadvantaged Groups*

The third sub-theme consisted of children from low socioeconomic backgrounds (f=2), children in institutional care (f=2), children excluded by society (f=1), children denied access to schooling (f=1), children affected by earthquakes (f=1), and adults deprived of education (f=1). These findings indicate that administrators consider inclusive education as a mechanism to support individuals who face various forms of social or economic disadvantage.

*“Refugee children, disabled children, children whose access to school is restricted, and children who are excluded by society can be included.” (Y13)*

*“I think special education students, refugee children, earthquake-affected students, and children under boarding school care can be considered within the scope of inclusive education.” (Y7)*

The findings presented in Table 2 reveal how school administrators conceptualize inclusive education and how they define its scope in relation to different student groups. In addition to these conceptualizations, administrators also described various practices implemented in their schools to support inclusive education. These practices are presented in Table 3. Table 3 presents the activities implemented in schools within the scope of inclusive education. The findings indicate that school administrators organize

various physical and educational activities to support inclusive education and facilitate students' participation in school life.

Table 3. Inclusive education practices implemented in schools

Theme	Sub-themes	Codes	f	
Inclusive Education Studies	Physical Activities	Support education class	4	
		Special education class	3	
		Adapting schools for students with disabilities	1	
	Educational Activities	Preparation of Individualized Education Plans (IEPs)	Guidance services	2
			Individualized Education Plan (IEP) work	1
			Participation of all students in activities	1
			Inclusive activities with (Relative Support Class)	1
			Physical and Educational Activities	Support education class
		Special education class	3	

Table 3 presents the inclusive education practices implemented in schools according to school administrators. The findings indicate that inclusive education practices mainly consist of physical activities, educational activities, and activities that combine both physical and educational components. Among the educational activities, the preparation of Individualized Education Plans (IEPs) (f=6) was the most frequently mentioned practice. In addition, administrators reported that support education classes (f=4) and special education classes (f=3) play an important role in supporting inclusive education practices in schools. These practices aim to provide individualized support for students with diverse learning needs and to facilitate their participation in the educational process. Two school administrators among the participants stated that they did not conduct any studies on this subject. The direct quotes from the school administrators regarding the identified theme, sub-themes and codes are as follows:

*“We contact guidance and research centres for our children who may belong to disadvantaged groups in our school. Or we facilitate communication with the family. For our refugee students accompanied by caregivers, we provide more guidance. We provide guidance aimed at resolving the problems they experience” (Y3).*

## RQ2. Challenges Encountered in the Implementation of Inclusive Education

Table 4 presents the barriers encountered by school administrators in the implementation of inclusive education. The findings indicate that administrators face various challenges related to institutional conditions, resources, and student-related factors. These barriers affect the effective implementation of inclusive education practices in schools.

Table 4. Barriers to the implementation of inclusive education in schools.

Theme	Sub-themes	Codes	f	
Factors Related to Students		Students' lack of knowledge	2	
		Peer bullying	2	
		High number of foreign children	1	
Factors Related to Parents		Negative attitudes of parents	10	
		Parents' inability to accept their child's disability	3	
Factors Related to School	Regarding teachers	Teachers' lack of knowledge	6	
		Negative attitudes of teachers	2	
		Insufficient number of teachers	2	
	Regarding administrators	Administrators' lack of knowledge	5	
		Negative attitudes of administrators	1	
	Regarding Physical Characteristics	Inadequate physical conditions	6	
		Lack of materials	2	

Table 4 presents the barriers encountered by school administrators in the implementation of inclusive education. The findings indicate that administrators face various challenges related to students, parents, and school-related factors. Among these barriers, negative attitudes of parents (f=10) were the most frequently mentioned factor hindering the implementation of inclusive education.

#### *Factors Related to Students*

School administrators reported several challenges related to students. These include students' lack of knowledge (f=2), peer bullying (f=2), and the high number of foreign students (f=1). These findings indicate that peer relations and students' awareness of inclusive education play an important role in the successful implementation of inclusive education. One school administrator highlighted peer bullying as an important barrier:

“Peer bullying is one of the most important factors hindering inclusive education. In addition, the unwillingness of other students' parents to have disadvantaged students is another obstacle. The physical conditions of the school can also hinder the implementation of inclusive education.” (Y6)

#### *Factors Related to Parents*

Another major barrier identified in the study was related to parents. Administrators emphasized negative attitudes of parents (f=10) and parents' inability to accept their child's disability (f=3) as significant obstacles to inclusive education. One administrator explained the strong influence of parental pressure:

“The biggest obstacle is parental pressure. They don't want the children in their own classes. There are no problems among the children, but there are problems among the parents. ‘Why are there foreign students in our class? Why are there so many foreign students in our class?’ The biggest pressure is parental pressure; there are no other problems.” (Y10)

#### *Factors Related to School*

The findings also revealed several barriers related to school conditions. School administrators indicated that teachers' lack of knowledge (f=6) and administrators' lack of knowledge (f=5) may hinder the effective implementation of inclusive education. In addition, negative attitudes of teachers (f=2) and negative attitudes of administrators (f=1) were also identified as important barriers. Administrators also emphasized structural challenges such as inadequate physical conditions (f=6) and lack of materials (f=2),

which make it difficult to provide appropriate support for students with diverse needs. One participant emphasized the lack of training and knowledge among school staff:

*“Lack of information about inclusive education is a hindrance. Teachers and administrators have deficiencies in knowledge and practice. Personally, I have not received any training. In addition, the fact that teachers or administrators do not want unaccompanied asylum seeker students in their classrooms may also be a factor.” (Y11)*

Another participant highlighted both attitudinal and infrastructural barriers:

*“I think there are negative attitudes of parents, negative attitudes of teachers and administrators, deficiencies in physical infrastructure, and deficiencies in equipment.” (Y4)*

Similarly, another administrator pointed out that limited school infrastructure and teacher readiness may create difficulties in implementing inclusive education:

*“I think there are physical inadequacies of schools, inadequate and unwilling teachers, parents’ refusal to accept the disadvantages of children, and parental attitudes.” (Y5)*

### RQ3. School Administrators’ Perceptions of Unaccompanied Asylum Seeker Children

The findings regarding school administrators’ perceptions of unaccompanied asylum seeker children and their educational processes are presented in Tables 5 and 6. The analysis revealed that administrators evaluate these children from both emotional and educational perspectives. On the one hand, administrators expressed empathy, acceptance, and a sense of responsibility toward these children. On the other hand, they also identified several educational and social challenges, such as language barriers, academic difficulties, and adaptation problems, that affect the educational processes of unaccompanied asylum seeker children in schools.

Table 5. Findings regarding views on unaccompanied asylum seeker children.

Theme	Sub-themes	Codes	f	
Opinions on ASC	Emotions Towards the Child	Treating people equally	7	
		A sense of acceptance	5	
		Approaching with empathy	2	
		A sense of compassion	1	
	Thoughts Towards the Child	Trauma experiences	Trauma experiences	5
			Inclusion in education	3
		Low academic achievement	Low academic achievement	3
			Social integration needs	3
			Need for attention	2
		Reluctance in learning environments	Reluctance in learning environments	2
			Lack of awareness	1
			Lack of sense of responsibility	1
		Deficiencies in self-care	1	

Table 5 presents the views of school administrators regarding unaccompanied asylum seeker children. The findings reveal that administrators’ perceptions of these children are shaped by both emotional responses and cognitive evaluations.

#### *Emotions Toward the Child*

The analysis revealed that administrators expressed various emotional responses toward unaccompanied asylum seeker children. The most frequently mentioned codes were treating them equally (f=7) and a sense of acceptance (f=5). Administrators also referred to empathy (f=2) and compassion (f=1) when describing their attitudes toward these children. These findings indicate that school administrators

generally approach unaccompanied asylum seeker children with understanding and attempt to support them within the school environment.

“I think this forced migration situation, due to the geography they live in, has caused them trauma. However, we don't differentiate them from our own students at our school. They are in our country because of national policies, and I think these children should also be included in education.” (Y2)

“I see these children as victims because they have fled from certain difficult conditions and wars. I think they should benefit from education to the best possible extent.” (Y4)

“We work with them in the same way we work with our own students; I think they should be supported and empathized with because they have come out of traumatic processes.” (Y13)

#### *Thoughts Toward the Child*

The second sub-theme reflects administrators' perceptions regarding the characteristics and needs of these children. The most frequently mentioned code was trauma experiences (f=5), followed by low academic achievement (f=3) and the need for social integration (f=3). Administrators also indicated that these children may require additional attention (f=2) and may show reluctance in learning environments (f=2). These findings suggest that administrators perceive unaccompanied asylum seeker children as a vulnerable group requiring both educational and psychosocial support.

“I think they are individuals who are unaware of their environment. They are inadequate in terms of cleanliness, self-care, and responsibility. They are reluctant in learning environments.” (Y5)

“They are here because of political policies, and they should be included in education throughout this process. I think that education is necessary for them to adapt rather than wandering around uneducated and aimless.” (Y11)

#### *Transition to Educational Processes*

In addition to their perceptions of these children, school administrators also described several challenges encountered during the educational processes of unaccompanied asylum seeker children. These findings are presented in Table 6.

Table 6. Educational processes of unaccompanied asylum seeker children

Theme	Sub-themes	Codes	f	
Student	Student-Related Problems	Language problems	10	
		Academic failure	4	
		Academic reluctance	3	
		Tendency towards violence	3	
		Children's traumas	2	
		Sudden increase in student numbers	1	
		Absenteeism	1	
		Lack of seriousness	1	
		Nutritional differences	1	
		Cultural clash	1	
		Peer-Related Problems	Peer bullying	4
		ASC	Indifference of supervisors	2
		Family	Parents of Other Children	Traumas related to parental deprivation
Parents' unwillingness to have children in the classroom	5			
School		Student age and class mismatch	6	
		Negative attitudes of teachers	4	

The findings indicate that several challenges arise from student-related factors during the educational process of unaccompanied asylum seeker children. Among these challenges, language problems (f=10) were the most frequently mentioned issue. Administrators also referred to academic failure (f=4), academic reluctance (f=3) and tendencies toward violence (f=3). One administrator described language barriers and academic difficulties as important challenges:

*“We experienced language problems. They don't know Turkish. We also experienced a mismatch between the class levels in their own countries and in our country, and consequently, age discrepancies. Older children are forced to go to younger classes. We also experienced academic failure from time to time.” (Y8)*

Another administrator mentioned similar difficulties experienced in the educational process:

*“We experienced academic failure, language problems, and a problem with one of our children who showed violent tendencies.” (Y11)*

#### *Peer-Related Problems*

School administrators also reported peer bullying (f=4) as a problem affecting the educational experiences of unaccompanied asylum seeker children.

*“Sometimes, we encounter situations such as students physically assaulting unaccompanied asylum seeker children.” (Y12)*

#### *Family-Related Problems*

Family-related issues were also identified as important factors influencing the educational processes of these children. Administrators emphasized that parents of other students (f=5) may not want these children in their children's classrooms.

*“Parents don't want refugee children in their children's classes. Therefore, they even come to the administration and request a class change.” (Y12)*

Another administrator also referred to parental resistance:

*“We experienced parents not wanting unaccompanied asylum seeker children in their children's classes.” (Y11)*

#### *School-Related Problems*

Finally, administrators also highlighted student age and class mismatch (f=6) and negative attitudes of teachers (f=4) as challenges encountered in the educational process.

*“We experienced a mismatch between the class levels in their own countries and in our country, and consequently age discrepancies. Older children are forced to go to younger classes.” (Y8)*

### **RQ4. Educational Stakeholders' Approaches to Unaccompanied Asylum Seeker Children**

The findings regarding the views of educational stakeholders toward unaccompanied asylum seeker children are presented in Table 7.

Table 7. Educational stakeholders' approaches to unaccompanied asylum seeker children

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Sub-themes</b>	<b>Codes</b>	<b>f</b>
Stakeholder opinions	Peers	Peer interaction	3
		Exclusion	2
	Parents	Negative attitudes of parents	6
	School	Adapting to school	6
		Negative attitudes of teachers	3

The findings indicate that the attitudes of educational stakeholders toward unaccompanied asylum seeker children vary depending on the stakeholder group. According to school administrators, the attitudes of peers, parents, and teachers play an important role in shaping the educational experiences of these children.

#### *Peer Attitudes*

School administrators reported that unaccompanied asylum seeker children may experience both peer interaction (f=3) and exclusion (f=2) within the school environment. These findings suggest that peer relationships may influence the social adaptation of these children.

*“The children we transfer arrive during the semester break and are behind in their education. I think they are being excluded because they are failing.” (Y5)*

#### *Parental Attitudes*

Another important factor affecting the experiences of unaccompanied asylum seeker children is negative attitudes of parents (f=6). Administrators stated that some parents do not want these children in their children's classrooms.

*“Parents don't want the children. Teachers also don't want unaccompanied asylum seeker children in their classes.” (Y8)*

*“Sometimes they are subjected to discrimination by parents. One parent doesn't even want their child to sit with a refugee child.” (Y12)*

#### *School-Related Attitudes*

Finally, administrators also mentioned adaptation to school (f=6) and negative attitudes of teachers (f=3) as factors influencing the experiences of unaccompanied asylum seeker children in schools.

*“When a new unaccompanied asylum seeker child arrives, teachers don't want to take them into their classes. Sometimes the children are excluded by their peers.” (Y11)*

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

This study aimed to examine school administrators' perceptions of inclusive education and their views on the educational experiences of unaccompanied asylum seeker children in Turkish schools. To this end, in-depth examinations were conducted on the definition, scope, and applications of inclusive education; negative experiences encountered by unaccompanied asylum seeker children in the education process; obstacles to inclusive education; and stakeholder perspectives in this process. Thus, the study sought to reveal the experiences of school administrators in the inclusive education processes of unaccompanied asylum seeker children, the difficulties they face, and possible solutions to these difficulties.

The investigation initially considered the perception of the school administrators towards inclusive education. In this light it was found that an overwhelming majority of the administrators also believe inclusive education has led to the inclusion of children in schools, respects and values individual differences among students, allows for union between children while undergoing instruction and is necessary for the education children who are disadvantaged. Analysing the results received on the theme of inclusive education definition, there were topics about inclusion and support all learners. These findings are supported by the findings of Şimşek and Kılcan (2019), whereby most participants expressed that inclusive education should lead to inclusion of all students in educational settings. Moss (2002) defined inclusive education as providing students with education alongside their peers to the greatest extent possible, while also providing a curriculum and support that effectively meets their needs. Burningham et al. (2024) defined inclusive education as supporting disadvantaged children in their learning and development and bringing them closer to their peers on more equal terms. It was observed that the majority of participants supported the view that inclusive education should include all students in the educational environment. When examining the findings regarding the scope of inclusive education, school administrators perceive inclusive education as a process applied to children with special needs. However, there is also a perception that foreign children and children from other disadvantaged groups can also be included in the field of inclusive education, and that the scope of inclusive education application has diversified and spread to a wider range. DeMatthews et al. (2020) considered the scope of inclusive education as low-income students with disabilities. Taylor and Sidhu (2012) specified the scope of inclusive education as asylum seekers and refugee young people. These findings are consistent with

previous studies conducted in Türkiye, which emphasize that inclusive education is often framed in relation to ensuring access to education for disadvantaged and marginalized groups (Fansa & Ersoy, 2022). Similarly, Seydi (2014) noted that refugee education policies in Türkiye largely focus on integrating asylum seeker students into the national education system. The findings indicate that school administrators conceptualize inclusive education primarily in terms of equality of opportunity and the inclusion of disadvantaged groups. Asylum seeker children were frequently mentioned when administrators described inclusive education. This suggests that inclusive education in the Turkish school context is strongly associated with the educational inclusion of vulnerable student groups such as asylum seeker and children with special needs. However, the present study contributes to the literature by highlighting that school administrators also associate inclusive education with the specific needs of unaccompanied asylum seeker children, a group that has received relatively limited attention in previous studies.

The second finding of the first research question was that the study focused on the efforts school administrators make to create an inclusive learning environment. In this context, three sub-themes were identified: educational activities, physical activities, and activities that combine both physical and educational aspects. Looking at the findings related to the educational activities sub-theme, it was concluded that schools generally prepare "Individual Education Plans" for children who will be included in inclusive education programs. It was also observed that they provide guidance through guidance services, implement programs within the framework of legislation, and conduct activities that facilitate student interaction. A literature review revealed many studies supporting these findings. In DeMatthews et al.'s (2020) research, school principals promote inclusive education policies throughout the school, focusing on the needs of these students and allocating resources. They also emphasize the importance of providing professional development support for teachers and support them accordingly. Similarly, McLeskey et al. (2016) highlight practices such as school principals prioritizing staff collaboration and monitoring student development progress. Toktay's (2023) study concluded that school administrators included foreign students in social activities at their schools. Adams et al. (2023) stated that school principals adopted a participatory planning approach and based on this approach, formed inclusion teams within the institution and established partnerships with government agencies and professionals. Like the findings of the current research, other research findings also indicate that efforts to ensure student interaction and to spread inclusive school policies throughout the school are important practices.

The findings related to the second research question of this study are that administrators believe that obstacles are being placed in the way of implementing inclusive education. These factors were divided into sub-themes: student-related, parent-related, and school-related factors. When the findings were examined, it emerged that the most prominent factor hindering the implementation of inclusive education was the negative attitudes of student parents. Student parents cannot accept their child's disability and therefore, as found in Lalvani's (2015) research, they state that they do not want their child to receive inclusive education because they cannot accept the diagnosis. Furthermore, some parents react negatively to the presence of disadvantaged students in their children's classes. For instance, Fansa and Ersoy, (2022) emphasized that resistance from parents may create obstacles to the integration of refugee students in schools. Boustan et al. (2024) found that parents concerned about the impact of a high proportion of immigrant students on the quality of the learning environment enrolled their children in schools with fewer immigrant children. Looking at school-related factors hindering inclusive education, the research concluded that administrators and teachers have a lack of knowledge and negative attitudes towards inclusive education. According to the results of the research by Tristani et al. (2020) insufficient training of teachers in inclusive education is seen as a significant obstacle. Lindner et al. (2023) and Galaterou and Antoniou (2017) concluded that teachers' attitudes are an obstacle to the implementation of inclusive education. Deroncele-Acosta and Ellis (2024) state that factors such as difficulties in adapting the curriculum to diverse student needs, lack of inclusive assessment reflecting diversity, and lack of collaboration between teachers and parents are significant obstacles to implementing inclusive education. Therefore, based on these findings, inclusive education requires not only structural improvements in

schools but also the development of awareness and professional competencies among educators and parents. In this respect, the findings of the present study highlight the importance of comprehensive support mechanisms that address both institutional and social dimensions of inclusive education.

Another important finding of the study's second question concerns the negative experiences of school administrators regarding the education of unaccompanied asylum seeker children. These negative experiences were identified as three main themes: student-related, family-related, and school-related. The study revealed that the primary problem encountered by school administrators stemming from students was "language difficulties." Most studies in the literature conclude that language difficulties are the most fundamental problem (Demir et al., 2025; McIntyre & Hall, 2020; Watkins et al., 2012). The research also concluded that unaccompanied asylum seeker children experience academic failure and lack of motivation, absenteeism, indifferent behaviour, and cultural confusion during their education. Ott and O'Higgins (2019) also note that an education program not adapted to the needs of unaccompanied refugee children and delays in enrolment negatively affect their motivation to continue their education. According to the research results, unaccompanied asylum seeker children experience trauma due to their lives, have difficulty coping with stress, and exhibit violent tendencies. Furthermore, it has been observed that unaccompanied asylum seeker children experience peer bullying and exclusion in some schools. A review of the literature reveals similar findings from other studies. It is concluded that children and their families who have migrated from different countries are fleeing war, poverty, depression, and other adverse conditions in their home countries, and that these experiences lead to despair (Aleghfeli & Hunt, 2022; Seglem et al., 2011). It is concluded that the past experiences of refugee students are reflected in their educational processes, and that the impact of traumatic experiences of children who have lived through war, terrorism, and the loss of loved ones in these events can be seen in educational environments (Ciaccia & John, 2016). A similar study shows that refugee children are a vulnerable group facing adverse health conditions, anxiety, insecurity, overstimulation, concentration problems, depression, and subsequent issues, and that these negative experiences have negative effects on children's cognitive processes (Andersson & Øverlien, 2023; Franco, 2018). It is concluded that refugee and unaccompanied asylum-seeker students face problems such as exclusion, non-compliance with rules and existing order, fighting, violence, inability to form friendships with Turkish students, and friendships with immigrant students (Bayyar & Daşbaşı, 2025; Celik, 2021).

The third research question of the study is to examine the views of school administrators regarding unaccompanied asylum seeker children. The findings in this section indicate the feelings administrators have towards unaccompanied asylum seeker children and their opinions on the children's current situation. It is concluded that most school administrators tend to treat children equally and do not differentiate between unaccompanied asylum seeker children and other children in their schools. Furthermore, it is observed that they embrace the children, approach them with empathy, and very few feel pity for them. These results parallel the findings of Taylor and Sidhu (2012), who found that school administrators avoid prejudiced behaviour, instead including and supporting them without marginalization. The findings also reveal that school administrators generally approach unaccompanied asylum seeker children with empathy and acceptance. Administrators frequently referred to the traumatic experiences these children have endured and emphasized the importance of supporting them within the school environment. These findings suggest that administrators are aware of the vulnerabilities associated with forced migration and attempt to respond to these challenges in an empathetic manner. However, administrators also reported several difficulties affecting the educational experiences of unaccompanied asylum seeker children. In particular, language barriers were identified as the most frequently mentioned problem. Language difficulties may limit students' participation in classroom activities and negatively affect their academic achievement. Similar findings have been widely reported in the international literature on refugee education, which identifies language barriers as one of the most significant obstacles to refugee students' educational integration (Dryden-Peterson, 2016; Sirin & Rogers-Sirin, 2015). In addition to language difficulties, administrators also mentioned academic challenges, social integration problems, and the effects of trauma as important issues affecting these children. These findings highlight

the need for comprehensive educational and psychosocial support systems to ensure the successful integration of unaccompanied asylum seeker children into schools.

The fourth research question of the study includes the views of education stakeholders regarding unaccompanied asylum seeker children, according to the opinions of school administrators. In this context, it is concluded that although unaccompanied asylum seeker children adapt to school and their peers, parents and teachers have negative attitudes towards the children, and that a small percentage experience exclusion. Alan et al. (2023) state that teachers' ethnic prejudices create socially and spatially segregated classrooms. Therefore, the findings of the current research are like the results in the literature regarding refugee children experiencing negative attitudes and exclusion from teachers (Moffitt et al., 2019; Rajabi et al., 2025). These findings are consistent with previous studies examining refugee education in Türkiye, which have highlighted the importance of social acceptance in the successful integration of asylum seeker students (Fansa & Ersoy, 2022). Moreover, the findings of this study indicate that peer relationships also play an important role in shaping asylum seeker students' school experiences, as some students may face exclusion or bullying in school settings.

### **Limitations**

There are several limitations to consider when interpreting the findings of this study. First, data were collected from a limited number of school administrators working in a specific region of Türkiye; this may limit the generalizability of the results. Second, the study relied solely on the perspectives of school administrators and did not include the views of other stakeholders such as teachers, students, or parents. Future studies may benefit from including multiple perspectives to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the educational experiences of unaccompanied asylum seeker children.

### **Implications and Future Research**

Based on the findings of this study, which examined school administrators' views on inclusive education for unaccompanied asylum seeker children, recommendations are made for practitioners, researchers, and policymakers. Firstly, as Moss (2002) also points out, when inclusive education is considered a matter of social justice and human rights, it is recommended that schools implement a zero-tolerance policy against discrimination and exclusion. Furthermore, organizing multicultural events and awareness days in schools, as Wang et al. (2025) also states, can positively influence social interaction skills in various aspects such as social participation, social initiative, and social sensitivity, helping students adapt to situational changes and regulate emotional and behavioural problems. On the other hand, due to parents' negative perceptions of inclusive education, establishing mechanisms that strengthen school-family-community cooperation is considered important. Additionally, based on the finding that disadvantaged students experience problems such as academic failure and school attendance, it is recommended to create a follow-up system to monitor the integration process of students. Since language problems are one of the most challenging areas for school principals, it is recommended that practitioners receive pedagogical training on language acquisition and second language teaching methods.

The current research utilized a case study design, a qualitative research method. Researchers working in this field could be advised to conduct mixed-methods studies to reveal both the experiences and prevalence of this approach. Furthermore, researchers could conduct in-depth studies of successful integration examples. This research was based on the opinions of school principals; future research could focus on the experiences of teachers who manage the educational processes of unaccompanied children.

### **Declarations**

**Ethical approval:** In this study, ethical permission was received.

**Conflict of interest:** The authors report that there are no competing interests to declare.

**Consent to participate:** Informed consent for the study was obtained.

**Data availability:** Data supporting the findings of this study are available upon reasonable request from the authors. At the time of consent, participants were assured that their information would remain confidential, and we informed them that their data would not be publicly available and that they could not consent/refuse.

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