

Review of literature, media and resources
on the development of career guidance
counselling for refugees. Country report
Sweden.

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1. Introduction

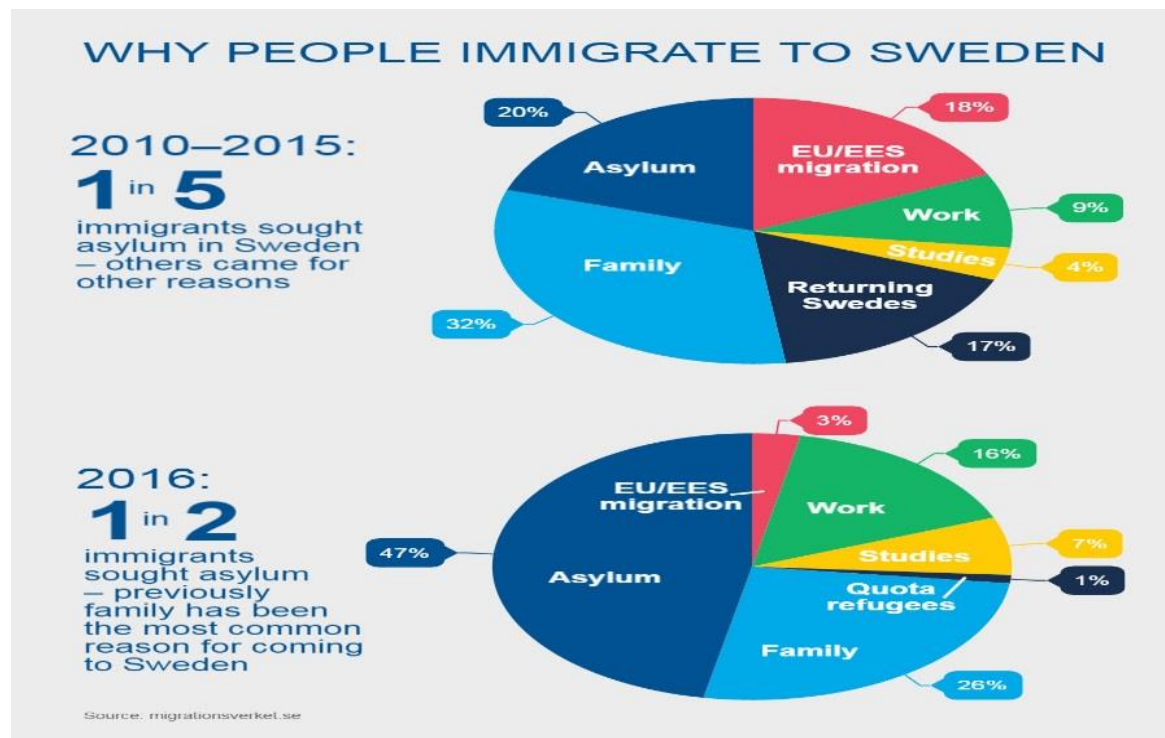
The aim of this report is to summarise knowledge from Swedish research publications and other kinds of publications which describes and/or analyses the development and delivery of career counselling for refugees. Most of all, it focus on research from the strands of social science. However, research focusing solely on career guidance for refugees, or the career development among newly arrived refugees are quite scarce, and therefore we had to rely on results and/or discussions from research on other topics, which also are relevant for the understanding and development of career guidance for this particular group.

A smaller number of searches was made on google scholar, using combinations such as “refugee” + “career” + “counselling” + “Sweden”, “refugee” + “education” + “Sweden”, “refugee” + “Sweden” + the notions found in the headings in part three of this report. The result of the searches was extensive, but only a limited number of posts was relevant for our purpose. Here, we focus on research from 2010 and forward, but a smaller number of older articles and reports are also included. Due to the time factor, the review of material from non-academic sources, such as evaluations, reports, descriptions of development projects within the field of career development for refugees, or pedagogical material of different kind. This is one of the short-comings of the Swedish report.

2. Country profile

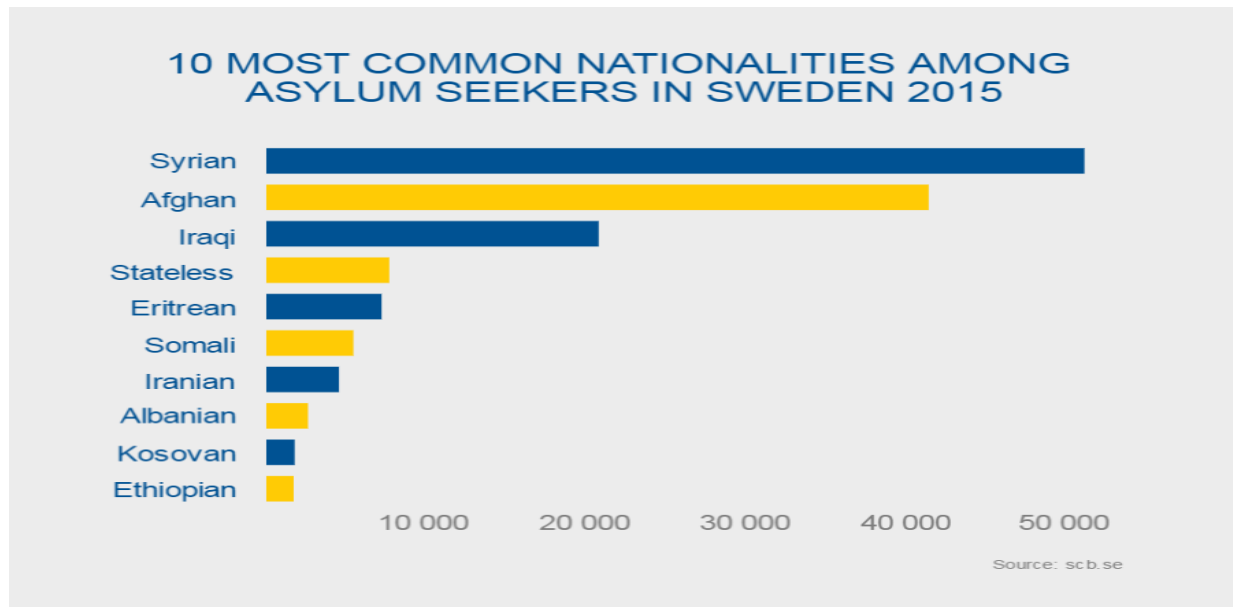
2.1. Recent migration to the country.

The rise of asylum seekers began in the 1980s when Sweden saw some of its highest immigration from countries like Iran and Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey, Eritrea and Somalia, as well as some South American countries. The 1990s brought massive immigration from former Yugoslavia during the ethnic cleansing wars with over 100,000 Bosnians being granted asylum in Sweden alongside 3,600 Kosovo Albanians. When Sweden joined the Schengen co-operation in 2001, this meant open borders between the country and other European Union (EU) member states and an influx of other EU citizens into the country. Migration in total – both to and from Sweden – grew after 2000 (Sweden.se 2017)



(Picture 1: *Why people immigrate to Sweden.* Source: Sverige.se 2017)

In 2014, the Swedish population grew by more than 100,000. Most of all, this was the result of high immigration (127,000). Refugees from active war zones continue to immigrate to Sweden. There were over 80,000 asylum seekers that year, with the three largest groups being Syrians, Eritreans and stateless individuals. In 2016, the Swedish population grew by more than 140,000 people, a record mainly due to immigration. But the number of asylum seekers dropped dramatically – from 163,000 in the peak year of 2015 to 29,000 – due to changes in Swedish migration laws. Many immigrants who came to Sweden in 2015 became officially part of the population in 2016. Of the more than 110,000 asylum decisions that the Swedish Migration Agency made in 2016, around 60 per cent led to the asylum seeker being granted asylum in Sweden. A particular challenge in the immigration peak of 2015 was the fact that 35,000 asylum seekers belonged to the category of “unaccompanied minors”, children who arrived in Sweden without parents or other legal guardian. In 2016, the Swedish Migration Agency granted 6,853 unaccompanied minors asylum (Sweden.se 2017).

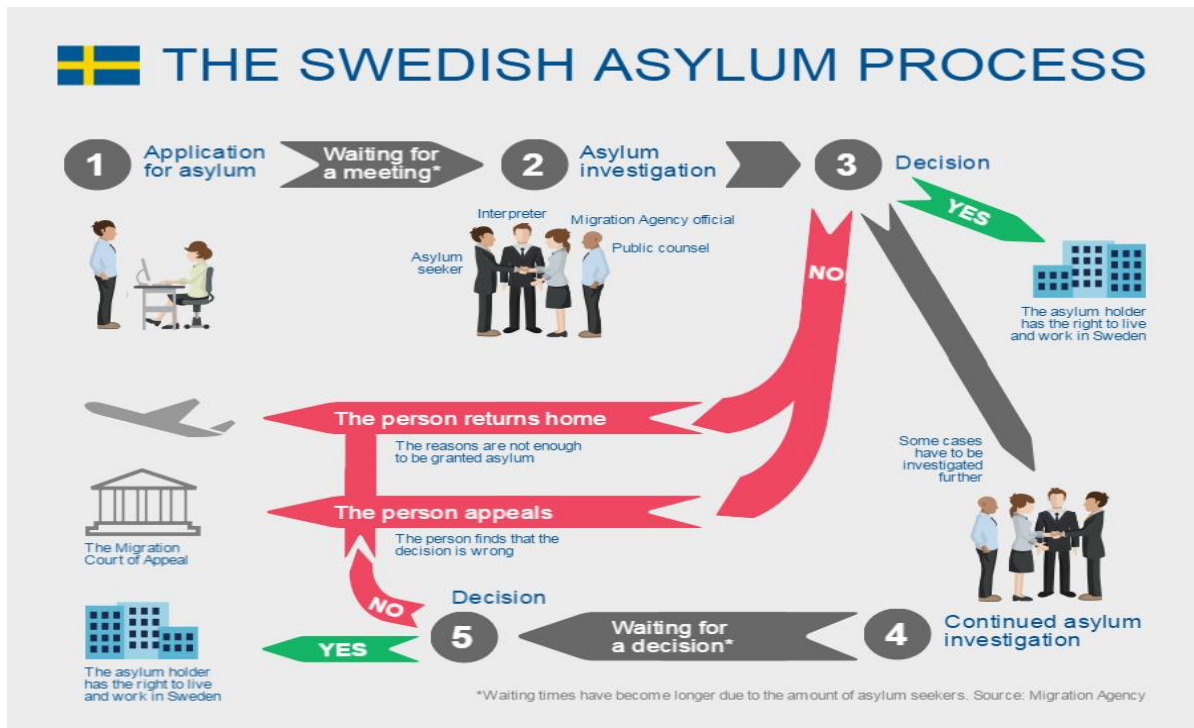


(Picture 2: 10 most common nationalities among asylum seekers in Sweden 2015. Source: Sverige.se/scb.se 2017)

The Swedish government took some measures to limit immigration after the peak of 2015, a decision which was motivated by a claim to be able to provide for those already in the country. At the end of that year, temporarily tightened border controls were implemented, making it harder to enter Sweden without a valid passport or other identification document. In 2016, Sweden went from the EU's most generous asylum legislation to the EU's minimum level. In June 2016, the Swedish parliament implemented legislative changes for asylum seekers, making it harder to get a residence permit. Obviously, Sweden's policy changes are partly due to the fact that most other EU countries have failed to receive their agreed share of refugees (Sweden.se 2017).

2.2. The reception of migrants – the legal framework.

If you are seeking protection in Sweden, you must submit your application for asylum either to the border police when you enter Sweden, or to one of the Migration Agency's application units. The Swedish Migration Agency cannot approve an asylum application which is submitted at a Swedish embassy (Swedish Migration Agency 2017). Sweden has signed the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. This means, among other things, that Sweden will examine each asylum application individually. The individual examination includes taking the applicant's gender identity and sexual orientation (that is, whether the applicant is homosexual, bisexual or transgender) into account (Swedish Migration Agency 2017).



(Picture 3: *The Swedish asylum process*. Source: Sverige.se)

Sweden will grant a residence permit to a person who is a refugee in accordance with the UN Convention, and also to a person in need of “subsidiary protection” in accordance with joint EU regulations. In accordance with the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, Swedish legislation and EU regulations, a person is considered a refugee when they have well-founded reasons to fear persecution due to 1) race, 2) nationality, 3) religious or political beliefs, 4) gender, 5) sexual orientation, or 6) affiliation to a particular social group. A person who is assessed as a refugee will be granted a refugee status declaration, which is an internationally recognized status, based on the UN Refugee Convention as well as EU regulations. Persons with a refugee status declaration are normally given a residence permit for three years (Swedish Migration Agency 2017).

A person deemed in need of subsidiary protection is one who is at risk of being sentenced to death, is at risk of being subjected to corporal punishment, torture or other inhumane or degrading treatment or punishment, or as a civilian, is at serious risk of injury due to armed conflict. A person who is assessed as in need of subsidiary protection will be granted a subsidiary protection status declaration, which is founded on EU regulations. Persons with a protection status declaration are normally given a residence permit for 13 months. (Certain people who applied for asylum by November 24, 2015 at the latest may be given a permanent residence permit.) In exceptional cases asylum seekers may be granted a residence permit, even if they do not need protection from persecution. This requires extraordinary circumstances directly linked to their personal situation (i.e. people with very serious health issues or people subjected to human trafficking), which implies that a decision to deny residence permit would conflict with Sweden’s international obligations (Swedish Migration Agency 2017).

2.3. The reception of migrants – the institutional framework for education and career counselling

In Sweden, all asylum applicants have access to the benefits of the reception system. If they have their own financial resources, they must use these first - the provision of reception conditions is conditional upon lack of sufficient resources. The lack of resources is established at the initial interview with a reception officer of the Migration Agency, when the asylum seeker lodges the asylum application (AIDA 2017).

When it comes to an entry to the labour market, asylum seekers may be exempted from a work permit on the condition that they can establish their identity through original documents or authorized copies. If they are not able to do this when they apply for asylum, they can do so later and in that case another decision will be made on their right to work. Thus, an asylum seeker is not granted a work permit but is exempted from the need to have one. Hence, he or she is allowed to work. In general, they cannot work in areas that require certified skills such as in the health care sector, so in practice their choice is limited to the unskilled sector. It must also be kept in mind that jobs are not easy to get because of language requirements and the general labour market situation. Those who obtain jobs are able to improve their economic situation, and have the possibility to switch from being an asylum seeker to a labour market migrant if they manage to work 6 months before receiving a final negative decision at the second instance or after their appeal to the Migration Court of Appeal is refused (AIDA 2017).

Asylum seeking children have full access to the Swedish school system. Hence, they are to a great extent integrated in regular schools. They are by the law obliged to attend school, but have the right to attend, if they so wish. The right to go to school has also been confirmed in law for those children still present in Sweden with an expulsion order and who have absconded with their parents. Children between 16 and 19 often have to attend a preparatory course (sw. språkintrödn) to improve their skills in Swedish and other core subjects before being able to access vocational education. Once they have gone through this preparatory phase they are not prohibited from taking a vocational course. A person who begins a 3-year course at the age of 16 or 17 and is still in Sweden without a permit 2 years later, will be allowed to continue her/his course. Persons who are over 18 upon arrival have no access to secondary education, however. Children also have the right to lessons in their own mother tongue on a regular basis, if there are more than 5 pupils with the same language in the area (AIDA 2017).

Newly arrived refugee students in Sweden receive career guidance on the same terms as other students. The quantity and the quality of the services are dependent upon local routines, regulations, and career guidance counsellors' recognition of newly arrived migrant students' knowledge and educational strategies allocation of resources. Career guidance in lower secondary education is primarily engaged with the task of choosing upper secondary education. For newly arrived students, a number of alternatives are at hand in the Swedish educational system. First of all, there is the option to choose so-called national programs, i.e. regular programs at upper secondary schools. These are either preparatory or vocationally-oriented. Young refugees who do not meet the standards of eligibility are generally recommended to apply for the language introduction program (Hertzberg 2017).

Sectors where guidance services are provided:	Kinds of services offered	Formal regulations/Administrative control	Educational background
Educational and Career in <i>compulsory, upper secondary and adult secondary education</i>	Individual counselling and information prior to the next step of education. Group activities	National curriculum + School Law /The Swedish National Agency for Education /Municipality	Professional Degree in Career Counselling (Three-year university programme)
Guidance at <i>universities and university colleges:</i> 1. Central level 2. Departmental level 3. Career centres	1. Individual counselling about educational choices 2. Advise in the special field of study, preparation work for credit transfer and eligibility regulations 3. Career choices, applications, job vacancies	Regulation from 1993 stating that university students must have access to study and vocational guidance /local policy documents /The Swedish National Agency for Higher Education /Individual university	General University Degree and in-service training on theories and methods in study- and career counselling, sometimes Degree in Career Counselling
<i>Higher Vocational Education</i>	Counselling on educational choices	No formal regulation /the Swedish National Agency for Higher Vocational Education	Varying, sometimes teachers, sometimes Degree in Career Counselling
<i>Swedish Folk High Schools</i>	Varying	No formal regulation /Many of the schools are run by NGO's and some by county councils or regions	Varying, sometimes teachers, sometimes Degree in Career Counselling
<i>Local municipality information centres</i>	Self-service and individual counselling, information	Municipality educational authorities	Varying, often Degree in Career Counselling
<i>Employment Offices/Rehabilitation</i>	Individual counselling mainly for those who need it most. Self-service for others	No regulations regarding guidance activities. /Swedish Public Employment Service	In-service training, sometimes Degree in Career Counselling, sometimes psychologists.

(Table 1: Overview of the Swedish Guidance System. Source: Euroguidance/Education, work and guidance in Sweden)

3. Identifying knowledge relevant for the provision and development of career guidance and counselling for refugees

3.1 Knowledge gaps

There are some recent Swedish research that suggests that professionals in education and social services have some knowledges gaps concerning the refugee predicament. They do not know or fully understand what it means to be a refugee, and this lack of knowledge sets a mark on their professional behavior and ability to deliver their service. In a study of the hopes of West African refugees during resettlement in northern Sweden, conducted by Anjum, Nordqvist and Timpka (2012), it was found that hopes regarding education were in focus for the refugees shortly after

arrival, but thought on family union were central later in the resettlement process. But the support organization did not know or acknowledge this matter, and the unresponsiveness of this organization to the family reunion problem became an issue for the refugees. The details of the refugees' situation was not sufficiently acknowledged by the aid agencies, and Anjum, Nordqvist and Timpka (2012) claim that the recognition of these details was a precondition for the assistance that complement the refugees own coping mechanisms.

In a recent dissertation on career guidance counselling conversations with newly arrived migrants, Sundelin (2015) makes a number of interesting and fruitful observations. She notes that it seems that counsellors have certain difficulties in judging the need of guidance for students, as well as their emotional experience of the counselling session. In so doing, they do not perceive the "lived experience" of the students, and the condition under which the students create a future. Certain aspects of the predicament as recently arrived migrant, such as loneliness, uncertainty and anxiety, are not sufficiently taken into consideration. In a similar vein, experiences of and fear of social exclusion, above all ethnic discrimination, do not seem to be recognized in a way that correspond to its significance for the students.

When it comes to knowledge gaps among newly arrived refugees, some relevant observations are found in a smaller study by Hertzberg (2017). Hertzberg notices that career guidance counselors consider the knowledge of newly arrived students about the labor market, above all the entry to and content of certain vocations, as inadequate. But although certain gaps of knowledge were identified by the counsellors, and also held to be extensive, it must also be noticed that their existence was considered fully explainable, as they concerned knowledge on the peculiarities of a national labor market of which a newly arrived students from another part of the world yet had no possibility to acquire. The same conclusion applied regarding the knowledge on educational alternatives.

3.2 Language and intercultural communication.

When it comes to research on language and intercultural communication of relevance for the provision and development career guidance and counselling for refugees, there are some recent Swedish studies which could be acknowledged. In general, it must be noticed that there is a complex relationship between learning a new language and culture, while at the same time learning though it (Obondo et al 2016). Moreover, it is also theoretically well established that it takes 5-8 years to master a second language to be able to learn through it, and the nature of the challenge faced by those students are well known among teachers. Still, Obondo and many refugee pupils are in the process of learning the third or fourth language, and they develop a working oral fluency in Swedish in a year or two along with progress in academic Swedish, and to characterize these developments a "failure" just because they haven't met specific benchmarks in standardized testing is to miss out their success as second language learners (Obondo et al 2016).

Axelsson (2015) claim, following theories of learning and language developed by Halliday and Vygotsky, that the understanding and development of Swedish as a second language in schools is dependent on the nature of the "scaffolding" they newly arrived students receive. There is a need for specially educated teachers in second language education and first language teachers,

working in close cooperation with subject teachers. Supervision in the first language is necessary in order to promote learning in the subject teachings in second language, Axelsson also claims. In line with Axelsson, Norberg Brorsson (2016) claims that teachers and other professions involved in learning activities for recently arrived students need to know what it involves when you have to learn in a new language, and which didactical tools that are functional and relevant in the pursuit of supporting these students.

On a general level, it is also said that the successful inclusion of newly arrived students in the social milieu of the school forms is significant for the development of a second language – the learning of the new language is depended on the nature of the communication and interaction between the indigenous and newly arrived students; the eventuality of social exclusion, physical segregation and bullying delays a desirable language development (Axelsson 2017). Students that have migrated to Sweden late during compulsory school or during upper secondary school have a problematic school situation in different aspects; according to Skronowski (2013). Students that arrive in Sweden from the sixth year of compulsory school or later, face greater difficulties than other students when it comes to reaching the qualifications needed for studies at upper secondary school. Since there are certain qualification requirements to study at upper secondary school, many of these students are placed in different levels of preparatory education for a long period of time.

In relation to the observations put forth by Skronowski, a recent study by Nilsson (2017) is relevant. In a study of how newly arrives students experience the transition to the language introduction program in upper secondary school, in relation to past, present and imagined school careers, she has noticed that this program is experienced as “the same thing all over again”. For the newly arrived students, it signifies an experience of repetition and constantly suspended entry to the mainstream school system. In contrast to what has been imagined, the transition entails an experience of being hindered from reaching the desired Swedish-coded contexts in school. The students’ school careers are evaluated by themselves in relation to the progression of peers in the new country and the country that has been left. The transition in question is experienced as “being out of line” (Nilsson 2017:93) and stuck in a parallel temporal trajectory that has lost contact with the progressive temporality of the surrounding school context. In the studies of Skronowski and Nilsson, a specific dilemma appears: there is a need for long-time preparation, while long-term placement outside mainstream programs is perceived as alienating.

When it comes to studies of career counselling and/or counsellors, some minor interviews studies notes that counselors perceive guidance of people of non-majority ethnic background as a task *different* from guidance of majority students (Dresch & Lovén, 2003; Lovén, 2010). Values, limited knowledge of Swedish society and language barriers constituted the objects of difference. Moreover, the guidance counsellors perceive their professional skills to handle these meetings as insufficient, and they reported a lack of useful methods and tools. They felt uncertain in meetings with migrant individuals, specifically regarding the possibility to implement these guidance talks. These studies suggest, in line with studies of Hertzberg (2003) and Sawyers (2006), that career counselling practices in Swedish schools partly is influenced by an ethos a Swedish normativity. What is perceived as different is also perceived as deviant.

However, an evaluation (Hirasawa & Sundelin, 2006) of a guidance project in the city of Stockholm aiming to reduce unemployment and support for costs of living suggests that guiding counselling talks widens the perceived opportunity structures of unemployed adults with migrant experience. In and through the guidance conversations, the counsees were given access to the Swedish education system and got acquaintance of the economic conditions for studying. It was also perceived as significant that the guides worked independently in relation to the social support system – it became easier gain trust and focus future educational opportunities”.

Language and communication in career guidance for newly arrived migrants is studied by Sheikhi (2013). In her dissertation, she analyzed career guidance sessions where the guidance counselee was an adult second language speakers. The conversations was analyzed in three sub-studies with the main purpose of exploring how the participants achieve shared understanding. The first part study examined how the speech acts of the counselors promoted understanding. Sheikhi identified a number of supportive speech talks from the first language speakers, namely those who supported the ability of the second language speakers to take part and understand the content of the guidance session: revocation (rewording of own opinion), limiting questions, introduction and conclusion of utterances (introduction or conclusion of the utterances of the second language speaker), repetition and meta comments (Sheikhi 2013: 93). In the second study, Sheikhi investigated the role of rewording in guidance counselling interaction, and in the third stud she analyzed how shared understanding was promoted during conversation interaction.

Sheikhi concludes that the guidance conversations initiated learning processes (on the Swedish language, career related content, and the career guidance institution in itself), and that the counsellors and the counsees managed to achieve sufficient reciprocal understanding, despite the linguistic asymmetry. Sheikhi claims that the conversations has a potential for learning, partly because of the clients’ positive expectations. Knowledge asymmetry in relation to educational matters and the labor market constituted a bigger obstacle for communication than a lack of linguistic understanding. The counsellor had an important role to facilitate understanding by creating space for conversation, in which different supportive measures made possible the exchange of meaning and information on the linguistic level of the counselee. Sheikhi also raises some features that refer to the migrant background of counsees. The guidance counsellor often asked about clients' homelands, and exposed general interest in their background. This developed into a situation in which the counsellors was taught by the client, a situation which Sheikhi perceived as beneficial to the development of interaction and mutual understanding. At the same time, Sheikhi draws attention to the allegedly Western features of the counselling strategies, which views the counselee as an independent decision-maker, and nothing more than that, which she believes may complicate the situation: a relatively newly-moved person may need more active support than the counselor’s counselling strategies provide.

3.3 Recognition and access to labour market

Recognition of foreign educational, vocational and academic qualifications. In a study of the recognition of vocational qualifications of refugees, Andersson and Fejes (2010) makes some important observations. First of all, they point out that the recognition of knowledge developed within a vocation in another country is problematic – the context in which the person is being

assessed is different, since it is a new community of practice (in terms of vocational practice and language skills), and the knowledge of the migrant is valued in relation to other kinds of knowledge demands and another practice those in which their own knowledge was developed.

In conclusion, Andersson and Fejes (2010) states that people involved in practices of RPL (Recognition of Prior Learning) must acknowledge that refugees and other migrants are newcomers in terms of language, and to the specific Swedish vocational practice, while they might be experts in relation to the vocational practice where they have developed their knowledge, and find ways to re-shape the assessment procedures and practices in ways that lead to inclusion rather than exclusion. One possible way forward could be, they claim, to see RPL as an integrated aspect of learning processes where the focus is on the knowledge and competencies the person has in the specific work contexts where s/he works. Also, by being in a work context - during a period of practical training or, if possible, employment – the migrant would have the opportunity to become a part of a new community of practice where prior learning could be recognized and integrated with the learning process which takes place by being a part of a new practice.

In another study, Andersson, together with Guo (2009), claims that prior learning assessment and recognition (PLAR) has become a serious barrier to adult learning rather than a facilitator. They state that PLAR work as dividing practices in discounting and devaluating immigrants' prior learning and work experience, and conclude that PLAR has become a technical exercise and a governing tool rather than a form of social transformation.

Sundelin's study (2015, see above) is also of relevance for questions of recognition. Her study shows that career guidance tends to take a future in Sweden is for granted, and that the counselors expect the students to choose from a "Swedish smorgasbord", so to speak, of career choices. The conversational focus on Swedish preconditions obscure the view of transnational preconditions and terms that are part and parcel of migration. Sundelin also claims that the absence of a transnational perspective in counselling conversations risks decontextualizing migrants' relationships and knowledge, thereby constraining their opportunities to meaning-making about their future with their own conditions. In all, Sundelin's study shows that these career guidance conversations both enables and constrains migrant students' opportunities to make meaning about their future. A number of smaller studies by Hertzberg (2015a, 2015b, 2017) reinforces Sundelin's argument. He finds a tendency in the pedagogy of career guidance to questions educational preferences and strategies influenced by a collectivistic ethos, which are regarded as pedagogically and ethically erroneous. These aspirations are regarded as flawed rather than an object of recognition. In a paper which claims to map research and experiences of unaccompanied minors, Celikaksoy and Wadensjö (2016) draw a similar conclusion; they state that it is important to map the level of education (schooling as well as vocational) the child has when they arrive and that the education they receive is adapted to their already existing knowledge.

In a Finnish study of the relations between refugee migrants and social workers, with a focus on the possibilities for trust and recognition, it is found (Turtiainen 2012) that care, respect and esteem, as forms of recognition, give practical bases of the relation where the identification of

needs takes place. Turtiainen (2012) also notes that the theory of recognition, as explicated by Axel Honneth (eg. 1995), gives ground for self-relations. This is essential in this matter, since refugee backgrounds provide a special backdrop for recognitive attitudes – refugees' self-relations are often injured. Still, many of them are able to maintain hope of having a better future. Moreover, Turtiainen (2012) also claims that recognition has to be taken as a “moral yardstick” in order for trust between refugee and authority to be built and maintained. The way to fulfill the preconditions of a trust relationship is to understand the trustworthiness of the other as recognizing her/him as a moral person, and therefore to identify the thought, behavior and speech of the person as reasonable, in the situation in question.

In a study of the integration of Bosnian refugees in Sweden, Marita Eastmond (2011) points to the prevalence of paradoxes in the integration process, which are of relevance for the pursuit of recognition in career guidance practices. Eastmond notes that these refugees had aspirations to restore “normal life”, in the sense of becoming active and self-reliant residents within a secure welfare state, which in many ways were similar to the Swedish policy goals. But the difficulties that these mostly young and well-educated individuals had in achieving these goals suggests a number of dilemmas in the integrative welfare project, Eastmond claims (2011:290). The image of Bosnians as “traumatized victims of war” got widespread, and found resonance in already established notions of refugees as vulnerable and “incomplete”, and they often conflicted with the self-images within the group, and their aspirations to quickly rebuild their family and welfare. Rehabilitations was in some sectors viewed as a prerequisite for integration, but Eastmond's informants insisted on work and recognition of their skills as the important remedy.

Obondo, Lahdenperä and Sandeborn (2016) draws a similar conclusion. They claim that teachers tend to have a dualistic representation of Sweden and the home-countries of newly arrived children, and that their experience and culture exist in complete contrast to Swedish culture and everyday life (Obondo et al 2016). Individual differences tend to be overlooked in and through this dualistic outlook, which, again, might endanger the pursuit of recognition (cf. above).

Access to the labour market. In comparison with natives, refugees face some problems in their efforts to enter the labour market. After 10 years in Sweden, 60,2 % of refugee migrants with a university diploma was employed. For those with upper secondary education, the number was 59,8, and for those with lower secondary, the number was 42,5. Only 38,7 % of refugees with primary education was employed after 10 years (SCB 2016). In the following section, we focus mostly on research literature which analyses the internal variation in employment among refugee migrants. In a study of the influence of local factors on refugee job opportunities, Bevelander and Lundh (2007) that the local supply of jobs significantly affected the individual refugees' chances to obtain employment. The structure of the local economy did also affect the probability of being employed – areas with lower education and skill levels were positively related to refugee's employment chances, whereas university localities were negatively related. They had higher probabilities of being employed in industry in less-population dense areas and in the private service sector in larger cities.

Rooth (1999) analyzes educational investments and labour market integration among refugee immigrants, and finds that the longer it takes until the immigrant decides to invest in destination

specific human capital, the longer the labour market integration process is delayed. He also finds that pre-immigration characteristics, such as the level of education, the probability of return migration (measured as the type of visa category), and the time of arrival to Sweden all are important determinants of the transition into education. Moreover, Rooth (1999) also claims that many of the parameter estimates are non-proportional, indicating different integration processes, for instance as a consequence of differences between individuals in their ability to find information on the returns to education in the new country.

Lundborg (2013) draws slightly different conclusions in a study of labour market integration of refugee immigrants. He finds that the rate of labour market integration proceeds from initially less than 70 % of natives' employment to around 90 % in 10 years. The predictions of unemployment days' reveal large differences across the country of origin, he continues. Refugees from Iran, Iraq and the Horn of Africa face the largest problems in entering the labour market. Refugees from Muslim countries fare the worst in terms of "adjusted" unemployment during the first 20 years in Sweden, a fact that suggests that these refugees have the worst initial conditions for entering the labour market, that they are exposed to more discrimination due to their ethnic identity, or both. There is convergence across origins in the long run, however, which suggests that differences in productivity or exposure to discrimination go away.

According to a joint report from The Swedish Trade Union Confederation, Swedish Association of Local Authorities and Regions, Swedish Agency for Government Employers, The Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees, The Confederation of Swedish Enterprise, and the Swedish Confederation of Professional Associations (2016), based on data from Statistics Sweden (SCB), age is also an important factor which determines the conditions for entrance to the labour market. Younger migrants and refugees are more often employed than elders, and they are more prone to change to other jobs – which also includes high skilled jobs. Apart from age, the proficiency in the Swedish language is also held to be important. In their mapping of research and experiences of unaccompanied minors, Celikaksoy and Wadensjö (2016) also states that their entry into the labour market often can be difficult, due to a lack of knowledge of the language of the host country, which underlines the importance of language education.

3.4 Discrimination and traumatization.

Several studies point to the prevalence of trauma and stress among refugees. In a study of the personal experiences of refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Povrazanovic Frykman (2012) concludes that psychological difficulties proved to jeopardize the potential for any kind of hope. A similar observation is made by Hessle (2009). In a ten-year follow-up study of the life conditions of 100 unaccompanied minors, she states that loneliness, estrangement, and longing for one's family characterized the situation of these children at the time of their arrival. Many of them had horrifying experiences in their country of origin and during the flight to Sweden. The conclusions of Celikaksoy and Wadensjö (2016, cf. above) point in the same direction: they claim that many unaccompanied minors are affected by traumatic events – although there are many who also display significant strength and ability to manage their lives in a new context. Moreover, a study by Angel, Hjern and Hedeby (2001) of effects of war and organized violence on children shows that when children had experienced much stress, talking about their

experiences seemed to exacerbate these negative effects. A study conducted by Söndergaard and Theorell (2004) shows that the symptom load of PTSD is significantly inversely related to the speed of language acquisition among refugees. This implies that treatment as well as preventive measures against worsening of PTSD symptoms are important in order to minimize harmful post-migration stress for the facilitation of integration.

3.5 Empowerment and the analysis of potentials.

Here, only studies of limited relevance to the headline topic has been found. These studies deal with the analysis of resources, i.e. factors that are enabling in the existence of recently arrived migrants. Intertwined with the perceived power over planning for improving one's situation is the issue of hope. The perceived capacity to exercise some mastery over life is opposed to helplessness and is a crucial element of the complex process called integration of refugees (Povrazanovic Frykman 2012). Although refugees may experience a downward social and professional mobility, it is important to look at them in the context of their families – the occupations of their spouses may offer a balance in their self-perceived status. The employment-related downward mobility has only a relative significance, since relations between Bosnian refugees rely in the first place on their original education and status. Their perception of well-being of wellbeing coming out of the feeling of meaningfulness and purposefulness did not depend only or primarily on labour market integration (Povrazanovic Frykman 2012).

In Hesse's (2009) follow-up study of unaccompanied minors (cf. above), she concludes that over 75 % of the young adults are engaged in work, studies or running their own business; among the roads to become established in Sweden, she finds that the family network is of immense importance, wherever they might be in the world – they forged and sustained multi-stranded social relations that linked together their societies of origin and resettlement. Moreover, schooling and the possibility of obtaining an education in Sweden was important for these young adults, and especially important was the engaged involvement and support of individual secondary school teachers.

3.6 Specific supports measures.

When it comes to the design of introduction programs for migrants, Svantesson and Aranki (2006) concludes, from the study of a dataset containing information on introduction activities, that activities such as labour market practices have a positive effect on migrants' employment probability – in the short run. Other activities, such as language practice, do not seem to have any impact, and some of them even show a negative effect. Among the latter activities Svantesson and Aranki find those who include "cooperation with supervisors", and they explain this result with reference to the fact that supervisors [i.e. guidance counsellors?] do not always encourage individuals to search for jobs, but direct them into the educational system.

In an interview study of life and health in exile of Somali refugees, Svenberg, Mattsson and Skott (2009) noticed an essential theme during the interviews, a life in exile, which permeated every subject that was discussed and talked about. This was expressed in the following aspects: longing for the homeland, pain (a companion in exile), prejudice and discrimination, family (comfort and trouble), and religion.

3.7 Other phenomena of relevance for the provision and development of career guidance and counselling for refugees.

Learning for information literacy and information seeking may be of symbolic importance for refugee youth, Hultgren (2013) concludes; the mastery of information seeking seemed to create a secure feeling of their own position, but also of the possibility of becoming more Swedish, through “the appropriation of the information-seeking practices of the middle class” (Hultgren 2013:291). A parallel conclusion is made in a study of school careers and life plans among immigrant youth by Johansson and Olofsson (2011). Their key finding is that these young people try to adapt to certain normative expectations connected to the notions of “Swedishness”. A strong confidence of being in sync with the perceived behavior of Swedish youth leads to self-confidence, whereas being “out of sync” leads to low self-esteem.

In many cases, the preparatory classes with newly arrived migrants are segregated physically and in practice socially isolated (Nilsson & Axelsson 2013, Svensson & Eastwood 2013, Obondo et al 2016). Teachers as well as students oppose this particular development, and for many teachers, this remains the strongest reason for the quick transfer of new arrivals to mainstream classes (Svensson & Eastwood 2013). In a study of the inclusion of refugee youth in the Swedish school system, Skronowski (2013) finds that the quickest ways of gaining social contacts in their new schools have been within preparatory education for newcomer immigrant students at compulsory or upper secondary school.

Although these students change classes in school quite often, many of the students have managed to establish close and long-term relationships at preparatory educational levels that last even after the original groups of students in these classes have been separated. However, when it comes to social contacts between newcomer immigrant students and other students at school in regular education, Skronowski’s study shows that there are many hindrances towards social inclusion between refugee students and other students at their schools. There are difficulties for the newcomer immigrant students in being socially included in their new classes at the regular educational level. Therefore, some of the newcomer immigrant students’ turn to each other as a way to handle hindrances to social inclusion with other students in their classes.

In a comparison of how Scandinavian welfare societies have sought to incorporate immigrants and refugees into their national communities, Fog Olwig (2011) claims that that family relations play a central role in immigrants’ and refugees’ establishment of a new life in the receiving societies, even though the welfare society takes on many of the social and economic functions of the family. The reason why the family attains such significance is that it constitutes a social environment where people can attain social recognition and assert their social identity in a foreign society. This is brought out in the significance attached to holding a job, Fog Olwig continues. An important reason why work was so important to, for instance, newly arrived refugees was thus not only that gainful employment would give them a more economically secure foundation and a possible entry-point into the wider society. For the refugees themselves, the importance of work is that it allows them to assert themselves as persons of respect in their family and thereby to regain their social identity as responsible family members.

4. Conclusion and discussion

In this section, the reviews are summarized, concluded and discussed. The review aims to summarize knowledge from research publications and other kinds of publications and mediated information that is relevant for the development of career counseling for refugees. The conclusion should start with a description of the ways in which this aim is fulfilled - what do we know from research and other sources of knowledge about the possibilities and obstacles for the provision and development of CGC for refugees?

When it comes to research on knowledge gaps among career guidance counsellors concerning the predicament of refugees, and the refugees' knowledge gaps the educational and employment system in the receiving countries, there a limited number of research findings. Professionals in education and social services have some knowledge gaps concerning the refugee predicament. They do not know or fully understand what it means to be a refugee, and this lack of knowledge sets a mark on their professional behavior and ability to deliver their service. It is also noted that career guidance counsellors have certain difficulties in judging the need of guidance for students, as well as their emotional experience of the counselling session. There are also some second hand information found in research which confirms that newly arrived migrants lacks knowledge on the educational system and the labour market of the receiving society.

There is also some research on matters of language and intercultural communication to be found in Sweden. In general, it is said that the understanding and development of Swedish as a second language in schools is dependent on the nature of the "scaffolding" they newly arrived students receive. Hence, there is a need for specially educated teachers in second language education and first language teachers, working in close cooperation with subject teachers. Supervision in the first language is necessary in order to promote learning in the subject teachings in second language. Moreover, it is also found that the development of a second language is dependent on the successful inclusion of newly arrived students in the social milieu of the school.

The recognition of refugees is a complex task. The pursuit of recognition has many dimensions, and different end goals, depending on which definition of the term that has been employed. Here, the recognition of knowledge as well as of values and norms are taken into consideration. The function of Swedish practices of recognition has been questioned (Andersson & Fejes 2010), claiming that it rather discounts and devalues than recognizes prior learning. As a solution, it is suggested that recognition practices are arranged in a specific community of learning (i.e. a workplace or a school), in tandem and integrated with the processes of learning which takes place there.

From the context of career guidance and counselling, research shows some lack of recognition towards attitudes related to education, vocation, work and future among newly arrived students. Above all, the strong focus on an individualistic ethos and outlook excludes other view-points. The absence of recognition may constraint the possibility of making meaning about work and future. However, it must be acknowledged that the principal "object of recognition" varies in different studies, depending on divergent theoretical perspectives as well as contradictory empirical results. Some researches claim that above all experiences from flight ought to be recognized, which in effect foregrounds trauma, vulnerability and stress. Other researchers claim

that skills and competence are the principal objects of recognition, thus highlighting the self-reliance and agency of the refugee. The divergence found in this matter calls for a general openness of the side of the educator (i.e. the career guidance counsellor), and a capability to recognize strength as well as vulnerability, or productive agency as well as lack thereof, and to develop different pedagogical agendas, in accordance with those highly divergent needs.

The divergence found in research that the well-being and agency of refugees brings to the fore what was said by way of introduction in this discussion, namely that many professionals active in the fields of education or health care lack knowledge on the predicament of the refugee, and the different ways of coping with everyday life that emerges out of this situation. Obviously, this lack of knowledge remains an obstacle, and must be circumvented, in order to develop the sensitivity and empathy outlined above.

Several researchers have warned against the inclination to use the notion of “culture” as a hermeneutical proxy to understand the thinking and acting of refugees, since it tends to install a dichotomous model of the relation between the educator and the refugee, as a matter of “us” and “them”, where the latter category above all embodies alterity and deviation. Again, a more nuanced understanding of refugees’ agency is called for, which takes actuality as well as potentiality into account, and where phenomena such as stress, trauma, competence, the production of meaning, fear (such as of exclusion and discrimination) and hope is included. However, research also points to the need and significance of social support – the active and engaged involvement of professional educators (such as career guidance counsellors). Interaction with native peers is also considered to be significant, and therefore a constant attention to the presence of formal and informal social segregation or exclusion.

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