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SOCIAL PEDAGOGICAL WORK WITH UNACCOMPANIED YOUNG REFUGEES WITH EXPERIENCES OF WAR IN INSTITUTIONAL CARE IN SWEDEN: AN ETHNOGRAPHY-INSPIRED ANALYSIS OF THE NARRATIVES OF YOUNG PERSONS AND INSTITUTION PERSONNEL

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Abstract

The study purpose was to analyse 1) narratives of young people who experienced a war, fled to Sweden and were cared for and placed in institutions; 2) institution personnel narratives about the day-to-day work of taking care of young people who have experienced war; and 3) interactive patterns contributing to constructing the category 'social pedagogue'. The material was gathered through interviews with young people in care with experiences of war and with personnel who work with these young people at residential or care homes. The social pedagogic perspective in social sciences stresses including the individual in the community, which gives the individual confirmation of an identity through community participation. Successful interaction between individuals is fundamental for achieving community integration of unaccompanied children and young people in Sweden. Analysis of the study's empirical material reveals major variations in what is expected of a social pedagogue working in

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institutional care in Sweden with unaccompanied young refugees who have experiences of war. A common denominator is that the mission of and context in which the social pedagogue operates appear flexible enough to enable an individual to play the role in a variety of ways. Only when the individual social pedagogue adopts an active, assertive, independent, personal and relatively strong posture will there be a chance of being important to other professional categories and for the client. In practice, therefore, only when the individual social pedagogue transcends the expectations of the conventional role will there be a chance to be appreciated by other collaborators.

Keywords: social pedagogic, social pedagogue, residential home, care home, expectation, variation, stigma, social comparison, identity, category

Introduction

According to Hämäläinen (2012), social pedagogy in the Nordic countries follows two developmental lines: social education for all and pedagogical support for those with special social and educational needs. The definitions for these lines of development of social pedagogy according Hämäläinen are, respectively: a) a line of social care and welfare activities preventing and alleviating social exclusion, and b) a line of social education supporting growth into membership of society. Hämäläinen means that in the Nordic countries, both of these lines exist in social pedagogical research, discussion and practice (Hämäläinen, 2012). In 2015, approximately 35,000 children and young people came to Sweden unaccompanied by a guardian (Swedish Migration Agency, 2018a, 2018b, 2018c) [1] . Most of these

1 The study's analysis was presented at the social pedagogical conference, 'Social Pedagogy and Social Education: Bridging Traditions and Innovations' (Basic, 2018a). For valuable comments on this text, I would like to thank Kyriaki Doumas (Linnaeus University, Sweden), Margareta Ekberg (Linnaeus University, Sweden), David Wästerfors (Lund University, Sweden) and the anonymous reviewers.

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unaccompanied children and young people were boys from war-torn countries, and most were placed in 'HVB homes' (residential homes for children and young persons[2]). This major influx of unaccompanied children and young people has been a substantial challenge for the Swedish welfare system, which is fundamentally based on the concept of all individuals being included and integrated into the social community. In modern warfare, it is not uncommon for civilians to be the targets of – and sometimes participants in – acts of war (Basic, 2017, 2018b; Malešević, 2010). Children and young people who have fled from such wars may have been involved in them, either directly or indirectly, which is likely to affect them for a large part of their lives. Survivors of wars are often influenced by what is known as post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, recurring nightmares, emotional blunting and flashbacks to traumatic moments (Majumder, 2016; Sanchez-Cao, Kramer, & Hodes, 2013). With that background knowledge, we can establish that the professional work of attempting to help and facilitate inclusion and integration of that client category in the Swedish community is not an easy task.

This article develops Hämäläinen's (2012) analytical starting points through social pedagogical analysis of narratives of young people who have experienced a war, fled to Sweden and been taken care of and placed in institutions, and through social pedagogical analysis of narratives of institution personnel who work with this category of client.

The purpose of the study is 1) to analyse the narratives of young people who have experienced a war, fled to Sweden and been taken care of and placed in institutions; 2) to analyse the narratives of institution personnel about the day-to-day work of taking care of young people who have experienced war; and 3) to analyse interactive patterns that contribute to constructing the category 'social pedagogue'. The material used in the study has been gathered by means of

2 A residential or care home is a form of institution in Sweden that provides treatment, care, support or nurturing. HVB homes can, for example, specialize in substance abuse problems or in unaccompanied children.

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interviews with young people in care who have had experiences of war and interviews with personnel at HVB homes who work with these young people.

Social pedagogic perspective

The social pedagogic perspective is one of the perspectives in social sciences that stresses the importance of including the individual in the community (Eriksson, 2014; Eriksson & Winman, 2010; Hämäläinen, 2012; Hämäläinen & Eriksson, 2016; Kornbeck & Ucar, 2015; Ucar, 2013). Individuals are given confirmation of their identities by participating in the community, and successful interaction between individuals is a fundamental prerequisite for the successful integration of unaccompanied children and young people in Sweden. Hämäläinen and Eriksson (2016) and Eriksson (2014) highlight the importance of interaction between those already established in the community and the individual who is on the margin. One of the most important dimensions from a social pedagogical perspective is to analytically investigate relationships between individuals needing help and the professional participants tasked with helping these individuals as part of their professional role. The writings of Hämäläinen and Eriksson (2016), Kornbeck and Ucar (2015), Hämäläinen (2012), Eriksson (2014), Ucar (2013) and Eriksson and Winman (2010) provide insight into some expectations that come into play in the various social contexts of the role of a 'social pedagogue'. A social pedagogue is portrayed as an expert who works toward a specific and defined goal. The goal is to help or guide the client to overcome obstacles that hamper integration and success in the context. Hämäläinen and Eriksson (2016) and Eriksson (2014) illustrate four important dimensions of the social pedagogical perspective. The first of these focusses on goals in the context to be achieved by means of social pedagogy. In this dimension, the importance of the participants' socialisation is foregrounded in the context by, among other things, integration and mobilisation of all community forces with the aim of helping the individual on the community margins. The second dimension focusses on the social pedagogic approach,

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especially in the relationship between the professional participants and the individual who needs help. The professional participants working in accordance with the social pedagogic perspective are empathic towards the individual requiring help while also being aware of the specific expectations of the professional role. The third dimension focusses on appropriate social pedagogic methods in working with the individual who needs help. Methods considered to be appropriate are the dynamic methods based on the individual as part of the group and part of a wider social context (such as environmental therapy). The fourth dimension focusses on social pedagogy as a resource for professional work with the individual on the community margin and in need of help. In this dimension, the emphasis is on the importance of the goal of creating progress in the relationship with the individual who needs help by means of well-thought-out dialogue (Eriksson, 2014; Hämäläinen & Eriksson, 2016).

Theories of relevance to social pedagogy

The study's general theoretical points of departure are interactionist, though influenced by an ethnomethodological perspective of how people present their social reality (Blumer, 1969/1986; Garfinkel, 2002). As Gubrium and Holstein (1997) point out, ethnomethodology will not explain what a social world is but rather how it comes about. Both the accounts given by the interviewees and the analysis of these accounts can, in view of this perspective, be regarded as activities that create meaning. According to interactionists, the I (or the self) is a basic construction for creating an identity. An interactionist explanation of the self is based on two fundamental ideas: *self-reference* and *role-playing*. Self-reference is a matter of describing oneself and, in a wider context, describing objects of all kinds, for example people in various groups, ideas, opinions and attitudes (Blumer, 1969/1986). The second fundamental idea concerning the self is about role-playing. Being acknowledged in our roles is to be acknowledged in our identities. Over the course of their lives, people in a society play a number of

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different roles before different publics; as a result, the self is shaped and changed in each social situation (Goffman, 1959/1990).

For this study, this framework means that experiences of war and being cared for are examined as an interaction in which one person's behaviour constitutes a motive for and a response to the other person's behaviour. Perceptions of the treatment provided by the social community (Swedish society) are also studied as a result of an interplay between the participants involved. In this study, 'role' is not used only as an unambiguous analytical instrument but also, in an ethnomethodological spirit, as an investigation of how the interviewees themselves *use* role, status and identity when expressing their own and other's living conditions and experiences. Two concepts are particularly important: social comparisons and stigma. With regard to social comparisons, it is generally human, ordinary and perhaps necessary to see oneself in relation to others (Scheler, 1992). Simmel (1908/1965) wrote, for example, about how poverty is not absolute but is seen in relation to others. This relativity is also the case with care and perceptions of care. A more modern concept is Merton's (1996) 'reference groups', which are used in various ways: identity-creating, as an expected member group or as positive and negative reference groups, for example. Such groups or categories may be anticipatory (a group that one expects to belong to in the future), contemporary or historical: 'that's what it was like for them before', or 'that's how people in my group used to live'. However, the concept is thought to imply static limits for groups. This study's analysis is inspired rather by Snow and Anderson's (1987) use of social comparisons because this concept is more associated with a more flexible and dynamic relationship; the participants are allocated an active, interpretive work (Åkerström & Jacobsson, 2009).

In research into care recipients, *stigma* has been the subject of particular attention. The concept is derived from Goffman's (1963/1990) analysis of stigmatisation. Goffman believes that a person becomes stigmatised when not fully acknowledged in a desirable social identity. According to Goffman, it is

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possible to distinguish between three different models of how to live with one's stigma: being born with it and learning to live with it 'from the beginning'; not being stigmatised until later in life or being forced into a new, stigmatising context (see also Basic, 2012, 2015, 2017, 2018b; Wästerfors, 2012, 2014; Wästerfors & Åkerström, 2016). Loss of identity in time of war and after war, comparison with other young people in Swedish society, and placement in an institution without one's parents and siblings creates and reinforces a stigmatised context for young people in care – a context that is related in interviews in the course of the study.

Social pedagogy has a limited possibility of analysing all social phenomena that are actualised in the work with different client categories who receive help with inclusion and integration in the community from different professional actors (Eriksson, 2014; Eriksson & Winman, 2010; Hämäläinen, 2012; Hämäläinen & Eriksson, 2016; Kornbeck & Ucar, 2015; Ucar, 2013). General theoretical points of the study include terms that help facilitate the analyses of the context in which social pedagogues work. Adolescents who have experienced war as well as personnel at HVB care homes who work daily with these adolescents use and are involved in several different identifications alternately or simultaneously, such as their occupational identity, gender identity or ethnic identity. The current article highlights how these overlapping and parallel identifications operate through a variety of interactions, where the individual claims or is assigned identity categories in different ways. Thus, the study shows when, how and by whom stigmatisation processes, social comparisons and identities are actualised and how it happens in relation to war memories and institutional care placement.

Method of relevance to social pedagogy

The study was conducted based on inspiration from ethnographic tradition, and the empirical material in the study consists of interviews, field notes and documents (Bryman, 2016; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983).

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Ethnography is a research method in which the researcher (1) is involved in a social environment for a fairly long period of time, (2) makes regular observations of how the participants in this environment interact, (3) listens to and takes part in various discussions, (4) conducts interviews with informants about phenomena that cannot be observed directly and about which the ethnographer is uncertain, (5) gathers relevant documents that are related to the investigated group or phenomenon, (6) develops an understanding of the group's culture and daily interaction patterns in this cultural context, and (7) formulates a detailed description of this environment (Bryman, 2016, pp. 422-464). In other words, ethnographic research is characterised by a varied analysis of different types of empirical material (in this study, interviews, field notes and documents). The ethnographic method also is characterised by producing in-depth knowledge as a result of the researcher's participation in the daily life of the individuals being studied. Experiences, views and social phenomena are not always discussed in the course of interviews but instead can be revealed when the researcher observes the informants' everyday activities and everyday interactions. Combining interviews with fieldwork allows the researcher to produce an in-depth account of individual narratives and phenomena (Becker, 1970, 1998; Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011; Gubrium & Holstein, 1999; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983, p. 156). During an interview, those involved communicate based on day-to-day knowledge of the social context (Riessman, 2008; Silverman, 2015). During the fieldwork in this study, an effort was made to give interviewees space in the discussions so that they could talk about topics of immediate interest that they themselves considered to be important (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). The objective was for the interviewer to adopt the role of an interested listener who wanted to find out more about young people who had experienced a war and who had taken refuge in Sweden, and also about the professional participants who work on a daily basis with these young people in care in Sweden. Conducting interviews in this way created the variation in

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empirical material required to differentiate – and in the next stage to analyse – those phenomena that are relevant to achieving the study purpose.

The following topics were discussed during interviews with young people: 1) life in their homeland before the outbreak of war; 2) the mood in town when the war broke out (new norms, values, anything experienced as new by the informant); 3) experiences during the war; 4) an ordinary day during the war (accounts of good/bad situations during the war); 5) escape to Sweden; 6) the contributions of the institutional personnel, the social services, the Swedish Migration Agency, the custodian and the school; 7) life in the institution; 8) help after arriving in Sweden and later (medical – psychological, which organisations were contacted); 9) working through trauma; 10) differences between young people with experiences of war; 11) identification (e.g. refugee, immigrant, victim of war); 12) future; and 13) help from various authority staff going forward. During interviews with personnel at HVB homes, the following topics were discussed: 1) work with young people with experiences of war; 2) treatment (advantages, expectations, results, drawbacks or difficulties); 3) suggested improvements – resources; 4) cooperation with other authorities/authority personnel; and 5) the young people's accounts of the contributions of social services, the Swedish Migration Agency, the custodian and the school.

The interview material consists of qualitatively orientated interviews with six young people in care (from Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria) who had experiences of war and who were later placed at HVB homes in Sweden, and with nine employees at HVB homes who work with this category of young people. During the interviews, an effort was made to obtain detailed descriptions of experiences of war, life in Sweden and professional work with these young people, and to find out whether special ideas and/or working methods have been developed. The interviews lasted from about 30 minutes to 2 hours and were recorded because the interviewees gave their consent. An interview guide designed around the above analytical interests was used as a basis before and during the interviews. In the course of the interviews, an effort was made to achieve a conversational

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style, known as 'active interviewing' (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995), with an emphasis on openness and follow-up questions rather than the question-and-answer model. All interviews were transcribed from speech to text prior to the analysis work (Potter, 1996/2007; Jefferson, 1985).

The interview material was analysed based on traditions in qualitative method (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012; Silverman, 2015). Analytical induction was the guiding principle, i.e. a continuous to-and-fro between material and explanation (as well as deselection and reselection based on negative cases) with the aim of gradually honing the analysis by means of empirical examples (Katz, 2001). As a result, the study's theoretical interests – the concepts of identity, social comparison, total institution and stigma – were not only applied but also nuanced or challenged. The interviewees were informed of the purpose of the study and were guaranteed confidentiality and the opportunity to withdraw at any time. In publications and presentations of the results of the investigation, names of people and places and other information that could be used to identify the interviewees were changed or omitted. During the work on the empirical material, not only were the names of individuals omitted or changed but also the names of regions, municipalities, institutions and districts, as well as means of transport and anything else that could link individuals (the institution) with various cases. The interest of the study relates to experiences as general social phenomena, so there is no reason to document personal data (Ethical vetting, 2016). If we borrow analytical glasses from Hämäläinen and Eriksson (2016) and Eriksson (2014), we can read the following from this study: 1) *social pedagogic target groups* – as represented by a) young people in care who have experiences of war and who were subsequently placed in HVB homes in Sweden, and b) personnel at HVB homes who work with these young people; 2) *social pedagogical arenas* – as represented by various contexts that are brought to the fore in the study's empirical material (war context, migration context while fleeing to Sweden, migration context during integration into Sweden, institution

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context and school context, among others; and 3) *social pedagogical roles* – as represented by various roles that are brought to the fore in the study's empirical material (such as victim of war, student, homosexual, empathic personnel, competent personnel, incompetent personnel).

Analysis: narratives of young persons

Analysis of empirical material has teased out the following themes in interviews with young people: a) war as a permanent social condition; b) school, demonstration and war; c) learning war (war as pedagogical practice); d) normalising/neutralising the condition of war ('playing football', 'as normal'); e) flight from war is also war – or part of the war (deprivation of liberty/abduction, slave labour); and f) the future in Sweden (struggle for social recognition/recognition of identity – for example as student, employee, person, breadwinner or homosexual). None of the adolescents who were interviewed expressed a need for treatment while staying at an HVB care home. Instead of using the unilateral image of people who have experienced war and were traumatised by it (Majumder, 2016; Sanchez-Cao, Kramer, & Hodes, 2013), the current analysis instead sought to apply an actor-oriented image, where the stories told by those who were interviewed are analysed as arenas in which the storytellers in various ways formulate their experiences in their home country and in Sweden. The stories told by the interviewees are analysed as a multifaceted comment on their own autobiography, especially regarding what resulted from the institutional care stay in Sweden and the everyday dynamics in relation to adolescents and institutional care placements. Analysis of the this part of study's empirical material shows that the lives of young people in Sweden are characterised by uncertainty: they do not know if they will be allowed to stay in Sweden, whether they will have the opportunity to keep attending school or whether they will ever get to see their parents again. The material provides a picture of a waiting period that involves a considerable adjustment for these

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young people, regardless of whether or not they are given leave to remain in Sweden.

The time after first arriving in Sweden can seem like a prelude to starting a new life, one that sometimes is characterised by a continuing flight. The war goes on and is present in stories. Interviews with young people in this study are sometimes extremely emotionally charged. There may be painful stories about, for example, someone's entire family and everyone living in the village fleeing from a Taliban attack, about how solders harass civilians (elderly, young, men and women), about how their best friend was killed in a suicide attack. The stories are also about friends and relatives who are taken away and never return, a father who was executed or a difficult journey to Sweden, as well as about personnel at HVB homes who are empathic, who understand and try to help young people. The way that adolescents depict life in Sweden is characterised by war experiences from the home country and experiences from the escape to Sweden. These stories can be analysed as a display of a humiliated and stigmatised self and a display of victim identity through the dissociation from actions performed by other actors and the situation that is described. The adolescents are displaying their stigmatised selves as a product of war experiences and their subsequent escape, both of which are created and re-created in contrast to other actors in the context. The dissociation from actors in a war and escape context appears to serve as a basis for reconstruction of the adolescent's victim identity as well as relationships with HVB personnel. Disassociation from one opens up possibilities and creates a foundation for a relationship with the other (who is also tasked with helping adolescents with inclusion and integration into the Swedish community). The adolescents who were interviewed are overall pleased with how they have been treated and their cooperation with personnel at the HVB care home and the school. Any discontent that emerges during the interviews is aimed at legal guardians and the Swedish Migration Board and personnel from social services. The stories that the

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adolescents told about everyday interactions in Sweden are characterised by appreciation, criticism and expectations for the future. Their lives at the HVB care home and school are basically equated with friends and personnel at the HVB care home (and school).

A recurring theme in their stories about the appreciated professional actors has to do with small-scale help in everyday interactions (such as organising one's everyday life, cooking, homework assistance, having access to networks, leisure time, culture). Young people greatly appreciate the practical help that they are provided by HVB personnel (and the teachers at the school). The young persons who talk about HVB personnel in positive terms depict different images of an involved social pedagogue. Images that are depicted in stories are about charismatic institution employees who put other professional actors to work by phoning them, demanding meetings and making demands based on young people's rights. In the interactions, these institution employees are given a protective role in relation to the adolescents, who are described as being in need of protection against other professional actors.

Analysis: narratives of institution personnel

In interviews with institution personnel, the following themes were crystallised: a) previous chaos in reception centres in Sweden that are now more orderly; b) young people singled out and stigmatised by society; c) importance of empathic attitudes and humanity; d) no treatment is offered or given in the institution; e) main task: to help young people to integrate in society; f) there is collaboration with other professional categories, but it is limited (no more than what is essential); g) young people's age as a problem; h) young people are described as greedy (reason for coming to Sweden); i) maltreatment in institutions; and j) (in)competence of personnel. Studies such as Majumder (2016) and Sanchez-Cao, Kramer, and Hodes (2013) construct and reconstruct the image that the surrounding world attributes war experiences a prioritised status to a much too high degree; that the dominating explanations are about

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posttraumatic experience and such, while competing accounts of the life of the adolescents and personnel have a difficult time being noticed. None of the interviewed HVB personnel noted that any form of treatment is performed at HVB homes in relation to the adolescents who have been placed there. Interviewees emphasise that their work at HVB homes is focussed on inclusion and integration of adolescents into the Swedish community. The current analysis focuses on the different ways the interviewees feel that their work with inclusion and integration of the adolescents has been treated and interpreted in interactions with other parties in the Swedish community. Interviews with personnel at HVB homes in this study are sometimes emotionally charged. There may be emotional stories, for example, about personnel at HVB homes who are empathic, who understand and try to help young people, but also about others who belittle and abuse young people and even contribute to the risk of worse mental health in young people.

Institution employees at HVB homes acknowledge the significance of the practical work in including and integrating adolescents into the Swedish community. These stories observe inadequacies in the work performed by legal guardians, social services, schools and the Swedish Migration Board. The professional actors that are identified by HVB employees are described as slow and ambiguous regarding planning for the adolescents, as well as non-empathetic (because they do not consider the adolescents' war experiences in their home country and their escape to Sweden). The adolescents are portrayed as generally stigmatised and singled out in the Swedish community, which in turn hampers the inclusion and integration job assigned to personnel at HVB homes. Negative media reports about the adolescents, politicians' populist appearances aimed at the adolescents and the public officials' (for example, the police) negatively charged opinions about the adolescents are noted as a contributing dimension to the stigmatisation and debasement of the entire group. These factors in turn make the inclusion and integration job assigned to personnel at HVB homes more difficult. The attention spent on informants at HVB homes regarding the

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contribution from the media, politicians and the police when it comes to stigmatising and debasing the entire group is in line with the information dissemination on the Internet (see, for example, Aftonbladet, 2016, 2018; Nyheter 24, 2017; Sveriges Television, 2016, 2017a, b; 2016; Upsala nya tidning, 2016; Expressen, 2018).

Inadequacies in the cooperation between HVB personnel and other professional actors are widely discussed, which creates the image of HVB personnel as cooperative in contrast to other professional actors, who are construed as less involved when it comes to cooperation. The adolescents at HVB homes are portrayed as victims of inadequate cooperation as well as a stigmatising development in the community, as victims in need of protection – protection that most people interviewed in the study argue for, implement and are happy to display in the interview. Institution employees' stories of adolescents in HVB homes are characterised by the attention that has been spent on the fact that certain adolescents at HVB homes are older than they had stated when arriving in Sweden. Two interviewees in that part of the study are intensely critical of the adolescents they have met in their work. The adolescents are portrayed as greedy, and the goal of their arrival in Sweden is described as a planned effort to use ('rob') the Swedish community. These two stories are permeated by criticism against the adolescents and the resistance that these adolescents are described as displaying in relation to inclusion and integration into the Swedish community. Two other interviewees in that part of the study are intensely critical of co-workers at HVB homes whom they have met in their work. They tell the story of one adolescent who was physically abused by an employee at a HVB home, and other employees at HVB homes are portrayed as non-competent in relation to their work. These employees are portrayed as criminals, a danger to the rule of the law and not oriented to the community themselves, all of which are framed as not suitable to working with adolescents.

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By portraying other employees at HVB homes, legal guardians, social services, schools and employees at the Swedish Migration Board as less competent, interviewees in the study portray themselves as competent actors. Acknowledging and emphasising another person's incompetence creates the conditions needed to assert and display the narrator's own competence. In the interactive process, an image is created and re-created from a competent and respectively incompetent social pedagogue in the context. The competent social pedagogue provides practical assistance, understands, structures everyday activities and can gain and affect interactions. The incompetent pedagogue is uninvolved, ignorant, forced, creates stress, and is controlling, argumentative and socially awkward.

Social pedagogical work: expectations and variations

The aim of the study is 1) to analyse the narratives of young people who have experienced a war, fled to Sweden and been taken care of and placed in institutions; 2) to analyse the narratives of institution personnel about the day-to-day work of taking care of young people who have experienced war; and 3) to analyse interactive patterns that contribute to constructing the category 'social pedagogue'.

In this study, the stories told by the adolescents and the HVB personnel are about everyday interactions that occur while the adolescents stay at the institution and how the personnel work with that category of clients. The analysis pays attention to details about war and post-war interactions and how a community's moralisations can affect social pedagogical work with inclusion and integration into the community. Adolescents who have immigrated to Sweden in 2015 are now a permanent group in the community. Many of them have received permanent residence, whereas others have had their applications rejected or are waiting for a decision from the Swedish Migration Board (Swedish Migration Agency, 2018a, 2018b, 2018c). In light of this, it becomes of great importance to study a modern war's continued social consequences for

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individuals and groups (Basic, 2017, 2018b; Malešević, 2010). From a Swedish perspective, it is easy to imagine that the war's consequences are taking place 'over there', in a different country or another part of the world, at another time in place. It therefore becomes especially important to allow people with war experiences who are in Sweden to share and relate how the experiences are significant here and now. By allowing this sharing, knowledge is also created about how preconceptions, inequalities and discrimination can be faced and discouraged. This study shows how overlapping or parallel identifications of adolescents and HVB personnel operate through a number of interactions where the individual claims or is assigned identity categories in various ways. Categories such as victim of war, student, homosexual, empathetic personnel, competent personnel and incompetent personnel are actualised in relation to the adolescents' war experiences and institution placement. The interactive dynamic in the situation helps to create and re-create these categories (Basic, 2012). The study's analysis observes individuals in a vulnerable and strenuous situation with the aim of highlighting their opinions, stories and terms. Adolescents with war experiences are at risk of being affected by stigmatisation and singled out in the community and for discrimination and unequal relationships because of their background and how it is treated in Sweden. HVB personnel who have been interviewed in the study note that the social climate impairs their work with inclusion and integration of that client category.

A social pedagogue in the Nordic countries works in a variety of social contexts in which individuals need professional help with integration and success in those contexts. This work can involve students in school; inmates at youth institutions and prisons; children, young people and adults who are the subjects of intervention by social services; patients undergoing psychiatric treatment; and other individual categories where people find themselves in critical life situations and need professional help to overcome them (a social pedagogue also works within different prevention projects and within voluntary organisations).

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Social pedagogues are expected to possess specific professional qualifications to support and motivate their clients in overcoming obstacles and meeting their goals. A social pedagogue works in a socially oriented way and occasionally plays an educational fostering role. It is anticipated that this work will help the client develop an understanding of how to act in accordance with desired expectations, norms and values and to resist peer pressure and involvement in anti-social activities (Eriksson, 2014; Eriksson & Winman, 2010; Hämäläinen, 2012; Hämäläinen & Eriksson, 2016; Kornbeck & Ucar, 2015; Ucar, 2013).

A social pedagogue is also expected to supervise other professional categories in the context of the various issues related to the client's living conditions. In addition, the social pedagogue is expected to act as a link between different professions with the goal of facilitating collaboration that supports the client's social and educational development (when the client is a child or young person, the social pedagogue is expected to also collaborate with parents). The social pedagogue sometimes has a limited scope for action; the role has occasionally low status and standing in relation to other professional categories involved. The role of the social pedagogue is portrayed as diffuse, unspoken and full of contradictions in relation to other professional categories in the organisational hierarchy. The role of social pedagogue also tends to assume a controlling and repressive function as support for other professional categories in the context.

In conclusion, there are major variations in what is expected of a social pedagogue. A common denominator is that the mission of a social pedagogue and the context in which the social pedagogue operates appear to be sufficiently flexible to enable an individual to play the role in a wide variety of ways. It is only when the individual social pedagogue adopts an active, assertive, independent, personal and relatively strong posture that the person has a chance to be important to other professional categories and for the client. Taking on this posture means in practice that it is only when the individual social pedagogue

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transcends the expectations of the role presented above that there is a chance that the social pedagogue will be appreciated by other collaborators. One question that has been actualised during the study is how a social pedagogue can help by initiating and strengthening interactions that will include and integrate clients into the community. It is of importance that one attempts to analyse what type of social pedagogical help the unaccompanied refugee children desire and need, for example in terms of receiving help or organising their everyday lives and having access to school, work, network, leisure time and culture.

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